



Bulletin n. 2-3/2013 - February 2014

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Subsection 1. The theory of federation

D'Atena Antonio

Between Spain and Germany. The Historical Models of Italian Regionalism in Italian Papers on Federalism, n. 2/2013

The essay concerns the influence imprinted by the Spanish regionalism and the German federalism on the historical development of Italian regionalism.

In the 1947-constitutional text, the Spanish influence was clearly detectable, both about the exploited enumeration technique (utilized in reference to the Regions, and not to the central State), and about the creation of five Regions provided with a special Statute, holders of reciprocally specific competences. The German influence, on the other hand, was noticeable in the creation of the group of the «Ordinary Regions» (everyone with the same competences), and in the acceptance of a legislative competence based on the Rahmengesetzgebung.

This double imprinting has, moreover, permeated the amendments made to Title V in 2001, which has increased - if it can be affirmed - the Spanish and German «doses», and it has referred them to subject matters initially not included. From the German inspiration, for example, is the reversal of the enumeration technique, and the creation of a kind of legislative competence similar to the konkurrierende Gesetzgebung. On the other hand, attributable to the Spanish model, is the provision which permits that individual «Ordinary Regions» can get additional competences, by virtue of acts modelled on the Estatutos de Autonomia of the Autonomic Communities.

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

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Popelier Patricia, Cantillon Bea

Bipolar Federalism and the Social Welfare State: A Case for Shared Competences in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 43, n. 4, Fall , 626-647

Comparative studies on the organization of the welfare state in federal systems have referred to Belgium as a model for future federalism, because of its devolutionary nature. In reality, its dyadic or bipolar nature turns Belgian federalism into a unique and highly unstable experiment. However, as long as Brussels obstructs the exit option, the two linguistic groups are doomed to coexistence. Therefore, for Belgium more so than for any other devolutionary state, accommodating both centrifugal dynamics and the need for cohesion is vital. We argue that although dual federalism, including the equality of federal and sub-federal entities and the exclusive allocation of powers, typifies bipolar federal states, a system of shared powers is more suitable when it comes to matters related to social security.

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Arretche Marta

Demos-Constraining or Demos-Enabling Federalism? Political Institutions and Policy Change in Brazil



in **Journal of Politics in Latin America** , Vol 5, No. 2

This research note shows the demos-enabling elements of the Brazilian federal state by examining the decision-making process of 59 legislative initiatives regarding the taxes, policies and expenditures of subnational units submitted to the Brazilian Congress between 1989 and 2006. The combination of two political institutions – the federal government's broad powers to make decisions on subnational matters (right to decide) and the majority principle for approving changes in the federal status quo – empowers the center without diminishing the rights of subunits. It is not necessary to obtain supermajorities in numerous veto arenas in order to approve legislation aimed at providing national goods, and regional minorities have few opportunities for vetoing. The center is empowered, not weak.

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Christa Scholtz

Federalism and Policy Change: An Analytic Narrative of Indigenous Land Rights Policy in Australia (1966–1978)

in **Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique**, Volume 46 - Issue 02 , 397-418

The paper argues that a direct causal role for federalism must link policy makers' actions to costs and uncertainties unique to federalism, those associated with maintaining jurisdictional autonomy. The paper develops a formal model of imperfect information between two government actors, one preferring policy change and the other the status quo. A government chooses to change policy (or not) in a context where two things are uncertain: the stomach for intergovernmental retaliation, and the jurisdictional bona fides of the government in the policy area. The model shows how policy change is endogenous to beliefs about whom courts will support during federalism review. The model is then used in a detailed analysis of Australian cabinet archives at the state and Commonwealth levels, pertaining to the issue of Indigenous land rights policy between 1966 and 1978.

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Mahendra Prasad Singh

Federalism, Nationalism and Multicultural Secularism in India

in **Indian Journal of Federal Studies**, 25th Issue, 1/2012 , 15-32

India's federal successes and stability sociologically owes more to its multicultural and multinational matrix and politically to consociational and federal politics than to the staatsvolk. Beyond the 'mainstream' states of the north and south, where federalism has worked well, the troubled states of the 'peripheries' in the northwest, northeast, and the deep south that have in several instances gone to the extreme of secessionism and/or democratic 'mainstream'; venture to suggest that the rise of the 'peripheries' and their protests in some cases to the extent of insurgencies may in fact be seen as a struggle to make India a truly federal with multiplicities of regional centres culminating into a matrix or cybernetic model of federalism.

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Tortola Pier Domenico

Federalism, the State, and the City: Explaining “City Welfare” in the United States and the European Union
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 4, Fall , 648-675

This article extends United States–European Union (EU) comparative research to the area of grants-in-aid by comparing the evolution of federally funded “city welfare” in the two political systems in light of an original institutionalist theory. I show that while the United States and the EU adopted similar early programs—Model Cities and URBAN—these schemes’ instability and their different politico-constitutional setting led to divergence shortly after their inception. In the United States, where the Department of Housing and Urban Development safeguarded city welfare, Model Cities was replaced with the durable Community Development Block Grant. In the EU, where no such institutional anchor existed, URBAN’s demise ended urban policy altogether. The article contributes to the broader scholarship on federalism by highlighting the relevance of institutions and time for understanding grants-in-aid.

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Häberle Peter

Federalismo e regionalismo come pluralismo territoriale e divisione dei poteri culturali
in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, n. 2/2013

The «plurality of political power of governance» in federal State (K. STERN) can only be scientifically understood whilst adopting a pluralistic model, such as the «mixed» federal theory of the State. Furthermore, it requires the comprehension of federalism as science of culture, as a frame for all the various «mixtures» and constitutional experiments of which (cultural) federalism has the opportunity to be a laboratory. Federalism and culture go so tightly together, that the plastic concept of «cultural federalism» is current in Germany, where this fitting expression faithfully and communicatively reflects the ongoing connection between culture and Federal State. Hence, the «open culture concept» (offenes Kulturkonzept) and the «pluralism of culture carriers» (kultureller Trägerpluralismus). Far from constituting mere «constitutional folklore», the Länder’s cultural sovereignty represents the «soul» of federalism. The same applies to regionalism as well. Especially in the context of a globalized world, it is the protection of cultural identity that saves individuals from a purely economic-oriented approach, on one hand, and from cultural uniformity in the world market, on the other. The man, and citizen, literally falls into a bottomless pit, unless he is able to claim in situ, on each level (municipal, regional, national, European) of his cultural homeland, that part of his own identity he gets from culture. Fundamental freedoms are themselves cultural freedoms at heart.

Thematically and systematically recalling his pioneering Kulturverfassungsrecht im Bundesstaat (1980), the Author of this essay (here presented in Italian translation) follows the tracks of cultural constitutional law along the different stages of textual evolution (Textstufenparadigma) in federal and regional systems, in a compared perspective and particularly focusing on the expressive richness displayed by Italian regional Statutes.

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Lacina Bethany

India's Stabilizing Segment States
in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 13, Issue 1, 2014 , 13-27



The post-independence history of India contradicts the segmental-institutions thesis. Non-ethnic federalism was met with popular resistance and segmental institutions emerged because of nationalist mobilization. These institutions stabilized India, which has remained intact. Central violations of segment-state arrangements have been the impetus for violent nation-state crises. The Gorkhaland movement in the Darjeeling area of West Bengal in India is used to explain the disconnection between India's experience and the segmental-institutions thesis. As the thesis predicts, progressively more-generous autonomy arrangements have helped regional elites to repress political competition in Darjeeling. However, limited political competition in Darjeeling curbs demands on the centre because regional elites' primary incentive to mobilize ethnic grievances is to outflank local political rivals.

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Pino Eloisa del, Ryzin Gregg van

Intergovernmental Responsibility for Social Policy: An Analysis of Public Preferences in Spain

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 43, n. 4, Fall , 676-700

Although a considerable amount is known about public preferences for multilevel government in the United States, there is less empirical evidence for other types of federations. Moreover, prior studies have neglected regional differences in intergovernmental policy preferences, despite the relevance of regional variation in places where territorial claims for autonomy exist. This article analyzes citizen preferences for the assignment of responsibility for social policies in Spain. Using data from a survey conducted in 2005 (prior to the European economic crisis), we find distinct patterns across regions in the strength of assignment preferences for health services, pensions, education, and social services. We also find that education, age, gender, social class, political ideology, preferences for lower taxes, and regional political identity are also independent determinants of assignment preferences.

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Ram-Prasad Chakravarthi

Pluralism and liberalism: reading the Indian Constitution as a philosophical document for constitutional patriotism

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 16, Issue 5, 2013 , 676-697

Abstract

Liberalism and pluralism are seen as being in tension in liberal Western nation-states, while multiculturalism, as a policy of resource allocation to minority groups, has been the standard response to pluralization. This limits the pluralist potential of a constitutional liberalism. The fusion of a liberal theory of autonomous individuality with a pluralist theory of multiple belonging has to look beyond multicultural policy in order to enhance liberal commitments to citizens through pluralist provisions. An analysis of the Indian Constitution's Fundamental Rights, as a normative document, shows that the citizen can be understood as an autonomous individual given identity through belonging to a plurality of groups. Consequently, rights are taken to accrue to all citizens equally as autonomous individuals, but also by virtue of their belonging to groups, with special provisions made available for vulnerable ones. Rights for a plurality of vulnerable groups should not be seen as illiberal additions but integral to the conception of liberalism. If such a view of citizenship were to be integrated into the liberal constitutions of irreversibly pluralizing Western democracies, then a pluralistic



constitutional patriotism could be fostered amongst members of vulnerable groups, while demonstrating that standard liberal rights guarantee equal citizenship for all.

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Mueller Sean

Shared Rule in Federal Political Systems: Conceptual Lessons from Subnational Switzerland

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 44, n. 1, Winter , 82-108

This article reconceptualizes shared rule and uses novel data to measure it, thus addressing two shortcomings of federal literature. First, while most studies focus on self-rule, one question that is largely neglected is how lower-level governments can influence politics at a higher level in the absence of "second" chambers. The answer is through shared rule. A second shortcoming is that even when addressing this question, scholars concentrate on constitutional-administrative aspects of vertical intergovernmentalism, neglecting more informal, "political" dynamics. Comparing the twenty-six Swiss cantons allows drawing two lessons for federal studies: That shared rule is multifaceted and complex, and that to study informal territorial actors as well as direct political processes is indispensable to understand how power is actually distributed in federal political systems.

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Luciano Vandelli

Sovranità e federalismo interno: l'autonomia territoriale all'epoca della crisi

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 5-6 , 845-897

No abstract available

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Thomas Hueglin

Treaty federalism as a model of policy making: Comparing Canada and the European Union

in *Canadian Public Administration*, vol. 56, issue 2 , 185-202

Systematic analyses of Canada and the EU as comparable federal systems have been neglected for a variety of methodological reasons. Most importantly, neither body fits the mould of the dominant model of the American federal state. A revised conceptual framework can show, however, that Canada and the EU both provide a similar institutional and procedural environment for policy making: powers are shared rather than divided; policy directions are determined by executive negotiation rather than parliamentary deliberation; unanimity takes precedence over majority rule; and inter-regional competition is moderated by a commitment to equalization.



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Erk Jan

‘Two Souls, Alas, Reside in my Chest’: The Constitutional Foundations of Belgium between a Popular Democracy and a Multination Federation

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 84, Issue 2, July 2013 , 278–288

No abstract available

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Herman Bakvis

“In the shadows of hierarchy” : Intergovernmental governance in Canada and the European Union

in *Canadian Public Administration*, vol. 56, issue 2 , 203-218

The articles in this issue suggest that intergovernmental governance takes a different form in Canada and the EU, raising questions about the transference of practices and institutions from one to the other. In both systems, non-hierarchical modes of governance provide coordination in social policy. Hierarchy also plays a role, though not in a manner that one might expect. In the EU, hierarchy is tempered by members' direct participation in policy formulation. In Canada, hierarchy is important, but within rather than between governments, resulting in executive dominance of the intergovernmental process at the expense of devolving power to civil society and sub-provincial governments.

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Janique Dubois and Kelly Saunders

“Just Do It!”: Carving Out a Space for the Métis in Canadian Federalism

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 46 - Issue 01 , 187-214

Disagreement over how and between whom power should be shared has led to competing conceptions of federalism in Canada. The model of federalism adopted in the Constitution Act 1867 divides power between the provinces and the federal government to the exclusion of Aboriginal peoples. However, pre-Confederation documents such as the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the early treaties suggest that federalism is founded on the coexistence of self-governing nations. This paper presents a case study of how one Aboriginal people, the Métis, are reviving the pre-Confederation vision of federalism founded on mutual recognition by carving out a space for themselves in Canada's political and institutional landscape. We argue that by delivering an expanded array of programs and services to their citizens, creating innovative governance structures, adopting legislation in key areas of Métis interest and fostering economic self-sufficiency, the Métis are reshaping federalism from the bottom up.

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Sawania Youssef, Pack Jason

Libyan constitutionality and sovereignty post-Qadhafi: the Islamist, regionalist, and Amazigh challenges



in *Journal of North African Studies* , Volume 18, Issue 4 , 523-543

Since the overthrow of Muammar Qadhafi, Libya's political and security institutions have suffered from a power vacuum. The interim governments' absence of 'real power' has been mirrored by their corresponding absence of 'abstract authority'. Both dynamics are indicative of an ongoing struggle over what constitutes sovereign, legitimate authority in post-Qadhafi Libya. From the National Transitional Council's (NTC's) inception until its handover of power, it claimed to possess 'temporary' sovereign authority – sufficient to administer Libya and define the rules of the post-Qadhafi transitional phase. Throughout the protracted constitutional drafting process, the country has been 'governed' according to the Temporary Constitutional Declaration (TCD) issued by the NTC in August 2011. Amendments to – and popular contestation of – the TCD have constrained Libya's political evolution, impeded the constitutional drafting process, and impinged upon the legitimacy of the General National Congress (GNC)– the NTC's successor body. This article will illustrate how and why the TCD was contested by Islamists, federalists, and certain Berber groups. Our use of copious Arabic primary source material allows the views of these groups to be presented in their own words. The NTC's responses to its challengers reveal a distinct pattern: it attempted to incorporate Islamists into its framework, it appeased Cyrenaican federalists, and it ignored the grievances of Berber activists. The implications of this highly unbalanced strategy remain at the core of Libya's present instability and the GNC's inability to stand up against its myriad challengers.

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Angelini Francesca, Benvenuti Marco

Il federalismo belga alla luce della sesta riforma dello Stato

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 181 - 228

No abstract available

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

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Cristina Gazzetta

Il federalismo russo, tra tradizione e innovazione

in *Federalismi*, Anno XI - Nr 20

No abstract available

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Sergio Bartole

Lo stato delle Regioni e il disegno di legge di revisione costituzionale

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 4 , 727-733

No abstract available



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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Powe Jr.L.A.

October term 1963: "The second American constitutional convention"

in *Journal of Supreme Court History*, Volume 38, Issue 2 , 194–206

No abstract available

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Giovanni Tarli Barbieri

Quali Regioni per quale regionalismo

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 4 , 803-821

No abstract available

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

Vuk Radmilovic

Governmental Interventions and Judicial Decision Making: The Supreme Court of Canada in the Age of the Charter

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 46 - Issue 02 , 323-344

While comparative public law scholars report that we are witnessing a "global expansion of judicial power" (Tate and Vallinder, 1995), much of the comparative research also suggests that judicial power is subject to significant external constraints, including those associated with interests of governmental actors (such as Helmke, 2005; Vanberg, 2005). In Canada, however, the question of the extent to which governmental actors affect the Supreme Court of Canada's decision making in the wake of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms has not received systematic attention (but see Hennigar, 2010; Kelly, 2005). The paper analyzes the extent to which governmental mobilization through third-party intervention affects the Supreme Court's decision making. It relies on a dataset of all constitutional rights cases involving review of written laws decided by the Court in the post-charter period (1982–2007). It shows that third-party intervention is a powerful institutional mechanism providing governmental actors with an opportunity to systematically affect the exercise of judicial review.

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Matthew P. Hitt

Presidential Success in Supreme Court Appointments: Informational Effects and Institutional Constraints

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 43, Issue 4 , 792-813



Spatial models of Supreme Court appointments assume that the president knows the preferences of nominees and is constrained only by the ideology of the Senate. However, nominees vary in the amount of available information that can be used to determine their preferences. I find that justices who offered more information in the form of relevant professional experience at the time of nomination are more congruent with their appointing president. Institutional factors, such as polarization between the Senate and president, exert less influence on congruence. The president is, however, constrained from appointing highly experienced justices if the Senate and president are distant ideologically.

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Hume David , Lynch Andrew, Williams George

'Heresy in the High Court? Federalism as a Constraint on Commonwealth Power'

in **Federal Law Review**, Volume 41 Number 1

Williams v Commonwealth of Australia is a landmark decision of the High Court on the scope of federal executive power in s 61 of the Constitution. The decision is also important for the interpretive methodology adopted by the Court. Notably, each judge based their understanding of s 61 upon federal readings of the Constitution . This methodology raises fresh questions about how the Constitution is to be interpreted, and whether Williams marks a break from orthodox understandings of that task. This article assesses the significance of Williams for constitutional interpretation in Australia, and whether it lays the foundation for a more robust protection of state interests by the High Court.

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Alain-G. Gagnon

Canadian Federalism: An Account

in **Indian Journal of Federal Studies**, 25th Issue, 1/2012 , 1-14

Two federal traditions have developed side by side in Canada: the first is territorial and mononational, while the second is based on a plurinational understanding of the politeia. The dominant culture, combined with waves of immigration favouring English Canadians, has had a decisive impact on the evolution of Canadian federalism. The Quebecois have defended the institutions of parliamentary democracy at the provincial level. Parliamentary supremacy seems like a compelling vehicle for getting the voice of their national community heard and to be a key political instrument making it possible to advance their societal plan in the framework of negotiations with Ottawa, while at the same time making the Quebec Assemblée nationale the forum, for example, for democratic deliberation. It is important to point out the efforts by the central government and the Supreme Court (when it is asked) to pursue a standardisation mission in the name of universal rights. This pursuit is an obstacle to establishing truly federal practices since federalism "necessarily results in different legal regims and some fragmentation of the system of rights." As a matter of fact, Canada gives the impression of being a decentralised federation, but that does not reveal the hidden face of the institutional structure inherited from the British Empire's Golden Age. The paper critically argues that over the years Canadian Supreme Court has played crucial role in creating a central state with a unitary appearance that clashes with its plural nature.



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Neil S. Siegel

Collective Action Federalism and Its Discontents

in *Texas Law Review*, vol. 91, issue 7 , 1937-1967

An increasing number of scholars argue that the Commerce Clause is best read in light of the collective action problems that the nation faced under the Articles of Confederation. The work of these “collective action theorists” is reflected in Justice Ginsburg’s opinion in *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius*. Writing for four Justices, she stressed the “collective-action impasse” at the state level to which the Affordable Care Act responds.

In its purest form, a collective action approach maintains that the existence of a significant problem of collective action facing two or more states is both necessary and sufficient for Congress to address the problem by relying on the Commerce Clause. Unlike nationalist defenders of unlimited federal commerce power, a collective action approach does not ask whether the regulated conduct substantially affects interstate commerce in the aggregate. Unlike federalist defenders of limited federal commerce power, a collective action approach does not focus on the distinction between economic and noneconomic conduct, or between regulating and requiring commerce.

Accordingly, nationalists may agree that a collective action problem is sufficient for Congress to invoke the Commerce Clause, but they will disagree that it is necessary. By contrast, federalists may agree that a collective action problem is necessary for Congress to invoke the Commerce Clause, but they will disagree that it is sufficient.

This Article anticipates such criticism. Regarding the nationalist critique of a collective action approach, Professor Siegel argues that the nationalist “substantial effects” test imposes no judicially enforceable limits on the scope of the Commerce Clause. He also argues that nationalists may define multistate collective action problems too narrowly. In addition to races to the bottom, collective action problems include interstate externalities that do not cause races to the bottom.

Broadening the definition of multistate collective action problems to include interstate externalities gives rise to the federalist objection that every subject Congress might want to address can plausibly be described as a collective action problem. Federalists may further object that the Commerce Clause is limited to “Commerce.” In response, Professor Siegel argues that “Commerce” is best understood broadly to encompass many social interactions outside markets, as Professors Jack Balkin and Akhil Amar have urged. Professor Siegel also argues that a collective action approach need not validate unlimited federal commerce power. Specifically, he identifies three ways of limiting the kinds of interstate externalities that justify use of the Commerce Clause.

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Jason A. Macdonald

Congressional Power over Executive Branch Policy Making: Limitations on Bureaucratic Regulations, 1989-2009

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 43, Issue 3 , 523–537

Research on American political institutions correctly emphasizes the ascendancy of presidential power over the last century. Nevertheless, Congress possesses tools to influence how the executive branch shapes public policy. I examine how the use of limitation riders in appropriations laws allows Congress to affect the substance of bureaucratic decisions when Congress otherwise would not have much traction with the bureaucracy: under divided government. In examining the history of limitation riders that forbade the issuance of bureaucratic regulations from 1989 to 2009, I find support for



this perspective. The findings suggest that, although Congress may be at a disadvantage in shaping law and policy relative to the president in many cases, its constitutionally protected spending authority continues to promote its ability to influence the executive branch.

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Träger Hendrik

Das Scheitern des Steuerabkommens mit der Schweiz. Warum versagte der Bundesrat zweimal seine Zustimmung, und was müsste bei neuen Verhandlungen beachtet werden?

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 60, Heft 2, 2013

Failure of German-Swiss tax agreement. Why did the German Bundesrat vote against the agreement, and what is necessary for renegotiations?

Summary

In February 2013 the German-Swiss tax agreement failed due to the vote of the German Bundesrat. Historically, speaking the blocking of the ratification of a bilateral agreement is a very rare case. Why did the Bundesrat vote against the agreement? Possible causes are federal disputes and factual reasons. Or did the upcoming election of the Bundestag in September 2013 affect the decision of the governments of the Länder? What is necessary for negotiating bilateral treaties whose ratification is dependent on a consent in the Bundesrat?

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Grunden Timo

Der Bundespräsident: Monarchisches Artefakt oder politisches Verfassungsorgan?

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Heft 2, 2013

No abstract available

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Bußjäger Peter

Die Mitwirkung der Länder beim Abschluss von Staatsverträgen

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 68, issue 1, march, 111-124

No abstract available

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Cohen Jeffrey E.

Everybody Loves a Winner: On the Mutual Causality of Presidential Approval and Success in Congress & the Presidency, Volume 40, Issue 3 , 285-307

A large literature argues that approval affects presidential legislative success, but Washington observers often believe that legislative success leads to higher presidential approval ratings, that is, success and approval may be endogenous. This article tests for the endogeneity of approval and success. After building a theory that links success to higher approval, annual aggregate data from 1953–2011 are used to test for the endogeneity between approval and success. All statistical tests indicate that approval and success affect each other. This article concludes by putting the findings into perspective and suggesting new research directions.

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Nikos Vogiatzis

Exploring the European Council's Legal Accountability: Court of Justice and European Ombudsman in German Law Journal, vol. 14, issue 9 , 1661-1686

The purpose of this article is to explore the avenues for legal accountability vis-à-vis the European Council after the Treaty of Lisbon. This will be achieved through an assessment of the jurisdictional realms of, on the one hand, the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), and on the other hand, the European Ombudsman, always in relation to the European Council. Legal accountability may be understood in this respect as the supervision of the observance of the European Union (EU) rule of law. The European Ombudsman is an EU body established by the Treaty of Maastricht; by virtue of Art. 228 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), he or she has the power to investigate complaints of maladministration "in the activities of the Union institutions, bodies, offices or agencies, with the exception of the Court of Justice of the European Union acting in its judicial role."

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Warner Barbara, Shapiro Jennifer

Fractured, Fragmented Federalism: A Study in Fracking Regulatory Policy in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 43, n. 3, Summer , 474-496

Unlike the regulation of other heavy industries, fracking—in which companies create cracks in shale rock to extract gas, oil, or other substances—has been exempted from federal reach, leaving regulation to the states, which appear vulnerable to capture by energy interests. As fracking has expanded, become more complex, and generated considerable controversy, some states have sought to quash local government efforts to impose more stringent regulations. Citizens and activists have sought redress through the courts, and some states are fighting over the transport of waste disposal across state lines. The story is one of fractured, fragmented federalism that illustrates the key role played by regulated interests that prefer state to federal regulation, resulting in a variable, often weak state regulatory regime.

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Bowling Cynthia J., Pickerill J. Mitchell

Fragmented Federalism: The State of American Federalism 2012-13

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 43, n. 3, Summer , 315-346

Intense party polarization at the state and federal levels has hindered the adoption and implementation of numerous policies. One of the most important ways we see “fragmented federalism” is in the patchwork of policies across the country, created by factions and implemented in fragments across and within conflicted institutions throughout 2012–13. Implementation of various policies—notably education and health care—has been plagued by partisanship, pushback, and uncertainty. Operating under conditions of fiscal stress and a federal budget plagued by roadblocks has further complicated planning and program implementation at all government levels. Finally, Supreme Court decisions continue to contribute to the fragmented nature of federalism by alternately protecting state sovereignty from federal intrusion and at other times endorsing broad federal preemption of state laws.

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Amy Verdun and Donna E. Wood

Governing the social dimension in Canadian federalism and European integration

in **Canadian Public Administration**, vol. 56, issue 2 , 173-184

In Canada and the European Union (EU) most programs that affect citizen well-being, such as child care, education, employment, health care, housing, income support and pensions, are the responsibility of the constituent units; i.e., provinces and territories in Canada, and member states in the EU. When Canada was formed in 1867, social programs were considered a provincial concern and thus constitutional responsibility was assigned to provincial governments. Before the creation of the European Community (EC), European nation–states already had many different social programs. Within the EC (later EU), social policy remained a member-state competence. However, over time each political system has developed overarching policies, principles and approaches, effectively creating a significant pan-Canadian or pan-European dimension to social policy.

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Bologna Chiara

Il caso Sebelius sulla riforma sanitaria: il federalismo alla prova dell'accountability

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, n. 2 , 371-402

No abstract available

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

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Roberto Bin

Il governo delle politiche pubbliche tra Costituzione ed interpretazione del giudice costituzionale

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 3 , 509-528



No abstract available

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

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Watson Sarah J., Fair C. Christine

India's Stalled Internal Security Reforms

in *India Review*, Volume 12, Issue 4 , 280-299

Following the 2008 terrorist attack on Mumbai-an attack which had been amply foreshadowed by intelligence and previous, similar strikes-India's government promised unprecedented reforms to the nation's internal security architecture. Five years after Mumbai however, these reforms have almost completely failed to bear fruit. This article reviews both the reasons that the Mumbai attacks had such an impact within India's politics and also why the promised reforms were never able to take shape. It argues that the high-profile nature of the Mumbai attacks, and their effect on India's economic elite, forced the central government to respond. But India's states are so adamantly opposed to the loss of autonomy, particularly over their police forces, that substantive security reform would entail. Thus the prospects for effective reform in the foreseeable future are dim.

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Strohmeier Gerd

Kein perfektes Wahlsystem, aber ein guter Kompromiss – unter schwierigen Rahmenbedingungen

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 60, Heft 2, 2013

No perfect electoral system, but a good compromise – under difficult circumstances

Summary

On the 25th July 2012 the German constitutional court (Bundesverfassungsgericht) once again ruled parts of the (2011 revised) electoral law unconstitutional. The article illustrates the ruling of the constitutional court and its consequences. It discusses and assesses the new electoral reform initiated and implemented by the CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP and Bündnis 90/Die Grünen. In addition, it discusses and assesses the alternative model for electoral reform initiated by Die Linke in a comparative perspective.

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Paloma Requejo Rodríguez

La resurrección del interés general en el estado autonómico

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 87 , 149-178

No abstract available



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

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Erika Arban

La subsidiarité en droit européen et canadien : Une comparaison

in *Canadian Public Administration*, vol. 56, issue 2 , 219-234

The principle of subsidiarity, one of the most important in European Union (EU) law and entrenched in the EU treaties, has recently entered the constitutional discourse in Canada thanks to some Supreme Court decisions regarding division of powers. After a brief overview of the intellectual history of subsidiarity, this article offers a comparison of how subsidiarity has been dealt with by the Supreme Court of Canada and by the European Court of Justice. The ultimate goal is to see what lessons Canada can draw from the EU's longstanding experience with subsidiarity, particularly in the ambit of social policy.

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María Josefa Ridaura Martínez

Las relaciones horizontales de colaboración entre Comunidades Autónomas: marco jurídico, funcionamiento y rendimiento

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 88 , 215-243

No abstract available

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

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Arnaud Coutant

Le XIe amendement et le fonctionnement de l'Union. La place des États dans la fédération américaine

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 94 , 291-309

No abstract available

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Francis Katherine, Sulkina Tracy

Legislative Coalitions and Presidential Signing Statements Legislative Coalitions and Presidential Signing Statements

in *Congress & the Presidency*, Volume 40, Issue 3 , 230-254

We examine how the congressional coalition in favor of a law affects the probability of the president appending a positive or negative signing statement to it. Our results show that coalitions matter—presidents consider the power and status of a law's sponsor and the composition of its cosponsorship coalition when deciding whether to offer praise or



raise concerns. Moreover, the factors driving praise and criticism differ from one another in important ways. These analyses demonstrate the value of assessing the valence of a signing statement rather than just its presence, and of extending the focus of research on signing statements beyond aggregate factors to investigate how the context surrounding a particular law shapes the president's reaction to it.

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Robert J. McGrath

Legislatures, Courts, and Statutory Control of the Bureaucracy across the U.S. States

in State Politics & Policy Quarterly, Vol.13, n.3 September , 373-397

How do state legislatures use statutory language to control policy implementation by state agencies? In this article, I consider—in a specific policy area and time period—the extent to which this decision is affected by legislative anticipation of the likely actions of state courts. Previous literature has argued that the legislative use of statutory language to control bureaucrats varies with the availability of nonstatutory methods of control, but it does not explicitly consider the potential role of courts. My expectations are derived from a simple formal model of executive–legislative relations and are supported when I test them using data on the number of words added to a state's Medicaid laws from 1995 to 1996. In particular, I find that state legislatures write longer, more constraining, statutes when the likelihood that state courts intervene on their behalf is neither very high nor very low.

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Caleb Nelson

State and Federal Models of Interaction between Statutes and Unwritten Law

in University of Chicago Law Review, vol. 80, issue 2 , 657-767

This Article argues that modern courts read individual federal statutes to encompass more issues than identically worded state statutes would be understood to cover. There are many questions that regularly arise in the implementation of statutes but that the typical statute does not say anything about. When a state statute is silent on such questions, state courts often conclude that the questions lie beyond the statute's domain and that the answers therefore come from the state's version of the common law. But when a federal statute is silent on the same sorts of questions, courts often act as if answers should be imputed to the statute itself. As an illustration of this difference, the Article studies how courts decide whether forum law governs cross-border events. When state courts need to determine whether one of their own state's statutes supplies rules of decision for a case involving cross-border events, they commonly apply an overarching set of choice-doctrines that they think of as operating outside the statute. By contrast, when a federal statute does not specifically address its applicability to cross-border events, courts use a canon of construction—the presumption against extraterritoriality—to import the necessary distinctions into the statute. Similar examples abound. In a range of different contexts, general legal questions that would be thought to fall outside the domain of the typical state statute (and that courts might therefore handle as a matter of unwritten law) are presumed to lie inside the domain of the typical federal statute (with the result that courts handle them under the rubric of statutory interpretation). To explain this pattern, the Article points to practical concerns that came into focus after *Erie Railroad Co v Tompkins*; under modern doctrine, one way for federal judges to avoid having to accept whatever state courts say about questions that arise in connection with the implementation of a federal statute is to read the statute itself to



encompass those questions. The consequences of shoehorning general legal questions into the domains of individual federal statutes depend on the interpretive techniques that courts use. To the extent that the rubric of statutory interpretation leads courts to give statutespecific answers to such questions, the federal model can produce dramatically different results than the state model would. Those differences will be muted if courts instead read each individual federal statute as implicitly incorporating generic principles of unwritten law. Even then, though, the mechanism through which those principles operate can have subtle effects.

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James E. Pfander and Nassim Nazemi

**The Anti-Injunction Act and the Problem of Federal-State Jurisdictional Overlap
in Texas Law Review**, vol. 92, issue 1 , 1-73

Ever since Congress decided in 1789 to confer jurisdiction on lower federal courts over matters that the state courts could also hear, the nation has faced the problem of how to allocate decision-making authority between the two court systems. Central to this body of concurrency law, the federal Anti-Injunction Act of 1793 (AIA) was enacted to limit the power of the federal courts to enjoin state court proceedings. Justice Felix Frankfurter decisively shaped our understanding of those limits, concluding in *Toucey v. New York Life Insurance Co.* that the statute absolutely barred any such injunction. Much of the law of federal–state concurrency has been predicated on *Toucey*’s account. In this Article, Professor James E. Pfander and Ms. Nassim Nazemi offer a new account of the AIA that challenges prior interpretations. Rather than a flat ban on injunctive relief, they show that the AIA was drafted against the backdrop of eighteenth century practice to restrict “original” federal equitable interference in ongoing state court proceedings but to leave the federal courts free to grant “ancillary” relief in the nature of an injunction to protect federal jurisdiction and to effectuate federal decrees. It was this ancillary power that gave rise to the exceptions that *Toucey* decried and Congress restored in its 1948 codification.

Professor Pfander and Ms. Nazemi draw on their new account of the 1793 and 1948 versions of the Act to address current problems of jurisdictional overlap. Among other things, they raise new questions about the much maligned *Rooker–Feldman* doctrine; offer a new statutory substitute for the judge-made doctrine of equitable restraint; and suggest new ways to harmonize such abstention doctrines as *Burford* and *Colorado River*. Curiously, answers to these (and other) puzzles were hiding in the careful decision of the 1793 drafters to restrict only the issuance of “writs of injunction” and otherwise to leave federal equitable power intact.

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Andrew Wolman

**The relationship between national and sub-national human rights institutions in federal states
in International Journal of Human Rights (The)**, vol. 17, issue 4 , 445-462

The rapid spread of national human rights institutions represents one of the most important developments in the human rights movement in recent years. Many federal states have joined this global trend by creating national human rights institutions, state human rights institutions, or both. This article presents an empirical comparison of how such states have addressed the federal division of power and responsibility concerns that have arisen in such an enterprise. So far, no single strategy has emerged to address federalism concerns. Some countries have established unitary but



deconcentrated national human rights institutions, while others have multiple sub-national human rights institutions but no internationally recognised national human rights institution. The most common response has been the establishment of both a national human rights institution and a network of sub-national human rights institutions. Strict forms of dual federalism are rarely embraced however, and the relationship between national and sub-national institutions, where both exist, has been characterised by both episodic cooperation and significant tensions.

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Aziz Z. Huq

Tiers of Scrutiny in Enumerated Powers Jurisprudence

in University of Chicago Law Review, vol. 80, issue 2 , 575-656

This Article identifies and analyzes the recent emergence of a "tiers of scrutiny" system in Supreme Court jurisprudence respecting the boundaries of Congress's enumerated powers. The inquiry is motivated by the Court's recent ruling on the federal healthcare law, which demonstrated that the national legislature's election among its diverse textual sources of authority in Article I can have large, outcome-determinative consequences in constitutional challenges to federal laws. This is so because the Court not only delineates each power's substantive boundaries differently but also applies distinct standards of review to the various legislative powers enumerated in Article I and elsewhere in the Constitution. Variation in the standard of review generates both synchronic and diachronic oscillation in the quantum of empirical justification and means-end rationality demanded of Congress. This observed heterogeneity in the judicial demand for legislative rationality and empirical evidence is quite distinct from questions of how broadly or narrowly the substance of each enumerated power is defined. This Article's threshold contribution is a comprehensive documentation of variation in doctrinal formulae concerning the standard of review in enumerated powers cases. Having demonstrated the existence of tiers of scrutiny for enumerated powers, it then evaluates their use in enumerated powers jurisprudence. Drawing on political science scholarship, social choice theory, and public choice theory, it demonstrates that the Court's use of tiers of scrutiny has deleterious effects on judicial and legislative incentives and behavior. This Article then identifies six potential justifications for the Court's emergent practice of calibrating judicial review differentially by enumerated power. Closely examining each of those six justifications for stratified review, it finds all of them wanting. At the same time as it creates negative externalities, therefore, the practice of tiered review for enumerated powers lacks any compelling normative justification. By abandoning the emerging tiers of scrutiny and instead employing a lockstep approach to the review of enumerated powers, this Article suggests, federal courts would reduce opportunities for strategic behavior by judges and elected officials. The proposed doctrinal reformulation would also introduce clarity into a currently opaque, yet abidingly important, domain of public law.

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Michael C. Dorf

What Really Happened in the Affordable Care Act Case

in Texas Law Review, vol. 92, issue 1 , 133-159

Review of Andrew Koppelman, *The Tough Luck Constitution and the Assault on Health Care Reform*, OUP, 2013



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Philip Tassin

Why Treaties Can Abrogate State Sovereign Immunity: Applying *Central Virginia Community College v. Katz* to the Treaty Power

in *California Law Review*, vol. 101, issue 3, 755-812

Can individuals sue state governments in federal court for violations of their treaty-based rights? For a long time, the answer to the question appeared to be no - the Supreme Court's doctrine seemed to allow direct suits against states only where Congress properly used its powers under Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment to abrogate state sovereign immunity. But with its 2006 decision in *Central Virginia Community College v. Katz*, the Court opened a small breach in the seemingly insurmountable barrier of state sovereign immunity. In *Katz*, the Court held that state sovereign immunity did not bar a private action against a state under a federal bankruptcy statute. To reach this holding, the Court found it irrelevant whether the bankruptcy statute in question was a proper exercise of Congress's powers under Section 5. Rather, the Court concluded that just by ratifying the Constitution, the states surrendered their sovereign immunity with regard to private suits based on federal bankruptcy law.

So far, *Katz* is unique in upholding a private right of action against a state based on an implied surrender of state sovereign immunity in the Constitution. However, its reasoning is applicable to contexts other than bankruptcy. This Comment applies *Katz*'s analytical framework to the treaty power. After considering the historical backdrop of the Constitutional Convention, the Framers' understanding of the treaty power and the function of the treaty power in the U.S. federal system, this Comment concludes that just by ratifying the Constitution, the states surrendered their sovereign immunity with regard to treaty-based private suits.

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Maria Romaniello

The international role of the European Parliament: The SWIFT Affair and the 're-assessed' European institutional balance of power

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 5, issue 1, E97-E121

Dominated since its early beginning by the Member States, the Common Foreign and Security policy (CFSP) has long been criticized for its lack of democratic legitimacy. The entering into force of the Lisbon Treaty enhanced the European Parliament's role in that field and although it cannot act as a full legislator, it nonetheless acquired new powers for acting internationally. One of the most important achievements regards the EP's role in the conclusion of international agreements. The new Art. 218, para. 6 TFEU finally provides for the EP's mandatory approval before the conclusion of all EU international agreements for which the internal co-decision procedure is required.

The international role of EP is thus gradually accepted in the academic literature.

In this line, the aim of the paper is to provide empirical evidence and to identify the most significant aspects that have emerged in parliamentary practice. The paper focuses on the SWIFT affair and, by looking at the novelties introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, investigates the EP's international role and the extent to which the new powers impact on both the internal inter-institutional balance and EU external relations.

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Hale Kathleen, Brown Mitchell

Adopting, Adapting, and Opting Out: State Response to Federal Voting System Guidelines

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 3, Summer , 4258-451

This article examines the state response to voluntary federal certification of electronic voluntary voting system guidelines (VVSGs) and current intergovernmental issues surrounding electronic voting systems across the country. Federal certification is not widespread, and most states have adapted modified methods of assuring system integrity or have opted out altogether. States that participate in VVSG have greater technological sophistication, higher levels of election administration professionalism, and are more likely to adopt touchscreen voting machines. Unlike other election administration reforms, VVSG does not appear to be linked to partisan political factors. Our findings have implications for understanding the limits of voluntary federal programs and the importance of technological capacity and professional human resources in American election administration.

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Andrea Lawlor & Erin Crandall

Committee performance in the Senate of Canada: some sobering analysis for the chamber of 'sober second thought'

in *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Volume 51, Issue 4 , 549-568

While Senate reform is a continual topic of interest for partisans, academics, and the media in Canada, the nature of the Senate's legislative activity is less widely reported. That the Senate provides sober, well-researched political advice through its committee work is the refuge of ardent Senate defenders. However, what type of policy work do Senate committees accomplish and in what volume? This paper investigates Senate committees' policy reports and legislative output with an original dataset covering the 34–40th parliaments (1988–2011). The findings highlight committees' contributions to the legislative process, empirically testing long-held hypotheses about the Senate's legislative behaviour.

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Giovanni Tarli Barbieri

La base regionale dell'elezione del Senato: uno «scoglio» costituzionale per la legislazione elettorale in attesa di una futura (ma incerta) revisione dell'assetto bicamerale del Parlamento

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 3 , 495-508

No abstract available

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Mickler Tim Alexander

Standing Committee Assignments in the German Bundestag – Who Gets What in Within-Party Negotiations?



in **German Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 4 , 421-440

Standing committees play a vital role in the policy-making process of modern parliaments. This study investigates the assignment criteria of standing committee members in the 17th Bundestag by applying congressional theories of legislative organisation to the German case. The statistical analysis shows that MPs often join the same committees that they have been members of in prior legislative periods. While prior occupation/education and affiliation to interest groups only partially explain the distribution, interviews with whips and secretaries in Berlin show that regional factions and the political reputation of the MP play a major role in the assignment process. Parties monitor carefully whether committees are staffed with preference outliers during the assignment process while partisan considerations are hardly evident. This is strong evidence for the claim of informational theory of legislative organisation which highlights the information-processing character of committees.

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-Nussbaumer Kirsten

The Election Law Connection and U.S. Federalism

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 43, n. 3, Summer , 329-427

A democratic federation's character may be importantly determined by the particular character of its electoral federalism. For the United States, "political safeguards" theorists provided foundational insights into the implications of interdependencies between state and federal officials, but were too casual in their remarks about election law as a de minimis contribution to federalism. In fact, the constitutional default of state legislative control over congressional redistricting and most other procedural election law has created powerful incentives for federal deference to state officials. This dependency may have created a tendency to respect the institutional prerogatives of state governments, though the relationship is dynamic and contingent, interacting with other factors such as the prevalence of divided party government at the national and state levels.

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Zachary D. Clopton and Steven E. Art

The Meaning of the Seventeenth Amendment and a Century of State Defiance

in **Northwestern University Law Review**, vol. 107, issue 3 , 1181-1242

Nearly a century ago, the Seventeenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution worked a substantial change in American government, dictating that the people should elect their senators by popular vote. Despite its significance, there has been little written about what the Amendment means or how it works. This Article provides a comprehensive interpretation of the Seventeenth Amendment based on the text of the Amendment and a variety of other sources: historical and textual antecedents, relevant Supreme Court decisions, the complete debates in Congress, and the social and political factors that led to this new constitutional provision. Among other things, this analysis reveals that the Amendment requires states to fill Senate vacancies by holding elections, whether or not they first fill those vacancies by making temporary appointments. In so doing, the Seventeenth Amendment guarantees that the people's right to vote for senators is protected in all circumstances.

Using this interpretation as a baseline, this Article reviews state practice with respect to the filling of vacancies under the



Seventeenth Amendment. Since the Amendment was adopted in 1913, there have been 244 vacancies in the U.S. Senate. In one-sixth of these cases, the states have directly violated the Seventeenth Amendment's core requirement that senators be elected by popular vote by failing to hold any election. In addition, in many more cases the states have significantly delayed the required elections. These practices have cost the people 200 years of elected representation since the Constitution was amended to provide for direct election of senators, and there has been little resistance to this pattern of state defiance of the Constitution.

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Joseph Lowndes

Barack Obama's Body: The Presidency, the Body Politic, and the Contest over American National Identity in Polity, Volume 45, Issue 4 , 469-498

Beyond the formal powers and duties laid down in the Constitution, the presidency is a cultural institution meant to represent—in a very literal sense—the American people. Presidents act as identificatory figures—symbolizing what their supporters hold sacred about the nation. Presidents' own bodies come to matter particularly at political moments when a new or counter-interpretation of national identity challenges prevailing assumptions. Supporters often interpret their national identity in the figure of the president. As a black candidate in a historically white-ruled nation, Barack Obama's narration of his background as representatively American has been a critical task both as candidate and as president. Both Obama's biography and his visual presence have come to play a part in how political issues, from health care to foreign policy, get framed by both supporters and opponents. But does race stand alone in this dynamic of life story and looks? I analyze the challenges faced and opportunities afforded the Obama presidency by comparing him to earlier presidents who were politically associated with moments of broad change in American politics: Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, all of whom depended heavily on biography and physical embodiment to authorize their vision of national identity. Presidential embodiment ultimately diminishes democratic politics because of the strong fixation on a singular political institution it produces.

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Deirdre Curtin

Challenging Executive Dominance in European Democracy in Modern Law Review (the), vol. 77, issue 1 , 1-32

Executive dominance in the contemporary EU is part of a wider migration of executive power towards types of decision making that eschew electoral accountability and popular democratic control. This democratic gap is fed by far-going secrecy arrangements and practices exercised in a concerted fashion by the various executive actors at different levels of governance and resulting in the blacking out of crucial information and documents – even for parliaments. Beyond a deconstruction exercise on the nature and location of EU executive power and secretive working practices, this article focuses on the challenges facing parliaments in particular. It seeks to reconstruct a more pro-active and networked role of parliaments – both national and European – as countervailing power. In this vision parliaments must assert themselves in a manner that is true to their role in the political system and that is not dictated by government at any level.



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Hansen Kathrene

Commentary: From Theory to Practice—The Federal Executive Board: Leadership in Action
in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 73, Issue 4 , 565–566

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Quirino Camerlengo

I rapporti tra il presidente della giunta e gli assessori: profili di diritto regionale comparato
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 3 , 529-574

No abstract available

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Christopher Alcantara

Ideas, Executive Federalism and Institutional Change: Explaining Territorial Inclusion in Canadian First Ministers' Conferences

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 46 - Issue 01 , 27 - 48

Official participation in Canadian First Ministers' Conferences has long been exclusive to federal and provincial first ministers. In March 1992, however, the membership of this intergovernmental arena was expanded permanently to include territorial premiers. Using the tools of historical institutionalism and drawing upon relevant literature and eleven elite interviews with former first ministers and senior civil servants, this paper seeks to explain why this instance of incremental institutional change occurred. It finds that significant friction between the institutional and ideational layers of the Canadian federation during a period of mega-constitutional reform allowed federal, provincial and territorial actors to draw upon ideas about democracy and the political and constitutional maturation of the territorial North to expand permanently the membership of First Ministers' Conferences.

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Lawrence R. Jacobs

Lord Bryce's Curse: The Costs of Presidential Heroism and the Hope of Deliberative Incrementalism
in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 43, Issue 4 , 732-752

Presidents yearn for greatness to cement their “standing in history.” But their efforts are vulnerable to constitutional and



political constraints. The gap between presidential hope and the limits on their power is vividly displayed by their record of “going public.” This article illustrates the costs of presidential promotions through a case study of President Barack Obama's public campaign on behalf of health reform, which provoked countermobilization, encouraged media coverage of the opposition, and widened the public's exposure to potent messages that undercut White House communications. The article concludes by suggesting partial steps to moderate expectations and work within institutional boundaries.

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Maryann E. Gallagher, Susan H. Allen

Presidential Personality: Not Just a Nuisance

in *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Volume 10, Issue 1 , 1-21

Few systematic studies of US uses of force treat the inherent attributes of presidents as the key causal factors; nonetheless, the fact that individual leaders matter is evident to the public, the media, and foreign policymakers in other countries. This study advances the development of First Image explanations of conflict by empirically investigating the relationship between presidential personality and the variation surrounding foreign policy decision making. The importance of this type of variance has been understudied in international relations, and the consistency of leaders' policy decisions has important strategic implications for interstate conflict. Relying on Big Five measures of US presidents' personality traits, we find that leaders who have a high tendency toward Excitement Seeking are more likely to use force to carry out their foreign policy objectives, while those who are more Open to Action exhibit a greater variance around their foreign policy decision making. In sum, the personality traits of individual leaders influence not only the choices they make, but the consistency of their choices, which has important consequences for US foreign policy.

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Morgenstern Scott, Polga-Hecimovich John, Shair-Rosenfield Sarah

Tall, Grande, or Venti: Presidential Powers in the United States and Latin America

in *Journal of Politics in Latin America* , Vol 5, No. 2

Comparative constitutional studies rank the US president as relatively weak and most Latin American presidents as strong. However, specialized studies suggest that US presidents have great abilities to implement their agendas. We argue that presidents with weak formal powers “reinforce” their ability to impose an agenda (scope), as well as their ability to make those decisions stick (force). These reinforced powers, however, have diminishing returns as formal powers rise. As a result, the sum of presidential powers ranges from high (the US) to very high (Latin America).

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Shelfer Lochlan F.

Special Juries in the Supreme Court

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Volume 123, Issue 1



The Seventh Amendment mandates juries in federal courts for cases that would have required them at common law. Yet the nation's highest federal court has presided over a jury trial in only one reported case, *Georgia v. Brailsford* (1794). The prospect of a jury trial in the Supreme Court makes the case intriguing enough. *Brailsford*, however, is even more well-known for its provocative language on the jury's power to decide the law as well as the facts. Nevertheless, the trial remains largely unstudied. This Note examines the case's extant documents and argues that the jury the Supreme Court used was a special jury of merchants in the tradition of Lord Mansfield. This conclusion offers insights into how the Supreme Court might negotiate a jury trial in a future case if the Seventh Amendment should demand it. Further, this Note's finding provides a context to understand better Chief Justice Jay's words on the jury's authority to determine the law as well as the facts.

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Giuseppe Tesauro

Alcune riflessioni sul ruolo della corte di giustizia nell'evoluzione dell'Unione europea

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 483-511

After fifty years since *Van Gend en Loos*, art. 19 of the TEU still confirms the key role of the Court of Justice of the European Union in the integration process. The Author runs through the fundamental judgments of the Court, which have drawn the evolution of the European legal order by affirming the principles of primacy and direct effect of European law. By its evolutive interpretation approach, the Court had started from making the idea of the common market concrete and then had come to give full and effective protection to basic human rights, which are now enshrined in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. In one of the most complex period that the Union has faced since its creation, the Court has, in the view of the Author, the power and the instruments to avoid the standstill of the integration process.

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Allan F. Tatham

Comment on Maria Isabel González Pascual's Methods of Interpreting Competence Norms: Judicial Allocation of Powers in a Comparative Perspective

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 14, issue 8 , 1523-1538

No abstract available

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

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Isaac Soca i Torres

El nuevo Reglamento del Tribunal de Justicia de la Unión Europea

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 49 , 109-131



No abstract available

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

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Pere Simón Castellano

Federalisme judicial i distribució de competències en matèria d'administració de justícia a Suïssa

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, no. 18 , 43-87

L'objectiu principal d'aquest article és aprofundir en el coneixement i difusió d'un concepte encara poc conegut a casa nostra: el federalisme judicial. Per fer-ho, l'autor estudia el cas de Suïssa, d'especial interès tenint en compte que es tracta d'un Estat federal, plurinacional, multilingüe i multiconfessional des de l'any 1848. La Constitució federal helvètica contempla la distribució de competències en matèria d'Administració de justícia, donant als cantons plena discrecionalitat per crear consells de justícia d'àmbit cantonal i regular l'organigrama judicial dins dels seus territoris, si bé en els darrers anys s'ha produït una tímida onada centralitzadora que, per exemple, ha acabat amb l'atribució a la Confederació d'una competència històrica dels cantons en matèria de dret processal civil i penal. Amb tot, es tracta d'un model de federalisme judicial en el que la participació del cantons és fonamental, tant en la determinació del organigrama judicial, com en el sistema d'elecció dels jutges i el respecte a les diferents llengües oficials en seu judicial. Lògicament, certs extrems d'aquest model no són importables a casa nostra sense una reforma prèvia del text constitucional. Això no obstant, el coneixement d'aquest model, eficient i exitós d'acord amb la doctrina majoritària suïssa, pot resultar d'especial interès en un eventual escenari futur de reforma del sistema judicial.

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Víctor Manuel Collí Ek

Federalismo judicial en México. Concepciones, evolución y perspectivas

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, no. 17 , 107-145

No abstract available

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

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Maria Daniela Poli

I "vettori comunicativi" del costituzionalismo tedesco: il dialogo sui diritti fondamentali tra Corte costituzionale federale e Corti costituzionali dei Länder

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1069-1082

The article focuses on the judicial dialogue between the Bundesverfassungsgericht and the sixteen Landesverfassungsgerichte in Germany. It underlines the importance of this constant confrontation, also to understand the relationship between the constitutional national Courts and the European Courts (of Luxembourg and of Strasbourg). Moreover, the German experience shows how the increase of the judicial guarantees of the individual rights can be realized also from the bottom to the top. The same thing happens in the United States in the 70's after the elaboration of the doctrine of New Judicial Federalism by the judge of the Supreme Court William Brennan.



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Resnik Judith . Curtis Dennis

Inventing democratic courts: A new and iconic Supreme Court

in *Journal of Supreme Court History*, Volume 38, Issue 2 , 207–251

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

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Nikolai G. Wenzel

Judicial Review and Constitutional Maintenance: John Marshall, Hans Kelsen, and the Popular Will

in *PS: Political Science & Politics* , Volume 46 - Issue 03 , 591-598

Constitutional restraints on government are tricky and evanescent; government failure (a lapse into anarchy or leviathan) has historically been the norm, and constitutional success an infrequent exception. To shed light on constitutional maintenance, this article examines the concept of constitutional review by studying three competing systems: the American/Marshall system of judicial review; the Commonwealth/Westminster model of parliamentary sovereignty; and the Kelsen compromise between the two. Each system's strengths and weaknesses are assessed, as constitutional framers navigate the treacherous waters between the Scylla of parliamentary tyranny and Charybdis of government des juges. In the end, neither extreme is perfect, but lessons are drawn from each of the three models.

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Marc Verdussen

Le mode de composition de la Cour constitutionnelle est-il légitime?

in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, n. 1 , 67-86

No abstract available

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

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Shomade Salmon A., Hartley Roger E., Holmes Lisa M.

Lower Federal Court Judicial Confirmation Fights: A Critical Review of the Empirical Literature and Future Research Directions

in *Political Science and Politics*, vol. 47, issue 1, january , 149-164

ABSTRACT: Unlike the massive literature about US Supreme Court confirmation battles, little has been written about lower federal court confirmation fights. However, in the past 20 years much has been written about the lower federal



court confirmation process. Here, we take stock of the political science literature in this area and highlight where scholarly interest appears to be going. Believing a contemporary assessment of the state of the field should be of interest and use to scholars of American politics, we dissect the recent empirical literature and offer suggestions for future research. Most importantly, we offer a one-stop shop for recent literature for scholars interested in this topic.

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Salmon A. Shomade, Roger E. Hartley and Lisa M. Holmes

Lower Federal Court Judicial Confirmation Fights: A Critical Review of the Empirical Literature and Future Research Directions

in **PS: Political Science & Politics** , Volume 47 - Issue 01 , 149-164

Unlike the massive literature about US Supreme Court confirmation battles, little has been written about lower federal court confirmation fights. However, in the past 20 years much has been written about the lower federal court confirmation process. Here, we take stock of the political science literature in this area and highlight where scholarly interest appears to be going. Believing a contemporary assessment of the state of the field should be of interest and use to scholars of American politics, we dissect the recent empirical literature and offer suggestions for future research. Most importantly, we offer a one-stop shop for recent literature for scholars interested in this topic.

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Peletz Michael G.

Malaysia's Syariah Judiciary as Global Assemblage: Islamization, Corporatization, and Other Transformations in Context

in **Comparative Studies in Society and History** , Volume 55, Issue 3, July , 603-633

This essay concerns transformations in the judicial apparatus involved in implementing Islamic law (syariah/shari'a) in Malaysia, a Muslim-majority nation in Southeast Asia. Three of my goals are to delineate some of the empirical complexities of the syariah judiciary's day-to-day operations and the mutually contradictory directions in which it is moving; to problematize the widely invoked trope of Islamization as a gloss for these phenomena; and to illustrate that this judiciary is profitably viewed as a global assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Ong and Collier 2005). Another, more general, objective is to elucidate some of the ways that religion, law, and attendant phenomena are being bureaucratized, rationalized, corporatized, and otherwise transformed in an increasingly globalized world.

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

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Maribel González Pascual

Methods of Interpreting Competence Norms: Judicial Allocation of Powers in a Comparative Perspective in German Law Journal, vol. 14, issue 8 , 1501-1521

No abstract available



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

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Matthew E. K. Hall and Jason Harold Windett

New Data on State Supreme Court Cases

in State Politics & Policy Quarterly, 13 (4) , 427-445

The study of U.S. state supreme courts has been significantly constrained by a lack of available data. To remedy this deficiency, this article introduces an original data set of every state supreme court ruling from 1995 through 2010. We utilize automated textual analysis to search the text of thousands of state supreme court decisions and extract critical information on each case. This automated coding approach produces reliable measures of state supreme court decision making when compared with data collected by human coders. We present trends in docket size, dissent rates, and legal issues being heard in front of the court. This new data set will offer scholars numerous opportunities to expand our knowledge of judicial politics in the American states.

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Greg Goelzhauser and Nicole Vouvalis

State Coordinating Institutions and Agenda Setting on the U.S. Supreme Court

in American Politics Research, 41 (5) , 819-838

What determines state success when petitioning the U.S. Supreme Court for review? We suggest that states can improve the likelihood of securing Supreme Court review by coordinating litigation efforts. This coordination occurs in two ways. First, some states coordinate their appellate litigation efforts internally through the creation of state solicitors general offices. Second, external coordination occurs when states join amicus briefs at the agenda setting stage urging the Supreme Court to grant review in state-filed cases. Using new data on all state-filed certiorari petitions from the 2001-2009 terms, we find that internal and external coordination is associated with an increased likelihood of the Supreme Court granting review in state-filed cases.

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Eve M. Ringsmuth and Timothy R. Johnson

Supreme Court Oral Arguments and Institutional Maintenance

in American Politics Research, 41 (4) , 651-673

Debate within judicial politics scholarship continues to focus on whether, and to what extent, the separation of powers system affects U.S. Supreme Court decision making. While both formal and empirical work points to such an effect, the literature has not addressed a fundamental part of this process—namely, how justices learn about the preferences or possible reactions of Congress to potential Court decisions. In this article, we provide an answer by demonstrating justices use their limited time during oral arguments to seek such information. Specifically, using data from all orally argued cases between 1979 and 2003, we show that justices raise questions about Congress more often as the level of external constraint increases.



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Robert Decary

The Federal Court of Appeal to the Rescue of Civil Law

in **Canadian Tax Journal**, volume 63 suppl , 71-102

The Federal Court of Appeal, owing to its privileged position in matters pertaining to unemployment/employment insurance and to tax law in general, has made an important contribution toward the recognition of civil law as an integral part of federal law. Despite some slippages, it can no longer be doubted that civil law is the complementary law in federal law whenever the cause of action arises in Quebec.

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Robert Décar

The Federal Court of Appeal to the Rescue of Civil Law

in **Canadian Tax Journal**, volume 63 suppl , 71-80

The Federal Court of Appeal, owing to its privileged position in matters pertaining to unemployment/employment insurance and to tax law in general, has made an important contribution toward the recognition of civil law as an integral part of federal law. Despite some slippages, it can no longer be doubted that civil law is the complementary law in federal law whenever the cause of action arises in Quebec.

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Daniel Skinner and Steven Pludwin

Unsought Responsibility: The U.S. Supreme Court and the Politics of Passive Writing

in **Polity**, Volume 45, Issue 4 , 499-524

This article examines the politics of “passive voice” in U.S. Supreme Court opinions. We first recast the phenomenon of passive voice as a matter of strategic writing and subject it to political analysis. We then argue that a productive relationship between active and passive writing is required by the conventions of legal legitimacy, particularly as it requires distance from politics. To illustrate the politics of passive legal writing, we examine passages from key Supreme Court opinions. Through this analysis, we advocate a perspective shift for reading the political dynamics of Supreme Court opinions.

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Ajay Kumar Singh

Vedanta, Bauxite and Dongaria Kondh: A Case of Tribal Self-Determination

in **Indian Journal of Federal Studies**, 25th Issue, 1/2012 , 93-111



Used as metonym, Vendants, Bauxite and Dongaria Kondh together combine to write a text on the principles of right to self-determination within the constitutional provisions regulating Indian federalism. Constitutional discourses and sanctions are deduced from interface of select important constitutional principles such as 'right to life', 'right to development' and democratised structures of village panchayats where emphasis is placed on the notion of community governance. As a matter of fact, it would not be an exaggeration to say that federalisation is promoted through means and ends of democracy. This is very much evident from judicial pronouncements in recent times. Earlier Art. 1 served as essential reference for devising contents of Indian federalism, but now other provisions are being examined and assessed to ensure right to federalism of the people, community, nation and state. Notion of 'segmented autonomy' is being provided maximalist interpretation to ensure self-governance of the people. In other words, Supreme Court of India, instead of only state-centric appraisal of federalism, offers people centric view of federalism. This can be clearly gathered from the latest judgment of the Supreme Court in Orissa Mining Corporation Ltd. v. Ministry of Environment & Forest & Ors., 2013.

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Rahden Wolfert von, Voßkuhle Andreas

»Gerichte können nur einen Rahmen abstecken, innerhalb dessen Politik sich entfalten kann«. Ein Gespräch mit Wolfert von Rahden zur Rolle des Bundesverfassungsgerichts in Europa

in *Gegenworte*, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.gegenworte.org/heft-30/leseprobeheft30v.html>

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Clément Carbonnier

Decentralization and Tax Competition between Asymmetrical Local Governments Theoretical and Empirical Evidence

in *Public Finance Review*, volume 41 n.4 , 391-420

This article presents a model of tax competition between an arbitrarily large number of asymmetrical jurisdictions. Tax competition induces lower corporate taxes and lower public input provision than does tax coordination. This bias decreases with respect to the size and number of jurisdictions. Tax competition constitutes a cost of decentralization that may balance the gains presented by the decentralization theorem. A French panel of municipalities and intermunicipal jurisdictions is used to test these results, which are confirmed. Furthermore, the corporate tax increase due to cooperation leads to an increase in the corporate tax base: the fully decentralized situation is suboptimal.

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André Lecours and Daniel Béland

The Institutional Politics of Territorial Redistribution: Federalism and Equalization Policy in Australia and Canada

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 46 - Issue 01 , 93 - 113

A key challenge for comparative politics is to explain the varying degrees of political conflict triggered by the territorial redistribution of financial resources. Federal systems pose this question particularly acutely since they typically operate equalization programs that generate different levels and patterns of intergovernmental conflict. For instance, in Canada equalization has generated serious conflict between federal and provincial governments whereas in Australia it has only led to low-level grumblings on the part of some states which have taken shots at others. This article sheds light on the causes for conflict around the territorial redistribution of financial resources by explaining why equalization has produced more severe intergovernmental conflict in Canada than in Australia. It argues that institutional factors linked to the governance structures of equalization and the nature of federalism are at the heart of the cross-national difference. More specifically, the presence of an arms-length agency administering equalization in Australia compared to executive discretion over the program in Canada and the weaker status and lesser power of states in comparison to Canadian provinces means that equalization policy is more subject to political challenges in Australia than in Canada.

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Mary Ann O'Loughlin

Accountability and Reforms to Australia's Federal Financial Relations

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, volume 72 n.3 , 376-81

Australia recently introduced new accountability arrangements for all governments as part of a package of reforms to federal financial relations. This paper explains the new arrangements, beginning with an outline of the broader context — the Intergovernmental Agreement on Federal Financial Relations — in which they were introduced. The paper also identifies some of the lessons already learned from implementing the new arrangements. Some more details on the arrangements and the role of the COAG Reform Council may be found in O'Loughlin 2010.

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Malcom Sawyer

Alternative Economic Policies for the Economic and Monetary Union

in *Contributions to Political Economy*, volume 32 n.1 , 11-27

The problems of the euro area stem from design faults of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) with current account imbalances, differential inflation, and a poor macroeconomic framework, and failures to accommodate differences in institutions between the member countries. The design of the 'independent' European Central Bank has largely precluded the necessary co-ordination of fiscal and monetary policy, and has also disabled the central banking system from providing sufficient support to national governments and their budget deficits. Little regard was paid to issues such as convergence of business cycles and economic conditions between potential member countries (with its implications for the operation of a 'one size fits all' monetary policy). No attention appears to have been paid to the institutional differences between member countries with respect to how labour markets, housing markets, banking system, etc.



functioned and operated. The paper outlines a set of alternative policy proposals for the Economic and Monetary Union. These proposals are very far removed from the present policy positions, and remote from what could be viewed as politically feasible. The proposals would require significant income transfers between countries through the development of a Federal tax system and social security system. The policy framework seeks to specifically address the malfunctioning of the Economic and Monetary Union, and as such do not address the relationship between EMU member countries and the other member countries of the EU. The proposals are put forward to illustrate a different direction of travel.

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Brian Mustard

Canada's System of International Taxation: A Look Back and a Look Forward

in **Canadian Tax Journal**, volume 63 suppl , 257-70

AbstrAct This article reviews some aspects of the Canadian international tax system that existed in 1987 and were reviewed by the Advisory Panel on Canada's System of International Taxation in 2008. The author presents an overview of the recommendations in the advisory panel report and describes the Canadian government's response, in the form of legislative changes. The article concludes with a look forward to what might be the key international issues in the near term and provides some comments on how things may be different in the tax policy area in the future.

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Larcinese Valentino, Rizzo Leonzio, Testa Cecilia

Changing needs, sticky budgets: evidence from the geographic distribution of US federal grants

in **National Tax Journal**, volume 66 n.2 , 311-41

Most U.S. federal grants are allocated through arguably obsolete formulas, leading fast growing states to contend that they are not receiving their fair share of such grants. We examine this issue by analyzing the allocation of formula and non-formula grants during the period 1978-2008. We find that states with fast growing populations are penalized in the allocation of formula grants, whereas for non-formula grants population dynamics does not play a significant role. The estimated losses are sizable and heavily concentrated among the three fastest growing states - Nevada, Arizona, and Florida. Nevertheless, the majority of the U.S. states benefit from formula allocation, thus providing a plausible explanation for the status quo bias in budgetary formulas

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Filippo Donati

Crisi dell'euro, governance economica e democrazia nell'Unione europea

in **Diritto dell'Unione europea**, no. 2 , 337-361

No abstract available



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Salmon Pierre

Decentralization and growth: what if the cross-jurisdiction approach had met a dead end?

in Constitutional political economy, Volume 24, Issue 2, June 2013 , 87-107

The relationship between decentralization and economic growth is generally studied from a perspective stressing universal or quasi-universal regularities across jurisdictions. That approach has generated many insights but seems to reach its limits. The paper explains why it allows contrasting positions with regard to the benefits of decentralization even among proponents of free and competitive markets. And it seems from the empirical literature that no robust and economically significant cross-jurisdiction relation between decentralization and economic performance or growth, except perhaps their independence, has been found. The absence of a relation valid across jurisdictions, however, does not entail the absence of relations specific to each. When jurisdiction specificity is very strong, it is normally difficult to say if there is a relation between observable decentralization arrangements in a jurisdiction and its observable economic performance. However, this may be different under particular circumstances reflecting disequilibrium. Episodes of growth acceleration, when they follow persistent underperformance and include changes in decentralization arrangements, may provide some empirical support to the claim that the relation exists.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Alan Fenna, Robyn Hollande

Dilemmas of Federalism and the Dynamics of the Australian Case

in Australian Journal of Public Administration, volume 72 n.3 , 220-27

This paper provides a synoptic account of the distinguishing features and broad tendencies of federal systems in general and the main characteristics and challenges of Australian federalism in particular. In doing so, it canvasses questions of purpose and rationale, constitutional design and evolution as well as fiscal federalism and intergovernmental relations. It highlights the obsolescence of the traditional division of powers around which Australian federalism was originally organised; the degree to which the system has become centralised; and the search for a new basis on which the two levels of government can most effectively and efficiently work together in today's world of concurrent responsibility.

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Russell S. Sobel, George R. Crowley

Do intergovernmental grants create ratchets in state and local taxes?

in Public Choice, volume 158 n.1-2 , 167-187

A large literature on the 'flypaper effect' examines how federal grants to states at time period t affect state spending (or taxes) at time period t . We explore the fundamentally different question of how federal grants at time period t affect state tax policy in the future. Federal grants often result in states creating new programs and hiring new employees, and when



the federal funding is discontinued, these new state programs must either be discontinued or financed through increases in state own source taxes. Government programs tend to be difficult to cut, as goes Milton Friedman's famous quote about nothing being as permanent as a temporary government program, suggesting that it is likely that temporary federal grants create permanent (future) ratchets in state taxes. Far from being purely an academic question, this argument is why South Carolina's Governor Mark Sanford attempted to turn down federal stimulus monies for his state. We examine both the impact of federal grants on future state budgets and how federal and state grants affect future local government budgets. Our findings confirm that grants indeed result in future state and local tax increases of roughly 40 cents for every dollar in grant money received in prior years.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Kappeler Andreas, Solé-Ollé Albert, Stephan Andreas, Väililä Timo

Does fiscal decentralization foster regional investment in productive infrastructure?

in European Journal of Political Economy, Volume 31, September 2013 , 15-25

The aim of this paper is to analyze the effect of revenue decentralization on the provision of infrastructure at the sub-national level. We estimate the effects of revenue decentralization and earmarked grant financing on the level of sub-national infrastructure investment in 20 European countries over the period 1990–2009. The results are interpreted in light of the predictions of the theory on fiscal federalism. We find that it is sub-national infrastructure investment that increases after revenue decentralization and not investment in redistribution. However, the effect of revenue decentralization is lower the higher the use of earmarked grants to fund infrastructure investment.

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Oto-Peralías Daniel, Romero-Ávila Diego, Usabiaga Carlos

Does fiscal decentralization mitigate the adverse effects of corruption on public deficits?

in European Journal of Political Economy, Volume 32, December 2013 , Pages 205-231

Corruption is harmful for public finances and appears closely related to fiscal deficits. We open a new avenue in addressing the effects of corruption on public deficits through fiscal decentralization. For a sample of 31 OECD countries over the period 1986–2010, we find that fiscal decentralization contributes to mitigating the adverse effects of corruption on public deficits. In addition, our findings indicate diversity in the effects of fiscal decentralization, in that it appears related to lower deficits in countries with higher levels of corruption but not in less corrupt countries. Our results suggest that bringing the government closer to the people through fiscal decentralization in relatively corrupt countries leads to more responsible fiscal management.

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Manuel Medina Guerrero

El Estado autonómico en tiempos de disciplina fiscal

in Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional, no. 98 , 109-147



Desde 2001 las Comunidades Autónomas han estado sujetas a reglas fiscales en materia de déficit y deuda. Esta normativa, sin embargo, no impidió que algunas Comunidades Autónomas incumpliesen sus objetivos de estabilidad presupuestaria, probablemente porque carecía de un sistema de sanciones eficaz. El presente trabajo examina la Ley Orgánica 2/2012, dictada en desarrollo del reformado artículo 135 CE, y en especial se centra en las amplias facultades de control que esta Ley atribuye al Estado con el objeto de imponer a los gobiernos autonómicos el cumplimiento efectivo de los límites déficit y endeudamiento.

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Enoch Albertí Rovira

El impacto de la crisis financiera el Estado autonómico español

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 98 , 39-61

El presente artículo tiene como objetivo estudiar el efecto del nuevo marco legal de la estabilidad presupuestaria sobre la organización territorial española y especialmente sobre las Comunidades Autónomas. Para ello, se parte del nuevo marco jurídico de la estabilidad presupuestaria en la Unión Europea (Tratado de Estabilidad y Gobernanza, Tratado MEDE, Six Pack) y en España (reforma del art. 135 de la Constitución, Ley orgánica de estabilidad y demás legislación en la materia). Este nuevo marco afecta a la autonomía financiera de las CCAA, pero también a su autonomía política, al alterar también sus competencias y sus facultades de auto-organización. Todo ello, que se une a algunos problemas del diseño original en la Constitución y del desarrollo del modelo autonómico, conduce a una crisis de la organización territorial en España, donde se plantean varios escenarios de revisión.

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Carlos Padrós Reig

El modelo federal alemán de relaciones financieras (Finanzbeziehungen) y de igualación financiera entre estados (Länderfinanzausgleich)

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, no. 17 , 11-70

L'article descriu les relacions financeres a la República Federal d'Alemanya entre la Federació i els estats federats (Länder), amb les seves diferents reformes i vicissituds fins al model actual. Existeixen diversos mecanismes d'igualació econòmica entre nivells de govern (solidaritat vertical i solidaritat horitzontal). El sistema es caracteritza per una reducció de les diferències de capacitat fiscal amb subjecció al principi d'ordinalitat, on els estats amb més potencial econòmic segueixen mantenint la posició de partida una cop efectuades les transferències. Amb això s'evita desposseir el més ric del seu potencial generador de riquesa alhora que es disciplina el pressupost dels Länder més pobres.

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Albrecht Weber

Elementos de Derecho europeo e internacional para la garantía de la disciplina presupuestaria en la Unión Monetaria

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 98 , 13-37



El presente trabajo examina los mecanismos, tanto de carácter preventivo como represivo, que el Derecho de la Unión Europea recoge en la actualidad para garantizar la disciplina presupuestaria en la Unión Monetaria. Se analizan también las principales novedades contenidas en las recientes propuestas de profundización en la Unión fiscal, así como el uso de instrumentos jurídicos de carácter intergubernamental para garantizar la estabilidad presupuestaria en la zona Euro y las implicaciones que de ello pueden derivarse a la luz del principio democrático.

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Manuel Carrasco Durán

Estabilidad presupuestaria y comunidades autónomas

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, no. 18 , 169-206

El treball que ens ocupa tracta sobre el principi d'estabilitat pressupostaria i les comunitats autònomes. S'examina la reforma de l'article 135 de la Constitució i la Llei orgànica 2/2012, de 17 d'abril, d'estabilitat pressupostaria i sostenibilitat financera. Mitjançant aquesta normativa, l'Estat ha assumit el paper d'ens obligat respecte de les obligacions que es deriven del principi d'estabilitat pressupostaria, però també la funció de garantir el compliment d'aquestes obligacions per part de les comunitats autònomes i les entitats locals. El resultat ha estat no només una reducció del marge de les comunitats autònomes per adoptar una política pressupostaria pròpia en el marc de la seva autonomia financera, sinó també un condicionament de les seves decisions sobre les matèries concretes de la seva competència. Es pot afirmar, per tant, que la cessió de sobirania de l'Estat a la Unió Europea en matèria de política econòmica es transforma, en l'àmbit intern, en un límit afegit a l'autogovern de les comunitats autònomes. Això ha comportat, a la pràctica, una "mutació" del contingut de l'autonomia financera i, més en general, una "mutació" dels estatuts d'autonomia, en especial dels de nova generació.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Maria Dolores Arias Abellán

Estabilidad presupuestaria y deuda pública: su aplicación a las comunidades autónomas

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, no. 18 , 126-168

Aquest treball té la finalitat d'analitzar els límits constitucionals i legals establerts en matèria d'estabilitat pressupostària i sostenibilitat financera i la seva possible aplicació a les comunitats autònomes. Per això es parteix de l'atribució d'autonomia financera, reconeguda en l'article 156 CE, però també del contingut d'altres preceptes que poden suposar algun tipus de la seva delimitació. En particular l'article 135 CE la modificació de la qual ha suposat un sever límit respecte de la despesa pública que s'articula a través del concepte de dèficit públic permès, disposant també els mecanismes per a aconseguir-ho. Es tracta de la denominada regla de despesa, sostre de despesa, i de la limitació de l'ús del deute públic com a font de finançament de la despesa de les administracions públiques. Així, mitjançant el control quantitatiu de la despesa, s'incideix directament en un dels recursos públics previstos en l'article 157 CE sobre el qual només existia un precepte constitucional que hi incidís directament: l'article 157.3. S'estudia la LO 2/2012 d'estabilitat pressupostària i sostenibilitat financera l'objecte de la qual està implícit en el títol i que constitueix, a l'empara de l'article 135 CE, la norma aplicable en aquesta matèria sobre el deute de les comunitats autònomes, en particular.



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Tomas Palley

Europe's Crisis without End: The Consequences of Neoliberalism

in Contributions to Political Economy, volume 32 n.1 , 29-50

This paper argues that the eurozone crisis is the product of a toxic neoliberal economic policy cocktail. The mixing of that cocktail traces all the way back to the early 1980s when Europe embraced the neoliberal economic model that undermined the income- and demand-generation process via wage stagnation and widened income inequality. Stagnation was serially postponed by a number of developments, including the stimulus from German re-unification and the low interest rate convergence produced by creation of the euro. The latter prompted a 10-year credit and asset price bubble that created fictitious prosperity. Postponing stagnation in this fashion has had costs because it worsened the ultimate stagnation by creating large build-ups of debt. Additionally, the creation of the euro ensconced a flawed monetary system that fosters public debt crisis and the political economy of fiscal austerity. Lastly, during this period of postponement, Germany sought to avoid stagnation via export-led growth based on wage repression. That has created an internal balance of payments problem within the eurozone, which is a further impediment to resolving the crisis. There is a way out of the crisis. It requires replacing the neoliberal economic model with a structural Keynesian model; remaking the European Central Bank so that it acts as a government banker; having Germany replace its export-led growth wage suppression model with a domestic demand-led growth model; and creating a pan-European model of wage and fiscal policy coordination that blocks race to the bottom tendencies within Europe. Countries, particularly Germany, can implement some of this agenda on their own. However, much of the agenda must be implemented collectively, which makes change enormously difficult. Moreover, the war of ideas in favor of such reforms has yet to be won. Consequently, both politics and the ruling intellectual climate make success unlikely and augur a troubled future.

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Claude E. Jodoin

Federal and Quebec Incentives for Resource Exploration— Flowthrough Share

in Canadian Tax Journal, volume 63 suppl , 147-66

The issuance of flowthrough shares has been, for a number of years, the cornerstone in the financing of exploration expenses in Canada, and particularly in Quebec. The popularity of this financing mechanism is attributable to tax incentives offered by both the Canadian and the Quebec governments. While the two tax regimes are to a large extent harmonized, Quebec offers some incentives that are not provided under the federal regime, making the province a destination of choice for carrying out exploration activities. The treatment of gains on the disposition of flowthrough shares has always been unique, given that their cost base is nil for tax purposes. In addition, until recently, a generous tax exemption has been available for donations of flowthrough shares to charities. The author reviews the federal and Quebec incentives, and discusses recent amendments relating to the taxation of gains resulting from the disposition or donation of flowthrough shares

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Kathryn Harrison

Federalism and Climate Policy Innovation: A Critical Reassessment
in *Canadian Public Policy*, volume 39 n.2 suppl, 95-108

This article argues that the prospects for US state and Canadian provincial climate policy innovation and diffusion are limited in several respects. Subnational climate leaders tend already to be the cleanest states and provinces, and even they have been strategic in the sectors they regulate and the instruments they employ. In some cases, this selectivity appears to be motivated by opportunities to shift compliance costs to other states. Efforts to pool risks through state and provincial collaboration also are flagging in the wake of the Canadian and US federal governments' failure to adopt nation-wide policies to level the playing field.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Cerniglia Floriana, Longaretti Riccarda

Federalism, education-related public good and growth when agents are heterogeneous
in *Journal of Economics - Zeitschrift fur Nationalokonomie*, Volume 109, Issue 3, July 2013, 271-301

In this paper we use an endogenous-growth model with human capital and heterogeneous agents to analyse the relationship between fiscal federalism and economic growth. The results show that federalism, which allows education-related public good levels to be tailored to the local distribution of human capital, increases human capital accumulation. This in turn leads to higher rates of growth. The benefits of federalism are stronger, the larger the intra-jurisdiction variance of agents' human capital.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Buglione Enrico, Patrizii Vincenzo

Federalismo, costi standard ed efficienza
in *Rivista di politica economica*, Year 2012, Number 1-3, 97-140

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

Thushyanthan Baskaran, Lars P. Feld

Fiscal Decentralization and Economic Growth in OECD Countries Is There a Relationship?
in *Public Finance Review*, volume 41 n.4, 421-45

We study the effect of fiscal decentralization on economic growth for twenty-three Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries from 1975 to 2008. In order to proxy fiscal decentralization, we use both traditional Government Finance Statistics (GFS)-style measures and new measures that account for the degree of subnational tax autonomy. The regressions with GFS-style measures indicate that fiscal decentralization has a negative



but statistically insignificant effect on growth. Regressions with the new measures also result in negative coefficient estimates. However, they are larger in absolute terms and statistically significant. For the empirical literature on fiscal federalism, these results imply that measures of fiscal decentralization that account for subnational tax autonomy should be preferred to traditional GFS-style measures. From a policy perspective, we conclude that policy makers should be aware of the economic trade-offs when pursuing reforms toward more fiscal decentralization.

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Paula Gonzalez, Jean Hindriks, Nicolas Porteiro

Fiscal Decentralization and Political Budget Cycles

in *Journal of Public Economic Theory*, volume 15 n.6 , 884-911

We analyze a problem à la Rogoff where incumbents can distort fiscal policy to signal their competency, but where fiscal policy can be centralized or decentralized. Our main focus is on how the equilibrium probability that fiscal policy is distorted in any region (the political budget cycle, PBC) differs across fiscal regimes. With centralization, there are generally two effects that change the probability of a PBC. One is the possibility of selective distortion: the incumbent can be reelected with the support of just a majority of regions. The other is a cost diversification effect, which is present unless costs are perfectly correlated across regions. Both these effects work in the same direction, with the general result that the PBC probability is lower under centralization when decentralization also involves PBC. Welfare analysis shows that voters tend to be better off when the PBC probability is lower, so voters prefer centralization when decentralization involves PBC. Our results are robust to a number of changes in the specification of the model.

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Kwon Osung

Fiscal Decentralization: an Effective Tool for Government Reform?

in *Public Administration*, Volume 91, Issue 3 , 544–560

The theory of fiscal federalism asserts that fiscal decentralization increases government effectiveness, reduces government budgets, and reduces corruption when used as a means of government reform. However, counter-arguments have been made that such an approach has diverging effects according to the level of national development. We have attempted herein to carry out an empirical analysis to examine these theories. Data from 17 developed and 17 developing states were obtained in order to conduct a regression analysis of various indicators. The results revealed that fiscal decentralization reduced government effectiveness in developed countries. Important determinants for government effectiveness were the quality of regulation and the rule of law. When responsibility for expenditure and revenue were devolved, budgets expanded in both developed and developing countries. Fiscal decentralization deterred corruption in advanced states, whereas greater autonomy in spending increased malfeasance in the developing world.

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John Spasovejic, Malcolm Nicholas



Fiscal Equalisation in Australia

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, volume 72 n.3 , 316-29

Australia has a vertical imbalance between the revenue and spending powers of the Australian Government and the State governments and horizontal imbalances in the fiscal capacities of the States and Territories. The total revenue from the goods and services tax is provided to the States to reduce the vertical imbalance and it is distributed among them in a way that equalises their fiscal capacities. Fiscal equalisation in Australia is comprehensive, offsetting interstate differences in the capacity to raise revenue, the costs of providing services and the costs of acquiring the necessary infrastructure. The paper outlines the important features of the processes used to distribute the GST, the main factors causing differences in State and Territory fiscal capacities and some of the current issues surrounding inter-governmental financial relations in Australia.

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Seth B. Payton and Sheila Suess Kennedy

Fiscal Magic: Outsourcing and the Taxing Power

in *State and Local Government Review*, 45 (3) , 189-195

Some state and local governments in the United States are increasingly outsourcing services through third-party surrogates. In some instances, outsourcing is used as a mechanism to raise revenue to cover current deficits or pay for goods that would otherwise require increasing taxes. We argue that certain forms of outsourcing have been used to mask accountability for the levying fees that are substantively indistinguishable from taxes and thus shift tax burdens. We call for additional research to examine the shifting cost burden associated outsourcing deals and the increased challenge of maintaining public fiscal accountability.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Chortareas, Georgios

Fiscal Policy Rules in Monetary Unions

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, volume 36 n.1 , 85-104

This paper reviews some aspects of the literature on the design of fiscal policy rules in monetary unions. We consider the theoretical rationale that motivates the need for imposing fiscal policy rules in the context of a monetary union. Then we analyze mechanisms (other than rules) that can potentially enhance fiscal discipline. We discuss the recent thinking and practice on numerical fiscal policy rules and on fiscal policy rules as they emerge from the optimizing behavior of fiscal and monetary authorities in a monetary union.

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Yanis Varoufakis

From Contagion to Incoherence towards a Model of the Unfolding Eurozone Crisis



in **Contributions to Political Economy**, volume 32 n.1 , 51-71

Based on an account of the macroeconomic foundations and political economy underpinning European Monetary Union, this paper presents a simple dynamic model of the mutual reinforcement feedback between (i) the Eurozone's contagion dynamic and (ii) the policy responses of the European Union, including the creation of new institutions (e.g. the European Financial Stability Facility, EFSF, and European Stability Mechanism, ESM), the signing of new treaties (e.g. the Fiscal Pact) and, of course, the novel policies of existing institutions (e.g. the ECB).

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Biasi Barbara

Healthcare and federalism. A political economy approach

in **Rivista di politica economica**, Year 2012, Number 10-12 , 39-78

No abstract available

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

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How Much Would US Style Fiscal Integration Buffer European Unemployment and Income Shocks? (A Comparative Empirical Analysis)

in **American Economic Review**, Vol. 103 No. 3, May 2013

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

Dario Immordino

I debiti commerciali di Regioni ed enti locali: genesi ed evoluzione di una patologia del federalismo fiscale

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 1 , 145-174

No abstract available

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

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De Nes Matteo

I fabbisogni standard nell'impianto del federalismo fiscale e nella c.d. spending review, anche in considerazione della revisione dell'imu per il 2013.

in **Federalismi**, Anno XI - Nr 12

Tra le considerazioni conclusive dell'ultima relazione semestrale della Commissione parlamentare per l'attuazione del



federalismo fiscale, approvata il 22 gennaio... (segue)

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

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Giorgio Brosio, Stefano Piperno

Il difficile cammino dell'autonomia tributaria regionale e locale in Italia: un modello interpretativo
in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 2/2013 , 249-81

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

Claudia Ferretti, Letizia ravagli, Nicola Sciclone

Il dimensionamento dell'organico docente: una proposta di riparto tra le Regioni
in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 3/2013 , 395-423

No abstract available

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

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Scarpone Davide

Il federalismo fiscale a quattro anni dalla legge delega: l'enigma dei costi standard
in *Federalismi*, Anno XI - Nr 16

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

Ornella Porchia

Il ruolo della Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea nella governance economica europea
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 593-611

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

Buglione Enrico

Il ruolo delle Regioni nella finanza pubblica: quali prospettive?
in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, numero : 1-2, marzo-giugno , 127-132



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

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Ilke Adam

Immigrant Integration Policies of the Belgian Regions: Sub-state Nationalism and Policy Divergence after Devolution

in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 23 n.5 , 547-69

For almost a decade now, there has been a debate among scholars of regional and federal studies about how to explain policy evolution after devolution. Surprisingly, this literature has attached little importance to the policy impact of sub-state nationalism. This article assesses existent institutionalist and societal hypotheses in the case of immigrant integration policy divergence in Belgium after devolution. This empirical test shows that although several of these hypotheses yield valuable insights in explaining integration policy divergence in Belgium, they have difficulties in accounting for a striking feature of this policy divergence, i.e. the different interventionism regarding the cultural dimension of the integration process. This article argues that sub-state nationalism, and in particular the differing degrees of regional government involvement in sub-state nation building, provides explanatory insight into how policy frames diverge.

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Buchholz Wolfgang, Haupt Alexander, Peters Wolfgang

International Environmental Agreements, Fiscal Federalism, and Constitutional Design

in Review of International Economics, Volume 21, Issue 4, September 2013 , 705–718

In this paper, we analyze how the prospect of international negotiations over trans-boundary pollution shapes intracountry transfer schemes when the governments of the countries' polluting regions are in charge of environmental policy and negotiations. Federal governments can implement compensation payments between domestic regions and matching grants prior to the international negotiations between the polluting regions. The subgame-perfect transfer schemes fail to fully internalize the environmental externality, leading to an inefficient international environmental agreement. As the international spillover increases, the intracountry compensation rates increase while the matching rates decline, distorting the incentives for the regional governments in opposing directions. We also show that decentralization of environmental decision making arises endogenously.

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Coughlin Cletus C., Novy Dennis

Is the International Border Effect Larger than the Domestic Border Effect? Evidence from US Trade

in CESifo Economic Studies, Volume 59 Issue 2 June 2013 , 249-276



Many studies have found that international borders represent large barriers to trade. But how do international borders compare to domestic border barriers? We investigate international and domestic border barriers in a unified framework. We consider a data set of exports from individual US states to foreign countries and combine it with trade flows between and within US states. After controlling for distance and country size, we estimate that relative to state-to-state trade, crossing an individual US state's domestic border appears to entail a larger trade barrier than crossing the international US border. Due to the absence of governmental impediments to trade within the United States, this result is surprising. We interpret it as highlighting the concentration of economic activity and trade flows at the local level.

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María Antonia Calvo Hornero

La arquitectura económica y financiera de la UEM y los efectos de la crisis

in **Cuadernos europeos de Deusto**, no. 49 , 91-108

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

Elisa Bertolini

La nuova dimensione della sovranità dei Parlamenti nazionali in materia finanziaria e di bilancio

in **Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, no. 1 , 135-168

The article tries to reshape a new dimension of parliamentary sovereignty in budgetary matters after the ratification of the two international treaties - the ESM Treaty and the Treaty, on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union - founding the new economic governance of the euro zone. The common feature they share is a substantial reduction of the national Parliaments sovereignty. In order to affirm parliamentary sovereignty, both treaties have been directly challenged in front of some Constitutional/Supreme Courts: the ESM Treaty in Ireland, Estonia and Germany, while the Fiscal Compact in France and Germany (while two appeals against the ESM Treaty are still pending in Austria and Poland). The author analyses the German, the Irish and the Estonian decisions to point out how the Courts deal with the issue of parliamentary sovereignty and whether they try to balance the loss of sovereignty with the strengthening of other parliamentary powers. Then the author discusses which constitutional body should be the more suitable to protect parliamentary sovereignty, whether the Constitutional/Supreme Court or Parliament itself. Finally the author tries to identify the new content of parliamentary sovereignty in budgetary matters and that should be a more strict control on the executive power and a strengthening of the information rights of Parliaments towards both the executive and the international bodies.

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David Delgado ramos

La reciente constitucionalización de la estabilidad presupuestaria. ¿Una reforma necesaria?

in **Revista de derecho politico**, n. 87 , 317-352



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

Eva Sáenz Royo

La responsabilidad de gasto y de ingreso en el Estado autonómico: propuestas de mejora desde la perspectiva comparada

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, no. 17 , 184-220

Després de més de trenta anys d'Estat autonòmic i tenint en compte la greu situació en què es troba l'economia espanyola, potser és el moment de plantejar noves fórmules que permetin un Estat autonòmic més eficient, on la demanda i l'oferta dels béns i els serveis públics regionals es portin a terme d'una manera més responsable. Aquest és el marc d'aquest article, on es realitza, des d'una perspectiva de dret comparat, una anàlisi crítica de les responsabilitats de despeses i ingressos en el nostre Estat autonòmic. Pel que fa a la responsabilitat de la despesa, es posa en evidència la imprecisió del nostre sistema i l'escàs desenvolupament doctrinal i jurisprudencial que existeix en el nostre Estat autonòmic, a diferència d'altres estats federals. D'altra banda, després d'una anàlisi des d'una perspectiva comparada de la responsabilitat dels ingressos en el nostre Estat autonòmic, es destaquen alguns dels principals inconvenients que té el nostre sistema de finançament autonòmic i, finalment, es fan propostes de millora tendents a aprofundir en la responsabilitat fiscal de les comunitats autònomes.

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Giacomo DelleDonne

Le Corti costituzionali nazionali di fronte alle trasformazioni dell'Unione economica e monetaria: consonanze e dissonanze fra Karlsruhe e la rue de Montpensier

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 1 , 190-199

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

Carlino Gerald A., Inman Robert P.

Local deficits and local jobs: Can US states stabilize their own economies?

in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 60, Issue 5, July 2013 , 517-530

Using a sample of the 48 mainland US states for the period 1973–2009, we study the ability of US states to expand their own state employment through the use of state deficit policies. The analysis allows for the facts that US states are part of a wider monetary and economic union with free factor mobility across all states and that state residents and firms may purchase goods from “neighboring” states. Those purchases may generate economic spillovers across neighbors. Estimates suggest that states can increase their own state employment by increasing their own deficits. There is evidence of spillovers to employment in neighboring states defined by common cyclical patterns among state economies. For large states, aggregate spillovers to its economic neighbors are approximately two-thirds of the large



state's job growth. Because of significant spillovers and possible incentives to free-ride, there is a potential case to actively coordinate (i.e., centralize) the management of stabilization policies. Finally, the job effects of a temporary increase in state own deficits persist for at most one to two years, and there is evidence of a negative impact on state jobs when these deficits are scheduled for repayment.

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Marie-Laure Breuilléa, Skerdilajda Zanaj

Mergers in fiscal federalism

in **Journal of Public Economics**, volume 105 , 11-22

We analyze how the merger of regions affects capital tax competition in a two-tier territorial organization where both regions and cities share the same mobile tax base. We identify three effects generated by the merger of regions that impact, either directly or indirectly, both regional and local tax choices: i) an alleviation of tax competition at the regional level, ii) a scale effect in the provision of regional public goods, and iii) a larger internalization of vertical tax externalities generated by cities. We show that the merger of regions always increases regional tax rates while decreasing local tax rates. These results are robust to a change in the timing of the game.

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Cebula Richard J.

New and Current Evidence on Determinants of Aggregate Federal Personal Income Tax Evasion in the United States

in **American Journal of Economics and Sociology**, Volume 72, Issue 3, July 2013 , 701-731

Using the most current data available, this study seeks to identify any new as well as traditional determinants of personal income tax evasion. A variety of empirical estimates find that income tax rates, the IRS audit rate and IRS penalty interest rates, and the unemployment rate all influence tax evasion. In addition, rarely investigated variables including the tax-free interest rate, the public's job approval rating of the president, and the public's dissatisfaction with government, along with previously unstudied variables, namely, the real interest rate yield on Moody's Baa-rated long-term corporate bonds and the real interest rate yield on three-year Treasury notes, also affect income tax evasion.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Berglund Tom Patrik

Optimal jurisdiction of financial supervision

in **Journal of Financial Economic Policy**, Volume 5 issue 4 , pp. 405 - 412

Purpose – This paper aims to discuss factors that affect the socially optimal jurisdiction of financial supervision in the presence of economies of scale in banking.

Design/methodology/approach – Analysis of the trade-off between likelihood of “regulatory capture” of supervisors in a small jurisdictions and benefits of greater rates of financial innovation in a less-bureaucratized and more diverse



supervisory organization.

Findings – The challenge is to create a financial supervisory institution that should be powerful enough to close down even the largest financial institutions within its jurisdiction, while at the same time not becoming so large and omnipotent that it would stifle further development of firms in financial services.

Research limitations/implications – Deeper understanding of minimum efficient scales in financial intermediation required, and of regulatory capture vs efficient information acquisition from regulated units.

Practical implications – Basis for international (regional) cooperation in facilitating efficient delivery of financial services, in particular in smaller countries.

Originality/value – Developments in information technology have fundamentally changed the ways financial intermediaries operate paving the way for giant units that in key areas are able to outcompete smaller business units. The financial crisis that started in 2008 revealed that these large and interconnected organizations are in a position to extract implicit subsidies from the rest of the society. The organization of financial supervision must adapt to these changing conditions.

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Giuseppe Marotta

Perchè l'Unione monetaria implica l'Unione bancaria

in **Mulino (il)**, n.6

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

Andrew Sammik

Policy Forum: A Decade of Reckoning— Fiscal Policy Challenges in the United States

in **Canadian Tax Journal**, volume 61 n.2 , 413-424

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

Benge Matt, Pallot Marie, Slack Hamish

Possible lessons for the US from New Zealand's GST

in **National Tax Journal**, volume 66 n.2 , 479-98

New Zealand's broad-based GST has often been suggested as a desirable model for a value added tax. This paper explains how New Zealand's GST works and discusses how its broad-based approach came about, why this has been acceptable in New Zealand when it has not been in many other countries, and outlines what we see as problem areas of the tax.



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Bodet Marc André

**Representation at the margins The impact of governing parties on spending in Canada
in Party Politics**, Volume 19, Number 4, July , 665-682

This article tests the role of governing parties in budgetary policy in Canada. Using federal expenditure data in policy domains related to defence, economic and social policies, we estimate party effects on government spending since 1965. Results suggest that, holding other variables constant, a partisan effect exists in most policy domains under study. Furthermore, multipartyism tends to impact the role of parties in public spending.

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Mazzanti Massimiliano, Zoboli Roberto

**Resource taxation and regional planning: revenue recycling for local sustainability in the aggregates sector
in Journal of Environmental Planning and Management**, Volume 56, Issue 6 , 893-916

We address the possible outcomes of combining environmental taxes and environmental planning in managing non-renewable resources such as aggregates. We empirically investigate resource taxation issues by focusing on aggregate extraction policy in two large northern Italian regions, Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna. The evidence shows that environmental planning, in addition to economic instruments, is needed to shape and monitor environmental policies. We highlight that the complementarity of land use planning and economic instruments can be a key driver of sustainability performances. The unintended effects of economic instruments are also crucial.

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Päivi Leino-Sandberg and Janne Salminen

**Should the Economic and Monetary Union Be Democratic After All? Some Reflections on the Current Crisis
in German Law Journal**, vol. 14, issue 7 , 844-868

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

Eichler Stefan, Hofmann Michael

**Sovereign default risk and decentralization: Evidence for emerging markets
in European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 32, December 2013 , Pages 113-134

We study the impact of decentralization on sovereign default risk. Theory predicts that decentralization deteriorates fiscal discipline since subnational governments undertax/overspend, anticipating that, in the case of overindebtedness,



the federal government will bail them out. We analyze whether investors account for this common pool problem by attaching higher sovereign yield spreads to more decentralized countries. Using panel data on up to 30 emerging markets in the period 1993–2008 we confirm this hypothesis. Higher levels of fiscal and political decentralization increase sovereign default risk. Moreover, higher levels of intergovernmental transfers and a larger number of veto players aggravate the common pool problem.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Alexander Libman, Lars P. Feld

Strategic Tax Collection and Fiscal Decentralization: The Case of Russia

in **German Economic Review**, volume 14 n.4 , 449-82

In a centralized federation, in which tax rates and taxation rules are set by the federal government, manipulating the thoroughness of tax auditing and the effectiveness of tax collection could be attractive for regional authorities. In this article, we test for strategic tax collection empirically using data of the Russian Federation. Russia's regional authorities in the 1990s have always been suspected of tax auditing manipulations in their favour. However, in the 2000s, increasing bargaining power of the centre seems to induce tax collection bodies in the regions to manipulate tax auditing in favour of the federal centre. Our findings confirm the existence of strategic tax collection for the Yeltsin period; the results for the Putin period are however ambiguous.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Pierre Corsette

Tax Law Practice, from Yesterday to Tomorrow

in **Canadian Tax Journal**, volume 63 suppl , 45-57

The author presents his thoughts on the evolution of tax law practice over the last 30 years, as well as on the challenges that practitioners are now facing. Given the particular character of tax laws and their economic and policy objectives, he reviews important changes that have occurred with respect to both the courts and the Income Tax Act. He also discusses contributing factors, explaining important legislative amendments and the constant intervention of the courts to review interpretation rules applicable in the context of tax laws. Finally, the author presents his views on how tax law practice should continue to evolve in future years.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Paolo Liberati, Agnese Sacchi

Tax decentralization and local government size

in **Public Choice**, volume 157 n.1/2 , 183-205

This paper investigates the relationship between fiscal federalism and the sizes of local governments. While many empirical studies emphasized that grants encourage the growth of local public spending and local taxes constrain it, they are more silent regarding the effects of different types of tax autonomy. The paper addresses this issue by arguing that



tax decentralization as organized on tax bases used only by local governments (tax-separation), rather than on tax-base sharing, would restrain local public expenditures. Using an unbalanced panel of OECD countries, the key finding is that only property taxes—mostly based on a “tax-separation” scheme—seem to favor smaller local governments. Thus, while tax decentralization is a necessary condition for limiting the growth of local governments, it does not appear sufficient, as tax-separation schemes among government levels would in fact be required.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Daniel Shaviro

The Bucket and Buffett Approaches to Raising Taxes on High-Income US Individuals

in *Canadian Tax Journal*, volume 61 n.2 , 425-434

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

Peter Robinson, Tess Farrelly

The Evolution of Australia's Intergovernmental Financial Relations Framework

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, volume 72 n.3 , 304-15

The paper discusses the evolution of Australia's intergovernmental financial relations framework, including developments under Australia's Constitution, and analyses intergovernmental financial transactions under the framework. The methods used to address vertical fiscal imbalance (VFI) and horizontal equity in Australia are discussed and quantitative data on spending across Australian Governments are presented. VFI and horizontal equity are also examined from a historical viewpoint. Finally, some current issues and potential future developments impacting on the distribution of revenue between Australian governments are briefly canvassed.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Antonella Gagliano

The Introduction of the “Balanced Budget” Principle into the Italian Constitution: What Perspectives for the Financial Autonomy of Regional and Local Governments?

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 5, issue 1 , E79-E96

This paper analyses the impact on regional and local authorities of Articles 117 and 119 of the Italian Constitution (hereafter referred to as “IC”) as amended by Constitutional Law no. 1/2012.

In particular, it attempts to verify whether the new formulation of these constitutional provisions materializes the risk of a significant reduction in the financial autonomy of both Regions and Local Governments.

With the constitutional reform the legislative competence of “harmonization of public account” has become an exclusive State competence, the “balanced budget” principle has been extended to Regions and local authorities and public borrowing has been broadly prohibited.

What is the actual significance of the changes introduced by Constitutional Law no. 1/2012 for the financial autonomy of



Italian sub-national authorities?

Is it time to recognise that the goals of financial independence of Italian fiscal federalism, launched by the reform of Title V of the IC, must give way to a new organization of public finance, where a central role is played by the central government in order to comply with the financial constraints arising from new challenges of the European economic integration process?

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Kenneth Armstrong

The New Governance of EU Fiscal Discipline

in *European Law Review*, vol. 38, issue 5 , 601-617

The European Union has recently adopted two packages of legislative measures with a view to strengthening EU economic governance. In particular, attempts have been made to tighten fiscal discipline and to secure reforms to domestic fiscal frameworks. Rhetorically, these reforms have been framed by the explicit or implicit juxtaposition of, on the one hand, a return or revival of rules-based governance through the so-called “Community method”, and on the other, the alleged failures or weaknesses of economic governance through policy coordination under the “open method”. This article suggests an alternative reading of the reforms based on three connected claims. The first is that rules-based governance itself is not monopolised by the legislative activity associated with the Community method. Indeed, there is a pluralisation in the sources and sites of normativity, with extra-EU legal solutions also being sought. The second claim is that rules-based and co-ordination-based forms of EU governance are not locked into a zero-sum relationship in which whatever is gained by one is lost by the other. Indeed, the technique of policy co-ordination—exemplified by mechanisms of reporting and monitoring—has been diffused and intensified in the packages of reforms, with the “European semester” emerging as the key framework for the co-ordination of coordination. The third claim is that rules-based and co-ordination-based forms of governance do not merely co-exist but interact in ways that produce a “hybrid” governance architecture. Through an exploration of reforms to domestic fiscal frameworks, these claims are advanced and evidenced.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Timmons Jeffrey F., Broid Daniel

The Political Economy of Municipal Transfers: Evidence from Mexico

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 4, Fall , 551-579

How do fiscal institutions, partisanship, and governance affect federal transfers to municipalities? We address this question using a novel research design and data set for Mexico. We compare the state-level obligations for federal transfers to municipalities with the distribution of these funds as reported by municipalities. This strategy allows us to know whether state-level formulas are binding, whether there are partisan skews in the formula, and how and why governors reallocate funds. We find that state-level fiscal institutions are quite binding; even so, deviations from the formula total approximately US\$300–500 million annually. Whereas Partido Revolucionario Institucional governors appear to reallocate to municipalities when they are governed by their co-partisans, Partido Acción Nacional and Partido de la Revolución Democrática governors appear to reallocate funds to municipalities for equity, stabilization, and disasters (with no detectable partisan bias).



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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Sean Mueller and Soeren Keil

The Territoriality of Fiscal Solidarity: Comparing Swiss Equalisation with European Union Structural Funding in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 5, issue 1 , E122-E148

This article theorises the territorial solidarity and fiscal federalism and compares Switzerland with the European Union. While inter-territorial solidarity is a prerequisite for legitimate fiscal equalisation, such equalisation in turn also contributes to the legitimacy of and solidarity within federal political systems. By cutting across territorial and ethno-national communities, fiscal transfers often contribute to both a “civic” sense of belonging and a “cosmopolitan” identity. After placing types and degrees of (inter-)territorial solidarity at the heart of our conceptual perspective, we discuss the effects of such solidarity through an analysis of two different forms of “federal” equalisation. Comparing the recently reformed Swiss fiscal equalisation system with the EU structural funds allows us to infer if, and how, the fiscal dimension of federalism matters for feelings of solidarity, reciprocity, unity and, ultimately, for the legitimacy of the very (nation-state or Union) structures that are to contribute to the ever-growing prosperity and happiness of their people(s). In Switzerland, a civic understanding of nationhood and cross-cutting cleavages were necessary conditions for extensive, effective and legitimate fiscal equalisation. We infer that, for the EU, this means that strengthening the equalisation component of the structural funds would contribute to an ever closer Union in a political sense: because fiscal equalisation and inter-territorial solidarity are interdependent, reinforcing the one also means cementing the other. Future studies of the EU and federal-type arrangements are advised to pay more explicit attention to the solidarity-element of territoriality – or the territoriality of (fiscal) solidarity.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Sieg Holger, Wang Yu

The impact of unions on municipal elections and urban fiscal policies in Journal of Monetary Economics, Volume 60, Issue 5, July 2013 , 554-567

The efficient decentralized provision of public goods requires that special interest groups, such as municipal unions, do not exercise undue influence on the outcome of municipal elections and local fiscal policies. We develop a new political economy model in which a union can endorse one of the candidates in a local election. A politician that prefers an inefficiently large public sector can, therefore, win an election if the union can provide sufficiently strong support during the campaign. We have assembled a unique data set that is based on union endorsements that are published in leading local newspapers. Our empirical analysis focuses on municipal elections in the 150 largest cities in the U.S. between 1990 and 2012. We find that challengers strongly benefit from endorsements in competitive elections. Challengers that receive union endorsements and successfully defeat an incumbent also tend to adopt more union friendly fiscal policies.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Christian Bjørnskov, Niklas Potrafke

The size and scope of government in the US states: does party ideology matter?



in **International Tax and Public Finance**, volume 20 n.4 , 687-714

We investigate empirically how party ideology influences size and scope of government as measured by the size of government, tax structure and labor market regulation. Our dataset comprises 49 US states over the 1993–2009 period. We employ the new data on the ideological mapping of US legislatures by Shor and McCarty (*Am. Polit. Sci. Rev.* 105(3):530–551, 2011) that considers spatial and temporal differences in Democratic and Republican Party ideology. We distinguish between three types of divided government: overall divided government, proposal division and approval division. The main result suggests that Republican governors have been more active in deregulating labor markets. We find that ideology-induced policies were counteracted under overall divided government and proposal division.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Michael Koetter, Michael Wedow

Transfer Payments without Growth: Evidence for German Regions, 1992–2005

in **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, volume 37 n.4 , 1438-55

After German reunification, interregional subsidies accounted for approximately 4% of gross fixed capital investment in the new federal states (i.e. those which were formerly part of the German Democratic Republic). We show that, between 1992 and 2005, infrastructure and corporate investment subsidies had a negative net impact on regional economic growth and convergence. This result is robust to both the specification of spatially weighted control variables and the use of instrumental variable techniques to control for the endogeneity of subsidies. Our results suggest that regional redistribution was ineffective, potentially due to a lack of spatial concentration to create growth poles

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Eyraud Luc, Lusinyan Lusine

Vertical fiscal imbalances and fiscal performance in advanced economies

in **Journal of Monetary Economics**, Volume 60, Issue 5, July 2013 , 571-587

The paper examines empirically, using a measure of “vertical fiscal imbalances” (VFI), the relationship between overall fiscal performance and the financing structure of subnational governments. It presents stylized facts regarding the size, evolution, and components of measured VFI using data from 28 OECD countries. On average, the general government fiscal balance is found to improve by 1 percent of GDP for each 10 percentage point reduction in VFI.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Valentino Larcinese, Leonzio Rizzo, Cecilia Testa

Why Do Small States Receive More Federal Money? U.S. Senate Representation and the Allocation of Federal Budget

in **Economics and Politics**, volume 25 n.3 , 257-82



Empirical research on the geographic distribution of U.S. federal spending shows that small states receive disproportionately more dollars per capita. This evidence, often regarded as the consequence of Senate malapportionment, in reality conflates the effects of state population size with that of state population growth. Analyzing outlays for the period 1978–2002, this study shows that properly controlling for population dynamics provides more reasonable estimates of small-state advantage and solves a number of puzzling peculiarities of previous research. We also show that states with fast-growing population lose federal spending to the advantage of slow-growing ones independently of whether they are large or small. The two population effects vary substantially across spending programs. Small states enjoy some advantage in defense spending, whereas fast-growing ones are penalized in the allocation of federal grants, particularly those administered by formulas limiting budgetary adjustments. Hence, a large part of the inverse relationship between spending and population appears to be driven by mechanisms of budgetary inertia, which are compatible with incrementalist theories of budget allocation.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

R. Richard Geddesa, Benjamin L. Wagner

Why do U.S. states adopt public–private partnership enabling legislation?

in *Journal of Urban Economics*, volume 78 , 30-41

Public–private partnerships, or PPPs, have the potential to address a range of urban economic issues. As of late 2012, thirty-two U.S. states and Puerto Rico had enacted legislation enabling the use of PPPs. PPP enabling laws address such issues as the treatment of unsolicited PPP proposals, prior legislative approval of PPP contracts, and the mixing of public and private funds. We utilize 13 key elements of PPP enabling laws to develop an index reflecting the degree to which a state’s law is encouraging or discouraging of private infrastructure investment. We examine why states pass such laws, and why some states pass legislation that is relatively more favorable to private investment. We consider demand side, supply side, and political/institutional drivers of passage. Vehicle registration growth and greater traffic congestion both increase the likelihood of passage, as does political agreement between a state’s executive and legislative branches. Traffic congestion, growth in per-capita income, and the percent of Republicans in the state’s House of Representatives all increase a law’s favorability to private investment. There is little indication that traditional public finance variables, such as federal highway aid, affect the likelihood of passage or the favorability of a state’s PPP enabling law.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Greta Massa Gallerano

I federalismo demaniale tra crisi economica e riduzione del debito: verso la dismissione dei beni pubblici?

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 3 , 575-592

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)

Gabriel Caldas Montes, Caroline Cabral Machado



Credibility and the credit channel transmission of monetary policy theoretical model and econometric analysis for Brazil

in *Journal of Economic Studies*, volume 40 n.4 , 469-92

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to present a theoretical model and empirically verifies the transmission of monetary policy through the credit channel in Brazil. The study verifies if the monetary policy, the economic activity and the maturity of the inflation targeting regime affect the supply of credit.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper offers a review of the literature concerning inflation targeting credibility and the transmission mechanism of monetary policy through the credit channel, it develops a theoretical model based on Bernanke and Blinder and Ferreira and it seeks empirical evidence for the Brazilian economy using ordinary least squares, generalized method of moments and vector autoregressive.

Findings – The estimates indicate that the supply of credit is stimulated when the economy heats up, when the monetary authority reduces the interest rate and when the credibility increases. The evidence also indicate that the supply of credit is affected by the variables of the model, economic activity and employment are affected by monetary policy and the supply of credit exerts influence on both employment and output gap.

Research limitations/implications – An important implication of this study is that, in inflation targeting emerging economies, such as that of Brazil, following a committed monetary policy to price stability which increases the credibility of the regime of inflation targeting and promoting macroeconomic stability represents a good strategy for improving the volume of lending to the private sector, thus stimulating economic activity and employment. What the findings do indicate is that developing credibility is crucial for emerging economies that are trying to grow, but with inflation being kept under control.

Originality/value – The paper presents the following theoretical and empirical contributions: the model incorporates the effect that the credibility of the inflation targeting regime has on the supply of credit and, the econometric approach provides evidence that the monetary policy, the economic activity and the process of anchoring of inflation expectations affect the supply of credit in Brazil. Moreover, the paper finds evidence that the credit channel acts as a transmission mechanism of monetary policy to the economy.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Paul De Grauwe, Yuemei Ji

Fiscal Implications of the ECB's Bond Buying Program

in *Open Economies Review*, volume 24 n.5 , 843-52

The perception that the government bond buying program (OMT) announced by the ECB may lead to future tax burdens on countries, in particular on Germany, is based on an erroneous application of solvency principles that apply to private agents, but not to central banks. We argue that the creditor nations' taxpayers, in particular the German taxpayers, will receive tax revenue from the implementation of the OMT. We also measure the size of the bond-buying program that is



compatible with price stability. It turns out that this estimate critically depends on whether the Eurozone stays in a liquidity trap situation or not. Today, as the Eurozone is still in a liquidity trap there is no limit to the amount of government bonds the ECB can buy without triggering inflation.

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Antonio Di Marco

Il controllo delle banche nell'UEM: la (problematica) nascita di un sistema integrato di vigilanza prudenziale in Diritto dell'Unione europea, n. 3 , 549-592

No abstract available

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Carlo Rosa

Market efficiency broadcasted live: ECB code words and euro exchange rates in Journal of Macroeconomics, volume 38 , 167-78

This paper examines the impact of the European Central Bank (ECB) monetary policy on euro exchange rate returns using an event study with intraday data for five currencies (the euro exchange rate versus the US dollar, the British pound, the Canadian dollar, the Swiss franc, and the Japanese yen). I construct two indicators of news about monetary policy stemming separately from policy decisions and the press conference. Estimation results show that the surprise component of communication has highly statistically significant effects on exchange rates, whereas the response of euro exchange rates to the unanticipated change in the policy rate is more muted. I also estimate the financial market impact on euro exchange rates of US, European and German macroeconomic news, and I show that the impact of the ECB press conference is economically important. The process of fully incorporating the ECB news shock takes about 1 h, and thus this result suggests that the whole press conference (both the Introductory Statement and the Q&A part) provides valuable information to market participants.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Cassola, Nuno; Hortaçsu, Ali; Kastl, Jakob

The 2007 Subprime Market Crisis Through the Lens of European Central Bank Auctions for Short-Term Funds

in *Econometrica*, volume 81 n.4 , 1309-45

We study European banks' demand for short-term funds (liquidity) during the summer 2007 subprime market crisis. We use bidding data from the European Central Bank's auctions for one-week loans, their main channel of monetary policy implementation. Our analysis provides a high-frequency, disaggregated perspective on the 2007 crisis, which was previously studied through comparisons of collateralized and uncollateralized interbank money market rates which do not capture the heterogeneous impact



of the crisis on individual banks. Through a model of bidding, we show that banks' bids reflect their cost of obtaining short-term funds elsewhere (e.g., in the interbank market) as well as a strategic response to other bidders. The strategic response is empirically important: while a naïve interpretation of the raw bidding data may suggest that virtually all banks suffered an increase in the cost of short-term funding, we find that, for about one third of the banks, the change in bidding behavior was simply a strategic response. We also find considerable heterogeneity in the short-term funding costs among banks: for over one third of the bidders, funding costs increased by more than 20 basis points, and funding costs vary widely with respect to the country-of-origin. The funding costs we estimate using bidding data are also predictive of market- and accounting-based measures of bank performance, reinforcing the usefulness of "revealed preference" information contained in bids

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Matthew Roskrug **Arthur Grimes** **Philip McCann** **Jacques Poot** **Matthew Roskrug**

Homeownership, Social Capital and Satisfaction with Local Government

in Urban Studies, volume 50 n.12 , 2517-34

Prior studies suggest that homeownership positively impacts on social capital formation. However, many studies find it difficult to control adequately for selection effects in the form of factors, some of which may be unobserved, that encourage both homeownership and investment in social capital by households. A biennial survey conducted in New Zealand cities provides data that enable the control of such selection effects with propensity score matching methods, while also benchmarking the results by means of regression methods. The results confirm that homeownership exerts positive impacts on the formation of social capital. At the same time, homeownership demands greater accountability of local government and leads to reduced satisfaction with local government performance, thereby negatively impacting on community social capital. Hence these two dimensions of housing-related social capital work in opposite directions from each other, a finding which has not been previously observed.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Falc-Gimeno, Albert; Verge, Tnia

Coalition Trading in Spain: Explaining State-wide Parties' Government Formation Strategies at the Regional Level

in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 23 n.4 , 387-405

In compounded polities, political parties need to co-ordinate their governing strategies across the central and the regional tiers of government. The coalition game is also more complex in these contexts, especially for the state-wide parties (SWP) that alternate in central office, as their need for cohesiveness across party levels is higher and the quest for vertical congruence across institutional levels is more pressing. This article aims at identifying the influence of the SWP situation at the central level on their government formation strategies at the regional level. By examining the Spanish case, we show that multi-level dynamics provide parties with incentives to trade government formation strategies at different levels. Particularly, when the SWP in the central government has a minority status, parliamentary



support is more likely to be given to the investiture of non-state-wide parties (NSWP) in those regions where the latter are stronger. Furthermore, we observe that, as political decentralization advanced, SWP seem to have been more inclined to adopt co-operative behaviour towards NSWP. Overall, our findings suggest that SWP's strategies are not simply interconnected across levels but rather regional government formation decisions are hierarchically subject to central-level considerations.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Hrnstrm, Lisa

Strong Regions within the Unitary State: The Nordic Experience of Regionalization

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.4 , 427-443

The regional level has traditionally had a weak position in the administrative system in all the Nordic countries. New developments in territorial governance throughout Europe characterized by a stronger regional role have found their way to the Nordic countries. The view of actors in peripheral Nordic regions can be labelled redistributive regionalism which implies that the actors' claims for a stronger role for the regional level must be understood in the context of the unitary state. The idea of a stronger regional level is embraced but has to be adapted to national characteristics, the unitary state and the traditionally strong role of local government, and to the various conditions of each region.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Juhola Sirkku

Adaptation to climate change in the private and the third sector: case study of governance of the Helsinki Metropolitan region

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 31, Issue 5, October , 911-925

Cities and metropolitan regions are increasingly becoming key locations within which adaptation to climate change is taking place. New modes of governance arrangements are also emerging in cities, and these enable new actors to engage in decision making. In this paper I discuss governance of adaptation in Helsinki. On the basis of empirical data from the private and the third sector, I show how the governance of adaptation is organised within the metropolitan region and, more specifically, what policy instruments are used and what objectives these measures have. The findings suggest that whilst challenges of vertical governance of adaptation remain, there are also challenges in terms of horizontal governance of adaptation.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Susan Ostrander

Agency and initiative by community associations in relations of shared governance: between civil society and local state

in *Community Development Journal*, volume 48 n.4 , 511-524



This paper argues for the importance of emphasizing the agency and the initiative of community voluntary associations in relations of shared governance with the local state. This is intended to counter what the author sees as a current over emphasis on government-initiated, -directed, -guided or -administered forms of collaboration. Dangers documented by other scholars of this kind of collaborative governance include cooptation, placation, lack of real authority, absence of diversity and overall lack of parity with government. Based on a larger qualitative study of a mid-sized city near Boston, MA, the paper describes associations which choose to act (i) in opposition to local government as a path towards parity in shared governance, and (ii) in parallel with but separate from local government as a way to influence that government. The author argues that when associations exercise their agency to choose when and how to work with government (and when not to), this preserves associational independence while at the same time allowing for beneficial forms of state-associational engagement.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Torre Angelo, Tigrino Vittorio

Beni comuni e località: una prospettiva storica

in **Ragion Pratica**, numero 2, dicembre 2013 , 333-346

Nowadays neo-institutionalism encounters a great success in historiography, and indeed provides new categories of analysis for the history of the commons. Nevertheless, the article calls into question the neo-institutional approach particularly by focusing on the local dimension of the social action in order to identify new subjects of investigation and new analytical tools for understanding and interpreting the management of the common resources. First, the article suggests the existence of a great number of social groups that operate in the Ancien Régime local politics and that are able to «produce locality» through ritual practices (customs) of resources' redistribution (commons). Then the article puts forward a different research hypothesis, alternative to the neo-institutional one: this theoretical proposal, advanced for the first time in Italy in the Nineties, encourages multidisciplinary research methods for the analysis of the modalities of use and activation of natural resources, in order to point out the fact that the commons are a social and local product.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Shey Jane E, Belis David

Building a municipal food policy regime in Minneapolis: implications for urban climate governance

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 31, Issue 5, October , 893-910

With this paper we analyze Minneapolis's urban food policy regime and attempt to make a case for applying urban regime theory (URT) to study climate change governance at the municipal level. In 2008 Minneapolis launched Homegrown Minneapolis, a multiple stakeholder initiative bringing together local government actors, businesses, and NGOs to build a sustainable and local food system. As the link between food systems and climate change is increasingly acknowledged in the literature, the analysis of food policy regimes provides valuable lessons for understanding the dynamics of urban climate governance. Theoretically, we attempt to contribute to the fields of urban climate governance and urban political theory by applying URT as developed by urban political theorist Clarence N Stone and others. To this end, a 'building blocks' approach is introduced, facilitating and enhancing the analysis of the



different elements of a regime, including initiation, coalition building, agenda setting, resources, cooperation, and consensus building. We show that there are several key elements comprising successful regimes: individual political leadership, knowledge exchange, and community-wide collaborative engagement.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Charles Conteh

Changing Trends in Regional Economic Development Policy Governance: The Case of Northern Ontario, Canada

in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, volume 37 n.4 , 1419-37

This article analyses the changing trends in regional economic development policy delivery in multilevel governance systems. Although the imperatives of coordination of public policy interventions across multiple levels has generally been recognized, not enough attention has been given to how different political systems actually adapt their institutional and policy designs to effectively operate in the emergent complexity of multilevel governance systems. The article focuses on regional economic development policy governance in the province of Ontario, Canada over the past three decades, drawing insights from new regionalism, organization theory and governance literature to examine the prospects and challenges of policy delivery in politically complex multilevel systems. The case study illustrates how regional economic development policy is increasingly dictated by complex environmental and institutional forces of multilevel governance that are shaped by the particular character of a political system

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

van Stigt Rien, Driessen Peter P. J., Spit Tejo J. M.

Compact City Development and the Challenge of Environmental Policy Integration: A Multi-Level Governance Perspective

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 23, Issue 4, July/August , 221-233

Sustainable urban development entails integration of environmental interests into decision-making at the local level. To achieve this, higher tiers of government may compel municipalities to explicitly consider environmental objectives or even prioritize them by demanding compliance with national standards, thus, at least theoretically, restricting local government's room to manoeuvre in balancing all relevant interests. This paper explores the extent to which national standards narrow the range of local options and what this means for sustainable urban development. Adopting a multi-level governance perspective on three cases of inner-city redevelopment, we find that environmental standards are either not problematically restrictive or, if they are, sectoral policy offers ways to circumvent them. From a sustainability perspective, this may lead to undesirable outcomes. A combination of approaches may solve this predicament.

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Guest Sarah, Howlett Michael

Comparative Climate Change Governance: Lessons from European Transnational Municipal Network Management Efforts

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 23, Issue 6, November-December , 341-353

Cities and municipalities are vital actors in addressing climate change. Because they are directly affected by the consequences of environmental transformations, cities are motivated to shape adaptation and mitigation. This paper looks at the possible mechanisms which cities can use to engage in climate change issues without decoupling themselves from the national or sub-national level and while remaining consistent with other local initiatives. The paper analyses the European approach towards transnational municipal networks (TMNs) and community collective efforts and assesses its possible application in other jurisdictions. We argue that while TMNs are the institutional foundation for a concerted effort in climate change within and between countries; they are also subject to provisions from national and regional governments, which might hamper their benefits. Based on a typology of TMNs and an analysis of the national contexts, the paper finds that those networks that target a specific region and are supported by government have the most benefits for climate change.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Dan Rysavy

Czech Counties after a Dozen Years of Regionalization: Continuity and Novelities after County Elections 2012
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.5 , 631-42

County elections 2012 in the Czech Republic displayed a mixture of continuity and novelities. Since 2000 four county elections have been mid-term elections and their results have supported second-order elections theory. The Civic Democratic Party of Va'clav Klaus, who was one of the biggest opponents of the introduction of decentralization, won the first county elections in 2000. After a dozen years, in 2012, the largest number of mandates was obtained by the Social Democrats and Communists. Together they formed nine of 13 county coalitions. The Communist Party became one of the main county government parties and the biggest parliamentary parties suffered losses.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Couture Nancy

De la confiance en soi à l'exercice de la citoyenneté. Présentation des résultats d'une consultation sur les effets de la gestion participative dans deux organismes communautaires de Québec

in *Nouvelles pratiques sociales*, Volume 25, numéro 2, printemps 2013

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



David García Sarubbi

Diálogo entre municipios y estados: principio de fuente constitucional

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, no. 28 , 103-139

States and municipalities are two actors of our constitutional federalism, both with a peculiar relationship of attachment in important decision whereas both holding, at the same time, spaces of autonomy protected by the Constitution; thus, state legislatures have power over the taxing power and the integration of municipalities, which, if misused, would certainly derail the desing of power fragmentation foreseen by our founding fathers; this paper explores a body of precedents built by the Supreme Court justifying a constitutional judicial review over these political decisions, which consists of different standards of judicial scrutiny by which to evaluate not the content of what is decided, but the processes of decision making and its assumptions; thus, the model is not to have a judicial power ruling on the merits of the law resulting from their normative relationship, but preoccupied by the openness of political channels, which give rise to those decisions.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

David Altman

Does an Active Use of Mechanisms of Direct Democracy Impact Electoral Participation? Evidence from the U.S. States and the Swiss Cantons

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 39, Issue 6 , 739-755

This article investigates the consequences that frequent uses of mechanisms of direct democracy have on electoral turnout, contrasting evidence from the Swiss cantons and states in the United States. It contributes to the existing literature in two senses. First, it constitutes the very first cross-national comparative study on the topic and, therefore, it allows for examination of hypotheses the literature previously advanced for single cases (mostly, but not wholly, confined to the U.S. and Switzerland). Second, in contrast to previous research, it delves into the world of direct democracy and shows that not all MDDs are the same, nor do they have the same political effects in terms of electoral participation. I demonstrate that the previous U.S.-based knowledge does not resist empirical testing when contrasted with Swiss evidence: active use of citizen-driven initiatives have no statistically significant effects on turnout. Nonetheless, voter turnout rates are significantly lower in states and cantons with more top-down measures on the ballot.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Sabet Daniel M.

El problema de la gobernanza municipal: el reto de la reforma policial en los municipios de México

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN LIII - NÚMERO 2

Since the mid-1990s, public officials have promoted reforms aimed at professionalizing the Mexican police force. Although significant progress has been made over the last 15 years, daily news reports of corruption and police inefficiency suggest that the improvements have not gone far enough. This article reflects on the failure of the reforms and their backers to produce more professional policing bodies, through a comparative analysis of the reforms



implemented in four Mexican municipalities. The causes of this failure point to a combination of formal and informal rules that create incentives that impede the development of a merit-based promotion system, the institutionalization of initiatives for municipal police reform and horizontal accountability.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

García-Sánchez Isabel-María, Rodríguez--Domínguez Luis, Frias-Aceituno José-Valeriano

Evolutions in E-governance: Evidence from Spanish Local Governments

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 23, Issue 5, September/October , 323-340

This paper analyzes the development of e-government, both as an overall process and in each of the three stages identified in the prior literature (e-government, e-governance and e-democracy) in order to determine the expansion of the use of e-government with the purpose of encouraging citizens' engagement and ability to obtain public services and exchange information with their government online.

The analysis has focused on 102 Spanish municipalities, which allow us a more homogeneous comparative analysis. First, we perform a content analysis of their web pages, based on an information index. Also, we undertake some descriptive analyses and graphical figures.

The results obtained demonstrate that Spanish municipalities show high information transparency in economic, environmental and social matters, allowing the undertaking of administrative proceedings online and actively promoting the participation of interest groups in strategic, sustainable and managerial issues. However, the Spanish legislation needs to regulate the development of local government e-administration in order to improve the current one-way e-participatory status towards a two-way relationship of mutual feedback and finally to a partner relationship between government and society. Also, the diversity in e-government development suggests that it is not theoretically adequate to consider it as an aggregate concept, requiring research to focus on particular applications in order to obtain useful insights.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Annette Aagaard Thuesen

Experiencing Multi-Level Meta-Governance

in Local Government Studies, Volume 39, Issue 4 , 600-623

This article analyses the outcome of dividing the meta-governor role among various levels of governance and describes local actors' experiences under multiple meta-governors. The empirical case presented here involves Danish local action groups in contemporary EU Rural Development and Fisheries programmes. This article takes its theoretical point of departure from the four types of meta-governance that Sørensen identified. The data analysed are derived from a survey sent to all Danish local action group board members and coordinators. The article demonstrates that authorities at the sub-national level in the context of multi-level meta-governance engage in various types of activities and identifies important differences between board members' and coordinators' perceptions of meta-governance.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)



John Harrison, Anna Growe

From places to flows? Planning for the new 'regional world' in Germany
in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, volume 21 n.1 , 21-41

Recent decades have been dominated by discourses describing a resurgence of regions. Yet despite its prominence the region remains a largely Delphian concept. In the period of new regionalist orthodoxy, for example, while it was recognized that regions take various forms, the normative claim that we were living in a 'regional world' became narrowly focused on regions as subnational political units. Nevertheless, the emergence of city-regions, cross-border regions, and European Metropolitan Regions is leading some scholars to suggest the formation in this century of a brave new 'regional world'. With economic, social and political activity increasingly orchestrated through regional spaces that cross-cut the territorial map that prevailed through much of the twentieth century, the literature is adorned with accounts advancing the theoretical and policy rationale for relational approaches to regions and regionalism. Yet far less has been written on the struggle to construct these spaces politically, thereby neglecting questions of territory and territorial politics. With this in mind, our paper draws on the experience of Germany to consider the political struggle to overcome the contradictions, overlaps, and competing tendencies that result from new regional spaces appearing alongside, rather than replacing, existing forms of state scalar organization. In particular, we observe how the Federal State is using the ambiguity of the regional concept to present territorial and relational approaches as complementary alternatives. The paper concludes by relating these findings to ongoing debates on how we, as 'regional' researchers, should approach the analysis of regions and regionalism; speculates on the degree to which they form progressive and effective spatial policies; and asks what lessons can be learnt about contemporary state spatiality more generally.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Jun Ma

Hidden Fiscal Risks in Local China

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, volume 72 n.3 , 278-92

Public debts as well as the fiscal risks associated with them have been a global concern for our time. This paper examines fiscal risks in China, particularly fiscal risks at the local (sub-national) government level. Under the current system of Chinese intergovernmental relations, local governments are precluded from borrowing and offering guarantees for any borrowing activity. However, almost all of them have become deeply involved in debt finance, mainly in the form of contingent liabilities. Although there will not be a debt crisis in China in the near future, certain risks are hidden in China's local debt. This article therefore recommends China reform its intergovernmental relations and formally grant authority to local governments to borrow so that they are subject to transparent debt market constraints.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Roberto Bin

Il nodo delle Province

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 5-6 , 899-911

No abstract available



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Setzer Joana, Biderman Rachel

Increasing participation in climate policy implementation: a case for engaging SMEs from the transport sector in the city of São Paulo

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 5, October , 806-821

In a number of cities around the world the adoption of climate policies has been driven by partnerships between multiple actors from the private sector, NGOs, and academia. With this paper we investigate the formulation and implementation processes of climate policy in the city of São Paulo, Brazil. We argue that the trend of multiactor and multilevel participation in climate policy making, detected in developed countries, can be observed in a major city from an emerging economy. We further argue that the ample engagement of actors driving the adoption of climate policies might not be reflected in policy implementation. Although São Paulo's Municipal Climate Law was adopted after a participatory process, small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) from the transport sector have been largely absent from its implementation. We propose four reasons for further involvement of SMEs and suggest that participation of relevant actors and sectors is necessary in both the formulation and the implementation of climate policies.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Boyd Emily, Ghosh Aditya

Innovations for enabling urban climate governance: evidence from Mumbai

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 5, October , 926-945

Climate change is a 'wicked' problem. No central authority manages climate change, and those creating the problem are also trying to solve it. Climate change brings uncertainty in ways that cities have not tackled previously. There is a need to explore new governance forms able to deal with change and to enable transformations. In this paper we explore seven local climate innovations to better understand the enabling conditions underpinning success and the governance barriers that are encountered. We connect the more formal and emergent climate governance 'innovations' through adaptation and mitigation experiments in Mumbai, India. Case studies indicate an emerging development model. Effective climate governance has to be an inevitable part of new development in the South. While climate externality exists in all development planning and implementation, smaller community-level efforts indicate how opportunities are offered within existing systems to integrate with larger institutional climate governance.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Romero-Lankao Patricia, Hughes Sara, Rosas-Huerta Angelica, Borquez Roxana, Gnatz Daniel M

Institutional capacity for climate change responses: an examination of construction and pathways in Mexico City and Santiago

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 5, October , 785-805

Scholars have focused on understanding the motivations behind urban authorities' efforts to respond to climate change,



yet the determinants of institutional response capacity are less well known, particularly in Latin America. This paper develops a framework to understand the political–economic determinants of institutional response capacity through an examination of climate change governance in Mexico City and Santiago, Chile. We ask whether being a frontrunner (Mexico City) is an indicator of greater institutional response capacity. Although Mexico City has slightly higher levels of institutional capacity than Santiago, both are faced with similar challenges, such as fragmented governance arrangements, asymmetries in access to information, and top-down decision making. However, both also have similar opportunities, such as leadership, participation in transnational networks, and potential to integrate climate change goals into existing policy agendas. Examining urban climate change planning in isolation from other institutions is therefore likely to provide a false sense of a city’s response capacity.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Michele Massa

L'esercizio associato delle funzioni e dei servizi comunali. Profili costituzionali

in *Amministrare*, n. 2 , 253-292

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cayetano Núñez Rivero and Santiago García Aranda

La autonomía de los entes locales

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 31 , 407-438

The 1978 Constitution emphasizes because of the limited of the rules devoted to local entities and the configuration of local autonomy, so that will be the implementing legislation and case law to those concerned to give substance to this general principle of our territorial organization, without having managed to overcome the conceptualization between administrative and political autonomy. We have to add also the manifested improvement in the designed process, as in the opinion of the authors of this work will be needed sooner or later, the reform of the Constitution, but for that, all the doubts regarding the political will have to be solved to take seriously local autonomy.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Vigato Elisabetta

La fusione di Comuni. Evoluzione legislativa nazionale e regionale

in *Diritto della regione (il)*, n. 1-2

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Roberto Di Maria

La legge regionale siciliana sui 'consorzi di Comuni'

in *Amministrare*, n. 3 , 431-462

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Giovanni Di Cosimo

La razionalizzazione alla prova: il caso delle Comunità montane

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 5-6 , 913-920

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Paolo Giangaspero

La riforma dell'amministrazione di area vasta fuori dalla logica dell'emergenza

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 2 , 273-282

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Vicente Álvarez García

Las reglas constitucionales sobre la interiorización del régimen local en los Estatutos de Autonomía de segunda generación y la problemática naturaleza jurídica de la Ley reguladora de las Bases de Régimen Local

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 99 , 61-97

All the Statutes of Autonomy of Autonomous Regions passed in Spain since 2006, have added a specific regulation about local system in their articles. This phenomenon has been ratified by the Constitutional Court but with some conditions, one of them is very significant due to the important of legal effects: the autonomous regulation must respect the basic rules establishes by the State related to local system. Besides the study of these conditions, this paper focuses in the complex analysis of the legal nature of the basic state legislation concerning local government (and in particular, its standard refers to the main law in this area, i.e, Basis Local System Act – Ley reguladora de las Bases de Régimen Local). And also, it reflects on the powers and limits of Constitutional Court related to defining constitutional categories (in general terms and in local field) as well as the advantage of fix a constitutional reform (and their terms) in order to re-organize the Local Administration, which plays an important role in the territorial organization of our State.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Jorio Ettore

Le Unioni di Comuni: vantaggi e problematiche (anche derivanti dal riordino delle Province)
in *Diritto della regione (il)*, n. 1-2

No abstract available

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

Le fasi di costituzione ed attivazione dell'Unione dei Comuni. Criticità e soluzioni
in *Diritto della regione (il)*, n. 1-2

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

Vandelli Luciano

Le riforme costituzionali e le prospettive per le autonomie
in *Italiani Europei*, n. 9-10

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

Eric Aarebrot, Jo Saglie

Linkage in Multi-level Party Organizations: The Role(s) of Norwegian Regional Party Branches
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.5 , 613-29

The article explores the role of regional party branches in a unitary state: Norway. The regional (county) party secretaries' capability for implementing national organizational strategies is explored, and their roles in bottom-up and top-down intra-party communication are mapped. The study confirms the important role of the county level in Norwegian parties: county branches co-ordinate local branches, assist the national party headquarters, and deal with regional issues and regional attempts to influence national policies. The structure of Norwegian parties mirrors the state structure, but the regional level has a stronger position in the party organizations than in public administration

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Solari Stefano



**Lo studio dei benefici derivanti dalle forme associative tra Comuni
in Diritto della regione (il), n. 1-2**

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Chou Bill

Local Autonomy in Action: Beijing's Hong Kong and Macau Policies

in Journal of Current Chinese Affairs, Vol 42, No 3 , 29–54

This paper investigates how Beijing governs its two special administrative regions (SARs) of Hong Kong and Macau through leverages on their local autonomy. First, a conceptual analysis of local autonomy will be provided. Local autonomy is more than a zero-sum game between the central and local authorities over how much power should be granted or taken from the local authorities; it also concerns the space for cultural expression and the use of local customs in public administration. Second, the degree of local autonomy in Hong Kong and Macau will be critically examined. On paper, both SAR governments are able to freely make decisions on a wide range of policies. In practice, however, Beijing has the absolute authority to override the decisions of Hong Kong and Macau. It is argued that the autonomy in cultural expression can compensate for the institutional constraints on the two SARs' decision-making power and is thus able to alleviate public discontent – as long as the constraints do not conflict with the people's core values and ways of life.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Katharine Owens, Carl Zimmerman

Local Governance Versus Centralization: Connecticut Wetlands Governance as a Model

in Review of Policy Research , volume 30 n.6 , 629-56

Scholars disagree whether local decision making is inherently more democratic and sustainable than centralized governance structures. While some maintain it is, due to the incorporation of local knowledge, citizen decision makers' closeness to the issues, and the benefits of participatory democracy, others find it as susceptible to issues of corruption and poor implementation as any other scale. We argue that with wetlands, a natural resource with critical local benefits, it is imperative to incorporate local governance, using the U.S. state of Connecticut as an example. Despite the American policy of No Net Loss, the local benefits of wetland resources cannot be aggregated on a national scale. Each local ecosystem needs wetland resources to ensure local ecological benefits such as flood control and pollution remission, as well as the substantial economic benefits of recreation. We illustrate the benefits of local control of wetlands with data from the American state of Connecticut, which consistently surpasses the federal wetland goal of No Net Loss due, we argue, to the governance structure of town-level wetlands commissions. A national policy such as No Net Loss, where wetlands are saved or created in designated areas and destroyed in others, is insufficient when it ignores critical benefits for localities. The Connecticut system using local volunteers and unpaid appointees is a successful method for governing common-pool wetland systems. In the case of Connecticut, we find that local decision making is not a "trap," but instead an effective model of sustainable, democratic local governance.



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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Berkhout Tom, Westerhoff Lisa

Local energy systems: evaluating network effectiveness for transformation in British Columbia, Canada
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 5, October , 841-857

Local governments across the Canadian province of British Columbia have begun to implement measures to achieve energy and greenhouse gas emission reduction targets. Among these, a handful of communities have emerged as leaders, supported by a network of organisations across sectors and scales. This study uses a social network analysis approach to explore the nature and extent of this network, coupled with qualitative interview data to determine its effectiveness. The study reveals that while the network is providing important resources and information, leading governments require specific forms of support to push innovative policies and actions further. In addition, though a shared vision of integrated local energy systems is emerging across the province, the lack of a systemic integration of goals across scales has created significant legislative barriers at the local scale.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Pennacchietti Claudia

L'associazionismo comunale obbligatorio nelle più recenti evoluzioni normative
in Federalismi, Anno XI - Nr 20

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Sari Graben & Ann Fitz-Gerald

Mind the gap: the importance of local institutional development in peace-building-funded security interventions
in Conflict, Security, and Development, Volume 13, Issue 3 , 285-316

In this paper, the authors analyse current spending priorities of the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF)-funded security sector reform (SSR) programmes. They conclude that these spending priorities do not appear to support traditional components of SSR and underfund programmes needed for the development of local public administration and civil society. This is observed despite the published commitments of UN PBF funding priorities to include the strengthening of national institutions in the context of support to the wider security and justice sectors.¹

The underfunding of civil society and local administration has been shown to undermine PBF's goals for the type of liberal democratic reform upon which peace-building, conflict management and conflict prevention rests. Focusing on the importance of accountability, the authors build on the scholarship of the rule of law literature to explore wider concerns associated with limited support to local public institutions and civil society. Drawing on empirical research on the peace-building experience in Sierra Leone, the authors reflect on concerns with the effects of past and current funding priorities and expose a number of 'capacity deficits' which have emerged in the wake of PBF funding patterns.



The article concludes with several recommendations for a contextual approach to the development of local institutions and civil society in PBF-recipient countries more generally, and in Sierra Leone more specifically. This work contributes to the growing literature that seeks to link security sector reform with the need for a more nuanced approach to peace-building.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Anastassia Obydenkova and Alexander Libma

National autocratization and the survival of sub-national democracy: Evidence from Russia's parliamentary elections of 2011

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 48, Issue 4 , 459–489

Sub-national political regimes play an important role in democratization. The article investigates the impact of the levels of sub-national democracy established in the 1990s through the early 2000s on the outcomes of national elections with a primary focus on the recent parliamentary elections in December 2011 in Russia. These elections came to play a very important role in the recent political history of Russia as a turning point, indicating whether democracy in the country was alive or dead. This article analyzes regional variations in voting in 2011. The article investigates the path-dependent nature of regional democracy in Russia in 2011 by using originally collected data from the regional electoral results. This article investigated whether the variety of regional political regimes that emerged and were established in the 1990s survived the centralization and regional institutional homogenization of the 2000s. We show that, despite of the centralization policy of Putin's federal government, regions with different political regimes in the 1990s still behaved very differently in 2011. The analysis demonstrated that the institutional homogenization implemented by Putin's government across the regions did not result in equally homogenous support for the central government across regions.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Aylett Alex

Networked urban climate governance: neighborhood-scale residential solar energy systems and the example of Solarize Portland

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 31, Issue 5, October , 858-875

With this paper I investigate the role of civil society groups in speeding the urban adoption of green technologies (in particular, renewable energy systems) by creating economic niches, and catalyzing market transformations. I focus on a qualitative case study of Solarize Portland, a community-managed solar energy program that has transformed the local and regional market for solar energy in Portland, OR. This case study is analyzed through the lens of recent theories of public participation that emphasize the multiplicity and complexity of participatory processes in practice. I conclude that—thanks to their flexibility, risk tolerance, and locally embedded understanding of technological change—civil society groups have the capacity to design and implement significant urban sustainability projects. They achieve this by creating niches within the urban landscape that allow local small and medium-sized enterprises to develop and refine their businesses practices; by coordinating novel partnerships between state, community, and private-level actors; and by grounding technological change in the broader social networks that give them meaning and momentum. These findings speak directly to the way that cities approach the complex sociotechnical transitions involved in reshaping urban infrastructure to respond to the challenge of climate change.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Schroeder Heike, Burch Sarah, Rayner Steve

Novel multisector networks and entrepreneurship in urban climate governance

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 5, October , 761-768

The papers in this theme issue seek to advance our understanding of the roles of networks and partnerships in the multilevel governance of climate change and related issues in the urban context. In particular, the papers examine the roles of nontraditional actors and apply emerging theoretical approaches such as sustainability transitions theory to gain a greater understanding of the variety of approaches being employed around the world, as well as the transformative potential of these approaches. We discuss the role of the state relative to the roles of local leadership, knowledge systems, and community-wide collaborative engagement in bringing about sustainability transitions.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Burch Sarah, Schroeder Heike, Rayner Steve, Wilson Jennifer

Novel multisector networks and entrepreneurship: the role of small businesses in the multilevel governance of climate change

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 5, October , 822-840

While some jurisdictions are demonstrating leadership on climate change, it is clear that sufficient mitigation of climate change is not occurring. This highlights the importance of innovative approaches that bolster politically fraught international treaties and voluntary networks with strategies that exploit the strengths of a variety of traditional and nontraditional actors. With this paper we examine just such an innovation in the form of a multisector and multilevel network linking together the regional authority Metro Vancouver in the Canadian province of British Columbia, several municipal governments, a social enterprise, and a large number of small and medium-sized enterprises to act on climate change. This case demonstrates that while complementarity of actions across levels and sectors is not always achieved, it is nonetheless likely to contribute significantly to greenhouse gas emission reductions in the urban context. Interview and survey data also highlight that each sector and level of governance can provide what it is good at or capable of in order to enable others to contribute their share. Whether this is done on an ad hoc basis or in the form of partnerships, networks or agreements may vary from case to case, and further research is needed to understand what forms of multilevel and multisector partnerships, networks, and agreements are most conducive to achieving desired outcomes.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kim, Euijune; Hewings, Geoffrey; Nam, Kyung-Min

Optimal Urban Population Size: National vs Local Economic Efficiency

in Urban Studies, volume 51 n.2 , 428-445

This paper explores whether the population size of the Seoul Metropolitan Area (SMA) in Korea is efficient in terms of the national economy. To undertake this analysis, a recursively dynamic interregional computable general equilibrium



(ICGE) model with a population module is developed. In this model, the explicit costs and benefits of population growth are estimated by using the industrial value added and consumer price inflation functions for each region. The counter-factual analysis shows that national population decentralisation away from the SMA is desirable for Korea's economic growth. Korea's GDP is estimated to be maximised when the SMA's national population share is at 39 per cent in the short term and 35 per cent in the long term. However, the SMA government is likely to have incentive to maintain its population at around 40 per cent of the national population, where per capita income at the regional, not national, level is maximised.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Libbrecht Liselotte, Maddens Bart, Swenden Wilfried

Party competition in regional elections The strategies of state-wide parties in Spain and the United Kingdom in Party Politics, Volume 19, Number 4, July , 624-640

This article focuses on the electoral strategies of state-wide parties (SWPs) with regard to centre–periphery issues in regional elections. It applies Meguid's Position–Saliency–Ownership (PSO) theory to regional electoral competition in Spain and the United Kingdom. We anticipate that SWPs will seek to vary their strategies, especially in regional elections where they face fierce competition from regionalist parties. We also expect their strategies to be influenced by the SWPs' strategy in state-wide elections. The analysis reveals that the key assumptions of the PSO stack up quite well when applied to regional elections. It also reveals the influence of the multi-layered institutional context in which SWPs compete: at the regional level, said parties do not necessarily adopt the most logical strategy according to the PSO theory if this runs counter to the prevailing SWP strategy at the state-wide level.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Nai-Ling Kuo

Pursuing Revenue Autonomy or Playing Politics? Fiscal Behaviour of Local Governments in Taiwan in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, volume 72 n.3 , 330-43

This paper critically accounts for why fiscal decentralization does not necessarily enhance revenue autonomy in the experience of Taiwan, as local governments do not pursue it. This experience is especially relevant to unitary countries that are undergoing both democratization and fiscal decentralization. This paper shows that, with inter-jurisdictional competition, democratically elected local governments are inclined to pursue tax harmonization and have little incentive to maximize taxing powers even though doing so increases own-source revenues. The local governments in Taiwan take a 'mini-max' fiscal strategy, which involves minimizing changes to own-source revenues while maximizing local expenditures. To finance increasing expenditures as a response to the demands of constituencies, local governments tend to press the central government to increase local government's tax bases, and to try to gain a greater share of intergovernmental transfers by having their administrative status upgraded. In summary, revenue autonomy is not being pursued by local governments because of political considerations. In a decentralized fiscal system, local governments can be fiscally accountable, but still irresponsible.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Carlo Padula

Quale futuro per le Province? Riflessioni sui vincoli costituzionali in materia di Province in Regioni (Le), n. 3 , 361-386

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Everingham Jo-Anne, Pattenden Catherine, Klimenko Veronica, Parmenter Joni

Regulation of resource-based development: governance challenges and responses in mining regions of Australia

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 4, August , 582-602

Extractive industries have significant social, economic, and environmental impacts on the communities in which they operate; and, if well governed, the sector can contribute to sustainable local development. With this paper we analyze public sector dimensions of efforts to manage the development pressures associated with mining in Australia by examining the legislative and policy framework of various levels of government. We outline recent legislative trends and variations across jurisdictions. We also identify gaps and inadequacies in the regulatory framework and the implications of these with respect to emerging governance challenges and practices in mining-intensive regions of Australia—particularly for local governments. We identify forms of networked governance in mining regions involving initiatives of and relationships between local governments, state governments, mining companies, and other stakeholders. These governance arrangements are characterized by (1) variety of institutions, (2) attention to mining-specific impacts, and (3) dispersal of resources, responsibilities, and authority.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Elder, Erick M

Revenue Cycles and Risk Sharing in local Governments: an analysis of State rainy Day Funds

in National Tax Journal, volume 66 n.4 , 939-54

Rainy day funds are one of the primary tools that state and local policymakers employ to dampen the effects of downturns. However, since state business cycles are not perfectly synchronized, theoretically there should be risk-sharing benefits to governments who pool their fiscal resources over the business cycle. In this paper, we explore the issues associated with local government risk-sharing and provide estimates of the potential benefits to state governments. Our results suggest that a national rainy day fund would provide considerable fiscal benefits to state governments at a lower price than self-insuring through their own rainy day funds

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Marcelin Joanis

Sharing the Blame? Local Electoral Accountability and Centralized School Finance in California



in **Economics and Politics**, volume 25 n.3 , 335-359

Although local electoral accountability should be stronger when responsibilities are clearly assigned to local governments, the involvement of higher tiers of government is often associated with policies specifically designed to improve local accountability. This article investigates the impact of centralization on local electoral accountability in the context of California's school finance system. Results show that voters are responsive to differences in dropout rates and pupil–teacher ratios, at least in some contexts, and that local electoral accountability is affected by a district's degree of centralization. Dropout rate regressions reveal that the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 appears to have sharpened local electoral accountability.

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Levelt Melika, Janssen-Jansen Leonie

The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area challenge: opportunities for inclusive coproduction in city-region governance

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 31, Issue 3, June , 540-555

The city-regional level has gained importance in various planning systems as a result of the continuous need to solve strategic planning issues that transcend political and jurisdictional boundaries. Governance through voluntary policy networks gained importance as a way to make policy objective delivery at this city-regional level more effective and efficient. However, the multilevel organized accountability of policy networks with different logics and rationalities challenges policy implementation processes. This paper develops a framework to analyze and understand how the structure of voluntary city-regional policy networks affects the effectiveness, efficiency, and democratic legitimacy of these networks and the policies they create. Using the case of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area as an example, we show that city-region governance needs to involve not only government interests but also interests of market players and NGOs to become effective, efficient, and legitimate and that national policy interference is to a large extent incompatible with it.

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Jered B. Carr; Christopher V. Hawkins

The Costs of Cooperation What the Research Tells Us about Managing the Risks of Service Collaborations in the U.S.

in **State and Local Government Review**, 45 (4) , 224-239

Service collaborations often must confront risks arising from problems of coordination, division, and defection. U.S. scholars have focused on understanding the efficacy of three general strategies to reducing these risks. First, the use of adaptive and restrictive contracts to reduce the risks from service characteristics has received a lot of attention. Second, scholars have studied how the use of different institutional arrangements reduces the risks of collaborative service provision. Third, attention has been devoted to understanding how the social networks of administrators and elected officials mitigate risk in sharing services. This article concludes with suggestions for future research on this topic.



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Fisher Dana R

Understanding the relationship between subnational and national climate change politics in the United States: toward a theory of boomerang federalism

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 5, October , 769-784

In this paper, I look at how subnational policies in the United States are interacting with policy making at the federal level to address the issue of global climate change. I focus on a coordinated attempt to get the national government to fund local efforts to address climate change. Although local climate initiatives in the US were successfully translated into a national policy to support these local efforts, their implementation through hybrid arrangements that are being formed between business and local governmental actors will potentially create additional challenges to federal policy making. I introduce the notion of boomerang federalism, which builds on the extant research on federalism and vertical policy integration, to explain the process through which local efforts mobilize initiatives at the national level that, in turn, provide support for the local initiatives themselves. Reviewing the implementation process of this effort, I discuss the ways that businesses are working alongside local governments to address climate change.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Sturm, Roland

Unruly Divorces? Why Do Coalitions in the German Laender End Prematurely?

in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 23 n.4 , 445-459

Why do coalitions in Germany at the Land level end before they have reached their maximum period in office? To answer this question all cases of coalition break ups between 1949 and 2012 are discussed. Our approach has been to define categories of causes. The dichotomy suggested by Saalfeld which distinguishes between structural and institutional reasons for the premature end of Land coalitions, on the one hand (the territory of formal coalition theory), and events-based reasons, on the other, is useful. A quantitative summary of our results shows that events are more important than rules.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Nagle, John

From Secessionist Mobilization to Sub-state Nationalism? Assessing the Impact of Consociationalism and Devolution on Irish Nationalism in Northern Ireland

in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 23 n.4 , 461-477

Survey evidence has demonstrated that support for a united Ireland from Catholics in Northern Ireland is markedly declining. Simultaneously, electoral support for the secessionist Sinn Fin party has substantially risen in the region since 1998. Critics have attributed Sinn Fin's electoral growth to consociational power sharing, which they argue rewards



ethnic hardline parties. At the same time, many of these critics predicted that consociationalism would exacerbate secessionist sentiment within nationalism, a prognostication now contradicted by survey data. In analysing this paradox, we argue that there is not a switching of identities from Irish nationalism to UK unionism but the repositioning of Irish nationalism from a secessionist movement to a sub-state nationalism mobilizing for more resources within devolution. In explaining this, we illuminate how consociationalism allied to devolution can, if the right endogenous and exogenous supporting factors are mobilized, lead to the repositioning of identities within a regional rather than zero-sum national context.

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Giulia Caravale

Il white paper Scotland's Future e i quesiti ancora irrisolti dell'indipendenza

in *Nomos*, n. 3/2013

Uno dei principali eventi che hanno caratterizzato l'ultimo quadrimestre del 2013 nel Regno Unito risulta la pubblicazione, da parte del governo scozzese, del White Paper Scotland's Future. Your guide to an Independent Scotland, avvenuta il 26 novembre. Il lungo documento, definito dal First Minister Alex Salmond come "the most comprehensive blueprint for an independent country ever published", contiene un elenco dettagliato degli obiettivi, ma sarebbe meglio dire dei desiderata, che il governo scozzese vorrebbe raggiungere in caso di vittoria del sì al referendum per l'indipendenza, previsto per il prossimo 18 settembre. Dal documento emerge, tra l'altro, che la Scozia vorrebbe mantenere la Corona come capo dello Stato, rimanere membro dell'Unione europea e stabilire un'unione monetaria con il resto del Paese. La data fissata per l'indipendenza dovrebbe essere il 24 marzo 2016, anniversario dell'Union of the Crowns del 1603.

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Iannello Carlo

La réforme du titre V de la Constitution italienne douze ans après son entrée en vigueur.

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n° 96

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

Giandomenico Falcon

A che servono le Regioni?

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 4, 767-781

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

C. A. E. Goodhart, D. J. Lee

Adjustment Mechanisms in a Currency Area

in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 22, Number 5 , 627-636

Both the euro-area and the United States suffered an initially quite similar housing and financial shock in 2007/8, with several states in both regions being particularly badly affected. Yet there was never any question that the worst hit US states would need a special bail-out or leave the dollar area, whereas such concerns have worsened in the euro-area. We focus on three badly affected states, Arizona, Spain and Latvia, to examine the working of relative adjustment mechanisms within the currency region. We concentrate on four such mechanisms, relative wage adjustment, migration, net fiscal flows and bank flows. Only in Latvia was there any relative wage adjustment. Intra-EU migration has increased, but is more costly for those involved in the EU (than in the USA). Net federal financing helped Arizona and Latvia in the crisis, but not Spain. The locally focussed structure of banking amplified the crisis in Spain, whereas the role of out-of-state banks eased adjustment in Arizona and Latvia. The latter reinforces the case for an EU banking union

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Francesco Merloni

Alla ricerca di un nuovo senso per un regionalismo in crisi

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 4 , 783-790

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

Chaney Paul

An electoral discourse approach to state decentralisation: State-wide parties' manifesto proposals on Scottish and Welsh devolution, 1945–2010

in *British Politics*, Volume 8, Issue 3 (September 2013) , 333-356

This article examines the electoral discourse associated with state decentralisation. It offers an original perspective that complements existing studies by detailing the discourse-based dimension of policy agenda-setting associated with Scottish and Welsh devolution in UK state-wide parties' general election manifestos 1945–2010. Innovative aspects include a combined quantitative (issue-salience) and qualitative (policy framing) methodological technique transferable to other (quasi-)federal jurisdictions. The present UK findings reveal policy on devolution to be part of a fluid and contested discursive process. Concerned to maintain the union-state, the principal parties present a 'punctuated narrative' as they shift policy positions on the exact nature of devolution for the two nations; only the Liberals/Liberal Democrats maintain a broadly consistent stance. With a trend of increasing salience that extends over seven decades, 'identity' and 'autonomy' are revealed as the most salient pro-devolution tropes. The 'demise of the union-state' and



'promoting nationalism' are foremost among oppositional frames. Following constitutional reform in 1999, analysis shows that the future trajectory (and end point) of devolution continues to be a vexed and salient electoral issue.

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Valerio Strinati

Aspetti del regionalismo italiano del primo dopoguerra (Italian Regionalism in the Aftermath of the First World War)

in *Mondo contemporaneo*, Fascicolo 1/2013

Nel primo dopoguerra, la ripresa delle posizioni regionaliste fu uno dei segnali della crisi del sistema liberale. Dopo le elezioni del 1919, deputati di diversi partiti presero posizione in tale senso, e non mancò chi sostenne anche l'ipotesi di mantenere i governi locali che avevano retto le province annesse, già appartenenti all'Austria, secondo l'auspicio di Francesco Salata, dal 1919 posto a capo dell'Ufficio centrale per le nuove province del regno. Mentre già nel 1921 l'ascesa politica del fascismo indeboliva le componenti parlamentari più favorevoli al decentramento istituzionale, nel paese sia figure di estrazione laica e democratica, come Salvemini, Gobetti e Zuccharini, sia parte del movimento combattentistico e partiti nazionali o locali, come il Partito repubblicano o il Partito sardo d'azione, assunsero posizioni regionaliste, adottate, sul versante cattolico, anche dal Partito popolare, soprattutto per volontà di Luigi Sturzo. Tutte queste posizioni entrarono in conflitto con la vocazione centralista del fascismo, e pertanto, dopo la sua caduta, si registrò una ripresa dei temi regionalisti, anche se con caratteristiche diverse da quelle del primo dopoguerra.

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Mattiuzzi Marta

Autonomia e sussidiarietà nel nuovo Statuto della Regione Veneto

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1, 303 - 349

No abstract available

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

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Christian de Visscher et Vincent Laborderie

Belgique : stop ou encore ? Entre fédéralisme, confédéralisme et séparatisme

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 78, n°4 hiver

Depuis un demi-siècle, la décentralisation de la Belgique ne cesse de progresser. Aux crises politiques succèdent les réformes de l'État. La dernière en date, en 2010-2011, a offert aux régions un degré d'autonomie inédit mais n'a pas modifié la nature du fédéralisme belge. Si une nouvelle crise politique est possible à l'issue des élections du printemps 2014, il est peu probable qu'elle aboutisse à l'éclatement de la Belgique. Mais alors, comment sortir de l'impasse ?



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Alfonso Cuenca Miranda

CANADÁ Y LA CUESTIÓN DE QUEBEC (II). LA SEPARACIÓN-INTEGRACIÓN DE QUEBEC EN LA FEDERACIÓN CANADIENSE: EVOLUCIÓN Y SITUACIÓN ACTUAL

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 40 Octubre / Diciembre

No abstract available

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ALFONSO CUENCA MIRANDA

Canadá y la cuestión de Quebec (I). La separación-integración de Quebec en la Federación Canadiense

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 39 Julio - Septiembre

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

Blas Asier

Catalonian Secessionism Made in Spain

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 12, Issue 4, 2013 , 398-401

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Gardini Gianluca

Centralismo o secessione: il dilemma (sbagliato) di un ordinamento in crisi

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 5 - 28

No abstract available

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

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Will Sanders

Changing Agendas in Australian Indigenous Policy: Federalism, Competing Principles and Generational Dynamics



in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 72 n.2 , 156-70

This paper identifies two periods of punctuated change in the content and style of Australian Indigenous policy in the last fifty years. It also identifies a third period in which attention to Indigenous policy was heightened through the nationalisation of land issues already well-established on the agendas of sub-national jurisdictions. The paper relates all three periods to the changing federal institutions of Australian Indigenous policy, with the Commonwealth slowly exploring its post-1967 role as a national government in Indigenous affairs. In later sections, the paper identifies some more conceptual bases of changing policy agendas, through ideas of the competing principles of equality, choice and guardianship and the generational moral dynamics of Indigenous affairs.

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Alejandra Roncallo

Cosmologies and Regionalisms from 'Above' and 'Below' in the post-cold war Americas: the Relevance of Karl Polanyi for the 21st century

in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 34 n.7 , 1145-1158

Drawing on a Polanyian analysis of the land question, this article aims to analyse both Western and Indigenous cosmologies of Abya Yala—the name that indigenous peoples give to the American continent—to understand the relationship between human beings and land and nature. These cosmologies are at the heart of the way in which two distinct societies construct their regional space, one from 'above', the other from 'below', and they are therefore key to understanding today's climate change problématique. Following this nexus it is argued that, since the end of the Cold War, a new regional 'double-movement', unleashed by the quest for land and natural resources has been in the making. This is a superstructural or legal battle between Western transnational regime-making and a law that originated at the 'centre of the Earth'. The article explains both regionalisms and the dialectical interaction between them and demonstrates that Karl Polanyi's legacy remains relevant for the 21st century.

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Lyon Aisling

Decentralisation and the Provision of Primary and Secondary Education in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 491-516

This article examines whether devolving responsibility for the provision of public services such as education in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia can satisfy the demands of non-majority groups for greater autonomy over their own affairs. How education systems are designed and delivered is of particular importance to minority ethnic communities since education is crucial for reproducing (and re-creating) the identity of a group. Without the transmission of the aspects of their identity through education, non-majority cultures may disappear. The review begins with the principal arguments in favour of and against devolving responsibility for the provision of education to local communities. An assessment of the Macedonian education system prior to decentralisation follows, accompanied by a discussion of the decentralisation reforms introduced in 2005. Three key theoretical arguments will then be considered within the Macedonian context: (a) whether decentralisation facilitates the provision of heterogeneous local public services; (b)



decentralisation's ability to enhance participation and transparency in decision-making regarding the delivery of services; and (c) whether decentralisation ensures a more equitable and transparent distribution of public resources. The article argues that the decentralisation of primary and secondary education to the municipal level in Macedonia has enabled local communities to more effectively meet the diverse needs of citizens. Persistent challenges, unless adequately addressed, may however undermine the benefits of reform in the longer term.

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Hoffman Lisa

Decentralization as a Mode of Governing the urban in china: Reforms in Welfare Provisioning and the rise of Volunteerism

in Pacific Affairs , Volume 86, Number 4, December , 835-855

This paper considers what a Foucauldian-informed analysis of decentralization and urban transformation offers to current debates. It analyzes decentralization as a new regime of governing, in contrast to many studies that treat it as a policy process, objective or outcome aimed at alleviating some problem of centralized authority. Rather than understanding decentralization as less state governance, this paper asks how practices such as local autonomy are in fact technologies of governing the urban. Decentralization is analyzed then not simply as an absence of some central state power, either in the political or fiscal realm, but rather, as new mechanisms of governing the urban, which are linked with the regulation and constitution of subjects. The paper focuses on an aspect of decentralization that typically is under-examined: the decentralization of welfare provisioning in urban china. Under high socialism of the Maoist era, social services for urban residents were distributed by the state, through the work unit (danwei) as part of the planned economy. In recent years, however, major reforms have been put into place to diversify the ways in which social services are delivered, under a general rubric of decentralizing the distribution away from the state. Based on anthropological research in dalian, a major port city in northeast china, this paper examines a new social practice and subject form that has emerged with new ways of caring for those in need in the city: volunteerism. By focusing on this resulting social form, the paper argues that we may better understand how decentralization is not a singular process with multiple outcomes, but rather, a complex assemblage of elements that includes technical questions about how to govern as well as normative practices of subject formation. An analytical disaggregation of these elements also allows us to avoid the assumption that decentralization necessarily contains certain characteristics, or that it will lead to particular kinds of political and social forms.

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Bae Yooil

Decentralized urban Governance and Environmental collaboration in South Korea: The case of Hyundai city

in Pacific Affairs , Volume 86, Number 4, December , 759-783

This paper explores how decentralization has created a "local political arena" and has been transforming governance in the environmental management sector in South Korea. Korea has been known as a developmental state where the strong central government and businesses have conspicuously dominated during most of its industrialization period. Yet, the deepened democracy, global competitiveness and fiscal austerity have pressured central political stakeholders to devolve highly centralized functions and authority to local bodies since the mid-1990s. The building of democratic



institutions at the local level, including directly elected mayors and city councils, has created room for local politics and diminished central political leverage over local affairs. The national economic crisis has highlighted the inefficiency of the centralized system and encouraged further administrative and fiscal decentralization under the democratic governments. In this context, while the central government and big businesses continue to have a significant say in policy making, local executives, with their expanded decisional authority and resources, are trying to improve the images of their cities and to take responsibility for promoting urban economies and improving quality of life in the age of trans-border links and competition. This paper analyzes the case of ulsan, where Hyundai and several other conglomerates are located and which has been a symbol of state-led industrialization during most of the development period. Despite the large role played by the centre in the development of ulsan, the empowered mayor of the city has successfully turned citizens' attention to post-industrial aspects of governance for ensuring the future competitiveness of the city in global markets by orchestrating collaborative implementation of environmental policies. The paper explores how this governance shift in ulsan has led successful collaborative environmental change by mobilizing local businesses, civic organizations and general citizens who might not have been interested in the making of an "environment-friendly city."

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Douglass Mike

Decentralizing Governance in a transborder urban Age: East Asia and the Busan-Fukuoka "common Living Sphere"

in Pacific Affairs , Volume 86, Number 4, December , 731-758

The devolution of political power to local governments is taking new directions as cities begin to look beyond national borders to create economic synergies with city regions in other countries rather than continuing to look to linkages with their capital cities for economic benefits. In East Asia the search for transborder urban linkages comes at a time when secondary cities in higher income countries are confronting major social and economic transformations. These new trends include: the rise of china in the global economy, the turn toward neoliberal downsizing of government, demographic transitions toward declining, rapidly aging populations with a diminishing labour force compensated partly by the large-scale recruitment of foreign workers and foreign spouses. The combined result of the new dynamics is that just when political power is being devolved to the urban scale, the global trend of "shrinking cities" has reached them. The discussion focuses on recent initiatives of the local governments of Busan, South Korea, and Fukuoka, Japan, to build a "common living sphere" through transborder linkages to provide a culturally rich, people-centered alternative that contrasts with the high-technology industrial clusters being planned for them from their corporatized capital cities. In addition to economic issues, cities engaged in such transborder initiatives challenge the meaning of national borders and citizenship while also confronting new issues in accommodating the appearance of multicultural societies, which have all remained outside of mainstream discussions on decentralization.

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Convery Alan

Devolution and the Limits of Tory Statecraft: The Conservative Party in Coalition and Scotland and Wales

in Parliamentary Affairs , Volume 67, Issue 1, January , 25-44

This article examines the territorial statecraft of the Conservative Party both internally and in the Coalition Government



since 2010. Using Bulpitt's statecraft framework alongside some more recent work on UK intergovernmental relations, it argues that the Conservative Party has pursued broadly the same strategy as the previous Labour administration: centre autonomy management. Thus, as long as the devolved administrations and Welsh and Scottish Conservatives stick to their low politics remit, territorial policy divergence and autonomy remain mostly irrelevant to the centre. In terms of intergovernmental relations, the Conservatives have handled territorial politics in coalition reasonably well. However, the recent Scotland Act and the Commission on Welsh Devolution point towards a future of sharing Treasury control over UK public finances. With the centre's governing autonomy increasingly compromised, the Conservative Party faces the challenge of creating a new strategy which allows it to pursue its priorities.

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Polverari Laura, Mitchell James

Devoluzione e partecipazione: Italia e Regno Unito a confronto

in *Polis*, n. 2, agosto 2013 , 231-252

No abstract available

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

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Meili Niu

Fiscal Decentralization in China Revisited

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, volume 72 n.3 , 251-63

Inter-governmental fiscal relations are crucial to understanding government behavior and policy instruments. Chinese style fiscal federalism with the absence of division of political power is regarded as central to understanding China's economic growth and governance. However, there is much debate about how exactly to measure China's fiscal decentralization. This paper develops a comprehensive framework to measure the level of Chinese fiscal decentralization across the tiers of government in the past two decades. This study finds that China is decentralized at both provincial and sub-provincial levels as a whole (the local level), but not at the xianqu level (the lowest levels of counties/districts and townships). There has been a slight decrease in fiscal independence at the provincial level, but it has been increasing at both local and xianqu levels, contributing to more accountable sub-national governments. However, the author argues for a stronger monitoring and evaluating capacity at the central level in order to build a performance-based fiscal decentralization system. A more transparent and rule-based fiscal transfer system should also be established to reduce regional disparity in China.

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Balakrishnan Sai

Highway urbanization and Land conflicts: the challenges to decentralization in India

in *Pacific Affairs* , Volume 86, Number 4, December , 785-811

Much of the urban growth in developing countries is taking place along infrastructure corridors that connect cities. The



villages along these corridors are frenzied and contested sites for the consolidation and conversion of agricultural lands for urban uses. The scale of changes along these corridors is larger than the political jurisdiction of local governments, and new regional institutions are emerging to manage land consolidations at this corridor scale. This article compares two inter-urban highways in India and the hybrid regional institutions that manage them: the Bangalore-Mysore corridor, regulated by parastatals, and the Pune-nashik corridor, by cooperatives. It traces the emergence of parastatals and cooperatives to the turn of the twentieth century, the ways in which these old institutions are being reworked to respond to the contemporary challenges of highway urbanization, and the winners and losers under these new institutional arrangements. I use the term "negotiated decentralization" to more accurately capture the back-and-forth negotiations between local, regional and state-level actors that leads to context-specific regional institutions like the parastatals and cooperatives.

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Xavier Vilà Carrera

How Likely Is Catalan Independence?

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 18, n. 1, January / February

The last decade saw a leftward shift in Catalonia's political scene (and Spain's at large), bringing the region closer to an independence vote. But will Madrid ever accept such a bid?

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Nienaltowski Bartosz Jaroslaw

Il Voivodato polacco e la nuova regionalizzazione. Dalla fine della Repubblica Popolare Polacca alla riforma e reintroduzione dell'autogoverno territoriale

in *Federalismi*, Anno XI - Nr 11

No abstract available

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Lauri Hannikainen

La autonomía en Finlandia: La autonomía territorial de las Islas Åland y la autonomía cultural del pueblo indígena Saami

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, no. 17 , 71-106

Finland offers two interesting cases of special autonomy, territorial and cultural, regarding Åland Islands and the indigenous Saami people. Åland is located in the Baltic Sea, between Finland and Sweden. Circa 94% of its population are Swedish speaking. This article examines its autonomy system, that is about 90 years old and is functioning quite well. Main reasons of the apparent success of the autonomy system are its well protected status in the constitutional system of Finland and its fairly clear scope. Autonomy disputes between Åland and the State are solved according to legal criteria. The State has had a bona fide attitude at the Åland autonomy; even the Autonomy Act provides that the



language of communication between the authorities of the State and Åland is Swedish, and not the leading national language, Finnish. The vast Saami Home Territory forms the northernmost part of Finland (Lapland), but only about a third of its population are Saami. Altogether the Saami make circa 8,500, but only about a half of them live in the Territory. The scope of its cultural autonomy is quite limited. The system provides the existence of a democratic Saami Parliament as the representative of the entire Saami people and its powers with regard to the Saami language. However, the indigenous Saami have virtually no special rights with regard to their traditional lands and waters and their natural resources.

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Carles Viver Pi-Sunyer, Mireia Grau Creus

La contribució del parlament al procés de consolidació i desenvolupament de l'autogovern de Catalunya i a la defensa de la seva identitat nacional

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, no. 18 , 88-125

Amb l'objectiu de precisar la contribució del Parlament de Catalunya a la consolidació i desenvolupament de l'autogovern i a la defensa de la iden-titat nacional de Catalunya, aquest article analitza les resolucions, mocions i declaracions adoptades pel ple i per les comissions parlamentàries des del restabliment del Parlament l'any 1980 fins el gener de 2013 en relació a quatre qüestions fonamentals: l'ampliació i millora de la qualitat de les competències i l'establiment d'un sistema de finançament just per a Catalunya; la reivindicació del dret a l'autodeterminació o "dret a decidir"; la defensa del reconeixement de Catalunya com a nació i la del català com la seva llengua pròpia. Pel que fa a la primera qüestió, el treball constata l'antiguitat i permanència de la reivindicació i les seves diverses fases, des de les propostes de relectura, fins a la necessitat d'establir un nou marc constitucional, passant per les propostes de reforma estatutària i pacte fiscal. També en relació a la defensa del dret a l'autodeterminació s'observa la persistència de la seva reivindicació, en 11 resolucions que tenen el seu origen en les dels anys 1989 i 1991, i l'evolució del seu contingut des de les primeres que és limiten a proclamar l'existència d'aquest dret sense reclamar-ne el seu exercici fins a les darreres que declaren obert el procés adreçat a fer-lo efectiu. En tercer lloc s'analitzen els intents fallits d'assolir el reconeixement per part de l'Estat espanyol del caràcter nacional de Catalunya i de la plurinacionalitat de l'Estat. Finalment, es constata que el major nombre de resolucions del Parlament al llarg dels 33 anys analitzats fan referència a la defensa del català, entès com a llengua pròpia de Catalunya –fet finalment negat per la sentència del Tribunal Constitucional sobre l'Estatut d'Autonomia de 2006– i element essencial de la identitat catalana.

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Roberto Bin

La crisi delle Regioni. Che fare?

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 4 , 735-749

No abstract available

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Vito Breda

La devolution de Escocia y el referéndum de 2014: ¿cuáles son las repercusiones potenciales en España?
in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, no. 31 , 69-88

This article discusses the Scottish Devolution and the potential repercussion of the 2014 consultative referendum over Scottish independence in Spain. The 2014 referendum might be perceived as one of the many effects of the recent nationalist revival and its result is still a matter of speculations. However, the possibility of seeing the dissolution of one of the oldest western democracies as the result of a referendum is of great concern for constitutional lawyers in Spain. I would argue that a risk of an analogous referendum in Spain is low. The processes that were the proxy for the Scottish referendum over independence are the result of a pragmatic discourse that took place within a distinctively British constitutional history. For instance, both the Scottish and UK constitutional traditions consider their respective parliament the repository of sovereign constitutional power. The article is divided in three parts, preceded by an introduction and followed by a conclusion. The first part is a preliminary methodological discussion that explains the distinctive element of the UK Public Law System. The second explains the distinctive features of the Scottish Devolution. In particular, I will elucidate the effects of having two parliaments (the Scottish and the UK) that hold on to two different concepts of legislative sovereignty. The third section compares the constitutional process required for the Scottish referendum and a putative referendum over a region secession in Spanish autonomous regions.

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Perron Catherine

La gouvernance des politiques régionales en République tchèque

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 44, n. 2,Dossier: Gouverner le local à l'Est de l'Europe , 13-37

Partant du constat de la très forte résistance des pouvoirs centraux dans les États d'Europe centrale et orientale à accepter une dispersion de leurs compétences, cet article s'intéresse aux types de gouvernance des politiques régionales pratiqués après l'adhésion à l'Union européenne et aux facteurs d'évolution de celle-ci. L'exemple choisi est celui de la République tchèque, qui présente la particularité d'être l'un des rares pays à avoir procédé à une véritable décentralisation régionale alors qu'il demeurerait très centralisé par sa culture et les pratiques politiques de ses élites. En République tchèque, la gouvernance des politiques régionales et ses évolutions sont le produit des rapports de force entre trois types d'acteurs : l'exécutif national, la Commission européenne et les acteurs régionaux (essentiellement les exécutifs mais aussi les administrations) dont le poids et les ressources disponibles, d'une part, et, de l'autre, le degré d'implication dans le mode de définition de la gouvernance des politiques régionales ont fortement évolué entre la première et la seconde période de programmation des fonds structurels.

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Carles Boix et J.C. Major

La marche de la Catalogne vers l'autodétermination

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 78, n°4 hiver



Une majorité de Catalans semble désormais favorable à la tenue en 2014 d'un référendum sur l'indépendance. Une attitude qui se réfère au caractère multiséculaire de la revendication politique et culturelle catalane, mais qui est aussi le résultat, au-delà du débat présent sur le partage fiscal, de la volonté permanente des institutions de l'État espagnol – gouvernement, Tribunal constitutionnel, etc. – d'empiéter sur les différents statuts accordés au fil du temps à la Catalogne.

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Javier Ruipérez Alamillo

La nueva reivindicación de la secesión de Cataluña en el contexto normativo de la Constitución española de 1978 y el Tratado de Lisboa

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 31 , 89-135

The present document studies the political and juridical problem that the independence proposals of the catalonian nationalism represents for the Spanish State. Our thesis, beginning with de absolute compatibility between International Law and Constitutional Law, is that the answer to the question if a territorial entity can decide by itself to become independent, in a democratic Constitutional State, is necessarily negative. To sum up, we maintain that when it is not possible to appeal to the Humanitarian International Law, the secession is a merely internal problem of a State and, so that, it is not in the European Union Law, but in the Spanish Constitutional Law, and the democratic Theory of the Pouvoir Constituant, where you must look for a solution to the problem set up by the Catalanian nationalism.

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Mora Jean-Sébastien

La société catalane se rallie à l'indépendance

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Octobre

Peu impressionnée par le succès de la chaîne humaine organisée le 11 septembre 2013 par les partisans de l'indépendance, la Commission européenne a réaffirmé qu'une Catalogne souveraine sortirait de facto de l'Union. Même si la décision finale appartiendra aux Etats membres, Bruxelles jette ainsi le doute sur la stratégie des indépendantistes, largement basée sur les bénéfices tirés du Marché unique et de ses mécanismes de solidarité.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/10/MORA/49685>

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Javier Rupérez

La unidad nacional y los riesgos del independentismo catalán

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 41 Enero/Marzo

No abstract available



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Ferraiuolo Gennaro

La via catalana. Vicende dello Stato plurinazionale spagnolo

in *Federalismi*, Anno XI - Nr 18

No abstract available

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

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Valerio Onida

Le cause profonde della crisi del regionalismo

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 4 , 791-797

No abstract available

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

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Edwige Camp-Pietrain

Le référendum d'autodétermination en Écosse

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 94 , 259-267

No abstract available

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

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Tierney Stephen

Legal Issues Surrounding the Referendum on Independence for Scotland

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 9 - Issue 03 , 359-390

The 2014 referendum: Towards a consensual process – The Edinburgh Agreement: framing the referendum process – Process rules and key issues – After the referendum: Scotland's status under international law – Secession under international law – Membership of international organisations, especially the European Union

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Allorant Pierre

Les boîtes à idées de la réforme de l'administration territoriale en France, de la Restauration à Poincaré (1822-1926)

in *Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique*, n. 20



No abstract available

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

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Miryam Iacometti

L'accidentato cammino dello Stato autonómico spagnolo tra crisi economica e deriva soberanista: primi passi verso l'indipendenza della Catalogna?

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 856-878

No abstract available

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

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Laura Frosina

L'esplosione del caso Bárcenas e l'avanzamento del processo indipendentista catalano

in *Nomos*, n. 2/2013

Nel secondo quadrimestre del 2013 si sono registrati i segnali di una iniziale, sia pur graduale, ripresa economica che ha permesso finalmente di invertire il trend negativo che ha portato negli ultimi due anni la Spagna in uno stato di piena recessione. Lo dimostrano le previsioni macroeconomiche per il 2014 che evidenziano un aumento del Pil intorno allo 0,7% e una riduzione del tasso di disoccupazione al 25,9%, riportando così stime leggermente più positive rispetto a quelle formulate nel Programma di stabilità (2013-2016) trasmesso qualche mese prima dal Governo di Madrid alla Commissione europea. Questi miglioramenti hanno permesso al Presidente del Governo, Mariano Rajoy, di presentare un disegno di legge finanziaria di mantenimento per il 2014 e al Ministro dell'Economia e della competitività, Luis de Guindos, di pronosticare una stabilizzazione del mercato del lavoro e una crescita iniziale dell'occupazione a partire dal secondo semestre dell'anno.

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Verdier Nicolas

L'improbable circonscription intermédiaire infra-départementale, du district à l'arrondissement

in *Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique*, n. 20

No abstract available

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

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Thorlakson Lori

Measuring vertical integration in parties with multi-level systems data

in *Party Politics*, Volume 19, Number 5, September , 713-734



Vertical integration is an important concept for political parties. In multi-level or federal contexts, it is said to affect party strength, national integration and federal stability. Despite this, difficulties with the conceptualization and operationalization of vertical integration and a lack of cross-national data impede research. This article clarifies the concept of vertical integration, distinguishing it from related concepts of strength, centralization and autonomy and distinguishing the indicators of integration from the effects of integration. It introduces the measures of vertical integration and autonomy used in the Party Organization in Multi-Level Systems (POMLS) dataset comprising data from survey responses from 204 state-level parties in eight countries. The data confirm the theoretical distinctions among forms of vertical integration and between vertical integration and autonomy and show that not all forms of vertical integration are mutually reinforcing.

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Giovanni Bognetti

Mercato unico e esperienze federaliste. Stati Uniti d'America e Unione europea (abbozzo di un sommario, parziale raffronto)

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , XIX-XXVIII

The paper underlines how in a theoretical idea of federalism the central State has historically developed economical instruments in order to define economic and financial decisions of the member states. In such perspective, the author explains the main features of the economic sovereignty in the United States and then analyzes the European Union's experience through the same light.

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Mangiameli Stelio

Overning from the Centre: The Influence of the Federal/Central Government on Subnational Governments. The Italian Case

in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, n. 2/2013

The essay illustrates the problems regarding the distribution of powers between the central and regional governments following the amendments made to Title V of the Italian Constitution.

The study emphasizes that the powers that had been vested exclusively in the central government were considered extremely limited in scope, also considering the concrete substance of the subject matters.

At the start, the Constitutional Court took seriously the reversal of the enumeration technique. But, immediately, the Court justified a derogation from the distribution of powers, under certain circumstances: through a reserved interpretation of the principle of legality, appeared a completely uncertain division of powers, because of the «appeal to subsidiarity», similarly to what happened in the initial period of Italian regionalisation about the «national interests». The Court, however, establishes a procedural and consensual interpretation of the principles of subsidiarity and appropriateness, joined to the principles of proportionality, reasonableness, and loyal cooperation (especially through the standing Conference of the State and Regions, judgment n. 303/2003). In addition to infrastructure of national importance, and the production, transport, and national distribution of energy, the Court, immediately after the amendments made to Title V of the Italian Constitution, intervened on the «protection of competition» (judgment n. 14/2004). In this judgment the Court allowed the State to become the role of guarantor of the unitary national market, in



spite of the literal meaning of the Constitution.

The last part of the essay examines the crosscutting competences, identified as exclusives competences, *sui generis*. So, in case of overlapping of subject matters, the principle that should be applied would have been the prevalence principle, and not, as the Constitutional Court affirmed, the loyal cooperation.

Finally, the essay examines the need to supersede problems deriving from loyal cooperation. The possible solutions can be the Federal Senate, and fiscal federalism.

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Igreja Victor

Politics of Memory, Decentralisation and Recentralisation in Mozambique

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 39, Issue 2 , 313-335

This article explores the contradictory processes that arise from projects of democratic decentralisation in the contexts of those post-civil war, emergent pluralistic democracies and ruling elites that typically strive to officially maintain essentialist forms of national unity, identity and commemorations. These contradictions significantly shape projects of democratisation and decentralisation in post-conflict countries, even though they have not been thoroughly accounted for in the expert literature. In Mozambique, these contradictions were analysed through the unrelenting attempts by the main Mozambican opposition party, Renamo, to inscribe officially in the country's landscape their own version of the post-independence civil war (1976–1992). Taking advantage of the Law 2/97, known as the Juridical Framework for the Implantation of Local Autarchies, Renamo built a square with a sculpture to honour André Matsangaíssa, Renamo's first commander killed in combat during the war. The inauguration of Matsangaíssa Square was the focal point of serious elite factional contestation and debates in the media and in the streets about the appropriate memories to give a new sense to national unity, identity and decentralisation. The Frelimo government both appealed to the Administrative Court and recentralised some aspects of the decentralisation law. Although the elites' representations of the meaning of decentralisation and recentralisation shape the public's views, the positions of the ordinary people signal that the dynamics of decentralisation and national identity are far more complex than the elite partisan discourses which are also at times incoherent. The overall analyses demonstrate how conflicts over memories of violence paradoxically hamper and constitute political pluralism, democratisation and decentralisation in post-civil war Mozambique.

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Falcó-Gimeno Albert

Portfolio Allocation under Decentralization

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 44, n. 1, Winter , 205-225

Decentralization shapes the way policy authority is shared between the national and regional levels and that, I argue, will have consequences for government formation. In particular, I contend that the allocation of portfolios in regional coalition governments will be affected by the degree of decentralization of each policy. To analyze this relationship I exploit the cross-time, cross-regional, and cross-policy variation of the process of competence devolution to the Spanish Autonomous Communities between 1980 and 2010. I find that, as expected, an increase in the competences managed by the region in a given policy jurisdiction makes the related portfolio more attractive to all coalition parties, although the effect seems to be particularly significant in economically strong and fast-track regions.



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Miller Michelle Ann, Bunnell Tim

Problematizing the Interplay between decentralized Governance and the urban in Asia

in Pacific Affairs , Volume 86, Number 4, December , 715-729

Asia is the most populous and rapidly urbanizing region in the world today and features 23 of the world's 40 biggest metropolitan areas. In many Asian countries, accelerated economic development, industrialization and urbanization have been accompanied by a growing acceptance that decentralization (the devolution of central state powers, responsibilities and resources to the sub-national scale) can lead to more effective and responsive governance in state, provincial, city and regency jurisdictions. This trend toward decentralized governance in Asia has often, but not always, been precipitated by a transition away from authoritarian regimes to more democratic forms of governance. Discourses about the desirability of democratic decentralization have typically emphasized the devolution of central state authority as the preferred means by which to empower communities and to increase the voice and participation of ordinary citizens in governmental decision-making processes that affect their lives and livelihoods. Thus, decentralization policies in urbanizing Asia have aimed to encourage the active involvement of urban residents in addressing shared dilemmas concerning issues such as environmental sustainability, public service delivery, community building and socio-political stability in often densely concentrated and ethnically diverse populations. At the same time, however, decentralization within the contexts of globalization and privatization may circumvent critical aspects of democratic procedure if sub-national government officials use their increased access to state power and resources to nurture clientelistic networks of patronage and/or to tap into wider circles of regional or global economic activity at the expense of local urban development.

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Jianxing Yu, Xiang Gao

Redefining Decentralization: Devolution of Administrative Authority to County Governments in Zhejiang Province

in Australian Journal of Public Administration, volume 72 n.3 , 239-50

Fiscal decentralization and personnel decentralization do not fully explain China's continuing expansion of local autonomy and economic growth. Administrative decentralization is a separate and important element in the restructuring of vertical intergovernmental relations in China after 1978. By delegating socioeconomic decision-making and management powers to local governments in a gradual manner, the central government has successfully promoted economic growth without taking too much risk. The case study of the expansion of county government powers in Zhejiang Province demonstrates how administrative decentralization can be implemented independently of fiscal and personnel decentralization, and can also effectively expand local autonomy and stimulate regional economic growth. The case study of administrative decentralization in China not only adds to our understanding of decentralization in the former centrally-planned command economy, but also offers a possible model for other transitional countries to initiate market reform.



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Marco Cammelli

Regioni e regionalismo: la doppia impasse

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 4 , 673-715

No abstract available

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McLean Iain

Report of the Commission on the Consequences of Devolution for the House of Commons (the McKay Commission)

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 84, Issue 3, October 2013 , 395–398

The report of the McKay Commission on the Consequences of Devolution for the House of Commons is reviewed. The Commission, which contained experts on parliamentary procedure, raised a number of important and difficult questions; the answers are less impressive than the questions. In view of the difficulties of any scheme, including that proposed by the Commission, for what is popularly known as “English Votes on English Laws,” policymakers should revisit one of the options that was specifically ruled out of McKay’s terms of reference. This would be a reduction in the numbers, but not the powers, of MPs from Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland in the way that applied to Northern Ireland between 1922 and 1979.

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Torre Alessandro

Scozia: devolution, quasi-federalismo, indipendenza?

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 137 - 180

No abstract available

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Guibernau Montserrat

Secessionism in Catalonia: After Democracy

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 12, Issue 4, 2013 , 368-393

The article is divided into four main parts. First it offers a theoretical framework, which includes key concepts such as nation, state and nation without state. Second, it examines the origins of modern Catalan nationalism by tracing back its roots to Franco’s dictatorship and the subsequent transition to democracy. Third, it analyses the reasons behind the qualitative shift from devolution to secession embodied in the rise of a novel bottom-up Catalan secessionist movement,



which has developed in the last five years or so. This movement supports the idea of holding a referendum on Catalan independence from Spain—so far, strictly forbidden by the Spanish state. This part also analyses the impediments to a 'referendum' on Catalan independence founded upon the Spanish Constitution. The final part focuses on the main arguments invoked by Catalans when prompted to account for the rise of secessionism, only recently introduced into the Catalan political landscape.

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Bertolino Cristina

Su alcuni 'cardini' costituzionali del regionalismo italiano

in *Federalismi*, Anno XI - Nr 21

No abstract available

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

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Tommy Firman

Territorial Splits (Pemekaran Daerah) in Decentralising Indonesia, 2000–2012: Local Development Drivers or Hindrance?

in *Space and Polity*, Volume 17, Number 2 / August , 180-196

Not many countries have experienced as fast a growth in the number of local governments as has present day Indonesia. This study examines how territorial splits under new decentralisation policy have effected local development. The paper also critically discusses what needs to change and improve in decentralisation policy to encourage local development. Territorial splits have reinforced spatial fragmentation and 'local selfishness', hindering rather than driving local development. Territorial splits have also been a substantial additional burden to the national budget, and have resulted in many conflicts, disputes and tensions at the local level. This paper recommends that there should be a comprehensive review into the practice of territorial splits and suggests that there is a need to make regional mergers a more attractive option for the efficient and effective provision of public services at the local level.

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Mart, David

The 2012 Catalan Election: The First Step Towards Independence?

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.4 , 507-516

Catalan PM Mas called for a snap election on 25 November 2012 after Spain's PM rejected to negotiate a new funding system for Catalonia. Mas and his party, CiU, campaigned on the promise to deliver a referendum on Catalonia's self-determination. CiU suffered a setback in the election although it retained office with the support of ERC on the promise of delivering the referendum. The Spanish government's opposition to the referendum and the delicate balances between Catalan parties seem to suggest that the promise of a referendum remains uncertain, albeit the parliament's declaration that endorses the Catalans' right to decide.



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Eaton Keaton

The Centralism of 'Twenty-First-Century Socialism': Recentralising Politics in Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia
in *Journal of Latin American Studies* , Volume 45 - Issue 03 - August

Presidents Hugo Chávez, Rafael Correa and Evo Morales have all sought to reverse the policies of decentralisation that were adopted in the 1990s in Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia. This article adapts ideational and institutional hypotheses from the earlier literature on decentralisation to explain this recent movement in the opposite direction. At the ideational level, because of the close association of decentralisation with liberalisation in each country, recentralisation emerged as a way for presidents to reverse the legacies of their neoliberal predecessors. Beyond ideology, recentralisation can be explained by paying attention to the territorial distribution of electoral support; presidents used it to weaken the sub-national governments where the opposition had found political shelter, while simultaneously redirecting recentralised resources toward supporters.

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Neumann Arijana

The Federal Character of the CDU

in *German Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 1-2, Special Issue: Mapping the Transformation: The CDU in Flux , 134-150

Although federalism has a far stronger anchorage in the CDU than in other German political parties, the claim that the CDU has developed into a centralised Kanzlerwahlverein is widely made in German scholarship about political parties. This article endeavours to redress the balance with a focus on the federal character of the CDU. It argues that German Christian Democracy developed its federal structure as a result of its heterogeneous founding tradition as a movement of diverse actors, which is still reflected in its designation as the Union. The article also argues that there are long-standing and significant differences between the CDU at Land level. This divergence is reflected in divergent policy positions, their policy style and also in party for party organisation. This article draws upon four case studies of the CDU at the Land level, and argues that the federal character of the CDU needs to be at the forefront of research into the party.

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Campbell, Andrew

The future of United Kingdom monetary union and Scottish independence

in *Law and Financial Markets Review*, volume 7 n.5 , 239-49

The people of Scotland will have the opportunity to vote in a referendum in September 2014 on whether to become an independent country or to remain part of the United Kingdom. This article examines the currency options which may or may not be available to an independent Scotland. The preferred options of the Scottish Government are to retain the pound sterling within a formal currency zone with the rest of the United Kingdom and also to be a Member State of the



European Union. The article examines the feasibility of the Scottish Government's proposals, paying particular attention to the interrelationship between EU membership and choice of currency. This is a matter that is of relevance to all Member States of the EU and not just Scotland.

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Esteller-Moré Alejandro

Trust in the justice administration: is it dependent on the economic cycle and on decentralization?
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 3, June , 506-521

Trust in the justice administration conditions the sustainability of the very rule of law, and can even promote interpersonal trust and, hence, social capital. Inferring its determinants, which is what I seek to do for the Spanish case, is therefore of paramount importance. I find that the level of trust is dependent on the economic cycle (with evidence of anticyclicity) and independent of whether the service provision is decentralized. These outcomes suggest that citizens expect the justice administration to play a positive role in insuring them against a negative economic shock, unless the economic downturn is particularly marked, while they do not expect—independently of the state of the economy—decentralization to improve performance (or are unaware of which tier of government is responsible for its provision). Finally, we obtain indirect evidence that trust would be strengthened if the resolution rate in the civil jurisdiction were to increase substantially (by around 25%), while in the criminal jurisdiction this margin of improvement is moderate.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Giuseppe Astuto

Unità senza federalismo. Cavouriani e democratici nel 1860
in Amministrare, suppl 1/2013 , 49-98

This essay analyses the political events of 1860, culminating in the insertion of the South and Sicily in the new Kingdom of Italy. Through the reading of the correspondence of the protagonists and recent scientific contributions, which have also appeared on the occasion of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Unity of Italy, the author reflects on the conflicts between the cavourians and the democrats about the institutional set-up. After the Expedition of the Thousand in Sicily, the Piedmontese government is in trouble because of the opposition of the European powers and the democrats' initiative. Cavour, who follows a pragmatic and undefined policy, has not got a clear plan on how to insert the South into the unitary state (Assemblies or plebiscites). Only after the landing of Garibaldi in Calabria, do the pressures of powers and the internal conditions, now all in favour of the liberation of Naples, persuade the Prime Minister to choose a plebiscite. At the same time the democrats, with the help of men from different backgrounds and especially Cattaneo, called to Naples by Garibaldi, propose the convening of Assemblies to prefigure a federal Italy. To the conflict between the moderates and the democrats historiography has not paid particular attention preferring to draw a veil on the errors of the winners and on the projects of the losers. To understand these events, which take place during the summer and autumn of 1860, the author dwells on some historiographical problems: the relationship between Cavour and the moderate exiles living in Piedmont, Cavour's politics of annexation and the program of the democrats which, though late, culminates in the convening of the Legislative Assemblies to legitimize the new unitary state.



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Bunnell Tim, Miller Michelle Ann, Phelps Nicholas A., Taylor John

Urban development in a decentralized Indonesia: Two Success Stories?

in Pacific Affairs , Volume 86, Number 4, December , 857-876

The year 2011 marked the tenth anniversary of the implementation of Indonesia's regional autonomy laws. This paper considers implications of more than a decade of decentralized governance for urban development in Indonesia. After a brief historical overview and consideration of the rationale for political and administrative decentralization in that national context, we examine a range of critical perspectives on policy outcomes. Both media coverage and academic analyses have overwhelmingly cast decentralized governance as it has been implemented in Indonesia in a negative light. As a corrective to this, we have sought to identify positive outcomes and possibilities associated with Indonesia's large-scale decentralization project. In particular, we detail the cases of two cities which have been cast in a variety of rankings and media representations as success stories of urban development through decentralized governance: Solo (or Surakarta as the city is also formally named) and Surabaya. In the final section of the paper, we critically evaluate these two cases and discuss their wider implications.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Mehra Diya

What Has urban decentralization Meant? A case Study of delhi

in Pacific Affairs , Volume 86, Number 4, December , 813-833

Since 2000 in new delhi, urban decentralization has mainly come in the form of the highly visible Bhagidari or partnership scheme, inviting city residents to participate in a "process of dialogue and the discovery of joint-solutions." This paper critically examines this program between 2000 and 2012, through the experiences of primarily middle-class neighbourhood organizations called resident Welfare Associations, or rWAs that were included in the scheme. The paper argues that rather than constitutional decentralization, Bhagidari as an initiative must be read in terms of a larger shift to entrepreneurial governance. Bhagidari's success has been in delegating management to rWAs, at little cost to city government, while seemingly opening up a "participatory" space for middle-class urban residents in civic affairs. However, for rWAs the article argues that Bhagidari's impact has come to represent an attempt at harnessing and managing the new middle-class aspiration to engage with urban government for administrative and political ends. In this context, Bhagidari has also been seen as an important means of cultivating middle-class consent and a constituency through courting rWAs for an ambitious chief executive. over time, this has become a common strategy for building political and civic visibility for a range of actors, one reason why the number of rWAs has proliferated.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Cayet Thomas, Rosental Paul-André

Politiques sociales et marché(s). Filiations et variations d'un registre transnational d'action, du BIT des années 1920 à la construction européenne et à la Chine contemporaine



in *Mouvement Social (Le)*, n° 244

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kazadi Mpiana Joseph

La Cour pénale internationale et la République démocratique du Congo : 10 ans après. Étude de l'impact du statut de la CPI en droit interne congolais

in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chan Phil C. W.

A Keen Observer of the International Rule of Law? International Law in China's Voting Behaviour and Argumentation in the United Nations Security Council

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 26 - Issue 04 , 875-907

Given the centrality of law in the creation, decision-making, and impact of the United Nations Security Council, the deliberative discourses among Security Council Members, and the necessity for China to articulate its reasons publicly for its actions within the Security Council, the roles that China plays within the Security Council illuminate and clarify its approaches to the current international legal order. This article explains how law serves as a constitutional–normative framework within which the Security Council must function, followed by a discussion of how the Security Council in turn may serve as a locus of deliberative discourses that delineate, influence, and constrain its members' state behaviours. It challenges the view that law plays a limited role on matters of international security by exploring China's voting behaviour in the Security Council and the arguments that it has proffered. It also discusses how China may respond to a draft Security Council resolution aimed at its conduct other than simply by vetoing it, and how it has taken a proactive role in the maintenance of international peace and security through the Security Council.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Salverda Nynke

Blue helmets as targets A quantitative analysis of rebel violence against peacekeepers, 1989–2003

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 50, Number 6, November , 707-720



A majority of UN peacekeeping operations deployed to civil wars face violent attacks by rebel groups. To date, the academic study of this type of violence has been very limited. This article is a first attempt to fill this gap. In particular, I aim to examine why rebel groups fight against peacekeepers in some cases, while not in others. I argue that since peacekeepers are mostly impartial but not neutral, they become an actor in a conflict and tend to protect the weaker side from total defeat. This implies that on the one hand, relatively weaker rebels will seek protection from the government by peacekeepers. On the other hand, relatively stronger rebels will challenge the peacekeepers in order to restrict their behavior and/or make them withdraw. If stronger rebels are successful in targeting the peacekeepers and the peacekeepers withdraw or alter their behavior, a victory for these rebel groups should become easier. Using novel data on violence against UN peacekeepers, I find that indeed, stronger rebel groups are more likely to fight against peacekeepers.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bijlmakers Stephanie

Business and human rights governance and democratic legitimacy: the UN “Protect, Respect and Remedy” Framework and the Guiding Principles

in Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, Volume 26, Issue 3 , 288-301

Global Corporate Social Responsibility schemes have assumed an authoritative role in today's diversifying global business and human rights governance regime, yet scholarship has paid scant attention to their democratic credentials. This article analyzes the democratic legitimacy of the UN “Protect, Respect and Remedy” Framework and the corresponding Guiding Principles, as developed by the former UN Special Representative for Business and Human Rights, Professor Ruggie. Applying De Búrca's democracy striving approach, the article provides insights into how the design and actual performance of the six year mandate of the Special Representative meet the democratic ideal of equality, participation and accountability. The findings hold that, to guarantee the continuant striving for the fullest and equal participation of all stakeholders, further steps are warranted to ensure that individuals from the Global South can equally and meaningfully partake in the implementation process of the Guiding Principles and contest their authority if deeming them to fail to meet the normative expectations of the people.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Stephanie Niall, Carly Godden, Maureen Tehan, Lee Godden

Climate Change and REDD+: Integrating Customary Fire-Management Schemes in East Malaysia and Northern Australia

in Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia , Vol. 28, n°3 , 538-571

Global climate change measures, such as emissions-reduction schemes, operate over many areas long occupied by indigenous peoples and local communities in Southeast Asia and Australasia. REDD+ emissions-reduction schemes seek to realize both environmental protection and co-benefits, including the retention of cultural heritage and traditional knowledge. Customary fire-reduction methods practiced in northern Australia by Aboriginal people are now included within the Australian emissions-trading scheme. This model could provide a useful basis for the incorporation of swidden cultivation into REDD+ programmes in Malaysia.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Derek Osborn

Commentary: Building on Rio+20 To Spur Action for Sustainable Development in Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development , May/June 2013

For 40 years the world has been struggling to come to terms with the growing need to protect the our environment and the natural systems that support all life.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Melillo Margherita

Cooperation between the UN Peacekeeping Operation and the ICC in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in Journal of International Criminal Justice, Vol. 11, Num. 4, September 2013 , 763-782

Arguing that the International Criminal Court (ICC) lacks sufficient resources to conduct investigation activities, the author suggests that cooperation between United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations and the Court is paramount not only in relation to the arrest of indicted individuals — the enforcement pillar of the ICC — but also with respect to the judicial pillar. This pattern of cooperation has been implemented in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and is analysed in this article. The author first discusses the legal framework applicable to cooperation between the ICC and the UN Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC, renamed MONUSCO), pointing out some contradictions in the Security Council mandate, due to divergent opinions among its members. The author then focuses on the memorandum of understanding signed by the two organizations and analyses its implementation, describing some activities undertaken in this context, although underlining the lack of transparency and the unavailability of precise official information. While reporting positively on some aspects, the author expresses concern on some unresolved outcomes of the first two judgments rendered by the ICC in the Ngudjolo Chui and Lubanga cases. Finally, the author addresses the recent Resolution 2098 of 2013, in which the Security Council finally agreed to explicitly authorize full cooperation between MONUSCO and the ICC. By doing so, it implicitly recognized the success of past activities and paved the way for possible future similar partnerships.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sjöstedt Britta

Costa Rica and Nicaragua before the International Court of Justice: Trying to Work Out the Complicated Relationship between Law and the Environment

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 22, Issue 3, Special Issue: Focus on: CITES+40, November , 366-370

Nicaragua and Costa Rica have twice turned to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to resolve disputes related to environmental damage occurring in a transboundary context. In these two cases the Court has to consider at least two issues. The first issue concerns the territorial status of a disputed border area. The disagreement is triggered by natural



variations of the San Juan River at the border between the two countries, which causes confusion as to where the State line lies. The second issue concerns environmental damage; more specifically, it involves adversely affected wetlands protected under the Ramsar Convention. The obligations stemming from the Ramsar Convention are of an open-ended character, rendering them difficult to apply. Both issues are connected with the fact that law and the environment have a complicated relationship – that is, legal obligations may be difficult to reconcile with a constantly changing environment. Here, the ICJ has the opportunity to clarify this uneasy relationship.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Tomka Peter

Custom and the International Court of Justice

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 12, n. 2 , 195-216

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Mechi Lorenzo

Du BIT à la politique sociale européenne : les origines d'un modèle

in Mouvement Social (Le), n° 244 , 17-30

Entre les deux guerres, le BIT poursuivit l'objectif d'intégration économique du Vieux Continent, dans le but de favoriser la croissance, grâce à un processus de rationalisation, et ainsi de produire les ressources nécessaires pour la diffusion de réformes sociales. Quand, après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, l'intégration économique fut effectivement amorcée, le BIT contribua à faire prévaloir cette conception, qui imprégna fortement les traités des communautés européennes. Ces derniers reflètent donc une forte confiance dans l'effet positif des dynamiques du marché et comportent une dimension sociale très réduite, limitée à des mesures visant à stimuler la mobilité de la main-d'œuvre et à rendre plus performant le marché du travail européen. En synergie avec les politiques interventionnistes nationales, cette approche joua effectivement le rôle envisagé dans l'entre-deux-guerres : elle contribua à alimenter la croissance des Trente Glorieuses et à permettre la construction des États-providence européens. À partir des années 1980, dans un contexte caractérisé par des politiques macroéconomiques de plus en plus centrées sur la rigueur financière et la discipline budgétaire, elle a commencé pourtant à montrer toutes ses limites et son incapacité à garantir des niveaux satisfaisants d'emploi.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ahmed Mahiou

Du droit économique au nouvel ordre économique international : quelques réflexions

in Revue internationale de droit économique , Vol. 27, n°4 , 523-532

Premières lignes



G rard Farjat et Laurence Boy ont beaucoup apport , chacun   sa mani re, au droit  conomique tant sur le plan interne que sur le plan international, en montrant d'ailleurs de fa on brillante et convaincante les imbrications et interactions entre les deux plans.   bien des  gards, le droit international du d veloppement et le nouvel ordre  conomique international (NOEI) sont un prolongement et une projection...

Plan de l'article

Gen se du nouvel ordre  conomique international
La contribution du droit international du d veloppement
Un droit finalis  et engag 
Le bilan du nouvel ordre  conomique international

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

James S. Denton

Editor's Introduction

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 17, n. 5, September / October

In 2016, after twenty-five years in existence and the expenditure of more than \$2 billion, the UN's International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) will close with a few trials and many errors to its credit in its long pursuit of justice for the victims of the atrocities committed during Yugoslavia's disintegration in the 1990s. In "Trials and Tribulations," Gordon Bardos notes that by the time the court shuts its doors, it will have existed "six times longer than the Nuremberg trials and more than eight times longer than the Tokyo tribunal." His disturbing account shows the tribunal as discriminatory, arbitrary, partial, hypocritical, and embarrassingly ineffective, if not counterproductive. More troubling still, Bardos argues that the hypocritical twists and turns the court has taken have had less to do with "justice" than with the policy interests du jour of the court's main sponsor, the United States. Unfortunately, the case Bardos makes is persuasive.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ceadel Martin

Enforced Pacific Settlement or Guaranteed Mutual Defence? British and US Approaches to Collective Security in the Eclectic Covenant of the League of Nations

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 993-1008

It is rarely pointed out that in pioneering collective security the Covenant of the League of Nations contained two approaches to that policy: enforced pacific settlement favoured in moderate-minimum form by the British (and in particular Lord Robert Cecil); and guaranteed mutual defence, promoted by President Wilson. Though not incompatible, they had very different political resonances. Enforced pacific settlement could be introduced gently, by limiting the pacific-settlement procedures that states were required to follow. By contrast, guaranteed mutual defence looked like a commitment to fight, not for international law, but for every detail of a controversial political and territorial status quo. Thus the Covenant's central element was a British scheme for enforced delay and inquiry, and its Achilles' heel was Article 10, insisted upon by Wilson but rejected by the Senate. In consequence, the most effective provisions of an



incoherent Covenant proved to lie outside the area of collective security, particularly in preventive diplomacy and world services.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Fernández Arribas Gloria

Entrada en vigor y ejercicio por la Corte Penal Internacional de la jurisdicción sobre el crimen de agresión
in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 25, junio 2013

The adoption of the Resolution about the crime of aggression at Kampala Conference does not entail the immediate Court's exercise of jurisdiction over the crime; on the contrary, the Resolution establishes a seven years delay and a complicate regime that make difficult the exercise of jurisdiction. The Resolution opts for article 121.5 of the Statute to establish the entry into force and exercise of jurisdiction mechanisms which has generated different interpretations on the Court's competence over nationals of States that has not accepted the amendment and over the crimes committed in such States. It will be necessary to analyze the previous work and the States' positions during the Conference to find out an accurate interpretation of the provisions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Morris Justin

From 'Peace by Dictation' to International Organisation: Great Power Responsibility and the Creation of the United Nations
in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 511-533

This article examines the attitudes of US, British, and Soviet policy-makers as they planned for the forthcoming peace during the Second World War. It charts how they moved from planning a 'peace by dictation' of the great powers, to planning one which would be based on a model of collective security involving all members of the United Nations alliance. The latter plan would reflect both the great powers' special responsibilities for maintaining international peace and security and the stake which lesser powers had in such a venture. In addressing these historical developments the article employs two concepts familiar to International Relations scholarship, namely concert and hierarchy. It shows how the understandings which the principal post-war planners had of these concepts – and crucially of their inter-relationship - changed over time and the consequences of these changes. The article makes two core claims: firstly, that as post-war planning progressed, the attitudes of the Big Three towards the acceptable nature of the great power–lesser power hierarchy changed radically; and secondly, that the structure and nature of today's United Nations Organisation is in significant part a consequence of these changes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bexell Magdalena

Hand in hand? UN–business cooperation for health and development
in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 26, Issue 3 , 201-213



This article explores legitimacy challenges arising from increased cooperation between the United Nations and large business companies in the realm of global public health through an examination of the Global Public–Private Partnership for Handwashing with Soap, seeking to prevent the spread of disease in poor communities. In contrast to many health partnerships, it does not employ a “vertical” disease-specific program, neither does it involve pharmaceutical companies. Instead the partnership stresses the marketing skills of soap companies in influencing individuals’ hygiene behavior as an important rationale for public–private partnering. The article argues that market-based governing strategies might increase the output legitimacy of global health governance, but that modes of representation and accountability have not evolved sufficiently to provide for broader input legitimacy. I propose that a human rights-based approach to health provides an alternative model that holds greater promise for legitimate governance, focusing on rights-bearing subjects instead of soap consumers.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Roach Steven C.

**How Political Is the ICC? Pressing Challenges and the Need for Diplomatic Efficacy
in Global Governance**, vol. 19, n. 4, october-december , 507-523

ABSTRACT: The International Criminal Court faces many daunting political challenges in Kenya, Libya, and Sudan. It has addressed these challenges and defended its impartiality in these situations by insisting that it remains an apolitical institution. This article challenges the conventional focus on the ICC's apolitical nature by adopting an alternative approach that examines its political and pragmatic role in seeking mutual accommodation. It argues that the ICC can and should seek mutual accommodation rather than simply justice under the Rome Statute. In doing so, the article develops and applies the term diplomatic efficacy, or the political capacity of the ICC to produce acceptable solutions, by addressing the soft power dimension of such efficacy. The ICC's diplomatic efficacy not only reflects its special role as an independent court or agent in the interstate system, but also represents a practical and strategic attempt to manage the political problems that its interventions and deferral to national authorities may create. The article concludes that the ICC's political efficacy can help to resolve the incongruities between proactive complementarity and the provisions of cooperation encoded in the Rome Statute.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Joshua Muravchik

How the UN Became Anti-Israel
in *World Affairs*, Vol. 17, n. 6, November / December

Some 120 non-aligned nations have used their UN clout to stigmatize and isolate Israel since the 1970s. Their hostility continues to threaten both the UN process and the Jewish state.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Dorussen Han, Gizelis Theodora-Ismene

Into the lion's den: Local responses to UN peacekeeping



in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 50, Number 6, November , 691-706

Multidimensional peacekeeping has drawn the United Nations (UN) into state-building, and missions have taken on significant responsibilities for good governance. Since it aims at transforming states from fragile post-conflict situations into inclusive, well-governed societies, multidimensional peacekeeping is more complex and arguably also more contentious than traditional peacekeeping. Multidimensional peacekeeping affects the balance of power between the government and rebels and provides them with opportunities for rent-seeking. Although the potential gains are obvious, the process is bound to lead to uncertainty and controversy. Whereas the international community mainly appreciates the opportunity of comprehensive peacekeeping to create value, local actors may be more concerned with opportunities for claiming value. What will be the responses of local actors to peacekeeping given the likely impact on the distribution of power between rebels and governments and their uneven opportunities to benefit from collaborating? Using event data for post-Cold War UN peacekeeping missions in Africa, the analysis considers when peacekeeping elicits cooperation rather than conflict, focusing on (a) the authorities involved in the event, (b) the policies implemented, and (c) the role of the peacekeepers. Key findings are that government authorities are more likely to respond cooperatively to peacekeeping actions, while rebels are more likely to respond with hostility. Both the government and rebels are unlikely to contest policies that aim to strengthen state capacity, while both are more likely to contest human rights policies. Finally, rebels tend to respond more cooperatively when peacekeepers have a mainly supportive role.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Claudio Schuftan

Key Framing Questions to Guide the UN Post-2015 High-Level Panel's Work and Consultations

in *Development*, Vol. 56, n°1 , 37-45

A thinker-activist uses the human rights perspective to respond to the UN questionnaire on the post-2015 development agenda

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Joseph Kazadi Mpiana

La Cour pénale internationale (CPI) et la République démocratique du Congo (RDC) 10 ans après. Étude de l'impact du statut de la CPI en droit interne congolais

in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, vol. 65, n. 2 , 419-466

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Benvenuto Francesca Maria

La Cour pénale internationale en accusation

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Novembre



Réunis en sommet extraordinaire, le 12 octobre 2013, les pays de l'Union africaine ont demandé la suspension des actions intentées contre des chefs d'Etat en exercice devant la Cour pénale internationale (CPI). Ils remettent ainsi en cause l'une des idées fondatrices de la Cour : lutter contre l'impunité des dirigeants. Motivée par la situation du Kenya, cette demande révèle les contradictions inhérentes à ce tribunal.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/11/BENVENUTO/49766>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Weckel Philippe

Le conseil de sécurité et la coopération judiciaire internationale
in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, a. 117, n.3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Atlani-Duault Laëtitia, Vidal Laurent

Le moment de la santé globale. Formes, figures et agendas d'un miroir de l'aide internationale
in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 215 , 7-16

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Eastin Luke J. L.

Legitimacy Deficit: Chinese Leadership at the United Nations
in *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, Volume 18, Issue 4 , 389-402

This paper examines the likelihood of China's legitimation as the global hegemon during an era of relative U.S. decline. Using Rapkin's (1990) legitimacy deficit framework, the author tests China's prospects for international legitimacy through the analysis of Chinese leadership at the United Nations (UN). While China's recent exponential increase in contributions to UN peacekeeping and the UN regular budget signal growing Chinese global leadership, their consistent focus on regional interests, as displayed in UN Security Council and UN General Assembly debate and discussion, indicates the absence of an internationally supported agenda. In concluding, this paper asserts that recent Chinese legitimation efforts through UN leadership have been stonewalled by an inability to provide an international agenda with globally held values and beliefs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Steven C. Roach



Legitimising negotiated justice: the International Criminal Court and flexible governance
in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 17, issue 5-6 , 619-632

How has the International Criminal Court's (ICC) assertive use of judicial power enhanced its legitimacy as a fair and impartial court? I argue that preserving and even enhancing the ICC's legitimacy depends in large part on its willingness to negotiate more, rather than less, with states regarding its jurisdiction and requests for cooperation. In doing so, I address the challenges posed to the ICC's credibility and assess this factor of the ICC's legitimacy in terms of the complex relationship between (proactive) complementarity and cooperation. One of my principal aims is to show how a flexible approach, or what I call negotiated justice, can bring together proactive complementarity and cooperation. I conceive negotiated justice in terms of the constructive trade-offs involved in meeting one another's demands and the need to reduce the tensions between realpolitik and the cosmopolitan ideals embedded in the Rome Statute.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Tranchant Baptiste

Les immunités des États tiers devant la Cour pénale internationale

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, a. 117, n.3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Antonios Vlassis

L'UNESCO face à l'enjeu « commerce-culture » : quelle action politique pour une organisation internationale ?

in *Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique*, Volume 32, numéro 3 , 81-101

This article aims to understand the political action of UNESCO's secretariat vis-à-vis the management of the interface between "trade and culture," as well as its room for manoeuvre faced with the promoters of the diversity of cultural expressions. While numerous studies on this issue assume that the UNESCO's secretariat is in favour of the process of building and implementing the Convention on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, this article looks into the conditions that allow the secretariat to act. The analysis seeks to dismantle the common idea that UNESCO was at the forefront of the Convention and to illustrate why the organization has adopted a conservative attitude on this issue and has implemented a number of strategies that take into account UNESCO's specific institutional environment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Benjamin Mason Meier

Making Health a Human Right: The World Health Organization and the United Nations Programme on Human Rights and Scientific and Technological Developments

in *Journal of the Historical Society (The)* , Vol. 13, n°2 , 195-229

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bartholomew Armah

**Making Sense of Africa's Priorities for the Post 2015 Development Agenda
in Development**, Vol. 56, n°1 , 114-122

African stakeholders ask for broadening the MDGs to include such overarching issues as sustainability, inequality, quality, ownership, and structural transformation

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gfeller Aurélie Elisa

**Negotiating the meaning of global heritage: 'cultural landscapes' in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention,
1972–92**

in **Journal of Global History**, Volume 8 - Issue 03 - November , 483-503

This article offers new historical analysis of global heritage by tracking the evolution of heritage concepts. Specifically, it analyses the introduction of the category of 'cultural landscapes' in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1992, using it as a lens through which to view the process of international (re)negotiation of the meaning of heritage. It shows that this reform resulted from the cooperation of competing actors – including experts, non-governmental organizations, and governments – that harboured different visions of culture and nature and their interrelationship. It also demonstrates that the recognition of cultural landscapes as a heritage category marked the new assertiveness of actors from post-settler states in North America and Oceania, as opposed to Europe, which had dominated global heritage until that point.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Schmitt Eva Mareike

**Neuere Entwicklungen bei der Reform des UN-Sicherheitsrats
in Vereinte Nationen**, Heft 5, 2013 , 202-208

ABSTRACT: Seit dem Weltgipfel 2005 ist es um die Reform des Sicherheitsrats still geworden. Weitgehend unbemerkt haben sich jedoch institutionelle Änderungen ergeben, und es entstanden neue Akteursformationen. In zeitlicher Nähe zu dem Weltgipfel 2015 lotet die G4 nun bestehende Reformoptionen und Unterstützerzahlen aus.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Carla Majdalani

**Peculiaridades de un multilateralismo austral. Argentina en el Consejo de Seguridad 2013-2014
in Nueva Sociedad**, n. 246



The Kirchnerist administrations have endowed Argentine foreign policy with three characteristics that could influence its performance as non-permanent member of the UN Security Council: the search for new, non-traditional markets and alliances, priority positioning of Latin America in the political agenda, and the vindication of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. Additionally, Argentina has positioned itself clearly in favor of a substantive reform of the Security Council that eliminates the right to veto. That is to say, a reform that not only modifies the quantity of permanent and non-permanent members, but also which changes in a qualitative way the decision-making mechanisms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gordon N. Bardos

Politics as Justice at the ICTY

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 17, n. 5, September / October

Two billion dollars later, the ICTY shuts its doors after twenty-five years of arbitrary, uneven, and often hypocritical 'justice' for the Balkans. Self-justifying US foreign policy politics played a big role.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Walden Bello

Post-2015 Development Assessment: Proposed goals and indicators

in *Development*, Vol. 56, n°1, 93-102

Calls for a focus on the structural and policy factors that perpetuate poverty to ensure that the post-2015 agenda is not hijacked by a resurrected Washington Consensus

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Michel Liégeois

Quel avenir pour les Casques bleus et le maintien de la paix?

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 78, n° 3, automne

L'ONU sera en 2014 le premier acteur militaire en termes d'opérations. Pourtant, les critiques abondent : opérations interminables fossilisées dans le paysage international ; gouffres financiers sans perspective des déploiements de l'ONU en RDC et au Darfour ; et pourquoi les puissances militaires se tiennent-elles à l'écart, un Casque bleu sur trois provenant d'Asie du Sud? Le maintien de la paix façon ONU est-il dépassé? Mais alors qui serait à même de prendre le relais des Nations unies?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Baeriswyl Pascale

Revolution durch die Hintertür. Moderne Arbeitsmethoden für einen wirksameren UN-Sicherheitsrat



in **Vereinte Nationen**, Heft 5, 2013 , 195-200

ABSTRACT: Sind die UN-Mitgliedstaaten über eine Krise zerstritten, beklagen sie häufig das Versagen des UN-Sicherheitsrats. Die einen sehen darin den Beweis für seine überholte Zusammensetzung, andere begründen damit eine moralische Pflicht zum militärischen Handeln ohne UN-Mandat. Doch schöpfen die Mitglieder das Potenzial, das die UN-Charta dem Sicherheitsrat für die globale Ordnungspolitik bietet, genügend aus? Eine moderne, partnerschaftliche Arbeitsweise könnte seine Wirkung wesentlich erhöhen.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Suzanne Egan

Strengthening the United Nations Human Rights Treaty Body System

in **Human Rights Law Review**, vol. 13, issue 2 , 209-243

The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has recently published her much anticipated report on strengthening the United Nations (UN) human rights treaty system. The latest in a series of initiatives launched by the UN over the years to improve the beleaguered treaty system, the report contains a series of recommendations aimed at improving the impact of the treaty system on rights-holders and duty-bearers at the national level. The proposals in the report are based on years of extensive consultations with key stakeholders in the treaty body system that were designed to intensify awareness of the current challenges facing the system as well as to stimulate suggestions for reform. This article considers in detail the potential of the High Commissioner's proposals to tackle the problems in the system and their overall feasibility in the current political climate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Heinz Wolfgang S., Maillard Caroline

Stärkung oder Reform? Die Verbesserungsvorschläge für die UN-Menschenrechtsausschüsse werden bescheiden ausfallen

in **Vereinte Nationen**, Heft 4, 2013 , 167-171

ABSTRACT: Menschenrechtsausschüsse vorgelegt. Der Bericht stellt den Abschluss der im Jahr 2009 eingeläuteten Diskussionsrunde (Dublin Prozess) dar. Im Dublin-Prozess hatten staatliche und nichtstaatliche Akteure auf mehreren Treffen Vorschläge zur Verbesserung des Systems ausgearbeitet. Eine von Russland initiierte Resolution hat zusätzlich im Februar 2012 einen zwischenstaatlichen Beratungsprozess in der UN-Generalversammlung in Gang gesetzt.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Hug Simon, Wegmann Simone

Ten years in the United Nations: Where does Switzerland stand?

in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 19, Issue 2, June 2013 , 212–232



Abstract

Prior to its full membership in the United Nations, Switzerland was an active observer and even an active member of many specialized UN agencies. However, ten years ago, Swiss voters finally approved full UN membership and in 2002, behavioral data started to become available on Switzerland's involvement in the major UN assemblies. Switzerland was admitted to the UN General Assembly (UNGA) as a full member on September 10th, 2002 and was elected to the newly created UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in 2006. Switzerland wished to be an active partner in both of these assemblies. In this research note we describe, based on novel data collected on the UNGA and the UNHRC, how Switzerland positions itself in the "orchestra of nations."

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Mecchi Lorenzo

Tendenze recenti della storiografia sulle organizzazioni internazionali

in Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900, n. 4, Ottobre, 645-658

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Vukušić Iva

The Archives of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

in History, Volume 98, Issue 332, October

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Guns Wendy

The Influence of the Feminist Anti-Abortion NGOs as Norm Setters at the Level of the UN: Contesting UN Norms on Reproductive Autonomy, 1995-2005

in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 35, number 3, august, 673-700

ABSTRACT: This article investigates why feminist anti-abortion activists have been active within the UN and what their influence is in the establishment of UN norms related to abortion. It will outline their argument and the manner in which a feminist counter argument on abortion emerged at the UN. It will examine why feminist anti-abortion nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have been successful at bringing the development of progressive international law on this issue to a halt. The article will conclude that their activities have challenged the idea that international norm development is an essential progressive process instigated by state actors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

The International Criminal Court's Involvement with Africa: Evaluation of a Fractious Relationship
in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 82, issue 3 , 417-446

ABSTRACT: This article examines the International Criminal Court's (ICC) role in relation to international crimes allegedly committed in Africa; it considers the difficulties and obstacles that the ICC has encountered in securing the co-operation of not only States Parties but also of non-States Parties which, in certain instances, are mandated to assist it; and it analyses the acrimonious relationship that has arisen between the African Union (AU), the Continent's political and security organisation, and the ICC. Thus far, the two most significant sources of antagonism between the ICC and Africa have been the arrest warrants against President al-Bashir of Sudan in relation to the situation in Darfur, and the crimes against humanity allegedly perpetrated during Kenya's post-election violence in 2007–2008. Finally, the article examines the continuing attempts by African States to amend Article 16 of the Rome Statute.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

The International Criminal Court's Involvement with Africa: Evaluation of a Fractious Relationship
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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Abtahi Hirad, Ogwuma Odo, Young Rebecca

The Judicial Review Powers of the Presidency of the International Criminal Court: Safeguards for the Protection of Human Rights

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 12, n. 3 , 281-320

ABSTRACT: In view of the ten-year anniversary of the entry into force of the Rome Statute, this article examines the functions of a lesser-known organ of the Court – the Presidency. Focusing particularly on judicial review by the Presidency, which is grounded in administrative and human rights law, this article provides the first comprehensive account of its jurisprudence, depicting a dynamic and developing case law which embraces a wide variety of sources of international law. This article addresses the protection of fundamental human rights by analysing the decisions of the Presidency in the context of the detention of suspects, accused and detained witnesses, as well as the right to a fair trial with regard to the suspect and/or accused and victims' representation.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Balan George-Dian

The Latest United States Sanctions Against Iran: What Role to the WTO Security Exceptions?
in *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 18 Issue 3 , 365-393

The US initiated the sanctions campaign against Iran at the end of the 1970s for national security reasons. The most significant step was arguably taken years later by the Clinton administration, by enacting the famous Iran and Libya Sanctions Act in 1996. Because of the extraterritorial effects of these sanctions, the European Commission reacted promptly, putting the matter on the table at the same time with the Helms-Burton claims, the latter becoming the first formal WTO request for the establishment of a panel related to security exceptions. Since 2006 the landscape has been changing and the UN Security Council passed a series of resolutions culminating with Resolution 1929 of June 2010. The United States' implementing measures go beyond the Security Council's mandate and some of them can be characterized as secondary sanctions. After a short overview of the possible violations of WTO law there follows a thorough analysis of the potentially available justifications. One of the key questions is whether a WTO Member can justify economic sanctions in excess of the UN mandate by using a unilateral defense in addition to the obvious multilateral justification.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sakiko Fukuda-Parr and Alicia Ely Yamin

The Power of Numbers: A critical review of MDG targets for human development and human rights
in *Development*, Vol. 56, n°1 , 58-65

Argues that while quantitative targets (e.g., the MDGs) are powerful as communication tools and benchmarks, they are not a substitute for policymaking or prioritizing

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Österdahl Inger

The Responsibility to Protect and the Responsibility While Protecting: Why Did Brazil Write a Letter to the UN?
in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 82, issue 4 , 459-486

ABSTRACT: The responsibility to protect was invoked by the United Nations (UN) Security Council in support of its authorization of a military intervention in Libya in 2011. In the wake of the intervention, Brazil approached the UN with a new doctrine: the responsibility while protecting. The responsibility while protecting implies a greater degree of caution on the part of the international community in its exercise of the responsibility to protect. Intentionally or unintentionally, Brazil mixes aspects of the jus ad bellum with aspects of the jus in bello in the new doctrine. This is controversial and potentially detrimental to both areas of law. An additional layer of limitations on the use of armed force in multinational peace operations is introduced beyond the existing restrictions on warfare following from international humanitarian law. A lack of clarity pertaining to the use of force and to the respective roles of the Security Council and the General



Assembly in this respect in the exercise of the responsibility to protect contribute to making the responsibility while protecting seem increasingly enigmatic. Interpreted constructively, however, the responsibility while protecting simply urges the international community to follow international law. This would be good.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Haász Veronika

The Role of National Human Rights Institutions in the Implementation of the UN Guiding Principles in Human Rights Review, vol. 14, number 3 , 165-187

ABSTRACT: National human rights institutions (NHRIs) are key domestic mechanisms for promotion and protection of human rights. The institutions' broad mandate, competencies, and special status between state and nonstate actors on the one hand, and special status between the national and international levels on the other hand enable them to engage effectively in the field of business and human rights. Since 2009, NHRIs have been engaging with the international human rights system in order to increase understanding and raise awareness of their role in addressing business and human rights issues. As a result, they have contributed to the development of the UN "Protect, Respect and Remedy" Framework and obtained an evolving role within all pillars of the framework and in its implementation. This paper presents how these domestic institutions, bridging the national and international levels, fit into the UN legal regime for corporate responsibility for human rights and what contribution they make to the implementation of the UN Guiding Principles.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Lang Andrew

The Role of the International Court of Justice in a Context of Fragmentation in International & Comparative Law Quarterly , Volume 62 - Issue 04 , 777-812

Over a decade ago, an important debate began concerning the proper role of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in an international legal universe characterized by a large and rapidly increasing number of specialized courts and tribunals. What functions can and should the Court perform in response to the fragmentation of international law, and the proliferation of international tribunals? Initial proposals, especially those emerging in the late 1990s, were hierarchical and centralist in their orientation, and have justifiably fallen out of favour. This article uses the current international legal disputes about Australia's plain packaging tobacco legislation as the basis for an exploration of the possibilities for an alternative, non-centralist vision for the ICJ, which is sensitive both to the institutional limits of the international judiciary, and to the benefits of a fundamentally pluralist international legal order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Andrew Lang

The Role of the International Court of Justice in a Context of Fragmentation



in **International and Comparative Law Quarterly**, vol. 62, issue 4 , 777-812

Over a decade ago, an important debate began concerning the proper role of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in an international legal universe characterized by a large and rapidly increasing number of specialized courts and tribunals. What functions can and should the Court perform in response to the fragmentation of international law, and the proliferation of international tribunals? Initial proposals, especially those emerging in the late 1990s, were hierarchical and centralist in their orientation, and have justifiably fallen out of favour. This article uses the current international legal disputes about Australia's plain packaging tobacco legislation as the basis for an exploration of the possibilities for an alternative, non-centralist vision for the ICJ, which is sensitive both to the institutional limits of the international judiciary, and to the benefits of a fundamentally pluralist international legal order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kyle Beardsley

The UN at the peacemaking–peacebuilding nexus

in **Conflict Management and Peace Science** , Vol. 30, n°4 , 369-386

The UN Security Council (UNSC) confronts at least three challenges in translating its actions during armed conflict into more durable peace after conflict. First, heavy-handed interventions such as military deployments and sanctions can impede the ability of the disputants to identify and reach a self-sustaining settlement when there is insufficient follow-through. Second, coordination problems can arise in handing off peacemaking activities from actors in the Secretariat to the UNSC when post-conflict security guarantees and continuous engagement are needed. Third, explicit attempts by the UNSC to produce peace and stability make it susceptible to the problem of cheap talk when it proclaims its concerns. After characterizing these problems in theory and generating observable implications, the paper uses original data on UNSC resolutions to test the hypotheses. The results indicate that the UN can succeed as a short-term peacemaker, particularly when it relies on diplomatic engagement and sanctions. However, when there is not adequate follow-through in the form of peacekeeping, the UN struggles to improve the long-term prospects of peace in part because it tends to promote stop-gap ceasefire resolutions. With peacekeeping, active UN involvement during conflict can promote long-term stability. Half measures such as condemnations have little effect on the stability of peace.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Fischhendler Itay, Katz David

The use of “security” jargon in sustainable development discourse: evidence from UN Commission on Sustainable Development

in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 13, Issue 3, September , 321-342

The premise of discourse theory in environmental policy is that realities are shaped by language. One discourse that is gaining popularity is the concept of environmental security, a discourse that presupposes environmental threats as urgent. The attempt to cast environmental issues as security issues has resulted in the common use of security jargon, idioms, and metaphors in policymakers' and politicians' statements. Various analyses attempt to identify why natural resources are discussed in terms and language of security. However, far fewer studies have attempted to identify differences in the manner in which different types of resources are incorporated into such a discourse by different actors



and what variables contribute to this process. This study examines the construction of the security references, security arguments, and language in the statements of the Commission on Sustainable Development dealing with energy and water. We found that international organizations and Non-governmental Organizations were somewhat more likely than state actors to use security references to discuss sustainability issues. The issues securitized are not the traditional high political ones such as regime stability and conflicts, but rather issues more associated with human security, such as access to renewable energy, affordable food, and clean water. The fact that in many statements examined the use of security references was not associated with any existential threat and hence did not comply with the conditions of the Copenhagen School raises some doubts as to whether security language in these statements implies a true securitization move. We also examined whether the use of the term “security” by states was correlated with greater resource scarcity or vulnerability. In the case of water-related sessions, the evidence was mixed, depending on the choice of dependent variable. The results from energy security regressions, however, were inconsistent with the hypothesis that greater scarcity or vulnerability induces more use of security language.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Keane David; Azarov Valentina

UNESCO, Palestine and Archaeology in Conflict

in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 41, No. 3,

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Lattanzi Flavia

Un piccolo passo sulla via dell'adeguamento allo Statuto della Corte Penale Internazionale

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCVI, fascicolo 2 , 492-512

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Carswell Andrew J.

Unblocking the UN Security Council: The Uniting for Peace Resolution

in *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 18 Issue 3 , 453-480

The United Nations Security Council's recent blocked attempts to address the deteriorating political and humanitarian situation in Syria have renewed calls for UN reform. From the Cold War until the present day, the fact that the UN system has failed to live up to the lofty expectations of its framers can be attributed in significant part to the threat and exercise of the veto by individual Permanent Five (P5) members of the Council. This situation can be attributed to an unequal—but politically necessary—compromise that took place between the great Allied victors of the Second World War and the remainder of the UN membership. The result was a division of powers between the Security Council and



the General Assembly that has never found a satisfactory equilibrium. In light of this predicament, the author argues that a 1950 General Assembly resolution should be re-examined in the modern context as a possible means of mitigating the bad faith exercise of the veto. The 'Uniting for Peace' resolution, drafted by a P5 member, revealed the latent powers of the General Assembly existing within the UN Charter to make recommendations in lieu of a blocked Council, up to and including the use of force. However, it went too far when it assigned to the Assembly a role that effectively usurped the primary role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. When P5 members realized that it potentially restricted their respective sovereign interests, it was relegated to obscurity. Nevertheless, read down to reflect a constitutional balance between the UN's primary organs, the resolution represents a viable tool capable of overcoming the worst effects of a veto exercised in circumstances that cry out for an international response.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bannelier Karine , ChristakisTheodore

Under the UN Security Council's Watchful Eyes: Military Intervention by Invitation in the Malian Conflict in Leiden Journal of International Law, Volume 26 - Issue 04 , 856-874

Responding to an urgent request by the authorities of Mali, France launched Operation Serval against several terrorist armed groups in January 2013. The French troops were assisted by a Chadian contingent and by forces progressively deployed by other African countries within a UNSC authorized African force (Resolution 2085). While the French and African military operations in Mali were clearly legal, they raise important questions of jus ad bellum in relation to the two legal arguments put forward to justify them: intervention by invitation, and UNSC authorization. In this paper we first discuss the general rules of international law applying to intervention by invitation. We explain that such an intervention could sometimes be contrary to the principle of self-determination and we propose a purpose-based approach. We then apply these rules to the situation in Mali and conclude that the French and Chadian interventions were legal because, on the one hand, the request was validly formulated by the internationally recognized government of Mali and, on the other hand, their legitimate purpose was to fight terrorism. The UNSC approved this legal basis and 'helped' France and Chad appeal validly to it by listing the enemy as 'terrorist groups'. It gave its 'blessing' to these interventions, without authorizing them, and observed the events with relief. The adoption of Resolution 2100 on 25 April 2013 raises new legal questions. The Council creates a UN peace enforcement mission in Mali, MINUSMA, which has a robust use-of-force mandate. Created just a few weeks after the DRC Intervention Brigade, this force seems to indicate an ongoing evolution (revolution?) in UN peacekeeping, notwithstanding the assurances by some UNSC member states that MINUSMA will avoid 'offensive counter-terrorism operations'. At the same time Resolution 2100 gives a restricted use-of-force mandate to France (to protect MINUSMA), without challenging the legal validity of intervention by invitation for all other tasks. The conflict in Mali might thus remain for some time yet between the latitude of UNSC authorization and the longitude of unilateral intervention by invitation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bannelier Karine , ChristakisTheodore

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Anderson Glen

Unilateral Non-Colonial Secession in International Law and Declaratory General Assembly Resolutions: Textual Content and Legal Effects

in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 41, No. 3,

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Helen Clark

What Does Rio+20 Mean for Sustainable Development?

in *Development*, Vol. 56, n°1 , 16-23

The UNDP Administrator interprets the background to Rio+20, the impact of the conference, and what needs to be done to translate its outcome into practical action



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Loeffler James

“The Conscience of America”: Human Rights, Jewish Politics, and American Foreign Policy at the 1945 United Nations San Francisco Conference.

in *Journal of American History* , Volume 100, No. 2, September , 401-428

The history of human rights in American foreign policy is often explained as a zero-sum game between moral principles and political calculations. In his article, James Loeffler challenges this notion, using the case of American Jewish advocacy at the United Nations in 1945. Using an array of new archival sources related to competing Jewish efforts to lobby State Department officials, he concludes that the conventional narrative of American Jewish leadership in the field of human rights obscures deeper ideological conflicts regarding Zionism, Jewish identity, and anti-Semitism. He likewise argues that American human rights policy already exhibited a pattern of sophisticated give and take between State Department officials and nongovernmental organizations, in which both sides were driven by a variety of conflicting strategic motivations. This belies recent scholarly representations of the late 1940s as either a golden age or a false dawn for human rights in American foreign policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Tripolone Gerardo

¿Es posible una teoría jurídica sobre la aplicación de normas internacionales por el Consejo de Seguridad de Naciones Unidas?

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 26, diciembre 2013

In this paper we ask about the possibility of a legal theory to account for the application of international legal norms by the Security Council of United Nations (SC). The fact that are sovereign States with certain political interests who decide in the SC and the broad discretion with which decisions are taken, conspire with the pretense of a legal analysis of the performance of SC. However, for us it is possible a legal theory on the application of international norms by SC, whenever one takes some postulation developed in this work.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Grindle Merilee S

Public sector reform as problem-solving? Comment on the World Bank’s Public Sector Management Approach for 2011 to 2020

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Vol. 79, No. 3 , 398-405

The World Bank has recently released its Public Sector Management (PSM) Approach for 2011–20. This commentary reviews the core messages of this document and then indicates how it embodies a convergence between academic research and practice in its approach and analytic framework. It then presents a ‘thought experiment’ about how practitioners might bring scholarship and practice together as suggested by the PSM approach. Nevertheless, effective



implementation of the approach will depend on the convergence between the path it lays out for practice and the incentives that World Bank officials face in efforts to improve public sector management in real-world situations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Aggarwal Vinod K., Evenett Simon J.

A Fragmenting Global Economy: A Weakened WTO, Mega FTAs, and Murky Protectionism

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 19, Issue 4, December 2013 , 550–557

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Nicolas Sarkozy

A Permanent Secretariat for the G-20

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 3, July , 59-60

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Alschner Wolfgang

Amicable Settlements of WTO Disputes: Bilateral Solutions in a Multilateral System.

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 13 - Issue 01 - gennaio 2014 , 65-102

Every third dispute brought to the WTO and not withdrawn early is settled amicably through a mutually agreed solution (MAS). This includes high-profile and long-standing WTO disputes such as EC–Bananas or Softwood Lumber. By offering a negotiated solution to hard cases, MAS have added stability to the multilateral trading system. MAS, however, also raise concerns. Settlements favour the instant resolution of disputes, but may conflict with third party interests and collective stakes. Where WTO members use their MAS to contract out of WTO law ('WTO+'/'WTO–'MAS), the multilateral trading system may be at risk. In addition, new forms of bilateral (interim-)settlements not foreseen in the DSU have recently emerged which currently escape multilateral disciplines. This article assesses how well the DSU balances the competing interests involved in amicable settlements, preserving the contractual flexibility of disputants while safeguarding multilateral interests. Contributing to current DSU reform debates, the article rejects the need for greater MAS enforceability, endorses the strengthening of procedural and substantive safeguards protecting collective stakeholders in settlements, and calls for new DSU disciplines on interim-settlements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Zaki C.

An empirical assessment of the trade facilitation initiative: econometric evidence and global economic effects.
in *World Trade Review*, Volume 13 - Issue 01 - gennaio 2014 , 103-130

This paper attempts to model trade facilitation in a multi-regional and multi-sectoral computable general equilibrium (CGE) model, MIRAGE. It follows Decreux and Fontagné (2009) in modeling trade facilitation and in assuming that administrative barriers are an iceberg cost. I extend their model using more comprehensive measures of ad-valorem equivalents (AVEs) of red tape costs, which are computed from a gravity model, and are introduced in the CGE model. The novelty in using those AVEs is that they take into account the effects of bureaucracy, internet coverage, corruption, and geographical barriers on the time to trade. The paper has four major findings. Gains derived from trade facilitation are more significant for developing economies (especially for the Middle East and North Africa region and Sub-Saharan countries) than for developed ones, whether in terms of welfare gain (either in the short or long run) or increase in trade. Second, long-run welfare effects of trade facilitation are much higher than in the short run. Third, trade facilitation helps boost both intra-regional trade and inter-regional trade. Fourth and most interestingly, it also helps improve export diversification, leading to an expansion in those sectors that are more sensitive to time, such as food, textiles, and electronics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Pollitt Christopher

Back in the OECD's...;...;an oblique comment on the World Bank's Better Results from Public Sector Institutions

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Vol. 79, No. 3 , 406-412,

This brief commentary questions some of the usual assumptions made about the differences between public management reform in the developed world compared with the developing world. It suggests that reform failure is common in both, as is a lack of evidence about the final impacts of reform. In both cases the best available evidence indicates that management reform is an iterative and exploratory process that needs local, contextualized knowledge as well as formal expertise. The World Bank's Better Results from Public Sector Institutions offers an interesting analysis of this situation, and puts forward useful insights. The real test, as always, will be whether these ideas can be implemented.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Simmons Beth A.

Bargaining over BITs, Arbitrating Awards: The Regime for Protection and Promotion of International Investment
in *World Politics*, vol. 66, n. 1, January , 12-46

ABSTRACT: The regime for international investment is extraordinary in public international law and controversial in many regions of the world. This article explores two aspects of this set of rules: its decentralization and the unusual



powers it gives to private actors to invoke dispute settlement. Decentralization has contributed to a competitive environment for ratification of bilateral investment treaties (BITs) and has elevated the importance of dyadic bargaining power in the formation of the regime. Governments of developing countries are more likely to enter into BITs and tie their hands more tightly when they are in a weak bargaining position, which in turn is associated with economic downturns of the domestic economy. Once committed, investors have sued governments with surprising regularity, arguably contributing disproportionately to legal awards that favor the private corporate actors who have the power to convene the dispute settlement system. States have begun to push back, revising their obligations and attempting to annul arbitral awards. One of the conclusions is that it is important not only to consider whether BITs attract capital—which has been the focus of nearly all the empirical research on BIT effects—but also to investigate the governance consequences of the international investment regime generally.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

James Scott, Sophie Harman

Beyond trips: Why the wto's Doha Round is unhealthy

in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 34 n.8 , 1361-76

The current round of World Trade Organization (wto) negotiations—the Doha Round—has significant implications for global health which have received insufficient attention from the global health community. All too often the health implications of global trade agreements are examined only after their conclusion, and are concerned only with intellectual property rights. This paper seeks to move beyond this narrow focus and elucidate the wider health implications of the Doha Round. It explores the negative effect of the Round on state capacity to provide and regulate health services in low-income countries, and the impact it will have on livelihoods among the poor and their ability to access health services. Overall the paper makes the case for greater engagement from the health community with the wto and the Doha Round negotiations beyond the customary focus on intellectual property rights.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sharma Patrick  

Bureaucratic imperatives and policy outcomes: The origins of World Bank structural adjustment lending

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 4, 2013 , 667-686

Although the impact of World Bank and IMF structural adjustment loans on developing country borrowers has been the subject of considerable analysis, our understanding of the origins of these operations remains poor. This article rectifies this deficiency by providing an account of the genesis of the Bank's program of structural adjustment. Drawing on documents from the Bank's archives as well as interviews with former Bank officials, the paper argues that the creation of structural adjustment lending in 1980 resulted from frustration among the Bank's senior management at the slow disbursement of the organization's regular project loans. Rather than a reaction to demands from powerful states, as many observers have assumed, structural adjustment was an internally driven response to flaws in the Bank's operations. In emphasizing the Bank's autonomy, this article supplements approaches that emphasize the importance of budget maximization and mission creep as determinants of international organization behavior.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gavin Brigid

China's growing conflict with the WTO

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 4, July 2013 , 254-261

China is the leading exporter of rare earths, elements which are crucial to the development of high-tech products and new green technologies. In recent years, however, China has begun imposing export restraints on these elements in order to benefit its domestic economic development. This reduces global supply and thus artificially leads to higher prices for importing countries. The EU, the US and Japan have launched a formal complaint in the WTO against China's export restrictions. China claims that these restrictions are aimed at environmental protection. This paper examines China's rare earth policy and its compliance with WTO rules.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kristina Daugirdas

Congress Underestimated: The Case of the World Bank

in *American journal of international law*, vol. 107, issue 3 , 517-562

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Helleiner Eric

Did the Financial Crisis Generate a Fourth Pillar of Global Economic Architecture?

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 19, Issue 4, December 2013 , 558-563

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ludema Rodney D., Mayda Anna Maria

Do terms-of-trade effects matter for trade agreements? Theory and evidence from WTO Countries

in *Quarterly Journal of Economics (The)*, Volume 128 Issue 4 November 2013 , 1837-1893

International trade agreements are an important element of the world economic system, but questions remain as to their purpose. The terms-of-trade hypothesis posits that countries use tariffs in part to improve their terms of trade and that trade agreements cause them to internalize the costs that such terms-of-trade shifts impose on other countries. This article investigates whether the most-favored-nation (MFN) tariffs set by World Trade Organization (WTO) members in the Uruguay Round are consistent with the terms-of-trade hypothesis. We present a model of multilateral trade negotiations featuring endogenous participation that leads the resulting tariff schedules to display terms-of-trade effects.



Specifically, the model predicts that the level of the importer's tariff resulting from negotiations should be negatively related to the product of two terms: exporter concentration, as measured by the Herfindahl-Hirschman index (sum of squared export shares), and the importer's market power, as measured by the inverse elasticity of export supply, on a product-by-product basis. We test this hypothesis using data on tariffs, trade, and production across more than 30 WTO countries and find strong support. We estimate that the internalization of terms of trade effects through WTO negotiations has lowered the average tariff of these countries by 22% to 27% compared to its noncooperative level.

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Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mavroidis Petros C.

Driftin' too far from shore – Why the test for compliance with the TBT Agreement developed by the WTO Appellate Body is wrong, and what should the AB have done instead

in World Trade Review, Volume 12 - Issue 03 - luglio 2013

Following years of silence, the WTO Appellate Body (AB) issued almost simultaneously three reports dealing with issues coming under the aegis of the WTO Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT). The three Panel reports were hard to reconcile, and this feature in and of itself made the task of the AB quite onerous. Some progress has been made and some clarifications have been introduced, but overall the AB has yet to come to grips with a coherent approach regarding the understanding of the TBT Agreement. The main argument in this paper is that the AB, in designing its test for consistency with the TBT Agreement, did not do any different than it would have done had no TBT Agreement existed. It is, nevertheless, response to the question 'what has the TBT added to the pre-existing legislative arsenal' that should point to the elements that must be included in developing a test of consistency against which disputes coming under the aegis of the TBT Agreement should be discussed. The suggested approach consists of a two-tier test whereby Panels would first inquire into the innate characteristics of a measure coming under the aegis of the TBT Agreement, before asking the question whether it has also been applied in non-discriminatory manner.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Pierre Vercauteren

Du « Consensus de Washington » au « Consensus de Séoul » : quelle place pour l'État dans la gouvernance ?

in Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique, Volume 32, numéro 3 , 135-158

The initial conception of governance as defined by the World Bank in 1992 and inspired in a normative perspective by the Washington Consensus was implying a retreat of the state in a process in which actors of various kinds were invited to provide answers to the efficiency and legitimacy deficit faced by several countries. More recently, in 2010, the adoption by the G20 of the Seoul Consensus indicates a new step in the conception of governance, moving away from the Washington Consensus approach. The aim of this contribution is to analyze the reasons of the shift from one consensus to the other and to clarify more specifically what such an evolution implies for the place of the state in governance. To this end, the present reflection investigates the limits of governance as implemented according to its initial conception and reveals some alterations of the international system, notably the advent of emerging powers, in a context of multiple crisis, in order to underline their consequences on the states. These elements lead to reconsider the place of the state in global governance, more specifically with reference to the Seoul Consensus.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bonet Pérez Jordi

El sistema de control de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT) y la interpretación de los convenios de la OIT: Aproximación jurídica a una crisis institucional

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 26, diciembre 2013

An institutional crisis has been opened in the ILO as a result of the decision of the employer members to turn their disagreement with the interpretation given by the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR) of Convention No. 87 on freedom of Association and protection of the Right to Organise (1948) into a capital problem for the credibility of the control system of the OIT. A legal analysis of the arguments of the employers and of the rest of other actors of the debate (worker members and CEACR) has been made to offer a realistic approach to the main legal issues at stake: the extent of the interpretative powers of the CEACR and if the interpretation given by the CEACR follows the rules of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Paolo D. Farah, Elena Cima

Energy Trade and the WTO: Implications for Renewable Energy and the OPEC Cartel

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.3 , 707-40

Energy has become increasingly important in international trade relations. However, the World Trade Organization (WTO) does not deal specifically with this sector, and this creates several problems when it comes to regulating trade in energy goods and services. The situation is further complicated, on the one hand, by the need to foster the diffusion of renewable energy to address the current environmental concerns and, on the other, by the total and overwhelming control exercised by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) over the oil market.

It is true that, recently, the WTO has shown an increasingly open approach towards environmental issues. However, free trade is still the backbone of the Organization and trade liberalization its main goal. This explains why the WTO Panel and Appellate Body are still reluctant to justify measures adopted to support the renewable energy sector that may conflict with international trade law.

Different might be the case with fossil fuels, the main competitor of renewable energy. OPEC exploits several strategies to control oil prices, which, at least in theory, clash with international trade rules. However, whatever the reason, such practices have never been challenged in front of the WTO. The way WTO provisions are interpreted and applied by the Panel and the Appellate Body when environmental concerns are involved can be used as a starting point to forecast a hypothetical judgment in case OPEC's practices were eventually challenged.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Alee Todd, Peinhardt Clint



Evaluating Three Explanations for the Design of Bilateral Investment Treaties

in World Politics, vol. 66, n. 1, January, 47-87

ABSTRACT: Although many features of bilateral investment treaties (BITs) are consistent from one agreement to the next, a closer look reveals that the treaties exhibit considerable variation in terms of their enforcement provisions, which legal scholars have singled out as the central component of the treaties. An original data set is compiled that captures three important treaty-design differences: whether the parties consent in advance to international arbitration, whether they allow treaty obligations to be enforced before an institutionalized arbitration body, and how many arbitration options are specified for enforcement. Drawing upon several relevant literatures on international institutions, three potentially generalizable explanations for this important treaty variation are articulated and tested. The strongest support is found for the theoretical perspective that emphasizes the bargaining power and preferences of capital-exporting states, which use the treaties to codify strong, credible investor protections in all their treaties. Empirical tests consistently reveal that treaties contain strong enforcement provisions—in which the parties preconsent to multiple, often institutionalized arbitration options—when the capital-exporting treaty partner has considerable bargaining power and contains domestic actors that prefer such arrangements, such as large multinational corporations or right-wing governments. In contrast, there is no evidence to support the popular hands-tying explanation, which predicts that investment-seeking states with the most severe credibility problems, due to poor reputations or weak domestic institutions, will bind themselves to treaties with stronger investment protections. Likewise, little support is found for explanations derived from the project on the rational design of international institutions, which discounts the identities and preferences of the treaty partners and instead emphasizes the structural conditions they jointly face. In sum, this foundational study of differences across investment treaties suggests that the design of treaties is driven by powerful states, which include elements in the treaties that serve their interests, regardless of the treaty partner or the current strategic setting.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Büthe Tim, Milner Helen V.

Foreign Direct Investment and Institutional Diversity in Trade Agreements: Credibility, Commitment, and Economic Flows in the Developing World, 1971–2007

in World Politics, vol. 66, n. 1, January, 88-122

ABSTRACT: International trade agreements lead to more foreign direct investment (FDI) in developing countries. This article examines the causal mechanisms underpinning this trade-investment linkage by asking whether institutional features of preferential trade agreements (PTAs), which allow governments to make more credible commitments to protect foreign investments, indeed result in greater FDI. The authors explore three institutional differences. First, they examine whether PTAs that have entered into force lead to greater FDI than PTAs that have merely been negotiated and signed, since only the former constitute a binding commitment under international law. Second, they ask whether trade agreements that have investment clauses lead to greater FDI. Third, they consider whether PTAs with dispute-settlement mechanisms lead to greater FDI. Analyses of FDI flows into 122 developing countries from 1971 to 2007 show that trade agreements that include stronger mechanisms for credible commitment induce more FDI. Institutional diversity in international agreements matters.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Johnston Adrian M., Trebilcock Michael J.

Fragmentation in international trade law: insights from the global investment regime
in *World Trade Review*, Volume 12 - Issue 04 - ottobre 2013

With World Trade Organization negotiations stagnant, and preferential trade agreements (PTAs) rapidly proliferating, international trade relations are shifting markedly toward bilateralism. The resulting fragmentation in the international trade regime poses serious risks to economic welfare and the coherence of international trade law. Similar challenges have been faced in the international investment regime, which is comprised of a highly fragmented network of bilateral investment treaties (BITs). However, scholars have identified several mechanisms that promote harmonization in the international investment regime. Among these are cross-treaty interpretation in dispute settlement and the inclusion of most-favoured nation (MFN) clauses in BITs. This paper assesses the scope for these two mechanisms to emerge in the international trade regime by comparing the legal framework, institutional dynamics, and political economy of the trade and investment regimes. The analysis suggests that cross-treaty interpretation is likely to emerge in the trade regime as PTA dispute settlement activity increases and that greater use of MFN clauses in PTAs is a viable possibility. These developments would mitigate the effects of fragmentation and advance harmonization in the international trade regime.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Vitaliy Pogoretsky

Freedom of Transit and the Principles of Effective Right and Economic Cooperation: Can Systemic Interpretation of GATT Article V Promote Energy Security and the Development of an International Gas Market?
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.2 , 313-52

This article analyses the World Trade Organization (WTO) regulation of gas transit from the perspective of systemic integration of public international law. Unlike other goods, gas can be transported only via fixed infrastructure—pipelines. Consequently, in this particular context, the effective implementation of the principle of freedom of transit, incorporated into the GATT 1994, depends on the existence of certain ancillary rights, such as the right to access a transit State's pipeline network or construct new pipelines. While these ancillary rights are not directly mentioned in the GATT, the article examines whether they can be derived from principles of general international law, subsumed under WTO law through systemic integration. The outcome of this assessment is crucial for understanding whether WTO transit rules can ensure the energy security of gas-dependent WTO Members and promote the development of an international gas market, at the period when a number of key energy-exporting and transit States have joined the WTO. The analysis of the relationship between primary and ancillary rights in the context of gas transit in this article can be transposed *mutatis mutandis* to other areas of network-bound trade.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Jayagovind A.

Impact of Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources on WTO: A Critique of WTO Ruling in China: Exportation of Raw Materials Case

in *Indian Journal of International Law*, Vol. 52, no. 2,



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Wijkstrm, Erik; McDaniels, Devin

Improving Regulatory Governance: International Standards and the WTO TBT Agreement

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.5 , 1013-1046

The WTO Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (the TBT Agreement) obliges governments to use international standards as a basis for regulation yet leaves a degree of flexibility with respect to the choice of standard and the manner of its use. This interplay between obligation and flexibility has given rise to tension in various for a of the WTO, including in committee work, negotiations and dispute settlement. This paper brings together these three distinct strands of WTO work to illustrate core aspects of the international standards debate. In our analysis, we first briefly outline the nature of the discipline in the TBT Agreement itself; next, we describe where and how the discussion arises in the WTO; and, finally, we explore under what circumstances international standards contribute to regulatory convergence and the challenges they face in this regard. We propose that greater regulatory convergence could be fostered through a renewed focus on the procedures used by international standardizing bodies (the how) and greater emphasis on robust technical/scientific underpinnings of the standards themselves (the what).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Horn, Henrik; Mavroidis, Petros C.; Wijkstrm, Erik N.

In the Shadow of the DSU: Addressing Specific Trade Concerns in the WTO SPS and TBT Committees

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.4 , 729-59

The article argues that focusing only on disputes formally raised in the World Trade Organization (WTO) Dispute Settlement system underestimates the extent of trade conflict resolution within the WTO. Both the Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS) and Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT) Committees address a significant number of 'specific trade concerns' (STCs) that in the overwhelming majority of cases do not become formal disputes. The STCs address differences between Members concerning the conformity of national measures in the SPS and TBT areas with these agreements. It appears as if Committee work on STCs significantly helps defuse potential trade frictions concerning national policies in the covered areas.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kim Sung Eun, Urpelainen Johannes

International energy lending: who funds fossil fuels, who funds energy access for the poor?

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 4, November , 411-423

Energy demand is surging in the developing world, and international organizations play an important role in the funding of energy projects. However, there is virtually no empirical analysis of how different organizations choose their project portfolios. This article examines the energy funding of different international organizations, with a particular focus on the



World Bank's International Development Association (IDA) and International Finance Corporation (IFC). We use data on 888 projects in 128 recipient countries funded by nine major international organizations during the years 2008–2011. Relative to other organizations, the IDA is found to invest less in fossil fuels and more in projects that improve energy access for the poorest people. The IFC emphasizes fossil fuels while downplaying the importance of energy access. Overall, fossil fuels now receive only a minority of energy funding. However, energy access is only emphasized in a tiny minority of projects.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Nitsch Volker, Wolf Nikolaus

Introduction to Issue on Measuring Economic Integration

in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 59 Issue 2 June 2013 , 195-198

Among a wider public, global market integration is often taken for granted. Products offered in local stores typically originate from all over the world. Goods may also have crossed borders numerous times during the production process. Online marketplaces, such as eBay, facilitate effortless business with (basically anonymous) partners in remote places. After all, goods and services are traded over thousands of kilometers every day.

Still, integration is not an irreversible process. Institutional, financial and political factors, among others, provide fault lines of fragmentation that may limit further integration or even promote disintegration. As the collapse of world trade in the wake of the financial crisis in 2008/2009 has shown, for instance, trade may dry up quickly. Also, institutional processes (such as WTO negotiations) could become stagnant, and even countries can be dissolved. In view of these developments, the mechanisms of integration have again taken center stage in scholarly discussions of international economics.

A key challenge in this debate is the empirical measurement of economic integration and its underlying determinants. How can we compare levels of integration over time and across regions? What assumptions are necessary to identify barriers to the integration of goods and factor markets? How can we estimate the effect of policy changes on integration if the policies themselves are endogenous? The articles collected in this issue, presented and discussed at a conference at CESifo Munich in February 2011, deal with these and related questions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Milner Helen V.

Introduction: The Global Economy, FDI, and the Regime for Investment

in **World Politics**, vol. 66, n. 1, January , 1-11

ABSTRACT: The world economy has maintained or enhanced its integration in the past decade even in the face of the global financial crisis. A large part of this globalization has been driven by capital flows. This symposium focuses on one element of these capital flows, foreign direct investment (FDI), and on the regime in place to safeguard and promote such investments around the globe. The articles by Allee and Peinhardt and Simmons focus on the nature and evolution of the bilateral investment treaties (BITs) that have been developed to protect such investments and that have proliferated since the 1990s. The final article, by Bütte and Milner, turns its attention to the ways in which international trade agreements affect FDI. The comparison between the investment and trade agreements is instructive, since they



seem to have different effects.

FDI has become one of the most important economic flows in the global economy. It is a critical source of capital for developing countries and remains a significant source of investment in the developed world. FDI has grown in part because countries changed their policies toward it dramatically after the 1980s; governments in developing countries made unilateral policy changes that opened up markets across the globe and increased competition among countries for FDI.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Tijmes Jaime

Jurisprudential developments on the purpose of WTO suspension of obligations.

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 13 - Issue 01 - gennaio 2014 , 1-38

This article examines World Trade Organization (WTO) jurisprudence on the question as to if the purpose of suspending concessions or other obligations is to induce compliance, to rebalance concessions, or both. WTO jurisprudence on this issue can be systematized into three steps. First, inducing compliance is the general purpose of suspension as complaining parties have the right to request the authorization to suspend concessions or other obligations as long as they meet the requirements spelled out in the WTO Dispute Settlement Understanding. The second step relates to the level of suspension. In general, WTO jurisprudence has accorded a higher hierarchy to the purpose of rebalancing concessions or other obligations, with some exceptions made regarding disputes on prohibited subsidies and diachronically variable suspension levels. As a third step, WTO jurisprudence has bestowed complaining Members freedom concerning the suspension's content, so as to induce the defending party to comply. Keeping these three steps in mind will hopefully make understanding WTO jurisprudence on suspension of concessions or other obligations easier.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Fontagné Lionel, Jean Sébastien

L'OMC en quête d'un avenir

in *Lettre du CEPIL*, n. 337, Nov. - 2013 , 1-4

Le cycle de Doha n'aboutira pas à un accord global tel qu'on pouvait l'imaginer à son lancement il y a 12 ans. L'OMC n'a pas réussi à s'imposer comme enceinte pertinente pour redéfinir les règles du commerce mondial et les négociations de la Conférence ministérielle qui se tiendra du 3 au 6 décembre à Bali ne porteront que sur des sujets d'une portée limitée. Au-delà de la capacité des États membres à s'accorder sur ces sujets, l'enjeu sera d'esquisser des pistes crédibles de réforme du système commercial multilatéral.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Roberto Tamborini

L'Unione monetaria europea è riformabile?

in *Mulino (il)*, n.5 , 841-851



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Leimgruber Matthieu

La sécurité sociale au péril du vieillissement. Les organisations internationales et l'alarmisme démographique (1975-1995)

in **Mouvement Social (Le)**, n° 244 , 31-45

Cet article analyse les constellations d'intérêts, les circulations d'experts et les va-et-vient entre le national et l'international qui ont présidé à l'écriture de plusieurs rapports clés sur le vieillissement élaborés par le Fonds monétaire international et la Banque mondiale durant la première moitié des années 1980. Cette cartographie démontre comment ces organisations multilatérales ont contribué à façonner une conception alarmiste du vieillissement et de son impact sur les systèmes de retraite afin de légitimer des réformes controversées de la sécurité sociale. De manière plus générale, cette étude de cas souligne les modalités d'action et de mobilisation de ces organisations internationales dans une période marquée par une profonde remise en cause de l'expansion de la sécurité sociale.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Giannelli Marinella

La "condizionalità democratica" e la sua applicabilità alle istituzioni finanziarie internazionali

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno VIII, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 327-352

Conditionality is used by many international organizations whose mandate encompasses the economic growth and/or the development of States. The recourse to this instrument, introduced by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank Group (IFIs) in the '70s, arises several interesting issues pertaining public international law, such as the delicate relationship between conditionality and fundamental human rights. Both in doctrine and in civil society valuable proposals have been made in order to reform IFI's conditionality so as to make this tool not an obstacle to human rights, but a means to promote their respect. The aim of this paper is to evaluate the applicability of the model of human rights conditionality as adopted by the European Union in its relations with third countries to the IFIs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Volosovych Vadym

Learning about Financial Market Integration from Principal Components Analysis

in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 59 Issue 2 June 2013 , 360-391

Using principal components analysis, I examine capital market integration of 15 industrialized economies from 1875 to 2009. The methodology accounts for several dimensions of integration (markets comovement and segmentation) and delivers more credible conclusions concerning the patterns of financial integration than conventional techniques (for example, simple correlations). Patterns of both nominal and real returns on long-term government bonds imply a higher level of integration by the end of the 20th century compared to earlier periods. Policy variables, common shocks, and the



global market environment play a role in explaining the time variation in integration, while 'unexplained' changes in the overall level of country risk are also empirically important.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bergstrand Jeffrey H.

Measuring the Effects of Endogenous Policies on Economic Integration

in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 59 Issue 2 June 2013 , 199-222

Despite widespread anecdotal evidence that lower trade barriers increase international trade, there is little firm quantitative evidence of the 'trade-cost elasticity' of trade flows, one of the two key aggregate statistics that have recently been identified as sufficient to quantify the economic welfare effects of trade-policy liberalizations and/or trade-cost reductions (the other statistic being the import-penetration ratio). In other words, most estimates of the trade-cost elasticity are imprecise and lack consistency. In this article, we discuss two issues that are critical in better assessing empirically the trade-flow and welfare effects of trade liberalizations (or trade-cost changes). The first issue is how to quantify the trade-cost elasticity when trade costs themselves are approximated imperfectly. The second issue is that typical empirical evaluations to estimate the impact of trade-policy liberalizations on trade flows use the 'gravity equation'. However, the self-selection of country pairs into such agreements introduces endogeneity bias in the estimation of the trade-cost elasticity in gravity equations, requiring better identification techniques.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sara Dillon

Opportunism and Trade Law Revisited: The Pseudo-Constitution of the WTO

in **Boston College International and Comparative Law Review**, vol. 36, symposium issue , 1005-1036

The constitutionalization of the world trade system has elevated it in legal thinking and given it a false aura of permanency and immutability. The debate among legal academics on this has centered on the technical aspects of trade disputes rather than on the critical issue of the normative nature and effects of the system on those most affected - workers. The opportunistic actors who successfully argued for the creation and constitutionalization of the system have managed to relegate the debate about its continuing benefits to the side. They have benefited from legal scholars' failure to adequately evaluate and analyze the real effects of the system. Being a trade law dissident is more important now than ever before.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gowa Joanne, Hicks Raymond

Politics, Institutions, and Trade: Lessons of the Interwar Era

in **International Organization**, vol. 67, issue 3, July , 439-467

ABSTRACT: Recent studies cast doubt on the value added of international trade agreements and institutions. Using a



new data set that consists of about 35,000 observations on the trade of fifty-four nations between 1919 and 1938, we examine whether this skepticism also applies to the infamous interwar trade blocs. Traditional historical accounts attribute to them a large drop in international trade and a rise in the political tensions that would later erupt in World War II. In this study, we show that no bloc raised trade among its members as a whole or decreased trade between members and nonmembers. However, our findings are not wholly consistent with the skepticism recent studies express. We argue that conflicts of interest among the great powers encouraged the emergence of the bloc system and also gave rise to intrabloc trade shifts consistent with the political interests of their great-power hubs. The political-military alliances these conflicts created also reduced trade between their signatories, and we argue more generally that the causal chain runs from politics to trade. As a result, measuring only the effect of agreements and institutions on aggregate trade between their members can generate inaccurate estimates of their value added.

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Gerardo Vidigal

Re-Assessing WTO Remedies: The Prospective and the Retrospective

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.3 , 505-34

The World Trade Organization (WTO) system of 'prospective' or 'forward-looking' remedies is often contrasted negatively with the 'retrospective' remedy of reparation traditionally granted by international courts. In this article, I argue that prospective remedies must be assessed having in mind their different functions when contrasted to reparation: inducing compliance ex post, rather than discouraging it ex ante. The object and purpose of WTO remedies is to ensure cessation within a reasonable period of time or, in the absence of cessation, to allow alternative legal responses by the organization and its members until compliance is achieved. Although it would be beyond the current powers of WTO adjudicators to grant reparation, this does not exhaust the possibilities of 'retrospective' remedies. When making use of the remedies provided for in the Dispute Settlement Understanding, panels, the Appellate Body and arbitrators must take into account the ultimate objective of WTO remedies in order to ensure that the absence of reparation does not imply an absence of legal consequences.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Marco Bronckers, Freya Baetens

Reconsidering financial remedies in WTO dispute settlement

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.2 , 281-311

Enforcing international law remains problematic: what happens if a sovereign state refuses to comply with its obligations, even after an international adjudicatory body has ruled in its disfavour? The solution offered under the World Trade Organization (WTO) system has been to authorize the prevailing member in the settlement of a dispute to retaliate, if and when the respondent member fails to implement a panel or Appellate Body ruling. Such retaliation can take the form of additional restrictions on imports of goods or services, or suspensions of intellectual property rights. Our article examines whether fairer and more effective means of ensuring compliance could be inserted into the WTO system. First, existing remedy systems are outlined, comparing general public international law with the current WTO system. We posit that the objective of both is rule compliance and take issue with the recent theory of efficient breach. Further support is drawn from the EU compliance regime. This is followed by an examination of the advantages of introducing



financial remedies in WTO dispute settlement as well as a refutation of potential objections. The main elements of the subsequent proposal relate to the calculation, term, retro-activity and beneficiary of financial payments as a remedy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Cardwell Michael , Smith Fiona

Renegotiation of the WTO Agreement on Agriculture: Accommodating the Newc Big Issues
in *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* , Volume 62 - Issue 04 , 865-898

The WTO Agreement on Agriculture was designed to maximize trade flows at a time of surplus agricultural production. It required Members to open markets and to reduce domestic and export subsidies. Proposals for reform in the Doha Round negotiations largely adopt the same pattern. Yet, as surplus is replaced by shortage, Members are increasingly concerned about food security and the impact of agriculture on climate change. And contemporary agricultural policies crystallize around 'sustainable intensification', where domestic production is promoted, but not at the expense of future production. This article suggests that, although both the Agreement on Agriculture and the Doha Round proposals do provide some scope for measures to address this new policy paradigm, there are instances where they may work actively against it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Neumayer Eric

Strategic delaying and concessions extraction in accession negotiations to the World Trade Organization: an analysis of Working Party membership
in *World Trade Review* , Volume 12 - Issue 04 - ottobre 2013

Accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) is unlike accession to other global organizations. It is extremely demanding on applicant countries, time consuming and essentially power- rather than rule-based. This article argues that existing WTO members select themselves into the Working Party of applicant countries, the body which determines the timing and conditions of accession, in order to have the option to strategically delay membership by the applicant and/or extract concessions from it. Existing members will select themselves into a specific Working Party if their own trade interests are strongly affected, which will be the case if the existing member's bilateral trade with the applicant country forms a large share of its income, unless both countries already have a preferential trade agreement (PTA) between them. Trade interests are also strongly affected if the existing member competes with the applicant in terms of export product and market structure. Conversely, where both member and applicant have more PTAs with third countries of large economic size in common, potential accession will affect the member's trade interests less. An empirical analysis of Working Party membership since 1968 estimates to what extent these three different facets of trade interests are substantively important determinants of Working Party composition.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Krätke Michael R.

TAFTA: Das Kapital gegen den Rest der Welt

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Januar, 2014 , 5-9

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2014/januar/tafta-das-kapital-gegen-den-rest-der-welt>

Wer erinnert sich noch an das MAI? Das Multilaterale Abkommen über Investitionen, gestartet von OECD und Europäischer Union im Jahre 1995, scheiterte drei Jahre später – weil die Verhandlungen zwar unter Ausschluss der Öffentlichkeit geführt wurden, aber nicht geheim blieben. Was durchsickerte, reichte aus, um einen Proteststurm zu entfachen. Am Ende weigerten sich einige europäische Länder, Frankreich voran, über das Abkommen zu verhandeln. Ein Fiasko, das den beteiligten Akteuren leider keine Lehre war. Sie machen weiter, immer nach dem Motto: „Aufgeschoben ist nicht aufgehoben. Beim nächsten Mal schaffen wir es, die Utopie der flachen Weltscheibe zustande zu bringen – den endlich eingeebneten Raum der globalen Konkurrenz.“...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kazi Ashraf U. Sarah. Mohd Zin Shahrizal

The Ambiguity in Article XX of GATT and the Hurdles Posed in the Path of Harmony of International Law: An Examination of World Trade Organization (WTO) and International Environmental Law

in **Indian Journal of International Law**, Vol. 52, no. 2,

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Blanchard Jean-Marc F.

The Dynamics of China's Accession to the WTO: Counting Sense, Coalitions and Constructs

in **Asian Journal of Social Science**, Volume 41, Number 3-4 , 263 – 286

This article probes China's admission to the World Trade Organization (WTO). China's WTO accession deserves further analysis because much of the extant literature is divorced from the international relations (IR) literature. Moreover, while past analyses have considered external and internal factors shaping China's stance towards joining the WTO, they have rarely gone beyond this to probing when particular variables mattered more. For its part, research that emphasises domestic factors falls short because it often treats such factors generically or fails to detail the path through which they affect issue identification, policy construction and implementation. This article addresses these lacunas by conducting a theoretically informed study of China's WTO accession. While traditional interest-, power- and idea-based IR



approaches to international governmental organisations (IGOs) capture various aspects of the story of China's effort to join the WTO, they miss other critical features. This article argues that a leader-oriented cost-benefit model best explains China's continued quest to become a WTO member, its aggressive pursuit of accession in the second half of the 1990s, and its willingness to tolerate very demanding WTO entry terms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Drezner Daniel W.

The System Worked: Global Economic Governance during the Great Recession

in World Politics, vol. 66, n. 1, January, 123-164

ABSTRACT: Prior to 2008, numerous international relations scholars had predicted a looming crisis in global economic governance. Policy analysts have only reinforced this perception since the financial crisis, declaring that we live in a "G-Zero" world. This article takes a closer look at the global response to the financial crisis and reveals a more optimistic picture. Despite initial shocks that were more severe than the 1929 financial crisis, global economic governance structures responded quickly and robustly. Whether one measures results by outcomes, outputs, or process, formal and informal governance structures displayed surprising resiliency. Multilateral economic institutions performed well in crisis situations to reinforce open economic policies, especially in contrast to the 1930s. While there are areas where governance has either faltered or failed, on the whole, the system has worked. Misperceptions about global economic governance persist because the Great Recession has disproportionately affected the core economies; analysts have conflated national with global governance; and the efficacy of past periods of global economic governance has been badly overestimated. Why the system has worked better than expected remains an open question, but we can tentatively conclude that both the power of the United States and the resilience of neoliberal economic ideas were underestimated.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Xavier John Antony

The World Bank Approach to Public Sector Management 2011–2020: lessons from the Malaysian experience

in International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol. 79, No. 3, 426-432

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Pritchett Lant

The World Bank and public sector management: what next?

in International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol. 79, No. 3, 413-419

The new World Bank strategy on Public Sector Management (PSM) has to be judged against the magnitude of the problems it faces. Two of these are what to do about failed and failing states and what to do about the stagnation of



progress in 'flailing' states. On both of these fronts the gap between what the world of action wants – an implementable action plan to tackle tough problems like Afghanistan – and what the PSM strategy does (and quite probably can) deliver is wide. This article proposes 'problem-driven iterative analysis' as one way of bridging the gap.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kramarz, Teresa, Momani, Bessma

The World Bank as Knowledge Bank: Analyzing the Limits of a Legitimate Global Knowledge Actor.
in Review of Policy Research , volume 30 n.4 , 409-431

The World Bank has always sold ideas, not just loans. Starting in 1996, then president James Wolfensohn rebranded the Bank by articulating a formal vision of a ' Knowledge Bank'-a provider of state-of-the-art expertise on development. After a number of internal changes and assessments, the Bank is acknowledging that it needs to be more humble, pluralistic, and practical. Why do some regard the Bank as a legitimate knowledge actor, whereas others contest that authority? We offer an analytical framework that can explain stakeholders' uneven recognition of the Bank's knowledge role. When stakeholders define knowledge as products, the Bank generally obtains recognition for the quality and quantity of the information it generates. This is the output dimension of legitimacy. On the other hand, when knowledge only counts as such to users who have been part of the process of creating it, the Bank finds itself with limited recognition

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Manning Nick, McCourt Willy

The World Bank's Approach to Public Sector Management
in International Review of Administrative Sciences , Vol. 79, No. 3 , 391-397

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Elsig Manfred, Stucki Philipp

The democratizing effects of multilateral organizations: a cautionary note on the WTO
in World Trade Review, Volume 12 - Issue 03 - luglio 2013

The field of international relations has been obsessed with democracy and democratization and its effects on international cooperation for a long time. More recently, research has turned its focus on how international organizations enhance democracy. This article contributes to this debate and applies a prominent liberal framework to study the 'outside-in' effects of the World Trade Organization. The article offers a critical reading of democratization through IO membership. It provides for an assessment of the dominant framework put forward by Keohane et al. (2009). In doing so, it develops a set of empirical strategies to test conjectured causal mechanisms with respect to the WTO, and



illustrates the potential application by drawing on selected empirical evidence from trade politics. Finally, it proposes a number of analytical revisions to the liberal framework and outlines avenues for future research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Dutt Pushan, Mihov Ilian, Van Zandt Timothy

The effect of WTO on the extensive and the intensive margins of trade

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 91, Issue 2, November 2013 , 204-219

We use 6-digit bilateral trade data to document the effect of WTO/GATT membership on the extensive and intensive product margins of trade. We construct gravity equations for the two product margins motivated by Chaney (2008). The empirical results show that standard gravity variables provide good explanatory power for bilateral trade on both margins. Importantly, we show that the impact of the WTO is concentrated almost exclusively on the extensive product margin of trade, i.e. trade in goods that were not previously traded. In our preferred specification, WTO membership increases the extensive margin of exports by 25%. At the same time, WTO membership has a negative impact on the intensive margin. Based on novel comparative statics results about how fixed and variable trade costs impact the product margins of trade, our results suggest that WTO membership works by reducing primarily the fixed rather than the variable costs of trade.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bobyck Tayla, Smith Alastair

The impact of leader turnover on the onset and the resolution of WTO disputes

in **Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 8, n. 4, december , 423-445

ABSTRACT: When national leaders are replaced, the incoming leader often represents different interests to those of his predecessor. Such shifts in national priorities affect both the onset of WTO disputes and the resolution of ongoing disputes. In particular, leader turnover increases the likelihood that a nation will be involved in a WTO dispute as either plaintiff or defendant, and, if a dispute is ongoing, then leader change in a defendant state increases the likelihood of significant concessions by the defendant. The impact of leader change on both the initiation and settlement of disputes is greater in non-democratic states than democratic states.

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Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Vera Thorstensen, Daniel Ramos, Carolina Muller

The 'Missing Link' Between the WTO and the IMF

in **Journal of International Economic Law**, volume 16 n.2 , 353-81

This article is part of a broader study on the impacts of exchange rate on trade. It searches for an explanation on why there is no effective rule in the World Trade Organization (WTO) to neutralize the negative impacts of currency misalignments on trade instruments. In other words, it searches for the missing link between the WTO and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) concerning the relationship between exchange rates and trade. It also seeks to



demonstrate that, in the creation of the Bretton Woods system this link was clearly defined but was forgotten after the end of the par value. Despite all the historical and theoretical developments these two organizations have been through, their only legal link remains the same: General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) Article XV. The article analyzes the differences between the IMF Article IV approach based on the concept of manipulation of exchange rates and the GATT Article XV approach that looks for the frustration of the trade objectives. Finally, it argues for the rescue of GATT Article XV to solve the serious problem of trade rules circumvention through currency misalignments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Polidano Charles

Towards better results from the World Bank

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Vol. 79, No. 3 , 420-425

This article briefly reviews the World Bank document *The World Bank Approach to Public Sector Management 2011–2020: Better Results from Public Sector Institutions*. The document proposes an eclectic, experimental, contingent approach to reform – ‘what works’ – as opposed to doctrinaire, ‘best practice’ orthodoxies. However, the document is frank in discussing the obstacles to realizing this vision, including among other things the incentives to which Bank staff themselves are subject. In overall terms, the document is noteworthy for its frank appraisal of the Bank’s efforts to support public sector reform in developing countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Smeets, Maarten

Trade Capacity Building in the WTO: Main Achievements since Doha and Key Challenges

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.5 , 1047-90

This contribution reviews the WTO's achievements in the field of trade capacity building since the launch of the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) in 2001, and discusses the key challenges. The DDA has clearly created a strong footing for the delivery of the WTO's trade capacity building programmes. The evidence suggests that the beneficiaries are now much better equipped to address the challenges of the Multilateral Trading System (MTS), to take active part in the negotiations, define their strategic objectives and defend their economic and trade interests. There is no room for complacency, however, as key challenges remain to be addressed. Human and institutional capacity building remain a priority for developing countries, and irrespective of the outcome of the DDA negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Arconian Ozlem Arpac

Turkey's graduation from the International Monetary Fund

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 2, Summer , 122-136



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ahn, Dukgeun; Lee, Jihong; Park, Jee-Hyeong

Understanding Non-litigated Disputes in the WTO Dispute Settlement System

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.5 , 985-1012

This article focuses on a less scrutinized aspect of the WTO dispute settlement system - non-litigated disputes. Legal rules concerning consultation and settlement during the panel proceedings are analysed with the case laws. We then propose, and empirically analyse, several key economic determinants of non-litigation in the WTO dispute settlement system that are motivated by the theory of bargaining with informational asymmetry. In particular, our logistic regressions show that a greater difference in the size of the pair of disputing countries reduces the likelihood of voluntary settlement or non-litigation. WTO members also tend to prefer non-litigation when the respondent is smaller than the complainant, has less reputational concern, and faces less retaliatory capacity of the complainant. Our findings suggest a case for reforming the legal rules of the consultation process towards mitigating informational asymmetry or improving communication between disputing parties in the WTO.

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Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Oliver Turner

'Finishing the Job': the UN Special Committee on Decolonization and the politics of self-governance

in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 34 n.7 , 1193-208

This article examines the modern day role and purpose of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization. Since its establishment in the 1960s the Committee has helped numerable former colonies achieve independence. Today, with very few 'colonised' Non-Self-Governing Territories remaining its work appears almost complete. However, serious flaws have always pervaded its decolonisation strategy; which are now more apparent than ever. The Committee retains narrow and outdated understandings of colonialism and, as a result, fails to recognise how widespread and pervasive global colonial forces remain. This makes its goal of universal decolonisation both unsatisfactory and misguided. The Committee's problematic approach towards decolonisation stems from its participation within the 'North-South Theatre', in which antagonism is perpetuated between the world's developed and less developed states. The paper argues that the Committee has not prioritised colonised peoples in the way it has always claimed, but instead worked principally in the interests of itself and its members.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Collin Koh Swee Lean

ASEAN Perspectives on Naval Cooperation With India: Singapore and Vietnam

in *India Review*, Volume 12, Issue 3, Special Issue: Looking East in Defense: Perspectives on India-Southeast Asia Relations , 186-206



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kraft Alfred

Afghanistan: Aus Fehlern lernen

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 37, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/168176/afghanistan-aus-fehlern-lernen>

Nach den Ereignissen am 11. September 2001 war es ein wichtiges Ziel der NATO, Sicherheit in Afghanistan herzustellen. Es sollte vermieden werden, dass das Land wieder Zufluchtsort für Terroristen wird. Seit mehr als zehn Jahren hat die Internationale Sicherheitsunterstützungstruppe (International Security Assistance Force, ISAF) unter NATO-Führung an dieser Aufgabe gearbeitet und die afghanischen Sicherheitskräfte bezahlt, ausgebildet und ausgerüstet. Nach Einschätzung der NATO sind diese seit Juni 2013 stark genug, die Sicherheitsverantwortung für das ganze Land zu übernehmen. Die ISAF-Streitkräfte ziehen bis Ende 2014 ab, stehen aber mit einem kleinen Team weiterhin für die Finanzierung, Ausbildung und Beratung zur Verfügung. Sicherheit beschränkt sich aber nicht allein auf den militärischen Aspekt. In einem weiteren Sinne erfordert sie auch ein leistungsfähiges Bildungs- und Gesundheitssystem, finanzielle Stabilität, Armutsbekämpfung, Beschäftigungs- und Einkommenssicherheit sowie Menschenrechte, soziale Gerechtigkeit und gute Regierungsführung...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Dorussen Han, Kirchner Emil J.

Better a good neighbor than a distant friend: the scope and impact of regional security organizations

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 14 Issue 1 January , 117-146

Under what conditions do regional security organizations (RSOs) take up a broader agenda or scope in security governance? Further, does broader scope matter for regional security? These questions are addressed using a quantitative comparative analysis of 25 RSOs over the period 1990–2009. Similarity among members in their capacities and political systems are identified as two central conditions for increased scope. In contrast, hegemony is not a significant factor. Institutionalization also seems to matter: RSOs that have been around longer and encompass more members are more successful in expanding their security agenda. There is only weak empirical support for the idea that RSOs with a broader scope have a stronger pacifying effect on regional security. The implications of these findings are discussed in greater detail for Asian RSOs, which have only limited scope and operate in comparatively high levels of insecurity. However, except from the legacy of conflict, variables identified in the general models apply similarly to Asia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Péter Marton, Jan Eichler

Between willing and reluctant entrapment: CEE countries in NATO's non-European missions in Communist and post-communist studies, Volume 46, Issue 3 , 351-362

The article focuses on Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries' experiences related to Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya, three non-European theatres of Western military operations, in predominantly Muslim lands, in the decade between 2001 and 2011. CEE countries readily became involved in two of these foreign missions (Afghanistan and Iraq) because of their deep ties to Western politico-economic structures, without direct security interests compelling them to do so, but not without normative convictions regarding what were seen by them as virtues of the two missions. In Libya, however, they were reluctant to join the Western intervention. In light of this, the article is interested in examining how political elites within the region relate to the generally constrained security policy agency that they have. A key argument advanced is that such agency may be located in how external hegemony is mediated in elite discourses of threat and legitimacy construction. This as well as the three case studies outlined in the article show that the seeming changes in CEE countries' behaviour in fact boil down to a simple set of rules guiding their behaviour. Having identified this "algorithm" as an implicit pattern of CEE foreign policy behaviour, originating in the intra-alliance security dilemma within the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the article formulates its conclusions about the alliance policy of these countries largely within a neorealist framework.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Hopia Henna

Breaking down the walls: improving EU–NATO relations in European View , vol. 12, n. 2, December , 317

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Schmitt Eva

Der Sicherheitsrat der Vereinten Nationen in der internationalen Sicherheitsarchitektur in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 37, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/168167/rolle-des-sicherheitsrats-der-vereinten-nationen>

Die internationale Sicherheitsarchitektur ist seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg durch eine institutionelle Ausdifferenzierung gekennzeichnet. So entwickelten sich im europäischen Kontext (NATO, KSZE/OSZE, EU) wie auch in anderen Regionen proaktive Sicherheitsinstitutionen, die regionalspezifische Stabilisierungsleistungen unter der Ägide lokaler Vormächte erbrachten. Mit der proaktiven Rolle des Sicherheitsrats (SR) der Vereinten Nationen (VN) in den Fällen Irak (1991), Namibia (1989/1990) und Kambodscha (1992/1993) sowie anlässlich der Ankündigung einer auf die VN zentrierten Weltordnung durch den damaligen US-Präsidenten George Bush zeichnete sich ab 1989/1990 eine mögliche



Revolution in der internationalen Sicherheitsarchitektur ab. Eine überproportional hohe Zahl von VN-geführten Missionen, die Mandatierung von Einsätzen "subsequenter" Sicherheitsinstitutionen sowie die Behandlung regional differenzierter und relevanter Krisen im SR deuteten auf den (in der VN-Charta verankerten) Anspruch auf eine "prioritäre Rolle" sowie auf ein Gewaltlegitimierungsmonopol des SR hin. Zu einer "VN-zentrierten" internationalen Sicherheitsarchitektur bekannten sich die Staatenvertreter auf dem Weltgipfel der VN (2005), dessen Abschlussdokument die Hauptverantwortung des Rates für die Aufrechterhaltung der internationalen Sicherheit festhält...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Goran NIKOLIĆ, Milan IGRUTINOVIĆ,

EU, NATO and Global Power Dynamics: What Should be in Serbia's Focus?

in Review of International Affairs (The), VOL. LXIV, N°. 1150 April-June 2013

In this paper we are concentrating on the issue of global power shifts brought on by financial crisis since 2008, its repercussions on European Union's Common Security and Foreign Policy and its relation to NATO's position of ultimate security underwriter in Europe. This relation is burdened with defense budget cuts in majority of EU countries, stability of European continent that pushes NATO into searching for new and unclear strategic goals within complex environment in Africa, Middle East and Central Asia. Then we are looking at what aspects of this relation should Serbia put emphasis on in the process of EU accession which will last at least until the end of this decade. We argue that the security cooperation offered within CFSP is more suitable for Serbia's needs, capabilities and social specifics than NATO's focus on far-reaching goals outside Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ian Manners

European [Security] Union: Bordering and Governing a Secure Europe in a Better World?

in Global Society, Volume 27, Issue 3, 398-416

The past 20 years, since the 1992 Treaty on European Union, have seen the gradual creation of both an "Area of Freedom, Security and Justice" and a "Common Foreign and Security Policy". More recent is the development of a "European Neighbourhood Policy" over the past 10 years. All three of these policies involved the navigation and negotiation of security, borders and governance in and by the European Union (EU). This article analyses these practices of bordering and governance through a five-fold security framework. The article argues that a richer understanding of EU security discourses can be achieved through bringing the five dimensions to the analysis and using them to study both the interlinking and the interweaving of security, bordering and governance. Overall, the analysis presented here suggests that the five dimensions of broadening, deepening, thickening, practice and being can all contribute to a more expansive understanding of how EU security in the 2000s has been related to bordering and governance processes, and how these have been increasingly interwoven within the EU.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Senem Aydın-Düzgün

European security and the accession of Turkey: Identity and foreign policy in the European Commission in Cooperation and Conflict, 48 (4) , 522-541,

Following a poststructuralist theorising of identity in international relations, which argues that identity is relationally and discursively constructed through foreign policy, this article attempts to analyse the way in which the European Commission discursively constructs European identity(ies) in its relations with Turkey around the theme of 'security'. The study utilises the methodological tools of critical discourse analysis in analysing the speeches and field interviews conducted with European Commission officials, in examining the way in which they construct 'Europe' in relation to the security implications of Turkish accession. The article's findings challenge the argument that Europe is moving beyond the modern state to resemble a postmodern order, and problematises the designation of the Commission as a 'cosmopolitan' actor in EU enlargement policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Oystein Tunsjø

Europe's Favourable Isolation

in **Survival**, Volume 55, Issue 6 , 91-106

The global power shift from West to East offers Europe the chance to focus on pressing challenges close to home, and to create a new division of labour in transatlantic relations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Carl Cavanagh Hodge

Full circle: two decades of NATO intervention

in **Journal of Transatlantic Studies** , Volume 11, Issue 4 , 350-367

For all its shortcomings, the intervention of the NATO alliance in the struggle of Libyan rebel forces to overthrow the regime of Muammar Gaddafi was a remarkably cost-effective multilateral effort in regime-change by military force. The use of air power to support insurgent forces in Libya, combined with the refusal to commit NATO ground troops, resembles the final iteration of the alliance's intervention in the serial wars of the Yugoslav succession, 1991–1999 and has little in common with the decade-long effort in counterinsurgency and nation-building in Afghanistan following the events of 11 September 2001, other than a measure of humanitarian benefit to the target population in each case. This article will argue that the nature of the Libyan intervention reflects above all the exhaustion of the alliance's enthusiasm for expeditionary humanitarianism over the course of the past 20 years, due above all to the cost and complexity of its mission in Afghanistan. In effect, NATO practiced in Libya the art of the possible, acting upon the lowest common denominator of political will among the member-states at a time when future defence austerity is likely to make Libya the exception to a rule of future restraint.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Arbia Silvana

I dieci anni della corte penale internazionale de L'Aia

in *Foro Italiano*, 2012 , 163,167

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kinne Brandon J

IGO membership, network convergence, and credible signaling in militarized disputes

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 50, Number 6, November , 659-676

Existing studies of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and militarized conflict focus on dyadic counts of shared IGO membership. However, dyadic approaches are inconsistent with the basic properties of IGOs. Because IGOs are multilateral organizations, shared membership necessarily involves ties to third parties. This article employs network analytics to develop a novel explanation of how third-party IGO ties reduce militarized conflict. The analysis first examines the 'structural similarity' of states, defined by the extent to which states share similar patterns of IGO membership with relevant third parties. High levels of structural similarity indicate that states interact with a common set of IGO collaborators. The analysis then shows that micro-level changes in IGO membership effect changes in structural similarity, leading to the macro-level phenomenon of 'network convergence,' wherein states increasingly collaborate with the same third parties over time. Substantively, convergence results in increased overlap and integration between states' respective local networks of IGO partners. Because network convergence is costly, involving a combination of IGO-based accession, sovereignty, and alignment costs, it is unlikely to be pursued by purely exploitative state types. Consequently, convergence provides cooperative types with a mechanism for signaling a preference for cooperation over conflict. These credible signals in turn establish mutual trust among cooperators and effectively reduce the risk of militarized conflict. Extensive empirical analysis shows that, in fact, network convergence strongly correlates with a decline in militarized dispute initiations. The more that states collaborate with one another's IGO partners, the less likely they are to fight.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Hans Mouritzen

In spite of reform: NATO HQ still in the grips of nations

in *Defense and Security Analysis*, Volume 29, Issue 4 , 342-355

Security Intergovernmental Organizations, here illustrated by NATO, persist in a "permitted interval" of internationalization, i.e. permitted by its member-states. On the one hand, they are seldom or never permitted to vanish due to member-states' vested interests in retaining them as tools of statecraft, even if their original purposes have become redundant. On the other hand, there is an internationalization ceiling that they must respect: they should not



become too autonomous and thereby no longer be suitable as member-state tools. In spite of post-Cold War reform, interviews carried out at NATO Headquarters (HQ) in the late 1980s compared to interviews in 2012 display that a continuous pulling and hauling of forces of internationalization and renationalization have taken place around NATO HQ. The only instance of clear internationalization can be observed in the proactive diplomacy of Secretary General Fogh Rasmussen. There is stiff opposition to the internationalization of abolishing the Military Committee/International Military Staff among minor and South European states, and there is no waning in states' attempts to micro-manage the International Staff. Only external shocks can overcome resistance to internationalizing reform.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Brewster David

India's Defense Strategy and the India-ASEAN Relationship

in India Review, Volume 12, Issue 3, Special Issue: Looking East in Defense: Perspectives on India-Southeast Asia Relations , 151-164

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Claudio Catalano

Iniziativa Europea di Difesa Il più importante Programma Cooperativo Europeo di armamento: Eurofighter Typhoon

in CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly, A. XV n.8 , 59-64

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Claudio Catalano

Iniziativa Europea di Difesa. Un passo in piu' verso nuove capacita' strategiche europee

in CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly, A. XV n.9 , 55-62

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Glanville Luke

Intervention in Libya: From Sovereign Consent to Regional Consent

in International Studies Perspectives , vol. 14, issue 3, August , 325-342

ABSTRACT: The adoption of Resolution 1973 authorizing intervention in Libya represented the first time that the UN



Security Council had authorized military intervention in a functioning and non-consenting sovereign state for the purpose of protecting civilians. A crucial factor prompting skeptical states to allow the passage of the resolution in the absence of sovereign consent was the fact that relevant regional organizations had consented to, indeed appealed for, such action. This article examines this possible shift away from reliance on sovereign consent and toward reliance on the consent of regional organizations in Security Council deliberations about the authorization of military intervention to protect civilians, and it considers what it might mean for the future of civilian protection.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Tannenwald Nina

Justice and Fairness in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 27, n. 3, fall

ABSTRACT: Today, the nuclear regime is widely perceived to be in crisis. While part of this crisis has to do with direct challenges to the regime posed by the illicit nuclear programs of North Korea and Iran, from the perspective of much of the developing world, the issues facing the nonproliferation regime are overwhelmingly about the justice and fairness of the regime's norms, rules, and procedures. Indeed, it is difficult to identify a security regime today where equity issues are more central to debates about its future than the nuclear nonproliferation regime. Of the three regimes for controlling weapons of mass destruction (chemical, biological, and nuclear), it is in the nuclear regime that issues of justice and fairness appear most critical to long-term sustainability and viability.

At the core of the crisis is the fundamental asymmetry of the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and looming doubts among nonnuclear states about whether this situation is destined to be permanent. Nonnuclear states have long castigated the double standard embedded in the treaty that permits the five "declared" nuclear states to possess nuclear weapons but denies such weapons to the majority of the world. In contrast, the nuclear powers, for their part, have generally seen the primary problems of the regime to lie in the weakness of the rules and enforcement mechanisms surrounding dual-use technology, which have allowed states such as Iran and North Korea, and earlier Iraq and Syria, to pursue nuclear weapons clandestinely under the veil of the treaty.

This essay focuses on two key questions: First, how do the issues of justice and fairness affect the stability, durability, and effectiveness of the nuclear nonproliferation regime? Second, what is the relationship of equity issues to conceptions of national security and "interests"?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Klingebiel Stephan

Konfliktbewältigung und Umgang mit fragilen Staaten

in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 37, 2013

The full text is free:



<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/168169/konfliktbewaeltigung-und-umgang-mit-fragilen-staaten>

In der wissenschaftlichen Debatte und der politischen Praxis mangelt es nicht an der grundlegenden Einsicht, dass schwache und versagende Staatlichkeit von größter Bedeutung für die unmittelbar betroffenen Länder und Bevölkerungen, das jeweilige regionale Umfeld und nicht zuletzt für die internationale Politik ist. Krisenerscheinungen, Gewaltkonflikte und Systemumbrüche belegen die anhaltend hohe Relevanz des Themas in verschiedenen Weltregionen, so etwa in der Sahelzone und im Gebiet der Großen Seen in Zentralafrika oder der Konflikt in und um Afghanistan sowie in verschiedenen Teilen der arabischen Welt. Defekte staatliche Strukturen und schlecht funktionierende oder unzureichend legitimierte Regierungen und die damit einhergehenden Folgeprobleme sind eine zentrale Herausforderung in Entwicklungsländerregionen. Teilweise handelt es sich um besonders schwierige Fälle von gescheiterten Staaten, aber vielfach auch um "verwundbare" oder "anfällige" Systeme. In diesen kann der Staat zwar durchaus wirksam sein, möglicherweise ist er aber nicht in der Lage, sein Gewaltmonopol in allen Landesteilen durchzusetzen oder seine Repräsentanten besitzen keine ausreichende Legitimität...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Vinet Guy

Le Traité sur les forces armées conventionnelles en Europe : état des lieux

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 763, Octobre

Avec cette chronique détaillée d'un traité non ratifié chargé d'entretenir la transparence sur le rapport des forces militaires en Europe, on mesure à la fois le chemin parcouru depuis les derniers temps de la guerre froide et l'intérêt de disposer d'un instrument d'échanges entre Européens pour promouvoir une véritable sécurité coopérative.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Zima Amélie

L'Acte fondateur OTAN-Russie, Négociations et influences sur la politique d'élargissement de L'OTAN À L'Europe centrale

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 44, n. 3, 9-34

This analysis of the relations between the North Atlantic Alliance and Moscow focuses on the processes that led to the signing of the Founding Act in May 1997. This examination of the positions adopted and game played by national and international players, seeks to deconstruct the wheeling and dealing that have taken place in various places, point out their characteristics and thus propose approaches to studying the complicated relations between NATO and Russia, in particular when central European lands sought to join the Alliance. The emergence and influence of painful experiences from the past are also noted. The chosen example contributes to our understanding of structural changes in international relations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Todd Sandler and Hirofumi Shimizu

NATO Burden Sharing 1999–2010: An Altered Alliance
in *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Volume 10, Issue 1 , 43-60

Motivated by US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates' farewell address to NATO, this article investigates whether NATO burden-sharing behavior has changed during the last ten years. Based on a Spearman rank correlation test, we find almost no evidence that the rich NATO allies shouldered the defense-spending burden of the poor allies during 1999–2009. In 2010, there is the first evidence of the exploitation of the rich. When allies' defense burdens are related to defense benefit proxies, a Wilcoxon test finds that there is no concordance between burdens and benefits after 2002. This is indicative of a less cohesive alliance, in which allies are not underwriting their derived benefits. We also find that allies' benefits, which are tied to their exposed border protection and terrorism risk, motivate defense spending. Allies' benefits, based on economic base and population, are less of a driver of defense spending for most NATO allies. We devise a broad-based security expenditure burden that accounts for defense spending, UN peacekeeping, and overseas foreign assistance. In terms of this security burden, there is evidence of the exploitation of the rich by the poor beginning in 2004. Our findings indicate a two-tiered alliance that faces significant policy challenges.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Bernard E. Brown

NATO and De Gaulle's Ghost
in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 288-297

The April 2009 decision of President Nicolas Sarkozy to return France to the integrated command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was vigorously opposed by the left. After his election as president in May 2012, François Hollande asked Hubert Védrine, former minister of foreign affairs, to evaluate the French experience in NATO and to recommend whether or not to remain in the integrated command. In November 2012, Védrine submitted his recommendation: that a French (re)exit from the integrated military command "is not an option." Among his findings: NATO will remain an Alliance around the leading military power in the world, the United States, with which the French "share fundamental values"; the effort of the past 25 years to create a common European defense has been disappointing or merely symbolic; the value of partnering with either the United Kingdom or Germany has been limited; and, for more than 40 years, no European country has joined in the French line of autonomy within NATO. Gaullism cannot be identified with any specific tactic. In seeking to promote French interests within the Alliance, the spirit of Gaullism lives on.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lucio Martino

NATO e Teatri di Intervento La nuova rilevanza internazionale dell'Artico
in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. XV n.3 , 73-78

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lucio Martino

NATO e teatri d'intervento I Paesi Bassi, gli Stati Uniti e la condivisione nucleare NATO
in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. XV n.8 , 65-70

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Trine Flockhart

NATO's nuclear addiction – 12 steps to 'kick the habit'
in *European Security*, Volume 22, Issue 3 , 271-287

The article argues that NATO is a nuclear-addicted alliance. It focuses on how the addiction developed, the damage caused by the addiction and ways in which it may be overcome. After outlining the origins to NATO's nuclear addiction, the article turns to the recent defence and deterrence posture review (DDPR), which is seen as a classic example of 'addict behaviour' spoiling the best chance NATO has had for overcoming its addiction. The article offers an assessment of the DDPR, portraying the outcome of the process as not only a lost opportunity, but unfortunately also as a position that limits the possibilities for reaching a constructive agreement on the important question of the remaining non-strategic nuclear weapons based in Europe. The article ends by suggesting 12 steps for NATO to overcome its addiction, although it is acknowledged that the DDPR has severely restricted NATO's room for maneuver leaving only a slim chance for 'complete recovery'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Audra Mitchell

Only human? A worldly approach to security
in *Security Dialogue*, 45 (1) , 5-21

Harm does not happen to humans in isolation, but rather to worlds composed of diverse beings. This article asks how worlds and the conditions of worldliness should be framed as 'subjects of security'. It explores three possible pathways: rejecting anthropocentrism; expanding existing ethical categories; and adopting 'new materialist' ontology and ethics. Ultimately, it argues for a fusion of the key elements of each of these pathways. This offers the basis for a new concept of harm ('mundicide') specifically intended to reflect harms to worlds and the conditions of worldliness. The value of this concept is demonstrated in the light of an empirical example: the 'Rainforest Chernobyl' case. The article concludes that a worldly approach is necessary if we are to capture the full enormity of the harms confronted by international security.

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Hellmann Gunther

Reflexive Sicherheitspolitik als antihegemoniales Rezept: Deutschlands Sicherheit und seine gewandelte Strategie

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 37, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/168149/internationale-sicherheit>

In der Diskussion über Deutschlands Rolle in Europa erlebt der schillernde Begriff der Hegemonie eine Renaissance. Für die einen hat Deutschland gar nicht die Wahl, sich einer de facto bereits gegebenen deutschen Hegemonie zu entziehen, so widerwillig oder zögerlich sich seine außenpolitischen Eliten dieser Rollenzuweisung auch fügen mögen. Für andere "muss" Deutschland erst noch "Hegemon werden", wenn auch ein dem "gütigen Hegemon" USA nachempfunderer "freundlicher". Eine dritte Gruppe von Beobachtern assoziiert mit Deutschland das genaue Gegenteil von Hegemonie, "weil es nicht willens oder in der Lage ist, die Opfer zu bringen, die für die Rolle eines Hegemons unerlässlich wären". Kurzum: So schillernd der Begriff ist, so attraktiv erscheint er vielen. Denn er basiert implizit oder explizit zumeist auf einer Unterscheidung zwischen notwendiger Führung und williger Gefolgschaft, die viele angesichts ihrer Verortung "in der Mitte zwischen der obersten und der untersten Stufe der Machtskala, (...) zwischen der Stufe des bloßen Einflusses und der der Herrschaft" normativ reizvoller, wenn vielleicht auch nicht empirisch triftiger finden, als die These einer sinisteren "merkiavellistischen" Strategie, die den "Aufstieg Deutschlands zur führenden Macht im ‚deutschen Europa‘ betreibt"...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Rudolf Peter

Schutzverantwortung und humanitäre Intervention

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 37, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/168165/schutzverantwortung-und-humanitaere-intervention>

Der NATO-Einsatz gegen das Gaddafi-Regime 2011 war der erste Krieg, der politisch weithin mit dem Prinzip der "Schutzverantwortung" (Responsibility to Protect, R2P) gerechtfertigt wurde. Nach diesem Prinzip hat die internationale Staatengemeinschaft zwar nicht rechtlich, jedoch moralisch eine subsidiäre Verantwortung, massenhafte Menschenrechtsverletzungen notfalls auch mit militärischer Gewalt zu verhindern, wenn die Regierung des betreffenden Landes ihrer Schutzverantwortung gegenüber den eigenen Bürgerinnen und Bürgern nicht gerecht wird.

Zwar ist die R2P-Diskussion eine Fortsetzung der Debatte um die "humanitäre Intervention", sofern es um den harten Kern der Problematik geht – die Frage eines militärischen Eingreifens. Doch das R2P-Prinzip hat den Diskurs über den



humanitär motivierten Einsatz militärischer Gewalt verändert: Im Falle schwerster Menschenrechtsverletzungen ist nicht mehr eine Intervention begründungspflichtig, sondern der Verzicht darauf. Die Berufung auf R2P begünstigt somit tendenziell einen Moralismus, der die Dilemmata humanitär begründeter Kriege eher ignoriert, statt sie in ihrer Vielschichtigkeit ethisch zu reflektieren. Notwendig ist indes eine politisch-ethische Bewertung, die dem komplexen Problem eines menschenrechtlich begründeten Einsatzes militärischer Gewalt gerecht wird...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Das Ajaya Kumar

Soft and Hard Power in India's Strategy Toward Southeast Asia

in India Review, Volume 12, Issue 3, Special Issue: Looking East in Defense: Perspectives on India-Southeast Asia Relations , 165-185

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Daniel Fiott

The 'TTIP-ing Point': How the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Could Impact European Defence in International Spectator (The), Vol. 48, No. 3

The European Union and the United States are on the verge of agreeing to a transatlantic free trade agreement. The proposed Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership is aimed at boosting EU and US economic growth, but the negotiating partners have not excluded the defence sector from negotiations. Europe is at a tipping point regarding the rationale for its defence-industrial integration efforts. Any TTIP extending to the defence sector will raise questions about the nature of the European Defence Technological and Industrial Base, and, crucially, how it impacts the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Common Security and Defence Policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Stephen Blank

The Context of Russo–Chinese Military Relations

in American Foreign Policy Interests, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 243-253

Russo–Chinese relations in all their aspects are immensely important for Asian and global security. This article focuses on regional trends in their military relations and finds them to be much more complicated and ambivalent than both Moscow and Beijing would have us believe. Although both sides profess ever-greater identity of interests, and some Russian writers have even postulated a security community between them, the facts show much more Russian ambivalence about Chinese probes against Japan and Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, Russia is driven by its standing vis-à-vis the United States more than by regional considerations in its China policy and is thus vulnerable to Chinese



influence to reverse previously held policies, in this case selling China newer and better weapons systems than it sells to India. Accordingly, these trends bear careful scrutiny because of their profound implications for both countries, Asia, and the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Maria Raquel Freire & Lúcia Simão

**The EU's security actorness: the case of EUMM in Georgia
in *European Security*, Volume 22, Issue 4 , 464-477**

This article addresses conceptually the European Union (EU)'s security actorness, explaining its meaning, identifying the factors that are constitutive to the concept, and analyzing whether the EU is a security actor in Georgia, through its increased presence and engagement in the country and its eventual implications for the South Caucasus. The article argues that the complementary nature of the different EU tools deployed on the ground and their comprehensive nature have contributed to the EU's consolidation as a security actor in the South Caucasus. However, and despite the successful assessments of the European Union Monitoring Mission in the context of common security and defense policy development, the mission's deployment and its contribution to regional stability are influenced to a great extent by the role and involvement of external players, in particular in this case, that of Russia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Pernille Rieker

**The French return to NATO: Reintegration in practice, not in principle
in *European Security*, Volume 22, Issue 3 , 376-394**

Sarkozy's decision to bring France back into NATO's integrated military structure in 2009 represents in some ways a break with French exceptionalism. But how deep is this change? This article examines whether the decision has led to a real integration of France along various dimensions of integration; whether the decision represents a continuation or a break with the traditional French approach and the effects of this reintegration on NATO/EU cooperation. The empirical analysis of French political and military practices in NATO combines a focus on macro-level foreign policy formulations with a micro-level study of how French officials and representatives communicate and interact on a day-to-day basis. The analysis shows that France has become increasingly integrated into NATO since 2009 on most dimensions except with regard to cultural integration. Thus, France may be reintegrated in practice, but not yet in principle.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Michael Rühle

**The Future of the Transatlantic Security Relationship
in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 283-287**

Globalization, the financial crisis, and the U.S. pivot to Asia are profoundly changing the transatlantic security relationship. Some observers believe that these developments call for a new transatlantic bargain based on a Europe



that would take greater responsibility for upholding security and stability in Europe and along its periphery. However, low European defense budgets and numerous political differences among European nations make such a bargain appear unlikely. At the same time, while the United States will reduce its military footprint in Europe in the years ahead, it will still want to remain a "European power." Hence, the most likely outcome of current developments will be a transatlantic security community with lower ambitions, yet with a continuously solid institutional relationship based on a reformed North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lavers Troy

The New Crime of Aggression: A Triumph for Powerful States

in **Journal of Conflict and Security Law**, Volume 18 Issue 3 , 499-522

This article argues that the proposed amendments for the crime of aggression agreed in June 2010 have resulted in the accepted definition of the crime but created an 'opt out' for any state party which amounts to a triumph for powerful states. Any possible referral to the ICC for the crime of aggression by a state party or the prosecutor is practically limited by an 'opt out' that will protect them from future investigations and prosecutions for any possible acts of aggression. This 'opt out' amounts to an escape clause for states. The only exception is a referral by the Security Council, reinforcing the dominance of powerful states. This article analyses the new amendments to the Rome Statute and argues that they are not only severely restricted and practically unenforceable, but that they represent the Westphalian states' fear of the structuralisation of international law. The structuralisation of international law is the development and creation of permanent international organisations that not only have binding legal outputs such as the ICC, but grow in international acceptance and legitimacy until they become difficult for any non-member state to avoid in reality. The structuralisation of international law is a process that contributes to the so-called emerging international legal order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Craig Campbell, Ruzicka Jan

The Nonproliferation Complex

in **Ethics and International Affairs**, vol. 27, n. 3, fall

ABSTRACT: For more than four decades the twin goals of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament have been an almost unchallenged objective of the "international community." Like drought prevention, or bans on the use of child soldiers, nonproliferation remains a mostly uncontroversial, largely universalistic initiative to which few object. The proponents of nonproliferation are fond of stressing that the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) has more signatories than any other arms control treaty. Who would not want to prevent more states from obtaining nuclear weapons? And who, for that matter, would oppose the ideal of a world free of such weapons?

When an international initiative is widely accepted as an obvious universal good, and when, moreover, it commands the support of the world's most powerful states and funders, the opportunity arises for the establishment of a powerful institutional regime. The "nonproliferation complex," as we call it, comprises dozens of governmental agencies,



international nongovernmental organizations, think tanks, and academic programs and institutes. The complex is extremely well-financed, has dominated discourse about nuclear weapons around the world for years, and helps to shape the foreign policies of leading powers to an extent that other international initiatives can only envy. Its influence and wealth is not a reason in itself to attack it, and for most of its existence the complex went largely uncriticized in mainstream Western discourse. This began to change after the second Iraq war—seen around the world as a disaster of the first order—which was waged in the name of nonproliferation, and was supported (or not opposed) by leading members of the complex.

In this essay, we trace the history of the rise of the complex during and immediately after the cold war. We show how nonproliferation and disarmament organizations and advocates turned toward ameliorative approaches in the face of great-power refusal to accept more substantial change, or indeed defended an international order favoring the status quo. We then identify three contemporary consequences of this position: the creation of a permanent justification for intervention and war; the fomenting of widespread cynicism about nuclear peace; and the establishment of a dominant discourse about nonproliferation and disarmament that excludes serious ideas about dealing with nuclear danger.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Perry Valery, Keil Soeren

The OSCE Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Testing the limits of ownership in Nationalities Papers, Volume 41, Issue 3, 2013 , 371-394

Abstract

This article explores the debate on local ownership in Bosnia and Herzegovina¹

Following the common use in the academic literature, Bosnia and Herzegovina will be shortened to “Bosnia” or “BiH”.

This refers to the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. View all notes

by examining the limits of international community support for reform in a divided political environment in which decision-makers and politicians have little to no interest in reform themselves. After a short review of the key issues and arguments regarding ownership in BiH, the example of education reform is presented to demonstrate the role of the OSCE as an external actor in this reform sector, and the lack of any reform progress in this field in the absence of external pressure. The article closes with reflections on whether or not external organizations can make any systemic-level impact in such a hostile reform environment, and whether the OSCE can still play a constructive role in Bosnia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Stephen Schlesinger

The Warrior United Nations

in American Foreign Policy Interests, Volume 35, Issue 4 , 204-211

The United Nations was created in 1945, following two catastrophic world wars, to serve as a “warrior” organization to end all future conflicts. But, instead, it has become mainly known for its peacekeeping missions and its agencies dealing with health and social welfare matters. In its first 45 years, Cold War clashes between the Soviet Union and the United States prevented the UN Security Council from taking action against aggressors—except in the case of the 1950 Korean



War. Following the Cold War's end, the UN twice more acted in a warrior capacity to crush invasions—in Kuwait and in Afghanistan. In sum, though, for most of its history, the UN has avoided intervening in most conflicts and left unused the machinery it has at hand in its Charter to prevent strife. While the UN is to be commended for all of its extraordinary humanitarian and peacemaking activities, it has failed to live up to its most important mission—to use force to stop war.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Forsberg Tuomas

The rise of Nordic defence cooperation: a return to regionalism?

in *International Affairs* , vol. 89, issue 5, september , 1161-1181

ABSTRACT: During the Cold War, Nordic cooperation blossomed and the region's identity was strong, yet defence was left outside the Nordic framework. After the end of the Cold War, Nordic cooperation waned and it was largely replaced by cooperation within the framework of the European Union. During the past couple of years, however, Nordic defence cooperation has been boosted by a number of initiatives and common projects. This article analyses this recent rise of Nordic defence cooperation. In terms of theory, it revolves around the question of how material and identity factors explain security cooperation in today's Europe. During the Cold War, identity was an easy explanation for societal cooperation between the Nordic countries, but geostrategic factors and national interests based on them determined (the lack of) defence cooperation. Even today, Nordic defence cooperation is justified more by cost-efficiency and geographical proximity than by common identity. This article argues that Nordic identity nevertheless plays an important role in motivating defence cooperation. It is not driven by pure cost-efficiency or strategic calculation. The role of identity needs to be understood, however, not as a kind of independent force but as part of the political process. Nordic identity explains the rise of the region's defence cooperation in two ways: it facilitates informal cooperation between defence officials at various levels; and it is easy to sell international defence cooperation politically to domestic audiences if it is done in the Nordic context. Yet Nordic cooperation is not seen as contradicting European or NATO cooperation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Omand David, Schneier Bruce

The steps needed to protect the EU's critical infrastructure against cyber-attack

in *Europe's World*, Issue 25, Autumn

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/the-steps-needed-to-protect-the-eus-critical-infrastructure-against-cyber-attack/#.Uo vvjnBg-rM>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Anand Menon

Time for Tough Love in Transatlantic Relations

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 48, No. 3

The furore that greeted news that negotiations were to start on a transatlantic free trade agreement revealed not only



the potential importance of any putative deal, but also the tendency of Europeans to view international politics almost uniquely in economic terms. This neglect of security and broader geostrategic issues is short-sighted and dangerous. It is precisely the liberal world order in place since the Second World War that has allowed Europeans to develop their economic potential. Leaving it to the United States to preserve that order is an increasingly problematic strategy, with the US ever more reluctant to police the world in the way it once did. The US has, for many years, asked its partners to contribute more to the preservation of common security interests. Given the failure of these attempts to date, it might be time for Washington to resort to tougher tactics in an attempt to entice Europeans out of their geostrategic retirement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Pedaliu Effie G. H.

Transatlantic Relations at a Time When 'More Flags' Meant 'No European Flags': the United States' War in South-East Asia and its European Allies, 1964–8

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 556-575

The article discusses why and how the United States and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) European allies came to hold such divergent opinions over what was at stake in Vietnam. It also examines how European reluctance to fight alongside the United States in South-East Asia affected relations within NATO. The voices of the smaller NATO members will also be considered. The article concludes that the transatlantic rift was contained not just because of cold-war realities but also because the Johnson and Nixon administrations took steps to repair the transatlantic relationship and because European integration acted as a binding force.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kınacıoğlu Müge, Gürzel Aylin G.

Turkey's Contribution to NATO's Role in Post–Cold War Security Governance: The Use of Force and Security Identity Formation

in *Global Governance*, vol. 19, n. 4, october-december , 589-610

ABSTRACT: After the Cold War, NATO formulated its new role on the basis of broader political aims and new security objectives by assuming crisis management operations beyond its borders. This article argues from a constructivist perspective that keen Turkish involvement in NATO out-of-area operations constitutes a context of social interaction that has led to particular identities and certain security policy outputs for both. Turkey's participation in NATO's military operations as the sole Muslim ally, in the post–Cold War era, enabled NATO to build an identity as a global security actor in crisis management while Turkey's active role in these operations served to keep Turkey's sense of prominence in the protection of the universal values and, thus, its claim to Western identity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Arputharaj James

Welcome to the Arms Trade Treaty!

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 2, July



<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/borderless-debate/item/849-welcome-to-the-arms-trade-treaty>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Swinbank, Alan; Daugbjerg, Carsten

Improving EU Biofuels Policy? Greenhouse Gas Emissions, Policy Efficiency, and WTO Compatibility

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.4 , 813-834

Both the EU's Renewable Energy Directive (RED) and Article 7a of its Fuel Quality Directive (FQD) seek to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from transport fuels. The RED mandates a 10% share of renewable energy in transport fuels by 2020, whilst the FQD requires a 6% reduction in GHG emissions (from a 2010 base) by the same date. In practice, it will mainly be biofuels that economic operators will use to meet these requirements, but the different approaches can lead to either the RED, or the FQD, acting as the binding constraint. A common set of environmental sustainability criteria apply to biofuels under both the RED and the FQD. In particular, biofuels have to demonstrate a 35% (later increasing to 50/60%) saving in life-cycle GHG emissions. This could be problematic in the World Trade Organization (WTO), as a non-compliant biofuel with a 34% emissions saving would probably be judged to be 'like' a compliant biofuel. A more economically rational way to reduce GHG emissions, and one that might attract greater public support, would be for the RED to reward emission reductions along the lines of the FQD. Moreover, this modification would probably make the provisions more acceptable in the WTO, as there would be a clearer link between policy measures and the objective of reductions in GHG emissions; and the combination of the revised RED and the FQD would lessen the commercial incentive to import biofuels with modest GHG emission savings, and thus reduce the risk of trade tension.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Koggel Christine

Is the capability approach a sufficient challenge to distributive accounts of global justice?

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 9, Issue 2, 2013 , 145-157

Abstract

I begin by discussing forms of cosmopolitanism that motivate challenges to distributive accounts of global justice. I then use Sen's version of the capabilities approach to show how distributive accounts fall short, why an overarching theory of justice is not needed, and that democracy understood as the exercise of public reasoning can do the work of identifying and addressing injustices. That said in favor of Sen, I argue that his account fails to attend to the kinds of injustices emerging from relationships of power and the institutions and structures in which these relationships are embedded. To show this, I outline features of a feminist relational approach, which I then apply to Canada's attempt to address historic harms through the Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission. While I agree with Sen that we do not need a theory of global justice that is universal, ideal, impartial, or abstracted from context, I aim to broaden the scope of justice beyond both distributive accounts and Sen's version of the capabilities approach.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lawhon Mary, Patel Zarina

Scalar politics and local sustainability: rethinking governance and justice in an era of political and environmental change

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 31, Issue 6, December , 1048-1062

The local was institutionalised as a key scale for environmental action at the Earth Summit, and remains salient in discourse, policy, and action. However, given both real changes and geographical insights into the politics of scale in the past twenty years, we suggest it is time to (re)consider this focus. We assess local sustainability through the lens of scalar politics, arguing for the need to consider what challenges particular scale frames foreground and which they silence. We focus on three changes which have occurred in the last twenty years—the growing salience of the Global South, shifts from environmentalism to sustainability, and new governance patterns—and reflect on the significance of these changes for local sustainability. We suggest the local frame occludes questions of international responsibility and justice, and that the changes since Rio require that we reconsider the scalar frame of local sustainability. We conclude by questioning who benefits from the local frame, and when, where, and for whom a focus on local sustainability may be relevant and ethical.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kenneth Keith

A Century of International Arbitration and Adjudication: Sir Kenneth Keith Reflects on the Evolution of the International Legal System

in **New Zealand International Review**, January 2014

It is a hundred years since the opening of the Peace Palace at The Hague. Built to house the Permanent Court of Arbitration, it subsequently became the site of the Permanent Court of International Justice and today the International Court of Justice. The courts reflected the development of processes for the peaceful means for the settlement of international disputes and for the clarification and development of international law, both private and public. Since 1923 the Peace Palace has also been a centre for the study of international law. This system has worked with varying degrees of effectiveness for a century but is perhaps due for review.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Daniel D. Bradlow

A Framework for Assessing Global Economic Governance

in **Boston College International and Comparative Law Review**, vol. 36, symposium issue , 971-1003

Increased globalization over the last twenty years has made effective global economic governance more important than ever. This period has witnessed the rise of a number of new international governance actors, such as the Group of Twenty and the Financial Stability Board. This Article proposes a five-part test to evaluate how the existing global



governance actors serve the interests of all stakeholders in the global economy. The test is based on four fundamental indicators of good global governance. The Article uses the five-part test to evaluate the G20's performance at the G20 Summit at Los Cabos, Mexico. Finally, this Article concludes that the G20 is not fully satisfying any of the five parts of the test, and therefore fails to reach its full potential as a global economic governance actor.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mathias Risse

A Précis of On Global Justice, with Emphasis on Implications for International Institutions

in Boston College International and Comparative Law Review, vol. 36, symposium issue , 1037-1061

In an increasingly globalized world, philosophers have had to broaden their focus from what is a just distribution of holdings within a state to what is a just distribution of holdings globally. The traditional debate centers on whether distributive justice applies only at the state level or whether it extends to all human beings. The view I defend—which can be called "pluralist internationalism"—transcends this debate by acknowledging that multiple grounds of justice exist, so that in different contexts, different principles of justice apply. This Article offers a brief summary of my view, which is fully developed in my book, *On Global Justice*. After setting forth five grounds of justice, this Article examines which principles of justice apply to the state and to the World Trade Organization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Yamagata Yoshiki, Yang Jue, Galaskiewicz Joseph

A contingency theory of policy innovation: how different theories explain the ratification of the UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 13, Issue 3, September , 251-270

This article tests theories, elaborated by rationalists, constructivists, and network theorists, that explain the ratification of international environmental treaties. Rationalists argue that countries' material self-interest and political and economic conditions affect the likelihood of countries ratifying treaties. Constructivists argue that countries are influenced by exposure to world society. Structural embeddedness theory argues that countries are influenced by neighboring countries, religion, language, and economic peers, and those whom they have network ties to via diplomatic relations and IGO memberships. The article is a study of how these factors affected the ratification of two environmental treaties: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol. The results show that political and economic factors, peer behavior, and network ties were more important in explaining the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol than the UNFCCC. Similar to von Stein (*J Conflict Resolut* 52:243–268, 2008), it found that exposure to world society was important in the UNFCCC. The authors suggested that the differences were due to the demands which the Kyoto Protocol placed on countries in contrast to the "softness" of the UNFCCC. They also discussed how social influence—based on a variety of inter-governmental relations and affiliations—may signal a change in the structure of the global environmental regime and how it conducts its business.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

William Smith

Anticipating Transnational Publics: On the Use of Mini-Publics in Transnational Governance in *Politics & Society*, 41 (3) , 461-484

This article evaluates mini-publics as a potential means of realizing deliberative democratic values in transnational contexts. A mini-public is a group of citizens that is chosen by random or near-random selection to debate matters of public concern in a suitably structured deliberative environment. The argument of the article is that mini-publics can be an important deliberative resource, but only as supplements to rather than replacements for alternative means of reforming transnational institutions. These forums can be used to prefigure transnational publics, but entrenched institutional assumptions about the delineation and definition of these publics must be subject to critical scrutiny by other elements of a transnational deliberative system. This argument is developed through a critical engagement with the literature on mini-publics, an analysis of a prominent example of a transnational mini-public, and a defense of the role of civil society as a resource for counteracting the shortcomings of mini-publics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ian Manners

Assessing the decennial, reassessing the global: Understanding European Union normative power in global politics in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48 (2) , 304-329

This article assesses the past decade of international scholarship on the European Union (EU) and normative power as represented by the contributions to the special issue. It argues that the normative power approach (NPA) makes it possible to explain, understand and judge the EU in global politics by rethinking the nature of power and actorness in a globalizing, multilateralizing and multipolarizing era. To do this, the article assesses the past decade in terms of normative power engagement, internationalization and comparison. The article then argues that rethinking power and actorness involves reassessing global theory and *pouvoir normatif* in action. The article concludes by setting out three ways of developing the NPA in its second decade: macro-approach, meso-characterization and micro-analysis. Following the suggestion of Emanuel Adler, Barry Buzan and Tim Dunne, the article sets out how studying the normative foundations of power through the NPA combines the normative rethinking of power and actorness with the structural changes of a globalizing, multilateralizing and multipolarizing era.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rennkamp Britta

Außenpolitik und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung in Südafrika und Brasilien in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50-51, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/173805/aussenpolitik-und-gesellschaftliche-entwicklung-in-suedafrika-und-brasilien>



Die globale Wirtschaftskrise ist inzwischen auch in den BRICS-Staaten angekommen. In den ersten Krisenjahren galten die Schwellenländer Brasilien, Russland, Indien, China und Südafrika als relativ resistent gegenüber dem Einbruch der Finanzmärkte in den USA und Europa. Teilweise profitierten die Märkte in diesen Ländern sogar von der Krise, da sie für internationale Investoren nun lukrativer wurden. Vom Wirtschaftswachstum wurden neben den etablierten Oberschichten vor allem die neuen Mittelschichten begünstigt, die in Brasilien und teilweise auch in Südafrika in den vergangenen Jahren herangewachsen sind...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Andrew F. Cooper and Asif B. Farooq

BRICS and the Privileging of Informality in Global Governance

in **Global Policy**, Volume 4, Issue 4, 428-433

The staging of the Fifth BRICS summit on 26–27 March 2013 consolidated the impression of nuanced club dynamics. Despite considerable differences in strategic perspectives, the BRICS members have been successful in amplifying converging interests while avoiding friction from disagreement by downplaying issues on which there is geopolitical divergence and policy competition. Their ‘agency’ of cooperation within BRICS is founded on an informal and loose operational style, which has facilitated organizational maintenance. The approach of accenting institutional flexibility is demonstrated by content analysis of BRICS declarations, interviews and media releases, which reveal how the membership of this forum have given greater attention to areas in which they share common interests, and made progress working towards them, while refraining from addressing issues in which there are serious underlying tensions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mallavarapu Siddharth

BRICS: Hoffnung auf eine gerechte Weltordnung - Essay

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 50-51, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/173791/hoffnung-auf-eine-gerechte-weltordnung>

Viele betrachten die Ländergruppe aus Brasilien, Russland, Indien, China und Südafrika als eine eher zufällige Konstellation von Staaten, die auf willkürliche Weise durch wenig mehr als das Akronym BRICS verbunden zu sein scheint. In diesem Artikel widerspreche ich dieser Einschätzung und erläutere meine Gründe dafür. Außerdem mahne ich BRICS-Skeptiker verschiedener Richtungen zur Vorsicht, insbesondere diejenigen aus dem globalen Norden, die entweder vorzeitig einen Nachruf auf diese Ländergruppe schreiben wollen, oder die diese – in ihrer gegenwärtigen oder zukünftigen Ausrichtung – als bedeutungslos einstufen...



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Prys Miriam

BRICS: Realität oder Rhetorik?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50-51, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/173789/realitaet-oder-rhetorik>

Bis vor Kurzem war die Beschreibung der BRICS-Staaten (Brasilien, Russland, Indien, China, Südafrika) einfach: Die BRICS sind die "neuen Giganten", die Schwellenländer auf der Überholspur, die neuen Mächte der Weltpolitik. Die Zahlen sprachen für sich – beispielsweise vergrößerte sich der Anteil der BRICS an der globalen Produktion von 16 auf 22 Prozent und der Anteil der BRICS-Gruppe am Welt-Bruttosozialprodukt (BSP) in Kaufkraftparität steigerte sich von 2000 bis 2010 um etwa zehn Prozentpunkte auf nahezu 30 Prozent (vgl. Abbildung 1 in der PDF-Version). Die Wirtschaftszahlen blieben während der 2008 beginnenden globalen Rezession im Vergleich zu den meisten anderen Akteuren relativ stabil. So entstand der Eindruck, dass sich eine neue, multipolare Welt schneller entwickelt, als so manchen lieb ist. "BRICS" bezeichnet damit nicht nur die Gruppe der fünf (anfangs vier) großen Wachstumsmärkte, sondern fungiert auch als eine Art "Container" oder Fixpunkt für ein "ungutes Gefühl" in den USA und in der EU, dass die "natürliche" Weltordnung – aufgeteilt in Führungsstaaten aus dem Norden und Folgende (beziehungsweise Bittsteller) aus dem Süden – zu einem Ende kommt. Die BRICS sind also Projektionsfläche sowohl für Hoffnung als auch für Sorge...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lupu Jonatan

Best Evidence: The Role of Information in Domestic Judicial Enforcement of International Human Rights Agreements

in *International Organization*, vol. 67, issue 3, July, 469-503

ABSTRACT: Independent domestic courts play important roles in enforcing international human rights agreements, thereby providing a mechanism by which international institutions can affect government policy. Yet this enforcement power is constrained not only by independence but also by the courts' ability to overcome information problems. Domestic courts' enforcement power depends on information in two ways: the costs of producing legally admissible evidence of abuses and the applicable legal standards of proof. When countries ratify international agreements, judicial enforcement can improve government practices when evidence-production costs and standards of proof are low, but not otherwise. With respect to personal integrity rights violations, evidence is especially difficult to obtain, and standards of proof are high, meaning that the courts will not be able to constrain government practices. By contrast, evidence-production costs and standards of proof are lower for other civil rights violations, so courts will be able to prosecute offenders and bring governments into line with their international commitments. Consistent with this theory, I



find that commitments to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) have significantly improved governments' respect for the freedoms of speech, association, assembly, and religion. With respect to personal integrity rights, however, I find that commitments to the ICCPR have not improved government practices.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mulieri Alessandro

Beyond Electoral Democracy? A critical Assessment of Constructivist Representation in the Global Arena in Representation, Volume 49, Issue 4 , 515-527

This article draws on Pitkin's framework of political representation to analyse two constructivist frameworks of representation: Saward's concept of representative claim and Dryzek and Niemeyer's notion of discursive representation. It shows that these two notions entail a constitutive view of representation and decouple formalistic from substantive representation. Even if the theoretical thrust of these two accounts is to complement traditional models of statist electoral representation, their function is best suited to explaining representation in the transnational scene. In the final part, the article argues that this raises problems of democratic legitimacy because of the impossibility to have electoral representation at the global level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gsottbauer Elisabeth, van den Bergh Jeroen C. J. M.

Bounded rationality and social interaction in negotiating a climate agreement in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 13, Issue 3, September , 225-249

An agreement on climate change mitigation hinges on large-scale international cooperation. Rational agents are supposed to consider the cost and benefits of cooperation, which then determine their negotiation positions. Behavioral economics provides experimental evidence that decision-making in negotiation-like situations is influenced by systematic cognitive biases and social interaction. In this paper, we examine the impact of bounded rationality and social preferences on bargaining in international climate negotiations and illustrate how particular deviations from full rationality affect the incentives to cooperate. Of special interest are fairness preferences for burden-sharing rules and behavioral responses to different framings of climate change and policy, as well as implications of these for communication about climate change. The analysis will further address different levels of representation, including individual citizens, politicians, experts, and (professional) negotiators. The consequences of the most prominent nonstandard preferences and biases for negotiating a climate treaty are assessed, and specific strategies to foster cooperation are suggested.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Quiroga Stöllger Yesko

Brasilien: Sozialer Fortschritt, demokratische Unruhe und internationaler Gestaltungsanspruch in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 50-51, 2013

The full text is free:



<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/173795/brasilien-sozialer-fortschritt-demokratische-unruhe-und-internationaler-gestaltungsanspruch>

Im zurückliegenden Jahrzehnt hat sich viel getan im fünfgrößten Land der Welt mit seinen knapp 200 Millionen Einwohnerinnen und Einwohnern. 2002 war mit Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva ein Gewerkschafter und Mitbegründer der Arbeiterpartei PT zum Präsidenten gewählt worden. Seine Regierung übernahm ein makroökonomisch leidlich stabilisiertes Land mit verheerenden Sozialindikatoren. Hofften die einen auf eine grundlegende und radikale Veränderung der Machtverhältnisse, setzten die anderen auf ein Intermezzo, das sich aufgrund des abzusehenden sozialistischen Chaos von selbst erledigen würde. Wider Erwarten setzte sich aber ein politischer Prozess durch, der Brasilien gesellschaftlich, ökonomisch und hinsichtlich seiner internationalen Bedeutung stark veränderte, ohne aber, wie im Fall von Bolivien, Ecuador oder Venezuela, den machtpolitischen Status quo infrage zu stellen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Murdie Amanda, Hicks Alexander

Can International Nongovernmental Organizations Boost Government Services? The Case of Health in International Organization, vol. 67, issue 3, July, 541-573

ABSTRACT: Do international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) lessen the need for states to provide their own services? In the case of health, many assume that INGOs limit health spending by governments. Against the conventional wisdom, we argue that these organizations create increased demand for governmental health spending through three mechanisms: (1) indirectly affecting the policy-making climate ("climatic conditioning"), (2) aiding domestic NGO and health activists in their efforts, and (3) directly pressuring governments for increased health spending themselves. Given these mechanisms, health INGOs, although typically supplying health services of their own within a country, should augment pressure for public service provision by the state and, it follows, lead to increased state health spending. We test our argument using a new data set on health INGOs, together with a well-established model of health spending, and find ample support for our arguments. Increases in health INGOs' activities do lead to increased governmental health spending, mainly by indirectly affecting the policy-making climate and, most especially, advancing the effective efforts of domestic activists.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Karen E. Smith

Can the European Union be a Pole in a Multipolar World?
in International Spectator (The), Vol. 48, No. 2

Can the EU serve as a pole in a multipolar, interdependent international system? The EU will face three particular challenges operating in such a system: the challenge of re-establishing credibility after the euro crisis; the ever-present challenge of achieving unity among the member states; and the challenge of adapting foreign policy behaviour to match the new international environment. There is a risk that the EU could slide into irrelevance.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gallemore Caleb, Munroe Darla K.

Centralization in the global avoided deforestation collaboration network

in Global Environmental Change, Volume 23, Issue 5, October , 1199-1210

Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation projects currently cover an area approximately twice the size of Germany and challenge traditional concepts of centralization and decentralization in studies of environmental governance. Emerging from the interactions of a complex network of actors, Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation demonstrates that transnational governance networks of organizations can become spatially centralized. Using a historical analysis of the development of Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation, we argue that the evolution of Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation policy has been directed primarily from donor countries, especially in North America and Europe. Adopting a social network analysis approach, we present findings from a new dataset of collaboration on 276 Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation, avoided deforestation, and sustainable forest management projects that began some on-the-ground operations between 1989 and June 2012, finding that organizations in donor countries have from the beginning been the central actors in the Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation network. We conclude that Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation exhibits spatial centralization within transnational governance architectures despite institutional fragmentation, raising important normative questions about participation in transnational forest governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Krahl Daniel

China: Aus den BRICS herausgewachsen?

in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 50-51, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/173803/china-aus-den-brics-herausgewachsen>

Als der Begriff "BRICs" im Jahr 2001 vom Goldman-Sachs-Analysten Jim O'Neill erfunden wurde, um vier lukrative Investmentziele leicht erinnerbar zusammenzufassen, war er wohl nicht dazu gedacht, diese Länder – Brasilien, Russland, Indien und China – auch politisch zusammenzubringen oder gar als Grundlage einer eigenen Institution zu dienen. Heutzutage wird der Begriff (ergänzt um ein großes S für Südafrika) in den westlichen Medien aber oft politisch verstanden, als Sinnbild für den Beginn einer "post-amerikanischen Welt", als Organisation, die dem "Rest" der Welt eine Stimme gibt und als klare Konkurrenz zum Westen verstanden wird. Schaut man aber genauer hin, ist klar zu erkennen, dass es sich bei den BRICS keinesfalls um ein deutlich identifizierbares Gegenbild zum Westen handelt. So sind drei der Mitgliedsländer, Südafrika, Indien und Brasilien, demokratisch, Russland eine Autokratie mit demokratischem Anstrich und China eine leninistische Diktatur, wenn auch weitgehend entideologisiert und marktkonform...



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tobias Böhmelt, Vally Koubi, Thomas Bernauer

Civil society participation in global governance: Insights from climate politics

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 53, Issue 1 , 18-36

A rather unique feature of global climate negotiations is that most governments allow representatives of civil society organisations to be part of their national delegation. It remains unclear, however, why states grant such access in the first place. While there are likely to be benefits from formally including civil society, there are also substantial costs stemming from constraints on sovereignty. In light of this tradeoff, this article argues for a 'contagion' effect that explains this phenomenon besides domestic determinants. In particular, states, which are more central to the broader network of global governance, are more likely to be informed of and influenced by other states' actions and policies toward civil society. In turn, more central governments are likely to include civil society actors if other governments do so as well. This argument is tested with data on the participation of civil society organisations in national delegations to global climate negotiations between 1995 and 2005. To further uncover the underlying mechanisms, the article also provides an analysis of survey data collected at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) negotiations in Durban in 2011.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Huynen Maud M. T. E., Martens Pim, Akin Su-Mia

Climate change: an amplifier of existing health risks in developing countries

in *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, Volume 15, Issue 6, December , 1425-1442

Global warming is perceived as one of the biggest global health risks of the twenty-first century and a threat to the achievement of sustainable (economic) development; especially in developing countries, climate change is believed to further exacerbate existing vulnerability to disease and food security risks, because their populations are, for example, more reliant on agriculture and more vulnerable to droughts and have a lower adaptive capacity. Furthermore, the health-related impacts of climate change are threatening to undo decades of development policies. The interactions between climate and non-climate factors are of vital importance in shaping human vulnerability to global warming. Climate change cannot be seen as 'a stand-alone risk factor,' but rather as an amplifier of existing health and food security risks and an additional strain on institutional infrastructures. In order to avoid a multiplication of health risks in the developing world, there is a need to better understand the multifaceted and complex linkages involved. This is further illustrated for two important climate change-induced health risks, namely malnutrition and malaria. As the amplification of existing and emerging health risks in the developing world might become the greatest tragedy of climate change, adaptation ranks high on developing countries' agendas. Of particular importance are the discussions about the 'Green Climate Fund,' which aims to administer billions of dollars for mitigation and adaptation. Of course, making funds for adaptation available is an important first step, but we also need to ask ourselves the question how such adaptation policies and projects should take shape. This paper demonstrates that an adequate response to climate change health risks should take a systems approach toward adaptation, acknowledging the importance of the local context of the most vulnerable.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Audet René

Climate justice and bargaining coalitions: a discourse analysis

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 13, Issue 3, September , 369-386

This article adopts a perspective of climate justice as an object of discourse and takes the bargaining coalitions at the Conference of the Parties as the relevant units to map the heterogeneous discourse on climate justice at the Cancun COP16. Based on the statements of nine coalitions, the analysis identifies three discourses on climate justice. The conflict discourse articulates the North–South duality over issues of historical responsibility for climate change. The transition discourse points to solving the problem of sharing the cost of mitigating climate change through a process of global low-carbon growth. The vulnerability discourse focuses on the urgency of ambitious actions by all parties. These three discourses, and their appropriation by the bargaining coalitions, are inherent of new alignments among developed and developing countries alliances and blocs that simultaneously reproduce and surpass the North–South ideological divide.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Siméant Johanna

Committing to Internationalisation: Careers of African Participants at the World Social Forum

in Social Movement Studies, Volume 12, Issue 3, 2013 , 245-263

Abstract

The sociology of transnational activism and of the Global Justice Movement have paid scarce attention to Southern transnationalisations. A good way of understanding the material and symbolic logics that underlie such processes is to study the way Southern activists participate in transnational events. Based on a collective ethnographic survey conducted at the World Social Forum (WSF) held in Nairobi in 2007, this article examines the practical modalities of access of African participants to the WSF, i.e. how they actually managed to travel to Nairobi, through what material help and to what extent they depend on the NGO sphere. It aims to show that the concept of career is a relevant lens to underline both activism and internationalisation as a process, which helps to avoid binary qualifications of internationalisation of Southern participants, reduced to being either simply part of the ‘civil society’ or ‘unauthentic’ because of their very internationalisation. It then examines how this internationalisation process reveals some affinities, albeit critical ones, with the former colonial sphere, but also how their engagement with the international sphere transforms their daily existence, through processual stages (as internationalisation is not always an effect of a cosmopolitan socialisation, but can also be encouraged by Northern partners' stance and orientation towards sending ‘authentic’ grassroots people to the North), and how the ‘NGOisation’ of social movements in the global South may in turn be understood as a specific form of political enterprise.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Horatia Muir Watt

Concurrence ou confluence ? Droit international privé et droits fondamentaux dans la gouvernance globale
in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 27, n°1-2 , 59-78

The contemporary irruption of fundamental rights into the field of private international law is a response to a need for governance which the traditional model had become inapt to fulfil. It is likely that the methodological and political irritants that have accompanied this turn will gradually stabilize, only to give way in turn to a new balance produced by emerging alliances of progressive and regressive forces. The object of this contribution is not to articulate nor to take sides in the ideological debate for and against fundamental rights, but to see how through their competition and the crisis they induce, the discipline of private international law might reposition itself on the map of global governance, from which it is at present remarkably absent.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Risse Mathias, Wollner Gabriel

Critical notice of Aaron James, Fairness in Practice: A Social Contract for a Global Economy
in *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* , Volume 43, Issue 3, 2013 , 382-401

Abstract

Nobody has offered such a comprehensive philosophical approach to trade. Nonetheless, James's approach does not succeed. First, we explore James's constructivist method, which does less work than he suggests. The second topic is James's take on the different 'grounds' of justice. We explore the shortcomings of approaches that focus exclusively on trade. Our third topic is why James thinks trade is such a ground. The fourth topic is how James argues for his proposed 'structural equity.' This proposal remains under-argued. Our fifth topic is to explore why structural equity would generate several specific principles. Finally, we discuss James's notion of autarky. Autarky sets the benchmark for James's ideas about how to divide gains of trade. We doubt that it can do so.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Biermann Frank

Curtain down and nothing settled: global sustainability governance after the 'Rio+20' Earth Summit
in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* , Volume 31, Issue 6, December , 1099-1114

The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, held in June 2012 in Rio de Janeiro, was probably the largest event in a long series of megasummits on environmental protection and sustainable development. Roughly 44 000 participants descended on Rio de Janeiro to take part in ten days of preparatory committee meetings, informal consultations, side events, and the actual conference. Yet despite this unprecedented high attendance by participants from governments and civil society, the outcome of the conference is less than many had hoped for. In this paper I review the outcomes of the 2012 Rio conference in detail, with a special focus on its contributions towards the reform of



the institutional framework for sustainable development. Following this review, I discuss the way ahead and options for structural reform to restrengthen earth system governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Peters Anne

Das Gründungsdokument internationaler Organisationen als Verfassungsvertrag

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 68, issue 1, march , 1-57

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hazenberg Haye, Mulieri Alessandro

Democracy and global governance: the case for a bottom-up and context-sensitive approach

in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 26, Issue 3 , 302-318

This concluding chapter outlines a theoretical framework for understanding the relation between global governance, democracy and the findings of the papers in this volume. It identifies the two principles of affectedness and representation in the literature on democratic global governance, and relates them to the three democratic building blocks of equality, inclusive participation and accountability. These five theoretical components are then combined to relate the findings of the previous chapters to three heuristic models of governance: the domination model, the market model and the global democracy model. We show that the particular global governance arrangements discussed in previous chapters to some extent contain elements of all these models: undemocratic domination, mildly democratic market mechanisms and fully democratic global-democratic processes. Through this theoretical framework, the reader gains insight into how to assess and strategize the democratization project for global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kreft Heinrich

Deutschland, Europa und der Aufstieg der neuen Gestaltungsmächte

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50-51, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/173793/deutschland-europa-und-die-neuen-gestaltungsmaechte>

Wir leben in einer Zeit des beschleunigten Wandels. Die Globalisierung und der damit einhergehende Aufstieg neuer Mächte bei gleichzeitigem relativem Abstieg der USA, Europas und Japans ist der Megatrend unserer Zeit. Der Sieg des Westens über die Sowjetunion im Kalten Krieg hat zusammen mit technologischen Entwicklungen zu einer enormen Beschleunigung der Globalisierung und damit des Wandels geführt. Doch der "unipolar moment" der einzig verbliebenen Supermacht USA hat nicht lange gedauert – nur rund zwanzig Jahre nach dem Ende der alten Nachkriegsordnung



zeichnen sich unübersehbar Konturen einer neuen, multizentrischen Welt ab. Der rasante ökonomische und politische Aufstieg Chinas lässt einige bereits von einer neuen Bipolarität ("G2") reden, während andere ein "asiatisches Jahrhundert" heraufziehen sehen mit China und Indien ("ChinIndia") im Mittelpunkt.[2] Das Gravitationszentrum von Weltwirtschaft und Weltpolitik verschiebt sich ohne Zweifel vom nordatlantischen Raum nach Asien – vom Westen und Norden nach Osten und Süden. Neben den beiden bevölkerungsreichsten Ländern der Welt – China und Indien – gehören mit Südkorea, Indonesien, den Philippinen, Pakistan, Bangladesch und Vietnam auch mehr als die Hälfte der Aufsteigerländer der zweiten Reihe (die sogenannten next eleven) zu Asien...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brunner José, Goschler Constantin, Frei Norbert

Die Globalisierung der Wiedergutmachung

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 25-26, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/162885/die-globalisierung-der-wiedergutmachung>

Die vielzitierte Globalisierung geht, in den Worten von Ulrich Beck, mit einer zunehmenden transnationalen Vernetzung einher. Das hat nicht nur mit den seit Anfang der 1990er Jahre rapide sich ausbreitenden digitalen Medien zu tun, sondern auch mit den weltweit wachsenden wirtschaftlichen, wissenschaftlichen, kulturellen, gesellschaftlichen und politischen Verknüpfungen, die einen intensiveren und vielfältigeren Austausch zwischen Menschen, Nationen und Institutionen bewirken. Als zentrale Kategorie unserer gegenwärtigen Epochencharakterisierung hat der Begriff der Globalisierung freilich nicht nur eine deskriptive Funktion, sondern auch moralische und normative Implikationen. Er benennt eine Entwicklung, die mit dem Ende des Kalten Kriegs ihren Anfang genommen hat und deren Ausgang wir nicht kennen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hron Haldor

Die Proliferation Security Initiative: Netzwerkförmige Kooperation in der internationalen Sicherheitspolitik

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, vol. 6, n. 4, October, 523-541

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Armand C. M. de Mestral

Dispute Settlement Under the WTO and RTAs: An Uneasy Relationship

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.4 , 777-825

The proliferation of RTAs is a recognized feature of our time. While such agreements are permitted under Article XXIV of the GATT, this has not been without controversy and one aspect which remains unclear concerns the role decisions rendered by RTA dispute settlement bodies play in WTO cases. Are RTA dispute settlement systems in competition with and possibly even in contradiction to the WTO DSU or are they complementary? Can they co-exist or are they cast in eternal opposition? Are they equal or are they inherently subordinate to the WTO DSU? The article considers the WTO's treatment of RTAs in GATT and WTO case law, and weighs arguments for and against the consideration of RTA decisions by the DSB. The article submits that the DSB should not be blind to the equities of a situation where two states have reached an agreement in an RTA selecting dispute settlement under that body. This is more than a theoretical argument, it has happened, and the increasingly complex co-existence of the WTO with some 400 RTAs suggests that similar problems can arise in the future. Furthermore, these issues deserve a much more open and careful analysis than they have had to date.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

McEvoy David M.

Enforcing compliance with international environmental agreements using a deposit-refund system

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 4, November , 481-496

Whether nations are able to cooperatively manage shared resources through international environmental agreements (IEAs) depends on whether compliance with voluntary commitments can be enforced. Given that nations are sovereign enforcing compliance with IEAs cannot rely on the presence of a strong sanctioning body. Nonetheless, enforcement provisions must be effective in the sense that they will deter non-compliance and credible in the sense that they will actually be imposed. In this paper, we address the problem of enforcing compliance with IEAs by examining one promising mechanism—a deposit-refund system—that exhibits the necessary features for effective enforcement. We analyze a simple model to demonstrate the desirable properties of the mechanism and then consider the effects of imperfect monitoring, uncertainty, partial participation and reputation on the effectiveness of a deposit-refund system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lund Emma

Environmental diplomacy: comparing the influence of business and environmental NGOs in negotiations on reform of the clean development mechanism

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 22, Issue 5, Special Issue: Special Issue from the European Society for Ecological Economics 2011 Conference: 'Advancing Ecological Economics: Theory and Practice', September/October , 739-759

Although case studies exist of the influence of non-governmental organisations in international environmental negotiations, theoretical conclusions remain scattered, and the separation in previous literature between the study of environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOs) and business and industry non-governmental organisations



(BINGOs) reduces the generalisability of conclusions. The conclusions drawn in both fields are brought together and the resulting explanatory framework is applied to empirical material from the negotiations on reform of the Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism, comparing the influence of environmental non-governmental organisations and business and industry non-governmental organisations. The explanatory factors identified in previous research generally play out in favour of BINGOs as compared to ENGOs. The structural influence of business and industry non-governmental organisations seems to have resulted in a larger influence on the outcome of the negotiations, which may be problematic from a democratic point of view as private economic interests and public interests frequently diverge.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hébrard Véronique, Palieraki Eugénia

Exils et mouvements clandestins. Une approche transnationale

in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 38, Automne , 11-13

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-bulletin-de-l-institut-pierre-renouvin-2013-2-page-11.htm>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Skjærseth Jon Birger, Bang Guri, Schreurs Miranda A.

Explaining Growing Climate Policy Differences Between the European Union and the United States

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 4, November , 61-80

Strong rhetorical differences between the European Union and the United States on climate matters have been evident for almost two decades. Since the mid-2000s, such differences are becoming visible in their respective climate policies as well. We propose three explanations for differences in climate policy outcomes in the EU and the US. First, the agenda-setting privileges of their policy-makers are significantly different, influencing how agenda setters shape policies and link issues, such as energy and climate policy. Second, while issue linkage has helped overcome distributional obstacles in the EU, it has led to more complexity and greater policy obstacles in the US. Finally, legislative rules, procedures, and norms have constrained the coalition-building efforts of lawmakers in the two systems in different ways, affecting negotiation processes and outcomes. Such differences in agenda-setting privileges, potential for issue linkages, and legislative procedures in the EU and the US have left them wide apart in international climate negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Peter Knaack and Saori N. Katada

Fault Lines and Issue Linkages at the G20: New Challenges for Global Economic Governance

in *Global Policy*, Volume 4, Issue 3 , 236–246

The G20 emerged at the center stage of global economic governance in 2008. At the time, it was designed to be an inclusive and effective intergovernmental body. However, we find evidence of a slowdown of the G20's development by tracing the evolution of the G20 agenda during the seven summits held to date. We argue that the principle reason for



the lack of progress is that the expansion of the issues covered by this international organization created new dividing lines among G20 members and also made preexisting ones more salient. Rather than reaching increasingly shallow consensus on a wider a range of issues, state leaders should sharpen the G20 agenda, avoid politicization, and frame issues in ways that prevent the formation of opposition along national lines.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Anne-Marie Slaughter

Filling Power Vacuums in the New Global Legal Order

in *Boston College International and Comparative Law Review*, vol. 36, symposium issue , 919-936

In her Keynote Address at the October, 12, 2012 Symposium, Filling Power Vacuums in the New Global Legal Order; Anne-Marie Slaughter describes the concepts of "power over" and "power with" in the global world of law. Power over is the ability to achieve the outcomes you want by commanding or manipulating others. Power with is the ability to mobilize people to do things. In die globalized world, power operates much more through power with than through power over. In contrast to the hierarchical power of national governments, globally it is more important to be central in thee horizontal systemn of multiple sovereigns. This Address illustrates different examples of power over and power with. It concludes that in this globalized world, lawyers are ideally trained and positioned to exercise power.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Poast Paul, Urpelainen Johannes

Fit and Feasible: Why Democratizing States Form, not Join, International Organizations

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 57, issue 4, december , 831-841

ABSTRACT: Does democratization make states join existing international organizations (IOs)? Previous research suggests that democratization increases a state's propensity to join IOs capable of assisting in the distribution of public goods and establishing credibility for domestic reforms. We argue that this is not the case. Instead, recent democratization has a strong effect on a state's propensity to form new IOs. Since democratizing states face different governance problems than established democracies, existing IOs may not be a good "fit." Additionally, established democracies might hesitate to allow democratizing states membership in the most lucrative existing IOs, thereby making immediate accession to such IOs not "feasible." Quantitative analysis shows that democratization has a strong and consistently positive effect on the probability of forming a new IO, but not on the probability of joining an existing IO. The findings suggest that international cooperation theorists should begin to analyze forming new and joining existing IOs as alternative strategies that states can use to achieve their policy goals.

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Wood Michael

Formation and Evidence of Customary International Law, Address to the International Law Commission, Geneva, 30 July 2012



in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 12, n. 2 , 273-280

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Van de Graaf Thijs

Fragmentation in Global Energy Governance: Explaining the Creation of IRENA

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 3, August , 14-33

In 2009, a group of member countries of the International Energy Agency (IEA) spearheaded the creation of a new international organization, the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), despite the fact that the IEA had been working on renewables for decades. Why would states create an overlapping organization, thus advancing the overall degree of fragmentation? Drawing on the work of Mansfield and Moravcsik, this article provides an explanation based on domestic preferences and institutional capture. Viewed thus, IRENA was part of an institutional hedging strategy instigated by domestic actors in Germany and allied states to counter the IEA's alleged normative bias toward the fossil and nuclear energy industries with a wider set of alternative energy options. The article suggests that, depending on the domestic preferences of a set of states capable to innovate, the transaction costs associated with institutional reform may surmount those of institutional creation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Humrich Christoph

Fragmented International Governance of Arctic Offshore Oil: Governance Challenges and Institutional Improvement

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 3, August , 79-99

The governance architecture in the Arctic region is subject to broad public and academic debate. Existing governance arrangements are not considered sufficient to minimize risks and impacts from Arctic offshore oil activities. These governance arrangements are fragmented between law of the sea norms, numerous regulatory conventions, and non-legally binding guidelines produced by the Arctic Council, an informal body of the eight Arctic states. While the benign form of cooperative fragmentation seems to prevail, specific governance challenges exist. The nature of these governance challenges and political feasibility considerations suggest an enabling joint management approach for the architecture of Arctic governance.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wahlström Mattias, Wennerhag Magnus, Rootes Christopher

Framing "The Climate Issue": Patterns of Participation and Prognostic Frames among Climate Summit Protesters

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 4, November , 101-122



Did the protests surrounding recent climate summits mark the emergence of a climate justice movement? We analyze responses to surveys of three large demonstrations in Copenhagen, Brussels, and London, organized in connection with the 2009 UN Climate Change Conference (COP-15) to determine who demonstrated, and how and why the collective action frames employed by demonstrators varied. The demonstrations were products of the mobilization of broad coalitions of groups, and we find significant variation in demonstrators' prognostic framings—the ways in which they formulated solutions to climate problems. Most notably, there was a tension between system-critical framings and those oriented around individual action. A large proportion of demonstrators expressed affinity with the global justice movement (GJM), but we find little evidence of an emerging “climate justice” frame among rank-and-file protesters. Individual variations in framing reflect differences between the mobilization contexts of the three demonstrations, the perspectives and values of individual participants, and the extent of their identification with the GJM.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Blomfield Megan

Global Common Resources and the Just Distribution of Emission Shares

in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 21, Issue 3, September 2013, 283–304

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Magdalena Bexell

Global Governance, Legitimacy and (De)Legitimation

in *Globalizations*, Volume 11, Issue 3, 289-299

The realm of global governance continually grows more diverse in form, substance and influence, making questions about its legitimacy and legitimation increasingly intriguing. Debates on standards for assessing the legitimacy of global governance organizations and rules have proliferated in contemporary academic study and political practice. In addition, the study of legitimation is becoming a research field of its own, enquiring into legitimacy-seeking practices and delegitimation attempts. The purpose of this issue is to advance scholarly debate on the politics of legitimacy and legitimation in global governance processes. The issue brings together researchers from different subfields of international relations in order to highlight trends and contradictions in the contemporary politics of legitimacy across a range of issue areas and governance forms. Accordingly, the issue includes governance interventions in the areas of health, sustainable development, humanitarian relief, responsible investment, sustainable fisheries, and labour standards. Moreover, the articles explore interstate organizations, public–private partnerships, entirely private rule-setting bodies, and certification standards, demonstrating that different organizational forms share similar legitimacy challenges and engage in continuous legitimation attempts of many kinds.

In this article, I will first introduce the key concepts of global governance, legitimacy, and (de)legitimation in light of contemporary scholarly debates. Second, I briefly present the main themes and arguments of the individual articles. This is followed by a concluding section in which I argue that the questions about the ‘audiences’ of legitimation are salient in all contributions to this issue, yet in need of further theoretical and empirical study.



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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Robinson Fiona

Global care ethics: beyond distribution, beyond justice

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 9, Issue 2, 2013 , 131-143

Abstract

This article defends an ethics of care approach to global justice, which begins with an empirically informed account of injustices resulting from the workings and effects of contemporary neo-liberalism and hegemonic masculinities. Dominant distributive approaches to global justice see the unequal distribution of resources or 'primary goods' as the basic source of injustice. Crucially, however, most of these liberal theories do not challenge the basic structural and ideational 'frames' that govern the global political economy. Instead, they seek to 'correct' unjust patterns of distribution according to an ideal theory. Subjects in these theories are generally understood as abstract, autonomous and impartial; this is in contrast to an ethics of care, which starts with an ontology of the subject as embodied, vulnerable and relational. The first part of this article explores the role and nature of theory in relation to the task of considering injustice on a global scale and offers a critique of the narrow focus in traditional theories of justice on the distribution of 'primary goods'. The second part considers the effects of neo-liberal globalization and hegemonic masculinities on global working families in order to illustrate the relationship between care and global justice. The final section sketches out a care-ethics approach to global injustice, focusing on three features: first, care as a relational approach; second, the focus in care ethics on intersecting structures of injustice; and third, care as a multi-scalar approach to global injustice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wouters Jan, Bijlmakers Stephanie, Hachez Nicolas, Lievens Matthias, Marx Axel

Global governance and democratic legitimacy: a bottom-up approach

in **Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research**, Volume 26, Issue 3 , 197-200

This special issue aims to contribute to the debate on the democratization of global governance. Its starting point is that, two decades after the emergence of the concept of "global governance" in scholarly literature, the empirical specificities of the transforming political landscape that it seeks to describe remain largely unsettled. Literature in various disciplines has identified key trends in governance beyond the nation state. These suggest that global governance envisions a growing role for variegated (non-)state actors that act through multilevel and multidimensional regulatory networks and processes to tackle global challenges in a wide range of issue areas and in the absence of a central public authority. Yet, global governance is a highly diverse, complex and continuously changing phenomenon. How it manifests itself empirically depends on a variety of factors,

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Treack Till van



Globale Ungleichgewichte im Außenhandel und der deutsche Exportüberschuss

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-3, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/175492/globale-ungleichgewichte-im-aussenhandel-und-der-deutsche-exportueberschuss>

Die sogenannten außenwirtschaftlichen Ungleichgewichte sind seit Längerem eines der brisantesten Themen in der wirtschaftspolitischen Debatte. Viele Ökonomen sehen hierin eine der tieferen Ursachen für die jüngsten Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrisen. Infolge der "Großen Rezession" ab 2008 sind daher gegenwärtig viele Länder bemüht, ihre hohen Leistungsbilanzdefizite zu verringern. Dies kann jedoch nur gelingen, wenn gleichzeitig die Leistungsbilanzüberschüsse anderer Länder reduziert werden. So hatte der frühere US-Finanzminister Timothy Geithner vor allem die Überschussländer China, Deutschland und Japan im Blick, als er 2010 im Rahmen von Verhandlungen der G20-Länder vorschlug, international verbindliche Obergrenzen für Leistungsbilanzsalden von vier Prozent des jeweiligen Bruttoinlandsprodukts (BIP) festzulegen. Im Oktober 2013 erneuerte das US-Finanzministerium seine Kritik am deutschen Exportüberschuss. Diese wurde jedoch vom deutschen Finanzministerium als "nicht nachvollziehbar" und vom Maschinenbauer-Branchenverband sogar als "völliger Unsinn" zurückgewiesen. Auch in der Debatte um die Krise des Euroraums steht Deutschland wegen seines unverändert hohen Leistungsbilanzüberschusses zunehmend in der Kritik, zuletzt auch von Seiten der Europäischen Kommission...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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M. Shamsul Haque

Globalization, State Formation, and Reinvention in Public Governance: Exploring the Linkages and Patterns in Southeast Asia

in *Public Organization Review*, volume 13 n.4 , 381-96

While the existing studies on globalization widely cover the realms of economy, politics, society, and culture, the discourse is hardly extended to the domain of public governance. Although there are studies on the globalization or cross-national convergence of contemporary neoliberal models of governance – that is, the New Public Management (NPM) model and its revisionist post-NPM alternatives – there is a relative lack of research on how the globalization phenomenon itself has been a major cause of the emergence of such a neoliberal public sector management. In explaining the main causes of these neoliberal reinventions, most scholars highlight issues like fiscal crisis, state failure, and public sector inefficiency. They rarely consider how the dominant actors of globalization may constitute a major force causing the recent neoliberal transformation of the state and market-led reinvention in state policies and management. This article explicates these linkages – between globalization, state formation, and public sector reform – with specific reference to Southeast Asia.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ali Farazmand



Governance in the Age of Globalization: Challenges and Opportunities for South and Southeast Asia
in *Public Organization Review*, volume 13 n.4 , 349-63

This article addresses governance in the age of globalization, the confusion over the meanings of governance, and the flaws of 'good governance,' while offering a novel theory of 'sound governance' with many elements or dimensions. It also discusses the implications, challenges, and opportunities for governance and administration in South and South East nations in a rapidly changing world of predatory globalization, and suggests strategies for coping with and managing global pressures while practicing sound governance at home.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Enroth Henrik

Governance. The art of governing after governmentality

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 1, February 2014 , 60-76

Abstract

As Michel Foucault and others have shown, from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries, Western political discourse has perpetuated an art of governing aimed at societies and populations. This article argues that this modern art of governing is now coming undone, in the name of governance. The discourse on governance is taking us from an art of governing premised on producing policy for a society or a population to an art of governing premised on solving problems with no necessary reference to any kind of society or population. Tracing the evolution of that discourse, the article argues that existing social and political theory has failed to make sense of this shift. It concludes that in order to access and assess the new art of governing on its own terms we need a sociological imagination that stretches beyond societies and a political imaginary without the presupposition of collectivities.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stevenson Hayley

Governing Climate Technologies: Is there Room for Democracy?

in *Environmental Values*, Volume 22, Number 5, October , 567-587

Technologies for mitigating and adapting to climate change are inherently political. Their development, diffusion and deployment will have uneven impacts within and across national borders. Bringing the governance of climate technologies under democratic control is imperative but impeded by the global scale of governance and its polycentric nature. This article draws on innovative theorising in the deliberative democracy tradition to map possibilities for global democratic governance of climate technologies. It is argued that this domain is not beyond the reach of democracy. Civil society has a unique and expanded role to play in generating democratic legitimacy by fostering public deliberation; translating and transmitting concepts, ideas and messages; and promoting and facilitating deliberative accountability.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Boer Henry

Governing Ecosystem Carbon

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 13, Issue 4, November , 123-143

Governing carbon stored in natural and human-managed ecosystems is an emerging area in global climate politics. Many developed and developing countries are devising and implementing a range of reform programs that aim to reduce emissions and increase sequestration in the land use, land use change and forestry, and agricultural sectors. In developing countries, mitigation programs and projects on the ground have accelerated under the global program Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+). The article applies a governmentality framework to analyze these policies and programs as forms of administrative, economic, and deliberative rationalities and associated technologies. What emerges in the analysis is that governing is conducted through common technologies including policy instruments and rules, stakeholder engagement processes, and the application of the same technical monitoring and carbon accounting methodologies. In the case of REDD+, there has been strong emphasis on the introduction of market and incentive approaches, but the major reforms have focused on government regulatory programs and building technical and administrative capacity. Importantly, this is allowing national and sub-national governments to extend their authority across all aspects of the reform agenda, which poses significant challenges for reducing forest loss in developing countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Bulkeley Harriet, Jordan Andrew, Perkins Richard, Selin Henrik

Governing sustainability: Rio+20 and the road beyond

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 31, Issue 6, December , 958-970

The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, more widely known as 'Rio+20', was a significant global political event, but it left many important questions relating to the future of sustainability governance unanswered. This paper introduces a theme issue on "Governing sustainability: Rio+20 and the road beyond". It is organized around three themes which are addressed at greater detail in the different papers: (i) the current status of governance for sustainability in the aftermath of Rio+20; (ii) whether or not sustainable development still has political and institutional relevance; and (iii) institutional and political opportunities and obstacles for governing sustainability in the future. The paper argues that both sustainability governance and the sustainable development concept are under growing pressure amid a perceived failure to deliver change, but identifies three opportunities to advance sustainability: (i) by reframing the way in which problems of unsustainability are described and approached; (ii) via the formulation of effective sustainable development goals; and (iii) by identifying novel ways to open up the sustainable development debate to more actors and interests.

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Beitz Charles R.

Human Dignity in the Theory of Human Rights: Nothing But a Phrase? (review essay)

in **Philosophy and Public Affairs**, Volume 41, Issue 3, Summer 2013 , 259–290



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Geuss Raymond, Hamilton Lawrence

Human Rights: A Very Bad Idea (interview)

in *Theoria*, Volume 60, Number 135, June 2013 , 83-103

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Heath Joseph

Ideal theory in an nth-best world: the case of pauper labor

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 9, Issue 2, 2013 , 159-172

Abstract

One of the most troubling features of international trade is that it often involves exchange between individuals facing dramatically different life circumstances, who therefore derive different levels of benefit from the exchange. Most obviously, wages are extremely low in underdeveloped countries. However, the principle underlying these wages is the same as the one that dictates wage levels in wealthy countries. It is, therefore, difficult to criticize the wages paid to 'pauper labor' without at the same time criticizing the way that capitalism functions as a whole. For those who would like to question aspects of globalization, without simply repeating the standard moralizing critique of capitalism, this poses particular difficulties. This paper offers some suggestions on how egalitarians can approach this issue. The central piece of conceptual apparatus introduced, in the service of this aim, is the distinction between a 'first-best', a 'second-best', and an 'nth best' set of normative principles. It is then suggested, first, that capitalism is acceptable to egalitarians only within a third-best framework, and second, that this low level of idealization imposes real constraints on how far one can go in criticizing trade practices at the global level.

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Debiel Tobias, Wulf Herbert

Indiens BRICS-Politik: Unentschlossen im Club

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50-51, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/173800/indien-unentschlossen-im-club>



Indien steht außenpolitisch und ökonomisch an einem Scheideweg. Nach Erlangung der Unabhängigkeit 1947 und dem blutigen Teilungskrieg hatte Premierminister Jawaharlal Nehru eine Politik des non-alignment formuliert, um sich im Kalten Krieg keinem der beiden Blöcke anzuschließen. Ökonomisch wurde diese Außenpolitik von der Konzeption des swaraj, der möglichst weitgehenden Autarkie unterfüttert. Mit dem Ende der Blockkonfrontation und dem Druck, die indische Wirtschaft für den Weltmarkt zu öffnen, waren Anfang der 1990er Jahre diese beiden Konstanten verschwunden. Die indische Regierung musste ihre "Außenpolitik neu erfinden"...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ely Adrian, Smith Adrian, Stirling Andy, Leach Melissa, Scoones Ian

Innovation politics post-Rio+20: hybrid pathways to sustainability?

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 31, Issue 6, December , 1063-1081

The ability of innovation—both technical and social—to stretch and redefine 'limits to growth' was recognised at Stockholm in 1972, and has been a key feature in debates through to Rio+20 in 2012. Compared with previous major moments of global reflection about human and planetary futures—Stockholm, Rio in 1992, Johannesburg in 2002—we now have a better understanding of how innovation interacts with social, technological, and ecological systems to contribute to transitions at multiple levels. What can this improved understanding offer in terms of governance approaches that might enhance the interaction between local initiatives and global sustainability objectives post-Rio+20? The global political agenda over the last two decades has largely focused on creating economic and regulatory incentives to drive more sustainable industrial development patterns within and between nation-states—resulting most notably in the Convention on Biological Diversity and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. At the other end of the spectrum, 'Local Agenda 21', launched at the first Rio summit, envisaged a community-led response to sustainable development challenges locally. This paper discusses the successes and challenges of globally linked local action through a number of illustrative examples, reflecting on how these have contributed to Rio 1992's original objectives. In doing so, we will draw upon innovation studies and development studies to highlight three key issues in a hybrid politics of innovation for sustainability that links global and local: first, the direction in which innovation and development proceed; second, the distribution of the costs, benefits, and risks associated with such changes; third, the diversity of approaches and forms of innovation that contribute to global transitions to sustainability. Drawing on this analysis, we will also reflect on Rio+20, including the extent to which hybrid innovation politics is already emerging, whether this was reflected in the formal Rio+20 outcomes, and what this suggests for the future of international sustainable development summits.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Trudeau Hélène, Duplessis Isabelle, Lalonde Suzanne, Van den Graaf Thijs, De Ville Ferdi, O'Neill Kate, Roger Charles, Dauvergne Peter, Morin Jean-Frédéric, Oberthür Sebastian, Orsini Amandine, Biermann Frank, Ohta Hiroshi, Ishii Atsushi

Insights from Global Environmental Governance

in **International Studies Review**, vol. 15, issue 4, december , 562-589

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dongwook Kim

International Nongovernmental Organizations and the Global Diffusion of National Human Rights Institutions in International Organization, vol. 67, issue 3, July, 505-539

ABSTRACT: During the past three decades national human rights institutions (NHRIs) have spread to more than one hundred United Nations (UN) member states and become key to human rights enforcement and democratic accountability. Given that NHRIs can take on a life of their own even under adverse conditions, why do governments in the developing world create permanent, independent national bodies with statutory powers to promote and protect human rights? Human rights international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) are crucial for global diffusion. They empower local actors and influence governments in favor of NHRI adoption by mediating the human rights and NHRI discourses and mobilizing shame internationally. An event history analysis offers robust evidence that controlling for the UN, regional organizations, and other rival factors, human rights INGOs have systematic positive effects on diffusion. The case studies of South Korea and Malaysia provide process-tracing evidence that the hypothesized causal mechanisms are operative.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Frank J. Garcia

Introduction: Globalization, Power, States, and the Role of Law

in Boston College International and Comparative Law Review, vol. 36, symposium issue, 903-919

On October 12, 2012 the Boston College Law Review and the Boston College International and Comparative Law Review held a joint Symposium entitled, "Filling Power Vacuums in the New Global Legal Order." In three panel discussions and a keynote address by Anne-Marie Slaughter, a lively discourse on the impact of globalization on state power, the law, and the law's ability to both reallocate and effectively restrain power ensued. This Introduction, and the works that follow in this symposium issue, document that discourse.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zelli Fariborz, van Asselt Harro

Introduction: The Institutional Fragmentation of Global Environmental Governance: Causes, Consequences, and Responses

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 13, Issue 3, August, 1-13

This article introduces a special issue on the expanding research agenda on institutional fragmentation. The term refers to the growing diversity and challenges to coordination among private and public norms, treaties, and organizations that address a given issue area of international politics. International relations scholars increasingly address this phenomenon, framing it with alternative concepts like regime complexes or polycentricity. A considerable part of the existing debate remains focused on whether a centralized or polycentric governance architecture is preferable. Instead,



as this special issue shows, domains of global environmental governance—like climate change, biological diversity, renewable energy, and forestry—are already fragmented. It is time to address new, more pertinent questions and help advance institutionalist research on this phenomenon. We introduce four major research themes for analyzing the fragmentation of different domains of global environmental governance: taking stock, causes, consequences, and responses.

Full text available online: http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/GLEP_a_00180

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Marrero Danny

Is the Appeal of the Doctrine of Double Effect Illusory?

in *Philosophia*, Volume 41, Issue 2, June 2013 , 349-359

Abstract

Scanlon (2008) has argued that his theory of permissibility (STP) has more explanatory power than the Doctrine of Double Effect (DDE). I believe this claim is wrong. Borrowing Michael Walzer's method of inquiry, I will evaluate the explanatory virtue of these accounts by their understanding of actual moral intuitions originated in historical cases. Practically, I will evaluate these accounts as they explain cases of hostage crises. The main question in this context is: is it permissible that nation-states act with military force in order to liberate hostages, even if those actions put the lives of the hostages at risk? The first part of this paper has an operative reconstruction of the relevant theories. In the second section, two cases of hostage crises will be considered: the Moscow theater hostage crisis of 2002, and the Jaque Operation, which occurred in Colombia in 2008. Additionally, it will be shown that DDE explains these cases better than STP. Finally, this paper offers a critical analysis of Scanlon's account of the explanatory power of both STP and DDE.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Antoni Estevadeordal, Alan M. Taylor

Is the Washington Consensus dead? Growth, openness and the great liberalisation (1970s-1990s)

in *Review of Economics and Statistics*, volume 95 n.5 , 1669-90

According to the Washington Consensus, developing countries' growth would benefit from reductions in barriers to trade. However, the empirical basis for judging trade reforms is weak. Econometrics are mostly ad hoc, results are typically not judged against models, policies are poorly measured, and most studies are based on pre-1990 experience. We address these concerns by employing a model with capital and intermediate goods, compiling new disaggregated tariff measures, and employing treatment and control regression analysis with differences-in-differences. We find that a specific treatment, liberalizing tariffs on imported capital and intermediate goods, led to faster growth, consistent with the model.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hübler Michael, Finus Michael

**Is the risk of North–South technology transfer failure an obstacle to a cooperative climate change agreement?
in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 13, Issue 4, November , 461-479

We setup a stylized model with endogenous North–South technology transfer for climate change mitigation. We theoretically identify the driving factors that enhance or hinder cooperation with socially optimal binding targets on emissions and on investment in technology transfer. We find that the risk of technology transfer failure creates an obstacle to the achievement of the cooperative agreement: under cooperation, the South will have to fulfill the emissions target at high costs if technology transfer fails. Under non-cooperation without any binding targets, the North still has an intrinsic motivation to reduce emissions in the South at low costs via technology transfer; and the South does not have the pressure to fulfill an emissions target. As a result, non-cooperation shifts part of the costs of a technology transfer failure from the poor South to the rich North and can thus be preferable for the South. Two policy implications for achieving the cooperative solution are derived: first, the South should be insured against or compensated for a technology transfer failure. Second, an agreement on technology transfer should be formulated in terms of emissions reductions or low-carbon technology capacities that are to be achieved rather than in terms of monetary payments with uncertain effects on emissions. We discuss the model results in the context of empirical facts and current developments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bernauer Thomas, Kalbhenn Anna, Koubi Vally, Spilker Gabriele

**Is there a “Depth versus Participation” dilemma in international cooperation?
in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 8, n. 4, december , 477-497

ABSTRACT: Much of the International Relations literature assumes that there is a “depth versus participation” dilemma in international politics: shallower international agreements attract more countries and greater depth is associated with less participation. We argue that this conjecture is too simple and probably misleading because the depth of any given cooperative effort is in fact multidimensional. This multidimensionality manifests itself in the design characteristics of international agreements: in particular, the specificity of obligations, monitoring and enforcement mechanisms, dispute settlement mechanisms, positive incentives (assistance), and organizational structures (secretariats). We theorize that the first three of these design characteristics have negative and the latter three have positive effects on participation in international cooperative efforts. Our empirical testing of these claims relies on a dataset that covers more than 200 global environmental treaties. We find a participation-limiting effect for the specificity of obligations, but not for monitoring and enforcement. In contrast, we observe that assistance provisions in treaties have a significant and substantial positive effect on participation. Similarly, dispute settlement mechanisms tend to promote treaty participation. The main implication of our study is that countries do not appear to stay away from agreements with monitoring and enforcement provisions, but that the inclusion of positive incentives and dispute settlement mechanisms can promote international cooperation. In other words, our findings suggest that policymakers do not necessarily need to water down global treaties in order to obtain more participation.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kent Jones, Yunwei Gai

Joining the WTO: Why Does It Take So Long?

in *Open Economies Review*, volume 24 n.4 , 695-716

The WTO aspires to universal membership, but the process of joining has become very lengthy and many countries have faced particularly difficult and prolonged negotiations. The WTO applies a detailed and legalistic approach to accession, due to its accumulation of policy coverage over the years and the enforcement powers of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. In WTO accession cases, WTO incumbent members appear to have a superior bargaining position. At the same time, applicant countries appear to differ in their capability or willingness to gather information and institute the many reforms required to conclude the accession negotiation. Based on the record of completed and ongoing accession negotiations, the present study uses an endurance model to identify the factors that determine the probability of an applicant's joining in a given month. In addition to the number of completed accessions, World Bank indexes of "government effectiveness" have a particularly strong influence on the duration of the accession process. In view of the difficult cases remaining in order to complete universal WTO membership, the authors propose a broader approach to WTO membership and more flexibility in accession requirements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rei Fernando , Borges Cunha Kamyla, Vera Pérez Natalia

La paradiplomacia medioambiental global y el papel de las comunidades autónomas españolas

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN LIII - NÚMERO 2

In the first decade of the 21st century, and in Europe above all, international environment-related activities carried out by sub-national governments have attracted the interest of political representatives and academics. This article analyzes the role of sub-national governments in global environmental governance through a study of the Network of Regional Governments for Sustainable Development (nrg4SD), with particular attention to the role of the Spanish autonomous communities that are at its heart.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen Sylvia I., McGee Jeffrey

Legitimacy in an Era of Fragmentation: The Case of Global Climate Governance

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 3, August , 56-78

Studies grounded in regime theory have examined the effectiveness of "minilateral" climate change forums that have emerged outside of the UN climate process. However, there are no detailed studies of the legitimacy of these forums or of the impacts of their legitimacy on effectiveness and governance potential. Adopting the lens of legitimacy, we analyze the reasons for the formation of minilateral climate change forums and their recent role in global climate governance. We use Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen and Vihma's analytical framework for international institutions to examine three minilateral climate forums: the Asia-Pacific Partnership, the Major Economies Meetings, and the G8 climate process. These forums



have significant deficits in their source-based, process-based, and outcome-based legitimacy, particularly when compared to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. If assessed purely on grounds of effectiveness, the multilateral forums might be easily dismissed as peripheral to the UN climate process. However, they play important roles by providing sites for powerful countries to shape the assumptions and expectations of global climate governance. Thus, the observed institutional fragmentation allows key states to use multilateral forums to shape the architecture of global climate governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Glasbergen Pieter

Legitimation of Certifying Partnerships in the Global Market Place

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 23, Issue 6, November-December , 354-367

One of the main themes in the debate about global governance through private certifying partnerships regards their legitimacy. This paper argues that the main categories used in this debate – input and output legitimacy – largely result in a normative assessment, which does not help much with understanding better the practices of legitimating processes. As an addition to the literature focusing on legitimacy as a state of affair, this paper studies legitimacy as a dynamic process of change. To analyse these legitimating processes the paper suggests an approach based on the legitimacy challenges that the arrangements need to handle given the functions that they aim to fulfil. This approach is applied in a study of four frontrunner cases in different categories of certifying arrangements. The analysis reveals some of the drivers of legitimating processes and their relationships. It also shows the relative importance of procedural and substantive predetermined criteria to understand legitimacy issues of private regulation in the global market place.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tana Johnson

Looking beyond States: Openings for international bureaucrats to enter the institutional design process

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 8, n. 4, december , 499-519

ABSTRACT: Surprisingly little research investigates a stark reality: the vast majority of today's international intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) were crafted not by states alone, but with participation by international bureaucrats working in pre-existing IGOs. What explains this phenomenon? Drawing on international relations scholarship, this article develops predictions involving the capabilities of states, or a matter's salience to states. The predictions are tested with a new and original dataset that captures, for the first time, variation in the roles that international bureaucrats play in the institutional design arena. Statistical analyses find that states' need for expertise, as well as the design negotiations' distance from high-politics, leave openings for international bureaucrats to enter institutional design processes. The findings enhance our understanding of institutional design, principal-agent relationships, non-state actors, and divisions of labor in contemporary global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Oberthür Sebastian, Połowska Justyna



Managing Institutional Complexity and Fragmentation: The Nagoya Protocol and the Global Governance of Genetic Resources

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 3, August , 100-118

This article explores the impact of the Nagoya Protocol to the Convention on Biological Diversity on the complex of international institutions involved in the governance of access to, and benefit sharing from, genetic resources. Conceptually, we develop an interplay management perspective that focuses on the governance of institutional complexes and their internal division of labor by means of collective decisions within the elemental institutions. We seek to understand interplay management with reference to constellations of actors' interests and power, as well as institutional factors (commitments, inter-institutional consistency). We argue that the strength of status-quo forces led to the Nagoya Protocol consolidating and clarifying (rather than changing) the existing interinstitutional division of labor. The analysis demonstrates the difficulty of changing existing inter-institutional balances, yet suggests that a consolidation of an inter-institutional equilibrium can induce important new, pathdependent developments in fragmented governance architectures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dukalskis Alexander, Johansen Robert C.

Measuring Acceptance of International Enforcement of Human Rights: The United States, Asia, and the International Criminal Court

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 35, number 3, august , 569-597

ABSTRACT: Developing normative indicators to measure governments' consent to, promotion of, and compliance with international laws prohibiting genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and other norms constituting the International Criminal Court (ICC) demonstrates that it is possible to calibrate variation in state conduct over time and to compare one state to another. The indicators make compliance more visible and amenable, both to encouragement by nongovernmental organizations and states, and to enforcement by the ICC. They show that legalization of these norms is currently progressing. Tracing the stances of selected states demonstrates the empirical and theoretical utility of the indicators.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Orsini Amandine

Multi-Forum Non-State Actors: Navigating the Regime Complexes for Forestry and Genetic Resources

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 3, August , 34-55

This research brings together studies of non-state actors (NSAs) in environmental negotiations, transnational networks, and institutional fragmentation, to shed light on the influence of NSAs on policy-making in regime complexes. It presents a new analytical framework with a series of deductive assumptions about the influence of "multi-forum" NSAs, as compared with "single forum" NSAs. Multi-forum NSAs cover several elements of a regime complex, and are thereby able to follow and potentially influence fragmented institutional processes. Focusing on two cases of fragmented environmental governance—forestry and access to genetic resources—the analysis provides a quantitative (statistics, network analysis) and qualitative (interviews) testing ground for the proposed framework. Because of their considerable



material, organizational and ideational resources, and long-term engagement, multi-forum NSAs have greater access to the negotiations and may become central players. The strategies such NSAs adopt can further the integration of regime complexes when they undertake forum linking, or push towards further fragmentation when they undertake forum shopping or forum shifting.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bachvarova Mira

Non-domination's role in the theorizing of global justice

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 9, Issue 2, 2013 , 173-185

Abstract

What role should the political ideal of non-domination play in theorizing global justice? The importance of this ideal is defended most prominently in neo-republican political thought where non-domination embodies a conception of political freedom and serves as the foundational ideal of state citizenship [Pettit, Philip. 1997. *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Laborde, Cecile. 2008. *Critical Republicanism*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press]. It has been argued, however, that these theories can be extended to the global political community and yield a separate framework for global justice. This paper agrees with proponents of non-domination that there is a significant critical and normative potential in the ideal's capacity to speak to the structural inequalities of power in the global order and to make them central, in a way that not only encompasses but also moves beyond questions of redistribution. Yet it argues that this should be conceived as a complement to existing approaches to global justice, rather than a full-fledged alternative. Non-domination's central contribution lies in reframing our perspective on the political authority of states and global institutions. As such it should be viewed as a freestanding principle to assess the political legitimacy of institutionalized global power relations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Laïdi Zaki

Négociations internationales: la fin du multilatéralisme

in *Esprit*, Novembre 2013 , 108-117

Negotiations on trade or the environment seem farther and farther removed from multilateralism. Norms are not imposed by international organizations but by countries who decide their level of involvement based on their own interests. One witnesses the proliferation of bilateral agreements, especially because of the growing power of the US and China, an evolution which represents a risk for Europe, a staunch defender of multilateralism.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Emeran Christine

Occupy, un mouvement social au XXIe siècle

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n. 54 , 101-112

À l'automne 2011, le mouvement Occupy Wall Street (New York) devient visible sur la scène internationale, transformant les manifestations espagnoles inspirées par le printemps arabe en un mouvement citoyen à échelle mondiale. Se développent en effet des réseaux transnationaux servant à échanger activement idées et méthodes d'organisation

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

ADRIAN LITTLE and KATE MACDONALD

Pathways to global democracy? Escaping the statist imaginary

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 39 - Issue 04 , 789 - 813

Critics of global democracy have often claimed that the social and political conditions necessary for democracy to function are not met at the global level, and are unlikely to be in the foreseeable future. Such claims are usually developed with reference to national democratic institutions, and the social conditions within national democratic societies that have proved important in sustaining them. Although advocates of global democracy have contested such sceptical conclusions, they have tended to accept the method of reasoning from national to global contexts on which they are based. This article critiques this method of argument, showing that it is both highly idealised in its characterisation of national democratic practice, and overly state-centric in its assumptions about possible institutional forms that global democracy might take. We suggest that if aspiring global democrats – and their critics – are to derive useful lessons from social struggles to create and sustain democracy within nation states, a less idealised and institutionally prescriptive approach to drawing global lessons from national experience is required. We illustrate one possible such approach with reference to cases from both national and global levels, in which imperfect yet meaningful democratic practices have survived under highly inhospitable – and widely varying – conditions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ikeda Daisaku

Per una società globale di pace e coesistenza

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 171, luglio-estate , 381-417

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Moore Margaret

Place-related attachments and global distributive justice

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 9, Issue 2, 2013 , 215-226

Abstract

This paper is interested in place-related attachments. It discusses the way in which territory or land is treated in theories of global distributive justice, and argues that this fails to capture the normatively significant relationship between peoples and places. This paper argues that any adequate theory of justice in territory has to begin by recognizing that territory is a claimant-relative good, and that this should be an important point of departure for theorizing about land and justice. Not only do the current theories of distributive justice fail to acknowledge the claimant-relative nature of territory, but they do not offer a good way to incorporate place-related attachments in their theories.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Beauvillé de Pierre

Politique du monde-réseau

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

Des « printemps arabes » aux activismes en ligne de type WikiLeaks en passant par des mouvements comme Occupy Wall Street, 99 %, Tea Party, « Pigeons »... la décennie 2010 voit émerger de nouvelles formes de mobilisation politique. Ces formes, plus ou moins pacifiques, plus ou moins chargées de contenu idéologique ou philosophique, se font jour non seulement en réponse à une oppression politique et sociale dans des pays verrouillés par des pouvoirs -autoritaires, mais également dans les sociétés ouvertes et démocratiques, en réponse notamment à des mesures d'austérité économique.

Ces nouvelles mobilisations vont-elle donner naissance à de nouvelles formes politiques ?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bieling Hans-Jürgen

Politische Ökonomie des Welthandels – Transformationsprozesse und Machtbeziehungen

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-3, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/175499/politische-oekonomie-des-welthandels>

Die Krisen der vergangenen Dekaden haben die öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit wiederholt und vermehrt auf die Finanzmärkte gelenkt. Davor waren die Prozesse der Finanzmarktliberalisierung aufgrund ihres komplexen Charakters, vor allem aber wegen der weniger eindeutigen wirtschaftlichen Implikationen und Verteilungseffekte lange wenig politisiert. Dies kann von den internationalen Handelsbeziehungen nicht behauptet werden. Sie stellen einen seit jeher



unmittelbar politischen Gegenstand dar. Der politische Charakter des internationalen Handels resultiert nicht zuletzt daraus, dass durch die Errichtung oder den Abbau von Handelsschranken die relative Wettbewerbsposition der betroffenen Sektoren, Industriezweige und Unternehmen, einschließlich der Beschäftigungskonditionen der Belegschaften, unmittelbar berührt werden...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kohn Margaret

Postcolonialism and global justice

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 9, Issue 2, 2013 , 187-200

Abstract

This paper examines the rhetorical dimension of arguments about global justice. It draws on postcolonial theory, an approach that has explored the relationship between knowledge and power. The global justice literature has elaborated critiques of global inequality and advanced arguments about how to overcome the legacies of domination. These concerns are also shared by critics of colonialism, yet there are also epistemological differences that separate the two scholarly communities. Despite these differences, I argue that bringing the two literatures into conversation generates important benefits. Postcolonial theory draws attention to the way that abstract concepts can function as metaphors that have the unintended consequence of reinforcing power relations. Normative theory will be more effective at promoting global justice if it pays more attention to the politics of representation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Anne Therese Gullberg

Pressure or Information? Lobbying for Binding Renewable Energy Targets in the European Union

in **Review of Policy Research** , volume 30 n.6 , 611-28

This article analyzes the European renewable energy industry's capacity for pressure-based and information-based lobbying and its strategies in two lobbying efforts: for a legally binding target of 20 percent renewable energy by 2020 (a proposal adopted by the European Council in March 2007) and for binding interim targets as a means to secure effective implementation of the 2020 target (a proposal that was not adopted). It finds that the industry has the capacity for information-based lobbying but very limited capacity for pressure-based lobbying. The article also discusses the effectiveness of the two lobbying types. It argues that information-based lobbying is particularly effective early in the decision-making process, and hypothesizes that early information-based lobbying may compensate for limited capacity for pressure-based lobbying and for information-based lobbying that takes place later in the decision-making process, but concludes that this strategy would have been unlikely to be effective in the second case.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Ambos Kai

Punishment without a Sovereign? The *Ius Puniendi* Issue of International Criminal Law: A First Contribution towards a Consistent Theory of International Criminal Law

in *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Volume 33 Issue 2 Summer , 293-315

Current International Criminal Law (ICL) suffers from at least four fairly serious theoretical shortcomings. First, as a starting point, the concept and meaning of ICL in its different variations must be clarified ('the concept and meaning issue'). Second, the question of whether and how punitive power can exist at the supranational level without a sovereign ('the *ius puniendi* issue') must be answered in a satisfactory manner. Third, the overall function or purpose of ICL as opposed to national criminal law ('the overall function issue') must be more convincingly explained. Fourth, the purposes of punishment in ICL, as opposed to the traditional purposes discussed in national criminal law, must be elaborated ('the purposes of punishment issue'). There is a partly vertical and partly horizontal relationship between these issues. It is, for example, of course impossible to reflect upon *ius puniendi*, overall function and purposes of punishment without having clarified the concept of ICL in the first place. Also, a treatment of overall function and purposes of punishment seems to be predicated on the justification of the *ius puniendi*. Indeed, the lack of a satisfactory answer to the *ius puniendi* issue is maybe the most important theoretical weakness of current ICL. This article therefore aims to demonstrate that a supranational *ius puniendi* can be inferred from a combination of the incipient supranationality of the world order (understood normatively as an order of values) and the concept of a world society composed of world citizens whose law—the 'world citizen law' ('*Weltbürgerrecht*')—is derived from universal, indivisible and interculturally recognized human rights predicated upon a Kantian concept of human dignity. The incipient world order and the world society are represented by the international community (to be understood as a community of values) which becomes the holder of the *ius puniendi*.

Key words

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Meadowcroft James

Reaching the limits? Developed country engagement with sustainable development in a challenging conjuncture

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 31, Issue 6, December , 988-1002

This paper considers engagement with sustainable development in the rich industrialized countries since the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, focusing particularly on environmental limits. It argues that while the idea of 'limits' is in one sense ubiquitous, contemporary societies are only beginning to come to terms with its implications. The discussion considers different understandings of environmental limits, explores the example of energy-related greenhouse gas emissions driving climate change, reflects on fruitful ways to approach environmental limits, and references recent 'green growth' and 'green economy' initiatives associated with Rio+20. It suggests that normative judgments are essential to give social and political meaning to environmental limits, and notes the importance of defining the positive social goods that are to be secured through the recognition of such limits. The paper particularly emphasizes the importance of securing absolute reductions in critical environmental loadings, because this is the side of the issue which tends to be obscured when sustainable development is reduced to a 'quality-of-life' agenda and severed from concerns with global equity.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Paul Irwin Crookes

**Resetting EU–China relations from a values-based to an interests-based engagement
in International Politics**, Volume 50, Issue 5, 639-663

The relationship between the European Union (EU) as an international actor and The People's Republic of China is currently in crisis whose root causes are more than just Eurozone instability but extends into important policy domains including global governance, trade reciprocity and bilateral investment. This article argues that underlying these tensions has been too great an emphasis by the EU on a primarily values-based engagement model that has collided with historically resonant hostility and different social norms to create obstacles that now need to be overcome. In so doing, it moves beyond the theory of defensive normativity, instead proposing that only when European interests can be intersected with China's predominantly realist world view will successful negotiating outcomes begin to be forged. An exploration of China's core national interests is overlapped with the EU's engagement patterns to help explain past failures and illustrate possible future strategies for resolving challenges.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Boström Magnus, Karlsson Mikael

**Responsible Procurement, Complex Product Chains and the Integration of Vertical and Horizontal Governance
in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 23, Issue 6, November-December, 381-394

The management of environmental and health risks associated with products from global product chains is a pressing task for contemporary society, a task that involves public and private actors and poses great governance challenges. This article explores how governance arrangements relate to these challenges by focusing on how public and private procuring organizations interpret, use, develop and combine mandatory and voluntary policy instruments. This is theorized in terms of responsible governance of transnational supply chains (RGSC) as well as regarding the combination of vertical and horizontal governance (VG and HG). The article focuses on chemical risks in the textile sector, and is based on findings from case studies of Swedish public and private procuring organizations, with additional interviews with actors engaged in developing various policy instruments. The article shows how mandatory and voluntary policy instruments can – in various ways and combinations – assist in chemical risk management, but also highlights the existence of considerable limitations and gaps, which users need to develop a reflective awareness about. The article reveals different conditions for public and private procurers, and the conclusion includes suggestions on how to bridge the gap between private and public actors. Finally, we conclude by emphasizing that combinations of HG and VG arrangements promote constructive and feasible pathways towards RGSC, but which needs reflective and constructive efforts among actors with insight, willingness and capabilities to create governance linkages.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bernstein Steven

Rio+20: Sustainable Development in a Time of Multilateral Decline



in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 13, Issue 4, November , 12-21

The conditions that led to low expectations for the Rio+20 conference tell us more about the prospects for addressing collective global problems than a focus only on its substantive outcomes. Three conjectures on why expectations were so low are put forward: a lack of vision and modest ambition at the conference's core; unresolved and unconflicted normative contestation that limited progress on potentially transformative ideas such as the green economy; and practices of multilateralism that have not caught up to structural changes in the global system, exacerbated by the inability or unwillingness of key actors to move from entrenched identities. Some surprising institutional outcomes of Rio are also assessed in light of the three conjectures. This form of analysis turns attention to the politics that the outcomes reflect and opportunities and pitfalls going forward.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Crawford Claudia, Fuhrmann Johann C.

Russland und seine Rolle in den BRICS

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 50-51, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/173797/russland-und-seine-rolle-in-den-brics>

Fast zwanzig Jahre lang wurde verhandelt, bis Russland im August 2012 als letzte große Industrienation der Welthandelsorganisation (WTO) beitrug. Und dennoch war die Stimmung zwischen Russland und dem Westen keineswegs entspannt, als die Gruppe der zwanzig wichtigsten Industrie- und Schwellenländer (G20) ein Jahr später zum Gipfeltreffen in St. Petersburg zusammentraf. Zu irritierend erscheint für die westlichen Staaten der innen- und außenpolitische Kurs Russlands unter Präsident Wladimir Putin, der zunehmend als antiwestlich wahrgenommen wird. Wesentlich dazu beigetragen haben dürfte Putins Plan, eine "Eurasische Union" zu gründen. Dieses Integrationsprojekt, das eine engere Zusammenführung der ehemaligen Sowjetrepubliken zum Ziel hat, kann ohne Zweifel als eine Abwendung von Europa und als eine Konzentration auf die eigenen geopolitischen Interessensphären gewertet werden. Aber auch das Engagement Russlands im Rahmen der BRICS-Gruppe unterstreicht eher eine Abwendung vom Westen. Der Ausbau der Kooperation Russlands mit Brasilien, Indien, China und Südafrika dient der Stärkung der Wirtschaftsbeziehungen jenseits der westlichen Sphäre und birgt darüber hinaus das Potenzial, politische Relevanz zu entfalten. Der auf dem fünften Treffen der BRICS-Länder im März 2013 im südafrikanischen Durban getroffene Beschluss, eine gemeinsame Entwicklungsbank zu schaffen, kann als Versuch gesehen werden, die westliche Dominanz im internationalen Finanzsystem zu brechen. Auf dem G20-Gipfel in St. Petersburg im September 2013 verkündete Putin, dass die BRICS-Bank zunächst mit 100 Milliarden US-Dollar ausgestattet werde. Sollte das Vorhaben verwirklicht werden, wäre dies ein entscheidender Schritt zu einer Institutionalisierung der Zusammenarbeit – auch wenn der Weg bis zu einer handlungsfähigen Entwicklungsbank noch weit ist...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Erik van der Marel, Ben Shepherd

Services Trade, Regulation and Regional Integration: Evidence from Sectoral Data in World Economy, volume 36 n.11 , 1395-405

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Christou George, Simpson Seamus,

Shaping the global communications milieu: The EU's influence on Internet and telecommunications governance in Comparative European Politics, vol. 12, n. 1, january , 54-75

ABSTRACT: This article evaluates the European Union's (EU) influence in shaping the global governance for telecommunications and the Internet. Through analysing EU behaviour within an actorness framework, we demonstrate how the external opportunity structure and the EU's internal environment has impacted on its ability to exert and maximize its presence in order to meet its goals and aims in these two very different sub-sectors of global communications in terms of evolution and development. Such a comparison of EU actorness, we argue, is revealing in terms of uncovering the underlying factors and conditions that allow the EU to influence two important and dynamic communications sub-sectors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jubb Robert

Social connection and practice dependence: some recent developments in the global justice literature: Iris Marion Young, Responsibility for Justice. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011; and Ayelet Banai, Miriam Ronzoni and Christian Schemmel, Social Justice, Global Dynamics. Oxford: Routledge, 2011
in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 16, Issue 5, 2013 , 698-713

Abstract

This review essay discusses two recent attempts to reform the framework in which issues of international and global justice are discussed: Iris Marion Young's 'social connection' model and the practice-dependent approach, here exemplified by Ayelet Banai, Miriam Ronzoni and Christian Schemmel's edited collection. I argue that while Young's model may fit some issues of international or global justice, it misconceives the problems that many of them pose. Indeed, its difficulties point precisely in the direction of practice dependence as it is presented by Banai et al. I go on to discuss what seem to be the strengths of that method, and particularly Banai et al.'s defence of it against the common claim that it is biased towards the status quo. I also discuss Andrea Sangiovanni and Kate MacDonald's contributions to the collection.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Valentina Vadi, Lukasz Gruszczynski

Standards of Review in International Investment Law and Arbitration: Multilevel Governance and the Commonwealth

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.3 , 613-33

Investment treaty tribunals have increasingly touched upon delicate issues, including for example access to water, public health or cultural policies. What standard of review have they adopted vis-à-vis state regulation aimed to protect fundamental interests and values? Can ideas regarding the standards of review be borrowed from other national and international systems; and if so, which one should be selected? Or, rather, due to its hybrid nature investment law scholars should develop specific standards of review only for investment law and arbitration? Far from being merely theoretical, these questions touch upon the legitimacy of international investment law and arbitration as a component of multilevel governance which now characterizes international (economic) relations. Investigating these questions can contribute to the alignment of general international law and investment protection, reinforcing the capacity of international investment law to contribute to the public wealth. The article submits that while a standard of complete deference to national measures would run against the very purpose of international investment law; an overly intrusive standard is neither a feasible option. In this context the authors consider standards developed within the WTO as a possible model for international arbitration tribunals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Perkins Richard

Sustainable development and the making and unmaking of a developing world

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 31, Issue 6, December , 1003-1022

The idea of a group of developing countries with shared characteristics, challenges, and needs, distinct from those of developed countries, has been central to sustainable development discourse and policy for decades. However, in the years since the original Rio conference it has become increasingly apparent that it is difficult to sustain this notion of a single developing world. Within the context of unfolding diversity, a central claim of the present paper is that lumping all countries together under the expansive category of 'developing' risks obfuscating the complex challenges, solutions, and fragmented geopolitics of sustainable development. Instead, it is necessary to use the terms developing country, countries, or world far more selectively, mindful that they may conceal just about as much as they reveal. In the paper I proceed to consider a number of alternative national, subnational, and transnational spatial categorisations which might be deployed to better describe and/or analyse the evolving nature, effective governance, and politics of sustainable development challenges across space.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Graubart Jonathan, Varadarajan Latha

Taking Milosevic seriously: Imperialism, law, and the politics of global justice

in *International Relations*, vol. 27, n. 4, december , 439-460

ABSTRACT: Notwithstanding his premature death, the trial of Slobodan Milosevic is widely hailed as a landmark



moment in the development of international criminal law. To many, the trial, in conjunction with the broader record of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), represents the beginning of a new era of global justice characterized by the impending triumph of law over politics. This article dissents from the prevailing consensus by emphasizing the enduring role of imperialist relations in shaping international relations. Without defending Milosevic, we provide a critical reassessment of the ICTY's most celebrated trial. We do so to reveal the manner in which seemingly progressive legal institutions - far from furthering an abstract notion of justice – serve to re-inscribe a violent and highly unequal post-Cold War imperialist world order. Because the ICTY is far from a *sui generis* experience, we argue that it is critical to take Milosevic seriously in making sense of the nature and implications of global tribunals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Barnes Norton Michael

The Aporias of Justice and the Virtue of Un-inheritance

in *Philosophia*, Volume 41, Issue 2, June 2013 , 373-382

Abstract

This paper contends that Ananda Abeysekara's notion of un-inheritance, developed via a Derridean analysis of contemporary Sri Lankan politics and society, can act as a helpful supplement to the concept of justice. What one finds in Abeysekara's analysis is an interpretation of justice as ultimately aporetic: justice both opens up to the possibility of its ever greater concrete realization and continually defers its completion. This paper begins by examining the aporetic character of justice as articulated by Derrida. It then proceeds to Abeysekara's account, situated as it is within a largely political consideration of Sri Lanka's multicultural heritage and the recent conflicts that have arisen there. Abeysekara offers the notion of un-inheritance as a way of thinking the possibility of justice precisely when political—and also religious—traditions come to an impasse, thus recognizing the inescapably aporetic structure of justice itself.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tynkkynen Nina

The Challenge of Environmental Governance In The Network Society: The Case of The Baltic Sea

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 23, Issue 6, November-December , 395-406

The Baltic Sea region has in recent years become known as a pioneer of new modes of governance, reflecting the dynamic development of the network society. At the same time, the Baltic Sea is considered one of the world's most polluted seas, especially in terms of eutrophication, the accelerated enrichment of nutrients in the water. Overall, there is a contrast between the formally successful governance system and the actual state of the Baltic Sea. This paper describes the existing Baltic Sea environmental governance system, from the regional regime to non-governmental actors, noting that highly institutionalized inter-state and transnational environmental cooperation adds a greater element of hierarchy for environmental governance in the region. Supporting democratic development is a special requirement for governance in the post-Cold War context. The paper explicates governance challenges posed by the emerging network society, on the one hand, and the problem of eutrophication, on the other, and makes suggestions on how to develop the governance system in order to meet the challenges. As a conclusion, a general lesson for the management of international water bodies is given. Institutional diversity with many different scale preoccupations is key, but so is the



need for leaders to overcome the challenges of polycentric governance: that is, to reduce opacity of governing and to increase the power of stakeholders to define the problem and its solutions in the first place.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cuyvers Armin

The Confederal Comeback: Rediscovering the Confederal Form for a Transnational World
in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 4 , 711-738

This contribution approaches the EU as a modified confederal system. It subsequently suggests that such modified confederal arrangements form a prima facie attractive model for transnational government more generally. To this end the EU is comparatively contrasted with the US Confederation, which was established directly after American independence, on the one hand and with its subsequent evolution into a federate state on the other—a comparison that demonstrates how the EU has combined a confederal foundation with some crucial federate reinforcements in its constitutional superstructure. Subsequently it is demonstrated how these modifications have addressed several of the classic weaknesses of the confederal form and may further help to open up the potential inherent in the confederal form for complementary transnational government more generally.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ivanova Maria

The Contested Legacy of Rio+20

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 4, November , 1-11

The 2012 UN Conference on Sustainable Development Rio+20 generated a wide range of mostly negative reactions. Even before the conference, there was widespread doubt about the possibility of success. As soon as the conference closed, analysts highlighted its failures and criticized the outcome document, *The Future We Want*. While it does not present a grand transformative vision, the outcome document does reaffirm past political commitments and addresses the multiple dimensions of sustainable development and the linkages among them. Indeed, Rio+20 had subtle, yet significant impacts. Three main areas stand out: reform of international institutions, sustainable development goals, and participation as principle and practice. The global decisions in these domains and the unprecedented local engagement provide critical junctures likely to shape global environmental governance for the next two decades.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mansfield Edward D., Pevehouse Jon C.W.

The Expansion of Preferential Trading Arrangements

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 57, issue 3, september , 592-604

ABSTRACT: The growing number of preferential trading arrangements (PTAs) since World War II has generated



substantial interest in their economic and political effects. It has also prompted interest in the factors that give rise to PTAs, but very little research has been conducted on the growth of extant PTAs. To address this shortcoming, we analyze why some arrangements expand, whereas others do not. We find strong evidence that expansion is most likely when the existing members of a PTA display a high degree of trade openness and when the size distribution of these members is fairly uniform. We also find that PTAs that add new members are likely to do so again in the near future and that, throughout the global system, PTAs tend to expand in clusters. Equally, there is some indication that the market size of a PTA affects its odds of expansion. Finally, we investigate which states join enlarging PTAs. We find that PTAs expand by taking on new members that are economically and politically similar to existing members.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stuenker Oliver

The Financial Crisis, Contested Legitimacy, and the Genesis of Intra-BRICS Cooperation

in **Global Governance**, vol. 19, n. 4, october-december , 611-630

ABSTRACT: The rise of the BRIC grouping (Brazil, Russia, India, China) is one of the most commented on phenomena in international politics of the past years. Yet little is known about how and why institutionalized cooperation between the BRIC countries began. This article makes two arguments. First, an unprecedented combination in 2008—a profound financial crisis among developed countries, paired with relative economic stability among emerging powers—caused a legitimacy crisis of the international financial order, which led to equally unprecedented cooperation between emerging powers in the context of the BRIC grouping. The BRIC countries were able to use their temporarily increased bargaining power to become agenda setters at the time—culminating in the International Monetary Fund quota reforms agreed on in 2010. This shows that even short periods of reduced legitimacy in global governance can quickly lead to the rise of alternative institutions—such as, in the case of the crisis that began in 2008, the BRIC platform—which now forms part of the landscape of global governance. Second, intra-BRIC cooperation in the area of international finance enhanced trust among the BRIC countries and led to a broader type of cooperation in many other areas, suggesting the occurrence of spillover effects. Intra-BRICS cooperation (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) is therefore likely to continue, even after the conditions that facilitated its genesis—the crisis in the West—have disappeared.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Clifford Bob

The Global Right Wing and Theories of Transnational Advocacy

in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. 48, No. 4

In recent decades, there have been many international campaigns on numerous issues. In turn, scholars have analysed the activist networks promoting human rights, environmental quality and global justice, developing theories of transnational advocacy, strategies and outcomes. However, analysts have seldom noted that the 'progressive' networks on which these theories have been based seldom act unopposed. Instead, on numerous global issues leftwing groups face fierce opposition from networks of rightwing activists. This article provides examples of such clashes, focusing on these understudied conservative networks. In addition, it outlines a theory for understanding the conflict of networks over many policy issues.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Finus Michael, Kotsogiannis Christos, McCorriston Steve

The International Dimension of Climate Change Policy

in Environmental & Resource Economics, Volume 56, Issue 2, The International Dimension of Climate Change Policy, October , 151-160

Full text available at <http://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs10640-013-9724-1.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Paulus Andreas

The Judge and International Custom

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 12, n. 2 , 253-265

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nijar Gurdial Singh

The Nagoya–Kuala Lumpur Supplementary Protocol on Liability and Redress to the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety: An analysis and implementation challenges

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 13, Issue 3, September , 271-290

The Nagoya–Kuala Lumpur Supplementary Protocol on Liability and Redress was finally adopted on 15 October 2010 at Nagoya, Japan. It was negotiated pursuant to a mandate established by the First Conference of the Parties serving as the Meeting of the Parties in 2004 under an enabling provision in the Cartagena Biosafety Protocol. The Supplementary Protocol seeks to deal with damage to biodiversity as well as ‘associated’ traditional material or personal damage. It delineates two pathways to dealing with such damage: the administrative approach that empowers a competent authority to deal with the matter administratively, without initial recourse to courts; and a civil liability approach that requires litigants to seek private law remedies through national legal systems. However, while the Supplementary Protocol has elaborate and comprehensive provisions implementing the administrative approach, it incorporates only a single article on civil liability which does little more than exhort parties to continue to apply their existing domestic law on the subject or establish rules to deal specifically with the matter. This was not the outcome anticipated when the negotiations started. It was the expectation, primarily of developing countries then, that the prospective protocol would deal essentially with civil liability and set out substantive and procedural rules on liability and redress. This article traces how and why all this came to pass. It also analyses the provisions, and the implications, relating to the administrative approach and the single enabling article on civil liability. It deals also with the challenges in implementing the administrative approach, novel to most countries. Finally, it examines the prospect for the emergence in the future of a more elaborate international civil liability regime.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hameiri Shahar, Jones Lee

The Politics and Governance of Non-Traditional Security

in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 57, issue 3, september , 462-473

ABSTRACT: The international security literature has recently observed the growing “securitization” of issues outside the traditional concern with interstate military conflict. However, this literature offers only limited explanations of this tendency and largely neglects to explain how the new security issues are actually governed in practice, despite apparent “securitization” leading to divergent outcomes across time and space. We argue that the rise of non-traditional security should be conceptualized not simply as the discursive identification of new threats but as part of a deep-seated historical transformation in the scale of state institutions and activities, notably the rise of regulatory forms of statehood and the relativization of scales of governance. The most salient feature of the politics of non-traditional security lies in key actors’ efforts to rescale the governance of particular issues from the national level to a variety of new spatial and territorial arenas and, in so doing, transform state apparatuses. The governance that actually emerges in practice can be understood as an outcome of conflicts between these actors and those resisting their rescaling attempts. The argument is illustrated with a case study of environmental security governance in Southeast Asia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Linderfalk Ulf

The Source of Jus Cogens Obligations – How Legal Positivism Copes with Peremptory International Law

in Nordic Journal of International Law, vol. 82, issue 3 , 369-389

ABSTRACT: If legal positivists wish to sustain their account of the international legal system, arguably, they have yet to explain how jus cogens obligations can derive from the usual norm-creating processes recognized by international law. This article provides such an explanation exactly. The explanation builds on the distinction between first order rules of jus cogens (commanding or prohibiting some certain action) and second order rules of the jus cogens regime (specifying the legal consequences ensuing from the postulated superiority of jus cogens over ordinary international law). As argued in this essay, the jus cogens status of a rule of law (R) derives from the existence of the second order rules of the jus cogens regime and from the application of those rules to R. Consequently, the explanation of the source of jus cogens obligations lies in the source of the second order rules, rather than in the source of the first order rules themselves. The second order rules are general customary international law, why this must also be the source of jus cogens obligations. This essay ends by inquiring into the implications of this analysis for the concept of jus cogens and for international legal theory in general.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Linnér Björn-Ola, Selin Henrik

The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development: forty years in the making

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 6, December , 971-987



The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) was mandated to focus on: (i) institutional frameworks for sustainable development and (ii) the green economy in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication. Analyzing the UNSCD from a historical perspective, we address three questions. First, what is the role of UN conferences on environment and development? Second, how were the UNCSD debates and outcomes connected to over forty years of environment and development cooperation? Third, how may the UNCSD shape ongoing efforts to forward the sustainable development agenda? We begin by summarizing the main arguments of supporters and critics of UN conferences. Next, we examines two sets of institutional frameworks issues: (a) institutional creation and reforms and (b) institutional complexity and participation. This is followed by an examination of two kinds of green economy issues: (1) state-centered economic debates and (2) human-development-focused debates. In the final section we examine opportunities and limitations for making progress on sustainable development. We argue that the UNCSD did little to advance institutional reforms, but that the initiative to formulate Sustainable Development Goals has the potential to significantly influence the sustainable development agenda.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stewart Patrick

The Unruled World

in Foreign Affairs, Volume 93, Number 1

International cooperation is increasingly taking place outside formal institutions, as frustrated actors turn to informal groups and ad hoc venues. The resulting clutter may be unsightly, but it's here to stay -- so the challenge is to make it work as well as possible.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Milner Helen V., Tingley Dustin

The choice for multilateralism: Foreign aid and American foreign policy

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 8, n. 3, september , 313-341

ABSTRACT: Why do governments choose multilateralism? We examine a principal-agent model in which states trade some control over the policy for greater burden sharing. The theory generates observable hypotheses regarding the reasons for and the patterns of support and opposition to multilateralism. To focus our study, we analyze support for bilateral and multilateral foreign aid giving in the US. Using new survey data, we provide evidence about the correlates of public and elite support for multilateral engagement. We find weak support for multilateralism and deep partisan divisions. Reflecting elite discourse, public opinion divides over two competing rationales—burden sharing and control—when faced with the choice between multilateral and bilateral aid channels. As domestic groups' preferences over aid policy diverge from those of the multilateral institution, maintaining control over aid policy becomes more salient and support for multilateralism falls.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dryzek John S.



The deliberative democrat's Idea of Justice

in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 12, No. 4, October 2013 , 329-346

Abstract

In Amartya Sen's *The Idea of Justice*, democracy is necessary for the reconciliation of plural justice claims. Sen's treatment of democracy is however incomplete and inadequate: democracy is under-specified, there are unrecognized difficulties in any context featuring deep moral disagreement or deep division and a conceptualization of public reason in the singular erodes his pluralism. These faults undermine Sen's account of justice. Developments in the theory of deliberative democracy can be deployed to remedy these deficiencies. This deployment points to a deliberative system encompassing those affected by collective decisions, with places for non-partisan forums and discursive representatives, conditionally open to multiple forms of communication, and geared to the production of workable agreements under normative and discursive meta-consensus. Democracy does not guarantee justice, but in a plural world it is essential to the pursuit of justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vollenweider Jürg

The effectiveness of international environmental agreements

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 3, September , 343-367

Many argue that international environmental agreements (IEAs) can alter states' cost-benefit analyses by providing crucial information about the costs of environmental degradation. Thereby, IEAs may help to effectively curb environmental pollution. However, previous attempts to empirically measure institutional effectiveness found it difficult to provide credible estimates because they have missed to produce convincing counterfactuals. This study empirically estimates the effectiveness of one prominent example of an international environmental institution, the Long Range Transboundary Air Pollution agreement (LRTAP). It sets forth a transparent identification strategy in light of latest advancements in the causal inference literature and presents evidence for the non-effectiveness of the LRTAP in changing member states' behavior in terms of anthropogenic emissions of two substances (NO_x and SO₂). By deriving and illustrating the use of difference-in-differences (DID) design in the context of IEAs, this study provides a general methodological tool kit to drawing causal inferences about the effectiveness of international environmental institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kim Rakhyun E.

The emergent network structure of the multilateral environmental agreement system

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 23, Issue 5, October , 980-991

The conventional piecemeal approach to environmental treaty-making has resulted in a 'maze' of international agreements. However, little is known empirically about its overall structure and evolutionary dynamics. This study reveals and characterizes the evolving structure of the web of international environmental treaty law. The structure was approximated using 1001 cross-references among 747 multilateral environmental agreements concluded from 1857 to



2012. Known network analysis measures were used to answer the following questions: has a complex system of international environmental treaty law emerged? If so when, and what does it look like? What are its topological properties? To what extent is the institutional complex fragmented? The network analysis suggested that multilateral environmental agreements have self-organized into an interlocking system with a complex network structure. Furthermore, the system has defragmented as it coevolved with the increasing complexity and interconnectivity of global environmental challenges. This study demonstrates the need to approach multilateral environmental agreements in the context of a complex networked system, and recommends against assuming the overall institutional structure is fragmented. Proposals for global environmental governance reform should pay attention to this network's emergent polycentric order and complexity and to the implications of these features for the functioning of the multilateral environmental agreement system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bina Olivia

The green economy and sustainable development: an uneasy balance?

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 6, December , 1023-1047

The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (or Rio+20) was conceived at a time of great concern for the health of the world economy. In this atmosphere 'green economy' was chosen as one of two central themes for the conference, building on a burgeoning body of literature on the green economy and growth. This research examines the relationship and influence between the double crisis and the rise of 'greening' as part of the solution. The aim is to understand what defines and distinguishes the proposals contained in twenty-four sources on the green economy (including policy documents by international agencies and think tanks, and research papers), and what is the meaning and implication of the rising greening agenda for sustainable development as it enters the 21st century. Through a systematic qualitative analysis of textual material, three categories of discourse that can illuminate the meaning and implication of greening are identified: 'almost business as usual', 'greening', and 'all change'. An analysis of their relationship with Dryzek's classification of environmental discourse leads to the identification of three interrelated patterns: (1) scarcity and limits, (2) means and ends, and (3) reductionism and unity—which deepen our understanding of the tensions between emerging propositions. The patterns help explain the meaning and implications of greening for sustainable development, revealing an economisation and polarisation of discourses, the persisting weak interpretation of sustainable development, and a tension between the fixing or shifting of dominant socioeconomic paradigms that underpin its conceptualisation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Spilker Gabriele, Böhmelt Tobias

The impact of preferential trade agreements on governmental repression revisited

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 8, n. 3, september , 343-361

ABSTRACT: Previous research suggests that most treaties are ineffective in ensuring countries' compliance with human rights standards. It has been argued, however, that preferential trade agreements (PTAs) including 'hard' human rights standards can withhold economic benefits and, thus, can have a real potential to substantially reduce human rights violations. The following article questions this as existent work on the effects of PTAs on human rights standards



neglects a selection process underlying the implementation of these treaties. Countries being aware of the 'shadow of the future' already take into account what may happen at the succeeding enforcement stage when establishing a particular PTA. This implies that states agree on 'hard' human rights standards in PTAs only if they have a general propensity to abide by human rights in the first place. For testing the empirical implications of their argument, the authors collected new data on PTAs in 1976/77-2009, and employ genetic matching techniques. The results support the theoretical argument that PTAs are unlikely to affect human rights compliance when controlling for the outlined selection problem.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rixen Thomas, Zangl Bernhard

The politicization of international economic institutions in US public debates in Review of International Organizations (The), vol. 8, n. 3, september, 363-387

ABSTRACT: Recent research has noted a trend of increased "politicization" of international politics, i.e., decisions of international institutions are increasingly debated and contested within civil society. What is lacking so far are explanations for this trend. In this paper we derive four potential explanations and empirically test them. The first two, society-centered, hypotheses focus on the process of socio-economic modernization on the one hand and civil society structures on the other. The second pair of polity-centered hypotheses focuses on the decision-making power of international institutions and on their legitimacy. We measure politicization on the basis of a quantitative content analysis of US quality newspaper articles about four decisions of different international institutions in the issue area of international taxation. Our finding is that politicization is driven by the increasing decision making authority of international institutions rather than by the lack of legitimacy of their procedures or the factors emphasized by society-centered approaches.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Emilian Kavalski

The struggle for recognition of normative powers: Normative power Europe and normative power China in context
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48 (2), 247-267

Who or what is a normative power? In response to this query the article suggests that normative powers are those actors that are recognized as such by others. This qualifies Ian Manners's oft-quoted proposition that normative powers are only those actors that have the ability to 'shape what can be "normal" in international life'. The proposition is that the definitions of the 'normal' are not merely undertaken by normative power, but they emerge in the context of its interaction with others. Recognition, in this setting, is indicated by the specific reactions of target states. In this respect, the issue is not merely about being and becoming a normative power, but also about being recognized as one by others. The article details this proposition through a parallel assessment of normative power Europe and normative power China. The intention of such comparison is to elicit the key elements of normative power in global life.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Blake Daniel J.

Thinking Ahead: Government Time Horizons and the Legalization of International Investment Agreements in *International Organization*, vol. 67, issue 4, october , 797-827

ABSTRACT: International institutions help governments make credible commitments to other state and nonstate actors by raising the costs of commitment violation. However, in doing so these institutions generate sovereignty costs for national governments by constraining the autonomy they have to develop and implement policy. Governments respond to this trade-off between the credibility of commitments and policy autonomy differently depending on their time horizons and this shapes their preferences over the design of credibility-enhancing institutions. Governments with long time horizons expect to govern in the future, anticipate that conditions may shift over time, and therefore seek institutional designs that will afford them greater freedom to modify policies in response to changing economic and political conditions. Governments with shorter time horizons, on the other hand, do not anticipate being in power long into the future and therefore are less concerned about maintaining greater room to manipulate policy. I develop this argument in the context of bilateral investment treaties (BITs), focusing in particular on the legalization of obligation in national treatment commitments. I test the argument using an original data set of the design of national treatment obligations in a random sample of 342 BITs. I find that net importers of FDI with longer time horizons are more likely to build in greater policy autonomy in their BITs by scaling back the legalization of their national treatment obligations and that this relationship is robust to controlling for selection into investment treaties.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Christian Downie

Three Ways to Understand State Actors in International Negotiations: Climate Change in the Clinton Years (1993–2000)

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 4, November , 22-40

Different theoretical perspectives ask different questions about state behavior in international negotiations. For example, are governments moved by domestic political pressures? Are transnational networks influencing state behavior? Or do international regimes affect state decisions? However, these questions are almost always considered in the context of an individual negotiation outcome. Indeed, very little work has been undertaken on how these factors vary over time (the temporal dimension of international negotiations). This article addresses the temporal dimension by considering the role of the US across almost a decade of the international climate change negotiations. Drawing on an empirical data set based on elite interviews, this article suggests three factors that need to be taken into account by existing theoretical frameworks in order to capture the observed fluctuations in the behavior of state actors in a prolonged international negotiation, and explains why they matter.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Amelie Gullin

Trade in Services and Regional Trade Agreements: Do Negotiations on Services Have to be Specific?
in *World Economy*, volume 36 n.11 , 1406-23



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chi, Manjiao

Trade-Plus Effects of WTO Dispute Settlement on China: An Ideal or Illusion?

in **Journal of World Trade**, volume 47 n.6 , 1349-84

China has actively participated in WTO dispute settlement over the past decade. It was hoped that China's WTO accession and participation in WTO dispute settlement could provide an external force to further China's reform. Due chiefly to the expansionist trend of the WTO regime and China's non-market economy, party-state regime and highly politicized WTO accession strategy, WTO dispute settlement sometimes exerts effects on China that are beyond the area of trade. Although China is sensitive and vulnerable to such trade-plus effects, a case study of China's relevant WTO disputes shows that, in general, China has successfully accommodated such effects to date. Therefore, despite its positive role in helping China improve trade governance, WTO dispute settlement has insofar played a limited role in furthering non-trade reform in China.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Frishman Olga

Transnational Judicial Dialogue as an Organisational Field

in **European law journal**, Volume 19, Issue 6 , 739-758

Over the last few decades, judges and courts have had an important role in global governance. They also now communicate with each other more than they used to. Scholars have named this phenomenon 'the transnational judicial dialogue.' This paper calls for a comprehensive understanding of this judicial dialogue in a way that will explain the influence it has on courts. This paper proposes to use the concept of organisational fields, developed by DiMaggio and Powell, to study the relationships between courts. It will be seen that this concept gives a fuller account of those relationships and their effects than the existing approaches. This paper will first show that the transnational organisational field of the courts is now emerging using the four criteria of structuration. Then, the paper will discuss three examples of how this concept can contribute to the study of transnational relationships between courts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Layfield David

Turning carbon into gold: the financialisation of international climate policy

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 6, November , 901-917

Climate policy is undergoing a process of financialisation. The development of carbon markets around the world has seen the creation of new ranges of essentially financial products, the trading of which is purported to be an effective means to reduce carbon emissions. There are, however, good reasons to doubt the effectiveness of carbon markets in reducing carbon emissions. I highlight the distance between carbon traders and the 'real' environment, and the



complexity of contemporary financial markets and products as particular problems. I conclude by considering two approaches to reform: through tighter regulation of carbon markets; and through changing the political framework in which markets operate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kaleck Wolfgang

Universelle Strafjustiz? - Essay

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 25-26, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/162891/universelle-strafjustiz>

Sieht doch vielversprechend aus, wie sich das Völkerstrafrecht in den vergangenen 20 Jahren entwickelt hat: Internationale Tribunale beschäftigen sich seit 1993 beziehungsweise 1994 mit den Völkermorden in Jugoslawien und Ruanda, gemischt national-internationale Tribunale urteilen über Verbrechen in Kambodscha, Osttimor, Sierra Leone und im Libanon; seit 2002 arbeitet der Internationale Strafgerichtshof (IStGH) in Den Haag; zudem findet in vielen Ländern wie beispielsweise Argentinien, Chile oder Guatemala eine gerichtliche Aufarbeitung der Verbrechen der Vergangenheit auf nationalstaatlicher Ebene statt.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mutoy Mubiala

Vers la création d'une cour mondiale des droits de l'homme?

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, n. 96

Dans le cadre de la commémoration du sixantième anniversaire de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, le 10 décembre 2008, l'idée de la création d'une Cour mondiale des droits de l'homme a été relancée par des scientifiques, avec le soutien du gouvernement suisse.

Dans le présent article, l'auteur examine le projet de statut soumis dans ce contexte, en évaluant la valeur ajoutée de l'institution projetée aux mécanismes des droits de l'homme existants et son apport potentiel au droit international des droits de l'homme.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Terence C. Halliday, Josh Pacewicz and Susan Block-Lieb

Who governs? Delegations and delegates in global trade lawmaking

in *Regulation & Governance*, Volume 7, Issue 3, 279–298



Who governs in the international organizations (IOs) that promulgate global norms on trade and commercial law? Using a new analytic approach, this paper focuses on previously invisible attributes of a global legislature – the state and non-state delegations and delegates that create universal norms for international trade and commercial law through the most prominent trade law legislature, the UN Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL). Based on ten years of fieldwork, extensive interviews, and unique data on delegation and delegate attendance and participation in UNCITRAL's Working Group on Insolvency, we find that the inner core of global trade lawmakers at UNCITRAL represent a tiny and unrepresentative subset of state and non-state actors. This disjunction between UNCITRAL's public face, which accords with a global norm of democratic governance, and its private face, where dominant states and private interests prevail, raises fundamental questions about legitimacy and efficacy of representation in global lawmaking.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brandt Urs Steiner, Svendsen Gert Tinggaard

Why only few CDM projects? The case of reforestation projects and remote sensing

in *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, Volume 13, Number 1 , 25-42

CDM projects have large potentials but also face significant obstacles that have so far limited their applicability. Two serious problems that an effective contracting faces are the presence of private information and the lack of sufficiently precise output measures. In a principal-agent framework, where local landowners are the agents and have private information about their costs, we analyse the implication of being able to condition payments to the agent based on observed output and therefore can offer a differentiated contract. This is compared with a situation where only a uniform payment structure is feasible. In the case of reforestation projects, and with respect to both economic and sustainability criteria, our model point to that a differentiated payment structure based on output due to remote sensing is superior to a uniform contract.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Müller Franziska, Claar Simone, Ziai Aram

Zur Architektur des Welthandels

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-3, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/175488/zur-architektur-des-welthandels>

In der Architektur des Welthandels kam es in den vergangenen Dekaden zu größeren tektonischen Verschiebungen: Bezogen auf die Summe der importierten und exportierten Güterwerte hat China den USA den Rang als größte Handelsnation abgelassen. Die einst als neues Fundament des Welthandels gefeierte Welthandelsorganisation (WTO) hat seit über einem Jahrzehnt keine politischen Resultate mehr vorweisen können. Einerseits ist von einer Krise des multilateralen Handelssystems die Rede, andererseits von einer immer intensiveren "tiefen Integration" zwischen Volkswirtschaften und einem vermehrten Auftreten neuer regionaler Freihandelsabkommen. Der vorliegende Artikel beleuchtet die Architektur des Welthandels und aktuelle Verschiebungen in gebotener Kürze. Dabei geht es auch um



die Frage, welche politischen Implikationen diese Verschiebungen, vor allem die in diesem Kontext schon vor Jahren konstatierte "neue Macht des Südens", im Welthandel aufweisen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hobson Kersty

'Weak' or 'strong' sustainable consumption? Efficiency, degrowth, and the 10 Year Framework of Programmes in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 6, December , 1082-1098

Although reducing levels and impacts of contemporary consumption and production has been a pivotal socioenvironmental goal for decades, global resource use continues to grow rapidly, particularly across the Asia-Pacific region. Responses such as the '10 Year Framework of Programmes on Consumption and Production Patterns' (10YFP)—an outcome of the 2012 Rio+20 Summit—suggest that nothing short of highly coordinated and multilevel concerted efforts are required to begin to address such trends. However, some commentators fear that the 10YFP will default to 'weak' forms of sustainable consumption intervention, focusing on efficiency and technological innovation. By contrast, many are calling for 'strong' interventions such as those expounded by the degrowth movement. With this paper I examine both these weak and strong approaches to sustainable consumption, and argue that—although this dichotomy describes two divergent streams of thought and practice—there are conceptual and practice-based spaces where they intersect. Along with a much-needed expansion of the geographical scope of current research and practice, I thus argue that these spaces present one way forward for work in this field.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Graff-Peter Calliess, Moritz Renner

À la croisée du droit et des normes sociales : l'évolution de la gouvernance mondiale
in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 27, n°1-2 , 163-186

While the globalization of commerce brings up new challenges to legal theory, most legal scholars persist in having abstract discussions about antiquated positivistic and pluralistic concepts of law. In the meantime, scholars from other social sciences, such as economics, political science or sociology, did not hesitate as much to analyse the emergence of new forms of private and hybrid "governance without government" from a functional perspective. Even though legal theory has much to learn from such functional approaches, they fail under one crucial aspect: They cannot uphold the analytical distinction between law and non-law, as they only focus on governance efficiency from an actor-based perspective that is blind to "law's own rationality", which focus on the stabilisation of normative expectations in the society as a whole. Therefore, such functional approaches to the study of global governance need to be enhanced by elements borrowed from the systems theory of law by Niklas Luhmann. This will provide us with a conceptual framework to analyse the mechanisms of global governance regimes without ignoring their potential for "legalisation". Three examples (lex mercatoria, ICANN UDRP and corporate social responsibility) shall describe how new forms of legal regulation beyond the nation-state have been evolving over the last years. These examples will also allow to draw some preliminary conclusions about the role of law in the context of globalization, giving some directions for further empirical research.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Crawford David

Inventive articulation: how High Atlas farmers put the global to work

in *Journal of North African Studies* , Volume 18, Issue 5 , 639-651

This chapter explores how farmers in the Moroccan High Atlas put the global to work. It emphasises the agency of local people and the way villagers seize upon changing opportunities for their own specific, culturally sensible agendas. It also demonstrates the way actions with very particular intentions nonetheless contribute to three broadly 'global' processes: the expansion of the wage labour economy, economic development, and the transformation of religious ideology. The paper presents a short case study for each of these three global processes. The first involves the way patriarchal authority inspires labour migration and how this migration inadvertently leads to the dissolution of the extended patriarchal household that inspired it. This case shows how local cultural values combined with resistance to entrenched, traditional power relations allows the wage labour economy to expand. Next, we examine how exogenous resources provided by development agencies at the state and international level become tools in local struggles between villages, lineage segments, and generations of patriarchs. What outsiders see as new 'development' is from a village perspective only, a new manifestation of very long-term political dynamics. Finally, we turn to the ways that contemporary understandings of Islamic propriety are put to work by locals to undermine the legitimacy of traditional igurramen or 'saints' of the Atlas. These cases are meant to show that global processes are not merely manifest locally, but that what we generalise as 'the global' is in an important sense an exogenous framing of disparate localised phenomena.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nauleau Margot, Destremau Blandine, Lautier Bruno

"En chemin vers la couverture sanitaire universelle". Les enjeux de l'intégration des pauvres aux systèmes de santé

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 215 , 129-148

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cerqueira Pedro André

A closer look at the world business cycle synchronization

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 10, Issue 3, September 2013 , 349-363

This paper uses a transformation of the period-by-period index proposed by Cerqueira and Martins (2009), to overcome some of its shortcomings, in a non-parametric estimation to analyze how business cycle synchronization for a sample of 111 countries evolved in the period 1960–2007. The period-by-period index is able to distinguish between negative correlations due to episodes in single years, asynchronous behavior in turbulent times and synchronous behavior over



stable periods and the non-parametric approach provides a more detailed analysis than the use of a parametric approach. The results show that since the nineties the synchronization at the world level, within and between country groups, experienced a dramatic increase reaching the highest values ever at the sample end.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

von Arnim Rudiger, Bannister Steve, Perr Nathan

A global model of recovery and rebalancing

in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 37 Issue 4 July 2013 , 889-920

This paper presents an investigation of global recovery from the Great Recession and the rebalancing of global external imbalances, using a global model of 16 countries and composite regions. The model applies to the short term and only to the real side. Key features are demand-driven output determination, pro-cyclical aggregate labour productivity, imperfect competition in product markets and simple bargaining in non-clearing labour markets, which together determine the functional distribution of income. Trade is modelled in a bilateral import matrix; particular attention is paid to international adjustment. Simulation results suggest that early exit from fiscal support threatens a fragile recovery. Further, domestic demand expansion and revaluation in real terms in surplus countries are necessary for rebalancing, and a variety of measures can be employed to achieve these goals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Starrs Sean

American Economic Power Hasn't Declined—It Globalized! Summoning the Data and Taking Globalization Seriously

in **International Studies Quarterly**, vol. 57, issue 4, december , 817-830

ABSTRACT: This paper argues that a fundamental failing in the debate on the decline of American economic power is not taking globalization seriously. With the rise of transnational corporations (TNCs), transnational modular production networks, and the globalization of corporate ownership, we can no longer give the same relevance to national accounts such as balance of trade and GDP in the twenty-first century as we did in the mid-twentieth. Rather, we must summon data on the TNCs themselves to encompass their transnational operations. This will reveal, for example, that despite the declining global share of United States GDP from 40% in 1960 to below a quarter from 2008 onward, American corporations continue to dominate sector after sector. In fact, in certain advanced sectors such as aerospace and software—even in financial services—American dominance has increased since 2008. There are no serious contenders, including China. By looking at the wrong data, many have failed to see that American economic power has not declined—it has globalized.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Haroldo Ramanzini Junior, Marcelo Passini Mariano

Brazil and the G-20: Domestic Pressures and the Construction of the Negotiating Position in the Doha Round of



the WTO

in **Journal of World Trade**, volume 47 n.6 , 1203-24

The purpose of this text is to examine the actions taken by the Brazilian Government in the G-20 coalition, within the context of the Doha Round of the WTO, the main focus being to understand the domestic decision-making process that led to the formulation of Brazil's positions within the coalition. We seek to understand to what extent Brazilian foreign policy has been influenced by domestic pressures with regard to Brazil's positions within the G-20, as well as to assess the influence exerted by domestic governmental and non-governmental actors on the process of formulation and implementation of the Brazilian strategy in the G-20 coalition during the 2003–2008 period. We maintain that the way Brazil acted in the G-20 is related both to the internal process by which the country's negotiating position was built and to the limits established by the very logic of the negotiations. The decision-making process that built the Brazilian position has been an important variable in the maintenance of the coalition

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

HwangKwang-Myoung, Park Donghyun, Shin Kwanho

Capital Market Openness and Output Volatility

in **Pacific Economic Review**, Volume 18, Issue 3, August 2013 , 403-430

In this paper, using data from 21 advanced and 81 developing countries during 1971–2010, we empirically examine the impact of capital market openness on output volatility. We find that opening of capital markets increases the output volatility of developing countries. Furthermore, we find that the main channel through which capital market openness increases volatility is currency and external-debt crisis. Finally, we find that while Asian countries are less likely to experience a crisis, they become even more unstable than other developing countries once a crisis occurs. Our evidence strengthens the case for caution in developing countries' opening up of their capital markets.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Norel Philippe

Ce que l'histoire globale apprend aux économistes

in **Esprit**, Décembre 2013 , 46-58

What is the consequence for economists of recent historical scholarship concerning economic development and the place of Europe in the process of globalization ? The opening up of an economy means much more than a simple game of comparative advantages. In Europe, as in Asia, opening one's economy to the world is a radical social transformation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



James Harold

Cosmos, chaos: finance, power and conflict

in *International Affairs* , vol. 90, issue 1, january , 37-57

ABSTRACT: The article explores parallels between the fragility of globalization on the eve of the First World War, in the aftermath of the financial crisis of 1907, and today's crisis of globalization following the post-2007 recession. The fragility and interconnectedness of the international economy in both cases could provide a basis for an economic–military strategy. The temptation of using economic connectedness as a substitute for conventional and costly military strategy makes this course particularly attractive to a hegemon—the UK then, the US now—that is facing powerful competition from rising powers (Germany and the US then, China now). The challengers are likely to find their own alternative strategy, and the result breeds uncertainty. In consequence, rule-based international orders are generally strained by transitions of power, even though all the parties see the desirability and need for a common system of rules.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gaetano Silvestri

Costituzionalismo e crisi dello Stato-nazione. Le garanzie possibili nello spazio globalizzato

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 4 , 905-918

Lo scritto in oggetto ricostruisce le nozioni di costituzionalismo e di globalizzazione al fine di verificare la tenuta dei fondamenti teorici del primo nel c.d. spazio globale. Questa disamina porta l'Autore a superare la tradizionale idea di costituzione (definita come "olistica") e a individuare "isole di legalità" e "frammenti di costituzione" nello spazio globale. In questo contesto pare decisiva la introduzione di adeguate garanzie dei diritti fondamentali. Per questa ragione l'Autore ritiene necessario lo sviluppo di accordi inter-statali che assicurino queste garanzie e, soprattutto, l'abbandono del "fondamento di autorità" del potere a favore di un "fondamento di valore".

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Roberto Scarciglia

Costituzionalismo globale, tradizioni locali e diritto comparato

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 2 , 441-450

This paper examines the impact of globalization on comparative law, focusing in particular on the contributions of public international law to the debate on global constitutionalism. The effects of globalization are visible on those trends, processes and interactions which are making the world more interdependent in many fields, for example, with reference to climate change, international terrorism, use of atomic energy, global security, new infectious diseases, sophisticated food, communications. How is it possible to do that International Constitutionalism resolves global problems and at the same time guarantees a sustainable difference in legal traditions of the world?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Panitch Leo

Crisis of What?

in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, Vol. XIX, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Zürn Michael

Das schwierige Verhältnis von Globalisierung und Demokratie

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Heft 2, 2013

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Diebolt Claude, Mishra Tapas, Ouattara Bazouman, Parhi Mamata

Democracy and Economic Growth in an Interdependent World

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 21, Issue 4, September 2013, 733–749

We model dynamic interdependence in cross-country economic growth processes by allowing it to vary according to democratic distance among economies. Stochastic distributional dynamics and temporal effects of democracy on economic growth are studied, and spatial variation in economic growth is explored. Among important results, democratic poverty trap is found to exist indicating the possibility of persistence of (un)stable democratic equilibria at different levels of democracy. Our cross-sectional regression evinces that democracy has exerted significant growth-enhancing effect and that the democratic distribution has steadily shifted locus from low-level to high-level equilibrium. Our spatial analysis of democracy-economic growth nexus provide evidence of significant dynamic spatial autocorrelation and complementarity among countries' growth processes. Finally, it is demonstrated that the relevance of geographical proximity in facilitating interdependence in economic growth is overshadowed by relational proximity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kale Sunila S.

Democracy and the State in Globalizing India: A Case Study of Odisha

in *India Review*, Volume 12, Issue 4, 245-259

How are the contours and practices of the state changing under the regime of economic liberalization in India? To address these questions in the context of India, in this essay I turn to the relatively understudied state of Odisha. The most common sites of research about the political economy of globalization in India are the technology clusters around Delhi, Bangalore, and Chennai, and the dynamic spaces of the burgeoning service sector. By analyzing politics in globalizing Odisha, however, we get a different sense of the messy, complicated, and sometimes contradictory politics of globalization in India, as well as how the state is adapting to these changes. The relative success of Odisha in



attracting investments in mining and mining-related sectors is due both to the opening of the Indian market generally as well as efforts by the state government to promote industrial investment in these sectors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Prashad Vijay

Der BRICS-Komplex. Der Aufstieg des Südens – und seine Grenzen

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, September, 2013, 61-73

In den frühen 2000er Jahren wurden die Forschungsanalysten der größten Investmentbank der Welt, Goldman Sachs, auf einen neuen Block starker südlicher Staaten aufmerksam. Einer der ihnen, Jim O'Neill, prägte daraufhin 2001 den Begriff BRIC – für Brasilien, Russland, Indien und China.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ludvig Alice, Weiss Gerhard

Die internationale Regulierung von Standards im Holzbau

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Heft 3/2013, 329-342

Governing carbon efficiency. The international regime of standards in wooden construction

One feature of globalisation is the increasing spread of international standards. In general, standards define benchmarks and rules for production. They can stem from a variety of sources ranging from NGOs to industries and governments. This article focuses on standard setting by international standards development organisations. We explore into the global regimes that govern standards for wooden products that are used in construction. Although the regimes are under the notion of "self-regulation", such forms of "private" governing are questionable from a democratic perspective. The article explores the composition and interest distribution of the actors steering standardisation in construction. Construction is one of the biggest producers of green house gas emissions. Since recently wood has been promoted as a means of carbon storage we focus on the norms that internationally are the most dominant with the intention to regulate sustainability and carbon efficiency for wood use in construction. Standardisation in this emerging field is still under development. The article aims to draw a comprehensive picture of the institutionalised rules and processes that up to now are globally most influential. In conclusion the process is best described as a "regulation of self-regulation" taking place mainly under the institutional umbrella of the private actors CEN and ISO, with some influence from governments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jensen Nathan M.



Domestic Institutions and the Taxing of Multinational Corporations

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 57, issue 4, december , 751-759

ABSTRACT: Political scientists have examined how domestic politics and the competition for international capital affect the setting of national tax rates. In this paper, I explore how political institutions, specifically the level of democracy, affect firm-level taxation across the world. I argue that electoral competition leads democratic governments to higher levels of taxation of firms. Using a data set on firm tax payments on the foreign affiliates of US multinational corporations from the US Bureau of Economic Analysis, I show that there are large variations within countries on the tax burdens faced by firms that are not explained by national tax rates. I find evidence that the mobility of the specific investment project, the types of spillovers these investments provide to a community, and attributes of the parent firm are all important determinants of taxation. While firm-level factors clearly affect corporate taxation, I argue that democratic institutions limit the offering of tax incentives and generate electoral benefits to policing tax avoidance by multinational corporations. After controlling for parent firm and foreign affiliate-level factors, I find that democratic countries generate as much as 26% more tax revenues from multinational corporations relative to authoritarian countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gökçer Özgür, Hüseyin Özel

Double Movement, Globalization, and the Crisis

in *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Volume 72, Issue 4, October 2013 , 892-916

This article asks whether the process of financial globalization and its recent crisis can be explained by Karl Polanyi's notion of the double movement and argues, in tune with this notion, that capitalist market relations depend on certain institutional arrangements and yet the development of the market forces deteriorates these institutions' arrangements to such extent that even the "capitalist business itself had to be sheltered from the unrestricted working of the market mechanism" (Polanyi 1944: 193).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Soukiazis Elias

Economic developments in a globalized world

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 10, Issue 3, September 2013 , 317-321

This special issue includes a number of selected papers that analyze different topics with the aim to explain the interrelations between economies in a highly integrated and globalized world. Although the focus is given on the European or OECD space, studies are also referred to developing countries turning this volume more interesting in the context of the global worldwide integration. A number of different issues are raised analyzing important economic areas in a systematic way not only from the theoretical point of view but mostly providing empirical evidence that turn the theoretical arguments more convincing.

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Frosini Tommaso E.

Elogio della sovranità

in *Federalismi*, Anno XI - Nr 12

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Stuenkel Oliver

Emerging Powers and Status: The Case of the First BRICs Summit

in *Asian Perspective*, Volume 38, Issue 1 , 89-109

Why did the leaders of four very different countries—Brazil, Russia, India, and China—decide to hold a summit in 2009 in Yekaterinburg, thus transforming “the BRICs” from a financial category into a political grouping? I argue that the main driver for the first summit to take place and succeed was to strengthen each member country's international status. The 2009 BRICs summit was successful in that it led to the birth of a political platform during highly unusual international economic and political circumstances. In a global economy in the midst of a recession and widespread uncertainty, the BRICs' relative economic stability and capacity to respond to the crisis was decisive and lent credibility to their call for reform of the international system. The United States' temporarily reduced legitimacy also provided a window of opportunity for emerging powers to act as aspiring guarantors of stability in tomorrow's world. While measurable gains from cooperation and stronger rhetoric that delegitimized the global order did occur in the following years, they were not the primary drivers for the first summit to take place and succeed.

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da Conceição-Heldt, Eugénia

Emerging Powers in WTO Negotiations: The Domestic Sources of Trade Policy Preferences.

in *International Trade Journal*, vol. 27 n.5 , 431-49

In the current round of multilateral trade liberalization, emerging powers such as Brazil and India created the G-20 coalition and refused to accept further tariff rate reductions for industrial products before the United States and the European Union made reciprocal concessions in agriculture. This article examines how and why Brazil and India have taken a more offensive and proactive position at the World Trade Organization (WTO). Following Putnam's two-level games approach, I focus on domestic factors and specifically on interest groups to explain actors' policy preferences in WTO negotiations. From a theoretical perspective, the case studies Brazil and India lend credit to the literature discussing the impact of powerful, sector-specific interest groups on governments' trade policy preferences. From an empirical perspective, the findings show how these two countries translated these demands into government positions and influenced WTO outcomes as agenda-setters and coalition builders

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Daase Christopher



Entschuldigung und Versöhnung in der internationalen Politik

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 25-26, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/162893/entschuldigung-und-versoehnung-in-der-internationalen-politik>

Seit den 1990er Jahren ist es üblich geworden, sich für historisches Unrecht öffentlich zu entschuldigen. Der Papst bat um Entschuldigung für die Inquisition, Bill Clinton für den Sklavenhandel, die Schweiz für die Einlagerung des Nazi-Golds, die Queen für die Unterdrückung der Maoris in Neuseeland, der französische Präsident Jacques Chirac für die Dreyfus-Affäre. 2008 entschuldigte sich endlich auch der australische Premierminister Kevin Rudd bei den Ureinwohnern Australiens für die gewaltsame Landnahme, für ihre Unterdrückung und insbesondere die Trennung der Kinder von ihren Eltern, um sie zu "zivilisierten Bürgern Australiens" zu machen. Die Bedeutung dieser Entschuldigung kann nur verstehen, wer den jahrelangen Kampf um die Anerkennung der Verantwortung Australiens kennt und weiß, wie beharrlich frühere Regierungen sich weigerten, eine offizielle Entschuldigung auszusprechen...

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Habisch André, Popal Pia

Ethik und globaler Handel

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-3, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/175483/ethik-und-globaler-handel>

Die Globalisierung der Wirtschafts- und Handelsbeziehungen hat in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten stark zugenommen und zur Vertiefung der globalen Arbeitsteilung beigetragen. Daran sind vor allem auch neue Akteure im asiatischen und lateinamerikanischen Raum beteiligt. Aufgrund der mit dem Welthandel wachsenden Produktivitätsgewinne konnten Millionen Menschen etwa in China, Indien, Vietnam und Bangladesch der absoluten und relativen Armut entrinnen. Auch die Anzahl grenzüberschreitender privatwirtschaftlicher Transaktionen hat deutlich zugenommen. Der globale Gehalt des Welthandels erstreckt sich hierbei in erster Linie auf die Mobilität der Ressourcen, aber auch auf eine deutliche Intensivierung der weltwirtschaftlichen Arbeitsteilung...

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Akanni K.A.

Externalities of global financial crisis and coping strategies among emerging African economies

in *Journal of Economics and International Finance*, December, 2013; 5(9) , 338-342

The recent global economic recess has far-reaching implications on the stock market, employment of labour and



survival of the production sector. Investors are poorly compensated, jobs are lost in thousands and hitherto viable industries are folding up. The African economy is not spared either. Policy makers and technocrats are now being challenged in an attempt to arrive at workable solutions to the current economic quackmire. In this paper therefore, several economic indicators were examined. The implications of the various manifestations of the global financial crisis on the economic indicators of the African economy were investigated. These indicators include the gross domestic product, GDP, foreign reserves, employment opportunities among the active working population and rate of inflation on consumable goods and services, level of exports and interest rates, and so on. Some stop-gap measures put in place by the African countries to circumvent or mitigate the effects of the global crisis were identified and many relevant policy frameworks were suggested for implementation. To avoid an unmanageable economic recession therefore, it was suggested that more attention be paid to the efficiency of resource use and minimization of leakages or wastages in the African economies.

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Maurel Chloé

Faire de l'histoire mondiale/globale en Chine à l'heure de la mondialisation
in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n° 216 , 19-43

Longtemps, la pratique de l'histoire en Chine a été sino-centrée. Avec l'ouverture du pays sous Deng Xiaoping à partir des années 1980, les historiens chinois ont eu davantage accès aux sources étrangères et l'« histoire mondiale » a pris son essor. Des manuels, des revues, des instituts d'histoire mondiale sont créés. Grâce aux efforts de l'historien chinois Wu Yujin, la perspective d'histoire globale s'impose alors en Chine : beaucoup d'oeuvres d'historiens occidentaux prônant l'approche globale sont introduites en Chine. Les tendances récentes de l'histoire globale en Chine montrent un intérêt pour les périodes anciennes, allant de la Préhistoire à l'époque moderne, et pour les relations Orient-Occident. Le grand nombre et la diversité des thèmes d'histoire globale abordés par des chercheurs chinois dans des colloques internationaux attestent de l'engouement de ce courant en Chine, même si des réticences persistent.

The practice of history in China was long China-centered. With the opening of the country under Deng Xiaoping from the 1980s, Chinese historians had more access to foreign sources and global history took off. Handbooks, journals, institutes in global history appeared. Thanks to the efforts of Chinese historian Wu Yujin, global history won recognition in China : many works by Western scholars advocating the global approach were introduced into China. Recent trends in global history in China show an interest for ancient times, from Prehistory to Modern times, and for Orient-West relationships. The importance and diversity of the global history themes tackled by Chinese scholars in international symposia prove the enthusiasm for this trend in China, even if some remain reluctant.

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Aizenman Joshua, Sengupta Rajeswari

Financial Trilemma in China and a Comparative Analysis with India
in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 18, Issue 2, May 2013 , 123-146



A key challenge facing most emerging market economies today is how to simultaneously maintain monetary independence, exchange rate stability and financial integration subject to the constraints imposed by the trilemma, in an era of widespread globalization. In this paper we review and contrast the trilemma policy choices and trade-offs faced by the two key drivers of global economic growth: China and India. China's trilemma configurations are unique relative to other emerging markets in terms of the predominance of exchange rate stability, and in the failure of the trilemma regression to capture a consistently significant role for financial integration. In contrast, the trilemma configurations of India are in line with choices made by other emerging countries. Over time, India, like other emerging economies, has converged towards a middle ground among the three policy objectives, and has achieved comparable levels of exchange rate stability and financial integration buffered by sizeable international reserves.

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Rudnyckyj Daromir

From Wall Street to Halal Street: Malaysia and the Globalization of Islamic Finance
in *Journal of Asian Studies (The)*, Volume 72 - Issue 04 , 831-848

Malaysia's plans to become a transnational hub for Islamic finance represent an effort to mobilize religion to create new global networks for the circulation of capital. This article first contextualizes such efforts within the broader contours of Malaysia's political history, addressing the classification of ethnicity and religion by both the colonial and postcolonial states. The article describes how Islamic finance is defined by practitioners in Malaysia and explains the key features they invoke to distinguish it from what they call "conventional finance". Finally, it identifies the steps undertaken by the state to make the country a global center of Islamic finance. As the recent financial crises have shaken confidence in North Atlantic financial systems, Malaysia is geographically and culturally well-positioned between two emergent economic regions currently at the forefront of global economic growth.

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Kose M. Ayhan, Loungani Prakash, Terrones Marco E.

From the Global to the National Cycle: An Intricate Liaison
in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 18, Issue 3, August 2013 , 370-402

This paper examines the linkages between the global business cycle and national cycles. We first analyse the evolution of the global business cycle and present its main properties during global recessions and recoveries. We then consider how the sensitivity of national cycles to the global cycle varies over different phases of the global cycle and depends on country-specific features. Our findings collectively portray an intricate liaison between the global business cycle and national cycles. National business cycles are tightly linked to the global cycle, but the sensitivity of national cycles to the global cycle is much higher during global recessions than expansions. There are significant differences across countries in how they respond to the global cycle as advanced economies appear to be more sensitive to global recessions than are developing economies. Moreover, countries tend to be more sensitive to the global cycle, the more integrated they are to the global economy.

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Paul D Raskin

Game On: The basis for hope in a time of despair

in *Development*, Vol. 56, n°1 , 86-92

Globalization may be driving the global emergency but it is also preparing the basis for transcending it – by enhancing global solidarity and seeding a global citizen's movement

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Paul D Raskin

Game On: The basis for hope in a time of despair

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J. Struna

Global Capitalism and Transnational Class Formation

in *Globalizations* , Volume 10, Issue 5 , 651-657

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Osburg John

Global Capitalisms in Asia: Beyond State and Market in China

in *Journal of Asian Studies (The)*, Volume 72 - Issue 04 , 813-882

After more than thirty years of economic reforms, China appears to have settled into a form of state capitalism that is likely to endure as long as the Communist Party retains power. This essay provides a critical overview of some of the key features and contradictions that characterize this particular form of capitalism and reviews some recent influential critiques of this system. Many observers have viewed the resurgence of the state-controlled economy as a shift away from policies more hospitable to both indigenous entrepreneurs and foreign capital in the 1980s and 1990s. Drawing on the author's own research with entrepreneurs in China, however, this essay argues for the importance of moving beyond the dichotomy of the controlling state and the free market.

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Servén Luis, Nguyen Ha

Global Imbalances: Origins and Prospects

in *World Bank Research Observer (The)*, Volume 28 Issue 2 August 2013 , 191-219

This paper summarizes the literature on the impact of state subsidized or social health insurance schemes that have been offered, mostly on a voluntary basis, to the informal sector in low- and middle-income countries. A substantial number of papers provide estimations of average treatment on the treated effect for insured persons. We summarize papers that correct for the problem of self-selection into insurance and papers that estimate the average intention to treat effect. Summarizing the literature was difficult because of the lack of (1) uniformity in the use of meaningful definitions of outcomes that indicate welfare improvements and (2) clarity in the consideration of selection issues. We find the uptake of insurance schemes, in many cases, to be less than expected. In general, we find no strong evidence of an impact on utilization, protection from financial risk, and health status. However, a few insurance schemes afford significant protection from high levels of out-of-pocket expenditures. In these cases, however, the impact on the poor is weaker. More information is needed to understand the reasons for low enrollment and to explain the limited impact of health insurance among the insured.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Akıncı Özge

Global financial conditions, country spreads and macroeconomic fluctuations in emerging countries

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 91, Issue 2, November 2013 , 358-371

This paper uses a panel structural vector autoregressive (VAR) model to investigate the extent to which global financial conditions, i.e., a global risk-free interest rate and global financial risk, and country spreads contribute to macroeconomic fluctuations in emerging countries. The main findings are: (1) global financial risk shocks explain about 20% of movements both in the country spread and in the aggregate activity in emerging economies. (2) The contribution of global risk-free interest rate shocks to macroeconomic fluctuations in emerging economies is negligible. Its role, which was emphasized in the literature, is taken up by global financial risk shocks. (3) Country spread shocks explain about 15 percent of the business cycles in emerging economies. (4) Interdependence between economic activity and the country spread is a key mechanism through which global financial shocks are transmitted to emerging economies.

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Fujiwara Ipppei, Nakajima Tomoyuki, Sudo Nao, Teranishi Yuki

Global liquidity trap

in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 60, Issue 8, November 2013 , Pages 936-949

How should monetary policy respond to a “global liquidity trap,” where the two countries may fall into a liquidity trap simultaneously? Using a two-country New Open Economy Macroeconomics model, we first characterize optimal monetary policy, and show that the optimal rate of inflation in one country is affected by whether or not the other country is in a liquidity trap. We next examine how well the optimal monetary policy is approximated by relatively simple monetary policy rules. The interest-rate rule targeting the producer price index performs well in this respect.



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Francesca Froy

Global policy developments towards industrial policy and skills: skills for competitiveness and growth
in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 29 n.2 , 344-60

There is a rising interest in both skills policy and industrial policy in OECD countries following the economic downturn. But how can skills policy best support industrial growth? In the UK, the coalition government is arguing for an industrial policy which is bottom-up, supporting networks of employers and helping to build productive local supply chains. There is simultaneous investment in a more 'employer-led' skills policy, in order to better tackle skills shortages and gaps. But is an employer-led skills policy the best way of boosting industrial growth in all UK regions? Are there potential market failures in employer-led policies of which the public sector should be aware? This article warns against taking an overly simplistic approach to skills development, arguing that while skills policies should be flexible to the needs of employers, there is still justification for investing in a broad educational curriculum at the local level. Further, policy-makers may need proactively to help employers to better use skills in some regions in order to boost productivity and growth.

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Minard Philippe

Globale, connectée ou transnationale: les échelles de l'histoire
in *Esprit*, Décembre 2013 , 20-32

The decentering of history has undermined the « master narrative » of Western domination of the world, and makes it possible to tackle transnational issues. But global history sometimes falls prey to finalism, presenting globalization as an inevitable phenomenon.

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Lambie George

Globalisation before the crash: the City of London and UK economic strategy
in *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 19, Issue 3 , 339-360

The global financial crisis provides an opportune moment to analyse the rise of the City of London financial markets, their role in the globalisation process and an attempt by the Labour Party Left in the 1970s to challenge emerging transnational forces. The USA became the world's 'hegemon' after the Second World War, but London retained its power in finance; well placed to challenge the post-war Keynesian regulatory consensus in favour of globalising interests, theoretically and politically served by the rise of neo-liberal ideology. In response the Labour Party Left devised its radical 'Programme 1973' and subsequently the Alternative Economic Strategy, which in seeking to defend



social democracy, understood the necessity to prevent the erosion of national financial controls. The 1976 International Monetary Fund crisis was a defining moment in this battle. This article includes interviews with key contemporary actors and is based in the discipline of International Political Economy.

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Kerouedan Dominique

Globaliser n'est pas sans risques pour les populations les plus pauvres du monde. Émergence de la "Global Health" en Afrique subsaharienne

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n° 215 , 111-127

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Sajid Anwar

Globalization and Economic Nationalism in Asia

in *Pacific Affairs* , Volume 86, Number 3, September , 613-615

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Ku Julian, Yoo John

Globalization and Sovereignty

in *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, Volume 31, Issue 1

No abstract available

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ANDREW J. NATHAN AND ANDREW SCOBELL

Globalization as a Security Strategy: Power and Vulnerability in the "China Model"

in *Political Science Quarterly*, VOLUME 128 - NUMBER 3 , 427-453

ANDREW J. NATHAN AND ANDREW SCOBELL analyze the gains and losses to Chinese security from the country's embrace of globalization in the post-Mao period. They argue that while China has grown richer and more influential, it has also been penetrated by global forces that it does not control and enmeshed in complex relationships of interdependence.



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Markus Kröger

Globalization as the 'Pulping' of Landscapes: Forestry Capitalism's North–South Territorial Accumulation in Globalizations, Volume 10, Issue 6, 837-853

No abstract available

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Habibul Haque Khondker

Globalization, Glocalization, or Global Studies: What's in a Name?
in **Globalizations**, Volume 10, Issue 4, 527-531

No abstract available

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Qi Dongtao

Globalization, Social Justice Issues, Political and Economic Nationalism in Taiwan: An Explanation of the Limited Resurgence of the DPP during 2008–2012
in **China Quarterly (The)**, Vol. 216, 1018-1044

Taking a broader perspective to explore the relations between Taiwan's globalization, social justice issues and the DPP's political and economic nationalism, this study aims to understand the DPP's resurgence in local elections since 2008, and its defeat in the 2012 presidential election. Increasing capital flight from Taiwan to mainland China has contributed to Taiwan's rising unemployment and income inequality. Less privileged Taiwanese, having stronger nationalist sentiments and concerns about the Taiwanese government's open-door China policy, switched their support from the KMT to the DPP during the DPP administration of 2000–2008. Since 2008, the DPP's better balance between its political and economic nationalism has been instrumental in securing popular support, especially at the local level. Nevertheless, in the 2012 presidential election, the DPP failed to convince the majority of Taiwanese voters that its moderate political nationalism could maintain the significantly improved cross-Strait relations vital for Taiwan's economic revival under the current bleak world economic conditions.

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Caretti Paolo

Globalizzazione e diritti fondamentali
in **Diritto e società**, n. 1

This essay examines the effects of economic globalization on State's sovereignty and in particular on the protection of fundamental rights. From a



general point of view, we can agree with the widespread opinion according to which globalization aims mainly to protect and to implement economic liberties, negatively affecting the protection of civil and social rights. However, these consequences are not always inevitable. The developments of the European integration process, at least partially, corroborate the following hypothesis. If we look to the European integration as a specific expression of the more general phenomenon of globalization, albeit of small-scale, we can see how it enforces rather than undermine the protection of rights (mainly civil rights). As well known, in the European region we have three different systems operating on this ground: national systems (based on national Constitutions), an international system (based on ECHR) and the system operating in the EU (based on the so called Nice Charter). This “cohabitation” is complex and has brought problems not easy to solve, but we cannot dispute that we are living in a phase significantly focused on the protection of rights. To get this result a leading role has been played by judges, at the different levels. This issue urges scholars to strike a new balance between powers of judges and legislators in the field of rights.

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Xavier Baez Narciso Leandro

**Globalizzazione e diritti umani: i problemi del multiculturalismo
in Federalismi**, Anno XI - Nr 15

No abstract available

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Henriksen Espen, Kydland Finn E., Šustek Roman

Globally correlated nominal fluctuations

in Journal of Monetary Economics, Volume 60, Issue 6, September 2013 , Pages 613-631

Fluctuations in nominal variables—aggregate price levels and nominal interest rates—are documented to be substantially more synchronized across countries at business cycle frequencies than fluctuations in real output. A transparent mechanism accounting for this striking feature of the nominal environment is described and quantitatively evaluated. It is based on the interaction between (small) cross-country spillovers of shocks, Taylor rules, and domestic no-arbitrage conditions. The mechanism is robust to various parameterizations and extensions aligning the model with other important aspects of domestic and international fluctuations. Furthermore, its key features are consistent with cross-country forecasts from Consensus survey.

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D'Anna Livia



Glocal/Glocalizzazione

in *Impresa & Stato*, Inverno n. 96/2012 , 87-89

La definizione più conosciuta della parola “glocale” e del processo di “glocalizzazione” a essa riferito, è quella introdotta nella prima metà degli anni novanta dal sociologo inglese Roland Robertson, e da lui mutuata dall’Oxford Dictionary of New Words, per indicare i fenomeni derivanti dall’impatto della globalizzazione sulle realtà locali e viceversa. Essa deriva dal termine giapponese “dochakuka”, in origine usato per indicare l’adattamento delle tecniche agricole alle condizioni locali e diffusosi poi negli anni ottanta in riferimento a questioni di marketing come sinonimo di “global localization”, localizzazione globale, per indicare una prospettiva globale adattata alle condizioni locali.[1]Partendo da questo spunto semantico, Robertson allarga lo spazio della questione del rapporto dialettico tra globale e locale ai diversi ambiti intellettuali e prasseologici. Il globale non è di per sé contrapposto al locale; piuttosto, quello che è generalmente considerato locale è essenzialmente incluso nel globale. In questo senso la globalizzazione, lungi da tendenze omogeneizzanti, include il legame e le connessioni con le dimensioni locali. Globalizzazione e localizzazione vengono considerate come tendenze non opposte, ma strettamente interconnesse in un processo di reciproca inclusione e modellizzazione.

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Fields David, Vernengo Matías

Hegemonic currencies during the crisis: The dollar versus the euro in a Cartalist perspective

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 4, 2013 , 740-759

This paper suggests that the dollar is not threatened as the hegemonic international currency, and that most analysts are incapable of understanding the resilience of the dollar, not only because they ignore the theories of monetary hegemonic stability or what, more recently, has been termed the geography of money, but also as a result of an incomplete understanding of what a monetary hegemon does. The paper argues that the dominant view on the international position of the dollar has been based on a Metallist view of money. In the alternative Cartalist view of money, the hegemon is not required to maintain credible macroeconomic policies (i.e., fiscally contractionary policies to maintain the value of the currency), but to provide an asset free of the risk of default. Further, it is argued that the current crisis in Europe shows why the euro is not a real contender for hegemony in the near future.

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Federico M. Lavopa, Lucas E. Barreiros, M. Victoria Bruno

How to Kill a BIT and not Die Trying: Legal and Political Challenges of Denouncing or Renegotiating Bilateral Investment Treaties

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.4 , 869-91

Arbitral tribunals’ expansive interpretation of key disciplines in international investment law in recent years has prompted a number of developing countries to implement strategies aimed at exiting the system. These range from denouncing the Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes between States and Nationals of Other States (“ICSID Convention”) and withdrawing consent to jurisdiction by other arbitral bodies, to denouncing the Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) to which they are parties. The purported objective of these initiatives is to reduce the legal exposure of



these countries to international claims before arbitral tribunals, either by eliminating a forum for foreign investors' claims or by cancelling their rights under the treaties. Whether any of these strategies will be successful in meeting this goal is still hard to say, as both the ICSID Convention and BITs have 'immune systems'—i.e. a set of built-in self-defense mechanisms—that render them somewhat resilient to change or termination. After assessing pros and cons of each of these three 'exit strategies', this article argues that developing States seeking to reduce the possible negative effects of international investment arbitration, would be better off by renegotiating their BITs. Renegotiation does not require the termination of the treaty, it may be implemented at any time and does not trigger the application of 'survival clauses', thus making changes to the BIT immediately applicable. The article thus concludes that, paradoxically, the most rational way for countries seeking to exit the system seems to be to stay in it.

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Lamy Pascal

**If we don't hang together in this multipolar world, we'll hang separately
in Europe's World**, Issue 25, Autumn

The globalising economy promises rich rewards for the world's 200 or so nations, perhaps even the eradication of poverty by 2030. But Pascal Lamy warns that the inter-dependence of these countries in more and more policy areas will demand unprecedented co-operation. He examines the obstacles and assesses the chances of overcoming them.

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/if-we-dont-hang-together-in-this-multipolar-world-well-hang-separately/>

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Maria Rosaria Ferrarese

**Il costituzionalismo globale tra "non luogo" e "dislocazioni"
in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, no. 2 , 431-440

This article aims to analyze the criticism of the current constitutionalism that is described as a very complex road network. This constitutionalism, as a result of the globalization, is characterized by a separation from both the territory and the traditional language of law. Two concepts can be used to describe this phenomenon: non-places and dislocation. The article also examines how current constitutionalism, on the one hand, is not built on the basis of a unitary political plan, and, on the other, does not move from one center to suburbs but can also proceed in the opposite way.

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Seo-Young Cho

**Integrating Equality: Globalization, Women's Rights, and Human Trafficking
in International Studies Quarterly**, vol. 57, issue 4, december , 683-697

ABSTRACT: This paper empirically investigates whether globalization can improve women's rights. Using panel data



from 150 countries over the 1981–2008 period, I find that social globalization positively affects women's economic and social rights. When controlling for social globalization, however, economic globalization does not have any effect on women's rights. Despite the positive effect of (social) globalization on women's standing in a country, (marginalized) foreign women, proxied with inflows of human trafficking, are not beneficiaries of such “female-friendly” globalization effects.

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Andrew Guzman

International Organizations and the Frankenstein Problem

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 24, issue 4 , 999-1025

In the classic novel, *Frankenstein*, Doctor Frankenstein creates a living creature in the hope of cheating death. The monster turns against Doctor Frankenstein and kills several people, causing the doctor to regret his decision to make the monster in the first place. When states establish an international organization (IO), they create an institution with a life of its own. In doing so, states risk the institution becoming a monster and acting contrary to their interests. In contrast to *Frankenstein*, however, states are aware of this risk and are able to guard against it. This article explains that much of the existing landscape of international organizations has been formed by the state response to this ‘Frankenstein problem’. The effort by states to avoid creating a monster explains, among other things, why there are so many IOs, why they vary so widely in scope, and the manner in which they are permitted (and not permitted) to affect international law and international relations. The article also identifies the four types of activities that IOs are typically allowed to undertake and explains how states choose which activities to place within which organizations. In addition to providing a new analytical perspective on IOs and how states use them, the article advances the normative argument that states have been too conservative. As if they learned the lessons of *Frankenstein* too well, states have been reluctant to give IOs the authority necessary to make progress on important global issues. Though there is a trade-off between the preservation of state control over the international system and the creation of effective and productive IOs, states have placed far too much weight on the former and not nearly enough on the latter.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Levchenko Andrei A.

International Trade and Institutional Change

in *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, Volume 29 Issue 5 October 2013 , 1145-1181

This article analyzes the impact of international trade on the quality of institutions, such as contract enforcement or property rights. It presents a model in which imperfect institutions create rents for some parties within the economy and are a source of comparative advantage in trade. Institutional quality is determined as an equilibrium of a political economy game. When countries share the same technology, there is a “race to the top” in institutional quality: both trade partners are forced to improve institutions after opening. On the other hand, domestic institutions will not improve in either country when one of the countries has a strong enough technological comparative advantage in the institutionally intensive good. While time series results are not statistically significant, a related cross-sectional prediction of the model is consistent with the data. Countries whose exogenous geographical characteristics predispose them to exporting in



institutionally intensive sectors exhibit significantly higher institutional quality.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Manfred B. Steger

It's About Globalization, After All: Four Framings of Global Studies. A Response to Jan Nederveen Pieterse's 'What is Global Studies?'

in *Globalizations* , Volume 10, Issue 6 , 771-777

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Speckmann Guido

Kolonialismus auf Samtpfoten. Die Handelspolitik der Europäischen Union

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2013 , 59-66

The full text is free:

<http://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2013/juni/kolonialismus-auf-samtpfoten>

Soll später niemand behaupten, man hätte es nicht gewusst: Wird das geplante Freihandelsabkommen zwischen der Europäischen Union und Indien tatsächlich abgeschlossen – im Juni findet eine weitere Gesprächsrunde statt –, droht der indische Milchsektor durch subventioniertes Milchpulver und Butterfett aus der EU niederkonkurriert zu werden – mit verheerenden Folgen für die schätzungsweise 90 Millionen Menschen, die in diesem Wirtschaftszweig arbeiten. Dabei hatte gerade dieser Sektor bereits 1999 die fatalen Folgen von Handelsliberalisierungen zu spüren bekommen: In jenem Jahr öffnete die indische Regierung den durch hohe Zölle geschützten Milchsektor für Importe aus anderen Staaten. Die Konsequenz: Der Milchpreis fiel ins Bodenlose und gefährdete die Existenz von Millionen Kleinbauern. Nach massiven Protesten musste die indische Regierung die Zölle wieder einführen. Auch dem indischen Einzelhandel, mit 37 Millionen Beschäftigten der zweitgrößte Arbeitsmarkt, drohen bei Abschluss des EU-Indien-Freihandelsabkommens extreme soziale Verwerfungen. Zwölf Millionen kleinere Einzelhändler könnten einer Studie zufolge ihre Existenzgrundlage verlieren. Wenn aber schon ein aufstrebender Schwellenstaat wie Indien einige seiner Wirtschaftssektoren nicht vor den dramatischen ökonomischen und sozialen Folgen des Freihandels schützen kann, wie steht es dann erst um Länder, die wirtschaftlich weitaus schwächer sind – wie etwa die sogenannten Entwicklungsländer der afrikanischen, karibischen und pazifischen Staaten (AKP-Staaten)?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wolf Nikolaus

Kurze Geschichte der Weltwirtschaft



in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 1-3, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/175486/kurze-geschichte-der-weltwirtschaft>

Um das Jahr 1000 war Europa ein rückständiger Teil Asiens, in seiner Wirtschaft und in seinem Handel weit unterentwickelt im Vergleich zu den islamischen Reichen im Nahen und Mittleren Osten oder China. Großzügig geschätzt lag der Anteil Europas an der Weltbevölkerung zu dieser Zeit bei etwa 15 Prozent, der Anteil an der Weltwirtschaft mag vergleichbar gewesen sein.[1] Erst mit den Reichen der Merowinger und Karolinger hatte sich in Europa wieder eine größere politische Macht etablieren können, die ein gewisses Maß an Sicherheit garantieren und eine minimale Infrastruktur bereitstellen konnte. Etwa seit dem ausgehenden 11. Jahrhundert n. Chr. wurden die Grundlagen für den Aufschwung des Fernhandels gelegt, die schließlich Europa in der Neuzeit zu einem wirtschaftlichen Zentrum der Welt werden ließen. Dabei handelte es sich vor allem um neue Institutionen und Organisationsformen, die Handel über große Entfernungen möglich machten...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Desclèves Emmanuel

L'économie bleue au cœur de la mondialisation

in **Esprit**, Juin 2013 , 40-54

Today, 95% of all communications go through maritime networks, and close to 90% of world trade is made by sea. The sea is inherently linked to globalization, and many issues crucial to the future of our economy, our science and our health are at play in the maritime world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Padis Marc-Olivier

La fin du monopole européen. Introduction

in **Esprit**, Décembre 2013 , 15-19

The full text is free:

<http://www.esprit.presse.fr/archive/review/article.php?code=37650&folder=2>



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Anna Margherita Russo

La territorial cross-border cooperation “attraverso lo specchio” del diritto transnazionale: Alice diventa regina e il sogno svanisce

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 2 , 515-539

Territorial cross-border cooperation represents a turning point in the progressive efforts made by lawyers to adapt their toolbox to new categories of transnational law.

In this sense jurists like Alice in "Through the looking-glass, and what Alice found there" by Lewis Carroll, must accept the overtaking of their categories to deal with complexity of the world of the mirror.

By developing this parallelism, this paper aims to analyse a specific dimension of the progressive transformation of the territorial/nation-state law by using the particular lens of cross-border cooperation as regulated under EU law.

As for the structure the article is divided into two parts: the first part recalls the main features of the so-called transnational law (polycentrism, non-exclusivity of state actors in the law-making process and in the implementation of legal rules, openness, emergence of hybrid legal phenomena which do not belong - exclusively at least - to the domain of hard or soft law), while the second one analyses the legal framework of cross-border cooperation, trying to locate within this scope characteristics of transnational law identified in the first part.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dörre Klaus

Landnahme: Unternehmen in transnationalen Wertschöpfungsketten

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-3, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/175494/unternehmen-in-transnationalen-wertschoepfungsketten>

Die Globalisierungsdebatte der 1990er Jahre kreiste häufig um die These eines orts- und bindingslosen Unternehmens, das jede seiner Funktionen am weltweit optimalen Standort platzieren konnte. Der grenzüberschreitenden Mobilität international operierender Konzerne hatten weder Nationalstaaten noch Gewerkschaften und Interessenvertretungen etwas entgegenzusetzen. Differenziertere Analysen zeigten, dass das global präsente Unternehmen eher Fiktion denn empirische Realität war. Selbst fokale, an der Spitze transnationaler Produktionsnetzwerke angesiedelte Unternehmen blieben in Aushandlungsbeziehungen mit Banken, institutionellen Anlegern, Zulieferern, Politiknetzwerken, Forschungs- und Entwicklungseinrichtungen, Handelsketten und Interessenorganisation der Lohnabhängigen eingebettet, deren Gravitationszentrum der Hauptsitz des jeweiligen Unternehmens war. Ein zentrales Problem von Schlüsselunternehmen bestand darin, die Komplexität dieser Aushandlungsbeziehungen zu managen. Bei der Wahl eines Kontrollkonzepts spielten die Abhängigkeiten an der Heimatbasis eine entscheidende Rolle. War ein Kontrollkonzept erst einmal gewählt, so konnte es variiert und modifiziert werden. Ein kompletter Austausch galt jedoch als unwahrscheinlich, weil enorme sunk costs, also verborgene Kosten, drohten...



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Paoli Stéphane

Le journaliste dans un monde globalisé ?

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n. 55 , 164-167

Il importe de commencer par souligner l'absolue différence entre l'information et la communication, qui n'ont rien à voir l'une avec l'autre. L'information est un système ouvert, absolument ouvert. La communication est un système fermé ; vous partez d'un système fermé et vous allez faire en sorte que ce projet bénéficie de la meilleure visibilité possible, que ce projet...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Atlani-Duault Laëtitia, Vidal Laurent

Le moment de la santé globale. Formes, figures et agendas d'un miroir de l'aide internationale

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n° 215 , 7-16

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Manfred B. Steger, Paul James

Levels of Subjective Globalization: Ideologies, Imaginaries, Ontologies

in *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* , Vol. 12, n°1-2 , 17-40

The subjective dimensions of globalization have not received even close to the level of attention that has been paid to the objective dimensions of global interchange and extension. Seeking to rectify this neglect, we argue that the subjective dimensions of globalization can be conceptualized in terms of three dimensions or levels: ideologies, imaginaries, and ontologies. The Occupy Movement in several global locations seeks to challenge global capitalism as the dominant system of economics. At the ideological level, activists connected to Occupy tend to engage in fierce contestation of the global structuring of greed, thus exhibiting clear signs of global rebellion. However, the terms of debate and critique tend to become increasingly uncontested as we go deeper into examining the dominant social imaginary and the ontologies of modern time and space that underpin this general sense of the global. Occupy is clearly an important variant of "justice globalism" that has inspired scores of young activists to protest against increasing inequality and the growing concentration of wealth in the hands of a tiny minority. Still, we suggest that this important alter-globalization movement often works within many of the same subjective frameworks and precepts as the market-globalist world that it criticizes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Corn Tony

L'Europe à la dérive. L'Atlantique et le monde atlantique à l'époque d'Elizabeth II

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 176, septembre-octobre , 67-78

Le basculement du centre de gravité du monde auquel nous assistons aujourd'hui de l'Atlantique au Pacifique est un événement d'une ampleur et, plus encore, d'une rapidité sans précédent depuis un transfert similaire, il y a quatre siècles, de la Méditerranée à l'Atlantique à l'époque de Philippe II. Le phénomène (...)

Plan de l'article

Le petit cap de l'Eurasie

L'Europe : « idiot du village global » ?

Islam : le communisme du xxie siècle

Global China : de l'Arctique à la Méditerranée

Le retour de l'Histoire : Schmitt et Mahan à Beijing

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Benedict Kingsbury et al.

L'émergence du droit administratif global

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 27, n°1-2 , 37-58

Emerging administrative law mechanisms are influencing decision making and rule making in the growing variety of global regulatory structures. These include international organizations, intergovernmental networks, distributed administration, and both hybrid public/private and private transnational regimes. We define Global Administrative Law (GAL) as the principles, procedures, and review mechanisms emerging to govern these bodies' decision making and rulemaking, largely leaving aside the substantive content of rules and considering GAL's sources more broadly than classical sources of public international law. We examine these and the doctrinal principles of transparency, participation, reasoned decision-making, review, and substantive standards that have developed. We next consider conceptions of GAL's normative foundations from pluralist, solidarist, and cosmopolitan approaches to international ordering, and discuss possible biases inherent in GAL. We then consider different institutional design strategies for constructing GAL given the challenges and opportunities presented by shifting from the domestic to the transnational regulatory space. We conclude that the field of Global Administrative Law is an important and distinct emerging phenomenon deserving systematic study and development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Aizenman Joshua, Pinto Brian

Managing Financial Integration and Capital Mobility—Policy Lessons from the Past Two Decades

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 21, Issue 4, September 2013 , 636–653

Emerging market experience over the past two decades has revealed the tenuous links between external financial integration and faster growth, and the proclivity of such integration to fuel costly crises. Emerging markets learned, converging to the middle ground of the macroeconomic trilemma. Following their crises of 1997–2001, emerging



markets added financial stability as a goal, self-insured by building up international reserves, and adopted a public finance approach to financial integration. The global crisis of 2008–09 illustrated that the advanced economies “overshot” the optimal degree of financial deregulation, while the resilience of the emerging markets validated their public finance approach to financial integration.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

David Matesanz Gomez , Benno Torgler, Guillermo J. Ortega

Measuring Global Economic Interdependence: A Hierarchical Network Approach

in *World Economy*, volume 36 n.12 , 1632-48

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fouré Jean, Bénassy-Quéré Agnès, Fontagné Lionel

Modelling the world economy at the 2050 horizon

in *Economics of Transition*, Volume 21, Issue 4, October 2013 , 617-654

Economic analysis is increasingly addressing long-term issues (such as global warming) that require a dynamic baseline for the world economy. In this article, we develop a three-factor (capital, energy, labour) macroeconometric (MaGE – Macroeconometrics of the Global Economy) model, and project growth for 147 countries to 2050. We improve on the literature by the following: (i) accounting for the energy constraint through dynamic modelling of energy productivity, (ii) modelling female participation rates consistent with education catch-up, (iii) departing from the assumptions of either a closed economy or full capital mobility (by applying a Feldstein–Horioka type relationship between saving and investment rates), and (iv) offering a fully consistent treatment of the Balassa–Samuelson effect. These innovative features have a sizeable impact on projected GDP.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

W. K. Carroll

Networks of Cognitive Praxis: Transnational Class Formation from Below?

in *Globalizations* , Volume 10, Issue 5 , 691-710

This article investigates an emergent component of global civil society: transnational alternative policy groups (TAPGs) which in recent decades have generated ideas, both visionary and strategic, for a ‘globalization from below’, which is also a process of transnational class formation. Comparing TAPG-centred networks of cognitive praxis with the broader and more integrated pro-capitalist policy-planning network that is integral to the hegemonic bloc, the study considers whether TAPGs contribute to transnational class formation in ways that are analogous to hegemonic policy groups. Findings support the claim that TAPGs serve as ‘collective intellectuals’ facilitating construction of a counter-hegemonic bloc that transects national borders and poses democratic alternatives to neoliberal globalization. The article briefly considers the challenges TAPGs face in this construction project.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sanderson Matthew R.

Networks of capital, networks for migration: political–economic integration and the changing geography of Mexico–US migration

in *Global Networks*, vol. 14, issue 1, January, 23-43

ABSTRACT: While economic globalization has altered the geography of international migration and introduced an array of new sources and destinations, our understanding of the specific mechanisms that link economic globalization to migration remains limited. In this article, I attempt to extend previous research by undertaking an empirical case study of Mexican migration to the USA. Using a unique dataset, I construct multivariate models to test whether, in the context of economic integration, occupations channel migration between similar sectors of the Mexican and US economies. I focus on the food-processing sector because of its role in the geographic dispersal of Mexican immigration. The results show a strong channelling of Mexican immigration along an occupational line linking the Mexican and US food-processing sectors. The implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which ushered in a period of intensive political and economic integration, strengthened this occupational channel. By seeing the changing geography of Mexico–US migration in the context of economic globalization, this study casts light on the micro-level foundations of the globalization–migration nexus.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Reifer Tom

Occupy Wall Street, the Global Crisis, and Antisystemic Movements: Origins and Prospects

in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, Vol. XIX, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

MacPherson Robert, Smith David A.

Occupy as a World Anti-Systemic Movement

in *Peace Review*, vol. 25, n. 3, 367-375

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Guerino D'Ignazio

Ordine e disordine: le sliding doors dei sistemi complessi nel costituzionalismo transnazionale



in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 2 , 423-430

This article aims to illustrate the effects on globalization on law and constitutionalism. In the current scenario of globalization, law tends to accentuate its flexibility so as to provide proper solutions in the context of a rapidly changing world. Similarly, constitutionalism needs to rediscover a transnational dimension to find its right location in the present global scenario by setting aside its strong connection with the concept of nation state.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Robinson William I.

Policing the Global Crisis

in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, Vol. XIX, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Buckner Elizabeth, Garnett Russell Susan

Portraying the Global: Cross-national Trends in Textbooks' Portrayal of Globalization and Global Citizenship

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 57, issue 4, december , 738-750

ABSTRACT: Many have noted the rise of the global in academic and popular discourse. We ask how this global frame of reference has been incorporated into secondary social science textbooks, a realm traditionally dominated by nationalist discourse. Utilizing a data set from more than 500 secondary school textbooks from around the world, spanning 1970–2008, we describe the incorporation of mentions of globalization and global citizenship into textbooks over time and then use a multilevel model to determine the textbook and country-level variables associated with mentions of each. We find that globalization and global citizenship are both predicted by the textbook content's reflection of the external world, including international events and mentions of human rights. However, no cross-national economic or political differences systematically predict incorporation of these topics. We argue that mentions of globalization and global citizenship in textbooks are two manifestations of a world culture that increasingly emphasizes interconnectedness in postnational society.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

M. Shamsul Haque

Public Administration in a globalized Asia: intellectual identities, challenges and prospects

in *Public Administration and Development*, volume 33 n.4 , 262-74

In most Asian countries, the domain of public administration continues to bear the legacy of colonial rule and postcolonial modernization led by Western nations. It remains crucial to highlight this exogenous formation of administrative systems in this age of globalized New Public Management. Such imposed or borrowed Western models of administrative



practices have often been ineffective because of their incompatibility with the indigenous Asian contexts, and they led to the worsening society–administration gaps and pathological outcomes. Beyond the continuing Western (especially American) intellectual hegemony in the field's knowledge-building, the prominent Asian scholars themselves have been educated mostly in foreign universities and institutions, which is not conducive to the construction of indigenous administrative knowledge based on an Asian perspective. In this context, it is imperative to explore the displacement of pre-colonial administrative traditions by colonial and postcolonial interventions, to examine how the contemporary administrative systems in Asia are based on exogenous models, and to assess the feasibility of constructing an overarching intellectual perspective that could be claimed as Asian public administration. This article attempts to explore these intellectual concerns with specific reference to selected cases in East, South, and Southeast Asia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kloet Jeroen de, Scheen Lena

Pudong: The shanzhai global city

in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 16, No. 6, December 2013 , 692-709

Abstract

Shanghai's Pudong financial district is known for its spectacular skyline, which Michelle Huang has referred to as 'a copy of a global city' – a reading that this article pushes further. What does this 'copy of a global city' tell us about the intricate relationships between globalisation, capitalism and urbanity? Whereas Koolhaas proposed the notion of the 'generic city' to grasp the future Asian city, this article argues that his reading reifies the conservative premise that globalisation equals homogenisation. Although Abbas' concept of the 'fake' comes closer to what we see emerging in Asia, it simultaneously reifies the problematic idea of an authentic original. Instead, the article proposes reading Pudong as a shanzhai version of the global city: meaning the culture of Chinese pirated, 'fake' products. By linking the notion of shanzhai to that of the global city, it aims to recuperate the locality, fluidity and peculiarity of the global city.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nili Shmuel

Rawzickian Global Politics

in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 21, Issue 4, December 2013 , 473–495

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Chorev Nitsan

Restructuring neoliberalism at the World Health Organization

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 4, 2013 , 627-666



Most descriptions of the spread of neoliberal economic policies since the 1980s overlook the significant contribution of international organizations not only to the dissemination of these policies, but also to their making. The scholarship often regards international organizations as passive transmission belts that merely comply with the demands of their member-states. Scholars who do identify the constitutive role of international organizations consider them to be enthusiastic supporters of the neoliberal project. There were cases, however, when international organizations were opposed to neoliberal reforms imposed from above. This paper draws on the experience of the World Health Organization (WHO) to show that in the process of adapting to the emerging neoliberal regime, international bureaucracies actively restructured this regime in accordance with their own institutional cultures. Some neoliberal prescriptions were successfully transmitted, but others were transformed, with the result that the global regime was hardly monolithic and included elements that were introduced by the international bureaucracies themselves. In developing this argument, the paper identifies the adaptive strategies that allow international bureaucracies, in spite of their vulnerability to external forces, to incorporate their own organizational agendas into what has consequently become a more heterogeneous global neoliberal regime.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Widdows Heather, West-Oram Peter G.N.

Revising global theories of justice to include public goods

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 9, Issue 2, 2013 , 227-243

Abstract

Our aim in this paper is to suggest that most current theories of global justice fail to adequately recognise the importance of global public goods. Broadly speaking, this failing can be attributed at least in part to the complexity of the global context, the individualistic focus of most theories of justice, and the localised nature of the theoretical foundations of most theories of global justice. We argue – using examples (particularly that of protecting antibiotic efficacy) – that any truly effective theory of global justice must recognise the importance of global public goods. Global public goods confer significant benefits to individuals yet can only be effectively promoted and preserved through collective action and the restriction of individual choice; something which most theories of justice are structurally unequipped to sufficiently promote.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Böckenförde M., Mallavarapu S., Jeng A., Niemann H., Brown S., Van Beurden S., Wulf H., Thalwitz M.

Sicherheit und Kooperation

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 37, 2013

Internationale Sicherheit ist ein Schlagwort, hinter dem sich die unterschiedlichsten Annahmen und Erwartungen verbergen. Einigkeit mag aber darüber herrschen, dass internationale Sicherheit nur gemeinsam zu erreichen ist, durch ein globales Miteinander. Je nach Region und inhaltlicher Perspektive gibt es unterschiedliche Ansichten darüber, welche Schritte der globalen Annäherung prioritär sind. Die Möglichkeiten und Grenzen globaler Kooperation in



unterschiedlichen Kontexten zu erforschen, ist die zentrale Fragestellung des »Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research an der Universität Duisburg-Essen«. Durch die systematische Konfrontation mit anderen Wissenskulturen stellt das vom Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung geförderte Projekt die eigenen, meist unhinterfragten Selbstverständlichkeiten auf den Prüfstand.

Vor diesem Hintergrund haben Gastwissenschaftlerinnen und Gastwissenschaftler des Kollegs aus vier verschiedenen Kontinenten und unterschiedlichen Disziplinen ihre Gedanken zu dem Thema internationale Sicherheit und globale Kooperation eingefangen. Die folgenden Essays spiegeln in den meisten Fällen einen Aspekt ihrer Forschungstätigkeit am Kolleg wider. Sie rütteln bisweilen an unserem Vorverständnis, was im Themenkomplex „internationale Sicherheit“ zu diskutieren ist, und bereichern dadurch möglicherweise eingefahrene Debatten.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Amy Verdun

**Small States and the Global Economic Crisis: An Assessment
in European Political Science**, Volume 12, Issue 3, 276–293

What factors contribute to the small state experience in economic bad times? What tools do they have to respond? What are particular small state issues in these circumstances? Does EU membership matter to small states (does it expose them to a harsher crisis; and/or restrict their options to deal with the crisis)? What is the role of trade, economic activity, EU governance and regulation, as well as the EU response to the crisis? How does being a member of the euro area differ from being outside the euro area? I review the economic experience of euro area countries, countries outside the euro area and some non-EU countries. This study shows that small states have different ways to deal with the crisis. There does not seem to be one major lesson to be learnt about the way in which they cope.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Spiro Peter J.

**Sovereignism's Twilight
in Berkeley Journal of International Law**, Volume 31, Issue 1

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Xiaobing Wang, Bernard Walters

**THE REAL ORIGIN OF GLOBAL FINANCIAL IMBALANCES
in Journal of International Development**, Volume 25, Issue 8, 1050-1060

There is an evident global imbalance puzzle: debt levels in developed countries are continuing to expand despite their



huge size whereas the size of foreign exchange reserves held by developing countries continues to grow. This paper argues that this pattern of global imbalances is a consequence of an asymmetric international system, the roots of which lie in the differences in labour structures between the developed and developing countries. It suggests that this global imbalance is likely to continue and is beneficial for both developed and developing countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Simon Lester, Inu Barbee

The Challenge of Cooperation: Regulatory Trade Barriers in the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.4 , 847-67

In the recently launched Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) negotiations between the USA and the European Union, it has been emphasized that the talks will make reducing regulatory barriers a signature issue. The emphasis on tackling these barriers has generated some excitement, with large figures being offered as estimates of the resulting economic gains. However, a good deal of uncertainty exists as to how the US–EU trade talks can address these issues, which remain largely undefined. In this regard, some key questions to ask are: What are the types of regulatory barriers at issue? How can they be addressed? And what are realistic goals for the TTIP negotiations in relation to regulations? This article examines the problem of regulatory barriers and offers an assessment of what can be achieved. The article concludes that while some claims of potential benefits are overstated, this does not mean that facilitating regulatory cooperation is not worthwhile. Negotiators should go after the low-hanging fruit, putting aside some of the more contentious USA–EU regulatory disputes, and be responsive to the needs of industry and consumers by focusing their attention on issue areas where they can have the greatest impact.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Shinar Chaim

The Challenges Posed to Welfare States by Globalization in *European Review*, Volume 21 - Issue 03 , 448 - 464

When the debate on globalization started in the early 1990s, the dominant assumption was that globalization was a shocking new phenomenon. Moreover, this new development was seen as an attempt to undermine the sovereignty and economic functions of the nation state, hence undermining the fundamental basis of the welfare state. According to this perspective, the welfare state was expected to collapse as a result of economic constraints. Some influential publications promoted the idea that countries would find themselves captured in a global trap. At least in the field of social sciences, this thesis was interpreted differently: the weakening of the nation state by globalization was considered a myth that served as an excuse for cutting government budgets. Since then, the social sciences have developed an approach to globalization as a long-term trend within the capitalistic framework, driven by economic and political developments and dependent on pre-existing social conditions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Peter Rijkema



The Concept of a Global Rule of Law

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 4, issue 2 , 167-196

The starting point of this paper is the proposition that national law, international law and other forms of supranational and transnational regulation can be distinguished analytically, but can no longer be regarded as separated spheres.

Together they form a network of authoritative rules, institutions and procedures that can be characterised as a global institutional network of authoritative systems. The aim of this paper is to inquire how the requirements of the Rule of Law can be implemented in this global institutional network. It is claimed that the proper point of view for answering this question is that of a specific society. From this perspective the question is whether the set of rules, institutions and procedures that claim authority over this society in conjunction meet the requirements of the Rule of Law. If they do, this authoritative system constitutes the legal system of that society.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

1542-65

The Effects of Globalisation on the US Labour Market: Service Sectors Considered

in *World Economy*, volume 36 n.12 , Ling Feng, Weijun Hu, Zhiyuan Li

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Smith Michael Peter

The Global Diffusion of Public Policy: Power Structures and Democratic Accountability

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 1, Issue 2 , 118-131

The global diffusion of public policies is never just the conduct of rational agents looking for the best solutions that 'work', but is always embedded in political and institutional interests. Dominant models of policy diffusion tend to ignore the role of oligarchic wealth in policy diffusion. Oligarchic diffusion's defining feature is lack of democratic accountability. Mayor Michael Bloomberg's appropriation of the Mexican conditional cash transfer model for ending poverty undermined the political accountability of urban policy-making in New York City. Some of the prevailing diffusion models elide the historically specific political and institutional interests driving the diffusion of the neoliberal policy solutions now in global circulation. Oligarchic diffusion is a dominant mechanism implicit in the other typologies. Fortunately, elite-driven policy diffusion models are not the only game in town. More democratic modes of global policy diffusion exist and show promise of better things to come.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

L. Sklair & J. Struna

The Icon Project: The Transnational Capitalist Class in Action

in *Globalizations* , Volume 10, Issue 5 , 747-763



This article—a product of current research on iconic architecture and capitalist globalization—argues that iconicity in general, and in architecture and urban design in particular is a telling case study of how the four fractions of the transnational capitalist class (corporate, political, professional, and consumerist) act to sustain and enlarge their hegemony through the use of both intangible and tangible objects that foster the global diffusion of the culture-ideology of consumerism. Iconicity is defined in terms of (a) fame and (b) symbolic/aesthetic significance, and while many different interpretations can be and have been applied to iconic phenomena (e.g. celebrities of various types, products, images, buildings, architects) this article will emphasize the uses of iconicity in the conscious construction of transnational capitalist class projects at various levels of action. The article concludes with an analysis of the ways in which the transnational capitalist class in and around architecture, urban design, and other iconic modalities manufactures iconicity for buildings and objects even before they are built, notably through the global dissemination of images of what they might look like—their aesthetic significance—and what they might signify—their symbolic significance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Noorda Hadassa A.

**The Principle of Sovereign Equality with Respect to Wars with Non-State Actors
in *Philosophia*, Volume 41, Issue 2, June 2013 , 337-347**

Abstract

The desire to defend a state against attacks by a non-state actor requires thinking about counter-attacking without violating the sovereign equality of the territorial state because targeting a non-state actor on the territory of that state may violate its sovereignty. This paper evaluates the main views on self-defense by states against non-state actors by studying the Just War Theory and argues that self-defense against a non-state actor is allowed if the counter-attack complies with the principle of sovereign equality. Sovereign equality is the prohibition of states from dominion over other states because states are equal to one another. This principle can be respected by allowing self-defense against non-state actors to occur only if the state consented to the use of force on its territory or if that state is incapable of controlling or unwilling to control the non-state actor.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Axelsen David V.

**The State Made Me Do It: How Anti-cosmopolitanism is Created by the State
in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 21, Issue 4, December 2013 , 451–472**

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Murdie Amanda

The Ties that Bind: A Network Analysis of Human Rights International Nongovernmental Organizations



in **British Journal of Political Science**, vol. 44, issue 1, January, 1-27

ABSTRACT: Much scholarship concerning human rights international nongovernmental organizations (HR-INGOs) focuses on the central role they play within transnational advocacy networks. Despite this theoretical focus on networks, there has been scant empirical attention on the characteristics of the HR-INGO network or on whether the network characteristics of a HR-INGO matter for its advocacy output. Introducing a new relational dataset on 681 HR-INGOs, this article finds that the HR-INGO network is somewhat like a public good and that the organizations who utilize it benefit in terms of their international advocacy output. Other findings focus on how the structural characteristics of organizations can influence their propensity to connect to each other and how 'free-riding' can limit the benefits organizations receive from the network.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hartman, Stephen

The WTO, the Doha Round Impasse, PTAs, and FTAs/RTAs.

in **International Trade Journal**, vol. 27 n.5, 411-30

Beginning in 2001, the Doha Rounds afforded World Trade Organization (WTO) members the opportunity to develop equitable trade rules between the developed and developing member states. The WTO has been successful in advancing multilateral international trade; however, since the Doha Rounds stalemate, it has witnessed the development of more than 300 Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) and over 500 Free Trade Agreements (FTAs). This article attempts to answer two questions: (1) has the failure of the Doha Rounds contributed to the proliferation of PTAs and FTAs, and (2) are these agreements threatening the regulatory authority of the WTO, which, in turn, reduces its ability to effectively promote and govern free trade, and its mission?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Meyer John W., Bromley Patricia

The Worldwide Expansion of "Organization"

in **Sociological Theory**, Volume 31, Issue 4, December 2013, 366-389

Abstract

We offer an institutional explanation for the contemporary expansion of formal organization—in numbers, internal complexity, social domains, and national contexts. Much expansion lies in areas far beyond the traditional foci on technical production or political power, such as protecting the environment, promoting marginalized groups, or behaving with transparency. We argue that expansion is supported by widespread cultural rationalization in a stateless and liberal global society, characterized by scientism, rights and empowerment discourses, and an explosion of education. These cultural changes are transmitted through legal, accounting, and professionalization principles, driving the creation of new organizations and the elaboration of existing ones. The resulting organizations are constructed to be proper social actors as much as functionally effective entities. They are painted as autonomous and integrated but depend heavily on external definitions to sustain this depiction. So expansion creates organizations that are, whatever their actual effectiveness, structurally nonrational. We advance institutional theories of social organization in three main ways. First, we give an account of the expansive rise of "organization" rooted in rapid worldwide cultural rationalization. Second, we



explain the construction of contemporary organizations as purposive actors, rather than passive bureaucracies. Third, we show how the expanded actorhood of the contemporary organization, and the associated interpenetration with the environment, dialectically generate structures far removed from instrumental rationality.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jakobi Anja P.

The changing global norm of anti-corruption: from bad business to bad government

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 7, Issue 1 Supplement, December 2013, 243-264

Abstract

Fighting corruption has become an important element of good governance. International organizations, donors and non-governmental actors monitor corruption worldwide and seek government commitments in fighting it. This article traces the efforts of international anti-corruption from its beginnings as an American legal standard for businesses to the current worldwide norm of anti-corruption as part of good governance. It analyses how the fight against corruption evolved over time, with respect to the crucial activities involved in establishing anti-corruption policies, but also with respect to how the policy itself has changed. The central argument made is that fighting corruption has developed to a global norm over time, initiated by strong state actors and disseminated with the help of non-state actors and international organizations. The idea of fighting corruption, however, changed over time from a more narrow focus on business regulation to a broader agenda related to governance. The article shows this change by analysing norm entrepreneurship, diffusion and implementation of global anti-corruption efforts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Pepinsky Thomas B.  

The domestic politics of financial internationalization in the developing world

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 4, 2013, 848-880

This paper examines the domestic politics of financial internationalization. Financial internationalization has two components, the liberalization of cross-border capital flows and the liberalization of foreign ownership restrictions, yet most research to date has concentrated exclusively on the former. Building on existing theoretical work, this paper argues that in the developing world, domestic finance favors the joint abolition of restrictions on the inflow of foreign capital alongside continued restrictions on the ability of foreigners to own and operate domestic financial institutions. I test the argument on a unique dataset of foreign entry restrictions in developing economies and by examining interest group pressures for financial internationalization in Indonesia and Mexico. The findings complement and extend recent work on financial internationalization in the developing world and suggest further areas for research in the role of domestic interest group preferences for global economic integration.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Odegard I.Y.R., van der Voet E.

The future of food — Scenarios and the effect on natural resource use in agriculture in 2050
in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 97, January , 51-59

Do we have the natural resource base to feed future populations? This study gives a quantification of global land use, water use and fertilizer use for the year 2050, for a complete diet and four different futures. Agriculture will need to develop substantially to feed future populations. It is shown that there is a negative correlation between fertilizer use and land use, which makes the necessity of incorporating both in such assessments clear. Water use increases relative to total production and this is going to be a problem unless drastic measures are taken. The high wastage and high consumption of animal products in the developed regions are major contributors to the total global demand. Developing countries' aspirations to such practices are a major factor in increases in diet demand, as are population increases in those regions. In creating a more sustainable food system, a one-solution approach will not do and solutions should combine supply-side and demand-side options. Demand-side solutions should target wastage and animal product consumption. On the supply side, technological development and better feeding efficiency will increase yields. Feeding the future global population, which is necessary to increase living standards worldwide, will require a concerted effort.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Auboin Marc, Ruta Michele

The relationship between exchange rates and international trade: a literature review
in **World Trade Review**, Volume 12 - Issue 03 - luglio 2013

This paper surveys a wide body of economic literature on the relationship between exchange rates and trade. Specifically, two main issues are investigated: the impact of exchange rate volatility and of currency misalignments on international trade flows. On average, exchange rate volatility has a negative (even if not large) impact on trade. The extent of this effect depends on a number of factors, including the existence of hedging instruments, the structure of production (e.g. the prevalence of small firms), and the degree of economic integration across countries. The second issue involves exchange rate misalignments, which are predicted to have short-run effects in models with price rigidities. However, the exact impact depends on a number of features, such as the pricing strategy of firms engaging in international trade and the importance of global production networks. Trade effects of currency misalignments are predicted to disappear in the long-run, unless an economy is characterized by other relevant distortions. Empirical results broadly confirm these theoretical predictions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Aizenman Joshua, Chinn Menzie David, Ito Hiro

The “Impossible Trinity” Hypothesis in an Era of Global Imbalances: Measurement and Testing
in **Review of International Economics**, Volume 21, Issue 3, August 2013 , 447–458

We outline new metrics for measuring the trilemma aspects: exchange rate flexibility, monetary independence, and



capital account openness, taking into account substantial international reserve accumulation that has taken place since the 2000s. Since 1990, the trilemma variables in emerging markets have converged towards intermediate levels, characterizing by managed flexibility, using sizable international reserves as a buffer while retaining some degree of monetary autonomy. We test the linearity of the trilemma, and find that the weighted sum of the three trilemma variables adds up to a constant. Thus, a rise in one trilemma variable should be traded-off with a drop of the weighted sum of the other two.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mersch Sarah

Transitional Justice – das Beispiel Tunesien

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 25-26, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/162895/transitional-justice-das-beispiel-tunesien>

Knapp zweieinhalb Jahre nach dem Aufstand in Tunesien befindet sich das Land auf der Suche nach dem von Regierung und Zivilgesellschaft gleichermaßen beschworenen "tunesischen Weg" der Transitional Justice in einer Sackgasse. Nach ersten Ansätzen im unmittelbaren Anschluss an die Revolte ist die Debatte in der Öffentlichkeit inzwischen weitgehend verstummt, hinter den Kulissen wird sie immer stärker politisiert. Ein Gesetzesvorschlag, der einen möglichen Weg aufzeigt, wie Tunesien die Vergangenheit aufarbeiten könnte, liegt zur Abstimmung bereit, die Diskussion im Parlament lässt jedoch auf sich warten...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Berry Chris

Transnational Culture in East Asia and the Logic of Assemblage

in *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Volume 41, Number 5, 453-470

This essay examines the growth of transnational culture in East Asia, drawing heavily on the example of Chinese cinema. It notes the growth of a variety of transborder-based Chinese cinema cultures, ranging from blockbuster productions to independent documentary culture, and argues that similar phenomena can be found in other parts of East Asia and with other arts and media. Until now, the tendency has been to tag such phenomena as "transnational" without further elaboration. This essay argues that the time has come for a more rigorous interrogation of the transnational. It argues that the transnational order should be distinguished from both the earlier international order of nation-states and from the ideology of globalisation. Further, it argues that the cultural formations that grow under the logic of transnational and flexible production operate not as part of a stable national system but according to the contingent and fluid logic of assemblage.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Popper Helen, Mandilaras Alex, Bird Graham

Trilemma stability and international macroeconomic archetypes

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 64, November 2013 , Pages 181-193

This paper uses the simple geometry of the classic, open-economy trilemma to introduce a new gauge of the stability of international macroeconomic arrangements. The new stability gauge reflects the simultaneity of a country's choices of exchange rate fixity, financial openness, and monetary sovereignty. So, the new gauge is bounded and correspondingly non-Gaussian. We use the new stability gauge in nonlinear panel estimates to examine the post-Bretton Woods period, and we find that trilemma policy stability is linked to official holdings of foreign exchange reserves in low income countries. We also find that the combination of fixed exchange rates and financial market openness is the most stable arrangement within the trilemma; and middle-income countries have less stable trilemma arrangements than either low or high-income countries. The paper also characterizes international macroeconomic arrangements in terms of their semblance to definitive policy archetypes; and, it uses the trilemma constraint to provide a new gauge of monetary sovereignty.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bertrand Romain

Un continent de possibles oubliés. Les relations économiques Europe-Asie à l'époque moderne

in *Esprit*, Décembre 2013 , 33-45

Global history tends to think « in a straight line », decentering perspective while maintaining causality. Thus emerge inquiries into the origins of capitalism in Asia in the modern period. But geographical distance goes hand in hand with a chronological and conceptual gap, and the trade relations between Dutch and Indonesians in the 17th century, for instance, cannot be reduced to a form of protocapitalism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Millán Acevedo Natalia

Una doctrina cosmopolita para un mundo interdependiente

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 25, junio 2013

Globalization is creating radical changes in political, social and economic processes that have an impact on people's daily life. Therefore, there is a call for deepening in theoretical perspectives and policies in order to comprehend global dynamics transformations. This article aims at analyzing the cosmopolitan doctrine not only as a philosophical view but also an accurate perspective for understanding the structural changes in a globalized world. Therefore, the cosmopolitan view appears to be the most suitable perspective for this new transnational reality.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Uebele Martin

What Drives Commodity Market Integration? Evidence from the 1800s

in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 59 Issue 2 June 2013 , 412-442

This article provides empirical evidence from the 'first wave of globalization' in the 19th century for the question as to how commodity markets integrated domestically and internationally. I apply a dynamic factor model borrowed from business cycle analysis that for the first time allows me to fully exploit the cross-sectional and time-series dimensions of my large wheat price data set. It treats national and international market integration as conditional, and provides unique evidence on the integration of single cities as well as of countries and country groups. Three main results emerge from this: (i) The strongest push toward globalization happened in the first half of the century, not the second. This contradicts conventional wisdom emphasizing a transport revolution after 1850. (ii) After 1880, protectionist countries experienced a globalization backlash despite their well-developed transportation networks. (iii) National differences matter even when controlling for geography and trade policy. Some countries integrated domestically after some single cities, while others first developed a well-functioning domestic market and then globalized as a nation. The latter coincide with countries that have a long history as a unified nation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hufbauer, Gary, Cimino, Cathleen

What Future for the WTO?

in **International Trade Journal**, volume 27 n3 , 394-410

The past decade has been troubling for the World Trade Organization (WTO). After 12 hard years of negotiation, and multiple missed deadlines, stakes are high for breaking the many logjams that obstruct the Doha Development Round. This article assesses what can be salvaged from the Doha Round and the associated global payoffs, and it provides guidelines for maintaining the relevance of the WTO moving forward. There is good reason for measured optimism, but for optimism to be sustained, trade ministers must deliver something meaningful at the Bali WTO Ministerial in December 2013.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Skey Michael

What does it mean to be cosmopolitan? An examination of the varying meaningfulness and commensurability of everyday 'cosmopolitan' practices

in **Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power**, Volume 20, Issue 3 , 235-252

The literature on cosmopolitanism has mushroomed in the past decade or more as attempts are made to theorise new patterns of mobility, interactions between previously distant social groups and the emergence of institutions to manage these processes. In this paper, I build on the arguments of those who have emphasised the strategic aspects and temporal dimensions of cosmopolitan expressions and practices, by focusing on the resources and constraints that different actors operate with, or under, and, as a result, the varying commitments they have to different 'others'. Using



this type of grounded approach, a number of illustrative examples from a study of social identities in England are then analysed and used to theorise cosmopolitanism, as a perspective that is periodically articulated, in relation to specific needs, contexts or prompts, rather than being an inherent property of particular individuals, groups or situations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lemnitzer Jan Martin

'That Moral League of Nations against the United States': The Origins of the 1856 Declaration of Paris in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 1068-1098

The Declaration of Paris, signed by seven European powers on 16 April 1856, is almost forgotten today. Yet it marks the beginning of modern international law as we know it: multilateral treaties open for accession by all powers with the intention of creating new universal rules. Its extension of neutral rights to trade undisturbed in peace-time was a radical reversal of the centuries-old British tradition of extensive belligerent rights. But there is no convincing explanation why Britain signed this treaty and lobbied for its global acceptance. This article shows that the Declaration was a package deal in which Britain accepted broader neutral rights but gained the abolition of privateering. Privateering was no anachronism, but the linchpin of US strategy in case of a conflict with Britain. The Declaration of Paris closed most of the world's ports to privateers and thus ended the practice. The Declaration was also the first multi-lateral law-making treaty and marks the invention of the main instrument we use today to create international law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Salazar Boris

¿Crisis después de la crisis? La macroeconomía financiera después de la crisis global   in *Revista de economía institucional*, VOLUMEN 15, NÚMERO 28, PRIMER SEMESTRE DE 2013

La crisis llevó a la aparición de nuevos hechos estilizados, y al uso de técnicas y herramientas provenientes de otras disciplinas, pero no provocó una crisis del programa dominante en macroeconomía financiera. Este artículo intenta explicar por qué se siguió ese rumbo y explora dos hipótesis: la asimetría entre los caminos que unen el núcleo firme de un programa de investigación con los cambios en el cinturón protector; lo que va del núcleo firme a la periferia nunca deja de fluir en la forma de módulos básicos para hacer nuevos modelos, y lo que se encuentra en la periferia nunca afecta al núcleo firme. La segunda es un hecho observable: tanto el programa rival más fuerte –la econofísica–, como los programas heterodoxos están por fuera de la economía dominante.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Dittmer Lowell

Asian Alliances: Chinese and Japanese Experiences Compared in *Asian Perspective*, Volume 38, Issue 1 , 1-29

In this article I view Asian alliances as a product of universal security needs and culturally constructed variables. While the alliance remains one of the fundamentals of contemporary international politics, I attempt to show through



comparative analysis of the Sino-Soviet alliance and the Japan-US security alliance how subtle differences of national developmental experience can significantly affect political outcomes in East Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Berny Nathalie

Building the Capacity to Play on Multilevel Policy Processes: French Environmental Movement Organisations and the European Union

in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 12, Issue 3, 2013 , 298-315

Abstract

The European Union (EU) is a relevant case to address the dynamics of transnational politics, given the significance of the EU environmental legislation in member states. Infranational, national and supranational/EU decision-making arenas still co-exist, without completely overlapping. This study explores how the multilevel nature of the EU policy-making process is exploited by national environmental movement organisations (EMOs). Diverging from the explanation in terms of political opportunity structure or their resource basis, we examine EMOs that do not automatically adapt to the EU multilevel policy process. The discussion takes up the classic debate between grievances (intentionality) and resources (capacity) hypothesising that both are constructed in EMOs' actions and through their interactions with public authorities, allies and members. Within the analytical framework developed in this study, the organisation is viewed as a factor explaining EU activism by combining an endogenous action approach with classical resource mobilisation concepts. The ensuing longitudinal analysis compares the case of three French EMOs: France-Nature-Environnement, Friends of the Earth-France and Greenpeace-France.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Endoh Masahiro, Hamada Koichi, Shimomura Koji

Can a Regional Trade Agreement Benefit a Nonmember Country without Compensating It?

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 21, Issue 5, November 2013 , 912-922

RTAs are generally formed without any tariff concessions or transfers to nonmember countries. Can such an RTA benefit nonmembers' welfare? In a two-good three-country competitive equilibrium model in the absence of an entrepôt, an RTA without concessions to a nonmember will hurt nonmembers' welfare when goods are normal. If one of the member countries is an entrepôt, however, it definitely improves nonmembers' welfare. In a three-good three-country model, an RTA without concessions damages the nonmember's welfare, provided that all the goods are normal and substitutes, and that initial tariff levels are small.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Haftem Yoran Z.

Commerce and institutions: Trade, scope, and the design of regional economic organizations

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 8, n. 3, september , 389-404



ABSTRACT: The design of current regional economic organizations (REOs) is remarkably diverse. Some REOs address numerous economic issues, while others have only limited mandates. Some REOs have an independent bureaucracy and a legalized dispute settlement mechanism (DSM), while others do not. What determines this institutional variation? Thinking about these institutions as devices that generate credible commitment to a rule-based regional cooperation, institutionalists maintain that the intensity of commercial ties determine regional institutionalization and institutional independence. A number of studies question this logic and argue that it is “naïve.” Empirical evidence on the links between commerce, economic scope, and regional institutions is scant, however. Using an original data set that contains detailed information on the economic activities and institutional structure of twenty-eight REOs over three decades, this paper presents one of the first systematic analyses of these relationships. The empirical analysis indicates that the institutionalist wisdom is right after all. It shows that higher levels of regional trade are associated with greater institutionalization and economic scope, but only if implementation of signed agreements is accounted for, and that regional commerce and greater economic scope are associated with more independent bureaucracies and more legalized DSMs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Cienfuegos Mateo Manuel

Cuestiones prejudiciales en la Unión Europea y consultas prejudiciales en la Comunidad Andina: Similitudes, diferencias e influencias

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 25, junio 2013

The objective of this research is to compare the legal regime of the European Union preliminary ruling procedure and the Andean Community preliminary consultation procedure. To this end, the current normative and the functioning in practice of both procedural instruments are described, focusing the analysis on the more important aspects, such as their nature; legal standing as well as powers of national jurisdictions; competences of the European and the Andean Courts of Justice in every preliminary procedure; procedural aspects and, finally, legal effects of preliminary rulings and remedies to their breach. Following the explanation of the Andean preliminary consultation procedure, the main similarities and differences between these two judicial cooperation mechanisms will be noted in order to offer, at the end of the study, some conjectures for the significant influence of the European preliminary ruling on that.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Weber Enzo

Economic integration and the foreign exchange

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 9, Number 2 / June 2012 , 201-215

This paper demonstrates effects of economic convergence processes on the foreign exchange behaviour in a monetary modelling approach. Since the exchange rate represents the relative price of two currencies, commonness of stochastic trends between the fundamental determinants of supply and demand of the underlying monies restricts exchange rate movements to transitory fluctuations. In the spirit of optimal currency areas, this has the potential to serve as a criterion for an all-round integration of two economies. Empirically, such a constellation is found between Australia and New Zealand, whereas diverging trends in money and interest rates characterise the relation of Australia towards the US.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Antonio Colomer Viadel

La crisis del Estado y la reconstrucción del Estado de Derecho en las organizaciones regionales de integración de estados

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 31 , 279-297

The State has become one of the most complex political organization in the political story and an important instrument for social and regional integration in to safeguard fundamental rights, in addition to a legal restriction of power according to the rule of law. National State is in crisis as a result of globalization, the problems scale and the new leading rule of international organizations. At the same time supranational organizations in this new international juridical order, will have to face up to principles, warranties and values of a democracy under the rule of law. This is the point in which we consider . why this debate about European and Latin America is so important.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Franzius Claudio

Recht und Politik in der transnationalen Konstellation: Skizze eines Forschungsgebietes

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Volume 138, Number 2, April 2013 , 204-288

Abstract:

The research area is dedicated to law and politics within the transnational constellation. The purpose of this article is to examine how constitutional law and how administrative law deal with the interactions on juridification and politicization of proceedings and decisions. It seems to us that the future of both the constitution and the administration will depend on convincing answers to the question of how the visible shift of borders between the interior and the exterior, as well as between the public and the private, can be managed in transnational constellations.

Transnationality should be understood as a phenomenon of borders, regions and mechanisms. This is a multi-layered problem that must be described in light of the changing functions that the constitution and the administration have for the transnational implementation of laws. The study aims to contribute insights on public law in order to determine the degree to which de-territorialisation can be accepted as normative. In its search for sharper clearness, the model of constitutional pluralism is complemented by the governance perspective in the linking of legal and non-legal mechanisms for the coordination of activities. How these concepts that have been developed within various disciplinary contexts can be merged, made dogmatically compatible and become effective in the practice has not been adequately clarified up to now.

Within the transnational context, the projects are also oriented upon a more effective structuring of public authority. They aim at the construction and developmental conditions of transnational democracy, the systematization of judicial conflict-resolution mechanisms and the formation of transnational administrative law that is no longer solely based on territorial borders. The research project's perspective on how the changing function of the constitution and the administration considered within the overarching trans national constellation is intended to make a contribution to the



public law approach in changing times.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Neshkova Milena I.

Salience and Complexity in Supranational Policymaking: The Case of Subnational Interests in Governance, Volume 27, Issue 1, January , 9–36

This study examined whether Gormley's insights about the effects of public salience and technical complexity on the patterns of participation in the regulatory process have explanatory power in an international setting. Specifically, I tracked 60 legislative proposals initiated by the European Commission and estimated the change made by the supranational technocrats in response to the requests of subnational politicians. I found support for the theoretical propositions about the differentiated effect of salience and complexity on political and administrative actors. Consistent with the notion of bureaucratic expertise, the Commission is less responsive when the policy issues require expertise to be tackled efficiently. Although the European Union has been pursuing various mechanisms to democratize its policy process, the technical character of supranational regulation precludes the broader public and elected politicians from assuming a larger role and bureaucracy will continue to be a major player in the international arena.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Gobat Michel

The Invention of Latin America: A Transnational History of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Race in American Historical Review, Volume 118, Issue 5, December , 1345-1375

With the publication of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* in 1983, it has become commonplace among scholars to view nations no longer as things natural but as historical inventions.¹ Far less ink has been spilled concerning the formation of larger geopolitical entities such as continents. Many still take their origins for granted. Yet as some scholars have shown, the terms “Africa,” “America,” “Asia,” and “Europe” resulted from complex historical processes.² The concept of the continent emerged in ancient Greece and guided Europeans in their efforts to dominate other areas of the world, especially from the fourteenth century onward. Non-European societies certainly conceptualized their own geopolitical spaces, but the massive spread of European imperialism in the nineteenth century ensured that the European schema of dividing the world into continents would predominate by the twentieth century.³

The invention of “Latin America” nevertheless reveals that contemporary continental constructs were not always imperial products. True, many scholars assume that French imperialists invented “Latin America” in order to justify their country's occupation of Mexico (1862–1867).⁴ And the idea did stem from the French concept of a “Latin race,” which Latin American émigrés in Europe helped spread to the other side of the Atlantic. But as Arturo Ardao, Miguel Rojas Mix, and Aims McGuinness have revealed, the term “Latin America” had already been used in 1856 by Central and South Americans protesting U.S. expansion into the Southern Hemisphere.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Kempf Hubert, von Thadden Leopold

When do cooperation and commitment matter in a monetary union?

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 91, Issue 2, November 2013 , 252-262

This paper offers a framework to study strategic interactions between private players, national fiscal authorities and a common central bank in monetary unions. We establish general conditions, in terms of restrictions on spillover effects of actions by private and public players, under which games that differ in the degree of cooperation and commitment can admit the same equilibrium outcome. We use these conditions to characterize benchmark results on the irrelevance of cooperation and commitment established in recent literature. Moreover, we show for a general setting, in which the benchmark results do not apply, that gains from fiscal cooperation depend on the number of countries and increase as this number gets larger.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Doumbia Soumaila

Ciblage du taux de change versus ciblage de l'inflation. Quelle cohérence globale pour la politique monétaire de la BCEAO ?

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n° 215 , 183-200

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Sylvestre Kwahou

L'influence du droit communautaire sur les finances publiques nationalesle cas des États de la Communauté Économique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC)

in *Revue de droit international et de droit comparé.*, n. 3 , 353-394

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Serges Alain Djoyou Kamga and Charles Manga Fombad

A Critical Review of the Jurisprudence of the African Commission on the Right to Development

in *Journal of African Law*, vol. 57, issue 2 , 196-214

This article critically examines the jurisprudence of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (the African Commission) on the right to development (RTD). Notwithstanding the controversy over the RTD, it is binding in the African human rights system and has been the focus of a number of cases that have come before the African Commission. After briefly examining the historical and theoretical framework of the RTD, the article focuses on the meaning of the right and its duty bearers at the national and international levels. After analysing several cases decided



by the African Commission, the article concludes that the RTD is an important composite right that can provide scope, at both an individual and a collective level, for marginalized groups in society to assert their human rights.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Falagiarda Matteo

Are East African countries ready for a common currency?: a structural vector autoregression analysis
in *Rivista di politica economica*, Year 2009, Number 10-12 , 153-204

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Adeleke Adegoke I., Ogebe Joseph O.

Banking crises and inflation dynamics in the West Africa Monetary Zone (WAMZ)
in *Journal of Economics and International Finance*, September, 2013; 5(6) , 225-231

This paper examines the impact of banking crises on inflation in West Africa Monetary Zone (WAMZ) from 1970 to 2012. It adopts the modified monetarist theory of inflation that is based on dynamic panel estimation technique to analyze the dynamics of inflation and banking crises. The paper indicates that banking crises increases the rate of inflation in WAMZ. The study concludes that incessant banking crises can thwart the effectiveness of monetary policy and the achievement of single central bank and thus common currency among member states in WAMZ.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Adama Bah

Civil Conflicts as a Constraint to Regional Economic Integration in Africa
in *Defence and Peace Economics*, Volume 24, Issue 6 , 521-534

Regional economic integration is crucial for African countries, notably since they are characterized by small domestic markets. In this paper, we analyze how civil conflicts affect the economic fate of regional economic communities through its effect on the synchronicity of regional partners' economies. We find that conflict decreases business cycle synchronicity when it occurs within a regional economic community, both for the directly affected countries and for their more peaceful regional peers. We therefore find an additional reason to recommend putting prevention and resolution of civil conflicts on the top of the political agenda of African RECs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Esmenjaud Romain

Comment rendre l'Architecture de paix et de sécurité en Afrique plus efficace ?
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 763, Octobre



Outil et non finalité, l'Architecture de paix et de sécurité en Afrique doit, pour consolider sa pertinence et renforcer son efficacité, tout à la fois conforter les États pivots sur lesquels elle s'articule, réévaluer sa doctrine et normaliser son fonctionnement. La France quant à elle doit favoriser une meilleure compréhension de sa posture et contribuer à l'élaboration d'une vision africaine commune des menaces et des solutions à leur opposer.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

N'Gouan K. Patrick

Contribution de l'industrie manufacturière dans la convergence des pays de la CEDEAO vers les pays émergents des Brics

in *African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Intégration e du Développement*, Volume 6, No.1, March/Mars , 98-127

L'objectif de l'étude a été d'étudier les chances et délais de convergence industrielle au sein de la CEDEAO, puis entre la CEDEAO et les pays émergents. Au sein de la CEDEAO, la convergence macroéconomique est loin d'être atteinte. L'approche en panel dynamique montre que la convergence conditionnelle, vers l'état régulier, est estimée à 28 ans. Le délai de rattrapage industriel des BRICS est de 23 ans. Les principales recommandations sont : la stabilité politique, la priorité aux performances industrielles, l'intégration et le commerce intra zone, la mutualisation des efforts d'industrialisation et la diversification des méthodes de financement de l'industrie.

The objective of the study was to investigate the opportunities and possible industrial convergence in ECOWAS and between ECOWAS and emerging countries. Within ECOWAS, macroeconomic convergence is far from being reached. The dynamic panel approach shows that the conditional convergence to the steady state is estimated at 28 years. Time catching industrial BRICS is 23 years. The main recommendations are: political stability, priority to industrial performance, integration and intra zone trade, pooling the efforts of industrialization and diversification of financing methods in the industry.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Malila Mumba

Daunting Prospects: Accessing the African Court through the African Commission

in *Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 31, n. 2-6 , 61-72

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Slavi T. Slavov

De Jure versus De Facto Exchange Rate Regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa

in *Journal of African Economies*, Volume 22 Issue 5 November 2013 , 732-756

There are 22 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) with floating exchange rate regimes, de jure. Statistical analysis on



monthly data for the past decade reveals that in most cases these exchange rate regimes can be approximated surprisingly well by a soft peg to a basket dominated by the US dollar. The weight on the dollar appears to have fallen somewhat across the continent in the aftermath of the global financial crisis. Replicating the model with weekly data suggests that the focus on the dollar might be even more pronounced at higher data frequencies. While there might be strong arguments in favour of limiting exchange rate volatility in SSA countries, soft-pegging to the dollar does not appear to be the best fit for them, given the currency structure of their external trade and finance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kiwuwa David E.

**Democracy and the politics of power alternation in Africa
in Contemporary Politics**, Vol. 19, Issue 3 , 262-278

Namibia's Nujoma, Zambia's Chiluba, Algeria's Bouteflika, Togo's Eyadema, Cameroon's Biya, Nigeria's Obasanjo, Niger's Tandja and Uganda's Museveni have all to varying degrees attempted to subvert the democratization process in their respective countries. These however are only a small selection of an increasingly similar pattern of action by incumbents in Africa. What is most troubling to democratic transitionists is a concerted effort by these leaders to curtail their fledgling democracies in the name of their continued 'service' to the people. This paper seeks to examine what has enabled an increasing number of African leaders to negate power alternation in favour of open-ended tenures otherwise 'presidential careerism'. The article argues that while most of these states have been cited for embarking on some semblance of democratic rule, their rulers have utilized their weak democratic institutional structures, co-opted the elite and rallied the 'mob' to commit democracy 'infanticide'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Gankou Jean-Marie, Tchitchoua Jean, Feubi Pamen Eric Patrick

**Emergence économique nationale, préalable ou résultante à l'émergence économique régionale
in African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Intégration e du Développement**, Volume 6,
No.1, March/Mars

The African continent is experiencing many difficulties. African leaders facing the socioeconomic slowdown are engaged in development. Development is not only growth, it need also structural transformation of the production system accompanied with a better results of the whole social system. As far as the international community is concerned, it shows its commitment to develop Africa through the efforts made in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. However, achieving these goals set at the Millennium Summit in 2000 does not seem to be possible by 2015. This rises then in Africa, the establishment of a real industry able to allow a better management of development. This paper proposes the definition of a coordinated policy focused both on the development of national economies, sub-regions and all the region, through priority sectors with higher added value, an adapted financing policy for African economies and providing Africa with an industrial system, strong political, social and economic institutions to face global competition that is increasing while being more complex.

L'Afrique est en proie à de nombreux maux. Les dirigeants de ce continent, face au retard socioéconomique qu'il accuse, sont désormais de plus en plus préoccupés par les questions de développement. Le développement est la croissance



caractérisée par une transformation structurelle des systèmes de production de l'économie, accompagnée de meilleurs performances de l'ensemble du système social. Pour sa part, la communauté internationale traduit son engagement dans le processus du développement en Afrique par les efforts fournis à l'heure actuelle pour l'atteinte des Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement (OMD). Pourtant, l'atteinte de ces Objectifs fixés lors du Sommet du Millénaire en 2000 ne semble pas être possible à l'échéance de 2015. Il se pose donc en Afrique le problème de la mise en place d'une véritable industrie, pour une meilleure gestion du développement. Ce papier nous propose ainsi la définition d'une politique coordonnée et axée à la fois sur l'émergence des économies nationales, des sous-régions et de la région Afrique, à travers les secteurs prioritaires créateurs de forte valeur ajoutée, la mise en place d'une politique de financement adaptée aux économies africaines et surtout la dotation de l'Afrique d'une industrie et d'institutions politiques, économiques et sociales fortes face à la concurrence mondiale qui s'accroît en se complexifiant.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Trinquand Dominique

Forces armées d'Afrique de l'Ouest et engagements opérationnels

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 763, Octobre

Les forces armées des pays de l'Afrique de l'Ouest portent la marque de leurs origines qui les confinaient dans des tâches de sécurité intérieure. Leur capacité d'engagement collectif a été limitée par les réalités d'une sous-région hétérogène. Pour leur permettre d'intervenir efficacement et de façon autonome dans le maintien de la paix régionale, il leur faut acquérir maintenant des capacités de réactivité et de projection.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Odinkalu Chidi Anselm

From Architecture to Geometry: The Relationship Between the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and Organs of the African Union

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 35, number 4, november , 850-869

ABSTRACT: The Constitutive Act of the African Union envisages a multiplicity of continental human rights organs, including the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (the Court); the Peace and Security Council of the African Union (PSC); and the African Union Commission on International Law (AUCIL). The creation of these bodies can be seen as the fruit of efforts by the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (the Commission) to put human rights at the heart of interstate cooperation in Africa. Prior to the Constitutive Act, the Commission had held a near monopoly on human rights promotion and protection in Africa at the regional level since its inception in 1987. Since 2000, however, the Commission's role has been reshaped to accommodate the new organs. This article examines the relationships that have formed between the Commission and the Court, the PSC, and the AUCIL.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Gnanguénon Amandine

La Caric : une réponse aux défis politiques et opérationnels africains ?



in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 763, Octobre

La difficulté rencontrée pour rendre opérationnelle l'Architecture africaine de paix et de sécurité dont le principe a été décidé en 2002 a suscité des mesures pour faire face à l'urgence sécuritaire. La Caric en est une qui répond de façon pragmatique aux nécessités et réarticule les niveaux régional et continental. Le contexte et l'inventaire en sont exposés ici.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Bonnecase Vincent, Brachet Julien

Les « crises sahéliennes » entre perceptions locales et gestions internationales

in *Politique africaine*, n. 130, juin

<http://www.politique-africaine.com/numeros/pdf/intro/130005.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Fagbayibo Babatunde,

Looking back, thinking forward: Understanding the feasibility of normative supranationalism in the African Union

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 20, issue 3 , 411-426

ABSTRACT: The creation of the African Union (AU) in 2002 was seen as a significant paradigm shift in the course of continental integration. Unlike its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity, the AU has a normative framework that espouses supranational aspirations. Various aspects of the AU framework, such as the nature of some of the AU institutions, the declared right of intervention, and the objective of harmonising the policies of Regional Economic Communities under the AU umbrella, are allusions to supranationalism. Furthermore, it appears that normative supranationalism is the goal, in that these aspects indicate the intention on the part of the architects of the AU to create a regime under which AU laws and policies are superior to national and sub-regional rules. The fact that, after a decade of the AU's existence, little or no progress has been made in this regard requires serious introspection. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to explore some of the factors that militate against the effective operation of normative supranationalism in the AU and proffer recommendations on how to address those constraints.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Debrun Xavier, Masson Paul R.

Modelling Monetary Union in Southern Africa: Welfare Evaluation for the CMA and SADC

in *South African Journal of Economics (The)*, Volume 81, Issue 2, June 2013 , 275–291

This paper proposes a quantitative assessment of the welfare effects arising from the Common Monetary Area (CMA) and an array of broader groupings among Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries. Model simulations suggest that (i) participating in the CMA benefits all members; (ii) joining the CMA individually is beneficial



for all SADC members except Angola, Mauritius and Tanzania; (iii) creating a symmetric CMA-wide monetary union with a regional central bank carries some costs in terms of foregone anti-inflationary credibility; and (iv) SADC-wide symmetric monetary union continues to be beneficial for all except Mauritius, although the gains for existing CMA members are likely to be limited.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Vieira Carlos, Vieira Isabel

Monetary Integration In Eastern And Southern Africa: Choosing A Currency Peg For Comesa
in *South African Journal of Economics (The)*, Volume 81, Issue 3, September 2013 , 356–372

African countries involved in monetary integration projects have been advised to peg their currencies against an external anchor before the definite fixing of exchange rates. In this study, we estimate optimum currency area indices to determine, between four alternatives, which international currency would be the most suitable anchor for Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) members and for a set of other selected African economies. We conclude that the euro and the British pound prevail over the US dollar or the yen; that the euro would be the best pegging for most, but not all, COMESA members; and that some of these economies display evidence of more intense integration with third countries, with which they share membership in other (overlapping) regional economic communities, than within COMESA.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kandeel Amal A.

Regional Upheaval: The Stakes for the GCC
in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 4, Winter , 59-67

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Buzdugan Stephen Robert

Regionalism from without: External involvement of the EU in regionalism in southern Africa
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 4, 2013 , 917-946

Theories and analyses of regionalism, from both 'orthodox' and 'critical' strands of international political economy (IPE), have tended to conceptualise regional integration as a process led by intra-regional actors typically in reaction to external forces such as globalisation and the hegemonic power of international actors. This article sheds new light on theories of regionalism by arguing that international actors can have a direct and significant influence on the dynamics of regionalism, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, by examining the influence of the European Union (EU) on the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Building on the recent literature on Africa and international relations, which shows how lines of sovereignty between domestic and international actors are blurred in the case of African political economies, the article shows how the EU played a significant role in the SADC's inception and has been directly



influential in shaping the SADC's strategies and priorities in the post-Lomé period. In the latter instance, this article explains how the EU's institutional embeddedness in the SADC's aid structures and its asymmetrical bargaining power in the SADC Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) has encouraged the SADC's pursuit of a neoliberal, trade-oriented form of regionalism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Cécile CouhardE, Issiaka Coulibaly, David Guerreiro, Valérie Mignon

Revisiting the theory of optimum currency areas: Is the CFA franc zone sustainable?

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 38 , 428-441

This paper aims at explaining why the CFA countries have successfully maintained a currency union for several decades, despite failing to meet many of optimum currency area criteria. We suggest that the CFA zone, while not optimal, has been at least sustainable. We test this sustainability hypothesis by relying on the Behavioral Equilibrium Exchange Rate (BEER) approach. In particular, we assess and compare the convergence process of real exchange rates towards equilibrium for the CFA zone countries and a sample of other sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries. Our findings evidence that internal and external balances have been fostered and adjustments facilitated in the CFA zone as a whole—compared to other SSA countries—as well as in each of its member countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Marco Massoni

Sahel e Africa Subsahariana Africa: 54 paesi, una unione

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. XV n.9 , 19-24

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Conruyt Marc

Saluons l'intervention militaire de la Cédéao au Mali

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 763, Octobre

Malgré les imperfections de son organisation et la disponibilité inégale de ses moyens, la Cédéao a déployé des forces qui auront joué un rôle important dans le succès tactique de l'opération Serval. Il reste à combler les lacunes observées, à adapter les concepts et à renforcer la réactivité du dispositif collectif de renforcement des capacités militaires africaines

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Blum Françoise



Syndicalistes croyants et panafricains Réseaux des années 1960

in *Vingtième Siècle*, n. 119 , 99-112

“Religious” and Pan-African Trade Unionists

This article investigates the “religious” trade-unionist — networks in French-speaking Africa during the 1960s. The balkanization of unions, less well known than Africa’s political balkanization, went hand in hand with the continued strengthening of Pan-African ties. These ties existed in both formalised and non-formalised arrangements, for example within international organisations such as the PanAfrican Union of Religious Workers. Even after various nations obtained independence, strong relationships were still preserved with the trade unions of the former colonial governments, and also with international trade unions. The necessities of national construction, as well as the vagaries of politics, influenced the practices of trade unions, where the main stakeholders can alternatively be at the pinnacle of power, in prison or in exile.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Gina Bekker

The African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights and Remedies for Human rights Violations

in *Human Rights Law Review*, vol. 13, issue 3 , 499-528

The jurisprudence of the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights in relation to remedies centres on a largely deferential attitude towards the State, with an initial overemphasis on the attainment of amicable resolutions, a reluctance to quantify, and award damages and a wholly inadequate response to serious and massive violations. The greatest failure, however, lies in the Commission’s refusal to provide genuine redress to victims of human rights violations. This article aims to unpack the reasons for the Commission’s approach and make suggestions for reform.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Welz Martin

The African Union Beyond Africa: Explaining the Limited Impact of Africa's Continental Organization on Global Governance

in *Global Governance*, vol. 19, n. 3, july-september , 425-441

ABSTRACT: This article explores the motives and means of the African Union and its member states for engaging in governance beyond Africa, and shows the leeway and limits the African organization faces in this regard. Two questions are at the center of the article. Is the AU successful in influencing governance beyond Africa? And what explains its success or failure? Three case studies form the article's empirical background: a study of the 2005 discussion about a reform of the UN Security Council; a study of the negotiations during the Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen in 2009; and, finally, a study of the attempt to defer the International Criminal Court's arrest warrant against Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir in 2009. The article argues that the AU can influence governance beyond Africa only if it is united, adopts realistic positions, and gains the support of more influential global players.

Section C) Regional integration processes



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

Tudoroiu Theodor

The Arab Spring: last episode of the Cold War

in **Contemporary Politics**, Vol. 19, Issue 3 , 304-320

Using the Regional Security Complex Theory and developing its regime-related dimension, this article analyses the involvement of external powers in Arab Spring conflicts. Libya, Syria and Bahrain are used as case studies showing that Western support for the incumbent regime or for its adversaries was not based on a choice between democracy and authoritarianism. Rather, it was motivated by a pattern of amity and enmity inherited from the Cold War period. The surprising survival of this pattern was due to the three authoritarian regimes' inability to reform; to the ensuing preservation of their Cold War era perception in the West; and to Russia's new availability as an external patron. Consequently, the article argues that the Arab Spring can be perceived as the last, belated episode of the Cold War. However, its political consequences put an end to the last features inherited from the pre-1989 period and open a new Middle Eastern era.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Nathan Laurie,

The Disbanding of the SADC Tribunal: A Cautionary Tale

in **Human Rights Quarterly**, vol. 35, number 4, november , 870-892

ABSTRACT: In 2011 the heads of state of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) disbanded the SADC Tribunal after the regional court held that the Zimbabwean government's land seizures violated the rule of law. The disbandment reflects SADC's hierarchy of values, in terms of which the organization's formal commitment to human rights and a regional legal order is subordinate to the political imperatives of regime solidarity and respect for sovereignty. The Tribunal saga demonstrates that the jurisdiction of regional courts derives not simply from their official mandates but from an interplay between domestic and regional law and politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Gilles Dufrénot, Kimiko Sugimoto

West African Single Currency and Competitiveness

in **Review of Development Economics**, volume 17 n.4 , 763-777

This paper compares different nominal anchors to promote internal and external competitiveness in the case of a fixed exchange rate regime for the future single regional currency of the Economic Community of the West African States (ECOWAS). We use counterfactual analyses and estimate a model of dependent economy for small commodity exporting countries. We consider four foreign anchor currencies: the US dollar, the euro, the yen and the yuan. Our simulations show little support for a dominant peg in the ECOWAS area if they pursue several goals: maximizing the export revenues, minimizing their variability, stabilizing them and minimizing the real exchange rate misalignments from the fundamental value.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Carla A. Hills

NAFTA's Economic Upsides

in **Foreign Affairs**, Volume 93, Number 1

In the 20 years since the North American Free Trade Agreement entered into force, the agreement has proved to be an economic boon. But if North America is to remain a uniquely competitive region, it will need to build on NAFTA's success by opening markets beyond its borders.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Jorge G. Castañeda

NAFTA's Mixed Record

in **Foreign Affairs**, Volume 93, Number 1

Twenty years after the North American Free Trade Agreement came into effect, the deal has brought neither the huge gains its proponents promised nor the dramatic losses its adversaries warned of. For Mexico, NAFTA did increase exports, but its impact on spurring economic growth and creating jobs has been less clear-cut.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Michael Wilson

NAFTA's Unfinished Business

in **Foreign Affairs**, Volume 93, Number 1

Although the North American Free Trade Agreement succeeded in liberalizing trade, over the 20 years since the treaty entered into force, it has failed to deepen links between the Canadian, U.S., and Mexican economies. It's not too late to play catch-up, so policymakers should tear down the remaining barriers to complete economic integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Besedeš Tibor

The Role of NAFTA and Returns to Scale in Export Duration

in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 59 Issue 2 June 2013 , 306-336

While exports within NAFTA face a lower hazard of ceasing, its onset has increased the hazard for Mexican and US intra NAFTA exports. Intra NAFTA exports still enjoy a lower hazard relative to exports to non-members. While NAFTA did affect the hazard for Canada's exports in the short run, its effect on Mexican and US exports is persistent. Exports of increasing-returns-to-scale (IRS) manufacturing products face the highest hazard in the case of Canada and Mexico, while IRS natural resource products have the highest hazard for Mexico. The effect of NAFTA on the returns to scale product types is exporter specific



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

De la Reza, Germán A.

A plataforma formativa do Congresso do Panamá (1810-1826): a conjectura Pan-americana revisitada
in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.56 no.1 , 5-21

Este artigo analisa a plataforma de formação do Congresso do Panamá de 1826. Destina-se a apoiar a hipótese de que a natureza e o alcance do primeiro teste de integração no hemisfério ocidental dependia criticamente da plataforma criada por Simón Bolívar e outros heróis latino-americanos da Declaração da Independência da Venezuela, em 1810, até o último acordo bilateral de 1826. A esse respeito, corrobora a identidade latino-americana da iniciativa.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Alejandro Daniel Perotti

Algunos desafíos que presenta la constitución de un tribunal de justicia comunitario
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 1 , 62-78

The author analyses the determinant elements that identify the supranational judges of the communitarian integration. These characteristics are essentially four: the relations of the supranational judge with the States and with the single subjects; the relation with the national judges; the existence of an effective prejudicial question; the various kinds of judicial decisions and their effectiveness within the States. In comparison with the European reality, it is possible to underline the absence or the scanty functioning of these elements in Latin America and the consequent inutility of the constant references to the judicial decisions of the Luxembourg Court as an instrument to strengthen the processes of integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Blanco Alvarado, Carolina

DECISIONS ANDEAN PARLIAMENT: UTOPIA OR REALITY LEGAL?
in *Análisis político* , vol.25 no.74 , 93-108

The Cartagena Agreement is a treaty framework in which its rules can not cover positive whole complex picture and progressive development through a process of integration. The incomplete nature of this standard require that, for purposes of execution accomplished, whether developed or supplemented. It is in that context that Community bodies such as the Andean Parliament, the full importance in the Andean integration process, which since Article 42 of the Cartagena. Agreement defines as the governing body of the System with communal nature and theoretically with legislative powers in matters within its competence. This article aims to analyze the influence of the issued by the Andean Parliament in the Andean states and the organs and institutions of the Andean Integration System (SAI) under the powers assigned to the international body for the agreement of Cartagena. In this vein, they examine the nature of the decisions of the Andean Parliament, the basis on which the decisions of the Andean Parliament do not produce the desired effects, concluding with some proposals that could achieve obligator Decisions of that international body.



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Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

José Briceño Ruiz

Ejes y modelos en la etapa actual de la integración económica regional en América Latina.

in *Estudios internacionales* : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile, N° 175 ,
9-40

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Humberto Nogueira Alcalá

El control de convencionalidad y el diálogo interjurisdiccional entre tribunales nacionales y Corte Iberoamericana de Derechos Humanos

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 19

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Silvina Barón Knoll

Fortalezas y Debilidades del Mercosur. Una mirada desde lo jurídico institucional

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 1 , 93-102

The essay analyses the constitutive characteristics of MERCOSUR and its functioning. Notwithstanding the appearances and the TPR doctrine, this integration seems much similar to an international inter-government organization rather than a supranational architecture, especially because powers of the MERCOSUR's bodies do not have the substitutive force on the national rules of the single States.

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Lidia Patricia Castillo Amaya

Il Centro-America come precoce esperienza di integrazione sovranazionale (tra "crittotipi" e "sineddoci" costituzionali)

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 1 , 45-57

Based on the theoretical premises that conceive the processes of state formation and nation building as "longue durée" processes, which we have extrapolated to the Central American integration process, and applying the methodological categories of Comparative Public Law, especially the Legal Formants Theory, this study intends to carry out a diachronic reconstruction of the doctrinal formant of SICA's legal system. It will specially focus in analyzing the historical and



political concepts, which constitute "collective singulars", of the Central American socio-historical context to which historical and constitutional works of legal scholars refer when developing and systematizing the constitutional doctrine in Central America and its relationship with the integration efforts in a period from 1800 to 1920. The main aim is to discover the evolution of the doctrinal formant in its initial stage and to explain the connection between the constitutional history of the Central American integration and the ideal of unity that still appears reflected in the texts of constitutions of some Central American countries in the region to date. Despite the importance of this matter it has not had the scholarly attention it deserves in terms of uncovering its ability to consolidate and enlighten issues related to identity and unity in Central America, therefore remaining only as mere mythological evocations of the past within the current integrationist rhetoric.

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Franzoi Dri Clarissa

La construction du Parlement du Mercosur : le poids des institutions, des intérêts et des idées
in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 44, No. 2 , 177-196

Occidental nation-states' democratic principles have been progressively influencing the way they conduct their international relations. Parliamentary actors, for instance, have been organizing transnational forums in order to debate their perspectives on foreign policy. In Latin America, nevertheless, this trend is limited by the presidential tradition and the intergovernmental character of regionalism. How, thus, can the creation of a parliament in Mercosur in 2006 be explained? This paper aims to evaluate the reasons for the Mercosur Parliament's construction beyond official discourse. The analysis, based on the theoretical framework of the « 3 Is » and qualitative interviews, identifies factors related to institutions, interests and ideas which have had a joint role in this political outcome.

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Pedro Noubleau Orantes

La problemática del sistema de protección jurídico del SICA
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 1 , 79-92

The author tackles the theme of the Central American integration, starting from the role of the Central American Court of Justice (CCJ). It is a body with an ancient origin and it has several powers, both of supranational and constitutional competence within the States. Because of these characteristics, the CCJ often clashes with thenational constitutional bodies of the States for reasons that do not have supranational nature but just national-constitutional nature. This situation delegitimizes the role of the Court so that the SICA States do not always put into effect the decisions of the supranational judge.

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Michele Carducci



Le integrazioni latinoamericane nei "flussi giuridici" fra "prototesto" europeo e "metatesti" locali
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 1 , 1-26

The author observes that there are three kinds of supranational processes in Latin America: the "regional" systems, mainly based on the political and economic cooperation among the States; "sub regional" systems with their own judge and a specific normative order which is a tendential substitute of the States themselves, even if it conditioned by logics of "Pick and Choose" and by "constitutional imitations" of the European Union, where the EU is a "proto-text" while the local realities of reception are "meta-texts" not properly similar to the imitated model; system of Inter American conventional protection of human rights. This last system is the only one really able to create the premises for a supranational homogenization among the States through the mechanism of Judicial Re-use. Furthermore, it is the only one that does not imitate the European experience.

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La política brasileña en materia de regionalismo. Discurso y desarrollo institucional en el Mercosur.

Marcelo de Almeida Medeiros y Clarissa Franzoi Dri

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, N° 175 , 41-62

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Alessandro Politi

TPP-Mercosul: trade pivot to Asia

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. XV n.4 , 59-66

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Arnold Christian, Rittberger Berthold

The Legalization of Dispute Resolution in Mercosur

in *Journal of Politics in Latin America* , Vol 5, No. 3

The Southern Common Market (Mercosur), the world's fourth-largest trading bloc, represents an intriguing yet under-researched case of a regional organization which has made significant advances in regional integration in the past decades, legalization being a central dimension of its integration process. In 2002, Mercosur's dispute settlement system was substantially revised by its four member states. Up until then, disputes among member states had been resolved by diplomatic negotiations and ad hoc tribunals with limited independence from the member-state governments. The reforms mark a significant advance in the legalization of this regional organization: a standing court with a more independent judiciary and improved access to the court's jurisdiction was established. In order to account



for the shift towards more legalization of Mercosur, this article presents a rational institutionalist explanation and develops hypotheses about states' preferred levels of legalization (why), an account of the "timing" of qualitative shifts in legalization (when), and the institutional form that legalization decisions take (how).

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Ariel Dulitzky

Too Little, Too Late: The Pace of Adjudication of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
in *International and Comparative Law Review Loyola of Los Angeles*, vol. 35, issue 2 , 131-208

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Anna Silvia Bruno

Un modello-non modello per l'America latina: la "Corte di Cartago"
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 1 , 35-44

The creation of an international Court in Central America was facilitated by the fact that since they were independent from Spain in 1821 the five Central American States have had a tradition of solidarity. Notwithstanding the frequent mutual conflicts, this tradition has persisted but in 1907 led the United States and Mexico to propose a Peace Conference, which took place in Washington: in that occasion a project for an Arbitral Court of Justice was presented but it should be considered to be "always in force during the term of ten years" counted from the last ratification". The Court sat in Cartago and represented "the national conscience of Central America". Its main mission was "the maintenance of peace and harmony" among the member States but it operated also as a "political agency" and when the term of ten years expired, the Convention of 1907 was not renewed.

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Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Nicolás Comini, Alejandro Frenkel

Una Unasur de baja intensidad. Modelos en pugna y desaceleración del proceso de integración en América del Sur
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 250

The Unasur is in transition. From the very origins of the bloc, two models of international intersection have lived side by side in constant friction: one of a concentric profile –reflected by the governments of countries such as Argentina, Brazil or Ecuador– and the other of a more polygamous style –represented by Chile, Peru and Colombia. The preeminence of the former of these models during Unasur's early years was key to motivating its creation and development. Nevertheless, since 2011, a reconfiguration of forces has occurred in the region, impacting the process of South American integration and which has currently been put it in check.



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Nelson D. Marcianni

Una mappa stellare per l'America latina: 3"D" per orientare il consolidamento di processi imprescindibili in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo, no. 1 , 27-34

The author uses the theory of Bonaventura de Sousa Santos on the "Epistemologies of the South" to explain the originality of the supranational Latin American experiences and the inutility of an imitation of the European model. In fact, because of the complexity of the Latin American identity, the processes of integration are much more tricky but also much more projected on the axiological dimension of the protection of human rights, while they do not take into account the functional dimension of safeguard of the market

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

TUNG-CHIEH TSAI and TONY TAI-TING LIU

Whither East Asian Regionalism? China's Pragmatism and Community Building Rhetoric in Japanese Journal of Political Science, Volume 14 - Issue 04 , 543 - 566

Despite numerous published writings on China's regional role, the world still knows very little about Beijing's perception and strategy. This article seeks to make an intellectual contribution in understanding China's foreign policy and its efforts to participate in East Asian integration. This article argues that under the rhetoric of peaceful development and community building, China's foreign policy is pragmatic and changes with the tide of events in international relations. China's participation in regional integration serves as a good case for examining changes in Beijing's strategy. In the past two decades, China has moved from a reluctant participant of regional affairs to an active participant and potential future leader. China's adjusting role is a consequence of Beijing's pragmatism in policy and its growing economic confidence. Pragmatism has led China to 'hide its light under a bushel' and wait for the proper timing to step onto the world stage.

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

Petr Blizkovsky

ASEAN Financial Integration in the Light of Recent European Experiences in ASEAN Economic Bulletin, vol. 30 n.2 , 1-18

In studying the policy responses to economic crises in ASEAN and the EU, this paper addresses three issues: the financial crisis of 1997-1998 in Southeast Asia, and the European Union's financial crisis of 2008 followed by the sovereign debt crisis; policy adjustment actions in both regions in the area of economic coordination; and areas of mutual policy inspiration for both regions.

Both crises studied were regionally risk-intensive. However, their natures were different. The Asian crisis was mainly externally driven by capital flows, while the EU one - especially the sovereign debt part of it - was predominantly of an internal nature due to imbalances in the euro area and a worsening of the situation in public finances in some euro members. On top of it, the pre-crisis economic governance structure differed



with a light one in ASEAN and a deeper one in the EU; however, economic policy was still based dominantly on coordination.

The policy adjustment corresponds to the nature of the crisis and original governance structures. In ASEAN, it is characterized somewhat both by a deepening of regional cooperation and a widening of risk-pooling beyond the borders of the region (ASEAN Plus). On the EU side, the policy response privileges a strong deepening of policy cooperation coupled with more narrow-looking geographical coverage.

The crises offer a unique window for policy adjustment. ASEAN could consider: deepening multi-lateralization in the single market; a gradual and low-intensity monetary cooperation; and enhancing its institutional capacity. The EU can, on its side, fully implement its new rules and put them under the EU-27 roof. It can go beyond this and consider a broader economic partnership with some of the new instruments with the EFTA countries. Finally, it can also reflect on the ASEAN success with the enlargement of its regional influence; how to strengthen its leadership in its closest neighbourhood (Balkans, North Africa, Eastern Partnership) by ensuring an area of stability and prosperity.

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MOHD AZIZUDDIN MOHD SANI and ABUBAKAR EBY HARA

ASEAN Paradigm Shift from a State to People-Oriented Organization: A Neo-Communitarian Perspective
in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Volume 14 - Issue 03 , 379-394

This paper attempts to examine the paradigm shift in ASEAN from a state-based to a people-based organization. We argue that by adopting a people-based organization, ASEAN now enters an era of Neo-Communitarianism replacing the Old Communitarianism of the old generation of ASEAN. By using communitarian perspectives, we look at the continuities and changes in ASEAN with regard to how it deals with issues involving their members. Three important issues namely the debates on intervention principle; the adoption of the three pillars of the ASEAN Community; and the inclusion of human rights are seen as the signposts where ASEAN departs from their Old to a Neo-Communitarianism. Although there have been a lot of challenges to the realization of the people-based organization, we see that the dynamics of debates and the active participation of the community in the debates show good prospects for the new paradigm to realize. In this paper, we use debate on the formation of ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (ICHR), to show the involvements of people in setting the agendas for the future ASEAN.

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Kuo-Chun Yeh

An Asian Currency Unit: Simulations for Its Effects on East Asia
in *World Economy*, volume 36 n.12 , 1611-31

No abstract available

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



Lam Lillie, Yetman James

Asia's Decoupling: Fact, Fairytale or Forecast?

in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 18, Issue 3, August 2013 , 231-344

Standard measures of economic co-movement between Asia-Pacific economies and those elsewhere had been observed to follow a downward trend, leading some commentators to suggest that the region was decoupling. However, this process reversed in response to the 2008 international financial crisis, and co-movement increased to historically high levels for some economies. We examine co-movement patterns and show that these are very sensitive to changes in macroeconomic volatility over time. Controlling for this, however, co-movement is closely linked to underlying trade and financial integration. If international links continue to strengthen in future, co-movement will strengthen in tandem. Decoupling is more a fairytale than a fact or a forecast.

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Knittel Siegfried

Asien-Pazifik: Mit oder gegen China?

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Dezember, 2013 , 25-28

Besser hätte es für die chinesische Führung beim APEC-Gipfel Anfang Oktober in Indonesien und beim folgenden ASEAN-Gipfel im Sultanat Brunei gar nicht laufen können: Zu beiden Treffen konnte US-Präsident Barack Obama nicht kommen, weil die konservative Opposition seine Gesundheitsreform zerfleddern wollte und dafür sogar bereit war, die eigene Regierung in die Zahlungsunfähigkeit zu treiben. Und auch beim dritten Gipfeltreffen, ebenfalls in Brunei, bei dem das TPP-Handelsabkommen (Trans Pacific Partnership) weiter verhandelt werden sollte, war Obama nicht anwesend. Dabei sind es vor allem die USA, die auf einen Verhandlungsabschluss bis Jahresende drängen...

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Scott David

Australia's embrace of the 'Indo-Pacific': new term, new region, new strategy?

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 13 Issue 3 September , 425-448

This article argues that the 'Indo-Pacific' has become an increasingly influential term during the last few years within Australian strategic debate. Consequently, the article looks at how the concept of the 'Indo-Pacific' as a region is impacting on Australia's strategic discussions about regional identity, regional role, and foreign policy practices. The term has a strategic logic for Australia in shaping its military strategy and strategic partnerships. Here, the article finds that Australian usage of the term operates as an accurate description of an evolving 'region' to conduct strategy within, but also operates quite frequently (though not inevitably or inherently) as a more contested basis for China-balancing. The article looks closely at four themes: the Indo-Pacific as a term, the rhetoric (strategic debate) in Australia surrounding the Indo-Pacific term, the Indo-Pacific policy formulations by Australia, and the developing Indo-Pacific nature of bilateral and trilateral linkages between Australia, India, and the United States.



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Cui Shunji

Beyond History: non-traditional security cooperation and the construction of Northeast Asian international society

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 22, Issue 83 , 868-886

This article takes the proposition that cooperation in the area of non-traditional security (NTS) can provide the essential window of opportunity for Northeast Asians to move beyond history. To demonstrate, it explores the development of NTS cooperation in Northeast Asia, paying particular attention to Sino–Japanese cooperation in the environmental and disaster areas. It then examines the relationship between NTS cooperation and the construction of a regional international society in Northeast Asia. It argues that the importance of NTS cooperation is twofold. First, in a region where historical animosities remain high, NTS issues can avoid sensitive areas and find common ground for cooperation that traditional security approaches would be unable to envisage. Second, NTS cooperation has turned people-to-people relations in a more prominent and conciliatory direction, and enhanced human security consideration, thus taking things further than the indirect consequences of functionalism.

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Ziegler Charles E.

Central Asia, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and American Foreign Policy. From Indifference to Engagement

in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 53, No. 3, May/June 2013 , 484-505

This paper examines U.S. engagement in Central Asia over the past two decades, with specific reference to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. While alarmist voices occasionally warn of the threat to American interests from China and Russia through the SCO, the organization's influence appears limited. Washington has engaged it only sporadically, preferring to conduct relations bilaterally with the Central Asian states.

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Huasheng Zhao

China's View of and Expectations from the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 53, No. 3, May/June 2013 , 436-460

China's interests in and expectations from the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and Central Asia often overlap. China is currently developing cooperative institutions in areas such as security, energy, and economic development, among others. Subsequently, China finds itself in-between the SCO and Central Asia's most difficult questions and dilemmas.



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Makeham Henry F.

Chinese Perspectives on the Feasibility of an Asia Pacific Community

in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 6 Issue 4 , 365-399

The ongoing worries complicating China's rise are exacerbated by China's perceived double-bind dilemma: China is attacked as a threat to regional stability when it is active in the regional arena and damned as an irresponsible stakeholder when it is not. As an emerging global power China is naturally seeking to secure its ever-increasing interests abroad. Therefore, China's double-bind will intensify as China's foreign policy evolves from 'biding its time and hiding its capacities' to that of an increasingly proactive regional actor. The author argues that, in light of this likely transition in Chinese foreign policy conduct, the time is more pressing than ever before to mitigate anxieties and maximise the chances of China's positive-sum integration within the region. The argument correlates with the proposal by Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd in 2008 that the region begin contemplating the realisation of an Asia Pacific community (APc) concept, as a framework to rehabilitate the region's multilateral architectural mélange and implicitly reform the ASEAN Way-driven modus operandi with a more muscular APc Way. Such an outcome may be realised through streamlining the region's institutional alphabet soup and reforming the lacklustre ASEAN Way.

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Mega-regionalism in Asia Pacific

Christopher Findlay

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Nº 175 , 111-118

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Moore Gregory J.

Constructing Cooperation in Northeast Asia: historical Northeast Asian dyadic cultures and the potential for greater regional cooperation

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 22, Issue 83 , 887-904

What are the obstacles to greater cooperation in Northeast Asia and why have the nations of the region not been entirely successful in moving beyond history, toward greater cooperation? Conducting a brief survey of Northeast Asian IR and power alignment patterns from the Imperial/Dynastic era to the present, this essay utilizes the constructivist approach to assess regional alignment patterns in Northeast Asian history corresponding to six historical time periods, ranging from Ming China to the present. It does so by employing Wendt's system-level cultures of anarchy (Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian cultures) at the dyadic/second level of analysis and the regional level of analysis (level 2.5), rating the various eras as to levels of cooperation vs enmity, with an eye to identifying the reasons for today's tension points. It concludes that despite such tension points and unresolved historical issues, anarchy in Northeast Asia today is not Hobbesian (enmity), but rather Lockean (rivalry). Consequently and first, war, nuclear proliferation and security spirals



may be avoidable with proper sensitivity to the issues that continue to pose as obstacles to regional cooperation, including historical grievances, uncertainties over China's rise and the US role in the region, the North Korean nuclear issue and others. Second, attention to improving the dyadic cultures (China–Japan, South Korea–North Korea, etc.) that together comprise the region's relational culture (either Hobbesian, Lockean or Kantian) make greater regional cooperation possible and even more likely.

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Renshaw Catherine Shanahan

Democratic Transformation and Regional Institutions: The Case of Myanmar and ASEAN

in Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, Vol 32, No 1 (2013) , 81–109

The focus of this article is Myanmar's transition to democracy, which is taking place after almost half a century of military rule. The former military rulers are themselves the architects of transition. This article notes that one of the key challenges faced by military regimes during this kind of transition is the problem of "credible commitments". In short, the issue is this: a transition will only be successful if it has the support of the political opposition and the public at large. But why should these groups believe in the promises of former tyrants? Problems of credibility and low expectations about the intention and capacity of the military to effect reform can cause destabilisation and undermine prospects for a successful transition. In worst case scenarios, instability leads to a resurgence of authoritarianism, or to a(nother) military coup. This article highlights the role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in assisting the transition and stabilisation of Myanmar's fledgling democracy. The argument is that ASEAN provides a means whereby Myanmar's leaders can make credible commitments about their intentions in relation to liberalisation and democratisation, lending support to Myanmar's reformist government at a crucial time in the transition to democracy. The article concludes that under certain circumstances, even regional organisations such as ASEAN, which are not comprised of a majority of democratic states, can (to a degree) influence perceptions about a democratising regime's commitment to reform.

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Moorthy Ravichandran, Benny Guido

Does public opinion count? Knowledge and support for an ASEAN Community in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore

in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 13 Issue 3 September , 399-423

Scholars have remarked that the decision-making process in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is largely elitist in nature and concentrated within the higher echelon of leadership, with little public participation. Since ASEAN is moving toward community building by the year 2015, questions arise on whether the people are consulted, aware, and support this initiative – which is the focus of this article. The authors argue that increased awareness and knowledge of the public regarding the ASEAN Community initiative will eventually translate into increased support. Against this background, this article analyzes the extent the public in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore are aware of and support the proposed initiative, based on public opinion surveys conducted by the authors in these countries. To support the discussion, this article also employs the Pearson chi-square test to analyze the relationship between public awareness and support for the ASEAN Community



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Goldsmith Benjamin E.

Domestic political institutions and the initiation of international conflict in East Asia: some evidence for an Asian democratic peace

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 14 Issue 1 January , 59-90

There is doubt about whether the 'democratic peace' proposition applies in Asia. I theoretically deconstruct regime type into institutional components including political competition, constraint on the executive, and mass participation, and ask whether taking these as distinct causal factors gives more empirical purchase on the relationship of domestic political institutions to states' external conflict behavior. I find that higher levels of political competition are associated with a lower likelihood of conflict initiation, but only when the potential target is relatively democratic. Thus, my directed-dyad analysis is consistent with a democratic peace effect in East Asia. It is also suggestive regarding the observed 'East Asian peace' that has existed since 1979, because levels of political competition have risen considerably in the region, beginning in the late 1970s.

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Goldsmith Benjamin E.

Domestic political institutions and the initiation of international conflict in East Asia: some evidence for an Asian democratic peace

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Young Cho iJi

East Asian Financial Regionalism and the Politics of Global Financial Governance: Structural and Institutional Power in Global and Regional Governance

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 28, Issue 3, December , 411–434

The Asian Financial Crisis in 1997–1998 and the mishandling of the crisis by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United States catalyzed the rise of East Asian financial regionalism. In spite of skepticism, region-wide financial



arrangements in East Asia have continually evolved and a new multilateral financial lending facility in the region was finally launched. However, the financial lending facility in East Asia is still linked to the IMF, a global institution, and has significant limits in its capacity. In the wake of the Global Financial Crisis, mounting criticism resurfaced against the IMF's legitimacy and effectiveness, but its reform process has been sluggish and its outcome remains uncertain. My argument here is that the limits of East Asian financial regionalism and the slow and uncertain reform process of the IMF, which is the linchpin of global financial governance, are attributed to the path-dependent nature of the structural and institutional power of the United States. This study aims to show that power is an integral element of global and regional governance, and global structures and institutions, originally created by a hegemonic state, can have long-lasting effects even though the hegemon is in decline.

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Khan Shamsul, Yu Lei

Evolving China–ASEAN Relations and CAFTA: Chinese Perspectives on China's Initiatives in Relation to ASEAN Plus 1

in European Journal of East Asian Studies , Volume 12, Number 1 , 81-107

China's rising profile as a global economic and geopolitical actor has been matched with a parallel improvement in its relationship with its Southeast Asian neighbours. Many Chinese scholars see this improvement as a testament to the efficacy of a Chinese geopolitical strategy which combines economic diplomacy launched during the late 1990s, with an on-going diplomatic 'charm offensive'. To them, it is this geopolitical strategy which has made it possible for both China and its ASEAN neighbours to move away from antagonism and confrontation towards economic partnership, mutual cooperation and good-neighbourly relations. From this perspective, CAFTA, initiated by China within the framework of ASEAN Plus 1, has not only created the world's largest free trade area that represents the world's most energetic and fastest growing economy, it has also made it possible for China to leverage itself internationally. For most Chinese scholars, CAFTA seems to have ensured that while China claims its due place on the global stage by virtue of its wealth, power, modernisation of its military might and its cultural expansion, its neighbours do not construe its 'peaceful rise' as a threat.

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Davies Mathew

Explaining the Vientiane Action Programme: ASEAN and the institutionalisation of human rights

in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 26, Issue 4 , 385-406

Existing explanations for the emergence of human rights on the political agenda in ASEAN focus either on the role of external pressure on ASEAN member states to 'do something', or on the way those states copied the form, but not the function, of other regional organisations such as the EU. Both approaches tacitly acknowledge that given the strong preference for intergovernmental governance displayed by ASEAN, regardless of interpretations, that it was states that drove the institutionalisation of rights forwards. Through examining in detail the causes and consequences of the Vientiane Action Programme this article disagrees with that assertion. At crucial moments before and after 2004 it was the Working Group for the Establishment of an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism, a track III actor, which both inserted human rights into ASEAN discussions and forged the link between protecting those rights and the continuing success of



ASEAN's security goals. Through understanding the role of the Working Group as a norm entrepreneur, assisting in the localisation of human rights standards, this article suggests that existing explanations of ASEAN institutionalisation need to be revised to include a wider range of political dynamics than previously were acknowledged.

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

Weiqing Song

Feeling safe, being strong: China's strategy of soft balancing through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in International Politics , Volume 50, Issue 5 , 664-685

This article is an empirical analysis of China's use of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) to engage in soft balancing behaviour against the United States. The author argues that China aims to expand its security and power in Central Asia primarily through the SCO. However, China's rise in the region is taking place within an international system, dominated by the United States. Perceiving a threat from the hegemon, China makes instrumental use of the SCO to soft balance US influence in the region. The author further identifies the major soft balancing tactics that China employs through the SCO, including pursuing collective action, promoting institutional norms and competing for supporters. The author concludes by stating that soft balancing is a natural strategic option for China given its current commitment to the concept of 'peaceful rise'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ching-Cheng Chang, Huey-Lin Lee, Shih-Hsun Hsu

Food security: global trends and regional perspective with reference to East Asia in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 26 Issue 5 , 589-613

The sharp increase in global food prices during 2007–2008 has triggered the awareness of food insecurity problems and their impacts on the low-income, food-deficient countries, many of which are located in East Asia. Protein and fat consumption are higher in East Asia than that of other regions, although the percentage of carbohydrates consumed is slightly lower than the world's average. Nevertheless, the food security situation in East Asia was good relative to other countries in the world. The food security in East Asia is largely contributed by domestic production. Despite of a doubled import of foods over the last decade to meet its ever-growing population, Asia remains the least dependent among all regions on food imports. However, the raised energy costs and grain prices due to increasing grain demand for biofuel purposes appeared to exacerbate the undernourishment of poor households in the region. While most of the government interventions focus on short-term measures such as reducing domestic food prices through trade or price control, the risk of facing a long-term food insecurity still exists, which may render national action inadequate and require multilateral cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ashok Sharma

India: New Focus, New Opportunities: Ashok Sharma Assesses New Delhi's Growing Strategic Engagement in the Asia-Pacific Region and Its Implications for the New Zealand-India Relationship



in *New Zealand International Review*, January 2014

Today India is considered to be a major player in the emerging global balance of power. It is also emerging as one of the centres of the modern global economy. One of the major aspects of India's foreign policy in the post-Cold War period is its increasing economic, political and strategic engagement with the Asia-Pacific region, or India's 'Look East Policy'. However, India's eastward expansion has not yet resulted in substantial strategic or economic relationship with New Zealand. There is ample scope for New Zealand to enhance this relationship, particularly in strategic and security co-operation, to deal with the emerging challenges from traditional and non-traditional sources in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Song Weiqing

Interests, Power and China's Difficult Game in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 23, Issue 85 , 85-101

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)—an organization interpreted in various ways—officially announced that it intended to ensure regional security by countering international terrorism, ethnic separatism and religious extremism. This article discerns the motivations of the SCO members, arguing that they have their respective, albeit occasionally mutual, interests and priorities. There is generally asymmetry of interests—the principal reason why the SCO's strategic situation is largely a suasion game between China and the members—with China demonstrating a greater interest in the SCO; moreover, the power asymmetry between China and the Central Asian members and the power equality between China and Russia further complicates the situation. This sophisticated relationship implies that despite some measurable results, the SCO faces tremendous challenges in becoming a well-established regional organization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kimura Kan

Introduction to the special issue: regional rivalries and order in East Asia

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 14 Issue 1 January , 1-5

In recent years, East Asian countries have faced serious challenges with regard to regional security. The bilateral relationships between China and Japan, and Japan and South Korea, have become increasingly strained due to a variety of disagreements over key political issues, such as territorial claims. Some observers argue that China and Japan may become involved in a direct military confrontation in the near future over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. The increasing levels of naval and aerial engagements between the two countries demonstrate that such arguments can no longer be seen as 'out of the question'. While two democracies in the region, Japan and South Korea, are both major alliance partners with the United States and share the key security concern of countering North Korea's nuclear and conventional provocations, the two have suffered deteriorating relations since 2012. For instance, the General Security of Military Information Agreement, which provided a mechanism through which Japan and South Korea could share military technology, was canceled in July 2012. Furthermore, the two states have been embroiled in an increasingly antagonistic territorial dispute over Takeshima/Dokdo Islands since President Lee Myung-bak's visit to the islands in August 2012.



It was against this background that we organized the East Asian Security Workshop at Kobe University, Japan, on 18–19 April 2013, sponsored by the Suntory Foundation. We were fortunate to have participants from a variety of countries, including Erik Gartzke, Takeshi Iida, Toshio Nagahisa, Barry O'Neill and others. The workshop was a great opportunity to exchange ideas across continents, and the presentations generated exciting discussions. We selected six papers from the workshop that we proposed to be published as a special issue of the *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, entitled 'Regional Rivalries and Order in East Asia'. We are pleased to share our research outputs with readers of the ...

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Spiegel Mark M.

Introduction: Asian Business Cycle Synchronization with the Global Economy
in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 18, Issue 3, August 2013 , 318-320

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Leduc Sylvain, Spiegel Mark M.

Is Asia Decoupling from the United States (Again)?
in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 18, Issue 3, August 2013 , 345-369

The recovery from the recent global financial crisis exhibited a decline in the synchronization of Asian output with the rest of the world. However, a simple model based on output gaps demonstrates that the decline in business cycle synchronization during the recovery from the global financial crisis was exceptionally steep by historical standards. We posit two potential reasons for this exceptionally steep decline. First, financial markets during this recovery improved from particularly distressed conditions relative to previous downturns. Second, monetary policy during the recovery from the crisis was constrained in developed economies by the zero bound, but less so in Asia. To test these potential explanations, we examine the implications of an increase in corporate bond spreads similar to that which took place during the recent European financial crisis in a three-region open-economy dynamic stochastic general equilibrium model. Our results confirm that global business cycle synchronization is reduced when zero-bound constraints across the world differ. However, we find that the impact of reduced financial contagion actually goes modestly against our predictions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Dadabaev Timur

Japan's Search for Its Central Asian Policy. Between Idealism and Pragmatism
in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 53, No. 3, May/June 2013 , 506-532

In contrast to the claims that Japanese foreign policy increasingly shifts toward realist and pragmatic modes of engagement, this paper argues that Japanese foreign policy is largely trapped between idealist and pragmatic criteria in



its Central Asian (CA) policy. Japan's policy in CA is thus a hybrid of policies that are not properly understood in CA, nor can they be explained to the public at home.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Migliavacca Paolo

La Cina e l'India a un bivio: partner o rivali?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 172, autunno , 654-668

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Facon Isabelle

Moscow's Global Foreign and Security Strategy. Does the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Meet Russian Interests?

in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 53, No. 3, May/June 2013 , 461-483

Given China's rising power and its growing influence in post-Soviet Central Asia, Russia's active advertising of the merits of the China-inspired Shanghai Cooperation Organization looks surprising. However, when one explores the many geopolitical advantages that Moscow can extract from this young multilateral organization, its interest appears more than justified.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Zhang Yun

Multilateral means for bilateral ends: Japan, regionalism, and China–Japan–US trilateral dynamism

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 27 Issue 1 , 5-25

The conventional understanding of Japan's approach to East Asian regionalism is that of a primacy struggle with China, using both hard and soft balancing. However, Japan's strategic priority remains extending and managing the alliance with the US in the post-Cold War era. The increasing trilateral dynamics among China, Japan and the US have largely influenced Japan's perception of its position in the alliance, which frames the basic thinking of Japan's attitudes toward regionalism. Japan's policy and diplomacy toward regionalism have been subordinate to alliance management rather than to a strategic policy shift. Meanwhile, Japan's perception of its regional influence vis-à-vis China also affects Japan's calculation in regionalism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Yuming Cui

New Evidence of Asian Economic Integration: Prospects and Challenges of a Trilateral FTA between China,



Japan and South Korea

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 5, issue 1 , E58-E78

Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) as a powerful trade policy instrument increasingly play an important role in Asian economic growth. Asian countries have sought to deepen their economic integration to achieve sustainable economic development by applying FTAs ever since the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997. The emerging trilateral FTA negotiation between China, Japan and South Korea (CJK) provides new evidence of ongoing Asian economic integration. In this paper, by analyzing recent FTA developments in Asia as well as prospects and challenges of the FTA-CJK negotiation, we find that the FTA-CJK will expand the intra-regional trade volume and stimulate economic growth in all three countries. However, given the tremendous differences in economic structure and development stage between the three countries as well as political economy considerations, the establishment of the FTA-CJK will not be a smooth process. Pragmatic and practical strategies during the FTA-CJK negotiation are needed to create a win-win-win situation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Collins Alan

Norm diffusion and ASEAN's adoption and adaption of global HIV/AIDS norms

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 13 Issue 3 September , 369-397

This article examines the diffusion of norms from a global actor, the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). This entails using three processes of norm diffusion (localization, subsidiarity, and mimetic adoption) to examine and explain the adoption and adaption of global norms in the Association's four ASEAN Work Programmes (AWPs) on HIV/AIDS. In so doing, the article reveals that these different processes can be seen at work in different AWP's. The article also reveals the limitations of the AWP's and hence the lack of a coordinated regional response to the virus.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Shapiro Matthew A.

Regionalism's challenge to the pollution haven hypothesis: a study of Northeast Asia and China

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 27 Issue 1 , 27-47

This paper explores the phenomena of environmental coordination within Northeast Asia. I initially frame the discussion around claims that China is a pollution haven for its neighboring countries, and I look for evidence in the domestic and regional environmental institutions which challenge China's pollution haven status. I find that that there is a science and technology-based epistemic community in Northeast Asia which provides an important theoretical response to counter the pollution haven hypothesis. As well, given its strong science and technological output, Japan is poised to assume leadership of the Northeast Asian environmental regime for at least the short- to medium-term.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Freedman Amy



Rice security in Southeast Asia: beggar thy neighbor or cooperation?

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 26 Issue 5 , 433-454

High commodity prices in 2007–2008 and again in 2011, particularly for crops such as rice and corn, have forced countries in Southeast Asia to look more closely at their agricultural and trade policies for rice and grains. While all countries in the region are heavily dependent on rice for food security, there is significant variation in countries' abilities to be self-sufficient in rice production. This paper examines the factors that contribute to food insecurity in SEA, which communities are hit hardest, and the diversity of responses to this situation. And, the paper asks what the prospects might be for greater cooperation in coordinating rice (and other crops more generally) policies so as to better ensure reliable access for more citizens in the region. Thailand, Vietnam, and Cambodia are all major exporters of rice; whereas Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines are all importers of rice. Since the sharp spike in prices in 2008, countries which import rice have developed more comprehensive plans to become self sufficient in rice production. Individual country's policies will have dramatic effects on regional trade relations and dynamics. There have been some regional attempts to create a more cooperative framework for addressing food security, but these efforts have not yet played a significant role in reshaping domestic policies. This paper will assess the chances of further cooperation and success (or the chance of failure and less engagement) in the future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Bobekova Elvira, Pearse-Smith Scott, Svensson Isak

Rivers of Peace Institutionalised Mekong River Cooperation and the East Asian Peace

in *European Journal of East Asian Studies* , Volume 12, Number 1 , 7-34

East Asia represents a remarkable example of a region that has transformed from one of the most violent in the world, in terms of interstate wars and internationalised intrastate conflicts, towards a relatively peaceful region. What explains East Asian peace? This study adopts an institutional perspective, arguing that a crucial role in the creation and development of East Asia's peace, and in the Mekong region in particular, has been the emergence of transnational river cooperation in the Mekong Basin. It examines the nature and drivers of such institutional cooperation. Explanations can be found in a combination of external support from third parties, and an internal economic growth imperative held by the Mekong states themselves. It provides useful policy lessons for the creation and development of peace and cooperation through institution-building.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Lorena Di Placido

Russia, Europa Orientale ed Asia Centrale. Vertice SCO: focus su cooperazione regionale e crisi internazionali

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. XV n.7 , 27-34

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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



Hamanaka Shintaro

Services trade integration in Asia: comparison with Europe and North America
in *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 137-150

This paper will examine the level of services trade integration in Asia in comparison with Europe and North America. The main empirical findings of this paper are that: (i) the regional bias of services trade in Asia is as high as or higher than in Europe and North America; (ii) in Asia, the regional bias of services trade is higher than that of goods trade, which is in sharp contrast to Europe and North America, where the regional bias of goods trade is higher than that of services trade; and (iii) while Asia's regional bias of goods trade shows a declining trend, that of services trade remains high, although in the future its decline is expected. Asia's relatively high-level of regional bias of services trade can be explained by the following factors: (i) a relatively high prevalence of a shared language (Chinese), which is essential to services trade, but not to goods trade; and (ii) the archipelagic nature of the region, which inhibits goods trade more than services trade. In contrast, for example, major European countries share land borders with their neighbors and they speak different languages. In order to deepen Asia's services trade integration, two policies are necessary. First, effective regional services agreements are critical to enhancing the level of integration. Second, policies to increase the trade of crisis-resilient services, such as professional services and insurance, as opposed to crisis-vulnerable services, such as transport and travel, are necessary.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Dadabaev Timur

Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) Regional Identity Formation from the Perspective of the Central Asia States

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 23, Issue 85 , 102-118

This paper reviews the perceptions of the CA states (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) towards the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and conceptualises the CA states' motivations and concerns in engaging in cooperation within the SCO vis-à-vis China. The message that this paper aims to deliver is that, for the majority of the CA leadership and public, China within the SCO represents the CA states' 'other', with decolonising but increasingly dominating features. These perceptions of China in the CA region elucidate the ways in which China's involvement in Central Asia has a paradoxical and contradictory impact on the potential for the SCO to move beyond functionalism and towards the creation of a broader SCO identity. Consequently, the future of the SCO may be more limited than the West fears and Central Asia hopes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Takeuchi Hiroki

Sino-Japanese relations: power, interdependence, and domestic politics

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 14 Issue 1 January , 7-32

China and Japan have been deepening economic interdependence over the last two decades, while China has recently shown territorial ambitions and initiated disputes with Japan. This runs contrary to the commercial liberal literature that argues that trade promotes peace. On the other hand, the realist theory also does not fully explain Sino-Japanese



relations because Sino-Japanese relations are not always in conflict. The rise of China and the relative decline of Japan might explain increasing tensions in the rivalry relationship, but what drives Chinese leaders to initiate disputes? I address the importance of domestic politics to examine Sino-Japanese disputes. I argue that the recent deterioration of the bilateral relationship could be explained by the power struggle in the Chinese leadership. To support the logic of this argument, I use a game-theoretic model, which accounts for how the type of Chinese leadership influences foreign policy outcomes in Sino-Japanese relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Catherine Shanahan Renshaw

The ASEAN Human Rights Declaration 2012

in *Human Rights Law Review*, vol. 13, issue 3, 557-579

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Cho Youngwon

The Global Financial Crisis and Asia: Implications and Challenges

in *Pacific Affairs*, Volume 86, Number 4, December, 877-879

So much has been written on the global financial crisis of 2008 that there now appears to be a veritable cottage industry. Much of the burgeoning literature, however, has focused on the experience of developed countries—understandably so, given the fact that unlike other recent financial crises, the origins of this crisis are firmly located in the US. Yet, precisely because the crisis erupted in the US, its deleterious impact was much deeper and wider than any previous financial crisis, leaving no region untouched. The fallout from the crisis was particularly detrimental to Asia, especially in its early stage.

The *Global Financial Crisis and Asia*, an edited volume brought by the Asian Development Bank Institute, makes a timely and important contribution to understanding the impact of the crisis on Asia and its implications.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Cabestan Jean-Pierre

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Central Asia, and the Great Powers, an Introduction

in *Asian Survey*, Vol. 53, No. 3, May/June 2013, 423-435

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) appears today as a mature, comprehensive, and inclusive intergovernmental regional organization. However, co-piloted by China and Russia, the SCO's course still raises many questions about its objectives, priorities, and, more important, its achievements and *raison d'être*, as well as the enduring rivalries among its members.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Renuka Mahadevan, John Asafu-Adjaye

Unilateral Liberalisation or Trade Agreements: Which Way Forward for the Pacific?

in *World Economy*, volume 36 n.10 , 1355-72

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Freistein Katja

'A living document': promises of the ASEAN Charter

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 26, Issue 4 , 407-429

Many recent analyses of the ASEAN Charter have tended to view the document very critically, judging the chances for implementation as low. In order to assess the potential of the Charter, this article argues, an analysis of the Charter needs to take its text seriously and look for the promises and the political consequences they entail. Taking textual representations of the Charter as its empirical basis, the article is based on a deconstructive reading of the legal text and focuses on some of the more controversial promises like democracy promotion, human rights and the role of the regional populations. The article takes into account the political struggles mirrored in the Charter and stresses conflict rather than consensus as a dominant mode of politics within ASEAN.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Lee Jae-Seung

-Towards green energy cooperation in Northeast Asia: implications from European experiences

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 11, n. 3, September, Special Issue "Asia's and Europe's Energy Policy Challenges" , 231-245

Faced with the dual challenge of depletion of fossil fuels and climate change, three Northeast Asian countries—China, Japan and Korea—introduced green energy initiatives in recent years. Even though the portion of renewable energy in the energy mix has been limited, a rapid shift to green initiatives has given a strong boost to renewable energy resources. Cooperation with respect to green energy in Northeast Asia (NEA) may eventually overcome the geopolitical constraints and zero-sum nature of the fossil fuel supply in the region. However, this cooperation also faces a number of obstacles to be overcome. Energy cooperation in NEA is still in an embryonic stage, and the level of institutionalisation is low. Green energy cooperation is not free from neo-mercantilist competition either, as the current green initiatives entail elements of strong industrial policy. European experience may shed light on the burgeoning green energy cooperation in NEA, in terms of methods and scope. The EU is currently adopting the most advanced policies on renewable energy and climate change. A series of green energy initiatives has provided a concrete platform for further green energy cooperation that could be pursued at the Union level. On the other hand, the history of European energy cooperation indicates that a long stage of market integration, institutional development and policy coordination are prerequisite. Northeast Asian green energy cooperation should be based on a continued momentum of green initiatives at the domestic level as well as the advancement of sub-regional institutional build-up. Regional multilateral institutions, such as Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, Association of Southeast Asian Nations Plus Three and ASEAN Regional



Forum, as well as diverse international organisations and Track II institutions can provide a useful venue for Northeast Asian countries to share information and adopt a common position towards green energy cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grolier Maud

Ajouter au panier 1973--1992 : la perspective d'Europe de la défense, l'axe franco--allemand
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

Cette période est celle du passage des conditions tranchées de la guerre froide au monde postsoviétique effervescent qui prévaut à la fin de celle-ci. Pour surmonter les crises, la « détente » offre un cadre d'intérêts communs paneuropéens et libère des forces et des ambitions purement européennes dont l'UEO est le vecteur principal. Si la dynamique franco--allemande prévaut dans la relance européenne et la création de l'Union politique, la priorité allemande va à la réunification et la question de la défense européenne bute sur de nombreux obstacles.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kessedjian Catherine

L'espace judiciaire civil et commercial européen : le règlement "Bruxelles !" refondu
in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, a. 117, n.3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aldo Barba, Giancarlo De Vivo

Flawed Currency Areas and Viable Currency Areas: External Imbalances and Public Finance in the Time of the Euro
in *Contributions to Political Economy*, volume 32 n.1 , 73-96

The main problem discussed in this paper is whether a balance of payments constraint exists within the Euro area. It is argued that the question of a member state's foreign position is still relevant, at difference from what happens in successful currency areas like the USA, where persistent imbalances in the payments from one district to another are acceptable and are made sustainable by financial transfers revolving around the system of taxes and transfers and the public debt. A currency area is an area where the price of a deposit with the banking system is the same wherever the deposit is held (i.e. there is uniformity in the value of commercial bank money). Persistent imbalances in payments between regions within the area are to be settled in either the common currency or (which is basically the same thing) the public debt. But while this is acceptable in the USA, it is far from acceptable in the Euro area, where creditor countries (Germany being by far the most important) clamour for a settlement in 'hard assets', like, e.g. state-owned real estate, if not gold. This means that a balance of payments constraint still binds state members of the Euro area, and is a serious threat to its survival.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Van Rompuy Herman, Steta Annick

L'idée européenne, une convergence d'intérêts, un choix de valeurs - Entretien avec Herman Van Rompuy
in *Revue des deux mondes*, Septembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Robert Boyer

Origins and Ways Out of the Euro Crisis: Supranational Institution Building in the Era of Global Finance
in *Contributions to Political Economy*, volume 32 n.1 , 97-126

The article describes the complex process of emergence of the Euro, led by a rather functionalist conception of supranational institution building, in interaction with financial innovation and globalisation. The easy financing of public deficits and households' real estate in the early 2000s hides the structural macroeconomic imbalances generated by the Euro. This mismatch generates quite an inefficient allocation of credit across the Eurozone. The present crisis is the outcome of the cumulative and perverse spillovers between a dysfunctional division of competence within the EU and member States on one side, and a surrender of politics to the power of global finance on the other. The present muddling through could last until a major breakthrough opens the road to a bifurcation that might be regressive as well as progressive. This framework suggests quite contrasting possible ways out of the Euro crisis

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Edoardo Ongaro

The administrative reform trajectory of the European Commission in comparative perspective: Historical new institutionalism in compound systems

in *Public Policy and Administration*, volume 28 n.4 , 346-63

The European Commission has undergone successive waves of public management reforms since the second half of the 1990s that have led to substantive administrative change. This contribution aims at explaining how the "unique" politico-administrative context of the European Union affected the trajectory of reform of the Commission, compared with trajectories of reform of the public sector at the national level. On the basis of such analysis, the Pollitt and Bouckaert model of contextual influences on the dynamics of public management reform is revisited, and considerations on the use of historical institutionalism in the study of administrative reforms proposed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Fiores Claudio



"Remettre les Régions a leur place". Dall'Europa delle Regioni alle Regioni senza Europa?

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 1 , 57 - 94

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaligne Nicolas

1947--1957 : le dilemme du réarmement de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

La guerre froide en prenant le relais de la Seconde Guerre mondiale pose la question de l'Allemagne occupée à cheval sur le Centre-Europe. La CED est avancée pour permettre le réarmement de la RFA dans une intégration poussée. Cela pose pourtant de multiples questions à la France confrontée à la décolonisation et à sa relance économique. Dès cette période, le processus de décision militaire collectif est sur la sellette. C'est le premier volet de l'analyse des contenus européens de la RDN.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aleksandra Maatsch

Are we all austerians now? An analysis of national parliamentary parties' positioning on anti-crisis measures in the eurozone

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 1 2014 , 96-115

Which factors account for positioning of national parliamentary parties on anti-crisis measures implemented in the bailout states of the eurozone? The literature suggests that parties representing the economic 'left' are more likely to advocate Keynesian measures, whereas parties representing the economic 'right' tend to support the neoliberal ones. However, the current political discourse suggests that the choice of anti-crisis policies rather reflects the conflict of interests between euro states that received a bailout (debtors) and those who only provided financial guarantees (creditors). The empirical findings, based on (1) discourse analysis of national parliamentary debates and (2) the qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) model (crisp set), demonstrate that – next to the economic stance of a party – receipt of a bailout also accounts for parliamentary parties' positioning on anti-crisis measures. In particular, parliamentary parties in debtor states are likely to opt for Keynesian anti-crisis measures despite their right-wing economic stance or membership in the government.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Iordan Gheorghe Barbulescu, Miruna Troncota

EU's "Laboratory" in the Western Balkans. Experimenting Europeanization without Democratization. The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, n.31



The article will explore some potential causes of this limited process of Europeanization and its overall impact on the malfunctioning of Bosnia. After a short conceptual overview inside the Europeanization literature and its connection with democratization, the analytical section of the article will focus on the particular case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). The main question to be tackled is: How democratic is the Europeanization process in Bosnia and who should be held accountable for the outcome after almost two decades-long effort? The subsequent analysis will try to bring a potential answer to this concern, using the intricate case of the Europeanization of BiH as an illustration for the ambivalent role of the EU in the Western Balkans (WB) with the scope of pointing out some lessons which were not fully drawn from this process. The main conclusion is that the mixed strategy of EU that induced both external pressure and local ownership under the EU conditionality created institutional blockage and a democratic deficit

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Perez Rita

Fiscal compact e diritti sociali

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, n. 1-2, 107-112

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bolaffi Angelo

La Germania come modello di riferimento dell'Europa intera

in *Italiani Europei*, n. 9-10

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dufourcq Jean

Le paradoxe militaire européen

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

Le paradoxe militaire de l'Europe est qu'on s'y contente d'accommoder les restes militaires de la guerre froide. En la double absence d'une menace militaire mobilisatrice et d'une politique extérieure commune engageante, les armées européennes exécutent des actions expéditionnaires auxquelles elles rechignent et conduisent des programmes hors de leur portée financière. L'Europe de la défense ne peut émerger dans ces conditions. Pour une vraie ambition, il faut à la fois une nouvelle structure et un nouveau cadre. Tel est le paradoxe militaire européen.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grund Jean-Jacques



L'Europe de la défense est-elle en panne ?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

Beaucoup évoquent les difficultés voire la panne de l'Europe de la défense. Ils en prônent la relance. Or, contrairement à l'idée admise, l'Europe de la défense n'est pas une réalité clairement définie au service d'une vision stratégique commune mais un ensemble d'initiatives multilatérales ad hoc. Sa concrétisation nécessite une approche politique plus ambitieuse, à même de lui donner une vraie légitimité.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bruni Franco

Perché l'euro rimanga

in *Queste istituzioni*, n. 162, 1 - 4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Biscop Sven

Sécurité internationale : que fera l'Europe ?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

C'est sur la base d'intérêts identifiés et de responsabilités assumées que les Européens peuvent imaginer leur action militaire collective pour sécuriser leur voisinage, protéger leurs intérêts, notamment maritimes, et participer à la stabilité mondiale. Mais il leur faudra relever leur niveau d'ambition militaire.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Di Salvatore Enzo

"Democrazia partecipativa" e processo di integrazione europea

in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, n. 2/2013

In the European ambit, the matter concerning the «participatory democracy» is linked to the problem of the so-called democratic deficit of the Union, and to the specific meanings given by the European Treaties.

This deficit - as widespread opined - would be a consequence of the impossibility to affirm the existence of a «European People», given that the Member States still would be the main actors in the integration process, in spite of the changes made by the Lisbon Treaty.

From this viewpoint, the regulations concerning the institutes of the participatory democracy would be finalized to an enforcement of the integration process, and would articulate through «typified» instruments set in the interests of the citizens of the Union.

From this viewpoint, the essay concerns about the consults made by the Commission and about the legislative proposal assigned to the citizens. The conclusion is that, at the practical work, these institutes would not acceptably be able to



involve the citizens in the European decision-making.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cantore Carlo Maria , Martinico Giuseppe,

'Asymmetry or Dis-integration? A Few Considerations on the New 'Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union''

in *European public Law*, Volume 19 - Issue 3 , 463–479

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vranes Erich

'Constitutional Foundations of, and Limitations to, EU Integration in France'

in *European public Law*, Volume 19 - Issue 3 , 525–554

The constitutional bases of EU integration in France as well as the limitations for the integration process derived from these provisions have been subject to considerable interpretative developments in the case law of the supreme decision-making bodies exercising judicial functions in France in recent years. This article gives an overview of the relevant constitutional provisions that open up the French legal order towards EU law and examines these crucial developments in French jurisprudence. The article does so in adopting a systematic approach that differentiates between, first, the constitutional foundations of EU integration, second, the constitutional limitations to the further transfer of competences to the EU through amendments of primary law, and, third, the constitutional confines to the legal effects of secondary law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferrer Frédéric

1958--1973 : de la guerre froide à la paix chaude, quelle Europe construire ?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

L'Europe des « Six » cherche d'abord son équilibre militaire à l'abri de l'arsenal nucléaire anglo--américain de l'Otan. Mais la crise de Cuba modifie la donne en relativisant l'engagement américain et en affectant la pertinence de l'Otan. La France prend alors ses distances pour se doter d'une force de frappe et les Européens, bien que divisés entre souverainistes et fédéralistes, renforcent leur coopération économique alors que les Américains commencent leur dialogue de limitation d'armement avec les Soviétiques. La stagnation concep-tuelle et militaire européenne caractérise cette deuxième période d'analyse.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Salvaterra Sylvain

1992--2007 : Europe de la défense, la consolidation

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

C'est après la guerre froide que l'ambition de l'Europe de la défense va progressivement se concrétiser et conduire à un objectif global énoncé en 1999 qui sera partiellement mis en œuvre entre 2000 et 2004. Des structures, des procédures et des opérations, principalement civilo--militaires, sont alors établies et testées au cours de cette dernière période d'analyse des abondants contenus européens de la RDN.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sasmatzoglou Kostas

2014 European elections: European political parties, presidential candidates and the pan-EU campaign

in *European View*, vol. 12, n. 1, June, 67-74

The 2014 European elections will be the first to take place under the Lisbon Treaty. The nomination of presidential candidates by European political parties will personalise the campaign and will trigger the interest of the European public.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Davis Cross Mai'a K.

A European Transgovernmental Intelligence Network and the Role of IntCen

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 3, Special Issue: Agency Governance in the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, 388-402

This article makes the case that the most important developments in the European intelligence arena actually have little to do with member states' willingness to cooperate. Rather, the context for the intelligence profession has changed fundamentally in the past few years in light of globalization and the information revolution, and this has made the creation of a single EU intelligence space far more likely, even despite member states' resistance. The author argues that the emerging European intelligence space is increasingly consolidating around a transgovernmental network of intelligence professionals that draw upon open-source knowledge acquisition, with IntCen at its centre. One implication of this is that the field of EU intelligence may be a rare example in which integration can be achieved before cooperation, rather than the latter serving as a stepping-stone to the former.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

SUZANNA-MARIA PALEOLOGOU

A DYNAMIC PANEL DATA MODEL FOR ANALYZING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MILITARY EXPENDITURE AND GOVERNMENT DEBT IN THE EU

in *Defence and Peace Economics*, Volume 24, Issue 5 , 419-428

This paper examines the impact of military spending on general government debt in the enlarged European Union (EU) countries. For this purpose, we use panel data analysis and provide estimates from a dynamic Generalized Method of Moments (GMM) panel model. The dynamics are found to be important and the results suggest that military expenditures do have a large positive impact on the share of general government debt in the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andrés Ortega

A Europa desde el Parlamento nacional

in *Política Exterior*, 151 - Enero / Febrero

El malestar político en España y Europa exige reforzarla democracia a ambos niveles, lo que implica aumentar el control de los ciudadanos y de los Estados sobre el funcionamiento de la UE. El Parlamento español ha decambiar sus hábitos y ganar protagonismo europeo.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Frank Vandenbroucke

A European Social Union: Why We Need It, What It Means

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 2/2013 , 221-48

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kienzle Benjamin

A European contribution to non-proliferation? The EU WMD Strategy at ten

in *International Affairs* , vol. 89, issue 5, september , 1143-1159

ABSTRACT: In the aftermath of the ruptures caused by the Iraq crisis, European states agreed in December 2003 on both a European Security Strategy and an EU Strategy against the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). Ten years have passed since this attempt to kick-start common European policies on WMD proliferation. How well have EU policies performed in this area? Has a specifically European way of dealing with proliferation challenges emerged? This article traces the development of EU policies on WMD proliferation since 2003 by examining, in particular, European reactions to the nuclear crisis in Iran, as well as European interactions with the international non-proliferation regime and the cooperation with partner countries. The article concludes that the EU has performed



much better than might have been expected in an area that has traditionally been one of the fiercely guarded prerogatives of national security policies. The EU's good performance is very much related to institutional flexibility, as exemplified by the EU/E3 approach to Iran; and, to a high degree of political pragmatism. However, important shortcomings remain, most notably the lack of coordination between national and European non-proliferation efforts. In other words, the EU has not in the last ten years turned into a fully fledged non-proliferation actor that can deliver tangible results in any area of proliferation concern.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bordo Michael D., Jonung Lars, Markiewicz Agnieszka

A Fiscal Union for the Euro: Some Lessons from History

in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 59 Issue 3 September 2013 , 449-488

The recent financial crisis starting in 2007–2009 is the longest and the deepest recession since the Great Depression of 1930. The crisis that originated in the US subprime mortgage markets spread and amplified through international financial markets and resulted in severe debt crises in several European countries. Events revealed that the European Union (EU) had insufficient means to halt the spiral of the European debt crisis. The aim of this study is to identify the characteristics of a robust common fiscal policy framework that could have alleviated the consequences of the recent crisis. This is done by using the political and fiscal history of five federal states: Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Germany, and the USA. Our study suggests that a fiscal union is necessary to avoid divergent fiscal policies and we identify five conditions crucial for it to function effectively: (i) a credible commitment to a no-bailout rule, (ii) a degree of revenue and expenditure independence reflecting the preferences of the voters, (iii) a well-functioning European system of transfers in times of distress, (iv) the creation of a euro bond market serviced by taxes collected by the EU government, (v) the ability to learn from and adapt to changing economic and political circumstances.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christian Lequesne

A New Socialist President in the Elysée: Continuity and Change in French EU Politics

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 42-54

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Egeberg Morten, Gornitzka Åse, Trondal Jarle

A Not So Technocratic Executive? Everyday Interaction between the European Parliament and the Commission

in **West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 1 , 1-18

ABSTRACT: The European Commission, although generally portrayed as a technocratic, non-majoritarian institution, or as an agent of EU member governments, has become increasingly linked to the European Parliament (EP) through a



range of semi-parliamentary measures intended to increase the executive's legitimacy and accountability. In this article we argue that in addition to several highly visible and often treaty-based control instruments, an almost symbiotic, less visible, routine relationship can be observed between the two institutions. Based on an online survey of EP staff, as well as on minutes from EP committee meetings, this article examines the daily interaction taking place between the Commission and the EP, particularly at the level of officials. Although mutual interdependence in the legislative process may trigger daily interaction, the theoretical argument proposed is that the latter is facilitated and reinforced under two particular conditions: (i) if the two institutions share similar organisational patterns, and (ii) if they share similar behavioural patterns. Three such patterns are emphasised: sectoral, ideological and supranational.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oriol Costa

A force for and because of multilateralism: when is the EU a multilateralist actor in world society?

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 8 2013, 1213-1228

The European Union (EU) presents a Janus-faced profile concerning multilateralism. While in some areas it embraces multilateral institutions to a greater degree than other major players, in others it displays a less than unconditional support. Both patterns have been accounted for, but no account has explained why the EU shifts from one to the other. This article advances a reason for this bifurcated international identity. The EU is embedded in a world society that is culturally and normatively dense with regard to the standard of what qualifies as an actor. In the areas in which its actorness is further away from such a standard, the EU is impelled to take remedial action and embrace other components of the model of international actorness, like multilateral institutions and multilaterally developed norms. In order to test this hypothesis, the article examines the role of the EU vis-à-vis negotiations on anti-personnel landmines and hormone-treated beef.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bretherton Charlotte, Vogler John

A global actor past its peak?

in *International Relations*, vol. 27, n. 3, september, 375-390

ABSTRACT: Examining a range of policy areas in which the European Union (EU) acts externally – notably trade, development, climate change and foreign and security policy – this article considers the notion that the years since the mid-2000s have witnessed a decline in EU actorness/effectiveness. In evaluating EU performance, the article employs the interrelated concepts of presence, denoting EU status and influence; opportunity, denoting the external context of EU action; and capability, referring to EU policy processes and instruments, with particular reference to the impact of the 2009 Lisbon Treaty. It is contended that achievement of the increased capability envisaged by the Lisbon Treaty, together with resolution of the Eurozone crisis, with its deleterious effect upon the Union's presence, would not fully compensate for the loss of opportunity provided by the changing international structure.

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Delgado-Márquez Blanca L., Kaeding Michael, Palomares Antonio

A more balanced composition of the European Parliament with degressive proportionality
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 14, n. 3, September , 458-471

Degressive proportionality constitutes the main conceptual criterion to determine the composition of the European Parliament (EP). In reality, however, this concept entails serious practical problems as exemplified by the current distribution of seats in the EP. This article takes up the call and presents a new method for a better balanced seat allocation in the EP after the 2014 elections. Comparing with recent methods in the field, our results reveal that the method proposed yields a more balanced and juster parliamentary seat distribution among all European member states by joining the strengths of the existing methods and avoiding their weaknesses. In light of upcoming rounds of enlargement and possible amendments to the EP's internal rules of procedure and existing EU Treaties, we contend that our results are not only of interest to the academic world.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Belke Ansgar

A more effective euro area monetary policy than OMTs — gold-backed sovereign debt
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 4, July 2013 , 237-242

Given the shortcomings of the current responses to the sovereign debt crisis in the eurozone, the author proposes utilising national gold reserves as collateral for government debt. Gold backing would be quite attractive to bond investors and would significantly ease the burden of high sovereign debt yields, particularly in Portugal and Italy. Moreover, it would achieve this without adding further risky assets to the European Central Bank's balance sheet and thereby transferring credit risk to Northern European countries.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Repentin Thierry

A response to the crisis: redirect Europe, regain hope
in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2013/3 (n° 91) , 18-27

The European Union (EU) is trying hard to come out of the crisis, suffering unemployment, oppression from financial markets, opacity and division, and is tempted by populist movements. Yet the French Minister responsible for European Affairs evokes some reasons to believe in the EU and its leaders' abilities to agree and act. He raises the various measures taken or programmed to support youth employment and access to training, investment and development of a European industrial and energy policy. He also makes allusion to the efforts being made to get better accountability of the financial sector and to reform monetary and budgetary governance. Thierry Repentin pleads for a Europe of action and hope.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Karin Ingold, Frédéric Varone & Frans Stokman



A social network-based approach to assess de facto independence of regulatory agencies

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 10 2013 , 1464-1481

This article uses a policy network perspective to assess the independence of regulatory agencies (RAs) in liberalized public utility sectors. We focus on the de facto independence of RAs from elected politicians, regulatees and other co-regulators. We go further than previous studies, which only undertook a general analysis of the de jure independence of RAs from political authorities. Specifically, we apply a social network analysis (SNA), which concentrates on the attributes and relational profiles of all actors involved in new regulatory arrangements. The concept of de facto independence is applied to the Swiss telecommunications sector in order to provide initial empirical insights. Results clearly show that SNA indicators are an appropriate tool to identify the de facto independence of RAs and can improve knowledge about the issues arising from the emergence of the 'regulatory State'.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pîrvu Daniela, Bâldan Cristina

Access to the EU Public Procurement Market: Are There Disparities Based on the Origin of Economic Operators?

in *Journal of Economic Issues*, Volume 47, Number 3 / September 2013 , 765-780

The objectives of the European Union (EU) public procurement law are generous in terms of opening public procurement market. The effective functioning of this market seems to facilitate the access of good-, service-, and work providers from developed EU countries on the markets of less developed EU member states. This paper aims at highlighting factual issues in favor of this supposition.

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Baratta Roberto

Accession of the EU to the ECHR: The rationale for the ECJ's prior involvement mechanism

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 5 , 1305-1332

ABSTRACT: After having outlined some of the legal implications, as well as some of the main issues raised by the accession of the EU to the ECHR, the paper focuses on the prior involvement mechanism as to situations when the alleged violation involves national judicial proceedings. It seeks to demonstrate that the mechanism does match both the ECHR's features, and the precise conditions imposed by EU primary law on the accession process. It further argues that the prior involvement rule does not require a revision of the EU Treaties. Finally, it is argued that the ECJ's prior involvement mechanism encourages the positive intervention of the ECJ, while recognizing the subsidiary external control of the Strasbourg Court. It seeks to preserve the primary role of both Courts in their respective domains, on the assumption that the protection of human rights requires the two Courts to be not rivals for primacy, but rather complementary partners for progressive evolution in the interest of improving individual protection. This is, in the author's view, the fundamental rationale for the prior involvement mechanism.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hajo G. Boomgaarden, Claes H. De Vreese, Andreas R.T. Schuck, Rachid Azrout, Matthijs Elenbaas, Joost H.P. Van Spanje and Rens Vliegenthart

Across time and space: Explaining variation in news coverage of the European Union in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 52, Issue 5 , 608–629

News about the European Union (EU) looks different in different countries at different points in time. This study investigates explanations for cross-national and over-time variation in news media coverage of EU affairs drawing on large-scale media content analyses of newspapers and television news in the EU-15 (1999), EU-25 (2004) and EU-27 (2009) in relation to European Parliament (EP) elections. The analyses focus in particular on explanatory factors pertaining to media characteristics and the political elites. Results show that national elites play an important role for the coverage of EU matters during EP election campaigns. The more strongly national parties are divided about the EU in combination with overall more negative positions towards the EU, the more visible the news. Also, increases in EU news visibility from one election to the next and the Europeanness of the news are determined by a country's elite positions. The findings are discussed in light of the EU's alleged communication deficit.

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Boncourt Thibaud

Acteurs multipositionnés et fabrique du transnational. La création du European Consortium for Political Research

in *Critique Internationale*, N°59 - Avril/Juin , 17-32

Multi-Positioned Actors and the Construction of the Transnational: The Creation of the European Consortium for Political Research

Given the very diverse ways in which political science has been structured at the national level and the lack of interaction among national fields, the creation of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) in 1970 was on the face of it improbable. This article explains the genesis of this transnational scholarly organization by reference to two phases: first, by creating the International Political Science Association (IPSA), UNESCO encouraged growth in the transnational circulation of actors and knowledge involved in the study of politics; this circulation subsequently contributed to transforming the physiognomy of European national fields and created the conditions of emergence of a subversive project for a new scholarly organization. The present article thus reveals the hybrid structure of transnational spaces in terms of the knowledge and resources that are involved.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brattberg Erik, Rhinard Mark

Actorness and effectiveness in international disaster relief: The European Union and United States in comparative perspective

in *International Relations*, vol. 27, n. 3, september , 356-374

ABSTRACT: This article examines the role of the European Union (EU) and United States as actors in international disaster relief. We take the analysis of 'actorness' one step further than normal by assessing the extent to which



different aspects of EU and US actorness led to effectiveness in actual outcomes. In doing so, we make two contributions. First, we provide a rare comparison between EU and US foreign policy actorness, shedding light on the actor capability of each bloc in the area of international disaster relief. Second, we specify the relationship between actorness and effectiveness, a relationship which is too often assumed rather than explored. Using previous research of EU and US actorness as a starting point, we link four aspects of actorness to effectiveness and assess the resulting hypotheses using the case of the 2010 Haiti earthquake. We find support for our proposed links between actorness and effectiveness, although further research is needed before robust conclusions can be drawn.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Abels Gabriele

Adapting to Lisbon: Reforming the Role of German Landesparlamente in EU Affairs
in **German Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 4 , 353-378

In Europeanisation studies subnational parliaments are so far treated as a quantité négligeable – despite the fact that their key functions are strongly affected by European integration and they are perceived as losers of European integration. Given the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty, which acknowledges a role for subnational parliaments on subsidiarity issues, and given the concept of parliamentary ‘responsibility for integration’ introduced by the German Bundesverfassungsgericht, this represents a substantial gap. These recent changes in the institutional environment have led to a wave of reforms in the German Landesparlamente concerning their EU-related functions. The key strategy is strengthening the control function vis-à-vis the Länder governments. The high degree of convergence in terms of control strategies and instruments is explained by the fact that these reforms follow by and large the path adopted in the aftermath of the Maastricht Treaty, but with some interesting modifications.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moritz Hartmann

Administrative Constitutionalism and the Political Union
in **German Law Journal**, vol. 14, issue 5 , 695-714

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aron Buzogány & Umut Korkut

Administrative Reform and Regional Development Discourses in Hungary. Europeanisation Going NUTS?
in **Europe-Asia Studies**, Volume 65, Issue 8 , 1555-1577

Starting from the empirical observation of high levels of absorption of EU cohesion funds but strikingly low levels of substantive change in regional cohesion, this essay offers a contextual analysis of regional development policies in Hungary. Based on theoretical frameworks dealing with Europeanisation, new regionalism and participative development, it explores the reasons for this observation by analysing the role of administrative and planning structures



and of development discourses. The essay shows that the Europeanisation of regional development policy triggered several changes in the planning process and led to the partial inclusion of new actors. However, the main effect of this was a growing centralisation of development policy making. The essay explains this by pointing to the domestic political context and the historical foundations of regional development discourses of the conservative and leftist liberal parties. While there are overlaps between the discourses on both sides of the ideological divide, they are perceived as incompatible by political actors. Thus, it is argued that considerations of political power, rather than ideological nature, shape Hungarian regional and development policy and explain the incremental reform process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kaunert Christian, Léonard Sarah, Occhipinti John D.

Agency Governance in the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 14, n. 3, Special Issue: Agency Governance in the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 273-284

This special issue examines the role of agencies and agency-like bodies in the EU's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ) – an umbrella term for police and judicial cooperation, border management, asylum and migration, and counter-terrorism – which have acquired increasing importance in the governance of the EU. This introduction reviews the existing literature and sets the scene for the research articles that are included in this special issue. It also argues that future scholarship on these AFSJ agencies would significantly gain by being developed along two research tracks. The first of these would investigate the forces that have led to the creation of these AFSJ agencies in the first place, especially because understanding these factors can shed significant light on where these agencies might be heading in future. The second research track would examine how 'legitimate' each of these agencies is, as part of a would-be democratic polity at the EU level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Patrick Müller & Peter Slominski

Agree now – pay later: escaping the joint decision trap in the evolution of the EU emission trading system

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 20, Issue 10 2013 , 1425-1442

This article seeks to refine the joint decision trap model by introducing additional time-based exit mechanisms. The procrastination of decisions, temporary derogation, and transitory compensation enable European Union (EU) member states to escape gridlock by distributing the costs and benefits of a decision over the time axis. In addition, time-based mechanisms not only help to overcome stalemate in policy-making, they also lock member states into a policy regime that may gradually be strengthened once delayed measures take effect. We demonstrate the workings of time-based strategies for the case of the EU's Emission Trading System (EU ETS). Given the diversity of EU member states' interests, the evolution of a mandatory and increasingly ambitious EU ETS presents a puzzle for EU scholars. While established exit mechanisms do not provide conclusive explanations for the case of the EU ETS, we argue that time-based strategies were key to move the EU's policy on emission trading forward.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Craveri Piero

Alcide De Gasperi

in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

The author aims to retrace the commitment of Alcide De Gasperi, who was, as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs in Italy, one of the main protagonists of the start of European integration, along with Robert Schuman and Konrad Adenauer. He highlights his role in designing the European Defense Community project, arguing that he worked more than anyone else towards a transformation of the European institutions into a system that would lead to the political unity of Europe from a federal perspective. De Gasperi promoted Article 38 of the EDC Treaty which provided for the development of this project to allow for a political and federal unity of Europe. His role in working towards its approval was paramount. The electoral defeat of 1953 and his subsequent departure from the political scene coincided with the definitive abandonment of this ambitious plan, even by his original allies.

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Michael Dauderstädt

Alemania y la crisis: victorias pírricas

in Nueva Sociedad, n. 246

Between 2000 and 2005, Germany had its first «crisis», which it faced during a group of reforms implemented in 2003 in the framework of the 2010 Agenda. Apparently, Germany resisted the effects of the Great Recession relatively well. Many observers believe that the cause of this success can be found in the reforms in the Agenda and in the industrial production capacity of the country. Nevertheless, if analyzed in greater depth, a different and more ambiguous panorama appears. The German victories must pay a high price: one of greater inequality internally and debt crises abroad.

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Azzopardi Rose Marie

All Hands on Deck! How Europeanised Is the Maltese Labour Market?

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 18, Issue 2, Special Issue: 'Europeanisation and the southern periphery' in retrospect: another decade of dynamism, asymmetry, and fragmentation? , 177-196

This paper investigates the Maltese labour market within the context of the Europeanisation process. It explains the EU's labour market policies and presents studies in the field. The main focus is the case study of Malta, which evaluates formal and informal structures of the economy and uses the dynamics of the interaction of ideas, interests and institutions to analyse whether and how Europeanisation of the Maltese labour market has occurred. The findings indicate that different changes have occurred in the legislative framework, language and values about work, but



resistance and continuity are evident in other areas such as flexicurity, undeclared work and a high level of female labour market inactivity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Özgüzer, Gül Ertan, Pensieroso, Luca

An analysis of Turkey's accession to the European Union.

in *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economique*, volume 46 n.3 , 1380-405

We build a two-country dynamic general equilibrium model to study whether European citizens would benefit from the eventual accession of Turkey to the European Union (EU). The results of the simulations show that Turkey's accession is welfare enhancing for Europeans, provided that Turkish total factor productivity (TFP) increases sufficiently after enlargement. In the benchmark model with no capital mobility, the Europeans are better off if the Turkish TFP increase bridges more than 21% of the initial TFP gap between Turkey and the EU. This figure increases to 33% when capital mobility is introduced.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Özgüzer, Gül Ertan, Pensieroso, Luca

An analysis of Turkey's accession to the European Union.

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Section C) Regional integration processes

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Pierre Bocquillon & Mathias Dobbels

An elephant on the 13th floor of the Berlaymont? European Council and Commission relations in legislative agenda setting

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 1 2014 , 20-38

With the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the European Council has become an official institution of the European Union (EU). According to the Treaty, it should provide the Union with 'impetus' and 'general political directions and priorities'. The explicit exclusion of any legislative functions seems to demarcate its role clearly from that of the European Commission, which retains the formal monopoly over legislative initiative. However, Treaty provisions have not prevented the European Council and its President from informally setting the agenda in a detailed way, often creating tension with the Commission. By looking into three high profile cases – the energy climate package, economic



governance reform and Schengen reform – through the prism of two theoretical approaches – the principal agent model and ‘joint agenda setting’ approach – this article explores patterns of interactions between the two institutions in legislative agenda setting and shows that the relationship can be best defined in terms of ‘competitive cooperation’.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chelotti Nicola

**Analysing the Links between National Capitals and Brussels in EU Foreign Policy
in West European Politics**, vol. 36, n. 5 , 1052-1072

ABSTRACT: The article contributes to the study of EU foreign policy decision-making processes by analysing the links between national officials working in the committees of the Council of the EU and their capitals. Through an original dataset of 138 questionnaires (and 20 interviews) with national representatives, it explores the micro-foundations of the formulation of EU foreign policy. It first shows how, even in this most intergovernmental field, diplomats in Brussels play a very important role in the policy process: only 30 per cent claim to always have a mandate and half state that they do not feel constrained by their capital. Next, it reveals that if (larger) member states attempt to retain control of CFSP/CSDP negotiations, the effective discretion/autonomy these officials enjoy depends on the experience accumulated in the decision-making process, and knowledge of the (formal and informal) links between Brussels and the home department.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Julia Szulecka & Kacper Szulecki

**Analysing the Rospuda River controversy in Poland: rhetoric, environmental activism, and the influence of the European Union
in Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics**, Volume 29, Issue 4 , 397-419

The paper looks at the case of a large and widely publicised environmental controversy in Poland, and asks why the authorities chose the “pro-environmental” option in the end. Taking into account the wider political and social context of the controversy, we also try to show what the role of the European Union (EU) was in that conflict. We adopt a rhetorical approach to show the discursive struggle around the environmental protection norms, as well as the idea of participation. We engage in a theoretical discussion with constructivist research on normative change, arguing for the need to take domestic agency, as well as local ideational structures, into account while also questioning the usefulness of the concept of “socialisation” and the notion of “norm diffusion” in the debate on Europeanisation. Instead, normative change could be perceived as the empowerment and legitimisation of certain norms and values at the cost of a relative de-legitimisation of others. The EU, apart from its legal impact, can be seen as an important reference point, both as a source of powerful discourses and of legitimacy, while the agency is mostly on the domestic side. We contend, however, that such normative shifts are very context dependent and unstable.

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Ulrich Sedelmeier

Anchoring Democracy from Above? The European Union and Democratic Backsliding in Hungary and Romania after Accession

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 105-121

This article analyzes the European Union's reactions to breaches of liberal democratic practices in Hungary and Romania during 2012–13 in order to assess its capacity to lock in democracy in the Member States. The article finds that a combination of partisan politics and weak normative consensus thwarted the EU's ability to use the sanctioning mechanism of Article 7. The effectiveness of alternative instruments that EU institutions used – social pressure, infringement procedures and issue linkage – varied across issues and countries. In Hungary, changes to illiberal practices generally remained limited, but differences in the EU's material leverage explain cross-issue variation. The EU's relative success in Romania suggests that it is not necessarily powerless against democratic backsliding. It might require a demanding constellation of favourable conditions for both social and material pressure, but there are grounds for a more optimistic interpretation that material leverage might be unnecessary if the conditions for social pressure are favourable.

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Marco Benvenuti

Ancora su diritto europeo e (smantellamento dello) Stato sociale: un accostamento par inadvertance?

in *Nomos*, n. 1/2013

La scelta del titolo di questa sessione, in cui si accostano apertamente l'“Europarecht” e l'“Abbau des Sozialstaats”, non può passare inosservata. Sono quasi vent'anni, ormai, che uno degli sforzi più significativi portati avanti dalla riflessione giuridico-politica, non solo italiana, in tema di processo di integrazione sovranazionale è consistito nel tentativo di associare, combinare e financo implementare due orizzonti concettuali lontani: l'Europa e il suo diritto, da un lato, e lo Stato sociale, dall'altro. Colpisce, dunque, la circostanza che chi ha immaginato questo incontro e ne ha individuato la traccia abbia inserito tra le due espressioni “Europarecht” e “Sozialstaat” il termine “Abbau”: una parola che si traduce in italiano con abolizione, soppressione, abbattimento, smantellamento e che appare forse ancor più drastica – ma probabilmente la diversa origine anglosassone induce a una siffatta più intensa colorazione – di quella, non sconosciuta agli studi costituzionalistici italiani e tedeschi e che denota una maggiore gradualità, di “Demontage” sociale.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stahl Bernhard

Another “strategic accession”? The EU and Serbia (2000–2010)

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 41, Issue 3, 2013 , 447-468

Abstract

The South-eastern enlargement currently suffers from defections, compliance problems and blockades; the results of the European Union's policy since 1999 can be called mixed at best. The “Serbian question” – for instance – remains unsolved since Serbia still means a “problem child” of the international community. The thesis generated in this paper is



that all of these problems are indicators of a basic identity conflict. This conflict stems from entirely different identities, i.e. world views, perception of the state, political cultures and the meaning of international politics. The EU's enlargement policy – in its ideal type – is precisely meant to overcome this conflict by “Europeanizing” the acceding states. Yet the argument here is that the EU also pursues goals beyond Europeanization – for instance “stabilization” – hence the EU might be interested in accessions despite the fact that the Copenhagen criteria have not been fulfilled. Such “strategic accessions”, as experienced with Romania, Greece and Cyprus, tend to hinder the EU's external governance and foster enlargement fatigue in the long run. The case of Serbia serves as an example for demonstrating that Serbia is not complying with the basic standards of EU integration and that the EU is not really enforcing compliance. As a result, we are heading towards a “strategic accession” in the Serbian case.

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Stumbaum

Apples and oranges'? Comparing Chinese and European Perspectives on the EU as a Security Actor
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 18, issue 3 , 355-371

ABSTRACT: This article aims to contribute to the research field of analyzing the external reception of European foreign policy by revealing differing meanings that European and Chinese analysts and policy-makers alike apply to key terms and concepts. These differences in meaning could present one factor that influences the diverging views of the EU's role between Chinese and European EU experts. Following the recalibration of the US foreign policy towards Asia-Pacific, also European pundits and policy-makers have been demanding a more active role in the region as well as engaging regional powers to joint efforts to cope with global challenges.

Concurrently, the academic debate is becoming ever more intense. But how is the EU's role in security affairs in the Asia Pacific seen from the rising power of East Asia, China? Do assessments and analyses in Europe and China match each other? Or deviate significantly? The article aims to give an overview of the current state of debate on the EU as a security actor in general and specifically in the East Asian region in European and Chinese discourses and to identify factors that cause differences between both perspectives. It thereby takes three examples: a different meaning of key terms, deviations in approaches and deviations in the overarching theoretical framework for analysis. Depicting the differing meanings might provide a starting point for a research agenda on the factors and filters that influence norm diffusion from the EU to Asia within its foreign and security policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spindelegge Michael

Aprire la via per il futuro dell'Europa
in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 172, autunno , 493-502

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marattin Luigi, Paesani Paolo, Salotti Simone

Assesing the pre-crisis advantages of the EMU for sovereign debt issuers: a panel VAR analysis

in *Rivista di politica economica*, Year 2012, Number 1-3 , 7-24

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bibow Jörg

At the crossroads: the euro and its central bank guardian (and saviour?)

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 37 Issue 3 May 2013 , 609-626

This paper investigates the role of the European Central Bank (ECB) in the (mal)functioning of Europe's Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), focusing on the German intellectual and historical traditions behind the euro policy regime and its central bank guardian. The analysis contrasts Keynes's chartalist conception of money and central banking with the peculiar post-World War II German traditions nourished by the Bundesbank and based on a fear of fiscal dominance. Keynes viewed the central bank as an instrument of the state, controlling the financial system and wider economy but ultimately an integral part of, and controlled by, the state. In contrast, the 'Maastricht (EMU) regime' (of German design) positions the central bank as controlling the state. Essentially, the national success of the Bundesbank model in pre-EMU times has left Europe stuck with a policy regime that is wholly unsuitable for the area as a whole. But regime reform is complicated by severely unbalanced competitiveness positions and debt-overhang legacies. Refocusing the ECB on growth and price stability would have to be a part of any solution, as would refocusing area-wide fiscal policy on growth and investment.

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Catherine Moury, André Freire

Austerity Policies and Politics: The Case of Portugal

in *Pôle Sud*, n°39 , 35-56

En avril 2011 un gouvernement socialiste intérimaire fit appel aux bailleurs de fonds internationaux (la soi-disant Troïka : la BCE, la Commission européenne et le FMI) pour renflouer le Portugal. À la suite d'élections législatives, une coalition de centre-droit commença à mettre en œuvre, à la demande semble-t-il de la dite troïka, une série de mesures d'austérité et de réformes sociales sévères provoquant une importante récession ainsi qu'une agitation sociale. Cet article se penche en premier lieu sur le contexte et les conditions entourant les prêts ainsi que les politiques poursuivies. Il examine également l'ampleur de l'influence de ces bailleurs de fonds internationaux sur le choix des mesures politiques et enfin, s'appuyant une multitude d'enquêtes parlementaires et auprès de l'opinion publique, il observe comment hommes politiques et citoyens apprécient cette aide tout comme ses conséquences sociales et politiques.

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Sidjanski Dusan

**Austerity, a Sword of Damocles Hanging over European Democracy
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVI, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/835-austerity-a-sword-of-damocles-hanging-over-european-democracy>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Maria Găinar

**Aux origines de la diplomatie européenne : Les Neuf et la Coopération politique européenne de 1973 à 1980
in Relations internationales**, n°154 , 91-105

The establishment of the European Political Cooperation (EPC) in the 1970s was an important step towards political union, which has always been considered as the ultimate aim of European integration. The two Davignon reports, adopted in 1970 and 1973, served as the basis for the EPC which dealt with the sovereign domain of foreign policy, and used an intergovernmental mechanism. The EPC therefore took place between the member states of the European Communities, but outside the Community context. The development of the EPC was affected by several factors between 1973 and 1980: primarily by the actors, and in particular the nine countries involved in the EPC. Since State actors played a decisive role, there is a need to bear in mind the differences which originally existed between the Nine, in terms of their foreign policy, and also their political traditions and cultures. The different contexts in which the EPC evolved also had a significant impact on it; in particular the process of European construction and the world stage dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union. By taking these points into consideration, the article analyses Political Cooperation at the time of the Nine, in terms of its functioning as well as ability to assert Europe's role in the world notably through the declaration on European identity. The EPC also conveyed the Nine's messages on international issues, such as the CSCE and the Middle East.

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Roberto A. De Santis and Paolo Surico

**Bank lending and monetary transmission in the euro area
in Economic Policy**, volume 28 n.75 , 423-57

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferreira Cândida

**Bank market concentration and bank efficiency in the European Union: a panel Granger causality approach
in International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 10, Issue 3, September 2013 , 365-391



The relationships between bank market consolidation and bank efficiency are of particular relevance in the European Union (EU), but they remain controversial. Using a panel Granger causality approach, this paper contributes to the literature, testing not only the causality running from bank market concentration to bank efficiency, but also the reverse causality running from efficiency to concentration. The results obtained confirm the relative complexity of these causality relationships, although they generally point to a negative causation running both from concentration to efficiency and from efficiency to concentration. These findings are in line with the Structure Conduct Performance (SCP) paradigm and the suggestions that the increase of the banks' market power will contribute to inefficiency, since these banks will face less competition to obtain more output results with less input costs. Our results suggest that within this panel of all 27 EU countries over a relatively long time period, from 1996 to the onset of the 2008 financial crisis, the more cost-efficient commercial and savings banks operated in less concentrated markets.

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David Howarth, Lucia Quaglia

Banking Union as Holy Grail: Rebuilding the Single Market in Financial Services, Stabilizing Europe's Banks and 'Completing' Economic and Monetary Union

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 103-123

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spiri Andrea

Bettino Craxi

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

This essay analyses Craxi's contributi onto re-launching the construction of the European Community. From the end of the seventies, the socialist leader strongly advocated that Italy play an active role at Community level, thus rejecting in Europe the "short-sightedness of axes and directorates". Craxi did not hide his pessimism concerning the deep crisis that was affecting the European Community, its policy and institutions. Having acknowledged the situation, he launched an appeal to make an effort to rethink and give new impetus to "the role, the possibilities and duties of a Community that must now enter a new stage of its development, by taking more advanced steps forward in the process of political and economic integration of Europe". These aims and objectives would also characterize his actions as Italian Prime Minister from 1983 to 1987.

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Nasra Skander, Segers Mathieu

Between Charlemagne and Atlantis: Belgium and the Netherlands during the first stages of European Integration (1950-1966)

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 2 , 183-206



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carbone Maurizio

Between EU actorness and aid effectiveness: The logics of EU aid to Sub-Saharan Africa
in *International Relations*, vol. 27, n. 3, september , 341-355

ABSTRACT: This article argues that, by acting autonomously and cohesively, the European Union (EU) was able to shape the global agenda on foreign aid throughout the 2000s, particularly on the issue of donor complementarity and division of labour. By contrast, its ability to promote aid effectiveness in Sub-Saharan Africa was significantly constrained by national aid bureaucracies and by the complex aid architecture. More generally, to fully understand whether or not the EU is an effective actor, it is necessary to take into account how EU actorness contributes to the issue being discussed. At headquarter level, the European Commission sought to enhance EU actorness, which was seen as key to aid effectiveness. On the ground, national aid bureaucracies resisted EU actorness in the name of aid effectiveness.

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WTE , BM

Between Frankfurt and Karlsruhe: The Move, the Law and the Institutions
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 9 - Issue 03

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Julie Smith

Between ideology and pragmatism: Liberal party politics at the European level
in *Acta Politica*, Volume 49, Issue 1 , 105-121

Party politics at the European level dates back to the 1950s when the first Members of the Common Assembly, as the European Parliament (EP) was then known, decided to sit in groups according to political affinity rather than nationality. Over the years extra-parliamentary party federations have formally transformed themselves into European-level political parties, with further consolidation likely as a result of the Lisbon Treaty. Nonetheless, they remain less influential than the party Groups, which enjoy considerably more resources. Taking the Liberal family as its case study, this article provides an account of the evolution of party ties and party formation at European level. It argues that the origins of party political cooperation were ideological but that repeated institutional reform created pragmatic reasons for them to consolidate and to expand, and ultimately to seek power. It argues that Europarties and EP party groups may not be part of an inexorable trend towards European political parties that replicate the role of national parties. Rather they form part of complex patchwork of party cooperation and interaction, vertical and horizontal, where different types of cooperation are suitable for different forums.



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Stephen Day

Between 'Containment' and 'Transnationalization' – Where next for the Europarties?

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 49, Issue 1 , 5-29

In September 2012, the European Commission called for 'truly transnational European political parties' yet it remains unclear if the Europarties have either the desire or the capacity to achieve such a status. Central to this story are two counter positions – realist and idealist – that differ over the extent to which the developmental potential of the Europarties should translate into actual development. The first, which is inclined to highlight their limited potential, places an emphasis on the need to contain developments with occasional minor cosmetic changes. The second continues to look for a more sustained process of party evolution driven by transnational developments that can strengthen their autonomy and 'party-like' qualities. Recognizing the Europarties to be in a 'state of becoming' this article will highlight the way in which these two positions are seeking to steer the ongoing evolution of the Europarties in the wake of the 2004 Party Regulation.

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Busuioc Madalina, Groenleer Martijn

Beyond Design: The Evolution of Europol and Eurojust

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 3, Special Issue: Agency Governance in the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 285-304

Prominently figuring in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, the European Police Office (Europol) and the European Union's Judicial Cooperation Unit (Eurojust) are tasked with facilitating the exchange of information and providing support to the EU member states in coordinating operational activities. This article investigates the evolution of these agencies, focusing on their actual autonomy, the extent to which they have been able to harness and expand upon the powers granted by formal design, as well as the accountability arrangements in place to hold them in check and ongoing practices in this regard. It shows that, for a long time, Europol and Eurojust have developed in different ways, both with regard to autonomy and accountability, and that the relationship between these phenomena has been anything but straightforward. Moreover, it demonstrates that design has been a necessary but not a sufficient condition for both agencies' evolution, thus putting recent formal-legal changes to the agencies' design (most notably Europol becoming a full-fledged agency) into perspective.

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Federico RussoMaurizio Cotta

Beyond euroscepticism and europhilia: multiple views about Europe

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, n.3 , 411-434



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Rousiers Patrick

Bien des raisons de croire en l'Europe de la défense

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 764, Novembre

Dans ce tour d'horizon réaliste et détaillé, le président du comité militaire montre l'importance du chemin parcouru en direction de l'Europe de la défense et propose de profiter de la crise actuelle pour valider et consolider l'acquis

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Berger Helge, Nitsch Volker

Bilateral Imbalances in Europe

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 59 Issue 3 September 2013 , 559-575

This article examines the association between trade and financial linkages among 18 European countries. We find that, with the introduction of the euro, trade imbalances among euro area members widened considerably, even after allowing for permanent asymmetries in trade competitiveness within pairs of countries or in the overall trade competitiveness of individual countries. Moreover, there is a significant relationship between patterns of trade and bilateral financial linkages, especially within the euro area; a surplus of a country in a bilateral trade relationship is typically accompanied by a country's positive net financial position vis-à-vis the respective partner country.

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Cheptea Angela

Border Effects and European Integration

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 59 Issue 2 June 2013 , 277-305

A new method for measuring trade potential from border effects is developed and applied to manufactured trade between the old 15 European Union (EU) members and 12 Central and East European (CEE) economies. Border effects are estimated with a theoretically compatible trade specification and much larger trade potentials are obtained than usually predicted by standard trade potential models. Even after a decade of regional trade liberalization, the integration of CEE and EU economies is two to three times weaker than intra-EU integration, revealing a large potential for East–West European trade. Adjusting for the impact of borders on multilateral resistance, yields lower trade potentials, but considerably larger than the magnitudes obtained with traditional approaches.

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Oded Gilad



Breaking the Borders of National Democracy
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/845-breaking-the-borders-of-national-democracy>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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George Tsebelis

Bridging qualified majority and unanimity decisionmaking in the EU

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 8 2013, 1083-1103

The European Union (EU) has tried to bridge decisionmaking by qualified majority and unanimity over the years by expanding qualified majorities (consensus) or by making unanimities easier to achieve. I call this decisionmaking procedure q-‘unanimity’ and trace its history from the Luxembourg Compromise to the Lisbon Treaty, and to more recent agreements. I analyze the most recent and explicit mechanism of this bridging (article 31(2) of the Lisbon Treaty) and identify one specific means by which the transformation of qualified majorities to unanimities is achieved: the reduction of precision of the decision, so that different behaviors can be covered by it. I provide empirical evidence of such a mechanism by analyzing legislative decisions. Finally, I argue that this bridging is a ubiquitous feature of EU institutions, used in treaties as well as in legislative decisionmaking.

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Rifkind Malcolm

Britain and Europe: Conceding Sovereignty

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 102, Issue 3, 291-293

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bitumi Alessandra

Building Bridges across the Atlantic: the European Union Visitors Program. A Case Study for Public Diplomacy and the Transatlantic Relationship in the 1970s

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 35, Issue 5, 925-942

This article addresses the core question of the complex interplay between Atlantic-alliance politics and European integration in the 1970s, a turning point in the European-US relationship. The analysis focuses on the European Community Visitors Program: the first European Community (EC) professional exchange programme seeking to foster mutual understanding between the Community and the United States, which is an intriguing case study in the history of transatlantic relations from a public-diplomacy standpoint. Its relevance is indeed twofold. From an intra-European perspective, it has contributed to laying the foundations for an identity discourse, upon which the narrative of a



Euro-exceptionalism has been constructed from the 1970s onwards. Furthermore, as an exchange programme fostering connections among elites abroad, it has enhanced the EC's visibility outside its borders and thus promoted its recognition worldwide. At a systemic level, the ECVP - modelled after the most famous US public-diplomacy programmes - has served as a transatlantic bridge-builder and a prime tool for facilitating alliance management during the cold war, particularly in the troubled 1970s.

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Spasova Slavina, Tomini Luca

Building Social Dialogue Institutions in Bulgaria: Between EU Conditionality and Domestic Social Actors in Debate: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe, vol. 21, n. 1 , 3-24

The aim of this article is to examine the evolution of institutions of social dialogue and actors' perceptions in Bulgaria within the context of the process of Europeanization. The research question addressed by the paper is how and under what external and internal conditions the institutions of social dialogue in Bulgaria have been built and have evolved over time. The methodology is based on previous academic research in this field, official national and EU documents, newspapers and semi-structured interviews with representatives from trade unions and employers' organisations as well as foreign experts. The overall conclusions comprise two interrelated points. First of all, EU conditionality became the main source of change in the area of social dialogue at the national level through technical assistance and the dissemination of ideas and "best practices". However, it didn't have the same impact in respect of negotiations at sectoral/branch and local levels. Secondly, its role was limited to the time of enlargement negotiations, and above all the effects of its influence were strongly dependent on the commitment of internal actors. These findings therefore support the idea of an impact of the EU mediated primarily by internal actors. However, it is necessary to add a further consideration regarding the intrinsic reasons for the limited and temporary influence of the EU. Concerning the notion of a European social model, the development of integration in this respect can in fact be considered as being only embryonic at the present moment. This becomes even more evident when we look at the secondary role played by those issues during accession. Therefore, if it is possible to draw conclusions about the more general process of Europeanization, these inevitably comprise recognising the causal link between the delay of European integration in the field of social dialogue, and the subsequently limited ability of the EU to play a role in candidate countries and even Member States.

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Marcin Kolasa

Business cycles in EU new member states: How and why are they different?
in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, volume 38 , 487-96

This paper uses the business cycle accounting framework to investigate the differences between economic fluctuations in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries and the euro area. We decompose output movements into the contributions of four economic wedges, affecting the production technology, the agents' intra- and intertemporal choices, and the aggregate resource constraint. We next analyze the observed cross-country differences in business cycles with respect to these four identified wedges. Our results indicate that business cycles in the CEE countries do differ from those observed in the euro area, even though substantial convergence has been achieved after the eastern EU



enlargement. The major differences concern the importance of the intra- and intertemporal wedges, which account for a larger proportion of output fluctuations in the CEE region and also exhibit relatively little comovement with their euro area counterparts.

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Michel Hélène

Businesseurope au-delà du « lobbying » : le travail d'intégration européenne d'une organisation patronale
in *Critique Internationale*, N°59 - Avril/Juin , 133-155

The European employers' union, UNICE/Businesseurope, is not here defined in a priori fashion as a "pressure group" acting on European institutions. Rather, the present article focuses on the work carried out by its personnel in the framework of aid and technical assistance programs for countries that have recently joined the European Union or are candidates for membership. An examination of the organization and content of its training sessions shows how it acts to promote European integration. Its members help employers' representatives, not only to learn their role, but also to retain it in their country. What is at stake here is the representation of company interests before national governments and seeing to it that Community *acquis* are respected and implemented. Despite the upheavals to which the process of enlargement has given rise, the European federation welcomes new national employers' organizations in order to conserve the structure of representation of employer interests before the European Union and the central place it holds in this European space for the representation of interests.

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Klein Nadia, Wesels Wolfgang

CFSP Progress or Decline after Lisbon?

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 18, issue 4/1 , 449-469

ABSTRACT: In 2009, the Lisbon Treaty introduced major institutional innovations in the field of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), including a High Representative with three hats, a European External Action Service (EEAS), a permanent chair of the European Council and - for the first time in EU integration - a form of carefully formulated flexible integration in military matters, namely the Permanent Structured Cooperation. Yet, compared to other policy fields equally characterized by severe concerns regarding the safeguarding of national sovereignty rights (Economic and Monetary Union (EMU); Area for Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ), the CFSP is much less integrated and the institutional and procedural opportunities as designed by the Lisbon Treaty are only used to a limited extent. Put in a long-term perspective, this article argues that these differences can only be explained when taking into account not only the level of supranationalization (internal factor), but also the structure of the international system and the interests of major powers (external factor). We explore the working thesis that the limited problem-solving pressure and the persisting European reliance on the United States in foreign and security matters has slowed down integration efforts in the field of CFSP. Given the weak performance of the CFSP post-Lisbon in the context of an emerging multipolar world order, we identify only incremental deepening and an inclination towards low level activities. However, the fuller use of the legal innovations of the CFSP might be triggered in the future by systemic shifts such as an accelerated shift of the strategic focus of the US away from Europe and towards Asia. In turn, future external shocks would increase the pressure on EU states to cooperate and to pool their foreign policy resources in the Union's



framework more effectively.

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Roland Flamini

Cameron and the Euroskeptics

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 17, n. 4, July / August

Five years ago, UKIP was a single-issue fringe party opposing subordination to Brussels. Today, the EU relationship is a defining issue in Britain, one that Cameron no longer ignores.

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Delesalle-Stolper Sonia

Cameron et l'Europe

in *Politique internationale*, n. 139 - printemps, 2013

What's got into David Cameron? Why did he announce on January 23, 2013 that he would hold a referendum in 2017 on the United Kingdom staying in the European Union? Cameron's pledge is perceived as a dangerous one, even among conservatives, and could push the country further to the sidelines of the EU. The truth is that it was guided entirely by domestic concerns. Cameron has chosen to pander to the wishes of the hard-line Tories after being spooked by the rise in the polls of the small Euroskeptic party, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), which could cost him the 2015 election. But he's forgotten that Europe is not the main concern of the British people. They will judge their government on the economy. And they're still waiting to see any results...

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Martens Wilfried

Campaigning and parties

in *European View*, vol. 12, n. 1, June, 1-2

he 2009 elections to the European Parliament—the only directly elected multinational assembly in the world—embraced an electorate of 375 million people, making them the biggest transnational elections in history. The electorate will be further enlarged in 2014 after the accession of Croatia.

Even though the last European elections took place nearly six decades after the signing of the Treaty of Rome and the establishment of the European Economic Community, debates throughout the EU continued to be conducted largely by national actors in national forums—and with a view to national interests. To make genuine progress, we have to promote the EU in the upcoming 2014 European elections and define the common European interest, thus contributing to the development and the evolution of the European project.

The EU has a long track record as a global beacon of peace, prosperity and success in fields ranging from agriculture, economic cooperation, a common currency and the Erasmus project to free movement across borders, having managed to conciliate diversities and differences among its Member States. However, the overall economic and social situation



will have an effect on the electoral attitude of European citizens in the coming elections. One characteristic of political campaigning in Europe is the existence of convergence and diversity points, but we must be aware that the fears of EU citizens regarding their future in Europe will need to be addressed so that divergence does not overwhelm us.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kundnani Hans

Can Germany's Social Democrats Offer an Alternative?

in *Dissent*, Fall, 2013

Since the euro crisis began in 2010, Germany has found itself in a position that, like the crisis itself, is unprecedented in the history of the European Union. As the largest creditor in a single-currency area consisting of sovereign states, Germany has had extraordinary power during the crisis—so much so that during the last few years Europeans have been debating whether Germany is now a regional “hegemon” and even whether a “German empire” is emerging. Frustrated with Chancellor Angela Merkel’s slow but unyielding approach to the crisis, Europe has looked to the Social Democrats—Germany’s largest opposition party—for an alternative, in particular the debt mutualization that many economists think is necessary.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sebastian Dullien

Carta de Europa: ¿Existe un modelo alemán válido para la UE?

in *Política Exterior*, n.155

En una unión monetaria, si un único país sigue esta política deflacionaria, la demanda agregada para los productos de ese país puede aumentar, ganando así cuota de mercado a sus socios comerciales y compensando la caída de la demanda interna. Sin embargo, si esta política deflacionaria fuese adoptada por todos los países de la zona euro, el efecto negativo en la demanda podría ser el predominante.

El éxito alemán, con su gran superávit por cuenta corriente, bajas tasas de desempleo y un crecimiento económico aceptable, es el resultado de una combinación de caídas nominales de salarios, apoyadas por unas reformas del mercado laboral y reducciones drásticas en el gasto en inversión pública, así como en I+D y en educación. Algunos de estos elementos del modelo alemán tienen externalidades negativas en sus socios europeos, que ven cómo se debilita su crecimiento económico.

La caída nominal de los salarios lleva implícito el desarrollo de una política de pauperización, con efectos negativos si fuese seguida por todos los países europeos. La reducción del gasto en I+D y educación reduce las tasas de crecimiento potencial no solo en Alemania, sino en otros países debido a efectos multiplicadores a medida que cae el progreso tecnológico. Este efecto se amplificaría si todos los miembros de la zona euro actuaran de la misma manera. La reducción del gasto en infraestructura pública reduce el potencial del incremento de la productividad a escala nacional.

En resumen, en vez de copiar el modelo alemán, los líderes europeos deberían examinar con cuidado qué elementos



de las reformas alemanas pueden incrementar la productividad y el empleo, sin promover efectos negativos en el camino hacia el crecimiento a largo plazo.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kristina Mikulova

Central Europe's Velvet Power

in **World Affairs**, Vol. 17, n. 5, September / October

Having shaken off the Soviet yoke, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia have made significant political and economic progress. Now can they make their mark in the EU?

Section C) Regional integration processes

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David Coen, Alexander Katsaitis

Chameleon pluralism in the EU: an empirical study of the European Commission interest group density and diversity across policy domains

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 20, Issue 8 2013 , 1104-1119

This paper contributes to the discussion surrounding interest groups in the European Commission. We inspect the Commission's lobbying register and assess the density and diversity of the interest group population per policy domain. The results suggest that while at the system level elite pluralism with its preponderance of business interests is a credible hypothesis, this is not the case at the sub-system level, where chameleon pluralism better conceptualizes variation of the interest group populations as a function of the age of the Directorate General (DG), capacity of the DG, nature of the policy domain, and involvement of member states. Bridging theoretical considerations on input/output legitimacy with informational approaches, we argue that different policy domains demand different types of legitimacy that are supported by the provision of different types of information (technical/political).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vogler John

Changing conceptions of climate and energy security in Europe

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 4, Special Issue: Energy Security and Climate Change: conflicts and synergies, July , 627-645

The ways in which energy and security have been framed in Brussels since the early days of the European Coal and Steel Community through to recent developments in climate policy are considered, with a main focus upon the European Commission, which prepares policy for decision by the Council and Parliament. Both in terms of institutions and ideas, energy, security, and environmental policy have evolved separately. However, since 2005, there has been a growing convergence as the Commission attempts to develop the internal and external dimensions of EU climate policy. The reasons for this and the potential implications of such a 'synergistic' approach are briefly explored.



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Von Papp Konstanze

Clash of “autonomous legal orders”: Can EU Member State courts bridge the jurisdictional divide between investment tribunals and the ECJ? A plea for direct referral from investment tribunals to the ECJ

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 4 , 1039-1081

ABSTRACT: Investor-State arbitration based on intra-EU BITs is often seen as a threat to the ECJ's authoritative power of interpretation, because relevant questions of EU law may never reach the ECJ. This, however, is only true if investment treaty arbitration is treated in the same way as commercial arbitration, where arbitral tribunals are not allowed to make preliminary references to the ECJ (see *Nordsee and Eco Swiss*). This conventional approach, as illustrated by the recent case of *Eurekov. Slovak Republic*, relies on the supervisory powers of the EU Member State courts in international (commercial) arbitration, focusing on the reviewability of EU public policy.

This article argues that the case law of the ECJ could be interpreted in a way that would allow investment tribunals to make direct references for a preliminary ruling. If references from investment tribunals to the ECJ were allowed, as a matter of law, there would be no bypassing of the ECJ and therefore no threat to the EU judicial system. The advantages of the proposed system of direct referral would be that investment tribunals could refer any question of EU law at any stage of the arbitration proceedings. This would enhance the role of EU law and alleviate the risk that any final award eventually proves unenforceable within the EU for breach of EU public policy. This would not only be more efficient but also create legal certainty and better respect investment treaty law and arbitration within the EU.

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katrin Huber, Michael Shackleton

Codecision: a practitioner's view from inside the Parliament

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 7 2013 , 1040-1055

This contribution considers the development of codecision over the last 20 years from a practitioner's point of view, from inside the European Parliament. It argues that the Parliament has adapted its behaviour and increased resources to ensure that the procedure works well and has used its equal status with the Council to influence legislative outcomes. However, this considerable achievement has not been without cost. Parliament has effectively been obliged to adjust to a diplomatic form of negotiations which is of limited interest to the wider public. In broader terms, we suggest that the development of the codecision procedure provides one test of the democratization of the European Union. It points to the balance between the criteria of efficiency and transparency in the legislative process, underlining the weight that has been accorded to the former and the relative lack of attention paid to the latter.

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den Hertog Leonhard, Stroβ Simon

Coherence in EU External Relations: Concepts and Legal Rooting of an Ambiguous Term



in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 18, issue 3 , 373-388

ABSTRACT: Coherence has become the buzzword in EU studies. However, what exactly is policy coherence and how is it advanced by EU law? This article attempts to bridge the political science and legal debate on this ambiguous term. First, it critically analyses notions on coherence and consistency to find common ground in the seemingly confusing academic debate. On this basis, this article subsequently enquires into the promotion of these different notions by EU law. The focus is on the EU's external relations; arguably the most salient area for policy coherence in EU governance. The article argues that the theoretical debate sometimes lacks cross-fertilization and that conceptual fuzziness persists. The conceptual groundwork allows for analysing how primary law, and especially its interpretation by the Court, advances consistency and coherence in different ways. Albeit also marked by underdeveloped conceptual clarity, the Court's case law shows that several duties in EU law reinforce consistency and coherence in EU external relations.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferry Martin, McMaster Irene

Cohesion Policy and the Evolution of Regional Policy in Central and Eastern Europe

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, n. 8 , 1502-1528

The paper considers the extent to which domestic regional policy in the Central East European EU member states has been 'subsumed' into cohesion policy approaches. It acknowledges that directions of domestic regional policy change vary with processes of EU policy transfer, adaptation, emulation or resistance. This variation occurs across time and across member states. Crucially, the paper argues that interaction between cohesion policy and national regional policy systems also varies according to different regional policy components. Drawing on research from across the member states, the analysis breaks policy down into a number of key dimensions (objectives, instruments, spatial targeting and governance) and assesses the interaction between EU and domestic approaches and agendas.

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Pastrello Gabriele

Come sta l'euro? non c'è male, grazie

in *Critica liberale*, volume XX, nn. 213-214, luglio-agosto

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ponzano Paolo

Commissione europea

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

The author aims to illustrate the specificity and the originality of the functions of the European Commission as regards



national and other European institutions. He argues that the European Commission is not purely administrative, but a political body and that it cannot be regarded as “the government” of the European Union because its composition, functioning and responsibilities differ significantly from those of national governments. In the European institutional system, the European Commission has the essential task of identifying and promoting general European interests, while the Council of Ministers represents the national interests of the Member States and the European Parliament the interests of European citizens.

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Mattias Wendel

Comparative reasoning and the making of a common constitutional law: EU-related decisions of national constitutional courts in a transnational perspective

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 11, issue 4 , 981-1002

This contribution argues that recent EU-related decisions of national constitutional courts demonstrate a new quality of comparative legal reasoning. While classic EU-related case law at best reflects comparative law dimensions by sporadic references to foreign case law, some constitutional courts in Europe have now taken a path towards a more elaborate use of comparative reasoning, including in-depth and sometimes even critical evaluations of foreign jurisprudence in the ratio decidendi. Beyond the traditional motives for courts to rely on comparative law, one particular reason for this intensification seems to be taking an active role in an EU-wide process of shaping common constitutional law. Seen in a transnational perspective, comparative reasoning by judges can be more than a mere reference to foreign law as such; in fact, the judicial evaluation of foreign EU-related decisions can simultaneously be an evaluation of propositions on common constitutional standards. Comparative reasoning by courts then becomes an active contribution to a transnational dialogue of judges on the making of a common constitutional law in Europe.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hjelmeng Erling

Competition law remedies: Striving for coherence or finding new ways

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 4 , 1007-1037

ABSTRACT: This article discusses current EU Competition law remedies in light of the key parameters termination, compensation, restoration and deterrence. Both public remedies available under Regulation No 1 and private remedies under national law are examined. A first aim is to test the ability of the current body of remedies to achieve effective enforcement, measured against the aforementioned parameters. A second aim is to examine whether there are tensions between different forms of remedies and their respective functions which may impact adversely on effective competition law enforcement. The article identifies several shortcomings, both with regard to the development of specific remedies and coordination between different forms of remedies. It is argued that Article 7 decisions may fill a flexible and prospective function, and that these aspects remain under-developed, partly because of the increased use of Article 9 commitment decisions. Moreover, the author points to a pressing need for better coordination between remedies with different functions. It is particularly argued that private enforcement should be more limited than currently reflected in the ECJ case law, and that it should be better integrated with public enforcement.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Olivi Bino

Comunità economica europea

in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

Starting with the failure of the European Defense Community, interpreted as the failure of the federal model, the author first retraces the birth of the EEC and the connection to the international context and the widespread challenges of decolonization in the mid-fifties. He analyzes why the Messina Conference was perceived as a tool for the re-launching of European integration, describing the different positions held by the single member states. He then points out the main turning points in the seventies and the eighties: the enlargement policy and the attempts to implement an institutional reform within the Community; the end of gold standard and the first attempts to design a common monetary union; German reunification and enlargement towards Eastern Europe. Finally he describes the main features of the Maastricht, Amsterdam and Nice treaties, closing the analysis with the impact of the failure to ratify the Constitutional treaty.

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Daliborka PETROVIĆ,

Concept of Services of General Economic Interest in the EU Member States and the Possibilities of its Application in the Republic of Serbia;

in Review of International Affairs (The), VOL. LXIV, N°. 1150 April-June 2013

Topic of this paper is contemporary European concept of services of general economic interest and its application in two member states of European Union- Germany and England. Contemporary European Union concept of services of general economic interest is characterized by introduction of market mechanisms, competition and treatment of citizens as consumers of services. On the basis of chosen examples, aim of this paper is to point at strategic commitment of the EU member states to strengthen the market competition in the field of services of general economic interest. The review of the current regulatory framework in the field of public services in the Republic of Serbia aims to show the level at which the principles defined by the concept of services of general economic interest are integrated into national legislation.

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John Muellbauer

Conditional eurobonds and the eurozone sovereign debt crisis

in Oxford Review of Economic Policy, volume 29 n.3 , 610-45

This paper proposes that all new euro area sovereign borrowing be in the form of jointly guaranteed eurobonds. To avoid classic moral hazard problems and to insure the guarantors against default, each country would pay a risk



premium conditional on economic fundamentals to a joint debt management agency. This suggests that these bonds be called 'euro-insurance bonds'. While the sovereign debt markets have taken increasing account of the economic fundamentals, the signal-to-noise ratio has been weakened by huge market volatility, so undercutting incentives for appropriate reforms and obscuring economic realities for voters. This paper uses an econometric model to show that competitiveness, public and private debt to GDP, and the fall-out from housing market crises are the most relevant economic fundamentals. Formula-based risk spreads based on these fundamentals would provide clear incentives for governments to be more oriented towards economic reforms to promote long-run growth than mere fiscal contraction. Putting more weight on incentives that come from risk spreads, than on fiscal centralization and the associated heavy bureaucratic procedures, would promote the principle of subsidiarity to which member states subscribe. The paper compares euro-insurance bonds incorporating these risk spreads with other policy proposals.

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Sara Kahn-Nisser

Conditionality, Communication and Compliance: The Effect of Monitoring on Collective Labour Rights in Candidate Countries

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1040-1056

This article presents findings of an empirical analysis which show that the level of candidate countries' compliance with the accession conditionality is positively associated with the extent of annual pre-accession monitoring. Focusing on conditionality and labour rights in 11 post-communist CEE candidate countries, in the period between 1998 and 2009, the study analyzes the relationship between the extent of annual monitoring and the post-communist CEE candidate countries' labour rights scores, two years later. A positive, statistically significant association between the two variables is found. The article proposes an explanation of the findings based on discursive institutionalism, and integrates this with the theory of conditionality. According to discursive institutionalism, monitoring supported conditionality through strategic, normative and communicative mechanisms. It strengthened certainty regarding rewards and sanctions, reduced domestic costs of compliance and supported normative convergence.

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Dongar Olivier

Conflit de principes fondamentaux en droit de l'Union européenne: transparence et vie privée

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 569, juin , 344-349

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Charlotte Burns

Consensus and compromise become ordinary – but at what cost? A critical analysis of the impact of the changing norms of codecision upon European Parliament committees

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 7 2013 , 988-1005



Committees are the repositories of policy expertise within the European Parliament and have played a key role in shaping the institution's influence. However, they face a number of challenges, two of which are explored in this contribution: the use of early agreements under codecision; and the involvement of multiple committees in decision-making. Hypotheses about the likely impact of these twin challenges are developed and tested against the European Climate Change Package. Analysis reveals both conflict and the erosion of the lead committee's influence in one case, which raises questions about the ability of committees to continue to fulfil their expertise function. However, the overall picture to emerge is one of successful inter-committee co-operation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mark Dawson and Floris de Witte

Constitutional Balance in the EU after the Euro-Crisis
in *Modern Law Review (the)*, vol. 76, issue 5 , 817-844

This article analyses how the European Union's response to the euro-crisis has altered the constitutional balance upon which its stability is based. It argues that the stability and legitimacy of any political system requires the structural incorporation of individual and political self-determination. In the context of the EU, this requirement is met through the idea of constitutional balance, with 'substantive', 'institutional' and 'spatial' dimensions. Analysing reforms to EU law and institutional structure in the wake of the crisis – such as the establishment of the ESM, the growing influence of the European Council and the creation of a stand-alone Fiscal Compact – it is argued that recent reforms are likely to have a lasting impact on the ability of the EU to mediate conflicting interests in all three areas. By undermining its constitutional balance, the response to the crisis is likely to dampen the long-term stability and legitimacy of the EU project.

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Potot Swanie

Construction européenne et migrations de travail Le renouvellement des modes de mobilisation de la main-d'œuvre étrangère

in *Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto*, a. 51, n. 1 , 7-32

The article focuses on the new forms of labour migrations in Europe in the context of European integration and the new deal regarding mobility. It emphasizes the paradoxical management of migration by politics who paves the way for a resumption of temporary labor migration while maintaining a discourse centered on the rejection of the long-term immigration. This positioning leads to consider the foreigner as different and distant from the people of the nation, so that it becomes acceptable to treat labor migration on a derogatory mode and to reconsider the obligations of the State regarding them. I propose, in a first part, to examine the migration policies which give reality to this perspective. In a second part, three ways of mobilizing foreign labor (seasonal contracts, illegal labor and posted workers) question the possibility of empowerment migration still offers in the framework of globalized economy.

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Jegen Maya, Mérand Frédéric

**Constructive Ambiguity: Comparing the EU's Energy and Defence Policies
in West European Politics**, vol. 37, n. 1 , 182-203

ABSTRACT: This article explores the paradox of constructive ambiguity. Based on a focused, longitudinal comparison of the European Union's energy and defence policies, it analyses the role played by strategies of ambiguity in European integration. Ambiguity is found to be an attractive strategy for political entrepreneurs when member state preferences are heterogeneous and the EU's legal basis is weak. It is likely to be effective, however, only if it is embedded in an institutional opportunity structure – that is, a formal-legal context – that entrepreneurs can fold into their strategic repertoire of ideas. While ambiguity can be strategic in circumstances where clarity would create strong opposition, it is not sufficient to entrench a European policy if it does not rest on an institutional basis. This suggests that European political entrepreneurs should be wary of relying on coalition building by ambiguity only.

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Bogaert Henri, Weber Maurice

Contexte et introduction

in Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique, Tome LII, 2013/2-3 , 5-11

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gagatek Wojciech

Convergence and diversity in political campaigning in Europe

in European View , vol. 12, n. 1, June , 3-10

This review paper takes stock of the reasons for, and explanations of, convergence and diversity in political campaigning in Europe. Convergence is primarily related to growing homogenisation practices resulting from the Americanisation or globalisation of campaigning, in particular through the common use of new media. Diversity, in contrast, stems from differences in structural and contextual country-specific features, such as different electoral laws, media systems or political culture. The biggest gap that exists in this field of study, despite recent improvements, concerns insufficient attempts to quantify campaign practices that would allow better capture of the degree of either convergence or divergence.

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Phillip M. Ayoub

**Cooperative transnationalism in contemporary Europe: Europeanization and political opportunities for LGBT
mobilization in the European Union**

in European Political Science , Volume 5 - Issue 02 , 279 - 310



This article builds on previous research on Europeanization and political opportunity structures (POS) for mobilization, to explore the processes of transnational LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) mobilization in the European Union (EU). In the case of LGBT activism, European integration affects contentious politics by altering POS – both vertically and horizontally – for mobilization and changing the tactics of LGBT activism. Using the cases of Germany and Poland to trace cross-border connections between norm entrepreneur and target state, the findings suggest that LGBT activism relies on transnational resources – primarily, social spaces and organizational capacity – that are scarce in many member states but readily available in others. These horizontal opportunities among member states, alongside top-down vertical ones provided by Brussels, serve as mobilizing structures that bring together distinct groups of international actors. Europeanization also alters the tactics that transnational actors use when engaging with authorities in the target state. Employing socialization mechanisms that highlight appropriate behavior, actors tactically frame their demands in a European discourse by associating the issue of LGBT acceptance with democratic responsibilities as members of the EU community.

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Tomic Nikola

Coordinative Discourses in Brussels: An Agency-oriented Model of EU Foreign Policy Analysis

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 14, n. 2, Special Issue: Europe, Discourse, and Institutions: Challenging the Mainstream in European Studies , 223-239

Foreign policy analysis (FPA) in a classical sense entails focusing on agents (individuals or groups of individuals). In the case of the European Union (EU), FPA becomes more problematic. Firstly, the question arises of what a foreign policy of the EU really means. This article defines EU foreign policy in a wider sense, namely along the lines of what is known as EU's external action. It focuses however on the security aspect of the EU's external action – the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and its defence dimension, the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Furthermore, a problem of identifying agents arises in the EU setting in large part because of the complex institutional setup of the CFSP/CSDP. Although final decisions are made at the level of the Council, the policy itself is drafted and prepared at lower levels of policy-making (working parties, committees and agencies) based in Brussels. This article proposes a discursive institutionalist model of analysis, applicable to any organization of the policy process. After presenting the model's ontological and epistemological positions, as well as theoretical underpinnings, the article elaborates on the different levels of information processing and meaning construction by actors and their role in setting the overall foreign policy discourse by shaping the coordinative discourses during this early phase of the policy-making process.

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Asensio Angel

Coping with the European Public Debt Problem. The Desperate New "Growth Pact" of 2012 and Its Aftermath

in International Journal of Political Economy, Volume 42, Number 2 / Summer 2013 , 42-62

The paper examines the main instruments involved in Europe's "new" strategy in 2012. It explains why none are suited to the current challenges in terms of growth recovery and public debt control. The reason is basically that all the instruments focus on factor cost reductions (capital and labor), that is, on the supply side of the economy, while, the evidence clearly suggests that the main issue is on the demand side. Hence, drawing on a few basic equations, the



paper discusses the conditions under which a fiscal stimulus might eventually reduce the public deficit and help control the debt by means of induced growth and fiscal revenues. This is not to say that a balanced budget per se is a desirable objective, for it is acknowledged that a public deficit may be desirable in the long run to foster economic growth. The purpose here is to show that, in the context of the European sovereign debt problem, a fiscal stimulus could eventually reduce the deficit and the debt ratio while stimulating economic growth. The formal condition proves to be reachable for the range of the key parameters observed in most member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The paper also discusses the problems that could make the condition more difficult to deal with in the European context and how they could be solved.

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Thomas Bennett C.

Core–Periphery Relations in the European Union and the Role of Central Places in Europe with a Focus on Regional Policy in Britain and Germany

in *European Review*, Volume 21 - Issue 03 , 435 - 447

Core–periphery analysis is vital to an understanding of the European Union (EU) and regional development. The European Economic Community (EEC), which would eventually become the EU, was formed in 1957 in order to promote progressive economic integration. Recognizing that there were depressed regions within both peripheral and core nation-states, the EC adopted a programme with the goal of bringing those regions into convergence. Its programme is essentially a liberal centre–periphery model similar to the one proposed by Friedman. Many of the nation-states within the EC also have their own regional policies and programmes regarding intervention within their own spatial boundaries. To present an approach for comparison this article will focus on two examples of regional policy: Britain's attitude toward regional development in the North and the German programme for integrating East Germany.

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Nicolaides Phedon

Cost of regulation and impact of EU membership on policy enforcement

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 6, November 2013 , 371-377

Recent public debate on the costs and benefits of EU membership has focused more on the costs and less on the benefits. This paper explores the benefits from improved regulatory or policy implementation and enforcement. If actual regulatory enforcement differs from the socially optimal level, membership of a regional bloc that strengthens accountability mechanisms can improve the quality of implemented regulation. However, if the regional bloc tends to over-regulate, the overall increase in the regulatory burden, together with strengthened accountability, will move a country farther away from its socially optimal state. Membership of the EU is beneficial for countries with weak enforcement institutions, but it may worsen the welfare of countries with strong regulatory institutions. Infringement statistics indicate that no member state of the EU has a perfect record in implementation and enforcement.

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Joshua Aizenman, Mahir Binici, Michael Hutchison

Credit ratings and the pricing of sovereign debt during the euro crisis
in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 29 n.3 , 582-609

This paper investigates the impact of credit rating changes on the sovereign spreads in the European Union and investigates the macro and financial factors that account for the time-varying effects of a given credit rating change. We find that changes of ratings are informative, economically important, and highly statistically significant in panel models, even after controlling for a host of domestic and global fundamental factors and investigating various functional forms, time and country groupings, and dynamic structures. Dynamic panel model estimates indicate that a credit rating upgrade decreases credit default swap (CDS) spreads by about 45 basis points, on average, for European Union (EU) countries. However, the association between credit rating changes and spreads shifted markedly between the pre-crisis and crisis periods. European countries had quite similar CDS responses to credit rating changes during the pre-crisis period, but large differences emerged during the crisis period between the now highly sensitive GIIPS group (Greece, Italy, Ireland, Portugal, Spain) and other European country groupings (EU and euro area excluding GIIPS, and the non-EU area). We also find a complicated non-linear pattern dependent on the level of the credit rating. The results are robust to the inclusion of credit 'outlook' or 'watch' signals by credit rating agencies. In addition, contagion from rating downgrades in GIIPS to other euro countries is not evident once own-country credit rating changes are taken into account.

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Waigel Theo

Crise de l'Euro ou crise del la dette

in *Politique internationale*, n. 139 - printemps, 2013

Minister for Finance in the Cabinet of Helmut Kohl from 1989 to 1998, Theo Waigel is known as the "Father of the Euro". He oversaw the introduction of the West German mark in the East German federal states at the time of reunification. He also laid the foundations for European economic and monetary union and was one of the key architects of the famous Maastricht criteria. After moving to the private sector a decade ago, he casts a sharp analytical eye on the current economic reality. He believes there is no euro crisis, but a sovereign debt crisis. This, he says, is in no way caused by the single currency, which overall has had beneficial effects, but by all EU member states, particularly the countries of southern Europe, which have flouted the rules. In fact, it is a message of hope he wishes to convey in this exclusive interview with Jean-Paul Picaper: Europe is a community of solid values and will prevail, come what may.

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Joan Subirats, Ismael Blanco, Jacques Fontaine

Crise et changement d'époque en Espagne. Réponses politiques et crise institutionnelle

in *Pôle Sud*, n°39 , 57-78

The current crisis severely hit Spain as shown by several preoccupying economic and social indicators. It occurs in a country which has been undergoing an important decentralizing trend that empowers autonomous communities and local municipalities. However everything, from policy paradigms to representative democracy seems to be questioned by



a process which is also a crisis of credibility. This article analyses the impact of the crisis on Spanish decentralization, assesses the legitimacy crisis of representative government and the relevance of emerging new social movements such as M15 and PAH. The extent of social and political evolutions that occurred in the recent past is more than a conjunctural crisis: it is a new epoch.

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Francisco Balaguer Callejón,

Crisis económica y crisis constitucional en Europa

in *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 98 , 91-107

Este trabajo propone una «interpretación constitucional de la crisis» frente a la «interpretación económica de la Constitución» que se está extendiendo en el debate público europeo. Esa interpretación económica, que aquí se cuestiona, está provocando la inhabilitación de las funciones esenciales de la Constitución en algunos países europeos. En el plano formal, debido a las limitaciones al pluralismo político que se generan como consecuencia de un discurso económico que se plantea como única alternativa posible. Estas limitaciones impiden que la Constitución cumpla su función nuclear de canalizar los conflictos sociales y políticos fundamentales, al imponer unas condiciones objetivas previas al proceso democrático que conducen a la negación del conflicto. En el plano material, por las restricciones de derechos constitucionales a que está conduciendo. Los sistemas constitucionales nacionales están sufriendo así una pérdida de calidad democrática que, en última instancia, está siendo impulsada por la ausencia de densidad democrática del espacio público europeo. Pero las soluciones no serán ya nacionales: es necesario repensar el Derecho constitucional desde el plano supranacional europeo como también repensar Europa desde el Derecho constitucional. La recuperación de la democracia pluralista y de las funciones del Derecho constitucional tendrá que partir de un marco supranacional europeo plenamente democrático.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Petsinis Vassilis

Croatia's Framework for Minority Rights: New Legal Prospects within the Context of European Integration

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 12, Issue 4, 2013 , 352-367

This work is a case study on the legal patterns for managing ethnic relations in Croatia within the context of European integration. The significance of European formal and informal engagement in this process is particularly highlighted. The main research questions in this article are: What has been the impact of the EU accession process on legislation on minority rights in Croatia? How efficient has Croatia been in making use of certain elements from the Communist era and elaborating new and up-to-date models for the management of ethnic relations? What is demonstrated is that Croatia has been successful in arranging an adequate and viable framework for the protection of minority rights that is highly consistent with European standards.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Geslin Laurent, Dérens Jean-Arnault



Croatie: la promesse européenne

in *Politique internationale*, n. 140 - Ete, 2013

In an exclusive interview with Jean-Arnault Dérens and Laurent Geslin, the Croatian president celebrates his country's recent membership in the European Union. Despite the current crisis, Ivo Josipovic expects a positive economic impact. The country has come a long way indeed since achieving independence in 1991. At the same time, badly damaged by a bloody war (1990-1995) and torn by inter-community conflicts with historically deep roots, Croatia continues to lick its wounds. Mass graves continue to be unearthed and some war criminals sought by the international court of justice remain at large. Relations with neighboring Serbia remain tense. As one of the first states resulting from the breakup of Yugoslavia to join the European family, Croatia will strive to help its neighbors follow the same path, since their membership is critical to regional peace and stability.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

O'Rourke Kevin H., Taylor Alan M.

Cross of Euros

in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 27 No. 3, Summer 2013 , 167-192

The eurozone currently confronts severe short-run macroeconomic adjustment problems and a deficient institutional architecture that has to be reformed in the longer run. Europe's efforts at economic and monetary union are historically unprecedented. However, the gold standard provides lessons regarding what will and won't work, macroeconomically and politically, in the short run, while US history provides long-run lessons regarding appropriate institutional structures. The latter also suggests that institutional reform only happens at times of great crisis, and that it cannot be taken for granted. The eurozone's leaders may therefore ultimately have to take heed of the lessons of history regarding currency union breakups.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Viktoriya Khasson

Cross-border cooperation over the Eastern EU border: between assistance and partnership under the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument

in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 29, Issue 3, , 328-343

The article explores the practices of cross-border cooperation (CBC) at the Eastern border of the European Union (EU) from the point of view of contributing to the emergence of non-hierarchical interaction patterns in the EU-neighbour relations. Using the concept of regional mobilisation, it builds upon the network of governance literature by providing a framework for including the impact of external partners on the process of creating the "shared policy spaces" transcending the external EU borders. The article analyses nine European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) CBC Programmes and argues that the partnership principle enshrined in the EU's policy approach has not yet resulted in the emergence of new, partnership type and cooperation practices. It demonstrates that although the Programmes' institutional structures have been created on the principle of partnership, the ENPI's implementation framework is still guided largely by the traditional hierarchical mechanisms of EU external relations. As a result, the engagement of neighbouring partners remains insufficient to allow for the emergence of "shared spaces of network



governance” across the EU's Eastern borders. It is suggested that the partnership principle within the ENPI CBC can be strengthened by creating more opportunities for the mobilisation of regional actors in the Eastern neighbourhood.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ingelgom Virginie van

Cultural Diversity, European Identity and the Legitimacy of the EU

in *Politique européenne* , n. 40, 2013/2 , 138-142

L'ouvrage collectif dirigé par Dieter Fuchs et Hans-Dieter Klingemann nous invite à renouveler les réflexions sur la légitimité et l'identité européennes, en les appréhendant en interaction avec la question de la diversité culturelle. Cet ouvrage restitue les résultats d'un axe de recherche – ou en jargon européen d'un « work package » – du...

Section C) Regional integration processes

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John McCormick

Cultural citizenship, political belonging, and the European Union

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 48 , 19-32

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ziemele Ineta

Customary International Law in the Case Law of the European Court of Human Rights – The Method

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 12, n. 2 , 243-252

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bain Jessica, Chaban Natalia, Christie Sarah

Cutting the Apron Strings? Cartoon Reflections on the UK EEC Accession from New Zealand Newspapers, 1970-1972

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 2 , 245-268

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Dalić Martina

**Cyclical properties of fiscal policy in new member states of the EU
in Post communist economies**, Volume 25, Issue 3, 2013 , 289-308

The analysis of cyclical properties of government expenditure is performed for new member states and Croatia using a panel data model. The sample covers 1999–2011. The analysis is performed for the main expenditure aggregates as well as their subcomponents. The disaggregated approach is useful in revealing potential differences in the cyclical properties of individual expenditure components since they could move in different and possibly offsetting directions. Procyclical behaviour is found for total general government expenditure as well as for its main components, i.e. current and capital expenditure. The exclusion of interest payments does not alter the result that output expansion is strongly associated with growth in major expenditure aggregates. Furthermore, the same proportional reaction is found for capital expenditure, indicating the presence of the voracity effect. The subcomponents of current expenditure reveal a slightly different pattern. While government wage and non-wage consumption behave in a procyclical manner, social transfers are countercyclical. However, their countercyclical behaviour is not strong enough to overcome the procyclical influence of the wage bill and non-wage consumption on the overall cyclical stance of current expenditure. The evidence of asymmetric behaviour of government expenditure over the cycle is weak.

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49 - 62

Czech and Slovak Defense Policies Since 1999 The Impact of Europeanization

in Problems of Post-communism, Volume 60, Number 3 , Zdeněk Křiř and Martin Chovančík

Although less significant than Atlanticization, Europeanization has had an impact on the defense policies of Slovakia and the Czech Republic, in terms of standards, instruments, and discourse.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Möller Almut

Dabei sein ist alles. Wer bestimmt die EU-Reformdebatte – und mit welchen Zielen und Mitteln?

in Internationale Politik , 68. Jahrgang, n. 1-2, Januar-Februar , 34-39

ABSTARCT: Mit der bevorstehenden Vertiefung der Euro-Zone stellt sich gerade für die Nicht-Euro-Länder die Frage, was die Mitgliedschaft in der Europäischen Union künftig noch bedeutet. Sie überwölbt zugleich die europäische Reformdebatte. Nicht jeder Vorschlag aus angeblich „unberufenem Munde“ ist dabei kontraproduktiv – im Gegenteil.

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Laura Frosina

Dall'austerità al c.d. austericidio. Aggravamento e nuovi rimedi della crisi spagnola

in Nomos, n. 1/2013



I primi mesi del 2013 sono stati particolarmente critici per la Spagna e hanno segnato un ulteriore declino della situazione politica, economica e sociale. Gli scandali di corruzione politica, lo stato di perdurante emergenza economica, la crescita della disoccupazione, l'avanzare della tensione sociale e del processo indipendentista catalano hanno trascinato il paese in uno stato di profonda crisi. Nel suo secondo anno di piena recessione, dopo tre anni di manovre di piena austerità, la Spagna non è riuscita a portare a termine l'obiettivo di contenimento del deficit concordato con l'Unione europea e ha registrato un preoccupante aumento del tasso di disoccupazione, che ha raggiunto il suo massimo storico (il 27,16%) con più di sei milioni di disoccupati.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Möllers Thomas M.J., Redcay Katharina

Das Bundesverfassungsgericht als europäischer Gesetzgeber oder als Motor der Union?
in *Europarecht*, Heft 4, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lorey Isabell

Das Regime der Prekarisierung. Europas Politik mit Schuld und Schulden
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2013 , 91-101

Alles basierte offenbar nur auf Rechenfehlern: Im Oktober 2012 veröffentlichte der Chefökonom des IWF, Olivier Blanchard, eine überraschende und spektakuläre Position und stellte die bisherige europäische Krisenstrategie in Frage. Bis dahin war sich die Troika – bestehend aus Internationalem Währungsfonds, Europäischer Zentralbank und EU-Kommission – mehr oder weniger einig darüber, wie die südeuropäischen Staaten mit ihren Staatsverschuldungen umzugehen haben, in welchem Umfang sie Sozialausgaben kürzen, Arbeitsrechte abbauen und Steuern erhöhen müssen, um weiteres Geld zum Schuldenabbau zu erhalten. Nun aber brach der IWF-Ökonom den Konsens auf...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucke Albrecht von

Das Verschwinden einer Idee
in *Gegenworte*, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

No abstract available

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Geden Oliver, Tils Ralf

Das deutsche Klimaziel im europäischen Kontext: strategische Implikationen im Wahljahr 2013
in *Zeitschrift für Politikberatung*, Volume 6, Number 1, 2013 , 24-28

The full text is free:

<http://www.zpb.nomos.de/index.php?id=4193>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Buzelay Alain

De l'union monétaire à l'union bancaire en Europe

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 571, septembre , 466-471

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baudin Pierre

De la défense de l'Europe à l'Europe de la défense (novembre 2000)

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été , Supplément numérique

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Verdun Amy

Decision-Making before and after Lisbon: The Impact of Changes in Decision-Making Rules

in *West European Politics*, vol. 36, n. 6 , 1128-1141

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the institutional rules and the decision-making process in the European Union before and after the Lisbon Treaty. What challenges did the EU respond to that ultimately led to the Lisbon Treaty? What institutional changes were made? What has been the outcome of these changes? If we look at these results through various European integration theory lenses, what can we learn? To address these questions the paper is structured as follows. The first section introduces the issues. The second examines the challenges to which Lisbon was supposed to be the answer. Section three examines the institutional and decision-making changes that were made by means of the Lisbon Treaty. Section four offers an assessment as to what effects the Lisbon changes have had to date. The fifth offers an analysis that draws on European integration theories to make sense of the findings. The final section concludes.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christiansen Thomas, Dobbels Mathias

Delegated Powers and Inter-Institutional Relations in the EU after Lisbon: A Normative Assessment in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 6 , 1159-1177

ABSTRACT: The European Union's system of delegated powers, 'comitology', underwent significant changes after the Lisbon Treaty entered into force. This paper assesses the impact of these changes on the European Parliament, European Commission and Council. It distinguishes between the changes that occurred at the level of treaty reform (which generally favoured the EP in assuming a greater role in the process of policy-implementation) and subsequent legislative reforms and developments in soft law (through which the Council and the European Commission have reasserted their powers). While the system of delegated powers has significantly changed through the Lisbon reforms, it falls short of the expectations and intentions that led to these changes. The key objectives behind the reform – a simplification of a highly complex system of centralised policy implementation and greater democratic accountability through an upgrading of the EP's role – have only partially been achieved. To some extent recent developments indicate a step back.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Natalia Timuş

Democracy for export: the Europeanisation of electoral laws in the East European neighbourhood in Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Volume 29, Issue 3, , 289-304

This paper argues that democracy promotion is not a "European Union (EU)-owned" policy and that the rule determinacy as well as the effective "anchoring" of democratic practices at the domestic level are a function of broader social structures and multiple actors at the European and domestic levels. The essay applies the international practices perspective on the relations of the European democracy promoters with the East European neighbours (EEN) and examines how the combined inter-institutional effort of the EU, the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe affects the success of the pan-European democratic practices and policy instruments in the EEN electoral reforms. The analysis reveals that the domestic promotion of electoral reforms increases as a result of the common European democratic policy. Yet, when European institutions lack strong "sticks and carrots" and the EEN party systems are rather weak, the final Europeanisation outcomes depend on the domestic contextual factors.

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Franzius Claudio

Demokratisierung der Europäischen Union in Europarecht, Heft 6, 2013

No abstract available

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Louis Jean Victor

Des partis politiques européens et de l'élection du président de la Commission
in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 1 , 5-20

Section C) Regional integration processes

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James Harold

Designing a Central Bank in the Run-Up to Maastricht
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 19, n. 1 , 105-122

The paper charts the elaboration of statutes for the European Central Bank (ECB) in the lead-up to the Maastricht Treaty. The leading figures in formulating the new vision were central bankers themselves, first in the Delors Committee (1988-89) and then in the Committee of Central Bank Governors. The result of the dominant role of the central bankers was the prominent role given to central bank independence. The development of central banking corresponds with a broader international movement to produce a framework for managing globalization through the introduction of new rules but also by unburdening the political process by delegating responsibilities to transnational experts. The paper also examines why the ECB was not given an explicit role in bank supervision and regulation, as particularly the German Bundesbank feared that this would mean that the ECB would take on a lender of last-resort function that would generate moral hazard.

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Steinbach Armin, Stollhoff Rainer

Designing a European restructuring mechanism without taxpayers' money
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 3, May 2013 , 167-173

The European Commission's approach to the supervision and restructuring of the EU banking system has numerous shortcomings. As an alternative, this article proposes a European Resolution Authority and a European Restructuring Fund for systemically important banks and the implementation of a levy paid by banks in accordance with their systemic relevance. This levy should be designed to reduce the risk of future bailouts and the moral hazard inherent in implicit government guarantees.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andrew Moravcsik

Did Power Politics Cause European Integration? Realist Theory Meets Qualitative Methods
in *Security Studies*, Volume 22, Issue 4 , 773-790

No abstract available



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dieter Smeets and Marco Zimmermann

Did the EU Summits Succeed in Convincing the Markets during the Recent Crisis?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1158-1177

Using an event study approach, this article examines whether crisis meetings of European heads of state and government, as well as their agreed and communicated results, had a significant impact on Europe's financial markets. The analysis is based on daily data for seven Member States of the eurozone (France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain), starting in autumn 2008 and covering the time period until April 2012. To summarize the findings, the high-profile meetings appear to have only minor effects that ceased quickly. Therefore, it can be concluded that investors consider Europe's economic and political crisis management insufficient and its communication strategy little convincing. While controlling for additional effects, it was found that European Central Bank policy measures may have had short-run effects on bond returns and the exchange rate, but no intended influence on stock prices, except for Italy.

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Schwarze Jürgen

Die Abwägung von Zielen der europäischen Integration und mitgliedstaatlichen Interessen in der Rechtsprechung des EuGH

in **Europarecht**, Heft 3, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jachtenfuchs Markus

Die EU als Dauerreformprojekt. Politische Ordnungsmodelle und ihre Implikationen

in **Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Heft 3, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dohnany Klaus von

Die Europäische Union – vom Traum zur Mühe der Praxis

in **Gegenworte**, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Metz Julia

Die Expertengruppen der EU-Kommission und das Paradigma der Brüsseler Technokratie

in *Zeitschrift für Politikberatung*, Volume 6, Number 1, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schendelen Rinus van

Die Kunst des EU-Lobbyings

in *Zeitschrift für Politikberatung*, Volume 6, Number 1, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Becker Peter

Die Subsidiaritätsprüfung in Bundestag und Bundesrat – ein rechtliches oder ein politisches Instrument?

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Heft 1, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.zpol.nomos.de/archiv/2013/heft-1/>

Subsidiarity checks in the EU – legal or political tool?

The Lisbon Treaty strengthened the role of national parliaments in European Union's political system. The national parliaments gained influence especially with the new instrument of subsidiarity scrutiny by the so-called early warning mechanism. Despite high obstacles, in summer 2012 national parliaments could for the first time successfully advance a subsidiarity objection and thus enforce a stop to an European legislative project. However, the new procedure is still in the testing phase and the possibilities and limits of the new mechanism are still to be explored. On the one hand the subsidiarity check opens new political participation and design channels for national parliamentarians. On the other hand there is a risk to devalue the early warning mechanism by politically exploiting and instrumentalizing the new mechanism along national interests.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Preunkert Jenny, Vobruba Georg

Die beiden Hälften der Eurokrise

in *Gegenworte*, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jörg König and Renate Ohr

Different Efforts in European Economic Integration: Implications of the EU Index

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1074-1090

European integration is a multilayer process consisting of significant differences in efforts and capabilities of the Member State's individual EU participation. Hence, general statements about the national level of European economic integration are very vague. In order to fill this gap, this article presents a composite indicator measuring the extent of economic integration within the European Union – the EU Index. Existing composite indicators concerned with economic integration (globalization indices) were not designed to capture the specific European dimensions. The EU Index offers a unique basis, as now the national differences can be illustrated by one statistical measure. Large heterogeneities are found between the Member States with respect to overall European economic integration and to various sub-indices. By using cluster analysis, it is also shown that the prevailing economic heterogeneities in the EU are combined with a strong and even growing clustering of its members, thereby challenging present and future steps of European integration.

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Hartleb Florian

Digital campaigning and the growing anti-elitism: the Pirates and Beppe Grillo

in *European View* , vol. 12, n. 1, June , 135-142

In the digital age, new ways of interaction provide a new type of public sphere which has dramatically changed party politics. This includes not only the modernisation and professionalisation of mainstream political parties but also paves the way for new challengers and a new dimension of campaigning. The current examples, the Pirate Party, especially in Germany, and the Five Star Movement of Beppe Grillo, show at least short-term potential. The Pirate Party caused a media hype about the young activists. Grillo transcended the borders between comedy and politics without the helping hand of the traditional media, which ignored him. The threat for representative democracies lies in the growing anti-elitism which is combined in the Pirates and Grillo. Mainstream political parties should indicate that the claim for a new participatory politics beyond right and left is a utopian one, while attacking the way that party politics works.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Timonen Antti



Digital democracy in the EU

in *European View* , vol. 12, n. 1, June , 103-112

This article discusses digital democracy with particular reference to the political context of the EU. The reasons for adopting tools for digital democracy include fostering closer contact with citizens, sharing ideas, improving the delivery of one's message, crowdsourcing and facilitating digital direct democracy. Twitter has become the medium of choice for Brussels influencers. This is especially so for journalists, whose role has changed in recent years; politicians seem to be following suit. Politicians and political organisations that are actively involved in digital democracy gain the trust of the citizenry if they are approachable and open to discussion and if their online presence reflects their real-life existence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Büchel Konstantin

Do words matter? The impact of communication on the PIIGS' CDS and bond yield spreads during Europe's sovereign debt crisis

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 32, December 2013 , Pages 412-431

The paper aims to shed light on the role of communication in the European debt crisis. It examines the effects of public statements by ECB Governing Council members, EU officials and national representatives on the PIIGS' CDS and bond yield spreads. The focus lies on dovish statements that signal strong determination in the rescue of indebted countries, and hawkish statements that indicate limited commitment to support the PIIGS and protect its creditors. The analysis of daily data for the period between January 1, 2009 and August 12, 2011 in an EGARCH framework suggests that communication by representatives of Germany, France, and the EU as well as ECB Governing Council members had an immediate impact on both types of securities. No effects are found for communication by representatives of the smaller eurozone member countries.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christian Dreger, Hans-Eggert Reimers

Does euro area membership affect the relation between GDP growth and public debt?

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 38 , 481-86

We analyse the relationship between the debt-to-GDP ratio and real per capita GDP growth for euro area members and a broader set of industrial countries by distinguishing periods of sustainable and non-sustainable debt. Thresholds for debt are theory-driven and depend on macroeconomic conditions. If the nominal interest rate exceeds nominal output growth, primary budget surpluses are required to achieve a sustainable government debt ratio. The negative impact of the debt-to-GDP ratio is limited to the euro area and periods of nonsustainable public debt. In the broader panel of industrial countries, the negative debt effect diminishes. Instead, debt will exert a positive impact on growth given that it is sustainable. This result is fairly robust and holds even for exogenous thresholds. While the relationship between debt and growth is subject to nonlinearities, the evidence suggests that the participation in monetary union might entail an additional risk for its members.



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Helmut Herwartz, Bernd Theilen

Does the EU Financing System Contribute to Shadow Economic Activity?

in **Economics and Politics**, volume 25 n.2 , 135-61

Financial contributions to the EU budget depend basically on official GDP. This means that countries with higher shadow economic activity contribute less than they should contribute in a system based on actual GDP and therefore could reduce their incentive to fight against such activities. In this paper we investigate if the EU financing system really has an influence on the intensity with which governments in EU member states fight against shadow economic activity. We find that the EU net contributors significantly fight more intensively against shadow economic activity while EU net receivers fight less. As a result, shadow economic activity is higher in net receiver and lower in net contributor countries than it were in comparison with a scenario of nationally balanced EU funding. Quantitatively and averaged over the time period 2001–2007, the diagnosed effect amounts to a stimulation of hidden economic activity by almost 10% for particular economies.

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Ciclet Émilie

Does the Lisbon Treaty Effectively Limit the Power of the European Union?

in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 33, Issue 2, June 2013 , 246-256

Although the Lisbon Treaty recognises the necessity to limit the power of the European Union, some of its limitations are poorly expressed. As a result, the European Commission has the possibility to act arbitrarily by expanding Union power. The position of the Commission is pre-eminent, notably with respect to the drafting of EU measures. Not only can the Commission expand Union power, but it may also favour certain actors at the expense of the principals (Member States and their citizens). Indeed, the Commission may apply definitions of the 'common European interest' that go beyond the preferences of the principals.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Elisabetta Nadalutti

Does the 'European Grouping of Territorial Co-operation' Promote Multi-level Governance within the European Union?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2013 , 756-771

Through the analysis of Regulation 1082/2006 (also known as 'The European Grouping of Territorial Co-operation'), which enables regional and local authorities from different European Union (EU) countries to set up co-operation groupings as legal entities for projects of cross-border and trans-European significance, this article aims to assess whether the daily politics of the EU is still state driven in a zero-sum game, and conversely, whether states and state representatives are no longer the only interface between the sub-national and supranational levels and the operation of power across the various levels of governance on a local/national/supranational level in a non-zero-sum game. The article will show that a type of 'multi-level governance' is emerging in cross-border regions in which cross-border



activities are empowering the regional/local level (sub-national level), permitting it to circumvent/supersede the national level through a process of negotiation and 'alliances'. Furthermore, it will be highlighted that Regulation 1082/2006 is a clear example of multi-level governance in practice.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniel Finke and Tanja Dannwolf

Domestic scrutiny of European Union politics: Between whistle blowing and opposition control
in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 52, Issue 6 , 715–746

Some European law proposals are subject to scrutiny by national parliaments while others go unchecked. The analysis in this article indicates that the opposition scrutinises European Union law to gather information on the proceedings inside the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament. Yet whereas strong opposition parties scrutinise highly politicised law proposals, weak opposition parties tend to scrutinise those proposals that are negotiated under the non-transparent fast-track procedure. In addition, there is ample evidence that the leading minister initiates scrutiny in order to strengthen his or her intergovernmental bargaining leverage. Yet, this Schelling Conjecture presumes that the party of the minister is located between the expected bargaining position in the Council and the coalition partner. Any other domestic interest constellation could lead to scrutiny motivated by whistle blowing. However, an issue's salience helps us to separate the whistle blowing from the Schelling Conjecture.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Tarizzo Davide

Dopo l'euro. L'Europa dell'ospitalità
in *Iride*, numero 3, dicembre 2013 , 597-616

The Eurozone crisis is undermining the economic foundations of the EU as well as the process of European political integration. In this situation, it is meaningless to keep on going after the dream of the «United States of Europe». Rather, it is wiser to think about an alternative path toward political integration that might be followed even if the Euro collapses. The «Europe of hospitality» represents such an alternative. From the perspective sketched out in this article, the national political space of Member States should be preserved as the space of sovereignty, while the European political space should be conceived as a further and complementary space where both EU and non-EU nationals could find their place.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thomson Robert

Double versus Triple Majorities: Will the New Voting Rules in the Council of the European Union Make a Difference?
in *West European Politics*, vol. 36, n. 6 , 1221-1238

ABSTRACT: What impact will the Lisbon Treaty's new system of voting in the Council have? After describing the new



voting rules, this study develops a modelling approach to assess their likely impact. The first part of the analysis examines the extent to which procedural rules have affected the decision-making process in the recent past, since this will help assess the likely impact of the changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty. The second part of the analysis presents a counter-factual analysis of recent decisions, exploring what would have happened had the Lisbon rules been applied. The main finding is that even under the strong and unrealistic assumption that formal rules define the decision-making process, decision outcomes would have been the same in most cases. The paper concludes by discussing the features of Council decision-making that soften the impact of these rule changes.

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Schmitt-Grohé Stephanie, Uribe Martin

Downward Nominal Wage Rigidity and the Case for Temporary Inflation in the Eurozone

in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 27 No. 3, Summer 2013 , 193-212

Since the onset of the Great Recession in peripheral Europe, nominal hourly wages have not fallen from the high levels they had reached during the boom years -- this in spite of widespread increases in unemployment. This observation evokes a well-known narrative in which nominal downward wage rigidity is at the center of the current unemployment problem. We embed downward nominal wage rigidity into a small open economy with tradable and nontradable goods and a fixed exchange-rate regime. In this model, negative external shocks cause involuntary unemployment. We analyze a number of national and supranational policy options for alleviating the unemployment problem caused by the combination of downward nominal wage rigidity and a fixed exchange-rate regime. We argue that, in spite of the existence of a battery of domestic policies that could be effective in solving the unemployment problem, it is unlikely that a solution will come from within national borders. This leaves supranational monetary stimulus as the most compelling avenue out of the crisis. Our model predicts that full employment in peripheral Europe could be restored by raising the euro area annual rate of inflation to about 4 percent for the next five years.

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Gnesotto Nicole

Défense européenne : idées neuves et vieux bon sens

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

La défense européenne n'a pas tenu ses promesses, on le sait. C'est aussi qu'elle a hésité entre trois approches qui reproduisaient ses clivages stratégiques profonds. L'auteur discerne des facteurs actuels propices à une nouvelle dynamique, surtout si l'on sait revenir sur des fondements contestables, ceux-là même qui paralysent son établissement. Mais ici l'ambition doit être partagée et pragmatique.

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Aron Raymond

Défense nationale et unification européenne (avril 1970)

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tsahkna Anna-Greta

E-voting: lessons from Estonia

in European View , vol. 12, n. 1, June , 59-66

Estonia has used e-voting since 2005, and because e-voting is more accessible, more flexible and saves time, the result has been an increase in voter turnout. Compared with traditional voting in which a person must go to the polling station, a process that takes about 44 minutes, e-voting requires only 6 minutes. So far, supporters of right-wing parties and the Reform Party (Liberals) are more likely to use e-voting, with the result that Isamaa and ResPublica Liit (Conservatives) gained the majority of e-votes during the last parliamentary elections in 2011.

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Mariam Camarero, Estrella Gomez, Cecilio Tamarit

EMU and Trade Revisited: Long-Run Evidence Using Gravity Equations

in World Economy , volume 36 n.9 , 1146-64

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Atanas Christev, Jacques Melitz

EMU, EU, Market Integration and Consumption Smoothing

in Open Economies Review , volume 24 n.5 , 843-52

By taking a new approach to the study of the impact of EMU on consumption smoothing, centering on consumption volatility and therefore on smoothing more directly, we find that even though EMU tends to smooth consumption, it is not through cross-country property and claims. Rather it comes through the promotion of the tradability of goods, capital in particular: specifically, the encouragement of price competition, contestable home markets, ability to borrow and buy insurance at home, and the harmonization of regulations. Some of the consumption smoothing may also depend on EU membership rather than EMU as such but EMU adds to it. As a fundamental part of the analysis, the paper uses a new index of currency union which focuses on the ratio of trade with other countries sharing the same currency relative to total foreign trade.

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Economides George, Moutos Thomas

EMU: The Way Forward



in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 59 Issue 3 September 2013 , 443-448

As far back as 1977, economic analyses of the prospects for monetary union among the (then) European Economic Community countries were cautioning against moving to a monetary union without substantially increasing the size of the federal budget. For example, a report submitted to the European Commission stated: "As well as redistributing income regionally on a continuing basis, public finance in existing economic unions plays a major role in cushioning short-term and cyclical fluctuations. For example, one-half to two-thirds of a short-term loss of primary income in a region due to a fall in its external sales may be automatically offset through lower payments of taxes and insurance contributions to the centre, and higher receipts of unemployment and other benefits. If only because the Community budget is so relatively very small there is no such mechanism in operation on any significant scale as between member countries, and this is an important reason why in present circumstances monetary union is impracticable"

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Cini Michelle

EU Decision-Making on Inter-Institutional Agreements: Defining (Common) Rules of Conduct for European Lobbyists and Public Servants

in **West European Politics**, vol. 36, n. 6 , 1143-1158

ABSTRACT: The introduction of a provision in the Lisbon Treaty allowing European Union institutions to forge binding inter-institutional agreements (IIAs) draws attention to the limited research that exists on these instruments of EU governance. This article contributes to the development of this literature by presenting empirical evidence on two cases of decision-making on IIAs: on lobby regulation; and on the regulation of the conduct of EU public servants. In the first case the proposed IIA was successfully concluded; in the second, it was not. In contrasting these cases this article explains these differing outcomes with reference to the relevance of shared inter-institutional values and the mutual benefits of agreement. The findings suggest that both shared values and mutual interests are likely to be important in shaping successful IIA decision-making.

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Desmond Dinan

EU Governance and Institutions: Stresses Above and Below the Waterline

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 89-102

No abstract available

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Milada Anna Vachudova

EU Leverage and National Interests in the Balkans: The Puzzles of Enlargement Ten Years On

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 122-138



EU enlargement continues in the Western Balkans in the 2010s because the underlying dynamics remain largely unchanged: EU Member States still see enlargement as a matter of national interest, bringing long-term economic and geopolitical benefits. The risk of instability in the Western Balkans has made the dividends from the EU's 'democratizing effect' especially substantial. I argue that the enlargement process continues to have a 'democratizing effect,' as Western Balkans candidates and proto-candidates respond to the incentives of EU membership: political parties have changed their agendas to make them EU-compatible, and governments have implemented policy changes to move forward in the pre-accession process. Yet the EU is taking on candidates with difficult initial conditions. I explore the changes the EU has made in order to exercise its leverage more effectively in the Western Balkans and check whether these helped overcome the pre-accession process' earlier problems with expertise, consistency and legitimacy.

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Woelk Jens

EU Member State-Building in the Western Balkans: (Prolonged) EU-protectorates or new model of sustainable enlargement? Conclusion

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 41, Issue 3, 2013 , 469-482

Abstract

More than 20 years after the violent break-up of Yugoslavia European efforts to create sustainable States in the Western Balkans, as discussed in the papers of this Special Issue, have brought about some progress, but a lot of work remains. This conclusion will draw on some of the themes developed in the previous papers and contrast to what extent EU Member State-Building provides a new framework for enlargement and what the key questions of sustainable expansion of the EU and functional state-building through conditionality will be. It concludes that the EU's current engagement with the Western Balkans faces many problems and obstacles and therefore some reconsideration might be necessary.

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Tolksdorf Dominik

EU Special Representatives: An Intergovernmental Tool in the Post-Lisbon Foreign Policy System?

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 18, issue 4/1 , 471-486

ABSTRACT: Following the Lisbon Treaty, various departments of the European Commission and the Council Secretariat merged into what became the European External Action Service (EEAS). In contrast, EU Special Representatives (EUSRs), that are appointed by the Foreign Affairs Council and engage in conflict resolution on behalf of the EU, have remained an 'intergovernmental' instrument. Although they act under the authority of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs, they are not funded from the EEAS' budget and not part of the formal hierarchy of the new service. Catherine Ashton's proposal in 2010 to remove the EUSRs and to integrate their tasks into the EEAS' activities was opposed by the EU foreign ministers. The paper looks at the EUSRs' role in the post-Lisbon foreign policy system and their relations with the relevant EU institutions. It argues that the Member States have an interest in retaining the EUSRs in order to ensure intergovernmental control over parts of EU foreign policy vis-à-vis the EEAS, the European



Parliament and the European Commission. However, this must not necessarily undermine the activities of the EEAS and ultimately the coherence of the EU's external relations.

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Jappe Eckhardt

EU Unilateral Trade Policy-Making: What Role for Import-Dependent Firms?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 989-1005

This article looks at political mobilization and the influence of import-dependent firms in the context of the European Union's (EU) trade defence instrument (TDI) policy. By looking at this increasingly relevant set of economic actors during (unilateral) TDI decision-making, the article provides a much needed complement to the existing EU trade policy literature, which is dominated by analyses of the trade policy preferences and involvement of import-competing and export-dependent firms during multilateral and bilateral trade co-operation. The article defines import-dependent firms and theorizes the circumstances under which they are capable of lobbying and of wielding influence in EU TDI cases. The argument is discussed with case study evidence drawn from a series of recent EU TDI episodes.

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Gyarfasova Olga

EU ante portas oder gibt es eine neue Trennlinie in der slowakischen Politik?

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 3/2013 , 279-293

EU ante portas or is there a new division line in Slovak politics?

Many analyses have provided evidence that the European agenda is not salient for the public and the EU political arena is perceived as a sphere in which less is at stake. However, in the political mobilization we could observe a growing interactions between the national and European agenda - not only national politics is thematized for the EP election campaign but also vice versa: European agenda is more and more present in the political appeals and voters mobilization. The economic and fiscal crises have accelerated these processes. The study examines Slovakia - a country with a specific integration trajectory and explores how the European agenda has entered the domestic politics recently. The analysis deals also with position of the political parties towards the EU integration and the images of the EU which emerged in the latest national election.

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Manuele Citi

EU budgetary dynamics: incremental or punctuated equilibrium?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 8 2013 , 1157-1173



In this article I study the long-term evolution of the main categories of expenditure of the European Union (EU) budget (1984–2011). The aim is to assess the extent to which the EU is affected by a structural form of policy inertia, and to investigate the general pattern of policy stability and change in the EU in light of the two models of policy dynamics currently existing in the literature: the incrementalist model and the punctuated equilibrium model. The analysis of long series of original data extracted from the EU budget shows that EU policies do not evolve following an incrementalist pattern, but by a punctuated equilibrium dynamic.

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Dix Alexander, Thüsing Gregor, Traut Johannes, Christensen Laurits, Etro Federico, Aaronson Susan Ariel, Maxim Rob

EU data protection reform: Opportunities and concerns

in Intereconomics, Volume 48, Issue 5, September 2013 , 268-285

Last year, the European Commission proposed a comprehensive reform of the EU's data protection rules. The proposed regulation has been surrounded by fierce controversy and has been the subject of frenzied lobbying by global corporations, industry groups, research centres and privacy campaigners on both sides of the Atlantic. This Forum applies cool economic reasoning to this heated issue. What are the potential economic benefits of EU harmonisation? Will the proposed regulation negatively impact the competitiveness and innovation of European firms in the global marketplace? Or could it jeopardise attempts to protect privacy as a fundamental right in civil societies?

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Xheneti, Mirela; Smallbone, David; Welter, Friederike

EU enlargement effects on cross-border informal entrepreneurial activities

in European Urban and Regional Studies, volume 20 n.3 , 314-328

Borderlands, as spaces of various forms of entrepreneurial activities, offer rich examples of informal entrepreneurial activities that depend on the border location to be developed and sustained. Although the socioeconomic contributions of informal activities have been widely acknowledged, little research has been conducted on the ways that enlargement of the European Union (EU), by affecting the openness/closedness of borders, affected the nature and extent of cross-border informal entrepreneurial activities (IEAs). Recognizing the heterogeneity of border regions, in terms of formal and social institutional structures, linguistics and ethnicity, the paper offers a nuanced and extended understanding of the difference the geography of borders, broadly defined, makes to the diversity and persistence/disappearance of cross-border IEAs since EU enlargement. Using qualitative data from interviews collected with households involved in cross-border IEAs in several EU border regions, the paper indicates that cross-border IEAs have a time dimension, reflected in the pre- and post-enlargement changes to the intensity of these activities, as well as a regional dimension, reflected in various dichotomies such as impoverished/affluent, socioculturally proximate/distant and hard/soft borders, reflected in the forms, enablers and constraints of such activities. The paper illustrates how the spatial, economic, institutional and sociocultural characteristics of a context overlap, dominate or recede at different points in time to facilitate/inhibit different forms of entrepreneurial behaviour and to encourage the involvement of, or empower, different groups of people. Thus, context, in all its dimensions, remains an important factor for spatial and temporal explanations of cross-border IEAs as particular forms of entrepreneurial activity.



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Niemann Arne, Bretherton Charlotte

EU external policy at the crossroads: The challenge of actorness and effectiveness

in International Relations, vol. 27, n. 3, september , 261-175

ABSTRACT: The goal of this Special Issue is to improve our conceptualisation and empirical understanding of EU actorness and effectiveness in International Relations. While the European Union aspires to play a greater global role, its actorness and effectiveness cannot be taken for granted given the nature of the EU as a multi-level and semi-supranational polity encompassing 28 Member States with diverse foreign policy preferences. The EU is presently at an important crossroad. On the one hand, its external policy stature and capacity have been boosted by institutional innovations and by the Union's increased involvement in the full spectrum of international issues. On the other hand, a number of factors cast doubt on the EU's real external policy actorness and effectiveness: slow and often only modest internal reforms, an increasing politicisation of formally 'low politics' issues, the prolonged sovereign debt crisis in the Eurozone, and a less favourable external environment, with the US shifting its focus to the Asia-Pacific region and emerging powers creating a more polycentric world order. In view of these changes and subsequent developments in the scholarly literature, our aim is to re-evaluate earlier conceptions of EU actorness. Central to this re-evaluation will be a shift in focus from notions of actorness to effectiveness. This introductory article will unpack and further elaborate the issues raised in this abstract by delineating the EU as an international actor in the empirical context, by reviewing the existing conceptual literature, defining and conceptualizing key notions and by providing an overview of the contributions to this Special Issue.

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Tobias Lenz

EU normative power and regionalism: Ideational diffusion and its limits

in Cooperation and Conflict, 48 (2) , 211-228

The ideational impact captured by Manners's notion of normative power Europe (NPE) appears most distinct and potentially most consequential in the realm of regionalism. However, empirical research on the topic has been hampered by the focus on EU actorness and methodological difficulties. Drawing on diffusion theory, this article develops conceptual, theoretical and methodological foundations for conceiving NPE as ideational diffusion. It argues that Europe's ideational influence on regionalism can be fruitfully understood as the largely indirect process by which the EU experience travels to other regions through socialization and emulation. Yet, as structural conditions vary across regions, EU ideational diffusion rarely leads to similar or even comparable institutional practices and outcomes. A choice-orientated approach is proposed for examining these claims empirically, which focuses on specifying the underlying counterfactual: political decisions in regionalism would have been different in the absence of the EU. The article concludes by outlining the analytical and normative promise of the proposed recasting of Manners's original concept.

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James Sperling

EU police and judicial cooperation before the Treaty of Lisbon: strengthening of the weakest link?
in *European Security*, Volume 22, Issue 2 , 202-229

Three key questions arise from the encroachment of the European Union (EU) on national prerogatives in the administration of justice: What factors contribute to the weakest link collective action problem attending police and judicial cooperation within the EU? What were the substantive and institutional goals of the EU in this policy domain? What accounts for the rising level of police and judicial cooperation despite the persistence of barriers to cooperation and incentives to defect? This article first establishes the fundamental incentives and obstacles to cooperation in matters of transnational security threats in post-Westphalian Europe. It then proceeds to explore the evolution of police and judicial cooperation in Justice and Home Affairs between 1999 and 2009, to assess national contributions to police and judicial cooperation, and to consider the potential impact that the changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, Stockholm Programme and European Investigation Order. A final question is considered in the conclusion: Did the level and extent of police and judicial cooperation that emerged between 1999 and 2009 give rise to a community of practice that in turn fostered a nascent community of identity resilient enough to mitigate the weakest link technology of public goods production endemic to this policy domain?

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Baklanova, Viktoria; Tanega, Joseph

EU proposal for regulation on money market funds
in *Law and Financial Markets Review*, volume 7 n.5 , 250-55

On 4 September 2013 the European Commission released a proposal that seeks to restructure the entire European money market fund (MMF) industry. This article outlines the premises of the proposal and discusses concerns related to the most controversial provisions. We believe that economically unfeasible requirements for constant net asset value (CNAV) MMFs will result in the exit of these funds. We believe that the primary objective of financial market stability cannot be achieved by eliminating CNAV MMFs in favour of variable net asset value (VNAV) MMFs. There is simply no evidence that VNAV MMFs are immune to runs. New systemic risk will emerge as a result. Other types of investment products will proliferate, including private liquidity funds, which the existing EU regulation is not addressing. The focus of the proposal is misplaced. Runs in a single fund, whether CNAV or VNAV, due to a credit event should not be the primary regulatory concern. Investing is always a risky business and regulation ought to empower investors with complete information to adequately manage these risks. We recognise that any regulatory rules will be imperfect. The never-ending search for the most efficient allocation of resources will drive investors away should the post-reform MMF structure prove too costly. The solution can be found in the balance between long-term funding needs of the real economy and the utility of these funds.

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Gaenssmantel Frank

EU-China Relations and Market Economy Status: EU foreign policy in the tecnica trap
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 1 , 51-66



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Troost Axel

EU: Steuerflucht als Geschäftsmodell

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Dezember, 2013 , 13-16

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2013/dezember/eu-steuerflucht-als-geschaeftsmodell>

Lange Zeit galt Steuerflucht als Kavaliersdelikt, das nicht ernsthaft verfolgt wurde. Mit der Anklage des Fußballfunktionärs Uli Hoeneß rückt zwar derzeit die Steuerhinterziehung durch wohlhabende Privatpersonen wieder in den Fokus der Politik. Das Ausnutzen von Steuerschlupflöchern durch Unternehmen und die damit verbundene Steuervermeidung werden jedoch noch immer als mehr oder weniger legitime Form der Wirtschaftsförderung angesehen. Dem will die EU nun endlich einen Riegel vorschieben. Doch schon jetzt ist absehbar, dass daraus nichts wird...

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Hugh Thomas

EUROPA EN TIEMPOS INCIERTOS. ESPAÑA Y EL REINO UNIDO FRENTE A LA IDEA DE EUROPA

in **Cuadernos de pensamiento político**, Número 40 Octubre / Diciembre

No abstract available

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Rahden Wolfert von

EUropa: Utopie, Eutopie, Dystopie. Einführung und Dokumentation

in **Gegenworte**, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.gegenworte.org/heft-30/leseprobeheft30e.html>

Europa befindet sich im Umbruch. Angesichts der gegenwärtigen Finanzkrise wird der ›Zukunftsort‹ zunehmend zur Projektionsfläche von Ängsten und Sorgen und von vielen eher als ein Ort der Bedrohung denn der Hoffnung wahrgenommen. Nicht mehr, sondern weniger Europa steht bei einer Reihe europäischer Parteiungen auf der politischen Tagesordnung – so hat das Thema trotz seiner immensen Bedeutung im deutschen Wahlkampf kaum eine Rolle gespielt. Tendenzen zur Renationalisierung – welche die europäische Einigung seit ihrem Beginn begleiten – werden von den ökonomischen Ungleichgewichten gefährlich genährt...



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Cemal Karakas

EU–Turkey: Integration without Full Membership or Membership without Full Integration? A Conceptual Framework for Accession Alternatives

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1057-1073

The EU accession aspirations of the de jure European country Turkey remain a highly contested issue. Due to the national preferences and mainly socio-cultural resentment in some EU Member States and due to its limited integration capacity, the EU offered Ankara a discriminatory ‘full membership minus’. The current EU law and the various paradigms of ‘differentiated integration’ do not only provide the spatial, temporal and thematic scope for a conceptual framework on accession alternatives, they also limit it. In this context, the gradual integration/membership concept could be an interesting option for both parties. The depreciation of full membership in the case of Turkey has weakened the EU conditionality policy in general. On the other hand, ‘external’ flexibilization can help to overcome deadlock by allowing the Member States and accession candidates such as Turkey to co-operate at different levels of integration.

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Rachel A. Epstein and Wade Jacoby

Eastern Enlargement Ten Years On: Transcending the East–West Divide?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 1-16

This introduction summarizes the findings of nine research articles that examine the consequences of the European Union's eastern enlargement ten years on. The volume reaches three surprising conclusions: since 2004, the EU's economic effects have been more far-reaching than its political effects; all of the new Member States (NMS) have had problems with democratic consolidation; and, despite four years of intense crisis in the eurozone, both the EU's enlargement and neighbourhood-shaping efforts have continued. We set these economic, political and institutional developments in the context of the long-standing east–west divide in Europe, and ask whether EU membership for post-communist countries upends the continent's traditionally persistent divisions. Notable achievements of EU enlargement notwithstanding, the volume points to the continuing important differences between east and west and highlights the issue areas in which the EU transcends but also reinforces the centuries-old partition.

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Fernández-Albertos José, Kuo Alexander, Balcells Laia

Economic Crisis, Globalization, and Partisan Bias: Evidence from Spain

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 57, issue 4, december , 804-816



ABSTRACT: Who do citizens blame for the recent European economic crisis? In this paper, we test theories about blame attribution with respect to the economic crisis. We argue that blame for the crisis is partially conditioned by partisan bias and framings of the crisis as being related to globalization. We test the argument with new survey data and a survey experiment from Spain. In the experiment, respondents receive different framings of the economic crisis which are endorsed by different political parties and non-partisan organizations. We obtain the following findings: (i) blame for who is responsible for the economic crisis is greatly affected by partisanship; (ii) making globalization as a cause of the crisis salient exonerates the government of blame, but only for co-partisans of the government; and (iii) citizens are willing to blame other globalization-related factors for the crisis, in particular, European governments and blame the domestic government less. The results expand our understanding of public opinion dynamics during major economic recessions and also suggest conditions under which “scapegoating” globalization can occur.

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Lekakis Joseph N., Kousis Maria

Economic Crisis, Troika and the Environment in Greece

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 18, Issue 3 , 305-331

The article constitutes a preliminary attempt to address the effects of the current economic crisis on the Greek environment. The austerity policies and other conditions imposed by the Memoranda of Understanding with the troika of international lenders are undermining the progress made in the pre-crisis years in the framework of European Union (EU) environmental policy. The latter conflicts with the EU's new priorities in the context of the Greek bailout programme. Examples include the air pollution caused by fuel substitution following a vast increase in heating fuel tax, the escalating environmental conflict related to gold-mining investment, and the crumbling environmental management apparatus. Strictly monitored by the European Commission, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund, Greece needs to carefully delineate the trade-offs inherent in the country's 'new' model of growth. Proper policies are needed to avoid natural resource depletion, environmental decay and further national wealth reduction in the years to come. Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13608746.2013.799731>

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Thiemeyer Guido

Economic Models in France and Germany and the Debates on the Maastricht Treaty

in Journal of European Integration History, vol. 19, n. 1 , 84-104

The article analyses the public debates on the Maastricht treaty in France and Germany in the middle of the 1990s. There was an intensive debate among economists and public intellectuals on the convergence criteria fixed in the Maastricht treaty for economic convergence in the future monetary union. From a methodological point of view the article harks back to the concept of “Wirtschaftsstil” developed by German economists in the 19th century. This concept is based on the assumption of a close interrelation between political culture and the economic system of a nation. The article shows that the monetary union was considered in France and Germany as a fundamental blow against national identity of both countries. But whereas the German critics considered the Maastricht treaty to be influenced by French political and economic thinking, the French were convinced that the German tradition prevailed. In the end the



Maastricht debate in the middle of the 1990s was part of a more general controversy on national identity in both countries.

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Mechi Lorenzo

Economic Regionalism and Social Stabilisation: the International Labour Organization and Western Europe in the Early Post-War Years

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 35, Issue 4 , 844-862

The International Labour Organization (ILO) played a concrete role in shaping the mechanisms of international economic co-operation created in Western Europe in the early post-war years. Its tripartite composition and orientation towards social dialogue were perfectly in tune with the productivist principles sponsored by the United States after the Second World War, which largely permeated European economic integration. Thanks to its solid know-how in the field, the ILO made a key contribution in promoting labour mobility, by helping the organisation and co-ordination of national employment services and vocational training systems and, most of all, by assisting institutions such as the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) and the European Communities in implementing freedom of circulation between their member countries. At the same time, in the mid-1950s it offered theoretical support to the economic liberalism on which the European common market was being modelled, arguing against claims for social harmonisation as a precondition to economic integration, and thus contributing to giving European co-operation the shape which still characterises it today.

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Libor G. , Galuszka J., Galuszka I.

Economic and political implications of the Poland's accession to the European Fiscal Union

in *Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, fasc. 2

Over the past three years, the governments have acted decisively on both national and international levels to avoid financial and economic crisis. This has led to large structural deficits and growing debt putting at risk the fiscal sustainability. Therefore the fiscal consolidation has become the basis for the current policy conducted across the OECD area. However the Polish economy managed to avoid the recession in 2009 despite the fact that it has one of the highest budget deficits. That is why an idea of the Poland's accession to the European Fiscal Union is worth analyzing.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Simonazzi Annamaria, Ginzburg Andrea, Nocella Gianluigi

Economic relations between Germany and southern Europe

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 37 Issue 3 May 2013 , 653-675

Two interpretations have been advanced to account for persistent German current account surpluses that translate into equally persistent deficits of countries in the European periphery. According to the first, the German surplus is the



expression of a 'virtuous' savings behaviour, to be extended to the periphery. The second maintains that the increase in net exports reflects the stagnation of German domestic demand. The paper argues that differences in price competitiveness are only part of the explanation of the disequilibria and that an expansion of German internal demand, albeit necessary, would not suffice to provide a viable response to the long-term sustainability of the euro area. Adopting a multilevel perspective, the paper argues that to understand the persistence of deficits in the European periphery, the main features of the reorganisation of the German economic system, including its income redistribution and demand implications, should be considered. Three elements are singled out: the effects of eastward enlargement, the impoverishment of the productive matrix of peripheral countries and the quality composition of trade flows. This analysis, it is argued, is a crucial premise for devising trade and industrial policies targeted on redressing the increasing skewness of EU trade, especially through greater trade among the deficit countries.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nathaniel Copsey, Tim Haughton

Editorial: Edging Away from the Abyss – The EU in 2012

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 1-5

An overall appraisal of the EU in 2012, between the ongoing Eurozone crisis and some glimmers of hope coming from Stockholm (Peace Nobel Prize) and London (the place where President Mario Draghi affirmed that the ECB is ready to do "whatever it takes" to save the euro).

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Gallhöfer Philipp

Effizienz und Effektivität einer europäischen Verteidigungskooperation am Beispiel des I. Deutsch-Niederländischen Korps

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 6, n. 4, october , 509-521

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Werner Benjamin

Ein zahnloser Tiger? Das Bundesverfassungsgericht und seine Europa-Rechtsprechung

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft* , Heft 3, 2013

In seiner Europa-Rechtsprechung hat das Bundesverfassungsgericht den Fortgang der europäischen Integration an Auflagen gebunden, die sowohl die deutschen als auch die europäischen Instanzen einzuhalten haben. Diese Auflagen sind unter anderem dafür kritisiert worden, dass sie – jedenfalls wenn es um Integrationsvertiefungen durch die EU-Organen geht – praktisch wirkungslos seien. Der vorliegende Beitrag untersucht, inwieweit dieser Vorwurf zutreffend ist. Dabei lässt sich zeigen, dass sowohl jüngere Erkenntnisse der Forschung über institutionellen Wandel als auch die Rechtsprechungspraxis des EuGH diese kritische Einschätzung stützen. Den Anspruch, der Integration Grenzen zu



setzen, kann das BVerfG folglich tatsächlich nicht im beabsichtigten Umfang einlösen.

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Beckert Jens, Burhop Carsten

Einführung: Ursachen und Folgen ökonomischer Desintegration im 20. Jahrhundert in Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Heft 2013 / 39,2 , 143 - 152

The full text is free:

http://www.v-r.de/de/magazine_edition-92-92/geschichte_und_gesellschaft_2013_39_2-1009911/

„Deutschland lebt in der Europäischen Union in einer Schicksalsgemeinschaft. Ihr verdanken wir Jahrzehnte des Friedens, des Wohlstandes und des Einvernehmens mit unseren Nachbarn.“ „Niemand sollte glauben, dass ein weiteres halbes Jahrhundert Frieden und Wohlstand in Europa selbstverständlich ist. Es ist es nicht. Deshalb sage ich: Scheitert der Euro, dann scheitert Europa.“ „Wir müssen uns jetzt aufmachen, das nachzuholen, was vor 20 Jahren bei der Gründung der Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion durch den Vertrag von Maastricht noch nicht möglich war: die Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion politisch zu vollenden.“ „Schenkt man der Krisenrhetorik politischer Entscheidungsträger Glauben, dann folgt auf die Desintegration der Eurozone auch die wirtschaftliche und politische Desintegration Europas, eine Verarmung des Kontinents und letztlich Krieg zwischen heute in Frieden, Freiheit und Wohlstand lebenden Nationen. Verhindert werden kann dies nur, indem man die Desintegration des Euro verhindert und den Weg in eine vollständige wirtschaftliche und politische Integration beschreitet – ein Plan, der bereits Ende der 1980er Jahre von der Regierung Kohl/Genscher erfolglos verfolgt worden ist...“

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Haukenes Katrine, Freyberg-Inana Annette

Enforcing consensus? The hidden bias in EU democracy promotion in Central and Eastern Europe in Democratization, vol. 20, n. 7 , 1268-1296

Democracy is a primary export norm of the European Union (EU). It has also played a key role in the conditionalities that have governed the accession processes of new member states in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). The EU has often been accused of offering little guidance regarding the specifics of desirable democracy models and the means of their consolidation. But are these accusations justified? In the first part of this article a detailed examination of European Commission opinions and reports reveals that it has consistently promoted a specific model of democracy in future member states. It shows a strong bias in favour of Lijphart's model of consensus democracy, which is indiscriminately advocated for prospective member states. The second part of the article draws attention to the serious obstacles which exist in the region to the realization of this model. We question the wisdom of the Commission's one-size-fits-all democratic model given these obstacles and the real-life diversity of political contexts in the region.



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Paile Sylvain

Erasmus militaire : européaniser la formation, former à l'européanisation

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

Un point est fait sur l'initiative européenne pour les échanges de jeunes officiers qui a pris son essor depuis 2008 et contribue à créer les conditions d'une culture européenne de sécurité et de défense dans l'esprit du processus de Bologne de l'enseignement supérieur européen. C'est un nouvel horizon offert aux cadets européens.

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Haaker Andreas

Erpressung in Brüssel? Ein spieltheoretischer Epilog zum „Euro-Rettungsgipfel“

in *Zeitschrift für Politikberatung*, Volume 6, Number 1, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Schulmeister Stephan

Euroabwicklung: Der finale Schritt in den Wirtschaftskrieg

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Oktober, 2013, 39-49

In seinem Buch „Gekaufte Zeit“ wie auch in seinen Artikeln in den „Blättern“ plädiert Wolfgang Streeck für eine geordnete „Abwicklung“ der Europäischen Währungsunion. Diese ist in seinen Augen ein „rabiates Konvergenzprogramm“ mit dem Ziel einer „Zwangvereinheitlichung der Wirtschafts- und Lebensweisen der europäischen Völker“. Der „Vormarsch des neoliberal-supranationalen Leviathan“ könnte durch eine „Euroabwicklung“ zumindest verlangsamt werden...

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Monar Jörg

Eurojust and the European Public Prosecutor Perspective: From Cooperation to Integration in EU Criminal Justice?

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 3, Special Issue: Agency Governance in the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, 339-356

Since its formal establishment as a treaty objective in 1999 the EU's area of criminal justice has been primarily based on mechanisms and instruments facilitating cooperation between national judicial authorities. Because of the political



sensitivity of the criminal justice domain member states have largely avoided extensive harmonisation and hierarchical structures. While some real progress has been achieved the absence of a more integrated cross-border criminal justice system continues to reduce the effectiveness of cross-border cooperation. Since its establishment in 2002 Eurojust has been at the frontline of the emerging criminal justice area, and the gradual strengthening of Eurojust has been among the primary EU responses to the continuing dysfunctionalities of its criminal justice area. This process has already introduced elements of subordination of national authorities to Eurojust because of its evolving initiative, guidance, monitoring and external relations functions. The strengthening of the functions of Eurojust through the 2008 Eurojust decision straddles the borderlines between a purely cooperation based system and one with distinctive elements of integration. The Articles 85 TFEU on Eurojust and 86 TFEU on the EPPO introduced by the Lisbon Treaty have created the potential of a decisive shift towards integration in the criminal justice area. This shift would already be important in case of the strengthening of Eurojust's initiative, coordination and conflict resolution powers in line with Article 85, even though the treaty provisions leave the choice between 'harder' and 'softer' implementation options. Yet the transformation could be dramatic in case of the establishment – 'from Eurojust' – of the EPPO whose powers would have a direct reach into the national criminal justice systems and create the need for a significant harmonisation of both procedural and substantive criminal law and major implications even for the national police systems.

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Bläser Karl-Alois

Europa im Spiegel der öffentlichen Meinung. Bilanz und Perspektiven des Eurobarometers nach 40 Jahren in Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft , Heft 3, 2013

Das Eurobarometer liefert seit vier Jahrzehnten Daten aus Befragungen zu den integrationspolitischen Ansätzen der Europäischen Union sowie über die Einstellungen der europäischen Bürgerinnen und Bürger zu Problemfeldern wie der EU-Erweiterung, der Außen-, der Wirtschafts- und Währungspolitik, des Binnenmarktes, der Regionalpolitik und der sozialen Situation, der Informationsgesellschaft, der Umwelt- und Energiepolitik sowie des Verbraucherschutzes etc. Diese Daten liefert ein von der EU und vom Europäischen Parlament beauftragtes Meinungsforschungsinstitut, dessen Instrumente dem Industriestandard von Umfragen (mit zufallsgenerierter Auswahl der Befragten, direkten und telefonischen Befragungen) entsprechen.

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Taubert Niels

Europa – ein Gulliver der Wissenschaftspolitik?
in Gegenworte, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

No abstract available



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Stock Günter

Europa: Wissenschaftliche Perspektiven

in *Gegenworte*, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.gegenworte.org/heft-30/leseprobeheft30s.html>

Als Ralf Dahrendorf in den siebziger Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts die Idee eines europäischen Forschungsraumes formulierte, war dies ein Anstoß, der bis heute fortwirkt. Zunächst gab es eine längere Phase, während derer die Idee – jedenfalls öffentlich – nicht weiterverfolgt wurde. Aber im Jahre 1984 kam es dann mit der Einführung der mehrjährigen Rahmenprogramme für Forschung und technologische Entwicklung durch die Europäische Kommission tatsächlich zu ersten Maßnahmen in den Schlüsselbereichen der medizinischen, ökologischen, industriellen oder sozioökonomischen Forschung...

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Natalia Timu³⁵¹; and Simon Lightfoot

Europarties: Between the processes of ‘deepening’ and ‘widening’

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 49, Issue 1, 1-4

In 1992 the so-called party paper was added to the Treaty on European Union (EU). This gave an impetus to the development of what are commonly known as Europarties – political parties at the EU level. Supporters of a more democratic EU often call for a Europe des partis rather than a Europe des patries (Marquand, 1978). Yet, historically, the organizational development of Europarties has been slow and linked to EU Treaty change. Their role in EU decision making has evolved since the Amsterdam Treaty (1997), the Treaty of Nice (2000) and the recent Lisbon Treaty, particularly in relation to policy-shaping and fighting elections. Europarties have historically had a limited office-seeking role, because access to the major office roles in the EU is fundamentally controlled by national parties (see Lightfoot, 2005) but can play a role in shaping Union’s policy. These Europarties exist at the supranational level and can be differentiated from European Parliament (EP) Groups (Poguntke et al, 2007). Understanding the roles played by the two sets of organizations is crucial as although there are close links between transnational party federations and political groups, they perform different functions (see Delwit et al, 2004). The transnational party federations act more like extra-parliamentary parties coordinating member party positions and shaping agendas. The distinction between party groups and Europarties has become clearer since the EU party regulation in 2003/2004, which asked for a separation of the two organizations, with Europarties required to become separate legal entities with their own funding sources and staff (see Lightfoot, 2006). A revision to the regulation in 2007 permitted transnational party federations to campaign in elections for the EP, something they did for the first time in the 2009 campaign (Johannson, 2009), providing a vote-seeking role for the first time.

Given these perceived weaknesses, why should we care about Europarties? Schmitter (2000, p. 67) argues that Europarties are often nothing more than ‘loose confederations adopting a least-common denominator program and



possessing virtually no organizational distinctiveness'. Peter Mair also questions whether Europarties can be 'regarded as genuinely European parties – and hence as a core element within the institutionalization of European governance'. The reason he makes this claim is linked to his question – to what extent Europarties 'remain tied to the terms of reference established by the organizations in national politics from which they originally derive?' (Mair, 2006). However, it is clear that the Europarties are developing partisan structures and attempt to perform some of the functions traditionally associated with political parties (Magnette, 2005, pp. 157–163). Bartolini (2012) argues that the EU's institutional environment remains unfriendly to Europarties, yet since the Treaty on EU's party paper there have been numerous attempts to provide the Europarties with a more clearly defined role. Papers highlighting the specific influence of Europarties have shown they can play a role in the integration process (see Johansson and Raunio, 2005; Johansson, 2009; Kūlahci, 2010). There is therefore a clear literature that states that Europarties should be studied (see Hix, 2002; Raunio, 2006; Hanley, 2008; Priestly, 2011 for excellent overviews). Van Hecke (2010, p. 407) develops this by arguing that studying Europarties is worthwhile for a variety of reasons. First, because transnational party federations have the potential to influence the EU's decision-making process they are worth studying, because a small impact on a very important process could generate major consequences. He goes on to argue that they form bridges between politicians in the three main EU institutions. The Europarties are worth studying particularly in the light of the recent Lisbon Treaty, which changes some important parts of the EU institutional design in a way that could strengthen transnational party politics. Last, but not least, the EU party regulation in 2003/2004 has triggered optimism and the belief that this legal provision might open up new opportunities for Europarty development.

Two major challenges potentially temper this optimism. The first is that recent reforms have forced all Europarties to undergo internal changes in order to increase their organizational cohesiveness and affirm themselves as important players in the EU policymaking. The second is that the process of European integration and the successive waves of enlargement have directly affected the structure and the shape of Europarties. The accession of new EU members represented a unique opportunity of recruiting more member parties and increasing the political representation in the EP. However, a negative consequence of this recruiting strategy is the ideological dilution and the decrease in Europarty cohesiveness regarding their political principles.

This special issue contributes twofold to the existing academic research. First, it aims at advancing the theoretical research on Europarties by bridging the comparative politics (CP), public administration and international relations (IR) approaches. The main goal is to analyze and reflect on recent developments of Europarties by (i) analyzing internal organizational transformations and (ii) the external dimensions of Europarties' activity within the EU political system and as international actors. Second, this issue brings an empirical contribution to the study of Europarties by examining the opportunities and challenges that these are facing as a result of recent EU developments as well as regional and international processes.

The present collection of papers covers two main aspects of Europarties' activity: the internal organizational developments (deepening) and the external expansion and the accession of new members (widening). The first section of the special issue investigates the 'deepening' process that the Europarties have been undergoing, analyzing internal organizational reforms, the development of the European party system, as well as the role of Europarties within the EU policy-making process. A special attention is paid to the challenges that the Europarties are facing in the post-Lisbon Treaty period and the activities of the political foundations affiliated to Europarties.

The contribution by Stephen Day seeks to assess theoretically and empirically two developmental strategies that Europarties are confronted with in the light of EU party regulation from 2003/2004. The first one is driven by a desire to contain developments, which the author believes would result into weakly organized Europarties. The second one –



'transnationalization' strategy – emanates from a collaborative dynamic within and across the Europarties, and if adopted it would lead to a series of extra-party and inter-party reforms.

The two following papers explore into more detail Europarties' developmental trajectories by providing case studies of the Party of European Socialists (PES) and the European Liberal Democrat and Reform (ELDR) Party. Simon Lightfoot and Erol K ulahci are addressing the more general question of why Europarties have so far failed to shape European policy by focusing on one of the main Europarties – PES. The paper tests a number of claims about the factors responsible for Europarty influence over EU governance. The contribution of Julie Smith adds on to this volume with the case study of the ELDR, focusing on the evolution of party ties and party formation among Liberal parties in Europe. Apart from examining important questions regarding the organizational development of the ELDR, the paper also investigates the relationship between the ELDR and the EP group – the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, as well as their expansion beyond EU's borders.

In the subsequent paper, Wojciech Gagat ek and Steven Van Hecke discuss a novel Europarty-related development: the establishment of European political foundations. The authors are asking how exactly these European political foundations perform their tasks, focusing on the purposes European political foundations serve and the nature of their relationship with Europarties.

The second section of this special issue tackles the 'widening' process of Europarties, regarding them as international actors and, more specifically, democracy promoters outside EU borders. The papers of Geoffrey Pridham and Natalia Timu ; contribute to the existing theoretical and empirical 'niche' on Europarties as regional players by examining the transnational linkages between Europarties and national parties from EU candidates and the East European neighborhood. Geoffrey Pridham advances a comparative framework for analysis of Europarties' promotion of party development in post-Communist Europe by examining the direct and indirect transnational linkages. The author argues that Europarties enjoyed exceptional scope in EU candidates thanks to EU's accession leverage and led to rather specific effects on party developments in the region.

The paper of Natalia Timu ; concludes this volume by offering an insightful analysis into the Europeanization through transnational cooperation in the case of accession of Ukrainian parties to the European People's Party (EPP). It applies an original theoretical framework combining CP and IR approaches for the analysis of national party affiliation to the Europarties as a specific case of party Europeanization. The essay shows that the EPP has a direct, though weak, influence on aspiring Ukrainian members and that the German Konrad Adenauer Stiftung represents an informal channel for the Europeanization of Ukrainian center-right parties.

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Stuby Gerhard

Europas Zukunft: Mit oder ohne Demokratie?

in **Bl tter f r deutsche & internationale Politik**, Dezember, 2013 , 59-66

In der Oktober-Ausgabe der „Bl tter“ kommt Stephan Schulmeister zu dem Schluss, dass es sich bei der Europ ischen Union um das gr  ste anti-neoliberale Projekt handelt.[1] Wolfgang Streeck weist hingegen zu Recht auf die erheblichen demokratischen Defizite der EU hin, die in den letzten Jahren allzu deutlich hervorgetreten sind.[2] Das eigentliche Skandalon l sst er jedoch unerw hnt: dass n mlich antidemokratische Traditionen das EU-Projekt von Beginn seiner



Schöpfung an begleitetet haben...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Offe Claus

Europe Entrapped: Does the EU have the political capacity to overcome its current crisis?

in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 5, 595–611

The EU in 2013 finds itself at the crossroads of either something considerably better or something much worse than the status quo; in other words, in a crisis. That much is nearly universally understood, both within Europe and widely beyond. So I am certainly not alone in believing that the current crisis, a crisis that is the cumulative outcome of a financial market, sovereign debt and EU integration/democratic deficit crises, is an extremely serious and unprecedented one, frightening due to its complexity and uncertainty. If it cannot soon be resolved (but nobody knows how soon is 'soon enough') through a major institutional overhaul of the EU, both the political project of European integration and the global economy will suffer badly—to say nothing about the massive social suffering it has caused already in the countries of the European periphery.

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Bailleux Julie

Europe and its Jurists. The Legal Service of the European Executives and the Promotion of EC Law as a New Branch of Law (1957-1964)

in *Politique européenne*, n. 41, 2013/3, 88-117

The aim of this article is to shed new light on the making of what is considered to be “the birth of EEC law” : the landmark decisions of the Court of Justice in *Van Gend et Loos* and *Costa v. ENEL*, in which the Court laid the basis of its “constitutional doctrine”. Relying on archival sources, the author highlights both the part played by the European political institutions in the invention and in the judicial validation of the “European legal order theory”, that is of its specificity vis-à-vis national and international legal orders, and the political stakes that underpinned its conceptualization at the end of the 1950s. In other words, this work suggests that these mythical decisions have to be fully understood as the result of a mobilization strategy led by the Legal Service of the European Executives to secure the advent of the future United States of Europe, whereas the very project of building a supranational Europe was seen as compromised by its promoters

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Karner Christian,

Europe and the Nation: Austrian EU-Scepticism and Its Contestation



in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 21, issue 2 , 252-268

ABSTRACT: This discussion of EU-scepticism and its contestation in contemporary Austria is based on a qualitative, discourse analytical reading of the country's diverse media over recent years. Focusing in particular on news coverage and readers' letters pertaining to various (perceived) European crises, the analysis draws on the concepts of topoi (or 'structures of argument') and deixis (or 'rhetorical pointing') to examine the following four thematic foci, around which different positions of EU-scepticism, pragmatism and pro-European counter-discourses are variously formulated and argued over: the role and effects of (global) markets; a spectrum of competing identifications; frameworks of memory and prediction; debates about the EU's institutional structures and different political visions. The internally heterogeneous and strongly contested discursive field thus revealed also demonstrates the uneasy coexistence of various, more or less rigid discourses of national identity with emerging forms of 'banal Europeanism'. While focused on Austrian data throughout, this analysis also points towards discursive parallels in other parts of the EU and argues for the value of qualitative analyses of EU-scepticism and its counter-discourses to complement existing quantitative studies.

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Amelia Hadfield, Daniel Fiott

Europe and the Rest of the World

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 168-182

No abstract available

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Pellissandri Jérôme

Europe de la défense, Europe militaire, un débat désespérant ?

in **Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 762, Été

Avec cette mise en perspective générale de la question militaire européenne, l'auteur rappelle la valeur du temps long de l'histoire pour décoder les tensions du présent. Il démontre aussi que la panne observée de l'Europe dite de la défense n'est pas d'essence militaire mais d'ordre politique, c'est le flottement actuel du projet européen qui l'explique. Mais il annonce aussi qu'elle n'est pas définitive et que la relève se profile.

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Slavtcheva-Petkova Vera, Mihelj Sabina

Europe – a default or a dream? European identity formation among Bulgarian and English children

in **Ethnicities**, Vol. 13, n. 5 , Slavtcheva-Petkova Vera, Mihelj Sabina

No abstract available



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Niall Ferguson, Pier Paolo Barbieri

Europe's Feeble War on Unemployment

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 3, July , 34-36

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Padoa-Schioppa Antonio

Europe, objectifs et obstacles : la question de la souveraineté

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 368, 2013/2 , 109-118

The economic and financial crisis of Europe has not yet been resolved. The intergovernmental procedure adopted so far has clearly shown all its flaws, both on the ground of effectiveness and on the ground of democratic legitimation. What this article tries to stress is the necessity of accepting a different model of the European Union linked to a different idea of sovereignty. The national horizon should no more be the sole to be linked to the idea of sovereignty, a concept that requires to be accepted and put in force also at the supranational and European level. But a European government for economic policy and for defence controlled by the European Parliament, consistent with the subsidiarity principle, implies the rejection of a series of obsolete myths about sovereignty. Nothing is more resistant than false ideas, if they are linked with vested interests to conservatism.

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Gounin Yves

Europe: l'élargissement, jusqu'on?

in *Politique internationale*, n. 140 - Ete, 2013

On July 1 Croatia became the 28th member of the European Union. The EU has continued to expand since its creation in 1957, spawning a certain malaise as to whether this could dilute the European identity. Yet the question of Europe's borders must be addressed one day or another. Will Turkey, Ukraine and Russia eventually join? There is a risk that these expansions undermine the unity of the original vision. The reform of European institutions - designed for a six-nation Europe and incapable of functioning smoothly with a Europe that now counts 27 states and possibly 35 in the future - is an incredibly thorny issue. For nearly 20 years, the Treaties of Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon have instituted cosmetic and insufficient reforms. The EU faces a strong temptation to agree to new requests for membership, which are flattering testimony to its power of attraction. But sometimes, the best response is to just say "no"...

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Balibar Étienne

Europe: l'impuissance des nations et la question «populiste»

in *Actuel Marx*, N° 54, octobre 2013

Europe: The Powerlessness of Nations and the « Populist » Question

In this article, drawn from a contribution to the series "Uses of Xenophobia" on openDemocracy (www.opendemocracy.net), the author discusses the relevance of the category of "populism" to an analysis of the manifestations of xenophobia in the context of the crisis of the construction of Europe. It criticizes the confusion of uses which blurs the political antitheses. It warns against the drawing of any facile analogy between the present situation and the effects of the earlier major economic, political and moral crisis, that of the 1930's, while at the same time stressing the impossibility of completely avoiding such comparisons. More specifically, the author indicates two specific roots of the resurgence of nationalism in aggressive forms: the incapacity of the European Union to defend its own pluralism, and therefore national and cultural diversity, against the utilitarian processes of normalization, and the devastating social effects following from the destruction of the "social state" which was constructed in the 20th century within a national framework. For a reconstruction of Europe, which has now become inevitable, these two problems must be directly addressed.

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Olsen Espen D. H.

European Citizenship: Mixing Nation State and Federal Features with a Cosmopolitan Twist

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 4 , 505-519

European citizenship poses a challenge to the paradigmatic understanding of citizenship as congruence between nation, state, and membership rights. Contrary to previous research which has focused on single elements or normative ideas, this paper addresses this challenge by comparing ideal typical models of the EU polity. Is EU citizenship more nation-based, federal, or cosmopolitan? Utilized heuristically, the models account for different features of European citizenship practice, and the relative weighting between them. Based on this conceptual analysis, the main argument is that despite important developments towards granting rights based on 'personhood' and not 'nationhood', European citizenship is also marked by the interface between nation state and federal arrangements in EU politics. The degree of 'incongruence' in European citizenship is therefore dependent on the mixed nature of EU politics, rather than the effect of post-national projects that address the 'liberation' of citizenship from nationality.

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Ludlow N. Piers

European Integration in the 1980s: on the Way to Maastricht?

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 19, n. 1 , 11-22



This article seeks to identify the roots of the Maastricht Treaty that pre-date the geopolitical earthquake of 1989-91. It argues that, vital though this wider context would ultimately be, much of the agenda of the eventual treaty negotiations owed as much if not more to the trajectory of the European integration process in the course of the 1980s. In order to demonstrate this, the article will focus on four different 'trends' that had emerged during the 1980s each of which fed through into the Maastricht debates. These trends are first the importance of treaty change as opposed to less formalised advance, second the desire to 'tidy up' those aspects of the integration process that had begun outside of the formal Community context, third the ever greater faith in institutional change as a means to cope with the EC's constantly expanding range of tasks and challenges, and fourth a tendency towards policy spillover. All of these would play a vital role in discussions amongst the Twelve.

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Sorić Petar, Škrabić Blanka, Čižmešija Mirjana

European Integration in the Light of Business and Consumer Surveys

in Eastern European Economics, Volume 51, Number 2 / March-April 2013 , 5-20

The process of European integration has necessitated the analysis of the economic convergence between the old and new member states of the European Union (EU). To this end, this paper examines business and consumer surveys (BCS) through the prism of the economic convergence of new member countries. The main aim of this paper is to analyze whether the quality of BCS indicators in transition countries is comparable to the quality of those in developed European countries. This paper provides several extensions to other related BCS studies: (1) it is the first empirical paper to observe each specific BCS indicator and its sector-related macroeconomic variable at the EU level; (2) the data set is extensive, comprising all EU members; and (3) the analysis is based on the recent panel vector autoregressive methodology. It is found that new member states' indicators exhibit pronounced predictive properties and can be used as leading indicators of related macroeconomic variables for even four quarters ahead. This shows that they are as efficient as the indicators in EU15 and that the Joint Harmonised EU Programme of Business and Consumer Surveys is fully justified on its fiftieth jubilee.

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Dragoljub TODIĆ, Maja BOBIĆ,,

European Integration of the Republic of Serbia and the Role and Capacities of Environmental Civil Society Organisations: Between Normative and Reality

in Review of International Affairs (The) , VOL. LXIV, N°. 1150 April-June 2013

The paper emphasizes certain general elements and the existing literature relevant to the understanding of the role of the civil society organizations in the contemporary society in the context of the importance of citizen participation in decision-making, contributing to the democratization of the society, the improvement of relations between public authorities and interested citizens, strengthening European integrations and solving environmental problems in general. The importance of the CSOs participation is especially emphasized in the following activities: participation of CSOs in harmonization of national legislation with the EU regulation and participation of CSOs in decision-making regarding environmental issues. In the second part of the paper, the assessment of CSOs capacities in this respect in the RS is provided. The main thesis examined in this article is that the role of CSOs in European integration is partly regulated but



the question of the capacity of CSOs to participate in the activities related to accomplishing objectives of the European integration is not adequately overviewed.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Garcia-Arias Jorge, Fernandez-Huerga Eduardo, Salvador Ana

European Periphery Crises, International Financial Markets, and Democracy

in *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Volume 72, Issue 4, October 2013 , 826-850

This article analyzes the origin and causes of the recent economic and financial crises, mainly for the countries located in the periphery of the European Union (EU), as well as their evolution and transformation into social, political, and institutional crises.

After explaining the differential impact of the crises on EU economies, we analyze how the economic policies developed thus far not only are unable to resolve the current crisis pattern but also actually entail a risk to the present democratic models by transferring the legitimate control over governments from citizens and democratic parliaments to unelected, nonrepresentative international financial markets.

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Thomas Gehring, Sebastian Oberthür, Marc Mühleck

European Union Actorness in International Institutions: Why the EU is Recognized as an Actor in Some International Institutions, but Not in Others

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 5, September 2013 , 849-865

This article examines why the European Union (EU) is recognized as a relevant actor in some international institutions, but not in others. Drawing on theories of international institutions and corporate action, it develops a theoretical approach toward EU actorness that demonstrates under which conditions third parties gain an interest in recognizing this actor as a relevant party to international institutions and how the EU can become an actor in its own right. The EU is expected to be recognized as a relevant actor in an international institution if it has acquired action capability in the relevant governance area, while formal status plays an inferior role. This hypothesis is subsequently assessed for six international institutions that vary regarding the degree of EU action capability and the EU's formal status, including the WTO and IMF, FAO and WHO as well as two international environmental regimes. Empirical results confirm the fruitfulness of the theoretical approach.

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Loek Groot, Erik Zonneveld

European Union Budget Contributions and Expenditures: A Lorenz Curve Approach

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2013 , 649-666



This article investigates the (in)equality of the European budget with respect to financial contributions and expenditures across Member States. Standard tools from the measurement of income inequality, including the Lorenz curve and the Gini coefficient, are applied to the distribution of European Union contributions and expenditure. In addition, the inequality in the allocation of the budget is juxtaposed against the distribution of voting power within the Council of Ministers. Redistribution from rich to poor members can mainly be attributed to unequal per capita contributions in funding the EU budget, while voting power rather than the needs of individual members dominates with respect to expenditure. The accession to the EU of relatively smaller eastern European countries in 2004 and 2007 delivered more voting power to poorer countries with relatively small population shares. This change reinforced the voting power effect in expenditures.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cathal Mccall

European Union Cross-Border Cooperation and Conflict Amelioration

in Space and Polity, Volume 17, Number 2 / August , 197-216

The relevance of European Union (EU) cross-border cooperation for European border conflict amelioration may be questioned in the contemporary global climate of threat and insecurity posed by forces of 'dark globalisation'. In any case, empirical evidence exposes the limitations of cross-border cooperation in advancing conflict amelioration in some border regions. Nevertheless, in an enlarged EU which encompasses Central and East European member states and reaches out to neighbouring states through cross-border cooperation initiatives, the number of real and potential border conflicts with which it is concerned has risen exponentially. Fortunately, there are cases of EU 'borderscapes' that have adopted a cross-border 'peace-building from below' approach leading to border conflict amelioration. Unfortunately, countervailing pressures on EU cross-border cooperation from border security regimes (principally Schengen), the Eurozone crisis, EU budgetary constraints, the conceptualisation of 'Europe as Empire', and the possible reconfiguration of the EU itself compromises this approach. Therefore, the path of European integration may well shift from one of inter-state peace-building and regional cross-border cooperation after the Second World War, to border conflict and coercion in constituting and reconstituting state borders after the reconfiguration of the EU.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Julia Langbein

European Union Governance towards the Eastern Neighbourhood: Transcending or Redrawing Europe's East–West Divide?

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 157-174

How does the European Union (EU) shape the integration of non-member states in transnational markets and why are other external actors more effective than the EU in fostering regulatory change in such a context? Examining the case of Ukraine, the article finds that international financial institutions and donors are better at eliciting reform than the EU because they empower state and non-state domestic actors, who in turn demand and enforce new rules in their home markets. Overall, because the EU limits itself to intergovernmental co-operation and other external actors only engage in reform of select sectors, we do not observe comprehensive regulatory change in the eastern neighbourhood. Shallow



transnational market integration is the result. Eastern neighbours are therefore economically worse off than even the laggards of EU enlargement, Bulgaria and Romania. Consequently, a new developmental divide at the EU's eastern borders between countries in- and outside the EU is emerging.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zarotiadis, Grigoris; Gkagka, Aristeia

European Union: a diverging Union?

in **Journal of Post Keynesian Economics**, volume 35 n.4 , 537-568

Standard growth theory emphasizes the closure of gaps: as internationalization proceeds, socioeconomic, structural characteristics of different countries become similar. Despite the fact that the European Union (EU) represents a historical experiment of a region of gradually strengthening internationalization, a wide range of EU studies reject the convergence hypothesis, showing an unclear development of standard deviation in time. Many of the studies find that something went wrong in the 1980s, yet they describe it as the result of a temporary effect. In the present paper, we show that the puzzle of the 1980s is not a short-term break in a continuous trend, but a complete alteration of the process, a structural shift toward a persisting period of continuous divergence! The previous trend of closing the gap among the member countries was reversed completely: in 2010, the coefficient of variation returned to higher levels than those of 1960. Second, all previous gains of labor vanished: in the period 1980-2005, real wages lost about 35 percent against per capita gross domestic product (GDP). The empirical findings we provide support our main suspicion: apart from confirming the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) observation of growing and persisting inequality in all Western economies, the gradual transition of the European free trade area into an economic and monetary union, accompanied by the prevalence of a specific policy, explains the prevalence of a period of deepening divergence since the beginning of the 1980s.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fitoussi Jean-Paul, Saraceno Francesco

European economic governance: the Berlin–Washington Consensus

in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 37 Issue 3 May 2013 , 479-496

This paper argues that the European Union (EU) has gone further than any other country or institution in internalising the prescriptions of the Washington Consensus. Embedding neoliberal principles in the treaties defining its governance, the EU has enshrined a peculiar doctrine within its constitution. We further argue that this 'Berlin–Washington Consensus' has serious empirical and theoretical flaws, as its reliance on Pareto optimality leads to neglect the crucial links between current and potential growth. We show by means of a simple model that the call for structural reforms as an engine for growth may be controversial, once current and potential output are related. We claim that adherence to the Consensus may go a long way in explaining the poor growth performance of the European economy in the past two decades, because of the constraints that it imposed on fiscal and monetary policies. The same constraints have deepened the eurozone crisis that started in 2009, putting unwarranted emphasis on austerity and reform. Challenging the Consensus becomes a precondition for avoiding the implosion of the euro and recovering growth.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peglis Michalis

European elections 2014: what kind of dish will the parties serve the electorate? Will it have a national or European flavour?

in *European View* , vol. 12, n. 1, June , 121-134

European elections via popular vote were introduced in the 1970s to boost popular interest and European integration. However, at the first election in 1979, people voted without consideration for European issues, but instead with the national agenda in mind. This situation has been repeated on all seven occasions, up to the most recent election in 2009. As we head towards the next European elections in 2014 we explore the differences from previous elections and note the financial crisis in the eurozone, the profound politicisation of the EU and the anticipated implementation of the latest treaty, named after the Lisbon summit. In this overall environment we attempt to assess the type of message that political parties on the national level will present to the electorate. Under certain conditions, we will contend, the next European elections may depart from those studied in previous research analyses.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luis Bouza García

European narratives and the politicisation of the EU: gone with the Wind or Game of Thrones?

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 49 , 47-69

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Claudia Toriz Ramos

European political integration: theoretical contributions of multi-level governance and democratic theory

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 49 , 71-89

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Frey Bruno S.

European unification: a new proposal

in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 24, Issue 4, December 2013 , 285-294

My contribution presents a possibility to unify Europe based on newly emerging political units focused on solving problems rather than on historically given nation states. These Endogenous Political Entities (EPE), as they shall be called, are better suited to reach the goals of European unification as they strengthen the fundamental European values of variety and freedom. I make three propositions: to base the unification of Europe on nation states is unfortunate as



the latter are responsible for the political disaster of the two World Wars; the unification must proceed in a problem-oriented manner. The constitution of Europe must allow and promote EPE to emerge specifically to deal with particular problems; the new political units can be introduced in marginal steps. Over time, a flexible and dynamic net of political entities will arise taking care of the large economic, social and cultural diversity in Europe.

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Balkir Canan, Bolukbasi H. Tolga, Ertugal Ebru

Europeanisation and Dynamics of Continuity and Change: Domestic Political Economies in the 'Southern Periphery'

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 18, Issue 2, Special Issue: Europeanisation and the southern periphery' in retrospect: another decade of dynamism, asymmetry, and fragmentation? , 121-137

This article provides the framework for some case studies on the dynamics of Europeanisation in South European political economies. It summarises the key features of the common template each case study adopts. Following a discussion on political economy as it is conceptualised in this volume titled "Europeanisation and the southern periphery' in retrospect: another decade of dynamism, asymmetry, and fragmentation? Guest Editors: Canan Balkir, H. Tolga Bolukbasi and Ebru Ertugal', the article elaborates the defining attributes of the Europeanisation research programme by focusing on its theoretical core, research design and method of conceptualising and operationalising domestic continuity and change centring on the troika of 'ideas', 'interests' and 'institutions' in unpacking the dynamics therein. It concludes by providing a summary of the contributions to this volume.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Balkir Canan, Bolukbasi H. Tolga, Ertugal Ebru

Europeanisation in the 'Southern Periphery': Comparative Research Findings on the EU's Impact on Domestic Political Economies

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 18, Issue 2, Special Issue: Europeanisation and the southern periphery' in retrospect: another decade of dynamism, asymmetry, and fragmentation? , 259-280

This article presents the comparative findings of six case studies of continuity and change in Southern European political economies which make use of the Europeanisation research programme. It summarises the varied European Union (EU) level inputs, frameworks or agendas in the different policy areas that each case study focuses on. It gauges the magnitude and direction of domestic change at the level of policy and governance in each political economy. In order to show how the case studies unpack the relationship between the EU input and domestic change in public policies, the article explains how the prevalent ideas, dominant interests and structuring institutions co-determine the nature of domestic change in political economies.

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Bolukbasi H. Tolga, Ertugal Ebru

Europeanisation of Employment Policy in Turkey: Tracing Domestic Change through Institutions, Ideas and



Interests

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 18, Issue 2, Special Issue: Europeanisation and the southern periphery' in retrospect: another decade of dynamism, asymmetry, and fragmentation? , 237-257

This article examines the impact of the European Union (EU) on Turkish political economy through an analysis of employment policy. Through tracing 'institutions', 'ideas' and 'interests' representing this policy area, it analyses the extent to which the accession process, which started with the granting of candidate status at the Helsinki Summit in December 1999, has prompted a transformation in this policy area. It draws on empirical evidence based on semi-structured interviews and other primary sources. The main finding is that domestic change occurs, however limited and variegated across sub-policy areas, through policy learning. Moreover, the policy ideas transplanted from the EU gain importance only in interaction with preferences of the coalition of dominant actors.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fitjar Rune Dahl, Leknes Einar, Thygesen Janne

Europeanisation of regional policy making: a Boolean analysis of Norwegian counties' participation in the EU's Interreg programme

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 31, Issue 3, June , 381-400

How does the EU affect policy making by regional governments in Norway, a unitary nonmember state? We address this question through examining the impact of participation in the Interreg programme on Norwegian county councils' regional development policies. We examine forty-four acts of participation by Norwegian counties in Interreg projects, tracking their effects on both incremental policy changes and radical changes of policy direction. We find that most of the projects have resulted in policy changes by the county council and sometimes by other actors, and almost a third have resulted in a completely or partly new policy direction. Examining which projects had the greatest impact, we find that the county council's ability to shape the project according to regional concerns, especially in newly formed networks, is an important mediating condition. This could indicate that regional governments are using Interreg as a channel for policy entrepreneurship, building activi

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Blavoukos Spyros, Caramanis Constantinou, Dedoulis Emmanouil

Europeanisation, Independent Bodies and the Empowerment of Technocracy: The Case of the Greek Auditing Oversight Body

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 18, Issue 2, Special Issue: Europeanisation and the southern periphery' in retrospect: another decade of dynamism, asymmetry, and fragmentation? , 139-157

The establishment of independent oversight bodies constitutes an important institutional reform in the European Union context. Based on technocratic expertise, they aim to curtail the state's policymaking and supervisory role. During the last decade, such bodies have been established in Greece, illustrating the ideational and institutional impact of the Europeanisation process. By examining the Greek independent oversight board for accounting and audit practices, we posit that its highly politicised mode of governance has undermined the purpose of its instigation and operation. Although such externally induced institutional reforms entail some ideational and institutional change, their full



transformative potential has yet to be realised in Greece.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Manuel Fischer & Pascal Sciarini

Europeanization and the inclusive strategies of executive actors

in **Journal of European Public Policy**, Volume 20, Issue 10 2013, 1482-1498

In Europeanized policy domains, executive actors are considered especially powerful because they are directly responsible for international negotiations. However, in order to avoid failing in the ratification process, they are also highly dependent on the support of domestic, non-state actors. We argue that in Europeanized decision-making processes, state actors are not passively lobbied, but actively seek collaboration with – and support from – domestic actors. We apply stochastic actor-based modelling for network dynamics to collaboration data on two successive bilateral agreements on the free movement of persons between Switzerland and the European Union (EU). Results confirm our hypotheses that state actors are not passively lobbied, but actively look for collaboration with other actors, and especially with potential veto players and euro-sceptical actors from both the conservative Right and the Left.

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Berny Nathalie

Europeanization as organizational learning: When French ENGOs play the EU multilevel policy game

in **French Politics**, Volume 11, Issue 3, September 2013, 217-240

This article adopts an organization-centered and pragmatist approach in order to analyze Europeanization as a learning process in the field of public policy. This approach opposes the established view, which understands national ENGOs' (environmental non-governmental organizations') activism as a process that is simply responsive to European opportunities according to their resources and values/preferences. The concept of organizational learning re-establishes the organization as the unit of analysis and as an explanatory factor of the strategies related to the European Union (EU) arena. Defined as a 'learning-by-doing' process, organizational learning consists of discovering and exploiting the EU multilevel game, while mobilizing internal resources for this purpose. The proposed analytical framework enriches the empirical discussion of the way in which French ENGOs deal with the uncertainty of multilevel policymaking, while discussing the strategic dimension of their EU activism.

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George Kyris

Europeanization beyond Contested Statehood: The European Union and Turkish-Cypriot Civil Society

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue 5, September 2013, 866-883

This article investigates the impact of the European Union (EU) on the Turkish-Cypriot civil society, pegged to the Europeanization debate. The article contributes to the discussion on Europeanization and the role of the EU in contested states, which remains a neglected topic in the literature. The argument advanced is that a series of factors that relate to



the contested statehood of the Turkish-Cypriot case mediate the occurrence of Europeanization and they often contribute to an exceptional EU impact on domestic civil society. In this regard, the Turkish-Cypriot example has strong comparative value for the study of the international role of the EU, the Europeanization of contested states and the importance that the EU places on contacts with civil society, as an alternative avenue to relations with states.

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Anna Michalski

Europeanization of National Foreign Policy: The Case of Denmark's and Sweden's Relations with China
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 5, September 2013 , 884-900

This article examines the link between constructed identity, socialization and interests in the Europeanization of national foreign policy. Theoretically, it contributes to the understanding of the conditions motivating Member States to have recourse to European Union (EU) opportunity structures in order to balance normative foreign policy interest with material interests. Empirically, the article contributes to understanding the influence of Europeanization on the foreign policy of Denmark and Sweden in their relations to China. It discusses perspectives on Europeanization of national foreign policy in the analysis of change in identity, institutions and policy, and explores the misfit thesis in relation to European identity construction and elite socialization, strategic calculation and the influence of alternative sources outside the EU. The research aims, study design and case selection are then presented prior to the analysis of the Europeanization of Denmark's and Sweden's relations with China.

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Sevim Huseyin

Europeanization of candidate states : the case of the Turkish administration
in *Politique européenne* , n. 41, 2013/3 , 64-87

This article investigates the way the national administration in Turkey has modified its organizations and modes of action under the influence of the European integration process. The article focuses on Turkish ministries in order to examine this impact on 3 different levels : inter-organizational (macro-administrative scale), intra-organizational (meso-administrative scale) and regarding human resources (micro-administrative scale). It also highlights the impact of European integration process on the modes of action of Turkish ministries so as to illustrate more concretely the effects of Europeanization on their "ways of doing". If the implementation of European integration process has created new styles and modes of action within each administration, it also contributed to the emergence in the Turkish administrative area of shared governance in European policy.

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Keil Soeren

Europeanization, state-building and democratization in the Western Balkans
in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 41, Issue 3, 2013 , 343-353



Abstract

The Western Balkans have seen rapid changes since the end of the violent conflicts in the 1990s. The European Union (EU) has been one of the main drivers for change, focusing on the political, economic and social transformation of the region to prepare the countries for membership in the Union. This introduction to the special issue will clarify the key terms and their interaction in the Western Balkans. EU enlargement has never before been this complex and inter-connected with processes of state-building and democratization. The focus on conditionality as the main tool of the EU in the region has had positive and negative effects. It can be argued that the EU is actively involved in state-building processes and therefore the term EU Member State Building will be used to explain the engagement of the Union with the countries in the region. This paper will discuss the concept of EU Member State Building, its potential and its pitfalls. It will be demonstrated that the stabilization of the region is unlikely to take place without an active role for the EU; however, the current approach has reached its limits and it is time to think about alternative options to integrate the Western Balkans into European structures.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thomas Wright

Europe's Lost Decade

in *Survival*, Volume 55, Issue 6 , 7-28

Facing economic stagnation which will sap its strength, heighten political tensions and diminish its global role, Europe must dismiss 'muddling through' as an alternative to collapse. Only radical steps can avert a lost decade.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Robert Kahn & Charles Kupchan

Europe's Make or Break Moment

in *Survival*, Volume 55, Issue 6 , 29-48

The austerity being doled out to put Europe's house in order is undermining public readiness to accept the deeper union that is needed to redress the region's economic woes.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carrapiço Helena, Trauner Florian

Europol and its Influence on EU Policy-making on Organized Crime: Analyzing Governance Dynamics and Opportunities

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 3, Special Issue: Agency Governance in the European Union's



Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 357-371

While issues relating to the development, legitimacy and accountability of the European Police Office, Europol, have been intensively discussed in political and academic circles, the actual impact of Europol on policy-making in the European Union has yet to receive scholarly attention. By investigating the evolution and the role of Europol's organized crime reports, this article elaborates on whether Europol has been able to exert an influence beyond its narrowly defined mandate. Theoretically informed by the assumptions of experimentalist governance, the article argues that the different legal systems and policing traditions of EU member states have made it difficult for the EU to agree on a common understanding on how to fight against organized crime. This lack of consensus, which has translated into a set of vague and broadly formulated framework goals and guidelines, has enabled Europol to position its Organized Crime Threat Assessments as the point of reference in the respective EU policy-making area. Europol's interest in improving its institutional standing thereby converged with the interest of different member states to use Europol as a socialization platform to broadcast their ideas and to 'Europeanize' their national counter-organized crime policy.

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Marcus Miller, Dania Thomas

Eurozone sovereign debt restructuring: keeping the vultures at bay
in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 29 n.4 , 745-63

The eurozone debt crisis has stimulated lively debate on mechanisms for sovereign debt restructuring. The immediate threat of exit and the break-up of the currency union may have abated; but the problem of dealing with significant debt overhang remains. After considering two broad approaches—institutional versus contractual—we look at a hybrid solution that combines the best of both. In addition to debt contracts with collective action clauses, this includes a key amendment to the Treaty establishing the European Stability Mechanism, together with innovative state-contingent contracts and a special purpose vehicle to market them.

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Ehrmann, Michael, Soudan, Michel, Stracca, Livio

Explaining European Union Citizens' Trust in the European Central Bank in Normal and Crisis Times
in *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, volume 115 n.3 , 781-807

We study the determinants of trust in the European Central Bank (ECB) as measured by the European Commission's Eurobarometer survey, in particular during the global financial crisis and the European sovereign debt crisis. We find that the fall in trust in the ECB in crisis times can be rather well explained based on the pre-crisis determinants. We also show that the fall in trust reflected the macroeconomic deterioration, a more generalized fall in the trust in European institutions in the wake of the crisis, and the severity of the banking sector's problems, to which the ECB was associated in the public opinion.



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Franchino Fabio, Mariotto Camilla

Explaining negotiations in the conciliation committee

in European Union Politics , Vol. 14, n. 3, September , 345-365

The conciliation committee is the ultimate bicameral dispute settlement mechanism of the ordinary legislative procedure of the European Union. Who gets what, and why, in this committee? We argue that its institutional setup is biased in favour of the Council of Ministers. Employing the Wordfish algorithm, we show that the joint text is more similar to the Council common position than to the parliamentary reading in almost 70 percent of the dossiers that reached conciliation up to February 2012. The European Parliament is more successful in the post-Amsterdam period, when the Council decides by qualified majority voting, the rapporteur comes from a large party, the European Commission is supportive, and when national administrations are more involved in the implementation process than the Commission.

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Franz Sinabell, Erwin Schmid, Markus F. Hofreither

Exploring the distribution of direct payments of the Common Agricultural Policy

in Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy, volume 40 n.2 , 325-41

Direct payments are the most important expenditure of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). They are mostly spent on decoupled direct payments which are intended to be allocatively neutral. Increasing volumes of such transfers imply that distributive aspects of CAP expenditures become more important. This article looks at this issue by calculating various measures of concentration based on statistics on recipients of direct payments in EU27 in the period from 2000 to 2010. The findings are evaluated in the context of the objectives of the CAP and the reform proposals of the EU Commission from October 2011. It seems that country specific factors determine the concentration of direct payments and its change over time.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rossi Sergio

Financialisation and monetary union in Europe: the monetary–structural causes of the euro-area crisis

in Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society, Volume 6 Issue 3 November , 381-400

The merging of national currencies into a single-currency area is an important factor of financialisation in Europe, as it has disposed of monetary barriers within Euroland, thereby allowing free mobility of financial capital in the form of bank deposits across the whole European Monetary Union (EMU). This monetary–structural change has increased economic divergence and financial instability within the euro area, rather than being a factor of stability and convergence. Further, the payment infrastructure within the EMU is defective, as it leaves the payee's country with a claim on the payer's country. This is a monetary–structural factor of financial imbalances across Euroland.

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David Cronin, Kevin Dowd

Fiscal Fan Charts: A Tool for Assessing Member States' (Likely?) Compliance with EU Fiscal Rules
in *Fiscal Studies*, volume 34 n.4 , 517-34

This paper sets out a methodology for constructing fan charts for the government deficit and debt ratios over the medium term. It relies on information contained in Stability/Convergence Programme Updates, a model of the relevant stochastic process (for example, that of real GDP) or processes, and a parameter estimate of the sensitivity of the primary budget balance to the output gap for the member state under consideration. A model of the dynamic deficit–debt relationship allows the impact of random output growth to work its way through the fiscal arithmetic in a consistent and traceable way to produce fan charts over a five-year forecast horizon. The initial set of fiscal fan charts included here for Ireland use the indicative public finance projections set out in its 2011 Update. The methodology makes the standard assumption of no fiscal policy response to any change in the budgetary position over the period such as could arise from changes in growth rates. Governments will, however, generally be in a position to adjust fiscal policy towards meeting a specific target, such as the 3 per cent Maastricht Treaty deficit target. A second set of fan charts is included that indicates how the probabilistic range of fiscal outcomes could be affected by a tightening of fiscal policy in 2013–15.

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Carabba Manin

Fiscal compact e tutela dei diritti sociali
in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, n. 1-2 , 9-12

pp. ,

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De Ioanna Paolo

Fiscal compact tra istituzioni ed economia
in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, n. 1-2 , 13-42

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Hinarejos Alicia

Fiscal federalism in the European Union: Evolution and future choices for EMU'
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 6 , 1621-1642

ABSTRACT: In order to be sustainable as a multilevel system of fiscal and economic governance, EMU faces certain challenges that are common to all federal, multilevel, or fiscally decentralized systems. This paper focuses on three such



central challenges: (1) enforcing fiscal discipline; (2) addressing structural inequalities between different euro area economies; and (3) preventing and countering asymmetric shocks. The paper analyses the evolution of the EU's multilevel system of fiscal and economic governance in relation to these three challenges, showing that they have been only partially addressed. If it were to address these obstacles more fully, the EU would face a crucial choice between two ideal models of integration: The "surveillance model", where Member States maintain all taxing power and where the EU is an enforcer of discipline, and the "classic fiscal federalism" model, where the EU acquires an independent sphere of fiscal authority, and thus its own fiscal tools for macroeconomic stabilization. The paper analyses the implications of both models and argues that the surveillance model, when taken to its natural conclusion, poses as much of a threat to Member States' autonomy, and presents us with similar democratic legitimacy problems, as the classic fiscal federalism model.

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Olivier Bargain, Mathias Dolls, Clemens Fuest, Dirk Neumann, Andreas Peichl, Nico Pestel and Sebastian Sieglöck
Fiscal union in Europe? Redistributive and stabilizing effects of a European tax-benefit system and fiscal equalization mechanism

in *Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.75 , 375-422

No abstract available

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Daniel Gros

Foreign debt versus domestic debt in the euro area

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 29 n.3 , 502-17

The aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis has led to a sharp rise in public debt throughout the developed world. The problem is particularly acute within the euro area, where several governments needed financial assistance from the International Monetary Fund and the European Stability Mechanism. This paper argues that public debt poses much greater problems when it is owed to foreigners, i.e. when it constitutes foreign debt. This view implies that the key to overcoming the euro crisis is in the external adjustment, not the fiscal adjustment. Another implication is that in a crisis a strong fiscal adjustment is desirable, not because it can immediately reduce the public debt/GDP ratio, but because it reduces domestic absorption and thus reinforces the external

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Michael Smith

Foreign policy and development in the post-Lisbon European Union

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 26, Issue 3 , 519-535

The European Union (EU) has a long tradition of involvement in development policy and can claim to be the world's most influential donor when the activities of its member states are aggregated. Recently, however, this position has



been challenged by the rise of new donors and models of development assistance, by the changing needs and positions of recipients and by institutional change within the EU itself. This article explores these issues by focusing first on the nature of EU foreign policy, and then on the ways in which it has interacted with the changing trajectory of development policies to create new issues and problems. It concludes that the EU's position remains central and significant to global development policy, but that this position faces important challenges to which the response is as yet uncertain.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guderzo Massimiliano

Francisco Javier Solana Madariaga

in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

The author aims to retrace the European commitment of Javier Solana. After an important career in internal politics, especially as minister of Foreign Affairs of the socialist governments from the mid-eighties to the mid-nineties, Solana first became General Secretary of NATO. From this experience, he always inserted the European integration process into the wider range of transatlantic relations. His European career began in 1999, when he became first General Secretary of the Council of the European Union, High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy and General Secretary of WEU. In 2004, together with the second mandate of the previous appointments, he became head of the European Defence Agency. As far as European policy is concerned, he defended Spanish interests during the Monetary and Economic Union negotiations and during the Ioannina Compromise in 1994. He also always insists on following both these on questions of Eastern enlargements and EU relations with NATO and the Arab countries, considering and defending the Mediterranean projection of EU foreign policy.

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Dursun-Ozkanca Oya

French public opinion on the European Union's Eastern enlargement and public-elite relations

in French Politics, Volume 11, Issue 3, September 2013, 241-258

In France, people had serious reservations about the 2004 European Union (EU) enlargement. Despite the lack of enthusiasm and support toward enlargement, the French government officially endorsed this policy. This article examines whether the democratic deficit argument holds true in the French context, through analyses of both the French public opinion toward the Eastern enlargement of the EU, and the nature of the relationship between elites and the public opinion on the topic. Using the Flash Eurobarometer Survey 132.2, it first conducts a logistic regression to identify the determinants of the public support for EU enlargement in France. It then provides an in-depth qualitative analysis of the French public opinion-elite relationship. It concludes with a discussion of the overall lessons drawn on the democratic deficit debate.

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Hauswedell Corinna



Frieden ohne Primat. Der Irrweg deutscher Außenpolitik

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juli, 2013 , 71-81

The full text is free:

<http://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2013/juli/frieden-ohne-primat>

Deutsche Außenpolitik hat es nicht leicht. Das gilt nicht erst, seitdem der französische Militäreinsatz in Mali die Frage nach dem europäischen Schulterschluss aufgeworfen hat und die Eskalation des Syrien-Konflikts allseits Ratlosigkeit verbreitet. Doch Berlin ist nicht Paris, und schon gar nicht London oder Washington. Trotzdem sind die Rufe der größeren westlichen Staaten nach Übernahme von mehr internationaler „Verantwortung“ durch Deutschland erheblich lauter geworden. Die aus der Zeit vor 1989 stammende kalkulierte Schonfrist für eine deutsche Teilhabe an westlicher Machtausübung ist unwiderruflich zu Ende...

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Paul De Grauwe, Yuemei Ji

From Panic-Driven Austerity to Symmetric Macroeconomic Policies in the Eurozone

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 31-41

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mahoney Paul

From Strasbourg to Luxembourg and Back: Speculating about Human Rights Protection in the European Union after the Treaty of Lisbon

in *Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 31, n. 2-6 , 73-83

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dinan Desmond

From Treaty Revision to Treaty Revision: The Legacy of Maastricht

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 19, n. 1 , 123-140

Unfinished business, the need to tie up loose ends, and policy spillover explain to some extent EU treaty reform in the post-Maastricht period. Important also are the challenge of democratic legitimacy and the unprecedented nature of Central and Eastern European enlargement. Yet these developments shaped the agenda, negotiation, and outcome of the post-Maastricht inter-governmental conferences (IGCs) in ways that severely limited the utility of treaty reform as a method of deepening European integration. Far from strengthening the EU's legitimacy, post-Maastricht treaty reform



seemed to exacerbate the “democratic deficit.” At the same time, anxiety among national governments over the implications of enlargement for influence in decisionmaking institutions intensified rivalry between the big and small member states, which dominated the conduct of IGCs and ensured unsatisfactory results. Twenty years after Maastricht, the eurozone crisis highlights the need for far-reaching treaty change in order to strengthen the fundamentals of EMU, which may nonetheless be politically impracticable because of the legacy of treaty reform in the post-Maastricht period. Given the centrality of EMU in the Maastricht Treaty, major treaty reform in the post-Lisbon era—were it ever to happen—would constitute unfinished Maastricht business.

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Negri Antonio

From the end of national Lefts to subversive movements for Europe in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 181, Sept/Oct 2013

When we speak of the globalization of markets we also speak of a limitation imposed on the sovereignty of nation-states. In Western Europe, the essential error of national left-wing movements and parties [des gauches nationales] has been their failure to understand that globalization is an irreversible phenomenon.

Up until the fall of the Soviet Union, the US leadership succeeded in combining – with prudence, but also with manifest consistency – the national specificities of countries belonging to the Western alliances (and NATO, above all) with the continuity of classical imperialism, marshalling them together against ‘real socialism’. Ever since 1989, with the fall of the Soviet bloc, the ‘hard power’ of the United States has been replaced little by little by the ‘soft power’ of the markets: the freedom of commerce and money have subordinated the old instruments of power (the military and the international police), and financial power and the authoritarian management of public opinion have determined the field in which the new liberal actions that support market policies will be undertaken from now on. Neoliberalism has organized itself powerfully on the global level: today it manipulates the current economic and social crisis to its own advantage and can quite probably look forward to a radiant future... A democratic and peaceful transformation of the political foundations [assises] of neoliberalism is unimaginable on the global level – at least so long as no revolutionary ruptures take place. Running parallel to all this, since 1989, the rout of the political forces of the Left has been profound. Not only have the dogmatic forces on the Left, in the name of a supposed fidelity to archaic ideological forms, renounced any understanding of the class struggle as it exists in a world profoundly transformed by globalization and the mutation of the mode of production, but a new current of socialist thought and action, attempting to take the novelty of the situation into account, has risked overt alliances with neoliberalism.

The process of unification of the European continent, and the institutions in which the debate on the European constitution has unfolded, have demonstrated in an exemplary way the Left’s hollowness and political impotence – both in Tony Blair’s ‘third way’ version (whose orientations have rapidly come to be identified with the explicit will to politically structure Europe in a neoliberal fashion), and in the form opposed to it; that is, those groups that, behind their refusal of the unity and development of the European institutions, have hidden their inability to construct an alternative to neoliberalism. To do so, the latter would have had to be willing to put the nation-state, international public law and the administrative system of capitalist modernity in question. Taken as a whole, the failure of these forces has been gigantic.

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Wolff Sarah, Schout Adriaan

Frontex as Agency: More of the Same?

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 3, Special Issue: Agency Governance in the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 305-324

Building on the notion of 'agencies' as non-majoritarian instruments to professionalize (or 'depoliticize') EU policy-making, this article examines whether the introduction of Frontex as an agency instrument in 2004 implied a major change in the management of the EU's border control compared to the earlier network. Even though formal evaluations have acknowledged the positive achievements of Frontex, this article questions whether those assessments actually helps us to understand better the added value of Frontex as agency. To do so, the article draws from a legitimacy-based model to assess the added value of the agency. Input and output legitimacy are being assessed through a number of accountability mechanisms. The model is applied to predecessor of Frontex (SCIFA + /PCU) and to Frontex. We conclude that the choice for the agency instrument was not sufficiently argued and that the design of Frontex hardly offers the advantages of the agency structure.

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Simon Bulmer & William E. Paterson

Germany as the EU's reluctant hegemon? Of economic strength and political constraints

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 10 2013 , 1387-1405

This article explores the growing perception, prompted by the eurozone crisis, of Germany as a hegemonic power in the European Union. The article explores the realignments in the power balance within the European Union (EU) by making an original application of the insights from the literature on hegemony. It reviews the evidence for Germany playing a hegemonic role, but then emphasizes three sets of constraints. First, German pre-eminence is largely confined to the economic sphere. Even in this area Germany has not acted fully in line with the role ascribed by hegemonic stability theory. Second, its pre-eminence in the EU encounters problems of international legitimacy. Third, growing constraints arising from German domestic politics further hamper playing the role of hegemon. In consequence, Germany is intrinsically a reluctant hegemon: one whose economic leadership is recognized but politically contested. The conclusion considers the significance of these findings on the EU's most important member state.

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Christina Kaindl

Germany's Different: Protest, Hegemony, and the European Crisis

in *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* , Vol. 12, n°1-2 , 63-68

The uprising of the Indignados, Democracia Real Ya! and the Occupy movement have brought back protest all over Europe in 2011. In Germany—despite several tens of thousands of people showing up for the international action day on October 15th, the situation has been different. After some demonstrations in 2009 and 2010 organized on a platform of “We won't pay for your crisis,” there had been mostly smaller local manifestations not backed by broader alliances. This changed with the Blockupy-Frankfurt protests at the end of May 2012 that called for European action days to shut down



the financial district. But attempts to include the big unions into alliances opposing the crisis politics of the government have failed; and the women's movement has been basically non-existent in Germany for about two decades. I will try to shed some light on how the general weakness of the movement is related to the strategies of integration into neo-liberal governance.

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Mattone Monica

Giurisprudenza della Corte di Giustizia dell'Unione europea

in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

Considering that the European Court of Justice has to ensure a uniform interpretation and application of European law within the national legal systems, the author aims to analyse the role of the ECJ in defining the relationship between European and state law. The author takes into consideration ECJ judgments that drafted the main principles concerning the relationship between European and state law: the principle of the supremacy of European law on internal law; the principle of the direct effect of the European law; the general principle of the respect for fundamental rights; and the principle of the responsibility of the Member States to prevent the violation of the European rules.

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Erol Kùlahci and Simon Lightfoot

Governance, Europarties and the challenge of democratic representation in the EU: A case study of the Party of European Socialists

in Acta Politica, Volume 49, Issue 1 , 71-85

Europarties are at the centre of the potential democratisation of European governance and their development is key to supranational representation. The authors will address the more general question of why Europarties have not so far shaped significantly European governance and policy by focusing on one of the main Europarties – the Party of European Socialists (PES). This article tests a number of claims about the factors accounting for weak Europarty influence over European Union (EU) governance. In this article, the authors discuss these claims by considering successively three complementary interrelated dimensions: the constraints placed upon the social democratic family by the EU institutional environment, the PES socio-economic policy offer and the collective action problem in relation to fighting European elections as a unified party on a unified platform.

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Seraphim Seferiades

Greece at a Crossroads: Roots, Dilemmas, Prospects

in Pôle Sud, n°38 , 5-14

Ever since Greece fell under "troika" (EC, ECB and the IMF) supervision, presumably as a means to avoid bankruptcy



and default, it has been at the forefront of international attention and debate. But the problems the country is faced with are not particularly –or, maybe, even primarily– Greek: the catastrophic debt crisis that befell the country in the course of the first decade of...

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Oswald Michael

Griechenlands blutige Morgenröte

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, November, 2013 , 9-11

Mindestens vier Morde und über 400 Verletzte – das ist die Bilanz rassistischer Attacken in Griechenland allein zwischen Januar 2012 und April 2013.[1] Doch erst der Tod des Hip-Hop-Künstlers Pavlos Fyssas sorgte für einen Aufschrei: Nachdem der Antifaschist mit dem Künstlernamen Killah P von einem Anhänger der rechtsextremen Partei Goldene Morgenröte (GM) erstochen wurde, gingen Tausende auf die Straße; außerdem brachen Ausschreitungen und ein Medienspektakel sondergleichen über das Land herein. Nun greift die Regierung durch – reichlich spät. Denn die Gefahr, die von der GM ausgeht, war hinlänglich bekannt...

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Collignon Stefan

Große Koalition: Debakel mit Ansage

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, November, 2013 , 45-50

Die SPD war bei dieser Bundestagswahl angetreten, Angela Merkel abzulösen. Das war ihr Versprechen. Jetzt schickt sie sich an, Merkels Arbeitsvertrag noch einmal um vier Jahre zu verlängern. Das wären 11 247 283 gebrochene Versprechen – so viele Menschen haben der SPD ihre Stimme anvertraut. Nun hat die SPD in ihrer 150jährigen Geschichte immer wieder bewiesen, dass sie Verantwortung für Deutschland zu übernehmen weiß und Parteiinteressen hinter das Gemeinwohl zu stellen versteht. Es fragt sich nur, ob eine Kanzlerin Merkel dem Gemeinwohl dient. Eine große Koalition mag kurzfristig politische Stabilität gewähren, langfristig ist sie aber eine Gefahr für die Demokratie...

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Antonio Padoa-Schioppa

Guidelines for a Constitutional Reform of the European Union

in **Perspectives on federalism**, vol. 5, issue 1 , I-XVI

On several occasions over the last few years, the prospect of a reform of the treaties, which seemed to have been put on the back burner after the laborious gestation of the Lisbon Treaty, has regained topicality and has also been called for by several EU governments, including that of Germany, ever since the economic crisis has begun to threaten the



very survival of the Euro. The aim of this paper is to lay down guidelines for a future reform that could ensure the stable efficiency and democratic legitimacy both of the Union as a whole and of the core Eurozone countries, as well as that of any additional EU Member-State aggregation, which may be larger or smaller than the Eurozone but does not include all the members of the Union itself.

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Sybille Lehwald

Has the Euro changed business cycle synchronization? Evidence from the core and the periphery
in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, volume 40 n.4 , 655-684

Using a Bayesian dynamic factor model, I examine the comovement of output, investment and consumption growth among Euro area countries before and after the introduction of the Euro. For that purpose, I compare a pre-Euro period (1991–1998) to a Euro period (2000–2010) and identify a common Euro factor for each period separately. I find that the comovement of main macroeconomic variables and the common factor increases for core Eurozone countries from the first to the second period, while it decreases for most peripheral economies. This can be interpreted as a rise in business cycle synchronization for the core and a respective decline for the periphery. Different to the implications made by the endogeneity argument of currency areas (Frankel and Rose in *Econ J* 108(449):1009–1025, 1998), my evidence suggest that the introduction of the Euro has fostered imbalances between core and peripheral Eurozone countries.

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Rosenstrauch Hazel

Haym@geföhle für Europa?

in *Gegenworte*, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

No abstract available

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Lucke Albrecht von

Heilsame Verwirrung? Der Euro, die Linke und die AfD

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2013 , 5-8

Auf der Linken, und speziell in der Linkspartei, herrscht in der Euro-Frage heillose Verwirrung. Und wer anders könnte sie ausgelöst haben als Oskar Lafontaine? Kaum hatte der homo politicus seinen endgültigen Rückzug aus der Bundespolitik verkündet, machte er nur wenige Tage später klar, was er darunter versteht: In einem Interview mit der „Saarbrücker Zeitung“ erklärte Lafontaine, dass er den Euro für gescheitert halte und plädierte für eine mögliche Rückkehr zu einem System nationaler Währungen.

Prompt brach ein Sturm der Entrüstung los: Die „Frankfurter Rundschau“ monierte „infantiles Verhalten“ und „Die Zeit“ sah „Lafontaine auf rechten Euro-Abwegen“: Angeblich „schon immer ein begnadeter Volksverdummer“, fische er



wieder einmal „im rechten Fahrwasser“. Auch in der Linkspartei selbst sah offenbar mancher den Augenblick der Abrechnung gekommen. Benjamin-Immanuel Hoff, Bundessprecher des reformorientierten Forums demokratischer Sozialismus (fds), wählte Lafontaine „auf der Welle des rechten Populismus“, als neue „(W)AfD von links“. Und sein Vorgänger Stefan Liebich stellte in schönster Wildwest-Manier fest: „Wer bei uns das Ende das Euro will, sattelt das falsche Pferd und reitet allein in den Horizont. Links ist europäisch und solidarisch.“ ...

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Fagiolo Silvio

Helmut Schmidt

in **Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni**, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

The author aims to retrace the European commitment of Helmut Schmidt, as Chancellor of Western Germany. He argues that Schmidt's era is characterized by Germany's recovery of a leading role in Europe and the world, when the GFR emerged as the most important western military and economic force and as the cornerstone of Atlantic solidarity. Schmidt's approach to Europe was both pragmatic and moderate and was based on his conviction of the necessity of an American presence and a balance of power. His policy was made up of three main developments. First, was the re-launch of the French-German axis, with a convergent action based on common pragmatism and dynamism, especially in the economic field. Second, the birth of the monetary union that contributed to reinforcing the EEC. Third, the defence issue and the euro-missile crisis that contributed to the final crisis of Communism.

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Luft Stefan

Herausforderungen europäischer Grenzpolitik

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 47, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/172372/herausforderungen-europaeischer-grenzpolitik>

Europäische Migrationspolitik ist ein komplexes und dynamisches Politikfeld. Die politische und wissenschaftliche Debatte ist gekennzeichnet durch polarisierte Kontroversen. Das wird besonders deutlich an der Grenzpolitik der EU, die im Fokus der öffentlichen Aufmerksamkeit steht. Die Konzentration der Politik auf die Grenzsicherung wird dabei kritisch bewertet. Mittel- und langfristig wird nur eine Verbesserung der Perspektiven in den Herkunftsländern den Migrationsdruck verringern...



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Ciccarelli, Matteo; Maddaloni, Angela; Peydró, José‐Luis

Heterogeneous transmission mechanism: monetary policy and financial fragility in the eurozone
in *Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.75 , 459-512

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ariadna Ripoll Servent

Holding the European Parliament responsible: policy shift in the Data Retention Directive from consultation to codecision

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 7 2013 , 972-987

An increase in the European Parliament's (EP) powers is generally equated with more democratic and legitimate law-making. However, analysis of the Data Retention Directive – negotiated by means of both consultation and codecision – suggests that although the EP has been empowered under codecision its capacity to translate citizens' demands into democratic and transparent outputs has been reduced. Against expectations, the EP did not use its new veto powers in the data retention case to maximize its policy preferences because the content of these preferences did not fit with the wider need to be seen as a 'responsible' legislator. An institutionalist approach drawing upon rational choice and constructivism helps to explain this seemingly anomalous outcome in the highly politicized Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ).

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Gayon Vincent

Homologie et conductivité internationales. L'État social aux prises avec l'OCDE, l'UE et les gouvernements
in *Critique Internationale*, N°59 - Avril/Juin , 47-67

An examination of the job and unemployment programs of the OECD and the European Commission in the two decades since 1990 shows that their circuit of production and homologous legitimation has been marked by the domination of governments and these organizations' economic sectors over social sectors. Each of these institutional universes is characterized by an asymmetric relationship between the "economic" and the "social", something that affects the content of their diagnostics and prescriptions as well as the flow of transactions between them. This article thus takes seriously the effects and actualizations of the process of isomorphic differentiation between the "economic" and the "social" that has over the long term been pursued by Western states, a process that affects the very structures of these internationalized spaces.

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François Hollande



Hope for the “Post-Crisis Generation”

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 3, July , 42-45

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Paul Statham, Hans-Jörg Trenz

How European Union Politicization can Emerge through Contestation: The Constitution Case

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 5, September 2013 , 965-980

This article takes the European Union's constitution-making as a case study to examine ‘how’ politicization can emerge through contestation by political actors in response to political opportunities. It advances understanding of the conditions and processes through which politicization emerges by undertaking empirical analysis. The primary data source is an original sample of political actors' claims-making over European integration issues retrieved from news samples in France, Germany and Britain during the constitution event (2000–05). Main tenets of prominent theories on politicization are unpacked and tested in relation to the evidence from the claims-making analysis. The findings demonstrate the transformative impact of the French referendum as a specific opportunity: politicization was largely restricted to internal national contestation by French actors; political party competition was the prominent contestation form; and the Socialists mobilized against the constitution by advocating ‘Social Europe’. This transformed the political space by introducing competition over Europe into the party system's core.

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Donas Tom, Beyers Jan

How Regions Assemble in Brussels: The Organizational Form of Territorial Representation in the European Union

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 4, Fall , 527-550

Subnational authorities (SNAs) are increasingly mobilized at the European level and much research has been conducted on the liaison offices that represent these substate jurisdictions. Yet liaison offices are only one of the available organizational forms SNAs rely on in Brussels. In this article we investigate multiple organizational forms—such as trans-regional associations and national associations—and how regional entities combine them. This broader perspective leads to the conclusion that the scope and diversity of EU-level territorial mobilization is much more extensive than liaison offices only. However, resource-full SNAs, SNAs benefiting from a high level of self-rule, or SNAs harboring regionalist political parties are comparatively much more active in establishing liaison offices and occupy a prominent position in various trans-regional associations.

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Mišík Matúš

How can perception help us to understand the dynamic between EU member states? The state of the art



in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 11, n. 4, December , 445-463

The paper reviews literature on perception within the international relations and the European Union (EU) studies in order to find out whether and how this concept can help us shed some light on the mutual relations between the EU member states. It examines the utilisation of perception as an analytical tool within the international relations where it was predominantly included into the foreign policy analysis approaches (image and role theory). Moreover, it was used for examining the views of the EU by other actors at not only bilateral but also multilateral level. Most studies analysed the perception of Asian countries, however, other areas, including Africa, were studied. Perception was utilised also at the EU level, when it was used for scrutinising different EU policies (foreign and security policies, enlargement), examining preference formation and influence of member states or investigating elite and public support for the European integration. The results show that perception is a valuable concept that can help us to analyse mutual relations between the EU member states in the enlarged and changed EU in several ways.

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Balibar Étienne

How can the aporia of the 'European people' be resolved?

in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 181, Sept/Oct 2013

The question that I deal with here is by no means a purely speculative one. It certainly evokes theoretical notions from different disciplines and from philosophy, but it does so because of a specific economy of circumstances, a crisis of economics, in a particular place (Greece), which happens to be at the origin of the whole apparatus of 'concepts of politics' by means of which modernity thinks its own history, but which seemingly, today, no longer knows what to do with it. By examining this question, we can hope to achieve a radical rethinking of this apparatus, which, in turn, might become one of the instruments (but not the only one) of the political invention required to find a solution to the crisis of European construction.

I shall make three preliminary remarks, reduced of necessity to a minimum. The first concerns the meaning of the word 'people' (the French word *peuple* in particular), or rather the organization of the semantic complex to which it refers.¹ The latter, of course (referring in particular to the relations between 'people', 'nation', 'population') exists only in a history that subjects it to incessant transformations. Let it suffice here to indicate a topic that is merely an instrument of analysis and a guide to the interpretation of current debates. This topic is suggested to us by the insistence, in the recent discussion regarding the 'European people' (but also in the different conceptions of the 'nation' which contrasts European peoples and therefore their states), of a dilemma that was initially expressed by anthropologists and that was taken up again by political analysts, then by philosophers (including Habermas): that of the 'ethnic nation' and the 'civic nation', referring back to two conceptions of the people for which we borrow the words *ethnos* and *demos* from Ancient Greek. I am not disputing the pertinence of the analyses which prevail, but the way in which this is set forth is, at best, incomplete. Two other notions of people, sometimes competing, sometimes combined, must be added to it, and for which it is also useful to use the Greek.

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Jale Tosun



How the EU handles uncertain risks: understanding the role of the precautionary principle

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 10 2013 , 1517-1528

The European Union (EU) has adopted the precautionary principle (PP) as a legal principle for dealing with uncertain risks; that is situations in which the relationship between activities and their potential hazard cannot be established. While the PP's application has been defined by the European Commission and EU case law, political considerations ultimately determine whether and how it is invoked. This article reviews the literature on the PP's application in EU policy making by addressing three research questions: When do EU policy makers invoke the PP? How are EU precautionary policies made? Is the making of EU precautionary policies different from the making of regulatory policies addressing certain risks? While the conceptual literature provides some insights regarding all three questions, the empirical literature is particularly instructive regarding the first two questions. Future studies have the task of merging the two literatures in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of EU precautionary policy making.

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Mark Dawson and Elise Muir

Hungary and the Indirect Protection of EU Fundamental Rights and the Rule of Law

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 14, issue 12 , 1959-1979

According to Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union, the European Union is a political and economic union founded on a respect for fundamental rights and the rule of law—, referred to hereafter as EU fundamental values. The central place of this commitment in the EU Treaties suggests a founding assumption: That the EU is a Union of states who themselves see human rights and the rule of law as irrevocable parts of their political and legal order. Reminiscent of the entry of Jorg Haider's far-right Freedom Party into the Austrian government in 2000, the events of 2012 have done much to shake that assumption; questioning both how interwoven the rule of law tradition is across the present-day EU, and the role the EU ought to play in policing potential violations of fundamental rights carried out via the constitutional frameworks of its Member States. Much attention in this field, much like the focus of this paper, has been placed on events in one state in particular: Hungary.

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Astrid Zei

I nodi irrisolti delle relazioni finanziarie tra i livelli di governo bloccano la trasposizione delle regole del c.d. fiscal compact nell'ordinamento tedesco

in *Nomos*, n. 1/2013

Il Tribunale costituzionale federale si pronuncerà in via definitiva solo dopo le prossime elezioni sui ricorsi tesi ad accertare la legittimità delle leggi di ratifica del Trattato del 2 febbraio 2012 che istituisce il meccanismo europeo di stabilità (abbr. ESM), del Trattato del 2 marzo 2012 sulla stabilità, il coordinamento e la governance dell'Unione economica e monetaria (c.d. Fiscal Compact), della legge sulla modifica dell'art. 136 TFUE approvata 25 marzo 2011 dal Consiglio europeo, e sulla legge che autorizza la partecipazione finanziaria della Germania al Meccanismo europeo di stabilità. Probabilmente lo farà entro la fine dell'anno.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Allegri Maria Romana

I partiti politici a livello europeo fra autonomia politica e dipendenza dai partiti nazionali
in *Federalismi*, Anno XI - Nr 22

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

O'brien Charlotte

I trade, therefore I am: Legal personhood in the European Union
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 6 , 1643-1684

ABSTRACT: The piecemeal, case by case construction of EU citizenship has created a patchwork of personhoods rather than a unitary status - a patchwork with significant gaps through which people deemed economically inactive are allowed to fall. This paper argues that it is necessary to assess the integrity and effects of a market-centric, economic citizenship. The free movement legal landscape is riven with welfare rights "cliff edges," as changes in circumstance tip claimants from full equal welfare entitlement to none. Examples drawn from the UK include the welfare restrictions placed on Zambrano-reliant families, and the care and pregnancy gaps in Directive 2004/38. Market citizenship and the worker-commodity paradigm have not disappeared, but have been obscured and fortified through the moral language of citizenship and responsibility. The impact upon our ideas of fairness and society is evident in the Union's activation agenda for national welfare regimes. This paper argues that we should recognize the ideological ramifications of accepting the premises of market citizenship, assess its consequences, and ask whether an alternative approach is possible to challenge Member State minimal implementation, to better commit to the protection of each others' nationals and to promote EU level social justice.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caroline Kuzemko

Ideas, power and change: explaining EU–Russia energy relations
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 1 2014 , 58-75

This article explores the European Union's (EU) energy relations with Russia through new institutionalist concepts that understand ideas to be powerful within policymaking processes, in conferring credibility on certain governance norms as well as in contesting existing institutions. Explanations of the deterioration in EU–Russia energy relations have emphasized divergence in perspectives on energy, and how it should be governed, between these actors. Here it is argued that the proliferation of different ideas about energy within EU institutions has significant implications for this relationship. The paper analyses EU energy policy as a whole, including climate policy, and outlines what ideas have been influential over policymaking processes and with what consequences. Internal ideological differences challenge the dominance and credibility of market liberal ideas and policies, the EU's ability to speak with one voice in energy and



attest to an increasingly complex and contradictory EU energy policy.

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Klüver Heike, Sagarzazu Iñaki

Ideological congruency and decision-making speed: The effect of partisanship across European Union institutions

in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 14, n. 3, September, 388-407

How does ideological congruency affect the speed of legislative decision-making in the European Union? Despite the crucial importance of actor preferences, the effect of partisan alignments and ideological composition of the European institutions has largely been neglected. However, we argue that the ideological congruence between legislative bodies has an important effect on the duration of policy-making. We test our theoretical expectations based on a large new dataset on decision-making speed in the European Union using event history analysis. The findings confirm our theoretical claim indicating that the ideological distance between the European institutions slows down policy-making which has important implications for the problem-solving capacity of political systems more generally.

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Mahubani Kishore

If it stays on that course, Europe will become geopolitically irrelevant

in *Europe's World*, Issue 25, Autumn

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/if-it-stays-on-that-course-europe-will-become-geopolitically-irrelevant/#.Uovy23Bg-rM>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fischler Franz

If the EU's sustainability model succeeds, it will be the role model for globalisation

in *Europe's World*, Issue 25, Autumn

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/if-the-eus-sustainability-model-succeeds-it-will-be-the-role-model-for-globalisation/#.Uov0p3Bg-rM>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Starita Massimo

Il Consiglio europeo e la crisi del debito sovrano

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCVI, fascicolo 2, 385-423



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Salvati Eugenio

Il Parlamento Europeo: un profilo storico

in *Rivista trimestrale di scienza dell'amministrazione*, fasc. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lazzerini N.

Il contributo della sentenza Åkerberg Fransson alla determinazione dell'ambito di applicazione e degli effetti della Carta dei diritti fondamentali dell'Unione Europea

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCVI, fascicolo 3, 883-912

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Roberto Belloni

Il crescente euroscetticismo dei Balcani occidentali

in *Mulino (il)*, n.6

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Germanicus

Il mercato e le regole. Ideologia, politica ed economia ai tempi dell'eurocrisi

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 9-10

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Santoro Italiceo

Il mercato transatlantico, sfida per l'Europa

in *Nuova Antologia*, fasc. 2267, luglio-settembre



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Natali David

Il modello sociale europeo è morto? Politiche sociali e relazioni industriali tra austerità e integrazione europea
in *Rassegna italiana di sociologia*, numero 2, aprile-giugno 2013 , 227-252

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Natali David

Il modello sociale europeo è morto? Politiche sociali e relazioni industriali tra austerità e integrazione europea
in *Rassegna italiana di sociologia*, n. 2, aprile - giugno , 227-252

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Melchionni Maria Grazia

Il principio di sussidiarietà nella prospettiva storica, dalla tradizione di pensiero cattolico al trattato di Maastricht

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 80, n. 2, aprile-giugno

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calamia Pietro

Il prossimo semestre di Presidenza italiana dell'Unione europea
in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, vol. 80, n. 3, luglio-settembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bonino Emma

Il rilancio dell'Europa politica

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 171, luglio-estate , 245-249



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Colarizzi Simona

Il vincolo europeo e il sistema politico italiano: 1992-2011

in *Politico (II)*, n. 232, 2013, 28-34

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Védrine Hubert

In 2040 we will no longer be speaking of emerging, but rather of emerged markets, other than those that may have collapsed or stagnated

in *Europe's World*, Issue 25, Autumn

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/in-2040-we-will-no-longer-be-speaking-of-emerging-but-rather-of-emerged-markets-other-than-those-that-may-have-collapsed-or-stagnated/#.Uov1A3Bg-rM>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Petrovic Milenko, Ross Smith Nicholas

In Croatia's slipstream or on an alternative road? Assessing the objective case for the remaining Western Balkan states acceding into the EU

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 13, n. 4, 553-573

Since the 'mega-enlargement' of the European Union into the erstwhile communist territories of Eastern Central Europe and the Baltics in 2004/2007, the prospect for further EU enlargement(s) has seriously dissipated. Terms such as 'enlargement fatigue' and 'absorption capacity' have become en vogue in the post-2007 enlargement setting where older EU member states have developed negative attitudes towards future enlargements. However, the accession of Croatia into the EU in 2013 has inevitably raised questions of which states or regions could be next. This paper contends that due to a multitude of issues surrounding Turkey, particularly the political impasse within the EU towards Turkish accession coupled with its sheer size, only the smaller states of the Western Balkans represent viable candidates (Iceland's accession prospects have stalled significantly due to internal pressures). This paper argues that the limits of EU eastern enlargement are set by both prevailing (subjectively defined) political attitudes founded on various grounds in the leading EU member states and by the rationally defined objective capacity of the EU's institutions to absorb potential new member states. It is through the latter, and in comparison to the three most recent accession states - Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia - which this paper attempts to assess the objective potential of the remaining Western Balkan states to accede into the EU in the near future.



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Andrea Tarquini

In Europa ma senza tabù

in *Limes*, n.1

Andrea Tarquini, nel suo "In Europa ma senza tabù", spiega che la Polonia deve scegliere fra antichi vincoli atlantici e nuovo attivismo verso l'Est, tenendo in considerazione l'ascesa dei nazional-conservatori e il ruolo della Chiesa cattolica. Infatti alle soglie di elezioni cruciali, la nuova Polonia oscilla tra imperativi euro-atlantici e voglia di protagonismo a est. I volti del miracolo economico. L'agenda dei nazional-conservatori. Il ruolo della Chiesa e i conti aperti con la storia. L'euro non è un destino.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Frattini Franco

In a world where security threats are transnational, the EU's foreign policy commitments are going to be needed more than ever

in *Europe's World*, Issue 25, Autumn

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/in-a-world-where-security-threats-are-transnational-the-eus-foreign-policy-commitments-are-going-to-be-needed-more-than-ever/#.Uov1pHBg-rM>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mazier Jacques, Petit Pascal

In search of sustainable paths for the eurozone in the troubled post-2008 world

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 37 Issue 3 May 2013 , 513-532

The diversity in the eurozone has costs and advantages, respectively, for countries whether they are confronted with an overvalued or undervalued euro. Rough estimations of these costs and benefits help to assess the adjustments that could lead to a sustainable eurozone. A purely financial type of federalism, set up under the pressure of financial markets, risks falling short of the objective. A budgetary federalism, if it is based on long-term investment programmes with an enlarged political support, is more likely to meet the objective. A scheme of multispeed Europe could constitute a fallback solution if the political support for a budgetary federalism is not attained.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Buzek Jerzy

In the 20th Century, each quarter-century – 1914, 1939, 1968, 1989 – brought Europe to an unpredictable turning point

in *Europe's World*, Issue 25, Autumn



<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/in-the-20th-century-each-quarter-century-1914-1939-1968-1989-brought-europe-to-a-n-unpredictable-turning-point/#.Uov0RXBg-rM>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lepsius M. Rainer

In welchen Krisen befindet sich die Europäische Union?

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 60, Heft 2, 2013

The European Union – in what crisis?

Summary

The European Union is confronted with several serious challenges: the crisis in the banking system, the crisis with the accumulated debts and the Euro crisis which is connected with the currency union. Behind, there is the crisis resulting from the unequal chances for competition and the crisis caused by the blockade of structural reforms within different member states. Only the member states can deal with these challenges. At present, two options are discussed: the evolution or the devolution of the European Union, the higher integration in a central governance or the dissolution of the currency reform. Both options seem to be unrealistic. Better chances for the overcoming of these crises are promised by activating the potential for coordination between the European Union and its members within the frame of the existing institutions. On the one hand, they can be used for the establishment of common criteria for economic and social policies and on the other hand, to give the political systems of the member states incentives to cope with their respective problems.

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Aaron J. Abbarno and Galina M. Zapryanova

Indirect Effects of Eurosceptic Messages on Citizen Attitudes toward Domestic Politics

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2013, 581-597

Does criticism of the European Union (EU) by elites cultivate support for democratic values among ordinary citizens? All Eurosceptic messages are critical of European integration; they do not all vilify similar aspects of the European Union. This article proposes a framing model of the effects of Euroscepticism on citizens' domestic political attitudes. EU critiques that are framed in terms of 'democratic deficit' lead citizens to consider which political values are desirable in democratic society and may promote support for liberal democratic norms among citizens exposed to these messages. Eurosceptic rhetoric is built into framing experiments that vary the content of EU-critical messages. Subjects in the United Kingdom and Bulgaria are randomly exposed to a 'cultural threat' or 'democratic deficit' criticism of the EU. Both Eurosceptic frames reduce support for integration, but subjects exposed to the 'deficit frame' more strongly embrace liberal democratic values. Under certain conditions, Euroscepticism may carry benefits for representative democracy.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Burgoon Brian

Inequality and anti-globalization backlash by political parties

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 14, n. 3, September , 408-435

Does income inequality increase political backlash against European and global integration? This paper reports research suggesting that it can. The article analyses party opposition to and support for trade openness, European Union integration and general internationalism of political party platforms in advanced industrial democracies between 1960 and 2008. It finds that inequality tends to increase anti-globalization positions of parties, net of pro-globalization positions, an effect that does not significantly differ across party families or levels of actual globalization. This effect, however, does depend on, and is diminished by, generous redistributive policies. These findings clarify socio-economic conditions underlying the backlash against political and economic globalization.

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Franzini Maurizio, Raitano Michele, Callan Tim, Nolan Brian, Keane Claire, Savage Michael, Walsh John R., Bosch Gerhard, Bonhomme Stéphane, Hospido Laura

Inequality in Europe: What can be done? What should be done?

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 6, November 2013 , 328-356

As economic inequality in Europe has continued to rise, it has become the subject of increasing academic attention. What are the drivers of inequality? How does it affect intergenerational economic and social mobility? At what point does inequality become a drag on economic growth or a threat to social order? What economic policy tools are available to reduce inequality? This Forum addresses these and other aspects of this complex and disturbing trend. Case studies of Ireland, Germany and Spain also highlight the impact of economic inequality on individual member states.

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Hennessy Alexandra

Informal Governance and the Eurozone Crisis

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 21, issue 3 , 429-446

ABSTRACT: Europe's sovereign debt crisis has left no doubt that Germany has the ultimate authority in financial matters in the EU. However, between 2009 and 2012 Germany has been unable to safeguard its core objectives, which we define as follows: (1) stabilizing the eurozone; (2) limiting the taxpayers' financial guarantee exposure; and (3) keeping inflation low. This outcome is at odds with the expectation of the informal governance literature that the dominant country will always be able to protect its core interests after overriding the ordinary procedure. We argue that Germany's quandary can be explained by two interrelated factors. First, policymakers were subject to an incentive structure that encouraged crisis mitigation efforts, but not preparedness. This explains Germany's long hesitation before offering any assistance to its partners. Second, once financial guarantees were provided, political disagreements over the sequence of reform steps as well as instruments and conditionality of financial assistance programmes prolonged investor fears of a eurozone breakup, further compromising Germany's interests.



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Claudio Catalano

Iniziative Europee di Difesa La preparazione per il consiglio europeo di dicembre
in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. XV n.7 , 61-68

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Claudio Catalano

Iniziative Europee di Difesa. La comunicazione della commissione europea sull'industria della difesa
in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. XV, n.6 , 61-70

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Von Ondarza Nicolai, Overhaus Marco

Inseln der Kooperation. Europäische Sicherheitspolitik zwischen Mythos und Realität
in *Internationale Politik* , 67. Jahrgang, n. 11-12, November-Dezember

ABSTRACT: Der Europäische Rat im Dezember bietet die Gelegenheit, die Weichen für die Zukunft der Gemeinsamen -Sicherheits- und -Verteidigungspolitik (GSVP) neu zu stellen. Künftig sollte es weniger um Krisenmanagement gehen und mehr um europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungskooperation zwischen den Mitgliedstaaten.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

van Esch Femke, de Jong Eelke

Institutionalisation without internalisation. The cultural dimension of French-German conflicts on European Central Bank independence
in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 10, Issue 4, December 2013 , 631-648

When accepting the Maastricht treaty, the members of the Euro-zone agreed on the establishment of a very independent European Central Bank (ECB). Over the years, however, French political leaders systematically brought forward proposals undermining the ECB's independence, much to the dismay of their German counterparts. This pattern of political disagreement on central bank independence has again surfaced during the current sovereign debt crisis, and has contributed to the discord amongst the Euro-zone members on the causes and proper solutions to the problems.



This article conducts tests of various factors generally expected to influence the preference for central bank independence. It shows that economic explanations are unable to account for the persistent differences amongst European member-states on this issue. In contrast, national differences in political and economic culture and especially a nation's score on the dimension Power Distance—its acceptance of centralisation of power in political leaders or institutions—does show a correlation with the different levels of internalisation of the norm of central bank independence. These findings show that institutionalisation of economic norms does not imply their internalisation by the political and the economic elite. In the broader context of current European politics, this may mean that even if European leaders will be able to come up with a common institutional answer to the current crisis, more profound convergence of their underlying economic and political cultures is needed for the successful and sustainable implementation of these solutions.

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Smith Michael E.

**Institutionalizing the 'Comprehensive Approach' to EU Security
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 18, issue 4 , 25-43**

ABSTRACT: Since 2003, the European Union (EU) has developed into a provider of international security services. This capacity has involved a new policy tool, the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), as well as other EU external policy competencies. However, given the complex nature of EU institutions, and the extent to which EU policy domains overlap, the EU has also attempted to impose more coherence on its foreign security actions to improve their effectiveness and raise its overall global profile as a political actor. These efforts are increasingly framed as the 'comprehensive approach' to European security actions. The comprehensive approach refers to the EU's more pro-active, and more coordinated, integration of its various external policy tools to address specific international security problems. This article explains how processes of experiential institutional learning helped generate new ideas regarding the comprehensive approach by examining a range of CSDP operations launched by the EU since 2003, each of which has required a considerable degree of institutional improvisation. This improvisation has inspired new institutional roles and capacities not found in formal treaties, and it suggests a capacity for endogenous institutional development on the part of the EU.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Muzaka Valbona

**Intellectual property protection and European 'competitiveness'
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 4, 2013 , 819-847**

Compared to the US, the European Union is often depicted as having adopted a 'soft' approach to intellectual property rights (IPRs), despite the substantial role it has played in the ratcheting up of IPR standards. This article counters this view by showing how 'competitiveness' discourses from the late 1970s onwards have legitimised a 'more = better' IP strategy both within and without Europe. By revisiting how earlier concerns about European competitiveness did not trigger a similarly expansionist IP strategy, the argument is made that the relationship between enhanced IP protection and improved European competitiveness is a political and discursive relationship that is ridden with inconsistencies – a relationship that can and should be formulated differently.



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Sergio Fabbrini

**Intergovernmentalism and Its Limits Assessing the European Union's Answer to the Euro Crisis
in Comparative Political Studies** , 46 (9) , 1003-1029

The Lisbon Treaty has institutionalized a dual constitution, supranational in the single market's policies and intergovernmental in (among others) economic and financial policies. The extremely complex system of economic governance set up for answering the euro crisis has been defined and implemented on the basis of the intergovernmental constitution of the EU. The euro crisis has thus represented a test for the validity of the intergovernmental constitution of the Lisbon Treaty. Although the measures adopted in the period 2010-2012, consisting of legislative decisions and new intergovernmental treaties, are of an unprecedented magnitude, they were nevertheless unable to promote effective and legitimate solutions for dealing with the financial crisis. In the context of an existential challenge, the intergovernmental approach faced a structural difficulty in solving basic dilemmas of collective action.

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Pero Petrović;

International Cooperation of See Countries — Case of CEFTA

in Review of International Affairs (The) , VOL. LXIII, N°. 1147 July-September

The paper discusses the trade exchange of Southeast Europe. They emphasized the analysis of trade in the region with the world and trade exchange among members of CEFTA. The work includes a brief overview of the economic regional cooperation through agreements in the past and that the same differ according to the present. The aim is to identify trade and economic similarities between the countries of Southeast Europe. Through individual analysis of trade and economy of all countries, obtained more accurate picture of the region as a whole. Exchange of goods is rising but there is a large untapped potential for further expansion of trade in the region and with third countries. Many economists and politicians argue that the trade between countries of the Balkan region is among the most important aspects of the development of South Eastern Europe. There are several important points to this assertion, one of which is certainly the fact that by increasing the trade among each other, Balkan countries improve their economies and employ more people. Another aspect is that the Balkan countries that are not in the EU as of yet, are aiming to improve trade among themselves by lowering tariffs. This is the case with CEFTA agreement supported by the European Commission. Moreover, CEFTA members are essentially preparing themselves for the EU accession thus continuing the tradition of the original CEFTA, whose founding members are now in the EU. There is also the fact that by having a common market, the countries can improve domestic demand but also improve exports to the EU and to third countries.

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Toporowski Jan

International credit, financial integration and the euro

in Cambridge Journal of Economics, Volume 37 Issue 3 May 2013 , 571-584



Prospects for the European Monetary Union are inevitably affected by the theoretical presuppositions of the observer. The most common approach, the theory of optimal currency areas, postulates that traded goods are produced by labour and the exchange rate between 'national' currencies is the ratio of commodity wages, expressed in monetary units, in different countries. In this analysis the exchange rate and wages are substitutes for obtaining international 'competitiveness'. Such a view is the basis for current reflections about the future of the euro and the reduction of its difficulties to relative wages rates in different countries of the eurozone. The theory has two important limitations. First, it takes no account of the import intensity of exports, which would require wage adjustments to reinforce exchange rate adjustments, so that wages and exchange rates are necessarily complementary parameters, rather than being substitutes for each other. Hence, exit from the eurozone as a means of closing trade deficits would require additional austerity. Even more importantly, it is a commodity money theory, in which imbalances are accommodated by accumulations of specie or fiat money. However, in a credit economy, banking systems absorb trade imbalances into their balance sheets. Moreover, financial integration means that banking systems throughout Europe are vulnerable to balance sheet risks from exchange rate depreciation in any country in Europe.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maurizio Carbone

International development and the European Union's external policies: changing contexts, problematic nexuses, contested partnerships

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 26, Issue 3 , 483-496

This special section explores and explains how the European Union's (EU's) overall approach to international development has evolved since the beginning of the twenty-first century. At the international level, the rise of a group of emerging economies has not only provided developing countries with greater choices, but has also further enhanced their agency, thus questioning the EU's leadership and even relevance in international development. At the European level, the various (paradigmatic) shifts in each of the three key external policies—trade, security and foreign policy—and the EU's aspiration to project a coherent external action have collided with the EU's commitment to international development. Numerous tensions characterize the various nexuses in EU external relations, which ultimately challenge the EU's international legitimacy and (self-proclaimed) identity as a champion of the interests of the developing world. Nevertheless, the EU has made more progress than is generally acknowledged in making its external policies more coherent with its development policy. Moreover, the EU's relationship with developing countries has gradually become less asymmetrical, though not because of the EU's emphasis on partnership and ownership but more because of the increased agency of developing countries.

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Hosli Madeleine, Kreppel Amie, Plechanovová Běla, Verdun Amy

Introduction: Decision-Making in the European Union before and after the Lisbon Treaty in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 6 , 1121-1127

No abstract available



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Julia Langbein & Tanja A. Börzel

**Introduction: Explaining Policy Change in the European Union's Eastern Neighbourhood
in Europe-Asia Studies**, Volume 65, Issue 4 , 571-580

This Introduction discusses the conventional wisdoms dominating the scholarship on policy change in the EU's Eastern neighbourhood countries and summarises the major findings of this collection. Drawing upon the empirical evidence underpinning the contributions to our collection, we argue that compliance with or convergence to EU policies happens despite high costs, limited capacities and the lack of EU membership prospects. We also challenge country-level or policy-type explanations that emphasise membership aspirations, asymmetric interdependencies between the EU and the neighbourhood countries, or the level of politicisation or institutionalisation characterising particular policy fields. Finally, our findings point towards important differences between membership, accession and neighbourhood Europeanisation by stressing factors mediating the EU's impact on policy change in the Eastern neighbourhood countries that played a rather marginal role in domestic policy change in EU member states and accession countries.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Langbein Julia, Börzel Tanja A.

**Introduction: Explaining Policy Change in the European Union's Eastern Neighbourhood
in Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 65, n. 4, Special Issue: Explaining Policy Change in the European Union's Eastern Neighbourhood ,
571-580

This Introduction discusses the conventional wisdoms dominating the scholarship on policy change in the EU's Eastern neighbourhood countries and summarises the major findings of this collection. Drawing upon the empirical evidence underpinning the contributions to our collection, we argue that compliance with or convergence to EU policies happens despite high costs, limited capacities and the lack of EU membership prospects. We also challenge country-level or policy-type explanations that emphasise membership aspirations, asymmetric interdependencies between the EU and the neighbourhood countries, or the level of politicisation or institutionalisation characterising particular policy fields. Finally, our findings point towards important differences between membership, accession and neighbourhood Europeanisation by stressing factors mediating the EU's impact on policy change in the Eastern neighbourhood countries that played a rather marginal role in domestic policy change in EU member states and accession countries.

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Rozée Stephen, Kaunert Christian, Léonard Sarah

Is Europol a Comprehensive Policing Actor?

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 14, n. 3, Special Issue: Agency Governance in the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 372-387

This article provides an assessment of Europol as a comprehensive policing actor with a particular focus on crime-fighting. It argues that Europol has moved beyond some of the early obstacles it faced regarding the lack of trust and confidence from the police forces of the member states and the limitations that those issues had caused. The



agency now makes contributions in all of the broad areas associated with international crime-fighting. As a result, it can be argued that Europol's mandate and activities include the range of police functions comprised by policing in the area of crime-fighting. However, although the EU's promotion of Europol and its increased mandate have given the agency significant potential to fulfil these functions in a deep and complete way, in practice this has been achieved only in some areas.

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Su Hungdah

Is the Euro still a success story? An Asian interpretation of the Eurozone sovereign debt crisis in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 11, n. 2, June , 179-188

Since outbreak of the sovereign debt crisis in several member states of the Eurozone in 2010, the Euro as a success story was suddenly thrown into doubt. In Asia, more and more scholars and policy analysts, a majority of whom had not focused their study on the EU or Euro before the crisis, have criticized the monetary integration in the Eurozone, put into doubt the value of European integration as a whole, and reiterate their pessimistic theses about the future of the European economy. This article represents a rebuttal to this criticism, arguing that the common currency is truly in difficulty but not in an impasse. A return to a success story of the Euro is still probable, if European leaders and their citizens could reestablish a balancing model between the financial discipline and economic growth in the EU, to which a general and in-depth debate over the future of European integration is indispensable.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laurence Jonathan

Islam and Social Democrats: Integrating Europe's Muslim Minorities in Dissent, Fall, 2013

The first serious divergences between Muslims and the left in Europe began with the fatwa issued by Iranian Ayatollah Khomeini against Salman Rushdie in 1989 and religious demands to censor his novel, *The Satanic Verses*. The split widened later that year, when France began to restrict the wearing of girls' headscarves in schools. Until then, parties on the left had embraced the mostly working-class minority as a natural ally. Migrants from Muslim majority countries first began settling permanently in Western Europe in the 1970s and '80s. The unexpected transformation of receiving countries into "immigration societies" provoked nationalist and racist reactions on the right, while parties on the left appeared the likely beneficiary of the influx of future voters. German trade unions were already enrolling Gastarbeiter (guest workers) in the 1960s, decades before the German state considered granting Turks easy access to citizenship. When the Socialist leader François Mitterrand was elected French president in 1981, he authorized foreigners to create cultural and political associations—mostly benefiting Algerians, Moroccans, and Tunisians—that party leaders hoped would federate under the Socialist banner.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Arnold Christine, Sapir Eliyahu V.

Issue Congruence across Legislative Terms: Examining the Democratic Party Mandate in the European Parliament

in *West European Politics*, vol. 36, n. 6, 1292-1308

ABSTRACT: Much of the empowerment of the European Parliament over the years is due to its special role in providing a bridge connecting the public's policy preferences on the one hand, and the legislative behaviour of elected officials on the other. As the only popularly elected EU institution, successive treaty reforms increased the EP's political power. These reforms were accompanied by an explicit desire to see citizens' involvement in EU politics increase and, in turn, provide support and legitimacy to the European integration project. This paper models MEPs' track records on various political issues, and assesses the extent to which their output is in line with the positions their party campaigned on and the policy preferences expressed in public opinion. The findings suggest that there are discrete patterns of representation, where some parties are more inclined toward greater congruence with their selectorate and manifesto than others. Furthermore, the degree of congruence varies across policy issues and is shaped, to a large extent, by institutional arrangements and political context.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aneta Spendzharova & Esther Versluis

Issue salience in the European policy process: what impact on transposition?

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 10 2013, 1499-1516

Analyses of agenda setting and decision making have highlighted that issue salience plays an important role in those stages of the policy process. This article investigates the role of issue salience in the implementation stage, focusing on transposition. We examine the extent to which issue salience – the relative importance attached to an issue in relation to others – influences the timeliness of transposing European Union directives in national legislation. We analyse 143 European Union environmental directives adopted in the period 1996–2008 in ten member states. We operationalize issue salience as the salience of hazardous substances and materials, salience for political parties in government and salience for the general public. Our results show faster transposition when environmental issues are salient for the governing political parties, Green political parties are included in the government, and the general public ranks environmental issues as a top priority.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Quagliarello Gaetano

Jean Monnet

in *Ventesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

From the end of the forties until the mid-seventies, Jean Monnet constantly stimulated and supported the European integration process. First as a French high-level civil servant, and later as the first President of the High Authority of the ESCS he developed several proposals and influenced European and American politicians through his networks (such as



the Action Committee for the United States of Europe). He was convinced that preserving the nation-states had been at the very root of both world wars. Moreover, he was worried about the weak position of the European States in the post-war world. Not succumbing to the impasse of the federalist thought, Monnet founded his in favour of European integration on the "functionalist method". During the fifties, Monnet aimed to integrate some defined economic sectors amongst the Western European countries, especially France and Germany. However, during the sixties he had to face the vision of Europe supported by the French President, Charles de Gaulle, with who he first tried to collaborate with, and then opposed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mioche Philippe

Jean Monnet, businessman avant l'Europe

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 2 , 143-158

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gerhard Schröder, Jacques Delors

Jobs, Democracy and Growth

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 3, July , 24-26

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cohen Antonin

Juge et expert. L'« affaire Rueff » ou la codification des règles de la circulation internationale

in *Critique Internationale*, N°59 - Avril/Juin , 69-88

The appointment of Jacques Rueff, a member of the Court of Justice of the European Communities, to the position of economic and financial advisor to the French government following General de Gaulle's return to power occasioned much discussion in community circles between 1958 and 1962. By examining this "affair", the present article seeks to reveal the institutional power struggles that preceded the codification of the rules of international circulation. These power struggles defined the very conditions of possibility of expertise, which depends on the accumulation of positions and sources of revenue. As revealed by press articles on parliamentary questions, the undercurrents of the "Rueff affair" thus show that international circulation does not take place without resistance

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Prichard Alex



Justice and EU Foreign Policy

in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 21, issue 3 , 413-429

ABSTRACT: In this article I argue that the contemporary normative analysis of EU foreign policy is predominantly Kantian. This, I argue, is highly problematic, because at the heart of Kantian and neo-Kantian accounts of ethics is a moral universalism that ought not to animate EU foreign policy unless that foreign policy desires to be neo-colonial. I set out why this is the case by developing an account of ethics derived from the writings of Alasdair MacIntyre. MacIntyre's account of ethics is both critical of Kantian universalism and provides a constructive alternative for evaluating moral behaviour and I use both sets of insights to evaluate neo-Kantianism in EU studies and liberal universalism as a suitable foundation for an ethical foreign policy of the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jörg Monar

Justice and Home Affairs

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 124-138

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Leuffen Dirk

Keine Arroganz, aber auch keine falsche Bescheidenheit! Was die EU von anderen Regionalorganisationen lernen kann

in **Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Heft 3, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fagiolo Silvio

Konrad Adenauer

in **Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni**, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

The author aims to retrace the European commitment of Konrad Adenauer. He argues that through many steps analysed here, Adenauer carried out with foresight a fundamental exchange: every increase in German power was contrasted by a transfer of power to supranational alliances, either European or Atlantic. To cede power to recover power is the translation into political terms of the dialectic which is the peculiar product of German thought. The western anchor and his policy towards the fulfilment of the occupying powers was the prerequisite to regain credibility and sovereignty. From this perspective, he found allies, first in De Gasperi at the beginning of the fifties and then in de Gaulle in the late fifties and sixties.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Eising Rainer, Pakull Dominic, Spohr Florian

Koordinationsprobleme durch nationale Wahlen? Die europäische Verfassungspolitik in Österreich und Irland 2002-2009

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 2/2013 , 161-179

The full text is free:

<http://www.oezp.at/getEnAbstract.php?id=515>

Do National Elections Cause Coordination Problems? European Constitutional Policy in Austria and Ireland 2002-2009

National Elections determine the time horizons of politicians and may cause inter-temporal changes of their policy positions. In European constitutional policy this observation is contrasted by both the assumption of long term motives and the successful revisions of EU treaties. Thus, we analyse if national elections in Ireland and Austria had an impact on the positions of national parties in European constitutional policy. The findings of our case studies show that the parties' positions remained largely stable. However, we also identify three factors which may increase the politicisation of EU constitutional issues in the national arena and thereby shorten the time horizons of politicians: Eurosceptic parties, referenda, and issues carrying a symbolic meaning for the public. Finally, we observe that the resulting inter-temporal inconsistencies have caused only limited coordination problems in the EU treaty negotiations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kaeding Michael

Krise und Alternativen im europäischen Integrationsprozess

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 3, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andrusz Katya

L'Agence des droits fondamentaux de l'Union européenne: actualités

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 573, décembre , 594-600

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicola Pedrazzi

L'Albania in Europa, l'Europa in Albania: due storie per un futuro

in *Mulino (il)*, n.6

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christophe Roux

L'Europe du Sud dans la crise

in *Pôle Sud*, n°39 , 5-9

Premières lignes

« À travers l'Europe du Sud, des millions de familles vivent dans la misère tandis que les taux de chômage dépassent les 25% en Grèce et en Espagne et approchent 15% au Portugal (...), tandis que les salaires des enseignants, des infirmières et des autres salariés du public sont coupés et que des entreprises en nombre sans précédent font faillite. Le taux de suicide en Grèce a doublé lors de ces trois...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giorgio

L'Italia e la politica internazionale

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 172, autunno , 463-476

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

L'Ukraine aux portes de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 574, janvier , 1-3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giuliani J.D.

L'Union politique, maintenant!



in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 1 , 3-6

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

L'Union à 28, retour sur le chemin parcouru

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 571, septembre , 459-461

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guzzetta Giovanni

L'Unione europea e il problema della sovranità. Quesiti oziosi, conclusioni sbrigative e dilemmi cruciali

in *Archivio giuridico*, n. 1 , 5-29

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Weisse-Marchal Claudie

L'applicabilité de la Charte des droits fondamentaux de l'Union européenne dans les ordres juridiques nationaux

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 573, décembre , 609-617

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pierre-Henri d'Argenson

L'euro, une utopie monétaire

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 78, n°2 été

La zone euro n'est pas un édifice stable et durable. Sa mise en place n'a pas entraîné la convergence économique espérée entre ses différents membres. Au contraire, l'avènement de la monnaie unique n'a fait que renforcer les déséquilibres internes. Les tentatives de convergence forcée par le truchement d'une politique budgétaire coercitive sont elles aussi vouées à l'échec. Dans ces conditions, le retour à un panier de monnaies nationales apparaît comme la meilleure solution pour sortir de la crise.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marzo Claire

L'initiative citoyenne européenne: entre simple perfectionnement des rouages institutionnels législatifs et démocratie en construction

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 571, septembre , 510-519

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tirard Manuel

L'intégration budgétaire croissante en Europe: entre théorie et réalité

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 569, juin , 337-343

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barnier Michel

L'union bancaire européenne, condition de la stabilité financière durable et prélude à une nouvelle étape de l'intégration européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 571, septembre , 462-465

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Onado Marco

L'unione bancaria e i mali finanziari dell'Europa

in *ItalianiEuropei*, 5-6

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andrew Drzemczewski

L'élection du juge européen à la Cour européenne

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, n. 95



L'article 22 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme précise que les juges à la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme sont élus par l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe. Lorsque l'Union européenne aura adhéré à la Convention, le juge élu au titre de l'Union aura le même statut et les mêmes obligations que les autres juges de la Cour de Strasbourg et le Parlement européen aura le droit de prendre part au processus électoral de l'Assemblée. Un organe informel conjoint, composé des représentants des deux institutions parlementaires, s'est mis d'accord sur les modalités de la représentativité du Parlement européen au sein de l'Assemblée parlementaire lorsque cette dernière élit les juges à la Cour de Strasbourg.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Genin Vincent

La Belgique face au traité de l'Élysée (juillet 1962–juillet 1963). Vers un axe Paris-Bonn ou une influence de Bruxelles?

in *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, 45 (2013), 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kovler Anatoly

La Cour européenne des droits de l'homme face à la souveraineté d'État

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 368, 2013/2 , 209-222

The analysis of the positions of the European Court of Human Rights in the matter of state sovereignty and its expression in concrete cases proves a richness of the Court's case-law and at the same time its contradictory character. The notions of subsidiarity, of margin of appreciation, of states' immunity and especially of extraterritorial jurisdiction were specified in many occasions and frequently not well accepted by the states concerned.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Juillot Éric

La France et l'Union européenne : quelles perspectives géopolitiques ?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

Dans ce propos sans concession, l'auteur démonte l'idée d'une Europe géopolitique à laquelle conduirait une Europe de la défense portée à bout de bras par la France et qui n'a pas convaincu ses voisins.

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Chaltiel Florence

La France à l'initiative européenne ?



in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 570, juillet-août , 389-390

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Constantin Tsoucalas

La Grèce en Crise : À propos d'une « dévaluation intérieure »

in *Pôle Sud*, n°38 , 15-31

La transformation graduelle de la Grèce actuelle en une sorte de Sahel européen n'a aucun précédent dans un pays développé en période de paix. En effet, la crise semble toucher les fondements mêmes de la structure sociale. Il faut donc se poser la question des facteurs concrets qui sous-tendent l'émergence de cette situation exceptionnelle. Il s'agit d'une coïncidence insolite d'éléments disparates qui tiennent aussi bien au développement historique des structures internes et à la conjoncture internationale. Malgré l'insertion graduelle du pays dans la communauté européenne, le capitalisme grec n'a jamais pu évoluer sur une base productive efficace. Dans ces conditions donc, il est normal que les effets de la crise mondiale aient été ressentis de manière encore plus brutale qu'ailleurs. En effet, la compétitivité devrait être restituée par le biais d'une « dévaluation intérieure » massive. Ce qui équivaut à une chute brutale du niveau de vie de la grande majorité de la population et, par conséquent, à la mise en place d'une situation sociale explosive et potentiellement incontrôlable. A cet égard donc, on devrait se poser la question des raisons qui sous-tendent ces options catastrophiques. On ne peut pas exclure qu'au fond la doctrine de la dévaluation intérieure ne soit que le préambule expérimental de la mise en chantier d'une nouvelle stratégie du capital international. L'examen « clinique » des seuils de la résistance politique d'un peuple rendu à la misère pourrait fournir des indices en ce qui concerne les limites systémiques de la redistribution de la richesse sociale en faveur du capital.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Badie Bertrand

La Ve République et la souveraineté

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 368, 2013/2 , 21-32

The debates between the two authors, that took place in 1998, investigates the historical evolution of the idea of sovereignty and its relevance nowadays in France and in Europe. After considering the plurality of approaches of sovereignty, the authors see its interest nowadays in the framework of the evolution of the state and of the nation, as a tool of political struggle. The contemporary relevance of sovereignty, featuring accountability and solidarity, is mainly due to the shortcomings of the process of the European integration, which is not implemented from an innovative political thought, but from a rush job on the institutions.

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Grifone Baglioni Lorenzo, Recchi Ettore

La classe media va in Europa? Transnazionalismo e stratificazione sociale nell'Unione Europea



in **Società Mutamento Politica**, Vol 4, N° 7 (2013) , 47-69

Supported by EU citizenship, Europeans seem to enjoy wide life chances and experiential horizons. Our hypothesis is that transnational practices (travels, social relations and lifestyles) lead to nurture a stronger identification with Europe. Empirical analysis (with Eurobarometer data of 2010) confirms the hypothesis but also indicates that “Europeanness” – in its two dimensions: practices and identifications – is stratified, being strongest in the upper social class. While the overall transnationalism-European identification association holds in all social strata as well, the middle class does not take the lead of Europeanization as it did historically when it contributed to the nation building of modern States.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grand Loïc

La communautarisation de "Bruxelles 1"

in **Revue générale de droit international publique**, a. 117, n.3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chiti Mario P.

La crisi del debito sovrano e le sue influenze per la governance europea, i rapporti tra stati membri, le pubbliche amministrazioni

in **Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario**, n. 1 , 1-32

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kegels Chantal, Verlinden Joost

La detection et la correction des déséquilibres macroéconomique

in **Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique**, Tome LII, 2013/2-3 , 51-66

Among the new rules and procedures in the European governance, the macroeconomic imbalances procedure concentrates on the evolution and the analysis of the main macroeconomic variables of the member states in order to prevent the emergence of new crises. How can this procedure be assessed after two years after its implementation? This article tries to answer this question. The analysis of the implementation of the procedure – from the establishment of the macroeconomic scoreboard until the Council decision, passing by the alert mechanism report and the in-depth review by the Commission – shows the complexity of this surveillance exercise. With two exercises behind us, the main points of criticism of this new instrument are identified. Finally, the likely and desirable evolution of the mechanism is pointed out.



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Michel Leo

La défense européenne en 2013 : une perspective américaine

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

Le regard souvent perplexe porté par les États-Unis sur la politique de sécurité et de défense de l'UE s'accompagne d'un fort pragmatisme et de la volonté de tirer le meilleur parti des complémentarités potentielles que celle-ci présente avec l'Otan. Des voies de progrès sont dégagées par l'auteur dans cette direction.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gouzy Jean-Pierre

La dérobade des souverains et la construction européenne

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 368, 2013/2 , 137-165

This article investigates the process of European integration, since the end of WW II and the beginning of the European activism, until the Lisbon treaty, from the opposition between two approaches: the quest for more European political integration on the one hand, and the will of the states to preserve their sovereignty on the other. The author presents a first period featuring mostly European activism, until the failure of the European Defence Community. A second period starts with the developments of the EEC, hampered first by the sovereigntism of France, and followed afterwards by the one of the UK. This period features also the failure of the Spinelli plan. Eventually, a third period is starting with the Maastricht Treaty and ends with the Lisbon Treaty. In this last period, the ideas of sovereignty and of further European integration are balancing each other. Eventually, the 2008 crisis, and the necessary answer of the EU should open a new period, where some fundamental choices have to be made between the two approaches.

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Anna Maria Palau

La europeización de la agenda legislativa estatal y autonómica (1986-2007)

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , n.160 , 69-102

Este artículo mide la europeización de la agenda legislativa en España a lo largo del tiempo, entre niveles de gobierno y en distintos ámbitos políticos. Los resultados demuestran que desde la entrada de España en la CEE en 1986 hasta 2007, el porcentaje de legislación europeizada ha aumentado de forma progresiva, que las cuestiones relativas al mercado único y el medio ambiente son las más europeizadas, y que la agenda de las Comunidades Autónomas de Andalucía, Cataluña, Galicia y País Vasco está escasamente europeizada en comparación con la del Estado, incluso en sectores muy descentralizados. El artículo analiza también el impacto del proceso de europeización en las relaciones Gobierno-Parlamento. Para ello se tiene en cuenta hasta qué punto el Gobierno utiliza legislación secundaria para regular los asuntos europeos; y hasta qué punto ha aumentado la actividad de control de los grupos parlamentarios sobre el Gobierno en cuestiones relativas a la Unión Europea. Los resultados demuestran que el control parlamentario no ha aumentado de forma similar a la europeización de la agenda y que, en general, el proceso de integración ha reforzado la superioridad del Gobierno frente al Parlamento en el proceso político.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Matthieu Ansaloni

La fabrique du consensus politique

in *Revue française de science politique*, Vol. 63, n. 5 octobre , 917-937

Based on the example of the debate on the relations between the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and the environment, this article offers a longitudinal analysis of a public problem definition. Focusing on actor struggles, it shows how, in twenty years, the vision of the relations between the CAP and the environment carried out by some environmentalists has become dominant at the European level, generating a large and tacit consensus. Three complementary elements are identified to explain political consensus production : the use of "science" allows projecting a seemingly depoliticized and universal worldview, promising an inevitable future ; the plasticity of the logic of this vision enables various appropriations, likely to integrate diverse interests ; finally, legal consecration of this vision favors a phenomenon of symbolic impact.

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Schefold Dian

La giurisprudenza costituzionale tedesca in materia di unificazione europea. un contributo alla soluzione della crisi finanziaria?

in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, n. 2/2013

The European Union is based on an always more close union of the European peoples, and, so, it tries to exclude the control of the national judges about the validity of the Union's deeds. Nevertheless, the contractual character of the primary Union Law remains. The original Treaties are treaties based on the international public law, and their conclusion, acceptance, and ratification are determined by the Member States, with acts subject to national controls, also by constitutional courts.

The worldwide financial crisis proposes again, now, the problems concerning the European constitution. The urgency to adopt measures against the financial crisis, and the existence of diverging opinions among the States, increases the need of an intergovernmental cooperation, and of the Treaties as a juridical instrument of cooperation, even among the Member States. These forms of cooperation contribute, with the interior forms of decision making about subject matters of the Union.

The south-European States more shocked by the crisis are strongly interested in the German situation, especially in the federal constitutional court decisions concerning the European unification, and the direct attention to the role of the national Parliaments direct to the protection of the democratic principle, and with a perspective sometimes really censorious towards the European law.

The essay retraces the fundamental steps of this case law, from the 1993 Maastricht judgment to the recent decisions concerning the European Stability Mechanism, underlining its virtues and its lacks.

These are paradigmatic events for the member States subjected to the German hegemony: they could - and maybe should - feel summoned to have a similar constitutional control on the sovereignty restrictions fixed by the European unification.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Streef Alexandre

La gouvernance européenne reformée

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 3 , 483-498

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Leo Manfredi

La Grecia è l'Europa che saremo?

in *Critica liberale*, volume XX, nn. 213-214, luglio-agosto

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Messina Michele

La nuova governance economica e finanziaria dell'Unione: aspetti giuridici e possibili scenari per la sua integrazione nell'ordinamento giuridico UE

in *Federalismi*, Anno XI - Nr 23

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saunier Georges

La négociation de Maastricht vue de Paris

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 19, n. 1 , 45-66

Between 1989 and December 1991, the French authorities negotiated the Treaty on European Union. For them, this meant, on the one hand, to provide the European continent with a new political structure in order to cope with the situation brought about by the end of the Cold War, and on the other hand, to adapt the institutions of the European Community to its new dimensions, especially with regard to the future Economic and Monetary Union and a Common Foreign and Security Policy. Led by François Mitterrand, the French team in charge of this project, concluded an agreement with Germany that was aimed at isolating Great Britain wherever it blocked decisions, and formed a bloc of eleven countries in favour of adopting a text at the meeting of the European Council in Maastricht in December 1991. The results that were achieved show the objectives, concessions and success realized by Paris regarding various aspects of the treaty. Our article will analyze all of this, basing itself on material from the French archives.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bieber Roland

**La perception allemande de la notion de souveraineté
in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 368, 2013/2 , 61-77

Although that the German Constitution, the Grundgesetz, does not know the term 'Souveränität,' this notion is present in the German legal and political terminology. Yet, it can be noticed considerable differences between the definitions used by political science and legal fields, as well as within each of these disciplines ... The jurisprudence of the German constitutional court since 1987, and notably in the 'Maastricht' and 'Lisbon' decisions, is marked by a more explicit interpretation of the concept of 'State.' It reflects the positions of one part of the legal doctrine that finds its roots in the late nineteenth century. However, the reality of the European integration and the evolution of the international law, as well as the opening explicitly wanted by the German Constitution, lead an increasing number of authors either to defend the concept of 'adaptive sovereignty', or to contest the relevance and the justification of its use in the field of constitutional law.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

**La politica in Europa e l'Europa nella politica
in ItalianiEuropei**, 7 - 8

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Debré Michel

**La politique nationale de défense (décembre 1970
in Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 762, Été , Supplément numérique

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rambaud Romain

**La ratification en trompe-l'oeil du TSCG en France
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 570, juillet-août , 435-457

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Costanza Calabretta

La riunificazione tedesca in mostra. Musei ed esposizioni a Berlino dopo il 1989

in *Memoria e ricerca*, Fascicolo 44, 197-215

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pérez-Desoy i Fages Carles

La ruptura de las relaciones diplomáticas: Una aproximación sistemática con una referencia especial a las consecuencias de la entrada en vigor del tratado de Lisboa en la praxis diplomática

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 26, diciembre 2013

The present paper aims to provide a systematic analysis of the different ways in which breaking off diplomatic relations between two sovereign States might take place, and the different phases in such a process, each one characterised by the adoption of different types of diplomatic measures, as well as the way in which they might be combined (e.g., recall of an ambassador for consultations or withdrawal of ambassadors). Although this constitutes its own form of diplomatic sign language, which can be decoded, it has been subject to very little systematic analysis. Even though we can find many examples of such situations in diplomatic practice, there are very few codified rules in diplomatic law, and case law is often nonexistent. The entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, and the launch of the European External Action Service (EEAS), opens up the possibility that, in the event of a diplomatic crisis, traditional diplomatic measures may be applied as part of a collective decision-making process within the EU, thus also significantly widening the range of possible measures that can be adopted. It also opens the door to new, hypothetical options of great interest in the event that an EU Member State and a third State break off their diplomatic relations; for example, the possible creation of an "interests section" of that State within the EU Delegation in that country.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferrari Zumbini Angela

La sentenza del Bundesverfassungs- gericht sul Meccanismo Europeo di Stabilità e sul Fiscal Compact

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, n. 1-2, 43-54

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Constantinesco Vlad



La souveraineté est-elle soluble dans l'Union européenne ?

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 368, 2013/2 , 119-135

The European Union – a process from more than half a century, wanted and developed by an increasingly growing number of Member States - has undoubtedly affected the way of thinking sovereignty. This article examines how this influence occurs and explores the way that would take a 'constituent' sovereignty, at European Union level, by the joint decision of the Governments of the Member States (sovereignty under international law) and ratification by the peoples of the Member States (sovereignty under constitutional law).

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Laura Muzi

La tutela della democrazia tedesca di fronte al procedimento di integrazione UE: una rassegna sulla giurisprudenza del Tribunale costituzionale federale tedesco

in Nomos, n. 3/2013

Lo scoppio della crisi del debito in Europa ha messo in luce la necessità di dare vita ad una modifica della costruzione originaria del progetto europeo da cui ha fatto seguito un procedimento di riforma che ha rilevato le caratteristiche del tutto anomale rispetto metodo ordinario, quello "comunitario", su cui si è mosso tradizionalmente il processo di integrazione europea. Da ciò è scaturito un vivace dibattito riguardante il metodo di assunzione delle decisioni, che avrebbe potuto e dovuto favorire quelle istituzioni, come la Commissione e il Parlamento europeo, a chiara vocazione sovranazionale anziché quelle di stampo intergovernativo come il Consiglio ed il Consiglio europeo, che hanno invece prevalso.

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Gouveia Sofia, Correia Leonida

Labour costs dynamics in the Euro area: some empirical evidence

in International Economics and Economic Policy, Volume 10, Issue 3, September 2013 , 323-347

Little is known about how the introduction of a common currency and a single monetary policy has affected the labour cost dynamics in the Euro area. The literature has focused mainly on business cycle synchronisation. This paper analyses labour costs convergence in the Euro area since 1995, combining results from different data and two complementary approaches. First we present some relevant facts about wages and unit labour cost dynamics and, in a second phase, we investigate whether the physical introduction of the euro has changed the volatility and the synchronisation of labour costs cycles, in a context of globalisation. Overall, our results indicate that labour markets in the Euro area are very heterogeneous. However, some signs of labour cost convergence are beginning to emerge. After the circulation of the euro, it seems that a reduction in nominal unit labour costs differences and an increase on the degree of synchronisation has occurred, which has been strengthened in the economic and financial crisis period.

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Heinbach Gesa

Lampedusa: Europas Schande

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, November, 2013 , 5-8

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2013/november/lampedusa-europas-schande>

Am 3. Oktober kenterte vor der Küste Lampedusas ein Schiff mit über 500 Flüchtlingen, nur 155 von ihnen überlebten. Politiker in ganz Europa zeigten sich schockiert – als ob es das erste Mal gewesen wäre, dass Menschen auf ihrer Flucht nach Europa ertrinken. Dabei sind die Fakten hinlänglich bekannt: Knapp zwei Drittel aller „illegalen“ Einreisen in die EU erfolgen über den Seeweg, zumeist in völlig überfüllten, nicht hochseetauglichen Booten. Schätzungsweise 60.000 Menschen wagen pro Jahr die Flucht über das Mittelmeer Richtung EU, etwa 2000 von ihnen sterben während der Überfahrt...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alaminos Antonio

Las clases medias en Europa: status y poder en el siglo XXI

in *Società Mutamento Politica*, Vol 4, N° 7 (2013) , 29-45

European societies are undergoing deep changes as a result of globalization and the international financial crisis that began in 2007. These changes affect the class structure to the extent that these societies suffer an impact on the occupational structure and consume pattern. From the data of Eurobarometer we studied the state of social mobility in the European Union. Comparing the subjective status between 2009 and 2012, we observed divergent movements in European societies. Some societies experimented upward mobility while others just the opposite. We conclude that exists an increasing gap between European societies. To consider the effects of these changes on the status structures a structural model has been tested, exploring the relationship between social class, status and power in European societies. We conclude a statistically significant effect of social class and status on the consciousness perceived to possess more or less power. Two dimensions measure power: "political alienation" and "economic

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Geslin Laurent, Dérens Jean-Arnault

Le 28e Membre du club

in *Politique internationale*, n. 140 - Ete, 2013

On July 1, 2013, Croatia became the 28th member of the European Union. Its accession has hardly been greeted by cheers of enthusiasm. The other EU members have been generally indifferent to this tiny state, whose demographic and economic significance is minimal, with a population of 4 million and GDP equivalent to just 0.33% of the EU total. Croatians themselves are equally unenthusiastic. Skeptical for quite some time that membership will bring a better standard of living, they fear instead it will weaken their economy, due to pressure from Brussels to liberalize. Either way, the fact remains that Croatia is an intrinsically European country and its integration is entirely normal. What remains to



be seen is whether Zagreb will close the door behind it, or leave it open for its Balkan neighbors - Serbia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Albania and Kosovo - who also aspire to join the "club".

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Chaouad Robert

Le Royaume-Uni et l'Europe : in and out

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2013/3 (n° 91) , 151-161

«Monsieur le Président, J'ai l'honneur d'informer Votre Excellence que, conformément aux termes de la résolution approuvée le 3 août par les deux Chambres du Parlement, le gouvernement de Sa Majesté la reine du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord souhaite entamer des négociations en vue d'adhérer au traité de Rome, en vertu des dispositions de l'article...

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Meyer-Heine Anne

Le TFUE e l'assistance financière à un État membre - Réflexions liées à la mise en place du MES

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 574, janvier , 13-38

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pellen Cédric

Le champ politique européen saisi par les élargissements. Sociologie de l'investissement des arènes de définition de la Politique agricole commune par les représentants polonais (2004-2014)

in *Politique européenne* , n. 41, 2013/3 , 145-156

Le 14 juillet 2009, lors de la séance inaugurale de la VIIe législature du Parlement européen, l'ancien Premier ministre polonais Jerzy Buzek a été élu à une large majorité à la présidence de l'Assemblée communautaire. Dans un bel unanimité, cette élection a alors été saluée par les représentants des principaux groupes politiques européens ainsi que par le président de la Commission européenne, José Manuel Barroso, comme un moment historique pour l'Union européenne (UE). À les croire, l'accession inédite d'un responsable politique originaire d'une des anciennes « Démocraties populaires » à la tête d'une des principales institutions de l'UE symboliserait la réconciliation définitive entre l'Ouest et l'Est du continent ainsi que la réussite des élargissements de 2004 et 2007. Alors qualifiée de « victoire de l'Europe réunifiée » par J. M. Barroso, l'élection de J. Buzek témoignerait de la parfaite intégration des représentants des nouveaux États membres au système institutionnel européen.

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Schumacher Pascal

Le choix de la base juridique pour un mécanisme d'évaluation de Schengen: une question juridique et politique
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 569, juin , 328-336

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Malenovský Jiřka

Le juge et la coutume internationale : perspective de l'Union européenne et de la Cour de justice
in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 12, n. 2 , 217-241

ABSTRACT: Jiřka Malenovský presents the perspective of the European Union (EU) and of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) with regard to the issue of the judge and international custom. His presentation focuses notably on (I) the EU's contribution to the formation of customary rules and on (II) the various approaches taken by the CJEU over time as to the binding force of international custom in the EU's legal order. Furthermore, Jiřka Malenovský illustrates (III) the various degrees of openness towards international custom in the case-law of the CJEU. He also presents (IV) the criteria used by the CJEU in its cautious attempts to identify both the existence and the content of the rules of international customary law. Finally, he provides information with regard to (V) the CJEU's evaluation of the direct effect/applicability and enforceability of customary international rules.

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Degryse Christophe

Le modèle social au risqué de la gouvernance économique

in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome LII, 2013/2-3 , 113-125

The analysis of the consequences of the 2007-2008 financial crisis on the economic and monetary union (euro crisis, sovereign debt crisis, banking crisis, economic recession, etc.) often starts from an economic or political point of view. The resulting debates are for example on the relevance of austerity policies, on how to boost growth, etc. One particular point of view is often overlooked: the institutional perspective. In this paper, the author takes as his starting point the question as to whether the institutional balance of economic and monetary union is optimal (or not) in the context of the crisis. This (im)balance includes especially the question of the sharing of responsibilities within the EU institutions and between these institutions and the Member States. What is - or should be, according to the treaties - the responsibility of the Member States, the European Commission and the European Central Bank to promote growth and employment? The author concludes that this division is currently sub-optimal, which results in a considerable reduction in the scope of policies. Ultimately, this leads the European institutions and the Member States to restrict their means of action to structural reforms. This has resulted in a collapse of the social dimension of the European project, as it is transformed into a variable of adjustment to economic shocks. This follows from (a lack of) political choices behind institutional imbalances, and could be corrected by giving Europe real social governance and adjustment instruments.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabien Kendérian, Clémentine Bourgeois

Le statut français des baux commerciaux face à la problématique européenne

in *Revue internationale de droit économique*, Vol. 27, n°3, 265-299

For over half a century, the highly protective status of commercial leases in France has primarily benefited tenant shopkeepers. This approach is at odds with foreign laws. The current economic European integration raises legal and economic issues with respect to the future of this status, which may be considered obsolete. The purpose of the present study is to examine whether the French status of commercial leases is compatible with Community legislation, which guarantees the free movement and the freedom of establishment of persons and businesses; and also with the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Given the complexity of dealing with many commercial lease regimes in Europe, this study also discusses, in a forward-looking manner, the possible unification of commercial lease law. We discuss the introduction of a European lease system that could meet the needs of major economic actors, lessors and tenants, who do business across EU Member States. These issues are addressed with a special attention given to adapting the law to economic realities.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabian Amtenbrink

Legal Developments

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013, 139-154

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Krappel Amie

Legislative Implications of the Lisbon Treaty: The (Potential) Role of Ideology

in *West European Politics*, vol. 36, n. 6, 1178-1198

ABSTRACT: The Treaty of Lisbon explicitly classifies the Council of the European Union as part of the legislative branch; yet, few analyses treat it as such. Instead, most treat the Council as an intergovernmental organisation governed by homogenous member state interests. This research squarely repositions the Council within the legislative studies literature and examines the character of its organisational structure. At the same time, the representatives from the member states are disaggregated to allow for an analysis of the ideological variation within member state delegations. The result is a reinterpretation of Council formations as a type of legislative committee structure. The membership of these 'committees' across all member states during the years 2000–2010 is then analysed to determine whether they are likely to be distributional or informational in character based on their ideological mean. The results suggest that treating national delegations to the Council as uniform, homogenous blocks based solely on national identity is a mistake.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Charlotte Burns, Anne Rasmussen, Christine Reh

Legislative codecision and its impact on the political system of the European Union

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 7 2013, 941-952

The European Union (EU) has experienced a remarkable degree of change during its history: it legislates in an ever wider range of policy areas, and its institutions and decision-making processes have been reformed repeatedly. One of the most important institutional changes was the introduction of the codecision procedure in 1993, which empowered the European Parliament (EP) and transformed the EU system of governance. Following the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon the majority of legislation is now subject to codecision under the ordinary legislative procedure. Consequently, the operation of codecision has major implications for our understanding and analysis of the EU's legislative outputs and for studies of supranational policy-making and systemic evolution more generally. This collection takes stock of 20 years of practising and studying codecision and examines the procedure's long-term implications for the EU's institutions, politics and policies.

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Vera de Matos

Les Portugais, l'Ibérie et l'Europe

in *Pôle Sud*, n°39, 99-109

This article presents three Portuguese writers – Natália Correia, Eudardo Lourenço e José Saramago – and their ideas about the political and cultural position of Portugal in Europe and in the Iberian Peninsula. All of them consider that Portugal occupies a second role position in the hierarchy of the European countries. In this context, if Lourenço suggests a new dialogue between Portugal and Europe to solidify the Portuguese cooperation in the EEC, Correia e Saramago plead to an alternative collaboration between Portugal and Spain in the south Atlantic, considered much more important than that with the Europe.

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Badalassi Nicolas

Les accords d'Helsinki ou le triomphe des conceptions paneuropéennes du général de Gaulle

in *Vingtième Siècle*, n. 119, 55-70

The Helsinki Accords, or the Triumph of General de Gaulle's Pan-European Ideas
Signed on August 1st, 1975, the Helsinki Final Act was presented as the multilateral outcome of the policy of détente towards the countries of the Warsaw Pact, which had been introduced by Charles de Gaulle in the mid-1960s. While the Soviets saw their proposed conference on European security as a way of weakening ties between the United States and Western Europe, and of preserving the European political and territorial status quo, Georges Pompidou, on the other hand, agreed to the conference but sought to use it as a means of overcoming the Cold War's bipolar effects on Europe.

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Gaia Patrik

Les cours constitutionnelles, frein ou moteur de l'integration europeenne?

in *Annuaire international de justice contitutionnelle*, 2012 , 651-670

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dévoluy Michel

Les dettes publiques sont-elles souveraines ?

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 368, 2013/2 , 197-208

The lost of financial sovereignty of the states in the past thirty years is not due mainly to the lack of budgetary control. It comes above all from three trends: the financialization of public debts, the liberal conversion of tax policies and, for Europe, the supervision of national budgets. The crisis has just fostered these trends. To recover their financial autonomy, the states need to set free from the neoliberal paradigm. Moreover, the eurozone member states have to fulfil another requirement: to go resolutely towards a federal Europe.

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Yves Gouni

Les dynamiques d'éclatements d'Etats dans l'UE : casse-tête juridique, défi politique

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 78, n°4 hiver

L'Écosse, la Catalogne ou la Flandre indépendantes rejoindraient-elles automatiquement l'Union européenne ? Ni la convention de Vienne de 1978, ni la coutume internationale, ni l'application stricte du droit de l'Union qui soumettrait les nouveaux États à la procédure ordinaire d'adhésion, et donc au veto des États membres, ne donnent de solution simple. Le caractère spécifique de l'Union européenne et le simple bon sens plaident pour une solution négociée, à toutes les étapes.

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Jacquot Sophie

Les effets de l'eupéanisation dans le domaine social. Entre influence européenne et usages nationaux

in *Politique européenne* , n. 40, 2013/2 , 9-21

À la croisée de plusieurs champs de recherche au sein des études européennes, l'objectif de ce numéro de Politique européenne est de poursuivre la réflexion sur les interactions entre l'intégration européenne et les transformations des politiques publiques nationales ainsi que sur les outils analytiques permettant de saisir au mieux ces interactions,...



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Héricourt Jérôme, Martin Philippe, Orefice Gianluca

Les exportateurs français face à l'euro

in *Lettre du CEPII*, n. 338, Jan. - 2014 , 1-4

Le taux de change est régulièrement incriminé lorsqu'il s'agit de déplorer la perte de compétitivité des exportateurs français. Rien d'étonnant à cela puisqu'une variation de l'euro modifie subitement les rapports de prix des biens échangés. Mais dans quelles proportions affecte-t-elle les volumes et les prix des exportations ? Son effet est-il différent selon les secteurs, les marchés, la gamme du produit exporté, ou au-delà d'un certain niveau du taux de change ? Cette Lettre propose de répondre à ces interrogations en examinant, sur la période 1995-2010, comment le taux de change a affecté les exportations des firmes françaises... et leurs importations.

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Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations de procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne. Dixième partie: le budget de l'Union pour 2013. La dernière année du cadre financier pour 2007-2013. II. Le nouveau projet de budget pour 2013

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 573, décembre , 641-651

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne. Dixième partie: La dernière année du cadre financier 2007-2013. I Le projet de budget initial pour 2013

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 572, octobre-novembre , 574

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bienaymé Alain

Les nouvelles tendances de la mondialisation

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Juillet/Août

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Llamby de Charles

Les perspectives d'une politique de défense européenne (juillet 1992)

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été , Supplément numérique

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Debré Michel

Les principes de notre politique de défense (août--septembre 1970)

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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de Streef Alexander

Les règles de la nouvelle gouvernance économique Européenne

in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome LII, 2013/2-3 , 13-49

This paper studies the reform of the main pillars of the EU economic governance following the euro-crisis and the consequences for the fiscal and economic policy in Belgium. The paper describes the surveillance and correction of fiscal imbalances set up by the amended Stability and Growth Pact, the Fiscal Compact and the two-pack. It describes the new surveillance and correction of macroeconomic imbalances set up by the six-pack. And it describes the coordination of socio-economic policies set up by the Europe 2020 Strategy, the Euro Plus Pact and the Compact for Growth and Jobs. While acknowledging the importance of the reforms achieved so far, the paper concludes that those reforms are still insufficient for the sustainability of the euro-zone.

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Bourrinet Jacques, Vigneron Philippe

Les tribulations de la zone euro, peripéties d'une monnaie sans Etat

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 572, octobre-novembre , 525-536

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gautier Louis



Livre blanc de 2013 et défense européenne : contra spem in spe

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

C'est d'un électrochoc qu'a besoin la bien mal nommée Europe de la défense pour clarifier ses concepts, redonner confiance en la PSDC et enclencher un processus vertueux et pragmatique, et pour la sortir de l'ornière où la confusion et le manque d'ambition l'ont confinée.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Castaldo Massimo

L'Europa e le verità di Lisbona

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 80, n. 2, aprile-giugno

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Albonetti Achille

L'Europa: dalla crisi economica al rilancio politico?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 171, luglio-estate , 227-234

Full text available: http://www.affari-esteri.it/Albonetti_171.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jospin Lionel

L'Europe : continent en déclin ou modèle pour l'avenir ?

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 176, septembre-octobre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Céline Belot, Bruno Cautrès, Sylvie Strudel

L'Europe comme enjeu clivant. Ses effets perturbateurs sur l'offre électorale et les orientations de vote lors de l'élection présidentielle de 2012

in *Revue française de science politique*, Vol. 63, n. 6 décembre , 1081-1112

What role did the European challenge play in the domestic policy programmes and in voter choice during the 2012 French presidential election? Using three different datasets (manifestos, campaign speeches and the Cevipof post-electoral opinion poll), our results unveil the disturbing impact of the European issue. The candidates' speeches



show a double focus of denouncing and politicizing (revealing a left-right structure opposing welfare state/sovereign state) which echoes citizens' worries. The bi-dimensionality of attitudes towards Europe is confirmed. As these two dimensions do not have the same influence on electoral behavior, our results suggest that the question of the role of European integration in the emergence of a new political cleavage should not be buried too quickly.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wilkens Andreas

L'Europe et sa première crise monétaire

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 2 , 221-244

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christophe Bouillaud

L'Italie (2008-2013) : de la crise à cause de l'euro au miracle à venir grâce à l'euro ?

in *Pôle Sud*, n°39 , 11-34

From 2008 to 2013, being a southern member of the Eurozone, Italy faced a deep double-dip recession (2008-09, then 2011-13), with a looming social crisis on the background. Both might have opened the way to an unseen political crisis, with in particular the electoral landslide of the "5 Stars Movement" at the February 2013 general elections. But, till the autumn of 2013, the succession of governments Berlusconi, Monti and Letta did not really modify Italian political game's classical rules and these changes of governments did not implied any modification in the long-standing economic policy choices of Italy with its strong commitment to Eurozone survival. At the eve of autumn 2013, no perspectives of a strong growth, of a new Italian economic miracle, are yet to be seen.

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Georges-Henri Soutou

L'UE confrontée au besoin d'Occident et au pivotement américain -

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

La situation complexe dans laquelle se trouve l'Union européenne ne saurait occulter la réalité d'une convergence d'intérêts des Européens et des Américains dans la reconfiguration stratégique en cours qu'illustre le pivotement relatif des États-Unis vers l'Asie. L'Occident transatlantique conserve sa pertinence.

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Gobert Sébastien

L'Ukraine se dérobe à l'orbite européenne



in **Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Decembre

Fin novembre, à quelques jours de la signature d'un accord d'association avec l'Union européenne, Kiev a soudainement rompu les négociations, accédant ainsi à la demande pressante de Moscou. Coincée entre deux puissances qui voient en elle tantôt un grand marché, tantôt un pion géopolitique, l'Ukraine, sous la conduite de son gouvernement autoritaire, zigzague sur une voie étroite.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/12/GOBERT/49942>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Yakemtchouk Romain

L'Union européenne face à la Russie

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, vol. 80, n. 3, luglio-settembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dickmann Renzo

L'articolo 3 del Trattato sull'Unione e la politica economica europea

in **Federalismi**, Anno XI - Nr 11

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cangelosi rocco Antonio

L'evoluzione dell'idea di Europa e il futuro dell'Unione Europea

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLV, n. 171, luglio-estate , 272-281

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kermabon de Yves

L'expérience militaire acquise par les Européens : état des lieux et perspectives

in **Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 762, Été

L'inventaire méthodique des aptitudes opérationnelles collectives des États européens révèle une expérience militaire limitée, des superstructures complexes et une absence de volonté commune d'engager des actions militaires. Mais



l'avenir incertain pourrait les mettre rapidement au pied du mur.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maulin Éric

L'irréductibilité de la souveraineté territoriale

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 368, 2013/2 , 11-20

This article states the irreducibility of the territorial sovereignty. The author deems the perceived unavoidable process of globalisation as mostly discursive. So far, the reasons of state still preserve the national territory as a sanctuary. Albeit globalisation might change the nature of the state, it does not affect the principle of its sovereign existence. Moreover, it is through people's sovereignty that is guaranteed the democratic principle.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oertel Janka

Maintaining European Unity

in Zeitschrift für Politikberatung, Volume 6, Number 1, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Shephard Mark, Patrikios Stratos

Making Democracy Work by Early Formal Engagement? A Comparative Exploration of Youth Parliaments in the EU

in Parliamentary Affairs , Volume 66, Issue 4, October , 752-771

Comparative trends in political participation in the West draw a pessimistic picture: younger generations tend to avoid formal politics, opting instead for radical forms of political engagement or opting out altogether from the political process. This trend poses an obvious threat to the core democratic idea of popular control of government. One remedy for this problem, proposed in recent years, has been the creation of youth parliaments. This article explores features of youth parliaments and their impacts in the European Union. Among considerable variety and comparative discussion of a myriad of measures, we find that youth parliaments fulfil a range of functions from political education, skills acquisition to political engagement, participation and even policy impact

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mather Janet

Margaret Thatcher

in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di



un'illusione?", ottobre

The author aims to analyse the many aspects of Margaret Thatcher's controversial relationship with Europe. She demonstrates that Thatcher's policy on European integration was aggressive in public tone but pragmatic in practice. Prior to coming to power as prime minister she supported the accession of the UK to the European Communities in 1973 and campaigned for a yes vote in 1975. As PM, she led the Conservative Party on a Europe platform that did not question the fundamentals of British membership and she has been described as a strong supporter of the single market in Europe and signed the Single European Act. She fought fiercely for a British rebate, and her critics say that she saw the benefits of an openmarket but failed to appreciate that the management of that market would inevitably lead to the handing over of some sovereignty.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laure Delcour

Meandering Europeanisation. EU policy instruments and policy convergence in Georgia under the Eastern Partnership

in **Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics**, Volume 29, Issue 3, , 344-357

The literature on the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) has so far mostly concentrated on variables pertaining to European Union (EU) governance to analyse the diffusion of EU norms and rules at its periphery. While these variables undoubtedly matter, the present paper brings in other factors to assess the EU's influence in its eastern neighbourhood and studies the interplay between domestic, EU and international factors in the process of the ENP implementation. The paper aims at mapping and explaining the EU's influence in Georgia by examining a set of three variables accounting for policy change in the field of visa policy: domestic preferences, EU pressure/incentives for Europeanisation and the influence of other international players. By explaining the resistance to, or the acceptance of, EU norms, the paper contributes to the debate on the mechanisms underlying EU's influence on neighbouring countries and the outcomes of this influence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Huemer Stefan, Scheubel Beatrice, Walch Florian

Measuring Institutional Competitiveness in Europe

in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 59 Issue 3 September 2013 , 576-608

While there are many methods to measure the competitiveness of an economy, most of these concepts ignore the fact that competitiveness can change not only because of market processes such as wage negotiation but also because of political decision making. Governments that compete with others for factors of production face the incentive to adjust key policy variables such as tax rates to improve their competitive position. Disentangling market-induced and politics-induced changes in competitiveness are not easy, but strongly warranted given current discussions that some Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) Member States should improve their competitive position within the euro area by adjusting policy variables. Increasing country competitiveness is one of the key objectives currently discussed by policy makers in the context of creating an economic union in the euro area, to complement monetary union. We propose a new competitiveness index that captures the dimensions in which politics can influence competitiveness beyond factor



price adjustments. Our index shows that the individual components of institutional competitiveness have developed heterogeneously among EMU Member States. To explain these divergent developments, the uneven integration within the European Union Single Market may play a role.

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Mehr Integration, mehr Demokratie. Deutschlands Europapolitik hat zwei Modelle zur Auswahl in Internationale Politik, 68. Jahrgang, n. 1-2, Januar-Februar

ABSTRACT: Deutschland hat als überdurchschnittlich globalisiertes Land ein vitales Interesse am Erfolg der Europäischen Union. Auch deshalb wird es öfter und entschiedener führen müssen. Eine vertiefte Integration ist dabei nicht eine Alternative von vielen, sondern die Alternative zum Scheitern. Im Nichthandeln liegt der Keim der nächsten Krisenphase. Ein Grundsatzpapier.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vesnic-Alujevic Lucia

Members of the European Parliament online: the use of social media in political marketing in European View, vol. 12, n. 1, June, -165-166

The appearance of political marketing and campaigning on social media is a relatively new phenomenon, which was first introduced in the US before spreading to Europe. The importance of online political marketing can be seen in, among other factors, the major advantages offered by the Internet. Despite the fact that not everyone uses the Internet in Europe, the percentage of those who do is considered to be high enough for its application in politics. The goal of this paper is to examine the connection between European politics, Members of the European Parliament and the use of social media, and to give suggestions on how the use of social media in political marketing could be further advanced. The final recommendations target the greater use of social media for the creation of stronger bonds between politicians and citizens in Europe, which could improve electoral participation and consequently contribute to overcoming citizens' apathy and the lack of democracy at the EU level. Social media sites could be used to mobilize a larger number of EU citizens to vote in the 2014 European Parliament elections.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hamilton Daniel, Volker Kurt

Memorandum for the Chancellor — Subject: Agenda for the 2038 Euromark Council summit in Europe's World, Issue 25, Autumn

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/memorandum-for-the-chancellor-subject-agenda-for-the-2038-euromark-council-summit/#.UovwyXBg-rM>



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucke Albrecht von

Merkelland: Die blockierte Demokratie

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Oktober, 2013, 5-8

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2013/oktober/merkelland-die-blockierte-demokratie>

Nicht oft verdienen Wahlen die Überschrift historisch; diese aber hat sie verdient. Seit dem 22. September 2013 befinden wir uns in einer massiv veränderten Republik.

In ihrer nun bald 65jährigen Geschichte erlebte die Bundesrepublik vier Phasen. Am Anfang war Konrad Adenauer: Nachdem „der Alte“ 1949 die erste Regierung bei hauchdünner Mehrheit mit seiner eigenen Stimme besiegelte, konnte er der Union nach klaren Zugewinnen 1953 im Jahr 1957 die einzige je erreichte absolute Mehrheit verschaffen – gegen eine chancenlose SPD unter ihrem Spitzenkandidaten Erich Ollenhauer. Der Ära Adenauer folgte erst 1969 die zweite, die sozialliberale Republik: Vorbereitet durch eine große Koalition vollbrachte Willy Brandt – nach dreimaligem Anlauf als Kanzlerkandidat – mit der FDP den Machtwechsel. Damit waren die Liberalen nicht länger nur nach rechts koalitionsfähig, sondern auch nach links. Unter Führung von Walter Scheel und Hans-Dietrich Genscher wurden sie zur unverzichtbaren Funktionspartei der Republik...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Castro Nacarino Rodrigo, Novotný Vít, Lageson John

Migrating towards participation: immigrants and their descendants in the political process

in *European View*, vol. 12, n. 1, June, -167-168

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ademmer Esther Börzel Tanja A.

Migration, Energy and Good Governance in the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, n. 4, Special Issue: Explaining Policy Change in the European Union's Eastern Neighbourhood, 581-608

The literature on European Union enlargement has identified misfit and membership conditionality as two factors that decisively shape the effectiveness of EU policy transfer to the Central and Eastern European accession countries. Thus, European neighbourhood countries would seem to be less likely cases of EU-induced policy change. Yet, rather than inertia or resistance, we find that European neighbourhood countries comply with some but not with other EU policies. Our essay investigates such policy-specific variation in the compliance patterns of Georgia and Armenia that give rise to differential policy change. Comparing the fight against corruption, migration and energy policy, we argue that policy-specific conditionality and preferential fit are the main factors accounting for the EU's differential policy impact in European neighbourhood countries.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Esther Ademmer & Tanja A. Börzel

Migration, Energy and Good Governance in the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood

in Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 65, Issue 4 , 581-608

The literature on European Union enlargement has identified misfit and membership conditionality as two factors that decisively shape the effectiveness of EU policy transfer to the Central and Eastern European accession countries. Thus, European neighbourhood countries would seem to be less likely cases of EU-induced policy change. Yet, rather than inertia or resistance, we find that European neighbourhood countries comply with some but not with other EU policies. Our essay investigates such policy-specific variation in the compliance patterns of Georgia and Armenia that give rise to differential policy change. Comparing the fight against corruption, migration and energy policy, we argue that policy-specific conditionality and preferential fit are the main factors accounting for the EU's differential policy impact in European neighbourhood countries.

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Blauberger Michael

Minimalistische Reaktion oder vorauseilende Reform? Der nationale Umgang mit der Rechtsprechung des EuGH

in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , Heft 2/2013 , 181-196

The full text is free:

<http://www.oezp.at/getEnAbstract.php?id=516>

Contained compliance or anticipatory obedience? National responses to ECJ jurisprudence

The power of the European Court of Justice to promote European integration through law has been broadly acknowledged, but the Court's domestic impact receives less attention and remains contested. In particular, the ambiguity of many judgments is said to have two opposed effects: According to one logic, legal ambiguity enables national policy-makers to contain the impact of Court rulings, i.e. to ignore potentially broader policy implications. According to another logic, ambiguous case law provides opportunities for interested litigants to pressure national policy-makers into (anticipatory) adjustments. Which of these two logics prevails, it is argued, depends on the distribution of legal uncertainty costs between supporters and challengers of the regulatory Status quo. The argument is contrasted with competing explanations and supported by two case studies on the domestic impact of the Court's jurisprudence on the free movement of capital (golden shares) and services (posted workers).

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gellermann Uli

Modell Lettland

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juli, 2013

Hurra, brüllt eine wirklichkeitsferne Bürokratie. Bravo, assistieren wohlfeile Medien: Lettland darf im kommenden Jahr den Euro einführen. Vorgeschlagen von einer von niemandem gewählten EU-Kommission und der Europäischen Zentralbank, deren Legitimation aus der Geld-Druckmaschine kommt. Ohne nationales Referendum, doch – das ist jetzt schon sicher – abgesegnet von einem EU-Finanzministertreffen im Juli, dessen Agenda wesentlich von den großen Banken bestimmt wird.

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Courrier Anne-Elisabeth

Modification constitutionnelle en Hongrie : le droit hongrois à nouveau sous le regard des instances européennes

in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, n° 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Courrier Anne-Elisabeth

Modification constitutionnelle en Hongrie : le droit hongrois à nouveau sous le regard des instances européennes

in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, n° 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tim Haughton

Money, Margins and the Motors of Politics: The EU and the Development of Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 71-87

In line with expectations EU membership has only a limited impact on party politics in the new Member States of central and eastern Europe (CEE); even the economic crisis has not altered this level of impact. An examination of party positioning, party appeals and party competition indicates the EU plays the role of a boundary keeper, a reference point and a weapon to be invoked in domestic competition, particularly to lambast opponents for their incompetence,



especially when it comes to the ability to access and manage EU funds. Underlying parties' stances on European integration are the deep-rooted vulnerabilities which help explain why the CEE states recognize the necessity of co-operation and a pooling of sovereignty at the European level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Halimi Serge

Moyen Age européen

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juillet

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/07/HALIMI/49319>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giuliano Amato, Yves Mény, Cécile Barbier, David Natali

Muddling through the Crisis: The Contradictions of Recent EU Reforms

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 2/2013 , 173-98

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Lacey Joseph

Must Europe Be Swiss? On the Idea of a Voting Space and the Possibility of a Multilingual Demos

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 44, issue 1, january , 61-82

ABSTRACT: Contrary to the view that linguistic homogeneity is required to create a viable demos, this article argues that linguistic diversity can be a permanent feature of any democratic community, so long as there is a unified and robust voting space that provides a common intentional object, around which distinct public spheres can aesthetically organize their political discourse. An attempt to explain how such a voting space operates in Switzerland, the finest existing exemplar of a multilingual demos, is given. Following the Swiss example, the author proposes, would go a long way to constituting the European Union as a democratically legitimate trans-national demos, despite its formidable linguistic diversity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Streeck Wolfgang

Nach der Krise ist in der Krise. Aussichten auf die Innenpolitik des europäischen Binnenmarktstaats

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft* , Heft 2, 2013

Die Währungsunion schließt eine Abwertung von Währungen im Verhältnis zwischen ihren Mitgliedstaaten aus. Der



Artikel erkundet die absehbaren Konsequenzen für die innenpolitischen Konfliktlinien und die sich abzeichnende Finanzverfassung der staatlichen Ordnung des Binnenmarktes über die gegenwärtige Krise hinaus. Die derzeit stattfindende »innere Abwertung« in den Ländern der Peripherie wird mit tiefen marktkonformen Strukturreformen einhergehen müssen, wenn eine dauerhafte Angleichung der Wettbewerbsfähigkeit innerhalb der Währungsunion erreicht werden soll. Ohne finanzielle Unterstützung aus dem Norden zum Aufbau einer leistungsfähigen Infrastruktur und zur Sicherung politischer Stabilität wird dies nicht möglich sein. Der Artikel unternimmt den Versuch, die wirtschaftlichen und politischen Schwierigkeiten einer auf Angleichung der Lebensverhältnisse gerichteten zwischenstaatlichen Entwicklungspolitik in der Europäischen Währungsunion am Beispiel der regionalpolitischen Erfahrungen der Nationalstaaten Deutschland und Italien abzuschätzen.

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Bienvenu Hélène, Gobert Sébastien

**Naissance d'un bloc de l'atome en Europe de l'Est
in Monde Diplomatique (Le), Juillet**

Alors que l'Allemagne conduit à marche forcée son programme de sortie du nucléaire, ses voisins de l'Est relancent la construction de réacteurs. Pour la Hongrie, la Pologne, la République tchèque et la Slovaquie, il s'agit de conquérir leur indépendance énergétique par rapport au gaz russe.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/07/BIENVENU/49358>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

claudio m radaelli, claire a dunlop and oliver fritsch

**Narrating Impact Assessment in the European Union
in European Political Science , Volume 12, Issue 4 , 500-52**

Since 2003, the European Commission has produced analytical documents (called Impact Assessments, IAs) to appraise its policy proposals. This appraisal process is the cornerstone of the regulatory reform policy of the European Union. Previous research has been concerned with the quality of the IAs in terms of evidence-based policy, usages of economic analysis and other standards of smart regulation. Instead, we move to a different perspective. We draw on the narrative policy framework to explore IAs as a text and discursive instrument. Conceptually, insights from discursive institutionalism are used to explore narratives as tools of coordination within complex organizations such as the European Commission, and as communicative tools through which policy-makers seek to enhance the plausibility, acceptability and, ultimately, legitimacy for their policy proposals. Empirically, we consider a sample of IAs that differ by originating DGs, legal instrument, and level of saliency. The findings show that both in coordinating and communicating policy, the European bureaucracy projects a certain definition of its identity via the narratives it deploys. The Commission may use IAs to produce evidence-based policy, but it also an active narrator. It engages with IAs to provide a presentation of self, to establish EU norms and values, and to create consensus around policy proposals by using causal plots, doomsday scenarios, and narrative dramatization.



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Plechanovová Běla

**National Actors in the Post-Lisbon EU: Should We Expect a Change of National Strategies?
in West European Politics**, vol. 36, n. 6 , 1199-1220

ABSTRACT: The Treaty of Lisbon's institutional modifications narrowed the options for member states within the formal decision-making rules, mainly due to the broadening of the ordinary legislative procedure. This paper hypothesises that the actors in EU institutions seek to strengthen their influence through coordination across the EU legislative institutions, along either national or political party lines. The research data consist of co-decision files that include information on the national and political identities of all the relevant actors in the legislative process in 2004–2011. Statistical tests assess the likelihood of changes in the dynamics of the legislative process as related to the affiliation of the actors after Lisbon. The results show a clear difference in the post-Lisbon legislative process, indicating that the political party identity of the actors may play a more significant role, although other factors must be considered as well.

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Bloom Stephen, Petrova Vladislava

**National Subversion of Supranational Goals: 'Pork-Barrel' Politics and EU Regional Aid
in Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 65, n. 8 , 1599-1620

The structural funds were designed to give the European Commission supranational control over where regional aid was spent. In this article, we argue that domestic 'pork-barrel' politics determine which regions are awarded regional aid in the new member states of Eastern Europe. Support for our argument comes from a dataset that includes 1,688 European Regional Development Fund grants to Latvia's 118 regions and 1,533 pre-accession Phare awards to Bulgaria's 264 municipalities. In both Bulgaria and Latvia, we find that regional aid projects went to wealthier not poorer localities, and to those that supported coalition parties in the previous election.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Stephen Bloom & Vladislava Petrova

**National Subversion of Supranational Goals: 'Pork-Barrel' Politics and EU Regional Aid
in Europe-Asia Studies**, Volume 65, Issue 8 , 1599-1620

The structural funds were designed to give the European Commission supranational control over where regional aid was spent. In this article, we argue that domestic 'pork-barrel' politics determine which regions are awarded regional aid in the new member states of Eastern Europe. Support for our argument comes from a dataset that includes 1,688 European Regional Development Fund grants to Latvia's 118 regions and 1,533 pre-accession Phare awards to Bulgaria's 264 municipalities. In both Bulgaria and Latvia, we find that regional aid projects went to wealthier not poorer



localities, and to those that supported coalition parties in the previous election.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Loth Wilfried

Negotiating the Maastricht Treaty

in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 19, n. 1 , 64-84

The Maastricht Treaty is the result of a negotiating process that required a series of mutual concessions on the part of the negotiating parties involved: On the one hand, Helmut Kohl and François Mitterrand not only succeeded in preventing the European unification process from being compromised by German reunification, but were even able to give fresh impetus to this process. The common currency has brought about a certain degree of integration and European state-like structures that make the European unification process become irreversible. On the other hand, progress in areas especially important to either the German Chancellor or the French President – the strengthening of the European institutions respectively the creation of a European defence system – remained far behind the requirements that would have ensured lasting success. The deficits of the “economic governance” largely complained during the “Euro-crisis” of the present days are mainly the result of the influence of the German Bundesbank that had insisted on the independence of a European Central Bank. Ironically enough, attempts to stabilize the monetary union in the long run were thus defeated by the German defenders of monetary stability themselves.

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Milios John G.

Neoliberal Europe in Crisis: SYRIZA’s Alternative

in **Studies in Political Economy**, Vol 91, 2013

John G. Milios’s “Neoliberal Europe in Crisis: SYRIZA’s Alternative” links the crisis in Greece to inflows of capital imports and shortfalls of tax revenues in the context of Greek governments’ insistence on neoliberal policies favouring capital and wealthy households, and the Greek state’s clientelist tradition. As an alternative to the austerity policies imposed by the Troika, the last part of the paper presents policy proposals of SYRIZA that follow from the analysis in the preceding part of the text and fall into line with alternative economic policies as they are discussed not only in Greece, but all across Europe.

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Nevenka Jeftić; Šarčević; Dragan Tančević;

New Projections of the Turkish Politics in XXI century (Turkey and the European Union)

in **Review of International Affairs (The)** , VOL. LXIII, N°. 1146 April-June , Turkish strategic vision, Turkey, Europe Union

‘Turkish strategic vision’ is consistent project, making a unit within itself. The goals are long term. The resources are significant. The methods are conciliant. However, if the wider context of movement of power constellation is established, the issue on realism and realization of ‘Vision’ shall be brought. The relations between Turkey and Europe Union within



the context of the development of the European Union have two phases. The first phase includes classic Turkish foreign policy, which was characterized by the strong direction of Turkey towards European and Euroatlantic integrations. The second phase is marked by the new Turkish state policy proclaimed in the project "Turkish strategic vision". Mutual attraction between Turkey and the EU is found in the domain of energetics.

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Hempson III Donald A.

New to the Game: Czechs, Economic Unions, and the Diplomacy of Contested Zones
in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 35, Issue 2 , 256-273

It is the natural order of states and their governments to periodically upset the constructed balance of power and to subsequently seek out a 'reset button.' Such was the case following the First World War when the European map was redrawn and East Central Europe took on the appearance of a fractured and contested zone. What emerged from the confluence of four defunct empires was a collection of newly fabricated or reconstituted states vying for existence in a traditionally contested zone of influence. In October 1921, the Successor States of the Austro-Hungarian Empire convened a conference in the Adriatic town of Porto Rose to negotiate the details of commercial relations amongst themselves and to determine the broader economic character of the region. For Czechoslovakia – the most industrialized and arguably the most Westernized of these states – the conference presented an opportunity to promote its foreign economic agenda. This study represents a unique examination of the first international conference held among independent East European states and the importance it held for Czechoslovakia's foreign economic-policy objectives in the years following the First World War. At the same time, the study suggests connections with more recent overtures toward economic integration.

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Gattermann Katjana

News about the European Parliament: Patterns and external drivers of broadsheet coverage
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 14, n. 3, September , 436-457

Few political communication studies deal with the European Parliament during non-election times even though it takes decisions in a wide range of policy areas. This study examines the patterns and external drivers of European Parliament broadsheet coverage by analysing 2155 articles from six European Union countries during a routine period (2005–2007). Generally, it finds that the European Parliament receives regular coverage. However, developments in the domestic context also influence European Parliament news coverage. Public support for the European Union increases the number of reports about the European Parliament. While national elections do not compromise its news coverage, higher levels of party political contestation over the European Union and trust towards the national parliament lead to lower coverage. The implications are discussed with reference to the European Parliament's democratic legitimacy.

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Diamantopoulou Anna



No single EU country can any longer act alone as an economic or political power – even Europe’s largest economies

in *Europe’s World*, Issue 25, Autumn

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/no-single-eu-country-can-any-longer-act-alone-as-an-economic-or-political-power-even-europes-largest-economies/#.UovzOnBg-rM>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Thomas Diez

Normative power as hegemony

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48 (2) , 194-210

This article identifies four key problems in the debate about normative power Europe that may be fruitfully tackled when linking it to the concept of hegemony: the debate about whether EU foreign and external policy is driven by norms or interests; the problem of inconsistent behaviour as a result of competing and contested norms; the question of the role of state and non-state actors in EU foreign and external policy; and the problematic standing of normative power as an academic engagement, in particular in regard to whether the theory is of primarily explanatory, descriptive or normative value. The author suggests that the concept of hegemony may address these problems. First, it combines norms and interests, thus transcending the divide that has resulted in endless debates about the EU’s standing as a normative power. Second, hegemony does not start from a pre-given set of norms with fixed meanings, but rather puts the struggles about these norms at centre stage, thus seeing inconsistencies not as undermining but as part and parcel of normative power. Third, hegemony expands our understanding of the actors involved in the construction and exercise of normative power, thus bringing not only Member States but also social forces in a much broader sense into the picture. Finally, hegemony reorientates the debate about normative power so as to reinstate the critical purpose that the concept was supposed to have from the start.

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Ion Berindan

Not another ‘grand strategy’: what prospects for the future European security strategy?

in *European Security*, Volume 22, Issue 3 , 395-412

The article advocates that the current proposals for a new European security strategy aim to a similar or even more ambitious strategy than the original 2003 one, calling in effect for a European ‘grand strategy’ in world affairs. Taking into account the original aims and consequent results of the initial European security strategy and related documents, it argues that the European Union (EU) was not and is still not prepared to undertake a security project of such scope due to severe limitations in terms of structure, capabilities and learning curve, now and in the near future. Rather than insisting with an approach that produced very little, the EU should abandon the traits of a grand strategy in favour of a more realistic and restrained project that could focus on security matters in its neighbourhood including the problematic Russian and Turkish issues while relying on better transatlantic relations and true multilateralism.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gabriele Conti

Nota alla sentenza della Corte di Giustizia dell'UE del 17 Gennaio 2013, Causa C-23/12. Sul diritto di presentare ricorsi contro l'autorità di frontiera (Area Schengen)

in *Nomos*, n. 1/2013

Rinvio pregiudiziale proposto dall'Augustakas tiesas Senata (Senato della Corte Suprema lettone) il 17 Gennaio 2012 – ricorrente il Sig. Mohamad Zakaria. Nelle questioni pregiudiziali, il giudice lettone ha richiesto se ai sensi dell'art. 13, par. 3 del reg. 562/2006 CE del 15 Marzo 2006 (istitutivo del cosiddetto "codice delle frontiere Schengen") il diritto di presentare ricorsi contro un provvedimento di diniego di ingresso in un Paese dell'area Schengen, ricomprenda anche la fattispecie delle violazioni commesse nel corso di un procedimento di adozione di una decisione che invece autorizza l'ingresso.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucie Charbonneau

Notions autonomes et intégration européenne

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, vol. 49, issue 1 , 21-76

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

JOSÉ LUIS BAZÁN

Nuevas líneas directrices sobre libertad religiosa en la Unión Europea

in *Nueva Revista de Política Cultura y arte (Spagna)*, n.145

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Blankart Charles B.

Oil and Vinegar: A Positive Fiscal Theory of the Euro Crisis

in *Kyklos*, Volume 66, Issue 4, November 2013 , 497–528

The theory of optimal currency areas states that a currency union may succeed if the participating countries have complementary industry structures. If this is not the case a currency union does not, inevitably, have to fail because market forces will induce adjustments of the industry structures that will eventually lead to a successful currency union.‡ This optimism is, however, not warranted for the euro. The euro has now been in a crisis for more than three years and a self-correcting mechanism leading out of the crisis is not in sight. The reason is that the euro union does not suffer from unadjusted industries, but from unadjusted governments. While industries adjust under the command of the



invisible hand of the market in a currency union, this is not necessarily the case for governments. The general point of this paper is that countries with incompatible governments remain inimical in a currency union. They generate externalities and crises which cannot be eliminated as well in a political union.

Assume that two countries traditionally cooperate in an economic union. Their governments are financially independent. They "go Dutch". A currency union, such as the euro union, is different. It opens not only the option of a closer economic cooperation, but it also allows for a joint cash management so that each government has the temptation to live on the other's costs and hence to generate negative externalities on the other. The governments may be aware of this trap. They conclude a Treaty in order to prevent their mutually destructive behavior. But the Treaty turns out to be non-enforceable and therefore unable to stop the infringements by mutual externalities, this being the essence of the euro crisis. Therefore the governments should withdraw and return to an economic union without externalities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Theys Michel

On the Constitution of Europe

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/books-reviews/item/850-on-the-constitution-of-europe>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sebastian Oberthür & Florian Rabitz

On the EU's performance and leadership in global environmental governance: the case of the Nagoya Protocol
in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 1 2014, 39-57

Analysing the European Union's (EU) role in the negotiations of the 2010 Nagoya Protocol on access and benefit sharing regarding genetic resources, this article argues for the integration of (1) the EU's policy objectives and (2) their achievement in the analysis of the EU's performance and leadership in international (environmental) negotiations. We first develop a conceptual and explanatory framework that highlights the inter-relationship between both aspects. We then establish that the EU pursued conservative policy objectives in the Nagoya process (becoming more moderate in 2006/2007) but was highly successful in achieving its goals. The explanatory analysis provides illustrative evidence of how the degree of ambition of the EU's policy objectives directly affects and indirectly frames goal achievement: while conservative objectives are easier to realize than ambitious ones, factors such as domestic legislation, internal interest homogeneity, universal norms and external policy making procedures may be especially important for achieving ambitious goals.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jörg Bibow

On the Franco-German Euro Contradiction and Ultimate Euro Battleground

in *Contributions to Political Economy*, volume 31 n.1, 127-49



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Haake Claus-Jochen, Krieger Tim, Minter Steffen

On the institutional design of burden sharing when financing external border enforcement in the EU
in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 10, Issue 4, December 2013 , 583-612

Illegal immigration affects not only EU member states adjacent, but also those distant from the Mediterranean Sea due to open internal borders and intra-EU onward migration. Member states without a direct influx of illegal immigrants may therefore free-ride on border countries' enforcement efforts, leading to a sub-optimal level of border control when immigration policy remains uncoordinated. By applying a numerical example, we show that an expected externality mechanism leads to voluntary preference revelation with respect to immigration policy under several (but not all) scenarios, thereby avoiding strategic behavior in the regular negotiation process. This policy measure requires, however, the EU Commission to take on a very active role as moderator between member states (rather than as legislator).

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Philip Schleifer

Orchestrating sustainability: The case of European Union biofuel governance
in *Regulation & Governance*, Volume 7, Issue 4 , 533-546

This article provides an empirical analysis of orchestration – that is, the initiation, support, and embracement of private governance arrangements through public regulators – in the field of European Union biofuel governance. It examines the emerging sustainability regime and shows that orchestration has been extensively practiced. Regulators in the European Union have used a range of directive and facilitative measures to initiate and support private biofuel certification schemes and to incorporate them in their regulatory frameworks. This has given rise to a hybrid regime in which public and private approaches are closely intertwined. Discussing the benefits and complications of engaging with private biofuel sustainability governance, the article's findings point to a partial failure of orchestration in this policy area.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Badiou Alain

Our contemporary impotence
in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 181, Sept/Oct 2013

We have, in this conference, discussed all of the crucial aspects of the situation in Europe and especially in Greece. We have, of course, analysed the great historical structures at stake: the particularly aggressive global politics of contemporary capitalism, the complicit weakness of the various states, and the reactive role played by Europe as it now stands, but also the law of subjective forms that illuminates the contemporary dialectic of submission and insurrection. We have also taken stock of the urgency of militant demands – those that issue from the ordeals that increasing poverty



and the destruction of social forms have imposed on the people, and others issuing from the increasingly arrogant actions of fascist gangs, who play on absolutely cruel nationalist themes and absolutely intolerable racist realities. To this end, we have all tried to assess the ongoing acts of resistance.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rachel A. Epstein

Overcoming 'Economic Backwardness' in the European Union

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 17-34

Long before the cold war and the Iron Curtain's construction, the European continent was marked by a developmental divide in which the east suffered relative economic deprivation compared to the west. This article revisits the sources of 'economic backwardness' in eastern Europe and asks whether post-communist states' membership in the European Union (EU) upends the earlier structural conditions that had traditionally prevented east-west economic convergence. The article finds that while there is more economic opportunity for post-communist states in the EU than outside it, EU membership does not subvert the major drivers of the developmental divide. EU membership does, however, limit economic volatility for the New Member States (NMS), which, in historical perspective, is a boon for eastern populations and stabilizing for democratic politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dumoulin André

PSDC et prise de risque : telle est la question

in **Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 762, Été

C'est de réponse d'urgence, de risque consenti et de solidarité que l'auteur traite comme ingrédients d'un patriotisme européen dont il cherche la trace dans les récentes opérations et sollicite la stimulation lors du prochain conseil européen consacré à la défense.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Raya Kardasheva

Package Deals in EU Legislative Politics

in **American Journal of Political Science**, Volume 57, Issue 4 , 858-874

This is an article about package deals in EU legislative politics and their effects on policy outcomes. It analyzes interchamber exchange between the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament. The main argument is that package deals allow Member States control over the financial aspects of legislation and ensure its timely adoption. In exchange, the Parliament gains access to some of the EU's most expensive policy areas. Intercameral logrolling is analyzed across all EU legislation completed in the period 1 May 1999-30 April 2007, including 2,369 issues, 1,465



legislative proposals, and 19 policy areas. The results indicate that package deals in the EU are conditional on the distributive nature of proposals and their urgency. In turn, through logrolling, the Parliament extends its influence in distributive policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sapienza Rosario

Pareggio di bilancio, Fiscal Compact e diritti sociali. Finis Europae?

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, n. 1-2 , 117-126

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alison Harcourt

Participatory Gains and Policy Effectiveness: The Open Method of Co-ordination Information Society

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2013 , 667-683

This article provides empirical findings on the relationship between the open method of co-ordination and participation (OMC). Empirically, it draws on within-case analysis to examine how participation, venues and outcomes have varied in different domains of information society policy. This is a challenging case for claims about the participatory effects of the OMC because it is not a policy originally designed to address social policy concerns or unemployment problems. The main conceptual argument is that the OMC is a political opportunity structure that distributes participatory gains. The article examines this opportunity structure by separating out the dimensions of 'procedure' and 'outcomes' and including 'transparency' as a moderating variable. The findings point to participatory effects in all but one case, although not for the same actors and at the same level (European Union or national/sub-national).

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Daniel Finke & JeongHun Han

Party politics and the power to report: informational efficiency in bicameralism

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 1 2014 , 133-150

The system of single rapporteurships was introduced at times when the European Parliament was trying hard to establish its powers vis-à-vis the Council of Ministers. Over the years, party politics has become increasingly important for European Union legislation. This historical development triggers the question to what extent the powers of the rapporteur depend on her partisan ties to the Council of Ministers. In order to answer this question we analyse legislative reports authored between 2004 and 2009. We argue that the rapporteur can successfully form coalitions inside the European Parliament. However, if the rapporteur's party is represented inside the Council of Ministers, she may be suspected of supporting national rather than partisan interests. Therefore, representation in the Council is a double-edged sword: rapporteurs whose parties are in government find it easier to gain information on the proceedings inside the Council, but they lose credibility with their partisan peers inside the European Parliament.



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Ángel Estrada*, Jordi Galí* and David López-Salido

Patterns of Convergence and Divergence in the Euro Area

in *IMF Economic Review* , volume 61 n.4 , 601-30

This article studies the extent of macroeconomic convergence/divergence among euro area countries. The analysis focuses on four variables (unemployment, inflation, relative prices, and the current account), and seeks to uncover the role played by monetary union as a convergence factor by using noneuro developed economies and the pre-European Monetary Union period as control samples.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gehler Michael

Paving Austria's Way to Brussels: Chancellor Franz Vranitzky (1986-1997) – A Banker, Social Democrat, and Pragmatic European Leader

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 2 , 159-182

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Biscop Sven

Peace without money, war without Americans: challenges for European strategy

in *International Affairs* , vol. 89, issue 5, september , 1125-1142

ABSTRACT: Just as the shift of the American strategic focus to Asia and the Pacific forces strategic autonomy upon Europeans, the financial crisis limits their means. In the age of austerity, dispersed efforts and spending on secondary issues have become unaffordable. Prioritizing and making strategic choices have become more important than ever. As no single European state can face all these challenges alone, a joint European strategy must assess where collective foreign and security policies can bring the most added value to the national effort. Through the European Union, Europeans have attempted as much in the 2003 European Security Strategy, but for lack of prioritization, the EU has so far underperformed. Yet the EU does have access to substantial means and possesses all the necessary instruments to pursue a comprehensive strategy. The key to their effective use is a collective European strategic review, starting from the vital interests that all European states have in common. Two priorities stand out: making a new start in Europe's relations with its southern neighbours after the Arab Awakening, and deciding which responsibilities Europeans will assume as security providers outside their borders after the American 'pivot' to Asia.

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Varsori Antonio

Per un'interpretazione storica del processo di integrazione europea

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

On the basis of the most recent scholarly contributions offered by international historiography, the author aims to discuss the main characters and motivations of the integration process from a long-term perspective. Moreover, the author argues that there have been different stages in European construction, whose patterns have been largely influenced by both international and domestic events. As such we may speak of different European "integrations" with relevant discontinuities and turning points. This interpretation conflicts with usual historical approaches which appear to highlight continuity

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Rangoni Machiavelli Beatrice

Perché l'euro è indispensabile

in *Critica liberale*, Volume XX, nn. 211-212, maggio-giugno

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Delbecque Bernard

Perspectives incertaines pour la zone euro

in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome LII, 2013/2-3, 83-96

Europe's leaders have already adopted a series of measures to strengthen the architecture of the Eurozone. Even if substantial progress has been made to reduce the risk of renewed tensions in the future is substantial, the euro's irreversibility is not yet guaranteed. The most important risk in the near term is the weak recovery and high unemployment which threatens the social cohesiveness and political stability in Southern European countries. Eurozone leaders should counter this threat by giving priority to a return of economic growth. They should also recognize that the Economic and Monetary Union will remain an unfinished edifice as long as it is not embedded in a political union. The goal of this article is to develop these points.

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Gerassimos D. Pagratis

Piazza Syntagma, la nuova agorà: gli indignati in Grecia

in *Historia Magistra*, Fascicolo 11

The objective of this article is to present the movement of the "indignados" in Greece, born in 2011 under the influence of the similar movement in Spain. We will attempt, by collocating this movement in the context of social movements of



our time, to examine the preconditions for its formation, its characteristics and reactions that may be caused in the society and in the political world of Greece.

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Panico Carlo, Purificato Francesco

Policy coordination, conflicting national interests and the European debt crisis

in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 37 Issue 3 May 2013 , 585-608

This paper tries to identify the causes of and solutions to the debt crisis, by moving from the content of a previous debate on policy coordination in the euro area and from the available evidence on the existence of conflicting national interests within the governing bodies of the European Central Bank (ECB). It argues that before 2007 the flaws in the institutional organisation of the process of coordination between monetary and fiscal policy affected the cyclical and growth operation of the economies. After then, they have contributed to intensifying the conflicts among national and European authorities. The conflicts have curbed policy reactions, held back the interventions of the ECB, as occurred to the Federal Reserve during the crisis of 1929, and favoured the speculative attacks. The conclusion is that the organisation of the area must be reformed to allow its institutions to effectively pursue the objectives for which they were created, i.e. to protect the citizens from the instability of the international financial markets. As has been done in monetary policy, the reforms must reduce the uncertainty on the actual conduct of national policies and transform the defensive attitudes of the different actors of the process into a positive search for the most effective policy for the whole area

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Paul Copeland & Scott James

Policy windows, ambiguity and Commission entrepreneurship: explaining the relaunch of the European Union's economic reform agenda

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 21, Issue 1 2014 , 1-19

This article explains the relaunch of the European Union's (EU) economic reform agenda in 2010. After repeated delays during 2009, the European Commission scaled back its initial plan for a revived social dimension and instead proposed a strengthened governance architecture of economic surveillance. Using the multiple streams framework we argue that the new Europe 2020 strategy which emerged is a product of two overlapping policy windows which opened suddenly in the problem stream (the Greek sovereign debt crisis) and politics stream (shifting institutional dynamics). This created a window of opportunity for skilful policy entrepreneurs to 'couple' the three streams by reframing the existing Lisbon Strategy as the EU's exit strategy from the crisis. The article contributes to understanding policy change under conditions of ambiguity by demonstrating the causal significance of key temporal and ideational dynamics: the timing of policy windows; access to information signals; and the role of policy entrepreneurs.

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Fernández-Villaverde Jesús, Garicano Luis, Santos Tano



Political Credit Cycles: The Case of the Eurozone

in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 27 No. 3, Summer 2013 , 145-166

We study the mechanisms through which the entry into the euro delayed, rather than advanced, key economic reforms in the eurozone periphery and led to the deterioration of important institutions in these countries. We show that the abandonment of the reform process and the institutional deterioration, in turn, not only reduced their growth prospects but also fed back into financial conditions, prolonging the credit boom and delaying the response to the bubble when the speculative nature of the cycle was already evident. We analyze empirically the interrelation between the financial boom and the reform process in Greece, Spain, Ireland, and Portugal and, by way of contrast, in Germany, a country that did experience a reform process after the creation of the euro.

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Colombo Valentina

Political Islam and Islam in politics in Europe

in *European View* , vol. 12, n. 1, June , 143-152

About 5% of the EU's inhabitants identify themselves as Muslims. Thus, there is an increasing presence of Muslims and Islam in European society, and this has caused an increase in their presence in politics. Muslims living in Europe have entered the political arena in different ways, both with Islamic parties and as candidates for the main parties. An analysis of the evolution of Muslim political participation in Europe shows that Islamic parties have largely failed, while politicians with Muslim backgrounds who join parties with no Islamic identity have obtained good results. This means that Muslims with a strong religious identity are still seen as a world apart in Europe, while Muslims who either have a secular identity or who live their faith as a personal belief are considered to be ordinary citizens who people vote for based on their inner qualities, regardless of their religion.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chopin Thierry

Political union: legitimacy and efficiency to overcome the crisis

in *European View* , vol. 12, n. 2, December , 307-315

This paper aims to outline a number of concrete proposals in view of providing detailed operational content for the project to create a genuine European political leadership and to strengthen legitimacy and democratic control of the decision-making process. The legal feasibility of each of the proposals set out here is analysed by identifying the type of reform it involves: innovation, using the treaty as it stands; limited changes to the Treaty under the simplified revision procedure; and more important changes to the Treaty under the ordinary revision procedure.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Durré Alain

Politique économique mixte et chocs asymétriques: le cas del la zone euro



in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome LII, 2013/2-3 , 67-82

The absorption of asymmetric economic shocks is particularly essential when countries share the same currency while fiscal policy is decentralized at the national level. In this respect, the specific case of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) deserves particular attention since the onset of the financial crisis that started on 9 August 2007. This article recalls the origins of the institutional setting of the euro against the academic literature of the interaction between fiscal and monetary policies. The main conclusion focuses on the need to strengthen the adjustment mechanisms established in the euro area on the account of the recent crisis to complement the monetary union by a real economic union – not necessarily requiring a fiscal union – hence to warrant the sustainability of the area in the future.

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Nenovsky Nikolay, Tochkov Kiril, Turcu Camelia

Politiques Monétaires et Intégration Européenne Le cas de deux Pays des Balkans

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 44, n. 2, Dossier: Gouverner le local à l'Est de l'Europe , 141-162

La comparaison des politiques économiques adoptées par la Roumanie et la Bulgarie de la fin du régime communiste à la période récente fait ressortir les divergences qui distinguent les deux pays voisins balkaniques. Un accent particulier est mis sur l'évolution de leurs politiques monétaires. La perspective de l'adhésion à l'UE a amélioré dans un premier temps la performance de l'ancrage monétaire et du ciblage d'inflation, respectivement dans ces pays candidats. Cependant, par la suite la certitude de l'intégration européenne a augmenté l'aléa moral et a conduit à une hausse rapide de la dette privée surtout en Bulgarie et de la dette publique en Roumanie.

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Thomas Overhage

Pool it, share it, or lose it: an economical view on pooling and sharing of European military capabilities

in *Defense and Security Analysis*, Volume 29, Issue 4 , 323-341

In a general and economical view, this article analyzes methods and mechanisms for the pooling and sharing of military forces and weapons inside the European Union (EU) in times of scarcity. Pooling and sharing could improve the EU military capabilities significantly if differences in location factors were taken into account and all states would focus on their respective strengths. More competition and less concentration are the keys to ensuring guaranteed access to military assets. Pooling and sharing are likely to be successful only if large states enhance their emphasis on collective defense by mutual aid and self-help, and reduce particularistic and parochial interests of local gain. The realm of personnel has the most potential for improvement but any change is likely to generate policy implications.

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Oates Christopher



Porous Foreign Policy: The EU's Embarrassing Arms Embargo Episode

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 1 , 39-50

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Royo Sebastián

Portugal in the European Union: The Limits of Convergence

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 18, Issue 2, Special Issue: Europeanisation and the southern periphery' in retrospect: another decade of dynamism, asymmetry, and fragmentation? , 197-216

This article examines the integration experience of Portugal in the European Union in order to study how it has affected the country's fiscal policies in the decade prior to the global financial crisis, from 1999 to 2008. It focuses on three main variables to account for the difficulties that Portugal experienced in complying with the Stability and Growth Pact: institutions, ideas, and interests. The paper closes with some lessons from the Portuguese experience. The examination of this case will show that, to be successful, economic reform has to be a domestic process led by domestic actors willing to carry it out.

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Antoaneta Dimitrova and Aron Buzogány

Post-Accession Policy-Making in Bulgaria and Romania: Can Non-state Actors Use EU Rules to Promote Better Governance?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 139-156

This article investigates whether EU accession can help Bulgaria and Romania limit state capture and the undue influence of business actors on the policy process. Particularly vulnerable to such influence, Bulgarian and Romanian institutions are monitored through the EU's co-operation and verification mechanism and the Commission and ECJ infringement procedures. We argue that, under certain conditions, these tools can improve the quality of democracy in both countries. The key conditions are the presence of domestic actors able to use the EU and carry over procedural policy requirements from the *acquis* to other policy-making. Analysing policy-making processes in the forestry sector, we find NGOs able to use EU links and governments sensitive to naming and shaming can result in a positive influence of EU rules on the policy process and quality of democracy. This is true even in least likely cases, such as non-*acquis* policy areas in Bulgaria and Romania.

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Morel Pierre

Pour une réflexion méthodique sur la sécurité européenne

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été



C'est dans une ère caractérisée de transition stratégique et forte du bagage institutionnel des entreprises passées que l'UE doit redéfinir son projet stratégique, reconsidérer sa sécurité pour tirer bénéfice de toutes les occasions offertes par l'incertitude actuelle. Elle a des atouts pour constituer un vrai pôle du XXI^e siècle.

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Andersen Petronella

Pour une stratégie maritime européenne

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

Pour la Suède, qui a réduit la composante navale de ses forces armées et limité sa dépendance aux approvisionnements énergétiques extérieurs, seule une stratégie maritime collective des pays européens, englobant une forte dimension de sécurité et de défense lui permettra de maintenir une capacité d'action maritime.

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Pisani-Ferry Jean

Pourquoi la crise économique s'éternise-t-elle en Europe ? 2008-2013, cinq années d'hésitations et de conflits.

Entretien

in *Esprit*, Août/septembre 2013 , 127-145

Unemployment in the United States is decreasing and growth is back, while in Europe, the crisis still seems to be peaking. Is it because European leaders have failed to see its gravity ? Because they have favored deficit reduction while not thinking of its impact on weakened economies ? What is the future of European solidarity, when the continent seems to be durably split between North and South ?

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Craig Parsons

Power, Patterns, and Process in European Union History

in *Security Studies*, Volume 22, Issue 4 , 791-801

Sebastian Rosato's admirably provocative *Europe United* retells the origins of the European Union (EU) as a realist story of the balance of power. While he deserves praise for a bold attempt to extend offensive realism into history's greatest instance of international cooperation, the book ultimately reads as a cautionary methodological tale about how not to support a realist argument. Realist theory has been influential mainly because it offers strong expectations about major patterns in the world—relatively unitary decision-making within states and specific kinds of foreign policies between them—but Rosato's evidence focuses on a thin version of process. He selectively cites leaders' statements about their



policy choices across the story, providing no leverage on how these statements related to patterned interests within or across countries. Interestingly, a similar error weakens work by the most salient IR scholar writing on EU history, Andrew Moravcsik. Their shared problems hint at a pattern of IR scholars overlooking patterns in historical evidence.

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Xi Jin, Hosli Madeleine O.

Pre- and Post-Lisbon: European Union Voting in the United Nations General Assembly in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 6 , 1274-1291

ABSTRACT: This paper focuses on effects of the Lisbon Treaty on the coherence of EU behaviour at the UN General Assembly (UNGA). It theorises the EU's presence at the UNGA in terms of a principal-agent model wherein the EU and its entire membership are considered to constitute a collective principal while the actors playing the role of the agent have varied in different phases. It then investigates, in the light of this framework, the voting cohesion of EU member states at the UNGA between 1993 and 2012, paying particular attention to differences before and after the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. The statistical analysis shows that EU voting cohesion has been increasing in general during the last decade, but the level of cohesion is not (yet) significantly different post-Lisbon as compared to pre-Lisbon.

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Gawronski Piergiorgio

Progetto europa: cosa è andato storto?

in *Critica liberale*, volume XX, nn. 213-214, luglio-agosto

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Blankenburg Stephanie, King Lawrence, Konzelmann Sue, Wilkinson Frank

Prospects for the Eurozone

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 37 Issue 3 May 2013 , 463-477

The Euro, probably more than any other currency, represents the mutual confidence at the heart of our community. It is the first currency that has not only severed its link to gold, but also its link to the nation state. (Wim Duisenberg, President of the ECB in 2001, quoted in Marsh, 2009, p. 1)

Europe's integration could not succeed if it promised to make the strong regions stronger and the weak ones weaker. (Magnifico, 1973, p. 8)

For Wim Duisenberg, the euro's perceived independence from the nation state was a path-breaking achievement, to be proud of and to cherish. Little more than a decade later—and three years into the deepest economic crisis Europe has known since the Great Depression—Duisenberg's elation rings strangely anachronistic, since what the 'nationless' euro seems to have achieved, above all, is to undermine whatever 'mutual confidence at the heart of our community' there may have been at the start.



This Special Issue takes stock of the euro crisis so far. It is concerned with the in-depth analysis of its main causes, policy proposals for a recovery from the crisis and reform strategies for the reconstruction of a more viable and egalitarian eurozone in the future. This Introduction provides an overview of both core features of the euro crisis and related debates, as well as individual contributions to this Special Issue. Section 1 examines the origins of the euro crisis; Section 2 reviews key policy developments in the evolution of the crisis, from its onset in May 2010 to the adoption of outright monetary transactions (OMTs) by the European Central Bank (ECB) in September 2012; and Section 3 provides an overview of the contributions to the Special Issue.

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Patel Kiran Klaus

Provincialising European union: Co-operation and Integration in Europe in a Historical Perspective in Contemporary European History, vol. 22, n. 4, November, 649-673

This article argues for a less EU-centric form of writing European integration history. More specifically, it scrutinises the ways in which the interconnections with other international organisations have energised, complemented or rivalled the efforts of the European Communities/EU. This approach also allows for a reassessment of the alleged sui generis character of European integration. It demonstrates that it was not the precise competences, its effects or its institutional uniqueness that made the EC stand out, but rather the way in which it self-fashioned and surrounded itself with a great sense of expectancy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Shuibhne Niamh Nic, Maci Marsela

Proving public interest: The growing impact of evidence in free movement case law in Common Market Law Review, vol. 50, issue 4, 965-1005

ABSTRACT: When national measures restrict free movement rights, Member States can argue that their actions are, nevertheless, justifiable and proportionate. But how do they actually demonstrate this? This article explores the standard that Member States must satisfy to prove their public interest claims successfully. It will be argued that a critical information gap on what the Court of Justice expects defendant States to establish has been narrowed through a more concerted focus on proof in recent case law; but that significant issues still demand further attention. While an evolving guidance framework can be pieced together by extracting key principles from relevant - especially more recent - case law, it is questionable whether this is sufficient for national courts and lawyers. The fact that more attention is being placed on proof and evidence in recent case law, however, also raises questions about the value or even propriety of applying a veneer of empiricism over the many complexities involved in adjudicating on public interest choices. As a case study, the article discusses the difficulty of unpicking economic arguments from public interest claims. It is suggested, overall, that knowing an appropriate standard of proof has to be reached is one thing; but knowing what it is and how to reach it is something else entirely.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

72-92

Quand les acteurs s'abstiennent de faire usage de l'Europe. Le cas d'un système de santé bismarckien in Politique européenne, n. 40, 2013/2, Kostera Thomas

Following a series of landmark rulings of the European Court of Justice on cross-border healthcare, Europe now offers actors various resources to pursue their interests beyond the opportunities of their national healthcare system. But do these actors use those European resources inside their national healthcare system? This study thus investigates actors of the Austrian healthcare system who regulate outpatient care. These actors show, however, only a limited usage or no usage of Europe at all. The main argument of this contribution is therefore that the limited usage of Europe can be best explained by taking nationally institutionalised practices of corporatist and consensual negotiations into account which prevent actors from making usages of Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giuliani Jean-Dominique

Quel cadre pour l'Europe militaire ?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

Une Europe militaire peut émerger des circonstances et des besoins collectivement ressentis plus sûrement qu'une Europe de la défense au concept inadéquat. Elle devra repartir des intérêts nationaux et utiliser toutes les occasions favorables pour s'établir pragmatiquement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maira Michaël

Quels impacts de la jurisprudence de la CJUE sur la protection sociale dans les États membres de l'Union européenne? Les cas de la Belgique, du Royaume-Uni et de la Suède

in *Politique européenne*, n. 40, 2013/2, 121-129

L'État social constitue un objet privilégié pour étudier les dynamiques d'eupéanisation des politiques publiques. Il s'agit, en effet, d'un des domaines dans lesquels les tensions et les contradictions sont les plus fortes entre les politiques européennes et des politiques nationales reposant sur des intérêts, valeurs et institutions hérités d'un développement historique..

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pizzolato Filippo

Rappresentanza politica e Unione europea

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 2, 371-400

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hickel Rudolf

Raus aus dem Euro, zurück ins Chaos

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Juli, 2013 , 35-39

Von rechts bis links, von der AfD bis in Teile der Linkspartei, mehren sich die Stimmen derer, die einen Austritt aus dem Euro fordern, sei es für Griechenland oder gar für Deutschland. Gegen diese auch in „Blätter“-Beiträgen vertretene Position plädiert für eine wirkliche Wirtschafts- und Fiskalunion der Ökonom und „Blätter“-Mitherausgeber Rudolf Hickel.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dăianu Daniel

Re-discovering the values of Bretton Woods

in **Europe´s World**, Issue 25, Autumn

The logic and spirit of the Bretton Woods conference in mid-1944 still offer valuable lessons to EU policymakers seeking to tackle Europe's economic ills, the future of the eurozone and a future international order, says Daniel Dăianu.

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/re-discovering-the-values-of-bretton-woods/>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Keschmann Markus

Reaching the citizens: door-to-door campaigning

in **European View** , vol. 12, n. 1, June , 95-101

When we look at recent election campaigns in Europe or at the presidential elections in the United States, for example, we see that successful campaign concepts are always about voter mobilisation. Although the focus of the political debate in this regard is on the allocation of resources, the use of social media and television budgets, it is actually another question that is essential: how do we reach and target the right people? The answer to this question is as simple as it is old: face-to-face communication and personal conversation. In this respect, political parties based on a strong party structure are at an advantage: they generally possess vast databases full of contacts and further information details. The only challenge is to make good use of these resources.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carlin Wendy



Real Exchange Rate Adjustment, Wage-Setting Institutions, and Fiscal Stabilization Policy: Lessons of the Eurozone's First Decade

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 59 Issue 3 September 2013 , 489-519

In terms of macroeconomic performance, the Eurozone's first decade is a story of successful inflation-targeting by the ECB for the common currency area as a whole combined with the persistence of real exchange rate and current account disequilibria at member country level. According to the standard New Keynesian (NK) model of a small member of a currency union, policy intervention at country level is not necessary to ensure adjustment to country-specific shocks. Self-stabilization of shocks takes place through the adjustment of prices and wages to ensure that the real exchange rate returns to equilibrium. That this did not happen in the Eurozone appears to be related to the presence of non-rational wage setters in a number of member countries. A related second departure from the NK model was the transmission of non-rational inflation expectations to the real interest rate, propagating easy credit conditions in countries with inflation above target. Problems of real exchange rate misalignment among members were exacerbated by the ability of Germany's wage-setting institutions to deliver self-stabilization. The implications for policy focus on using fiscal policy to target the real exchange rate and/or on reforms to labour markets that deliver real exchange rate oriented wage setting.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Seminatore Irnerio

Recommandations pour une stratégie globale européenne

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

Pour permettre un rebond stratégique de l'Europe, les travaux qu'a conduits l'IERI en prévision d'un Livre blanc européen ont inventorié les contraintes qu'imposent à ses projets de sécurité et de défense l'agenda institutionnel de l'UE, la conjoncture internationale, la cohésion politique entre États-membres et la perspective stratégique à moyen et long terme. Une triade stratégique pourrait dès lors organiser la posture de l'UE.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grahl John, Teague Paul

Reconstructing the eurozone: the role of EU social policy

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 37 Issue 3 May 2013 , 677-692

It is widely recognised that the institutional architecture housing monetary union in Europe is deeply flawed. Although there has been considerable discussion about how these shortcomings can be put right, relatively little has been said about the role EU social policy can play in making the eurozone more stable and sustainable. The purpose of this paper is to address this shortcoming. It is argued that that some form of EU 'social union' is urgent, for without it the immediate financial problems facing the members of the eurozone cannot be resolved. The paper seeks to explain what role EU social policies can play in the construction of an adequate federal framework for the monetary union. It is argued that a fully fledged social union is unlikely to emerge that involves massive transfers from the European core to the periphery. At the same time, it is envisaged that EU social policy will need to be strengthened considerably, with interventions focusing on employment creation and on the capacity of national governments to maintain domestic social safety nets.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hoerber Thomas

Refinements of Antagonism in Discourse Theory for European Studies

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 2 , 207-220

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Horsley Thomas

Reflections on the role of the Court of Justice as the “motor” of European integration: Legal limits to judicial lawmaking

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 4 , 931-964

ABSTRACT: This article argues for a new approach to the assessment of the Court of Justice's contribution to EU integration. Responding to weaknesses identified with the classic "activism" versus "restraint" scholarship on the Court, it constructs a more robust theoretical framework to critique the legitimacy of judicial lawmaking. This framework, inspired by political science scholarship on the Court, positions the ECJ as an institutional actor, engaged alongside the EU legislature in the development of EU law through judicial interpretation. The institutional actor thesis is employed to explore the restraining impact of Treaty provisions on the ECJ's freedom to act as lawmaker. The article identifies a range of Treaty provisions that were conceived as limits on the pace and depth of EU integration and reframes these as "legal limits" to ECJ lawmaking. It then reflects on the challenges, opportunities and broader implications associated with operationalizing these provisions as sources of normative restraint on the ECJ's interpretative competence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michal Naturski

Reforms in the judiciary of Ukraine: domestic practices and the EU's policy instruments

in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 29, Issue 3, , 358-375

The decline of judicial independence in Ukraine has continued at a higher pace during the Presidency of Viktor Yanukovich in spite of the reforms introduced in 2010 and the sustained involvement of international actors. Taking the EU's involvement as a case in point, this article argues that support for judicial reforms aimed at enhancing the independence of the judiciary did not comprehensively address the sociological roots of clientelism that have traditionally characterised the judiciary field in Ukraine and paradoxically reinforced the executive branch. This article analyses this phenomenon from the perspective of Bourdieu's theory of practices and through the prism of policy tools promoted by the EU within the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michał Naturski

Reforms in the judiciary of Ukraine: domestic practices and the EU's policy instruments
in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 29, Issue 3, , 358-375

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moritz Hartmann and Floris de Witte

Regeneration Europe: Towards Another Europe
in *German Law Journal*, vol. 14, issue 5 , 441-448

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Licinia Simão

Region-building in the eastern neighbourhood: assessing EU regional policies in the South Caucasus
in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 29, Issue 3, , 273-288

The promotion of regional cooperation has been a central feature of the European Union (EU)'s external relations. Forms of sub-regional cooperation are deemed to be essential confidence-building measures, as a means of consolidating a shared community of values, practices and interests. This article looks at region-building processes in the EU's relations with the South Caucasus, as the interface between the existing approaches and the ensuing practices. It argues that the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership (EaP) in particular have some critical limitations for effective region-building in the South Caucasus, mainly pertaining to the endorsement of artificial regional labels, limited ability to balance multilateral and bilateral approaches, and poor local ownership of identity-building processes. At the same time, the EaP offers some interesting possibilities for the development of a variable-geometry regional approach, in which these states could be included.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Smętkowski Maciej

Regional Disparities in Central and Eastern European Countries: Trends, Drivers and Prospects
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, n. 8 , 1529-1554



Growth in Central and East European countries (CEE) is territorially unbalanced, more so than in most other parts of the EU. The benefits of transformation in these countries have been unequally distributed among particular social groups and territories—with the emergence of highly educated and internationally successful professionals and entrepreneurs located mainly in metropolitan areas on the one hand, and structural unemployment, persistent poverty and social exclusion in peripheral regions on the other. These regional imbalances are characterised by a process of metropolisation that has privileged a handful of dynamic urban centres while exacerbating the structural problems of old industrial regions, vast rural areas and regions located on borders, and especially the EU's eastern borders. Different as they are in social, cultural and geographical terms, these declining or stagnating regions share general problems of economic peripherality and many negative effects of structural change, such as rural depopulation, 'brain drain', disinvestment and, frequently, below-average levels of socio-economic well-being. This polarised economic and territorial development within CEE poses challenges not only for the respective countries, but also for European cohesion.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Europe 2025

Reimagining, Redesigning, Rethinking

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 3, July , 37-42

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maria Mälksoo, Margarita Šešelgytė

Reinventing 'new' Europe: Baltic perspectives on transatlantic security reconfigurations

in *Communist and post-communist studies*, Volume 46, Issue 3 , 397-406

This article examines the self-positioning of the three Baltic states in international politics in relation to the major structural pressures challenging the status quo of the transatlantic security configuration. The constitutive role of the Russia-Georgia war of 2008, the global economic recession, the debt crisis in the eurozone, and the shifting policy preferences and force projection of the United States towards Asia are explored as the key sources of the emerging Baltic security predicament. The empirical conclusions of the poststructuralist discourse analysis conducted for this study demonstrate how the Baltic states, in particular Estonia, have recently come to redefine the contents of 'new' Europe, thereby shifting the extant fault lines within the European Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicolás Mariscal Berástegui

Repensando la europeización

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 49 , 19-46



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Benink Harald A.

Resolving Europe's banking crisis through market discipline: a note
in **Journal of Financial Economic Policy**, Volume 5 issue 4 , pp. 413 - 418

Purpose – The purpose is to analyse how the policy approach to the immediate problems in the European financial sector has long-term effects on implicit protection of banks' creditors and, thereby, on risk-taking incentives.

Design/methodology/approach – The near term issues in European banking are discussed within a framework for long-term reform along the lines proposed for a European banking union.

Findings – The author advocates conducting a thorough stress test with potential consequences for unsecured creditors of banks proven to be insolvent. Losses may have to be imposed on these creditors, following the example of recent cases in Cyprus and in The Netherlands.

Originality/value – There is widespread consensus among international policy makers that the European banking system is seriously undercapitalized. Unlike the USA, Europe failed to recapitalize its biggest banks following the financial crisis of 2007-2009. It is now urgent to start recognizing losses on balance sheets to avoid a proliferation of Japanese-style zombie banks in Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Richard Youngs

Reviving global Europe

in **International Politics** , Volume 50, Issue 4 , 475-495

The euro crisis increasingly threatens not just the European Union (EU's) internal economic unity but also the cogency of its international projection. Relatively little attention has been paid to how the euro crisis might affect EU foreign policy. In the future world order, influence will not equate with structural weight. It is something to celebrate if solutions to global problems come from non-Western sources, as long as the EU has worked to ensure that other powers approach problem-solving in a positive-sum fashion. Geo-strategically this is far more important than short-term commercial bargaining gains. Rising powers reject homilies on liberal internationalism, but will need to deal with the same challenges of cooperative security-building as their political responsibilities and interests accumulate. The EU needs to reflect not only on its immediate management of the euro crisis but also on how this will feed into the changing relationship between Europe and the wider world. This enjoins European governments to redirect their longer-term international policies.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Seckin Baris Gulmez

Rising euroscepticism in Turkish politics: The cases of the AKP and the CHP



in *Acta Politica*, Volume 48, Issue 3 , 326–344

This article discusses the main reasons why the AKP and the CHP, the leading pro-EU political parties in Turkey, started embracing a highly critical stance against the EU and showing reluctance towards Turkey's EU membership. The extant scholarly works only give a limited account on how to explain such an attitudinal change in the selected parties as they offer rather static terms for analysing the phenomenon. Instead, a contextual framework will be introduced in order to better analyse eurosceptic change in candidate countries in general, and in Turkey in particular. The framework explicates the notion that the 'eurosceptic turn' within candidate countries develops mainly as a reaction to extra conditional pressures coming from the EU that are not officially part of the standard membership conditionality. After discussing the empirical findings concerning the shifting EU stances of both parties in detail, the article will make sense of the rising euroscepticism in Turkish political arena in accordance with the suggested theoretical framework. The article concludes that the rise of euroscepticism in Turkish political arena has been developed as a firm reaction to the increasing scepticism and reluctance within the EU towards Turkey's accession.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giorgio

Ritrovare una feconda dialettica democratica

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 171, luglio-estate , 235-244

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gerbet Pierre

Robert Schuman

in *Ventesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

The author aims to retrace the European commitment of Robert Schuman who was one of the main protagonists in the first steps of the construction of Europe (ECSC and EDC). He argues that although Schuman had always been interested in International Affairs, partly because of his own biography, he really started to campaign for Europe when he became Minister for Foreign Affairs in July 1948 and never stopped during his time at Quai d'Orsay (until 1953). Although he remained throughout his life very mistrustful of Germany, his approach was realistic and aimed at solving French-German contentions within the framework of an organized Europe. His conviction was that the time had not come to build a Federation but that simple governmental cooperation was no longer sufficient. On this basis, he developed a fruitful cooperation with Jean Monnet, who brought him some concrete projects for the ECSC and EDC.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Robert Schuman



in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 572, octobre-novembre , 523-524

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lorena Di Placido

Russia, Europa Orientale ed Asia Centrale Integrazione europea vs integrazione euroasiatica: scelte per il futuro e ancora del passato

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. XV, n.6 , 27-32

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thomann Pierre-Emmanuel

Russie et Union européenne : le chaînon manquant en matière de défense et sécurité

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

C'est à une manœuvre franco--allemande coordonnée qu'invite l'auteur pour gérer une rivalité renaissante en rééquilibrant vers la Russie l'espace stratégique européen. On pourrait ainsi enclencher une coopération mili-taire fondée sur une vision commune de la conflictualité d'une planète mondialisée et turbulente. C'est une nouvelle ambition européenne qu'il expose.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Georges-Picot Georges

Réflexions sur la CED et ses solutions de rechange 1/2 (avril 1954)

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été , Supplément numérique

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bourget Paul

Réflexions sur une armée européenne intégrée (août--septembre 1951)

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jessoula Matteo, Graziano Paolo R.

Sauvé par l'Europe, piégé par l'Europe. Les réformes de l'État-providence italien (1992-2012)

in *Politique européenne*, n. 40, 2013/2, 44-70

Due to the Bismarckian imprint and the Southern European character of the Italian welfare regime, the Italian employment and social policies have traditionally presented a marked misfit with the emerging European social policy structure. In the last two decades, consequent adaptational pressures have led to the adoption of various reforms prompted by “external constraints” and especially European inputs. By focusing on policy development and political dynamics in the fields of pensions and employment policy, the article identifies three different phases between 1990 and 2012. The most recent phase of “national emergency” since 2009 has in fact allowed Italian policy makers to adopt two major pension and employment policy reforms: differently from the past, these have been “pushed through” by political actors despite unions’ reluctance and opposition, and de facto “imposed” by making claims to Brussels on an increasingly Euro-skeptical Italian population. The article therefore argues that European constraints have thus recently turned into “sufficient conditions” for social reforms in Italy while national actor’s leverage in the field has significantly declined.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ben Crum

Saving the Euro at the Cost of Democracy?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2013, 614-630

This article explores the implications of the financial crisis for the relationship between monetary integration and democratic government in the European Union (EU). As the crisis has exposed the original balance that economic and monetary union (EMU) sought to maintain between monetary integration and policy diversity to be unsustainable, the eurozone is put before the choice of one of three governance models: executive federalism, democratic federalization or EMU dissolution. Notably, these three governance models perfectly illustrate Dani Rodrik’s ‘trilemma of the world economy’, which maintains that of the three goods – economic (and monetary) integration, the nation-state and democratic politics – one will always have to give. In light of this, the article concludes that the present course towards executive federalism can be justified for preventing euro dissolution and recognizing the value of national self-government. Nevertheless, it threatens to come at a democratic price. Hence, it is imperative to consider possible flanking measures that can mitigate this effect.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Galán Galán Alfredo

Secesión de Estados y pertenencia a la Unión Europea: Cataluña en la encrucijada

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1, 95 - 136



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Burak Bilgehan Özpek

Securing energy or energising security: the impact of Russia's energy policy on Turkey's accession to the European Union

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 16, Issue 3 , 358-379

The emergence of an energy security crisis between Russia and European countries has cast doubt on the argument that commercial ties lead to peaceful political relations between states as the energy trade between Russia and Europe has been inclined to generate conflict rather than cooperation. Nevertheless, the crisis has showed that military security issues no longer dominate the agenda and that issues produce different degrees of cooperation and conflict between governments. Furthermore, governments cannot use military force in order to resolve issues in an era of interdependence. Therefore, the European Union (EU), which suffers from an asymmetric dependence on energy resources imported from or via Russia, has adopted a diversification policy. This policy not only affects energy security but also the EU's enlargement process. Accordingly, a diversification policy requires embracing alternative energy sources, such as Turkey's involvement in oil and gas pipeline projects bypassing Russia. Thus, Turkey's contribution to European energy security creates an interdependence, which could affect Turkey's relations with the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chenard Marie Julie

Seeking Détente and Driving Integration: The European Community's opening towards the People's Republic of China, 1975-1978

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 1 , 25-38

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jasiewicz Joanna

Seizing on European Institutions?: Ethnic Minority Actors' Strategies in the Polish Public Sphere

in *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 27, n. 3, August , 493-509

This article provides an overview of how ethnic minority and state actors in Poland draw on the European Union and other supranational institutions in their publicized claims. Its objectives are twofold. First, the article relies on the new institutionalism, political opportunity structure and sociology of culture perspectives to interpret the impact of supranational organizations on the domestic public debate in Poland. Second, drawing on the claims-analysis method, it examines the extent to which ethnic minority leaders seized the opportunity to address supranational organizations and legislation on minority rights protection promoted by these institutions. The analysis reveals that ethnic minorities do not take full advantage of the novel political circumstances and only seldom refer to the supranational organizations and



symbols. The findings contradict the hypotheses stemming from the new institutionalism and the political opportunity structure approaches and provide support for the sociology of culture perspective.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Joanna Jasiewicz

Seizing on European Institutions?: Ethnic Minority Actors' Strategies in the Polish Public Sphere in East European Politics and Societies, 27 (3) , 493-509

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aron Buzogány

Selective Adoption of EU Environmental Norms in Ukraine. Convergence á la Carte in Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 65, Issue 4 , 609-630

While the EU's policies towards non-member states are often discussed within frameworks of 'high politics', one of the most important features of the European Neighbourhood Policy is its emphasis on the 'low politics' of sectoral dialogue in functionally differentiated policy fields. Examining policy change triggered in Ukraine by the EU's neighbourhood policy framework, the essay focuses on environmental policy as a typical 'low politics' policy field. The results show that in four sub-fields of environmental policy case-specific constellations of domestic veto players, policy-specific conditionality and external capacity building determine domestic policy change.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Buzogány Aron

Selective Adoption of EU Environmental Norms in Ukraine. Convergence á la Carte in Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 65, n. 4, Special Issue: Explaining Policy Change in the European Union's Eastern Neighbourhood , 609-630

While the EU's policies towards non-member states are often discussed within frameworks of 'high politics', one of the most important features of the European Neighbourhood Policy is its emphasis on the 'low politics' of sectoral dialogue in functionally differentiated policy fields. Examining policy change triggered in Ukraine by the EU's neighbourhood



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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Sentiment d'appartenance européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 573, décembre , 591-593

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thym Daniel

Separation versus Fusion – or: How to Accommodate National Autonomy and the Charter? Diverging Visions of the German Constitutional Court and the European Court of Justice

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 9 - Issue 03 , 392-419

German Federal Constitutional Court's dialogue with the European Court of Justice – Background, trigger, contents and context of the FCC's reaction to the Åkerberg Fransson judgment – The FCC's Counter-Terrorism Database judgment – Constitutional control standards – theoretical repercussions of the judicial dispute – Underlying conceptual differences – The 'fusion thesis' versus the 'separation thesis' – Pragmatic approximation of divergent positions

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dunphy Richard, March Luke

Seven Year Itch? The European Left Party: Struggling to Transform the EU

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 4 , 520-537

It's an apposite moment to analyze the European Left Party (EL), one of the newest transnational parties (TNPs) founded in 2004, which gathers a large number of radical left parties situating themselves to the left of social democracy. Despite the ostensibly beneficial crisis environment across the EU, radical left parties as a whole have so far failed to make significant gains. The EL's third congress in Paris in 2010 recognized significant future challenges in order to react to the adoption of the Lisbon treaty and to 'build a Europe of social change'. In this paper we examine this relatively under-analyzed TNP's organizational development and cohesiveness by focussing on the interaction between national parties, the party at European level and the GUE/NGL (European United Left/Nordic Green Left) European parliamentary group. The EL's 2010 congress showed it struggling to combine the 'deepening' of its organizational cohesion with the 'widening' of its political representation. Although the EL's development to date marks a significant intensification of radical left European co-operation in historical terms, it remains ill-equipped to become an organizationally and strategically effective organization.



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Antoaneta Dimitrova & Rilka Dragneva

Shaping Convergence with the EU in Foreign Policy and State Aid in Post-Orange Ukraine: Weak External Incentives, Powerful Veto Players

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 65, Issue 4 , 658-681

This essay analyses convergence with EU rules in Ukraine in two policy areas—foreign and security policy and state aid regulation. Comparing the two, we find different levels of convergence, somewhat higher in foreign policy (but slowing down after 2010) than in state aid law regulation. We explain this by analysing the presence and actions of oligarchs as veto players that have had an extensive influence on policy in the Ukrainian political system in recent years. In policy areas where convergence with EU rules negatively affects the interests of oligarchs and their political allies, we see only limited convergence with EU legislation and policies.

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Dimitrova Antoaneta, Dragneva Rilka

Shaping Convergence with the EU in Foreign Policy and State Aid in Post-Orange Ukraine: Weak External Incentives, Powerful Veto Players

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, n. 4, Special Issue: Explaining Policy Change in the European Union's Eastern Neighbourhood , 658-681

This essay analyses convergence with EU rules in Ukraine in two policy areas—foreign and security policy and state aid regulation. Comparing the two, we find different levels of convergence, somewhat higher in foreign policy (but slowing down after 2010) than in state aid law regulation. We explain this by analysing the presence and actions of oligarchs as veto players that have had an extensive influence on policy in the Ukrainian political system in recent years. In policy areas where convergence with EU rules negatively affects the interests of oligarchs and their political allies, we see only limited convergence with EU legislation and policies.

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Barnickel Christiane, Beichelt Timm

Shifting Patterns and Reactions—Migration Policy in the New EU Member States

in *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 27, n. 3, August , 466-492

This article presents an analysis of patterns of migration and related policy reactions in the new EU member states. The empiric findings that combine both similarities and dissimilarities between cases are interpreted against two major context factors: (1) democratic and economic transition as well as (2) Europeanization. As it turns out, late socialism and the first stage of transition are more relevant for understanding migration flows, whereas impacts from the EU level help us to make sense of the character of reactions. As expected by Europeanization research, the migration policies of



Central European countries do not amount to homogeneous profiles of migration policy. In order to understand differences, we can again refer to different transition paths prevalent in specific cases.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christiane Barnickel and Timm Beichelt

Shifting Patterns and Reactions—Migration Policy in the New EU Member States in East European Politics and Societies, 27 (3) , 466-492

This article presents an analysis of patterns of migration and related policy reactions in the new EU member states. The empiric findings that combine both similarities and dissimilarities between cases are interpreted against two major context factors: (1) democratic and economic transition as well as (2) Europeanization. As it turns out, late socialism and the first stage of transition are more relevant for understanding migration flows, whereas impacts from the EU level help us to make sense of the character of reactions. As expected by Europeanization research, the migration policies of Central European countries do not amount to homogeneous profiles of migration policy. In order to understand differences, we can again refer to different transition paths prevalent in specific cases.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Iveta Radišová

Shock to the System: Division, Unemployment and the Common Sense of European Institutions in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 55-62

This contribution investigates the hypothesis that the major factor behind attitudes towards supranational integration comprises differences between countries about what the role of institutions should be.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Aron Buzogány, Sabine Kropp

Sisyphos und der Marmorblock: Parlament und Expertise in Zeiten der Euro-Krise in Zeitschrift für Politikberatung, Volume 6, Number 1, 2013 , 3-14

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Varoufakis Yanis

Six years have passed since the Shanghai Crash of 2002, and Europe's architecture is incapable of responding in Europe's World, Issue 25, Autumn

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/six-years-have-passed-since-the-shanghai-crash-of-2002-and-europes-architecture-i>



s-incapable-of-responding/#.UovxxHBg-rM

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Economides George, Papageorgiou Dimitris, Philippopoulos Apostolis, Vassilatos Vangelis

Smaller Public Sectors in the Euro Area: Aggregate and Distributional Implications

in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 59 Issue 3 September 2013 , 536-558

We study the aggregate and distributional implications of a smaller public sector in the euro area. By a smaller public sector, we mean a reduction in public debt over time and/or cuts in public spending, when such changes in fiscal policy are accommodated by adjustment in various taxes. Aggregate implications have to do with per capita output and welfare, whereas distribution refers to differences in income and welfare between private and public sector employees. We solve the model numerically using fiscal data from the euro area and then do a number of policy experiments. The general message is that the issue is not just a smaller public sector, but also the spending-tax mix chosen.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Keene Edward

Social status, social closure and the idea of Europe as a 'normative power'

in **European Journal of International Relations** , vol. 19, n. 4, december , 939-956

ABSTRACT: This article examines Ian Manners' idea of a 'normative power Europe'. While discussing moral and political forms of normative power, it calls particular attention to a sociological approach based on Weberian ideas about status and social closure. The article then compares the present-day 'normative power' of the EU with the earlier European 'standard of civilization', and argues that the contemporary EU's normative power rests on a more individualist and credentialist form of social closure. This may make it less vulnerable to criticisms of imperialism, but may also make it harder for the EU to retain its relatively privileged position in the generation of international norms and a coherent sense of its own identity.

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Sangiovanni Andrea

Solidarity in the European Union

in **Oxford Journal of Legal Studies**, Volume 33 Issue 2 Summer , 213-241

Political theorists aiming to articulate normative standards for the EU have almost entirely focused on whether or not the EU suffers from a 'democratic deficit'. Almost nothing has been written, by contrast, on one of the central values underpinning European integration since at least the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), namely solidarity. What kinds of principles, policies, and ideals should an affirmation of solidarity commit us to? Put another way: what norms of socioeconomic justice ought to apply to the EU? This is not an empirical or narrowly legal question. We are not trying to gauge the degree of attachment there currently is in the EU by, for example, citing the latest Eurobarometer poll. We are also not attempting to state the implicit rationale followed by the Court of Justice in its recent 'solidarity'



jurisprudence, let alone trying to fix what the Commission might mean by it. In this article, I ask the more fundamental question underlying both the legal and the empirical questions: What principles of social solidarity ought to apply between states and citizens of the emerging European polity? This question has rarely been asked or answered by political theorists in an EU context, so we are entering largely uncharted territory. The article develops a tripartite model of EU solidarity in Section 2, and then applies it to the case of free movement of persons in Section 3.

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Mole Nuala

Some Reflections on the Common European Asylum System and the Evolving European Case Law in *Ragion Pratica*, numero 2, dicembre 2013 , 511-528

This article looks at the evolution of the Common European Asylum System and the difficulties that have arisen in its implementation. It considers the extent to which these difficulties are a consequence of the failure to have secured harmonised asylum procedures and practices whilst adhering to the Dublin Regulation system for the transfer of individuals from one Member State to another. It looks at some key milestones in the jurisprudence of both the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) and the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) in this field. It concludes by some reflections on the situation of mixed migration flows at the periphery of the European legal space and the compliance with European human rights norms of the responses with which they have been met.

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Lepage Henri

Sortie de crise: quel scénario?

in *Politique internationale*, n. 139 - printemps, 2013

Economists are increasingly at a loss to explain why Western economies are struggling to return to growth rates that would finally enable them to avoid the specter of new financial catastrophes. Interest rates have been close to zero for four years now. Central banks have been busy printing money. But there is still no end to the crisis in sight. There are two conflicting explanations for this situation. First, budgetary policy is too strict, in particular the austerity cure in Europe. Here, the antidote would be to use public spending again as the chief measure to stimulate the economy. The second explanation is that, despite massive central bank intervention, there is still not enough money being printed. Paradoxically, the zero interest-rate policy, together with the implementation of Basel III, have had the adverse effect of increasingly tightening credit.

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Lordon Frédéric

Sortir de l'euro ? - Contre une austérité à perpétuité



in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Août

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/08/LORDON/49561>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ashoka Mody

Sovereign debt and its restructuring framework in the eurozone

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 29 n.4 , 715-44

To compensate for the inflexibility due to fixed exchange rates, the eurozone needs flexibility through a system of orderly debt restructuring. With virtually no room for macroeconomic manoeuvring since the crisis onset, fiscal austerity has been the main instrument for achieving reduction of public debt levels; but because austerity also weakens growth, public debt ratios have barely budged. Austerity has also implied continued high private debt ratios, and these debt burdens have perpetuated economic stasis. Economic theory, history, and the recent experience all call for a principled debt restructuring mechanism as an integral element of the Eurozone design. Sovereign debt should be recognized as equity (a residual claim on the sovereign), operationalized by the automatic lowering the debt burden upon the breach of contractually specified thresholds. Making debt more equity-like is also the way forward for speedy private deleveraging. This debt–equity swap principle is a needed shock absorber for the future but will also serve as the principle to deal with the overhang of ‘legacy’ debt.

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Karl Whelan

Sovereign default and the euro

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 29 n.3 , 478-501

The introduction of the euro meant that countries with sovereign debt problems could not use monetization and devaluation as a way to prevent default. The institutional structures of the euro were also widely thought to prevent a country in difficulties being bailed out by other euro members or having its sovereign debt purchased by the European Central Bank (ECB). Despite these restrictions, there was relatively little discussion about sovereign default in pre-Economic and Monetary Union debates among economists, and financial markets priced in almost no default risk in the pre-crisis years. The crisis has seen bailouts and bond purchases by the ECB but there has also been a sovereign default inside the euro and further defaults seem likely. The introduction of the euro was intended to bring greater stability by ending devaluations triggered by self-fulfilling runs on a currency. While this particular scenario can no longer happen, this paper discusses mechanisms whereby expectations that a country may leave the euro can lead to this outcome occurring.

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Nguyễn-Duy Iris

Sovereignty and Europe – The British Perspective



in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 368, 2013/2

The relationship of the United Kingdom with the European Union is a paradoxical one: It chose to join the EU 40 years ago, but has ever since quasi-systematically resisted any further major integration process. The article's main thesis is that the will to protect sovereignty is at the heart of this effort. The UK has resorted to various methods, processes and mechanisms: reference to the dualist system, parliamentary authorisation and scrutiny, opt-outs, but also the so-called 'referendum locks' in 2011. However, by opening for the direct consultation of the people before any significant transfer of power to the EU, the UK might have awoken a 'monster' that may undermine parliamentary sovereignty instead of supporting it. Ultimately, the UK could decide to withdraw from the EU, but it is difficult to know whether an Act of the sovereign Parliament would be sufficient or whether a referendum needs to be organised.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Azevedo Raimondo Cagiano de

Sovereignty and *acquis communautaire*: the new borders of the European Union

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 368, 2013/2 , 189-195

The current configuration of the European Union is the result of the overtaking of national borders and of the strict interpretation of the sovereignty principle. The economic, monetary, political and human integration that characterizes the European Union today could not have been achieved if national borders had been maintained. This article considers that the political frontier of the European Union is the *acquis communautaire* and that the enlargements of the European Union represent the opening of this border.

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Moreno Luis

Spain's Catch up with the EU Core: The Implausible Quest of a 'Flying Pig'?

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 18, Issue 2, Special Issue: Europeanisation and the southern periphery' in retrospect: another decade of dynamism, asymmetry, and fragmentation? , 217-236

In contemporary times, Spain offers a good example of a very compressed transition to post-industrial socioeconomic structures, passing from peripheral to core status within the European Union (EU) and the international economic order. The present article reviews developments and outcomes in Spain since 2000 by paying attention to the impact of the EU on Spain's welfare political economy. The adoption of EU recommendations in labour activation policies and the increase in female participation in the formal labour market are singled out as highly relevant for policy change. The explanatory account of welfare development focuses on continuity and change by considering the analytical constellation of ideas, interests and institutions.

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Vivien A. Schmidt



Speaking to the Markets or to the People? A Discursive Institutional Analysis of the EU's Sovereign Debt Crisis

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Volume 16, Issue 1 , 188–209

The EU's sovereign debt crisis is not just economic; it is also political, resulting from the failure of EU leaders to offer solutions that calm the markets and convince the people. These failures stem from problems with EU leaders' ideas about how to solve the crisis as well as their communication about them. That communication encompasses not just EU leaders talking to one another in negotiations of crisis solutions but also speaking to 'the markets' and to 'the people' about those solutions, all of which may interact in perverse ways. This article uses the analytic framework of 'discursive institutionalism' to consider the different forms, types, levels, rates and mechanisms of change in ideas followed by the EU leaders' discursive interactions in the 'coordinative' discourse and their 'communicative discourse' to the global markets and European publics. It uses a range of country cases, but in particular Germany and France, in illustration.

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Manuela Moschella Lucia Quaglia

Speaking with One Voice in International Finance. The European Union and the Post-Crisis Financial Debate
in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, n.2 , 179-200

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Richard G. Whitman, Ana E. Juncos

Stasis in Status: Relations with the Wider Europe

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 155-167

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sergey Lavrov Minister of Foreign Affairs

State of the Union Russia–EU: Prospects for Partnership in the Changing World

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 6-12

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation shares his views about the relationship between Russia and the EU, "the two biggest players in Europe" whose interaction will shape the history of the continent in the 21st century.

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Burns Charlotte, Carter Neil, Davies Graeme A.M., Worsfold Nicholas



Still saving the earth? The European Parliament's environmental record

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 6, November , 935-954

The European Parliament has been heralded as a champion of environmental policy within the European Union. However, there have been few recent studies of the European Parliament's treatment of environmental legislation, despite the many changes that have taken place within the EU. To correct this oversight all European Parliament amendments to environmental co-decision legislation between 1999 and 2009 have been classified according to their environmental importance and analysed to determine how the chamber's behaviour has changed over time and which factors shape its success. The European Parliament appears to have become both less radical and less successful in incorporating strong green amendments into legislation, and the European Commission emerges as a central explanation for the European Parliament's ability to do so. Despite the Commission's reputation as a partner seeking to advance the environmental agenda, it does not appear inclined to support the European Parliament's attempts to green legislation.

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Kitromilides Yiannis

Stories, Fables, Parables, and Myths: Greece and the Euro Crisis, Toward a New Narrative

in *Journal of Economic Issues*, Volume 47, Number 3 / September 2013 , 623-638

The debt crisis in the Eurozone has generated an intense academic debate about the appropriate policy response to the crisis. At the same time, the general public hears a variety of stories about the crisis, and especially stories about the debt crisis in Greece. This paper deals with the economic significance of stories, in particular with the importance of the Greek "morality tale." Stories are powerful in influencing public psychology, and they can affect the economy through fluctuations in confidence and "animal spirits." The paper considers the development of the Greek story through a web of related stories, fables, parables, and myths. It argues that the story dramatically distorts the reality of the debt crisis in the Eurozone and poses a threat to the global economy through its adverse effects on confidence and "animal spirits." It concludes that Europe needs not only a new policy direction, but also a new narrative about the debt crisis.

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Duško LOPANDIĆ,,

Successive Enlargements of the European Union and the Western Balkans

in *Review of International Affairs (The)* , VOL. LXIV, N°. 1150 April-June 2013

During the seven rounds of enlargement, the number of original members of the former European Coal and Steel Community (and the EEC) almost quintupled from six in 1957 to 27, that is, 28 in July 2013. This article considers the basic geopolitical circumstances of the successive enlargement of the European Union, especially its conditions, political motives and objectives. We will present the basic conditions and dynamics of the enlargement of the Union, which will gradually spread, to the Western Balkans in the next decade. In the essential sense, the processes of negotiations for membership or joining the EU on a long-term way change the structure of the candidate country , affect the stability of its political system, contribute to democratization, promote and modernize the economy and the state apparatus and the entire legal system. In this way , the effects of EU accession are multiple and generally very positive.



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Nienke de Deugd, Katharina Stamm and Wim Westerman

Supranational Cooperation in Europe

in *Global Policy*, Volume 4, Issue 3, 311–316

The sovereign debt crisis and the euro crisis have prompted heads of state and government in Europe to intensify supranational cooperation. However, some political leaders and policy makers aim for more. They propose the introduction of a common European economic government that would prevent Europe from experiencing further financial threats and stabilise national budgets and financial markets, as well as the euro. The results of a survey among well-informed people imply a rather ambivalent attitude towards this venture. While a slim majority favours the general idea of centralised economic governance in Europe, or in the eurozone, the concrete ideas for the design of such a government are not popular among the respondents. A centralised macroeconomic policy, a common budget that is set centrally and using eurobonds as a common means of debt financing in the eurozone all receive limited approval. So, if they are aiming for more supranational cooperation, public and corporate policy makers need to take clear-cut steps that offer tangible benefits that influence public opinions favourably.

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Rietig Katharina

Sustainable Climate Policy Integration in the European Union

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 23, Issue 5, September/October, 297-310

The European Union increasingly integrates climate objectives into other policy areas. However, minimizing greenhouse gas emissions is not necessarily compatible with environmental protection or sustainable development, as the examples of nuclear energy, hydropower and biofuels illustrate. Therefore, climate policy integration needs to be compatible with the overarching objective of sustainable development. This article discusses under which conditions legislation that integrates climate objectives contributes to sustainable development and how this can be evaluated at the policy proposal stage. The key contribution is to illustrate in the European context how legislation on climate policy integration can be designed to also contribute to sustainable development. Based on the European Sustainable Development Strategy, this paper proposes four criteria: policy integration and coherence, environmental protection, social and economic development and justice/participation. These criteria are used to evaluate the Renewable Energy Directive and the 2014–2020 Common Agricultural Policy proposal. The paper concludes that both case studies can serve as best-practice examples for other policies on the European and national levels of how climate policy integration can be designed to also meet minimum levels of sustainable development. Policy implications are the inclusion of these criteria for sustainable climate policy integration into EU impact assessments and their use as minimum benchmarks in the policy debate as an evaluation tool that can be easily used by policy makers and stakeholders to evaluate if a negotiated compromise on a policy that integrates climate objectives still contributes to both reducing emissions and sustainable development. Copyright © 2013 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd and ERP Environment

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ang Andrew, Longstaff Francis A.

Systemic sovereign credit risk: Lessons from the U.S. and Europe

in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 60, Issue 5, July 2013, 493-510

We study the nature of systemic sovereign credit risk using CDS spreads for the U.S. Treasury, individual U.S. states, and major Eurozone countries. Using a multifactor affine framework that allows for both systemic and sovereign-specific credit shocks, we find that there is much less systemic risk among U.S. sovereigns than among Eurozone sovereigns. We find that both U.S. and Eurozone systemic sovereign risk are strongly related to financial market variables. These results provide strong support for the view that systemic sovereign risk has its roots in financial markets rather than in macroeconomic fundamentals.

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Hofmann Andreas, Wessels Wolfgang

Tektonische Machtverschiebungen – die Krise als Auslöser und Verstärker des institutionellen Wandels

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 60, Heft 2, 2013

Tectonic shifts – The crisis as a cause and amplifier of change

Summary

Existential crises are causes and amplifiers of fundamental shifts in inter-institutional relations in all political systems. This is especially true for the European Union and the crisis of Economic and Monetary Union. The aim of this article is to investigate these shifts in the institutional framework of the European Union as the crisis progresses. The article poses three central questions that organise the analysis. How does the crisis response change the vertical division of competences between the member states and the Union? How do the measures taken alter the horizontal balance of power among the institutions of the EU? What sources of democratic legitimacy do the decision-makers claim? Our analysis points to the continuation of existing trends and some surprising breaks.

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Thränhardt Dietrich

Tendenzen der innereuropäischen Migration

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 47, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/172374/tendenzen-der-innereuropaeischen-migration>

Deutschland ist zurzeit das wichtigste europäische Einwanderungsland. 74 Prozent der Zuwanderer kamen im Jahr 2012 aus dem EU-Ausland. Im Gegensatz zur öffentlichen Wahrnehmung, die dominiert wird durch Berichte über



südeuropäische Zuwanderer, waren Polen, Rumänen, Bulgaren und Ungarn die größten Zuwanderergruppen. Erst danach folgten Griechen, Italiener und Spanier.[1] Die Zuwanderung aus Russland und anderen GUS-Staaten ist stark zurückgegangen, der Auswanderungsüberschuss in Richtung Türkei hat zwischen 2011 und 2012 zugenommen (von 1.735 auf 4.147 Personen) (vgl. Tabelle 1 in der PDF-Version). Während der Auswanderungsüberschuss in die Schweiz allgemein bekannt ist und mit Blick auf die dahin auswandernden, mit hohen Kosten ausgebildeten deutschen Ärzte auch diskutiert wird, ist die Bilanz mit der Türkei noch nicht ins öffentliche Bewusstsein eingedrungen. So wurde etwa noch im Februar 2013 die Türkei als "Ursprungsland erheblicher Wanderungsbewegung nach Deutschland" bezeichnet.[2] Das entspricht nicht den Tatsachen, denn in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten wurden sowohl die Zu- als auch die Abwanderungszahlen zwischen Deutschland und der Türkei immer kleiner. Sie machen inzwischen nur noch etwa ein Prozent der türkeistämmigen Bevölkerung in Deutschland aus.

Europa erlebt eine Re-Europäisierung der Migration, genauer gesagt eine EU-Europäisierung. Der freie europäische Migrationsraum – eine weltweit einmalige Erscheinung – entfaltet seine interne Dynamik, während die Einwanderung von außerhalb beschränkt bleibt. In allen europäischen Ländern hat das zunächst die Konsequenz, dass es bei den eigenen Staatsangehörigen einen Auswanderungsüberschuss gibt. Dies gilt auch für attraktive Einwanderungsländer wie die Schweiz und Luxemburg. In aktiven Einwanderungsländern wird dieser Auswanderungsüberschuss ausgeglichen durch verstärkte Einwanderung, vor allem aus ökonomisch schwächeren Ländern. Diese Länder stehen allerdings in der Gefahr, Bevölkerung zu verlieren und im Zusammenspiel mit dem europaweiten Geburtenrückgang in eine demografische Abwärtsspirale zu geraten. So trifft etwa in Lettland auf 28 Auswanderer nur ein Einwanderer (vgl. Tabelle 2 in der PDF-Version)...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ian Manners

The 2012 Danish Presidency of the Council of the European Union: Bridging Exclusion
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013, 70-79

No abstract available

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Beulay Marjorie

The Action of Legal Persons in the European System of Human Rights Protection – Collective or Individual Interest?
in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 12, n. 3, 321-341

ABSTRACT: Human Rights are accustomed to being linked to individual interests, i.e. to defend the rights of individuals. But the development of their international protection has led to emphasizing new realities. With the globalization of law, the globalization of the subjects of international law has also appeared. If States gradually act collectively thanks to international organizations, individuals seem to follow the same path in forming collective entities named legal persons, which are entitled to rights. The main problem of this situation is defending these rights in front of international courts



and, in particular, in front of the European Court of Human Rights. Representing a community leads to defending a collective interest, however, it is not easy to distinguish between the rights of the legal person itself and the rights of the collectivity the legal person is representing. Despite the fiction of the legal person, these entities seem to be collective claimants and consequently to defend a collective interest. Can we conclude that the actions of legal persons before European bodies of Human Rights protection are actions with a collective aim? Indeed this situation implies needing to define which entity retains cited rights and which interest is being defended, that of the individual or that of a collectivity of individuals? This article looks for some answers in the case law of the European Court, which can be considered unequivocal in the light of the case law of other jurisdictions.

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Varsori Antonio

The Andreotti Governments and the Maastricht Treaty: Between European Hopes and Domestic Constraints in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 19, n. 1, 23-44

The article, mainly based on new archival material from the Andreotti archives, argues that in 1990, also owing to Italy's role as chairman of the EC, the Italian authorities favoured the launching of intergovernmental negotiations on both the EMU and the EU. At first Rome's interest focused on the role of the European Parliament, for Italy hoped that a more powerful EP would take care of the country's interests and would be a counter-balance to a renewed French-German couple. Actually in 1991 Italy's political and economic position became weaker and the Italian authorities, especially the Treasury Minister, Guido Carli, and the pro-European "technocrats" from the Bank of Italy had to focus their attention on the EMU, trying to convince Italy's partners of Rome's will to cope effectively with its economic plights. At the same time Carli and Andreotti struggled with the parliament and the party lobbies in order to push them to accept an "austerity" economic policy and a free market approach based on a series of privatizations.

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Mathieu Josué F., Weinblum Sharon

The Battle Against Unfair Trade in the EU Trade Policy: A Discourse Analysis of Trade Protection in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 2, Special Issue: Europe, Discourse, and Institutions: Challenging the Mainstream in European Studies, 185-202

The European Union considers Trade Defence Instruments (i.e., anti-dumping, countervailing duties and safeguards) as a cornerstone of the EU trade policy in the battle against 'unfair competition from across the globe'. At the same time, the rationale behind these instruments, or the fight against 'unfair trade practices', remains somehow woolly. In this article, we argue that it is crucial to unpack the different meanings bestowed on the concept of unfair trade. An interpretative perspective is therefore adopted in order to highlight the complexity behind this notion. The analysis is based on a systematic analysis of the debates revolving around the issue of Trade Defence Instruments held within the European Parliament during the current legislative session. First, we show that a specific storyline on unfair trade can be considered dominant. Second, we expose the 'kaleidoscopic' reality behind unfair trade, showing that this notion is a floating signifier. Against this backcloth, the article puts forward the argument that the institutionalisation of Trade Defence Instruments precisely relies on this character of unfair trade as a floating signifier.



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anne corbett and mary henkel

The Bologna Dynamic: Strengths and Weaknesses of the Europeanisation of Higher Education in European Political Science, Volume 12, Issue 4, 415-423

This article advances the argument that when weighing up the strengths and weaknesses of the Bologna Process it is necessary to incorporate the perspective of academics, and to discuss whether and how the Bologna Process can be supportive of academics as they adjust to changing notions of academic autonomy in knowledge societies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Esther Lopatin

The Changing Position of the European Parliament on Irregular Migration and Asylum under Co-decision in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2013, 740-755

This article demonstrates that the European Parliament has increasingly voted with the Council for a more restrictive position on irregular migration and asylum since obtaining co-decision authority in these areas in 2005, in contrast to its previous liberal position. Roll-call votes in the fifth and sixth European Parliaments (1999–2009) in the field of irregular migration and asylum were analyzed, and it was found that an abrupt change in voting behaviour of many MEPs, particularly those members belonging to two of its main liberal-leaning parties, the S&D and ELDR, is evidently linked to the change of authority of the EP. Apparently, there is an inverse correlation between the level of decision-making authority and the freedom to vote for a liberal immigration and asylum policy. The author suggests several explanations for this behaviour, including the need for MEPs to be flexible in working with the Council in order to pass legislation.

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Goes Eunice

The Coalition and Europe: A Tale of Reckless Drivers, Steady Navigators and Imperfect Roadmaps in Parliamentary Affairs, Volume 67, Issue 1, January, 45-63

This paper examines how the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats negotiated and agreed the Coalition's approach to the EU with a view to shed light on how each party exerted influence over this policy area. For that purpose the article analyses how the two parties of the Coalition negotiated the programme of government, agreed on the distribution of government portfolios and have handled three of most divisive European issues faced by the Coalition, namely the European Union Act 2011, the exercise of the veto at the December 2011 EU summit and the announcement of the referendum on EU membership. The article argues that the Conservatives are the drivers of the Coalition's approach to the EU however the Liberal Democrats have acted as navigators ensuring, most of the time, that the agreed roadmap is respected.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Hinarejos Alicia

The Court Of Justice Of The Eu And The Legality Of The European Stability Mechanism
in *Cambridge Law Journal (The)*, Volume 72 / Issue 02 , 237 - 240

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

George Christou

The Cyprus Presidency of the EU: 'Real Achievements' in a 'Filoxenos Topos'
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 80-88

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pinelli Cesare

The Discourses on Post-National Governance and the Democratic Deficit Absent an EU Government
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 9 - Issue 02 , 177 - 188

The enduring joint decision trap in the absence of European government – Postnational constitutionalism – The dismissal of politics – Accountability of government before parliament at the core of representative democracy – Internalising the benefits and of externalising the disadvantages of staying together in the Union possible as long as political accountability is not ensured in the EU system – Breathing political life into the EU through constitutional practice without formal Treaty amendment – A time-frame for approval of treaty amendments – EP and the election of Commission president

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Morys Matthias

The Disintegration of the Gold Exchange Standard During the Great Depression – Déjà Vu for the Eurozone?
in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2013 / 39,2 , 153-176

Abstract

After the onset of the Great Recession in autumn 2008, the Great Depression of the 1930s quickly developed into the historical episode most often evoked to explain current events and, potentially, predict the future. An important part of the Great Depression was the breakdown of the gold exchange standard between 1931 and 1936; the end of this system of fixed exchange rates – and the ensuing cycle of competitive devaluations – was seen by most contemporaries



as beggar-thy-neighbour policies and hence as deepening the depression, but economic historians today see the abandonment of the gold standard as one if not the most important factor in exiting the Great Depression. In this paper, we explain causes and consequences of the breakdown of the interwar gold standard; and ask whether it entails any lessons for the on-going euro crisis.

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anses A. Wessel, Bart Van Vooren

The EEAS's diplomatic dreams and the reality of European and international law

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 9 2013 , 1350-1367

This article confronts the diplomatic ambitions of the European External Action Service (EEAS) with the reality of European Union (EU) and international law. Treaty provisions as well as policy documents and statements of EU officials reveal a development in the direction of a strengthened role for the EU itself as a diplomatic actor. The findings underline a continued tension between the EU's diplomatic ambitions and EU and international law as it stands. In relation to the EU's internal structures, there is no doubt that in the new EU institutional landscape dividing lines remain firmly in place. Yet, the working arrangements do point to 'holistic' thinking implying co-operation and reciprocity. Subsequently, the article outlines how the EU's ambitions sit uncomfortably with traditional state-centred international diplomatic law. Extensive diplomatic activity of the EU depends on the willingness of third states to accept the EU as a diplomatic actor.

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Bordino Giampiero

The EU Crisis and the New European Citizens' Right of Initiative

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/838-the-eu-crisis-and-the-new-european-citizens%E2%80%99-right-of-initiative>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Wade Jacoby

The EU Factor in Fat Times and in Lean: Did the EU Amplify the Boom and Soften the Bust?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 52-70

This article describes the EU's impact on economic performance in the new Member States since the advent of membership. It first deals with the EU's role in promoting the economic boom that marked the region up to 2007, emphasizing the role of the single market and of the EU in anchoring and encouraging economic policy liberalization. The second section investigates the EU role in buffering the bust that occurred after 2007, looking at structural fund spending and financial sector instruments to enhance liquidity. I argue the EU had a (mostly unintentional) pro-cyclical



effect that fuelled the boom and contributed to setting up the region for a very hard fall during the bust. I also show the EU efforts to buffer the hard times were far quicker in the area of structural fund spending compared to very slow and limited innovation in liquidity provision, especially for non-eurozone states.

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Elsig Manfred

The EU as an effective trade power? Strategic choice of judicial candidates in the context of the World Trade Organization

in *International Relations*, vol. 27, n. 3, september , 325-340

ABSTRACT: Drawing on the European Union (EU) foreign policy literature on effectiveness, this article studies how the European Union chooses judges to serve on the World Trade Organization's key judicial institution: the Appellate Body. Conceptually, the article differentiates between effectiveness in representation and effectiveness in impact. The article shows how delegation to the European Commission has increased the strategic agenda-setting power for championing its preferred candidates. The article further compares European and US practice in nominating candidates. Overall, the article finds that effectiveness in representation has increased over time. In terms of effectiveness in impact, the article shows how the international environment conditions the EU's influence. The article also exposes the difficulties of studying the effectiveness of EU external relations due to the peculiar decision-making processes dominant in judicial bodies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Damjanovic Dragana

The EU market rules as social market rules: Why the EU can be a social market economy

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 6 , 1685-1717

ABSTRACT: This paper challenges the "structural social deficit of the EU treaties" argument, referred to also as the asymmetry of economic and social integration within the EU. It shows that in relation to the Member States social policies the EU market rules (competition and State aid law, the free movement rules and deduced from them the public procurement rules) can be also read as social market rules, particularly after the revisions made by the Lisbon Treaty. I.e., this set of norms does not necessarily lead to a destabilization (by de-regulation, liberalization or privatization) of the Member States' welfare regimes, but allows for the inclusion of these systems into the internal market and insofar for the creation of a social market economy in the EU. The thesis is substantiated by a legal analysis of the EU negative welfare integration process structured along the different layers of the EU market rules at which that inclusion is legally implemented: their scope of application, the proportionality test and their impact when enforced.

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Schratzenstaller Margit

The EU own resources system — Reform needs and options

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 5, September 2013 , 303-313



The most prominent and debated issues in the negotiations on the next Multiannual Financial Framework for the EU for the period 2014–2020 were the overall budget volume, the structure of expenditures and the continuation of the rebates for (some) net contributor countries. However, the system of the EU's own resources was hardly addressed in the negotiations, although it is one of the most important obstacles to reform. This article reviews the most important deficits of the current system of own resources and assesses the most substantial reform proposal which has been advocated for years by the European Commission, namely to finance part of the EU budget through EU taxes.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Etain Tannam

The EU's Response to the International Court of Justice's Judgment on Kosovo's Declaration of Independence in Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 65, Issue 5 , 946-964

In this essay an evaluation of the content and determinants of the EU's response to the ICJ is provided. Two core questions are addressed: firstly, did the ICJ's judgment alter EU policy towards Kosovo and Serbia and, secondly, was EU policy towards Kosovo and Serbia effective? It is argued that the EU's response to the ICJ's judgment in 2010 has been consistent and effective, but that the underlying determinants of the policy have not changed since 2008. It is argued that the EU's response to the ICJ's judgment in 2010 has been consistent and effective and that the ICJ judgment has had a catalytic effect on the EU's influence over Serbia and the Serbia–Kosovo relationship. Overall, EU policy has been effective, despite being periodically ad hoc.

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Vanda Amaro Dias

The EU's post-liberal approach to peace: framing EUBAM's contribution to the Moldova–Transnistria conflict transformation in European Security, Volume 22, Issue 3 , 338-354

This article analyses what may be termed as the European Union's (EU) post-liberal approach to the Moldova–Transnistria conflict. Since 2003, within the ENP framework, the EU has become increasingly committed to its transformation. Such an engagement is further confirmed by the establishment of the European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM) in 2005, aimed at building confidence between the parties, stimulate their economic interdependence and change perceptions about the conflict. The mission's outcomes are moving beyond its technical scope, supporting the conflict peaceful transformation. The focus on bottom-up initiatives and local engagement allows for a broader understanding of the complex dynamics underlying the conflict, which together with the high-level negotiation process may provide a holistic approach to its resolution and increase the likelihood to reach a sustainable settlement

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Karin Bäckstrand & Ole Elgström

The EU's role in climate change negotiations: from leader to 'leadior'



in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 10 2013 , 1369-1386

We start with two puzzles: first, how to explain the European Union (EU)'s decline as a climate change leader at the Copenhagen summit? Second, how to understand the partial revival of its leadership position at the Durban climate summit? We advance a twofold explanation, focusing on changes in relative power relations among major powers but also on negotiation strategies and coalition building. In Copenhagen, the EU had a normative agenda and unrealistic expectations and thereby failed to forge any bridge-building coalitions. In Durban, it had moved towards a pragmatic strategy, attuned to the realities of changing power constellations. The EU approached developing countries that shared its desire for a legally binding regime covering all major emitters and probed compromises with veto players, such as China and the US. This bridge-building strategy was combined with a conditional pledge to agree to an extension of the Kyoto Protocol. In sum, the EU acted as a 'leadiator', a leader-cum-mediator.

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Pinfari Marco

The EU, Egypt and Morsi's Rise and Fall: 'Strategic Patience' and Its Discontents

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 18, Issue 3 , 460-466

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Edward Geoffrey

The EU's foreign policy and the search for effect

in *International Relations*, vol. 27, n. 3, september , 276-291

ABSTRACT: The Lisbon Treaty sought to meet new global challenges by providing the European Union (EU) with stronger institutional capacity and policy instruments to make it a more effective international actor in foreign and security terms. The article sets out the structures and practices agreed and contested by both Member States – especially the United Kingdom and France – and the European Commission, focusing on the roles of the High Representative (HR) for Foreign Affairs and the European External Action Service. It points to the disjuncture between the formal calls for greater coherence and consequence in the EU's foreign policies, the problems of creating an effective policy vehicle and the practices that undermine both its efforts and its legitimacy.

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Van Schaik Louise

The EU's growing pains in negotiating international food standards

in *International Relations*, vol. 27, n. 3, september , 292-307

ABSTRACT: This article relates the effectiveness of the European Union's (EU) effectiveness to its international actorness in negotiations on international food standards taking place in the Codex Alimentarius Commission (CAC).



Actorness is taken to result from EU competence, preference homogeneity and processes of socialisation among EU Member State representatives. In the 2009 negotiations on growth promoters for livestock, whose use the EU opposes, the Commission took the lead. It was trusted and supported by the EU Member States, but its dominant role resulted in them being rather passive. As a result, the EU's potential to negotiate effectively in the CAC was not used in its full potential.

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Warntjen Andreas

The Elusive Goal of Continuity? Legislative Decision-Making and the Council Presidency before and after Lisbon

in *West European Politics*, vol. 36, n. 6 , 1239-1255

ABSTRACT: This study compares the role of the Council presidency before and after Lisbon focusing on the continuity of the legislative work of the Council, which was a major concern in the discussions leading to the Lisbon Treaty. The Lisbon Treaty established an elected presidency to head the European Council for a period of up to five years. In addition, 18-month programmes should facilitate smooth proceedings in the Council. The presidency of the Council, however, continues to rotate every six months between member states at the ministerial and working group level where the bulk of the legislative work takes place. Discontinuity of leadership in negotiations decreases their efficiency. Different priorities of the changing chairmen can be disruptive and lead to major delay. The hybrid solution of the Lisbon Treaty falls short of an institutional design that would have put a premium on continuity in the legislative work of the Council.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jonathan C. Kamkhaji, Claudio M. Radaelli

The Emerging Governance Architecture of the Eurozone

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 2/2013 , 199-220

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Grauwe Paul

The European Central Bank as Lender of Last Resort in the Government Bond Markets

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 59 Issue 3 September 2013 , 520-535

The sovereign debt crisis has made it clear that central banking is more than keeping inflation low. Central banks are also responsible for financial stability. An essential tool in maintaining financial stability is provided by the capacity of the central bank to be the lender of last resort in the banking system. In this article, I argue that the ECB should also be the lender of last resort in the government bond markets of the monetary union, very much like the central banks in countries that issue debt in their own currencies are. This is necessary to prevent countries from being pushed into bad



equilibria by self-fulfilling fears of liquidity crises in a monetary union. The ECB decided to take on this role in 2012. I evaluate this decision and I discuss the different arguments formulated by those who oppose this new role of the ECB.

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Levi Lucio

**The European Elections and the Choice of a European Government
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVI, n. 2, July**

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/editorial/item/831-the-european-elections-and-the-choice-of-a-european-government>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sophie Vanhoonacker, Karolina Pomorska

**The European External Action Service and agenda-setting in European foreign policy
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 20, Issue 9 2013 , 1316-1331**

The new High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (HR) and the European External Action Service (EEAS) have emerged after the Lisbon Treaty as a potential driving force in European foreign policy. This article critically reviews the first two years of the existence of the EEAS to find out whether these new players have managed to shape the direction of the European Union's (EU) external activities. Building on a typology of agenda-setting strategies in the EU developed by Princen (2011), it successively examines how the HR and the EEAS have been trying to 'build credibility' and 'to gain attention' for their priorities. The empirical analysis shows that priority has been given to addressing the 'credibility challenge', with a particular emphasis on capacity-building. The strategies of mobilizing partners and arousing interest through framing still leave scope for improvement.

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Michael E. Smith

The European External Action Service and the security–development nexus: organizing for effectiveness or incoherence?

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 20, Issue 9 2013 , 1299-1315

The creation of a new 'European External Action Service' (EEAS) under the Treaty of Lisbon represents one of the most far-reaching attempts to reform European Union (EU) foreign policy institutions in the history of European integration. However, the process of organizing the EEAS has involved more 'top–down' political interference rather than the more 'bottom–up' codification of existing procedures that typically takes place in the reform of EU foreign policy institutions. This trend can be framed in terms of three conflicts: a clash of intergovernmental politics over the structure and staffing of the EEAS; a clash of bureaucratic politics among the major institutions involved in European foreign policy; and a clash of priorities between two major EU foreign policy goals: development and security policy. These conflicts call into question whether the EEAS will improve the coherence of EU foreign/security policy, as it was intended, or simply add



more confusion to the EU's global presence.

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Davesne Alban, Guigner Sébastien

The European Health Community or “White pool” (1952-1954): an intergovernmentalist rediscovery of a functionalist project

in *Politique européenne* , n. 41, 2013/3 , 40-63

If the recent empirical developments show that health has become a European problem, academics still consider it as a field where, on principle, governments seek to retain their sovereignty : the state opposition to the integration of health is postulated. Exhuming a historical project of integration of health and analyzing it through the lenses of intergovernmentalism – more sophisticated than it looks – this article reminds that, on the contrary, government preferences are contextualized and therefore not immutable, in this field as in others.

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Berman Sheri

The European Left in Crisis?

in *Dissent*, Fall, 2013

Europe is going through its worst crisis since the Great Depression and the Second World War. Economically, the continent is in a terrible mess, with the euro area having experienced overall negative growth rates in three of the past five years, tragic and unprecedented levels of unemployment (especially among youth), and a dramatic increase in poverty and inequality. In addition, Europe has been tearing itself up over identity and cultural issues. Previously the provenance of the extreme left and extreme right, fears about European integration's impact on national sovereignty and identity have bled into the mainstream while debates about immigration are now a mainstay of the popular press, intellectual journals, and election slogans. Politically, things in Europe are not much better. Disillusionment with democracy and mainstream political parties and institutions has been rising steadily, and extremist, nationalistic, and xenophobic parties are gaining ground almost everywhere.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Parello Carmelo Pierpaolo, Visco Vincenzo

The European Redemption Fund: A Comparison of Two Proposals

in *Politica economica*, 3, 2012, dicembre , 273-306

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Moloney Niamh

The European Securities and Markets Authority: a perspective from one year on
in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 68, issue 1, march , 59-85

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mackenzie Alex, Bures Oldrich, Kaunert Christian, Léonard Sarah

The European Union Counter-terrorism Coordinator and the External Dimension of the European Union Counter-terrorism Policy

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 3, Special Issue: Agency Governance in the European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice , 325-338

The post of European Union (EU) counter-terrorism coordinator (CTC) has often been seen as ineffectual. However, this article argues that such a critical assessment of the post of EU CTC is due to a significant extent to an over-emphasis on the internal dimension of the EU CTC's activities. Consequently, it suggests focusing on the external dimension of the EU CTC's work, which has often been largely overlooked. For that purpose, it develops an international actorness analytical framework. On that basis, the article demonstrates that, despite the limitations inherent to this post, the EU CTC is already significantly advanced in the process of establishing himself as a fully-fledged counter-terrorism actor on the international stage. Evidence shows that he is increasingly considered an important component of the external dimension of the EU counter-terrorism policy by both member states and third states and bodies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

David natali

The European Union and the Crisis: Key Analytical Questions to Address

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 2/2013 , 163-72

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Groen Lisanne, Niemann Arne

The European Union at the Copenhagen climate negotiations: A case of contested EU actorness and effectiveness

in *International Relations*, vol. 27, n. 3, september , 308-324

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the extent of European Union (EU) actorness and effectiveness at the 15th United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Conference of the Parties (COP) meeting in Copenhagen in December 2009. Although the EU has been characterised as a leader in international climate



policy-making for some time, the COP 15 meeting in Copenhagen has overall brought about disappointing outcomes for the Union. This casts doubts on EU actorness and effectiveness in this field. We take the article by Jupille and Caporaso as a conceptual point of departure and then specify a more parsimonious actorness framework that consists of coherence and autonomy. Effectiveness is conceptualised as the result of actorness conditioned by the 'opportunity structure', that is, the external context that enables or constrains EU actions. We hold that EU actorness was only moderate, especially given somewhat limited coherence. In terms of the opportunity structure, we argue that the strong involvement of other important actors with rather different positions adversely impacted on EU effectiveness, along with a high degree of politicisation that constrained the European Union's ability to negotiate effectively.

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Quaglia Lucia

The Europeanisation of Macroeconomic Policies and Financial Regulation in Italy

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 18, Issue 2, Special Issue: Europeanisation and the southern periphery' in retrospect: another decade of dynamism, asymmetry, and fragmentation? , 159-176

This research asks to what extent, how and why two key domains of domestic political economy, namely, macroeconomic policies and financial services regulation, have been Europeanised in Italy over the last decade. The impacts of Economic and Monetary Union and European Union financial services regulation are assessed by tracing the change in interests, ideas and institutions in these policy areas and identifying the causal mechanisms through which change came about (or was resisted). It is concluded that the degree of Europeanisation and its effects have been uneven across different elements of the political economy and some distinctive national features have remained.

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Anna Gwiazda

The Europeanisation of regional policy in Poland: did political parties make a difference?

in **Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics**, Volume 29, Issue 2 , 226-244

This paper examines the role of the European Union (EU) and the policy preferences of parties in government for the Europeanisation of regional policy in Poland. While the importance of the EU is undeniable, the role of political parties is unexplored in the literature. This paper presents a more nuanced approach to the study of policy preferences than the partisan theory proposes. It focuses on strategic origins of policy preferences which dominate in the case of win-win policies such as EU regional policy which is about economic gains for beneficiaries of EU structural and cohesion funds. In this policy case, preferences of domestic political parties have converged towards securing EU funding. The partisan effects on policy outputs are thus less visible in the

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Glencross Andrew

The Eurozone Crisis as a Challenge to Democracy and Integration in Europe

in **Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs**, vol. 58, n. 1, winter , 55-68



ABSTRACT: This article explores how both the sovereign debt crisis and the European Union's response illustrate fundamental characteristics of contemporary European integration. In the face of an unexpected emergency, national politicians took the lead and pressed ahead with more integration. The long-term results though depend on national acceptance of not just the bailout provisions but also enforcement of debt brakes mandated by the new EU treaty. This means democratic politics at the national level will continue to have a fundamental influence on EU affairs, while the North/South split will co-exist alongside a more marked separation between countries inside and outside the Eurozone. In this context of increased political turbulence within the EU, there is likely to be only a limited window of opportunity for successful negotiation of a free-trade deal with the United States.

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Vivien A. Schmidt

**The Eurozone Crisis: A Crisis of Politics, Not Just Economics
in International Spectator (The), Vol. 48, No. 3**

The economic policies of the eurozone crisis, generally presented in apolitical terms, are political both in their underlying principles and in their effects. The EU's 'policy without politics', based on ordo-liberal ideas for macroeconomic austerity and neo-liberal ideas for structural reform, has left the member states with 'politics without policy', in which dissatisfied citizens have had little recourse. This has led to increasing political disaffection, polarisation, and Euroscepticism. Proposals to politicise so as to legitimise the EU by electing the Commission President hold some promise, in contrast to election of the Council President. But the danger, given the eurozone crisis, is that such elections will only politicise so as to delegitimise.

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Dermot Hodson

The Eurozone in 2012: 'Whatever It Takes to Preserve the Euro'?

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013, 183-200

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Liu Lirong

The Evolution of China's EU Policy: from Mao's intermediate zone to a strategic partnership based on non-shared values

in Journal of European Integration History, vol. 18, n. 1, 11-24

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Agustín José Menéndez

The Existential Crisis of the European Union
in *German Law Journal*, vol. 14, issue 5 , 453-526

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andreea C. Nita, Maurizio Zanard

The First Review of European Union Antidumping Reviews
in *World Economy*, volume 36 n.12 , 1455-77

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Škrabi; Peri; Blanka, Sori; Petar, Arneri; Josip

The Fisher effect at the borders of the European Monetary Union: evidence from post-communist countries
in *Post communist economies*, Volume 25, Issue 3, 2013 , 309-324

This article aims to shed some light on the Fisher effect in six non-eurozone post-communist economies (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania). A Fisher-type interest rate equation is analysed using the PMG panel data estimator, with an early attempt to employ the Harmonised European Consumer Surveys in quantifying inflation expectations and uncertainty. The output gap is also considered as an explanatory variable. The results of the Hausman poolability test unambiguously confirm that, despite the differences in their monetary regimes and the development levels of their financial markets, all the countries observed are homogeneous in terms of the Fisher effect. It is shown that both inflation uncertainty and expectations positively and significantly feed into nominal interest rate fluctuations. The post-communist central banks seem to be the most strongly concerned about inflation uncertainty shocks, while their interest rate elasticity with regard to expected inflation is below unity. On the other hand, they do not significantly adjust their interest rates in response to demand-side pressure, assigning only a secondary role to boosting economic activity. As a robustness check, the results obtained remain rather similar when Sweden and the UK (as the remaining non-eurozone EU members) are included in the sample.

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Demiryol Tolga

The Geopolitics of Energy Cooperation between Turkey and the European Union
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 367, 2013/1 , 109-134

This article discusses the prospects and challenges of establishing a comprehensive energy cooperation between Turkey and the EU. The main argument is that energy politics is primarily driven by national rather than collective



interests, which impedes the consolidation of regional cooperation. There are three primary mechanisms through which the prevalence of national interests undermines energy cooperation. First, the divergence of national energy interests of member states makes it difficult for the EU to implement a common external energy policy. Second, Russia follows a “wedge strategy,” which combines selective incentives with coercive instruments to prevent the formation of a unified anti-Russian energy bloc within the EU. Third, Turkey’s dependency on Russian gas limits Ankara’s room for maneuver in regional energy policy. Stuck between the EU and Russia, Turkey frequently seeks to play the two sides against each other. This balancing act undermines the credibility of Turkey’s commitment to energy cooperation.

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Bonino Emma

**The Goal of my Life: The United States of Europe
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVI, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/832-the-goal-of-my-life-the-united-states-of-europe>

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anthony Culley and Stephen Wheatley

**The Human Rights of Individuals in De Facto Regimes under the European Convention on Human Rights
in Human Rights Law Review**, vol. 13, issue 4 , 691-728

The objective of this article is to evaluate the extent to which we can regard individuals in the territories of de facto regimes in the Council of Europe region (Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Transdniestria and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) as enjoying the protection of the European Convention on Human Rights. The work considers the utility of recognising ‘de facto regimes’ as subjects of international law, before examining the relevant case law of the European Court of Human Rights and wider international law on the human rights obligations of such political entities. It then draws on the doctrine of acquired human rights to recognise, in certain circumstances, that the European Convention on Human Rights can be opposable to such regimes and concludes by reflecting on the implications of the analysis for understanding human rights in world society.

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Michael Baun & Dan Marek

**The Implementation of EU Environmental Policy in the Czech Republic: Problems with Post-Accession
Compliance?**
in **Europe-Asia Studies**, Volume 65, Issue 10 , 1877-1897

This article examines the implementation of EU environmental policy in the Czech Republic, focusing on the transposition and application of three key directives. It argues that, while the Czech Republic has had difficulty complying with EU environmental law since accession, overall its performance in this area does not conform to



pessimistic scenarios of post-accession compliance. A key positive factor affecting the implementation of EU environmental policy in the Czech Republic, and a major reason for optimism about future Czech compliance with EU environmental law, is the active role of Czech environmental NGOs in the monitoring and enforcement of EU rules.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baun Michael, Marek Dan

The Implementation of EU Environmental Policy in the Czech Republic: Problems with Post-Accession Compliance?

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, n. 10 , 1887-1897

This article examines the implementation of EU environmental policy in the Czech Republic, focusing on the transposition and application of three key directives. It argues that, while the Czech Republic has had difficulty complying with EU environmental law since accession, overall its performance in this area does not conform to pessimistic scenarios of post-accession compliance. A key positive factor affecting the implementation of EU environmental policy in the Czech Republic, and a major reason for optimism about future Czech compliance with EU environmental law, is the active role of Czech environmental NGOs in the monitoring and enforcement of EU rules.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christine Reh, Adrienne Héritier, Edoardo Bressanelli, and Christel Koop

The Informal Politics of Legislation: Explaining Secluded Decision Making in the European Union

in *Comparative Political Studies* , 46 (9) , 1112-1142

This article investigates a widespread yet understudied trend in EU politics: the shift of legislative decision making from public inclusive to informal secluded arenas and the subsequent adoption of legislation as “early agreements.” Since its introduction in 1999, “fast-track legislation” has increased dramatically, accounting for 72% of codecision files in the Sixth European Parliament. Drawing from functionalist institutionalism, distributive bargaining theory, and sociological institutionalism, this article explains under what conditions informal decision making is likely to occur. The authors test their hypotheses on an original data set of all 797 codecision files negotiated between mid-1999 and mid-2009. Their analysis suggests that fast-track legislation is systematically related to the number of participants, legislative workload, and complexity. These findings back a functionalist argument, emphasizing the transaction costs of intraorganizational coordination and information gathering. However, redistributive and salient acts are regularly decided informally, and the Council presidency’s priorities have no significant effect on fast-track legislation. Hence, the authors cannot confirm explanations based on issue properties or actors’ privileged institutional positions. Finally, they find a strong effect for the time fast-track legislation has been used, suggesting socialization into interorganizational norms of cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gerda Falkner

The JCMS Annual Review Lecture Is the European Union Losing Its Credibility?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue s1, September 2013 , 13-30



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Çalın; Baın;ak, Koch Anne, Bruch Nicola

The Legitimacy of Human Rights Courts: A Grounded Interpretivist Analysis of the European Court of Human Rights

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 35, number 4, november , 955-984

ABSTRACT: This article offers an empirically grounded interpretivist analysis of the social legitimacy of the European Court of Human Rights based on domestic judicial and political elite accounts of the legitimacy of the Court in Turkey, Bulgaria, United Kingdom, Ireland, and Germany. The central argument of the article is that the social legitimacy of the European Court of Human Rights is based on a constant comparison between the values and goals of domestic institutions and the values and goals of the European Court of Human Rights. More specifically, the social legitimacy of the European Court of Human Rights is grounded in the logic of a fair compromise: What actors think they lose by according legitimacy to the European Court of Human Rights must be balanced by what they perceive to gain in return. Three factors organize how actors in different domestic settings strike a fair compromise in their domestic contexts: a) perception of domestic human rights conditions, b) commitment to cosmopolitan ideals of human rights and international law, and c) commitment to domestic institutions.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jakob Skovgaard

The Limits of Entrapment: The Negotiations on EU Reduction Targets, 2007–11

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1141-1157

In 2007, the EU decided to cut greenhouse gas emissions by 20/30 per cent, something which was considered a proof of the EU's willingness to take on high targets independently of others. In the period 2009–11, the EU was debating but could not reach an agreement on stepping up to a 30 per cent reduction target. This raises the question: why did the EU go from being capable of adopting high targets independently of others to being incapable of agreeing whether it should increase its mitigation effort? It is argued that whereas actors sceptical of a high target could be rhetorically entrapped in 2007, such entrapment was impossible in the 2009–11 period. The lack of entrapment can be explained in terms of changes in the international and socio-economic contexts, which led to changes in the policy processes and the normative environment, which again made effective entrapment impossible.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Geary Michael J., Germond Carine S., Patel Kiran Klaus

The Maastricht Treaty: Negotiations and Consequences in Historical Perspective

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 19, n. 1 , 5-10

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mai'a K. Davis Cross

The Military Dimension of European Security: An Epistemic Community Approach

in Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 42 (1) , 45-64

This article advances the argument that security integration is occurring in the European Union (EU) as a result of the influence of certain knowledge-based networks or epistemic communities. Given that EU member-states consistently resist integration in areas that are central to traditional state sovereignty, security integration presents a puzzle. The case of the EU Military Committee (EUMC) will serve as an example of how and why epistemic communities matter in security decision-making. Although the EUMC and the Common Security and Defence Policy are relatively new, the power of shared expertise among high-level military officers has already begun to dismantle sovereign barriers to security integration. In considering the puzzle of security integration, this article suggests that the epistemic community framework provides a better explanation for the emergence of a European security space than alternative arguments, such as principal-agent theory, intergovernmental bargaining, and regime theory. The case of a military epistemic community also serves to broaden the epistemic community literature, which tends to focus somewhat narrowly on cases of environmental and economics experts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Reis Ricardo

The Mystique Surrounding the Central Bank's Balance Sheet, Applied to the European Crisis

in American Economic Review, Vol. 103 No. 3, May 2013 , 135-40

A central bank's resource constraint bounds the dividends it can distribute by the present value of seignorage, which is a modest share of GDP. This is in spite of the mystique behind a central bank's balance sheet. Moreover, the statutes of the Federal Reserve or the ECB make it difficult for it to redistribute resources across regions. In a simple model of sovereign default, where multiple equilibria arise if debt repudiation lowers fiscal surpluses, the central bank may help to select one equilibrium. The central bank's main lever over fundamentals is to raise inflation, but otherwise the balance sheet gives it little leeway.

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Niţoiu Cristian

The Narrative Construction of the European Union in External Relations

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 14, n. 2, Special Issue: Europe, Discourse, and Institutions:

Challenging the Mainstream in European Studies , 240-255

The article analyses the way narratives are constructed in EU external relations and their relation to policy practices. Five overarching narratives are identified: the EU as a security provider, the EU as a democratizer and spreader of 'good' norms, the EU as an actor that contributes to or assures global peace, the EU as an entity that contributes to the



well-being of peoples around the world and finally the narrative of EU good neighbourliness. After a brief section that details the links between discourses, narratives and political practice, the article will systematically explore the five narratives. The rationale for this endeavour is based on the often huge discrepancy found between the ambitious goals set out in narratives and the poor policy track of the EU in its external relations. Continuous policy and discursive redefinition and reconsideration provide a dynamic context in which goals are renegotiated when political reality deviates from them. A clear pattern of downgrading ambitions when policy outcomes do not match them can be observed in the EU's external relations.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicolaou George

The New Perspective of the European Court of Human Rights on the Effectiveness of Its Judgements
in *Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 31, n. 7-12, 269-274

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stavrakakis Yannis

The People, Populism and Anti-Populism: Greek Political Discourse against the Shadow of the European Crisis
in *Actuel Marx*, N° 54, octobre 2013

The People, Populism and Anti-Populism: Greek Political Discourse against the Shadow of the European Crisis

Populism is back on the agenda. Against the background of traditional populist mobilisations, the last few decades have been marked by an international resurgence of populist phenomena. However the complex language games and political realignments which have developed around “populism” in the context of the global financial crisis add a further complication to the picture. This is particularly the case in Europe, where the crisis has not so far led to the elaboration of institutional alternatives in the arena of mainstream politics. The crisis has however generated a proliferation of new types of “anti-populist” discourse. Thus whereas Latin-American left-wing populism has been instrumental in resisting the implementation of the “Washington consensus” and while the Occupy movement has re-introduced popular demands into public debate in the US, the predominant European responses to the crisis have failed to register the popular factor and have opted for a post-democratic, if not authoritarian orientation. Located at the forefront of these developments, the Greek case reveals the grave dangers which this entails for democracy and for the future of Europe. It also forces us to adopt a more nuanced approach towards the inevitability and even desirability of certain types of populism.

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Abby Innes

The Political Economy of State Capture in Central Europe



in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 88-104

This article demonstrates that most new EU Member States experience serious problems of state capture. It argues that central European states cluster around two dominant modes of party competition. In the first, predominantly ideologically committed elites (Poland, Hungary, Estonia, Slovenia and Estonia) established relatively 'electoral professional' party competitions, only to face deepening fiscal constraints on mainstream ideological competition. Following the collapse of the social democratic left, both Hungary and Poland experienced attempts to reassert political monopoly, i.e., 'party state capture'. In the second group (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Latvia), more entrepreneurial political elites established 'brokerage' party systems, in which public policy remains a side-product of an essentially economic competition. All five states show high levels of 'corporate state capture' in which public power is exercised primarily for private gain. These findings contest the more optimistic expectations of the institutionalist literature on state-building and democratic consolidation.

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Owen Parker & David Toke

The Politics of a Multi-level Citizenship: French Republicanism, Roma Mobility and the EU
in **Global Society**, Volume 27, Issue 3 , 360-378

With the emergence of European Union citizenship as a formal legal category, many scholars from a variety of perspectives have considered its political and normative significance. This article seeks to demonstrate that the enactment of European citizenship through the movement across national borders of EU citizens exposes an inherent but frequently hidden tension within the category of citizenship: namely, in the relationship between mobility and integration. It is, we argue, the exposure of this tension and the concomitant re-politicisation of citizenship via this enactment which is of most ethico-political value in a European citizenship. We make this argument with reference to the politics of a multi-level European citizenship and, in particular, with reference to interactions between a particular nation—France—and the EU on the issue of "Roma" mobility. We argue that while French discourses have tended to interpret mobility and integration as in tension, EU discourses archetypically emphasise the ways in which mobility facilitates integration. That said, EU and national discourses are not easily separable. We demonstrate that each has impacted upon the other and highlight the ways in which this interaction exposes the tension in the mobility–integration relationship and in so doing problematises the meaning and limits of citizenship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Costa Olivier

The President of the European Parliament
in **Filangeri (il) - rivista di diritto pubblico**, Quad. 2012-2013 , 143-164

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ingeborg Tömmel

The Presidents of the European Commission: Transactional or Transforming Leaders?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2013 , 789-805

This article analyzes the leadership of three Commission Presidents: Jacques Delors, Jacques Santer and Romano Prodi. It questions whether these Presidents performed as transactional or transforming leaders – that is, whether they ‘mattered’ as forceful promoters of the European project. Drawing on leadership theory, the article identifies three factors providing opportunities and setting constraints, as decisive for exercising political leadership: the institutional setting, the situational context and the personal qualities of the office holders. It analyzes to what extent these factors, and the interplay among them, shape the leadership of the Commission Presidents, and which of these factors are conditional for the exercise of transforming leadership. It concludes that only Delors was able to act as a transforming leader, whereas Santer and Prodi mainly performed as transactional leaders. These differences are explained by variations in the situational context and the personal qualities of the incumbents and the interplay between all three factors determining political leadership.

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Eriksson Maria

The Prevention of Human Trafficking – Regulating Domestic Criminal Legislation through the European Convention on Human Rights

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 82, issue 3 , 339-368

ABSTRACT: The article displays how human rights law is extending into the sphere of domestic criminal law, as seen through the approach to human trafficking by the European Court of Human Rights. The Court is increasingly demanding the criminalisation of harmful acts to prevent harms and to protect potential victims. The content of domestic laws is also progressively subject to evaluation of the Court, in line with its development of placing positive obligations on states to protect individuals from harm perpetrated by private actors. Human trafficking is an example where the Court has not only found the crime to fall within the ambit of Article 4 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which prohibits slavery, forced labour and servitude, but through case law has concretised various positive obligations for states. These include adopting effective criminal laws that cover the acts included in human trafficking. Such laws must be clear and not open to various interpretations. If the law is similar to that of the Palermo Protocol, it is considered effective. However, it is indicated that other constructions may also reach the required level of effectiveness. It is submitted that the methodology of the Court in delineating state obligations is flawed in that the Court demands effective laws but does not clarify what ‘effectiveness’ entails. The casuistic style of the Court negates its increasingly outspoken goal of developing the rules of the Convention for all Member States. The rather broad margin of appreciation of states in formulating domestic criminal laws conflicts with the demands of ‘effectiveness’ in protection.

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Nathaus Klaus

The Production of Popular Culture in Twentieth-Century Western Europe: Trends in and Perspectives on ‘Europop’

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 20, Issue 5 , 737-754



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tannous Isabelle

The Programming of EU's External Assistance and Development Aid and the Fragile Balance of Power between EEAS and DG DEVCO

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 18, issue 3 , 329-354

ABSTRACT: The Lisbon Treaty left the question of the future organization of the European Union's external assistance and development aid largely unanswered. It was only after its entry into force on 1 December 2009 and with the adaptation of the European External Action Service (EEAS) that a major organizational revision of the EU's foreign aid was set in motion. Development - and in its extension neighbourhood - is now the crucial area of work that straddles both the EEAS and the Commission. This article outlines the dispute over the division of labour of the programming and management cycle and the tools of European external assistance and development aid. The subsequent reorganization of powers between the EEAS, the new DG DEVCO and the up-graded EU Delegations is examined and the general impact of this rearrangement on the future paths of the EU's foreign policy is tackled. The focus lies on strategic planning and programming of EU's main external action instruments for the years 2014-2020: the European Development Fund (EDF), the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI) and the new European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI).

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peter H. Egger, Michael Pfaffermayr

The Pure Effects of European Integration on Intra-EU Core and Periphery Trade

in *World Economy*, volume 36 n.6 , 701-12

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kochenov Dimitry

The Right to Have What Rights? EU Citizenship in Need of Clarification

in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 4 , 502-516

This paper provides a brief critical overview of the recent EU citizenship case-law of the Court of Justice including Rottmann, Ruiz Zambrano, McCarthy and Dereci. While these cases open a number of new avenues of fundamental importance for the development of EU law, they also undermine legal certainty and send contradictory signals as to the essence of the EU citizenship status and the role it ought to play in the system of EU law. Most importantly, the Court's reluctance to specify what is meant by the 'essence of rights' of EU citizenship potentially has disastrous consequences following its own determination that such rights play a crucial role in moving particular factual constellations within the material scope of EU law. The substance and meaning of such rights is however left in suspense to harmful effects. An



urgent clarification is needed.

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Romppanen Seita

The Role and Relevance of Private Actors in EU Biofuel Governance

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 22, Issue 3, Special Issue: Focus on: CITES+40, November , 340-353

This article examines the role of private actors in the implementation of the sustainability criteria for biofuels outlined in the Renewable Energy Directive of the European Union (EU). The article demonstrates that private verifiers' participation is essential for governing greener biofuels in the EU. The article's objective is twofold. First, it analyzes the two methods for the verification of compliance with the biofuels sustainability criteria, focusing on the role of private verifiers. This analysis sheds light on an interface of public and private action that is also an opportune platform for exploring theoretical concepts. Therefore, second, the article examines the relevance of private verifiers' participation in the implementation framework for sustainable biofuels. Drawing on the concepts of European 'new governance' and 'co-regulation', the article shows that involving the private sector in the implementation of a legally binding EU Directive adds certain dynamics and constitutes modern regulatory innovation, but at the same time it makes the implementation framework more complex.

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Gergő Medve-Bálint

The Role of the EU in Shaping FDI Flows to East Central Europe

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 35-51

East Central Europe's (ECE) recent record in accumulating FDI stock is notable even from a global perspective. While most scholarly works downplay the role of the European Union (EU) in this process, this article claims that in an attempt to manage the economic opportunities and threats that ECE posed after the regime change, the EU has actively shaped foreign capital inflows to the region. First, the EU triggered a liberal shift in ECE's FDI policies. Second, after enlargement, the EU has reinforced ECE's locational advantages through its practice of approving most of the incentive schemes offered to foreign investors. While investors mainly coming from the old EU Members began to dominate ECE economies, the region's heavy reliance on FDI has also produced a reverse effect: ECE investments have enhanced the global competitiveness of western European firms. To a certain extent, FDI has therefore transcended the traditional east-west divide.

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Leal-Arcas Rafael

The Role of the European Union and China in Global Climate Change Negotiations: A Critical Analysis



in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 1 , 67-82

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Stéphanie Novak

The Silence of Ministers: Consensus and Blame Avoidance in the Council of the European Union

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1091-1107

According to conventional wisdom, in areas where the Council of the European Union is supposed to decide by qualified majority voting, it does not vote but rather decides 'by consensus'. This article aims to explain why the Council does not vote and what 'consensus' means. Given that consensus is often used by international organizations and EU institutional bodies, it is important to explain how it differs from unanimity. The article argues that formal voting is avoided because it would disclose the identity of opponents and would be detrimental to the negotiation process. Furthermore, ministers tend not to register their opposition even when they remain unsatisfied with an adopted measure because they expect to be blamed by their constituencies for having failed to defend national interests. Consensus is not necessarily used to signal that a general agreement is reached. It sometimes results from a strategy of blame avoidance that conflicts with democratic accountability.

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José Manuel Rueda-Cantuche, Nuno Sousa, Valeria Andreoni, Iñaki Arto

The Single Market as an Engine for Employment through External Trade

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 5, September 2013 , 931-947

This article quantifies for the first time the European employment effects of extra-EU exports and the correct number of jobs generated through the intra-EU trade (single market) associated with the production of such exports. The literature has neglected very often the latter effects mainly due to the lack of an appropriate methodology and data. The main results of the article show that, between 2000 and 2007, an increasing number of European jobs were dependent on extra-EU exports and on the strengthening of the trade linkages across the internal market. During the period considered, the EU employment supported by extra-EU exports grew from 22 to 25 million jobs, out of which 9 million jobs (in 2007) were due to spillover and feedback effects associated with the single market. Between 2000 and 2007 the EU also became a more vertically integrated economy, and reduced the labour intensity of the extra-EU exports.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Schenk Catherine R.

The Sterling Area and Economic Disintegration

in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2013 / 39,2 , 177 - 196

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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DÖŞEMECI MEHMET

The Turkish Drawbridge: European Integration and the Cultural Economics of National Planning in Contemporary European History, vol. 22, n. 4, November , 627-647

This article examines the relations between the Turkish State Planning Organisation (SPO) and the Western economic system during the first two decades of national planning in Turkey (1960–1980). It traces how the SPO, established with the guidance and full endorsement of international economic institutions came to vehemently oppose Turkish participation in one of their pillars: the European Economic Community (EEC), the predecessor of the European Union. It argues that the shift in the SPO's world-view was founded upon two distinct understandings of the Turkish nation and its development, situates these understandings within the intellectual history of Turkey's past ambivalence towards the West, and, in doing so, provides a historical case-study of the ideological clash between modernisation and dependency theories of development.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chamedes Giuliana

The Vatican and the reshaping of the european international order after the first world war in Historical Journal (The), Volume 56 - Issue 04 - December , 955-976

The Vatican is often cast as a marginal player in the reshaping of the European international order after the First World War. Drawing on new archival material, this article argues for a reassessment of the content and consequences of papal diplomacy. It focuses on the years between 1917 and 1929, during which time the Vatican used the tools of international law and state-to-state diplomacy to expand its power in both eastern and western Europe. The Vatican's interwar activism sought to disseminate a new Catholic vision of international affairs, which militated against the separation of church and state, and in many contexts helped undermine the principles of the League of Nations' minority rights regime. Thanks in no small part to the assiduity of individual papal diplomats – who disseminated the new Catholic vision of international affairs by supporting anti-communist political factions – the Vatican was able to claim a more prominent role in European political affairs and lay the legal and discursive foundations for an alternate conception of the European international order, conceived in starkly anti-secular terms.

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Sharon Pardo

The Year that Israel Considered Joining the European Economic Community in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 51, Issue 5, September 2013 , 901-915

The history of Israel–EU relations has received considerable scholarly attention. The conventional starting point for this history is almost invariably April 1958, when Israel became the third country in the world to request the establishment of a diplomatic mission in Brussels. The background and the lead up to that request, however, have been largely



neglected. The article seeks to fill this scholarly lacuna by relating the hitherto untold story of Israel's exploration in 1957 of the possibility of obtaining full economic and political EEC membership. A centrepiece of the article is the revelation of the 1957 clandestine meeting(s) between Shimon Peres, then director general of the Israeli Ministry of Defence and special envoy of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, and Jean Monnet, in which the two discussed possible full Israeli membership in the EEC. The article is based on some newly revealed archival documents and interviews with former high-ranking Israeli officials.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Biroli Pietro, Mourre Gilles, Turrini Alessandro

The adjustment mechanism in the Euro Area

in Intereconomics, Volume 48, Issue 3, May 2013 , 159-166

This paper analyses the adjustment mechanism in the euro area prior to the crisis. Results show that the real exchange rate adjusted to redress cyclical divergences and that after monetary unification, real exchange rate dynamics became less reactive to country-specific shocks but also less persistent. Regulations affecting price and wage nominal flexibility and employment protection play a role in the adjustment mechanism. Indicators of product and labour regulations appear to matter for both the reaction of price competitiveness to cyclical divergences and for the inertia of competitiveness indicators.

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Klůvánková-Oravská Tatiana, Chobotová Veronika, Smolková Eva

The challenges of policy convergence: the Europeanization of biodiversity governance in an enlarging EU

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 3, June , 401-413

With this paper we address the problems of institutional changes in governance and the framing of biodiversity conservation policy at the level of the enlarged European Union (EU). Results are demonstrated from selected examples of institutional adaptation to EU biodiversity policy from five Central and Eastern European countries, characterized by different socialist regimes and different transition processes from hierarchical to democratic and market governance. The theoretical basis of this paper is institutional rebuilding in the context of the emerging multilevel environmental governance of the EU. The paper demonstrates that successful institutional coevolution of EU institutions with preexisting institutions is a precondition for synchronization of biodiversity policies. The emergence of multilevel governance with multiple actors' participation is prone to creating tensions, but evidence from the countries studied indicates that this is not necessarily a disadvantage.

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Anne Rasmussen, Christine Reh

The consequences of concluding codecision early: trilogues and intra-institutional bargaining success

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 20, Issue 7 2013 , 1006-1024



One of the most important changes in the history of codecision has been the steep increase in early agreements since 1999. Early agreements have enhanced the efficiency of European Union legislation, but they have been criticized for giving a subset of actors disproportionate control over the legislative agenda and negotiation process. Yet, no study has systematically shown whether and how early agreements have indeed redistributed influence between actors within the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers. Our contribution fills this gap by comparing actors' bargaining success across readings under codecision in a dataset of salient files. Contrary to our theoretical predictions, we do not find evidence of distributional consequences when controlling for inter-institutional conflict and file characteristics. Where codecision is concluded early, the final legislative outcomes are not located closer to the policy positions held by the party group of the Parliament's rapporteur or by the Council Presidency.

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Vladimir Handl, William E. Paterson

The continuing relevance of Germany's engine for CEE and the EU

in Communist and post-communist studies, Volume 46, Issue 3 , 327-337

The article looks first into the nature of the relations between Germany and the CEE countries a decade since the accession of the CEE countries to the EU. The relations are characterized as normalised and intensive with diverse levels of closeness and co-operation reflecting of the conceptual and ideological compatibility/differences.

Next, the article focuses on the German attitude to the euro zone crisis. Germany has become a hegemon in the rescue effort aimed at stabilisation and economic invigoration of the euro zone. However, German hegemony has developed by default, not by design: her leading position is linked with considerable political and financial costs. Germany moved central stage and took the position of a reluctant hegemon. However, German role is contested internationally (it has not the support of the French government in key areas) as well as internally (particularly by the Federal Constitutional Court and the Bundesbank).

The article argues that the new situation makes the German-CEE relations increasingly relevant for both sides. The German leadership of the EU increasing split along the north-south divide requires backing by the Northern group countries to which the CEE in general belongs. Given a number of reasons the CEE countries implement three distinctive strategies of co-operation with Germany in European politics. Also military co-operation, which remained rather limited so far, may receive new impulses, given the financial austerity.

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Vladimir Handl, William E. Paterson

The continuing relevance of Germany's engine for CEE and the EU

in Communist and post-communist studies, Volume 46, Issue 3 , 327-337

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default, not by design: her leading position is linked with considerable political and financial costs. Germany moved central stage and took the position of a reluctant hegemon. However, German role is contested internationally (it has not the support of the French government in key areas) as well as internally (particularly by the Federal Constitutional Court and the Bundesbank).

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Fratzscher Marcel

**The costs for Germany if the eurozone collapses
in Europe's World, Issue 25, Autumn**

It's not a message that public opinion in Germany wants to hear, says Marcel Fratzscher, but a collapse of the EU's troubled single currency would have devastating economic, financial and political consequences for the eurozone's largest and most successful member.

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/the-costs-for-germany-if-the-eurozone-collapses/>

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Eckhard Hein

**The crisis of finance-dominated capitalism in the euro area, deficiencies in the economic policy architecture,
and deflationary stagnation policies
in Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, volume 36 n.2 , 325-54**

In this paper, the euro crisis is interpreted as the latest episode of the crisis of finance-dominated capitalism. Against this background, the euro crisis and the economic policy reactions of European governments and institutions are examined. It is shown that deflationary stagnation policies have prevailed since 2010 and have meant massive real gross domestic product (GDP) losses and some improvements in price competitiveness of the crisis countries, but considerable and persistent current account imbalances, reductions in government deficit–GDP ratios with continuously rising trends in government gross debt–GDP ratios, a further recession for the euro area as a whole, the risk of deflationary stagnation in major parts of the euro area, and an increasing threat of a final collapse of the euro as a currency. Therefore, an alternative macroeconomic policy approach tackling the basic contradictions of finance-dominated capitalism and the deficiencies of European economic



policy institutions and economic policy strategies, in particular, the lack of an institution convincingly guaranteeing public debt and the lack of a stable and sustainable financing mechanism for acceptable current account imbalances, is outline

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christopher Lord

The democratic legitimacy of codecision

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 7 2013 , 1056-1073

This contribution develops a framework for evaluating the legitimacy of codecision. It uses democratic theory to clarify the role of legislative procedures in securing the legitimacy of political systems. It shows how that role requires public control with political equality and public justification. It uses that standard to show how legislative agenda-setting, Council voting weights, European Parliament elections and seat apportionments, national parliamentary scrutiny, justificatory practices, and control of judicial and administrative rule-making all affect the legitimacy of codecision. Overall the contribution concludes that the legitimacy of codecision is part of a predicament that can only be managed, not solved.

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Wojciech Gagattek and Steven Van Hecke

The development of European political foundations and their role in strengthening Europarties

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 49, Issue 1 , 86-104

In recent years, one of the most interesting and potentially promising developments in European Union (EU) party politics has been the establishment of European political foundations. At the time of writing, no less than 12 European political foundations are active in Brussels and beyond, and the total EU grant available to them for 2012 amounted to almost 12 million euro. However, very little is known as to how exactly these European political foundations perform their tasks. Taking stock of the first five years of their operation, this article analyses European political foundations empirically and comparatively, based on the study of primary resources and a number of semi-structured interviews, alongside existing research. The central questions concern the purposes European political foundations serve and the nature of their relationship with Europarties. From a theoretical perspective, this article addresses the issue of the development of European political foundations within the wider debate on EU party politics, and offers a number of insights regarding the actual and potential role of European political foundations in strengthening Europarties.

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Rory Costello, Robert Thomson

The distribution of power among EU institutions: who wins under codecision and why?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 7 2013 , 1025-1039

The codecision procedure was designed to change the distribution of power among the European Union (EU)



institutions. In theory, the codecision procedure, at least the amended version introduced by the Amsterdam Treaty that came into effect in 1999, weakened the Commission and placed the Parliament on an equal footing with the Council. We assess how the codecision procedure works in practice using data on the preferences of legislative actors on a large number of proposals negotiated between 1999 and 2009. We also test theoretical propositions derived from Schelling regarding the effects of policy agreement within each chamber on the relative bargaining success of the Council and EP. Our findings suggest that, in comparison to the consultation procedure, codecision has strengthened the EP and weakened the Commission. However, the Council holds certain bargaining advantages over the EP, and as a result the EP has not achieved parity with the Council under codecision.

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Borrell Josep

The driving force of the next great leap forward in European integration will be the need to face global competition for power and influence

in *Europe's World*, Issue 25, Autumn

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/the-driving-force-of-the-next-great-leap-forward-in-european-integration-will-be-the-need-to-face-global-competition-for-power-and-influence/#.UovzpnBg-rM>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pouponneau Florent

The dynamics of the European Union in the international system. The European policy towards the Iranian nuclear program

in *Politique européenne*, n. 41, 2013/3, 118-142

By analyzing the European policy on the 'Iranian nuclear crisis' and examining the transatlantic relations on this issue, this article explores the position of the European Union in the international system. The study highlights the role of leading states in the European foreign policy process and the recurrent distance from the U.S sanctions policy against Iran. Rather than conceiving of it as an instrument or as an autonomous actor, we suggest that the European Union can be useful considered as an arena where actions are transformed in order to understand how its specific dynamics shape international politics.

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Elena A. Korosteleva, Michal Naturski & Licinia Simão

The eastern dimension of the European neighbourhood policy: practices, instruments and social structures
in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 29, Issue 3, , 257-272

The European Union (EU) continually searches for more effective policy towards its eastern neighbours, which is reflected in the ongoing adaptation of its existing approaches, discourses and policy strategies to the new challenges of its external environment. In order to understand the complexity and limitations of the EU framework under the European



neighbourhood policy and the eastern partnership initiative – that is, to consider the interface between policy instruments, institutional structures and multiple agents – one needs to adopt an original analytical perspective of practices to comprehensively assess the policies' outcomes. With this in mind, this issue sets to discern patterns of social practices between the EU and its eastern neighbours, and examine how these relations guide agents' interactions in various policy areas. This introduction outlines the theoretical framework synergising the three fundamental concepts – of practices, policy instruments and social structures – that have predicated research for this issue. It also outlines the structure and main arguments of the individual case-studies which inform the issue's conceptual framework.

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Frank M. Häge & Daniel Naurin

The effect of codecision on Council decision-making: informalization, politicization and power in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 7 2013 , 953-971

Little is known about the effects of the inter-institutional linkages created through the establishment of the codecision procedure on decision-making in the Council of the European Union. After a review of the existing literature and theories on this topic, we examine to what extent the codecision procedure leads to more involvement of ministers in Council decision-making and to a more powerful position of the Presidency in the internal negotiation process of the Council. The results show that the initially positive effect of codecision on the politicization of Council decision-making has been offset in recent years by a growing lack of transparency in inter-institutional proceedings caused by the use of informal dialogue negotiations to conclude the procedure early. However, our study also suggests that the country holding the Presidency does not occupy a more privileged position in the Council's internal co-operation network as a result of these developments. Thus, with respect to the Council, informal inter-institutional negotiation practices seem to decrease the transparency of the decision-making process and the accountability of the actors involved, but they may not have as adverse an effect on who gets what in terms of policy as previously thought.

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Rasmussen Anne, Toshkov Dimiter

The effect of stakeholder involvement on legislative duration: Consultation of external actors and legislative duration in the European Union in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 14, n. 3, September , 366-387

Despite the increased use of stakeholder consultations, little is known about their impact on the legislative process. We examine how consultation of external actors during policy preparation affects decision-making duration and efficiency. We test our predictions on EU legislative decision-making and we find that although stakeholder consultations in policy preparation may increase the democratic legitimacy of decision-making, they result in efficiency losses in the subsequent legislative processes. Hence, rather than smoothing the way for quick legislative reconciliation, consultations increase the transaction costs of subsequent bargaining by prolonging the time needed to form the necessary coalitions and reach legislative deals. However, despite the proliferation of different tools for involving external actors, we find no differences in legislative speed between open and restricted consultations.



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Rennuy Nicolas

The emergence of a parallel system of social security coordination

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 5 , 1221-1266

ABSTRACT: The ECJ grants migrant citizens an increasingly wide access to the social security schemes of Member States lacking competence. This line of case law is conceptualized as creating a parallel system of social security coordination. Its foundations lie in the doctrine of pre-emption and the case law on Union citizenship, both of which remodel the constitutional relationship between the free movement provisions of the TFEU on the one hand, and, on the other, secondary EU legislation (in particular Regulations 1408/71 and 883/2004) and national law. The system adds a layer of social security protection for migrants under the legislation of Member States with which they have a privileged connection. As a corollary, it imposes additional duties upon these States, which until recently were entirely free of social security responsibilities. The uncertain position of the employer generates a tension between the freedom to provide services and the free movement of workers.

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Lucía Moralesa, Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan

The euro area sovereign debt crisis: Can contagion spread from the periphery to the core?

in **International Review of Economics and Finance**, volume 30 , 78-100

We examine the determinants of joint default risk of euro area countries during 2007–2011. To accomplish this, we recover joint default probabilities from individual CDS contracts. In contrast to earlier theoretical studies, we find that financial linkages are an active contagion transmission channel only in the case of the troubled periphery euro area economies. During the current sovereign debt crisis, real economy linkages play a more important role in transmitting shocks from the euro area periphery towards its core. Countries that have stronger trade interconnections with troubled economies tend to have a higher expected joint default risk.

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Boyer Robert

The euro crisis: undetected by conventional economics, favoured by nationally focused polity

in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 37 Issue 3 May 2013 , 533-569

This article interprets the initial success of the launch of the euro and its 'muddling through' since the outbreak of the Greek sovereign debt crisis. Two interrelated processes interacted to deliver a quite complex idiosyncratic systemic crisis. First, new classical macroeconomics had diffused the belief that market economies are structurally stable, money is neutral, financial markets are efficient and that the only culprit is public finance. The euro crisis was thus inaccurately diagnosed. Second, in the political arena, monetary integration has been used by many governments as a justification for liberalisation reforms opposed by various domestic social groups. At the European level, most governments have been defending national interests, whereas the European Commission and European Parliament had lost most of their expertise and legitimacy in defending a common community in line euro ambitions. Crisis resolution calls for leadership



from a key collective actor, to return coherence to the eurozone's institutional setting.

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Chrysogelos Angelos-Stylianos

The evolution of the 'populist potential' in European politics: from new right radicalism to anti-system populism in European View, vol. 12, n. 1, June, 75-83

Over the past 30 years, responding to different international, political and economic circumstances, populists have formed, preserved, nurtured and expanded a political identity that is today present in most political systems in Europe. This identity constitutes a 'populist potential', in the sense that it is non-ideological and that it wavers between electoral abstention and support for anti-system parties. This article provides a historical overview of the ideological and sociological evolution of the populist identity in Europe and reviews the ways parties of the centre-right have dealt with it in the past. Its conclusion is that practices like coalition building and theme co-optation are not so easy to deploy today, given the non-ideological and anti-system nature of the populist potential.

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Csáki Csaba, Jámbor Attila

The impact of EU accession: lessons from the agriculture of the new member states in Post communist economies, Volume 25, Issue 3, 2013, 325-342

In 2004 and 2007 12 new member states (NMS) joined the European Union, which has offered several possibilities and challenges to the newcomers. The aim of this article is to assess the impact of EU accession on new member states' agriculture as well as to identify those factors lying behind different country performance. Results suggest that EU accession has had a significant impact on NMS agriculture, although member states capitalised their opportunities in different ways, due to initial conditions and pre- and post-accession policies.

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Benjamin von dem Berge and Thomas Poguntke

The influence of Europarties on Central and Eastern European partner parties: a theoretical and analytical model
in **European Political Science**, Volume 5 - Issue 02, 311-334

This article provides a comprehensive theoretical model for analysing the influence of European party federations (Europarties) on their Central and Eastern European (CEE) partner parties. It draws on the concepts of Europeanization and party change and is, in principle, applicable to similar processes of party enlargement elsewhere. In the process of their Eastern enlargement, Europarties have searched for suitable CEE partner parties on which they have tried to exert influence. Thus far, little is known about the precise mechanisms involved and the actual impact of these processes. We argue that Europarty influence leads to party change on the side of the CEE partners, which brings about 'West-Europeanization'. Europarties are expected to apply a double strategy that consists of a process of political



exchange based on a largely asymmetric power relationship in favour of Europarties and a socialization strategy in which Europarties try to socialize their partners and convince them of the appropriateness of change. We present the theoretical and analytical tools for the analysis of the arguably largest extension of transnational party organizations, which provides ample testing ground for more general theories on party change. Furthermore, we present preliminary empirical evidence on the two most important cases, namely the European People's Party and the Party of European Socialists, which indicates that Europarties played an important role in the development of CEE parties and party systems in general.

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Benjamin Pohl

**The logic underpinning EU crisis management operations
in *European Security*, Volume 22, Issue 3 , 307-325**

The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) epitomises the EU's aspirations to be a key actor in global security. The logic underlying the policy, however, remains contentious. In order to elucidate the latter, this article compares the plausibility of different theoretical frameworks. It suggests that liberal IR theory offers considerable explanatory power in this respect, and argues that the decisive forces behind CSDP operations are governmental interests as defined by domestic expectations. European governments' shared interest lies in being perceived to effectively further national interests and domestically held values. Yet, this preoccupation with domestic politics also entails and explains CSDP's often-noted inconsistencies and constraints.

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Bourblanc Magalie, Crabbé Ann, Lieferink Duncan, Wiering Mark

**The marathon of the hare and the tortoise: implementing the EU Water Framework Directive
in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 56, Issue 10 , 1449-1467**

Reading the available evidence on the implementation of the European Water Framework Directive (WFD), one gets the impression that some countries anticipate implementation problems by starting off pragmatically and with relatively low ambitions, while others make a quick and ambitious start and tend to slow down in later phases of the process. Inspired by Lundqvist's classical study of air pollution policy in the USA and Sweden, we assess the importance of some general characteristics of the respective political-institutional systems to explain differences in WFD implementation in four EU countries: Denmark, France, England/Wales and the Netherlands. We conclude, among other things, that visibility of the policy process, accountability of politicians and policy makers vis-à-vis their stakeholders and the EU, division of responsibilities for policy formulation vs. implementation and the involvement of the public explain the level of ambition in EU implementation to a considerable extent. Thus, the Lundqvist variables turn out to be useful for both classifying and explaining differences in EU implementation processes.

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Daniel Finke and Andreas Fleig



The merits of adding complexity: non-separable preferences in spatial models of European Union politics
in *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, Volume 25, n. 4, October , 546-575

This paper challenges the assumption of separable preferences that has been applied throughout the existing empirical research on European Union (EU) legislative politics. Yet our analysis reveals that non-separable preferences are in fact a widespread phenomenon in EU politics. In many cases actors' spending preferences are conditional upon the expected policy outcome, but not vice versa. In order to appropriately model such non-reciprocity, we propose a simple modification to the standard Euclidean utility function. Applying simulation techniques, we demonstrate that overlooking non-separable preferences may have caused a substantial bias in the empirical evaluation of competing models of EU legislative politics. Specifically, models that constrain the set of feasible outcomes to either the Winsset and/or the core must rely on a correct specification of actors' utility functions. Therefore, a false assumption of core separable preferences significantly disadvantages these models vis-à-vis unconstrained models. Moreover, our findings underline the agenda-setting power of the European Commission for proposals that involve either a spending decision or the delegation of power from the national to the European level.

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Delibašić; Ivan

The need for a new European identity?

in *European View* , vol. 12, n. 2, December , 299-306

European identity has often been regarded as a potential source of common identification for the peoples of Europe. As such, it has been compared with other supranational identities and deemed to fail. This article proposes a different perception of European identity, as a cultural convergence and individual identification rather than the nineteenth-century conception of national identity. It scrutinises two failed attempts to create supranational identities and explores the potential for a European approximation. The article concludes that student exchange programmes and labour mobility contribute to a broader understanding of the shared elements of European cultures and that multilingualism could be an effective surrogate for a common language.

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Richard G Whitman

The neo-normative turn in theorising the EU's international presence

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48 (2) , 171-193

Introduced by Ian Manners in an article published in 2002, the idea of 'normative power Europe' has been very widely debated by scholars in the fields of European studies and international relations. This article marks the first decade of scholarship on normative power Europe through a critical engagement with the concept, its influence and the wider normative turn within the literature on the European Union's role beyond its borders. The article reviews the strands of literature that have drawn on the concept of normative power and outlines the contours of the international debate on the concept. It provides an assessment of the impact of normative power and its application through the variety of ways it has been used via engagement, reaction and counter-reaction.



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Beukers Thomas

The new ECB and its relationship with the eurozone Member States: Between central bank independence and central bank intervention

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 6 , 1579-1620

ABSTRACT: The financial and sovereign debt crisis has had a great impact on the relationship between the European Central Bank (ECB) and the Member States of the Eurozone, a relationship traditionally studied from the perspective of central bank independence. This article takes a different perspective on that relationship, namely that of central bank intervention in Member State economic policy making. It focuses on the pressure and influence exercised by the ECB on the Member States of the eurozone. The two perspectives combined reveal the nature of the ever more frequent and intense interaction between the ECB and the Member States of the eurozone.

In the crisis, several different forms can be identified of ECB pressure on eurozone Member States to adopt reforms in the areas of fiscal policy and structural reforms, marking a shift from interaction to central bank intervention. This ECB intervention is parallel to an equally unprecedented intervention by the collective of eurozone Member States in the economic policy of several Member States through the economic policy conditionality linked to financial assistance. The article analyses several instances of ECB intervention, offers an explanation and a theoretical framework for normatively assessing it.

The main risk identified for the ECB in this article is that of being perceived as a political or politicized actor, although it is acknowledged that the ECB is confronted with a difficult balancing act. The ECB should be more cautious in its approach, the further an issue is from its core mandate of securing price stability.

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Gabrisch Hubert, Kämpfe Martina

The new EU countries and euro adoption

in **Intereconomics**, Volume 48, Issue 3, May 2013 , 180-186

In the new member states of the EU which have not yet adopted the euro, previous adoption strategies have come under scrutiny. The spillovers and contagion from the global financial crisis revealed a new threat to the countries' real convergence goal, namely considerable vulnerability to the transmission of financial instability to the real economy. This paper demonstrates the existence of extreme risks for real convergence and argues in favour of a new adoption strategy which does not announce a target date for the currency changeover and which allows for more flexible and countercyclical monetary, fiscal and wage policies.

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Jager Jennifer, Hafner Kurt A.



The optimum currency area theory and the EMU

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 5, September 2013 , 315-322

The eurozone crisis has revealed certain shortcomings of the EMU, such as its vulnerability to asymmetric shocks and its inability to act as predicted by the theory of optimum currency areas. Although the share of intra-EU trade has increased since the introduction of the euro, dissimilarities in economic structure combined with high degrees of industrial specialisation have increased the EMU's vulnerability to asymmetric shocks. Moreover, the lack of labour mobility or a transfer payment system limits the EMU's crisis adjustment capabilities. However, most of the implemented and proposed stabilisation measures seek to remedy this vulnerability by promoting economic integration, further fiscal discipline and debt redemption.

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Daniel Innerarity Grau

The political innovation of the European Union

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 48 , 51-72

No abstract available

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Poletti Arlo, De Bièvre Dirk

The political science of European trade policy: A literature review with a research outlook

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 12, n. 1, january , 101-119

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucie Cerna & Meng-Hsuan Chou

The regional dimension in the global competition for talent: Lessons from framing the European Scientific Visa and Blue Card

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 1 2014 , 76-95

To examine the role of regional co-operation in the global race for top foreign talent, we study how the Lisbon Strategy's implementation contributed to these efforts. Specifically, we analyse the Scientific Visa and the Blue Card, two European Union (EU) legislations for attracting the 'best and brightest' from abroad. Official figures tell us that the number of highly skilled migrants recruited so far is low and, following an inductive logic, we parse out the 'value-added' of regional collaboration beyond legislative co-ordination. Taking as our departure point Borrás and Radaelli's (2011) concept of the Lisbon Strategy as 'governance architecture', we apply the framing approach to show how the Scientific Visa and Blue Card framed labour migration differently: as initiatives for 'mobile excellence' and 'border management' respectively. Our findings reveal that they contributed to the Lisbon Strategy's evolution as a process of 'conversion' and point to the



'value-added' of regional co-operation as a 'sense-making'

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Benjamin Kienzle

The role of ideas in EU responses to international crises: Comparing the cases of Iraq and Iran in Cooperation and Conflict, 48 (3) , 424-443

his article examines how cognitive and normative ideas influence the ability of the European Union (EU) to formulate common policies in response to international crises such as the 2002–2003 Iraq crisis and the Iranian nuclear crisis (since 2002). It argues that in crisis situations, i.e. in highly uncertain circumstances, ideas often become the principal guide for policy-makers. More specifically, ideas foster interpretations of a crisis along several core themes: above all, how the crisis issue is perceived, which means are deemed to be legitimate and/or effective and, depending on the particular crisis, how other relevant themes are seen, e.g. the appropriate relationship with the United States. Thus, the formulation of common EU crisis response depends on the convergence of these interpretations in Member States – as in the Iran crisis. On the contrary, if Member States' interpretations diverge beyond a common 'ideational space' – as in the case of Iraq – dissonance will be the probable outcome.

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Annabelle Littoz-Monnet

The role of independent regulators in policy making: Venue-shopping and framing strategies in the EU regulation of old wives cures

in European Journal of Political Research, Volume 53, Issue 1 , 1-17

This article addresses debates on the formulation of public policy, building upon a body of literature which has focused on the interconnectedness between the venues of policy action and the way issues are defined. It does so by focusing on the strategic role of policy actors in a policy subfield and their attempts at manipulating either frames or venues in order to shape policy. The novelty here consists in pointing to the involvement of regulators in such strategic action. An emerging body of research has indeed shown that the activity of formally independent regulators is not necessarily limited to the implementation of delegated regulatory competencies and that they are increasingly engaged in policy-making activities. Thus, by resorting to the agenda-setting and framing literature, the article sheds light on novel pathways through which regulators intervene in policy-making activities, making a claim that they have very good 'tools' at their disposal in order to shape policy. These dynamics are examined in the case of the last piece of the EU's pharmaceutical framework – the 2004 Directive on Traditional Herbal Medicines – which provoked intense debate among manufacturers of herbals, retailers, consumers, and both EU-level and domestic-level regulatory authorities.

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Risteska Marija

The role of the EU in promoting good governance in Macedonia: towards efficiency and effectiveness or deliberative democracy?



in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 41, Issue 3, 2013 , 431-446

Abstract

Good governance has been used as a development tool by international organizations and the European Union (hereinafter: EU) which has included it in cooperation agreements and promotes it within its Enlargement Policy. This paper analyzes the good governance approach in the EU's relations with Macedonia and its effects on the country's democratic policy making. The analysis shows that the Europeanization of Macedonia has an impact on the democratic processes in the country with sub-optimal results as its technocratic approach in assessing the country's readiness for EU membership has proved to be detrimental for the deliberative democratic processes. The intensive pressure for effectiveness and efficiency results in finding short cuts in rule transfer through copying and pasting legislation from member states and limiting the democratic policy making to political deliberation rather than to wide policy consultations between state and non-state actors.

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Stephan Keukeleire & Kolja Raube

The security–development nexus and securitization in the EU's policies towards developing countries

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 26, Issue 3 , 556-572

This article assesses how and to what extent the European Union (EU) uses a security perspective to define and shape its relationship with the developing world. In order to evaluate the EU's development policy and its relations with developing countries we link the concept of 'security–development nexus' with the concept of 'securitization'. The article examines whether securitization can be observed with regard to four dimensions: discourse, policy instruments, policy actions and institutional framework. The analysis demonstrates a securitization of the EU's development policy and its relations with developing countries, particularly in Africa. However, paradoxically, the securitization's extent and nature suggest that the EU can also use it as a way to avoid a more direct involvement in conflict areas.

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Jozef Bátora

The 'Mitrailleuse Effect': The EEAS as an Interstitial Organization and the Dynamics of Innovation in Diplomacy

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2013 , 598-613

This article argues that the European External Action Service (EEAS) could be conceptualized as an interstitial organization – that is, an organization emerging in interstices between various organizational fields and recombining physical, informational, financial, legal and legitimacy resources stemming from organizations belonging to these different organizational fields. This interstitial status creates a situation in which there are different and sometimes conflicting organizational principles and practices introduced within the organization of the EEAS and different and sometimes conflicting sets of expectations in relation to the Service from actors within the organization as well as from outside. Based on empirical data collected in interviews with EEAS officials and study of official documents in 2011 and



2012, the article documents the interstitial nature of the EEAS. In broader terms, the emergence of the EEAS hence provides a fertile ground for studying patterns of institutional innovation in organizational fields via the establishment of interstitial organizations.

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Mariniello Triestino

The 'Nuremberg Clause' and Beyond: Legality Principle and Sources of International Criminal Law in the European Court's Jurisprudence

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 82, issue 2 , 221-248

ABSTRACT: References & citations (0) Supplements (0) Legislative acts or constitutional courts' decisions allowing the prosecution of alleged perpetrators of international crimes committed in the past continue to attribute to the legality principle a central role within domestic criminal proceedings or complaints before the European Court of Human Rights. This article assesses the evolution of the recent jurisprudence of the Strasbourg Court, which in the 2008 *Korbely* and *Kononov* cases for the first time extended the standards of the legality principle over war crimes and crimes against humanity. It examines the rationale for this development, which constitutes an attempt by the Court to restore a proper balance between substantive justice and individual protection, by ascertaining whether domestic convictions were consistent with the qualitative elements of the legality principle, such as accessibility and foreseeability. Through a detailed analysis of the European jurisprudence, the article argues that, although the new approach of the Court entails in abstracto a strengthening of individual safeguards from the arbitrariness of state power, the meaningful protection of the legality principle may be in concreto significantly narrow. The reasons for such a result are two-pronged: first, the Court seems to provide an interpretation of past law which radically diverged from the interpretation of the law in place in the legal system at the material time of the events; second, the international sources accepted by the Court as a valid basis for the applicants' convictions – pursuant to the standards of the legality principle – were intended to create obligations only upon states, rather than individuals.

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Curli Barbara

The 'vincolo europeo', Italian Privatization and the European Commission in the 1990s

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 2 , 285-302

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sebastian Rosato

Theory and Evidence in Europe United: A Response to My Critics

in *Security Studies*, Volume 22, Issue 4 , 802-820

No abstract available



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Christian Rauh and Gerald Schneider

There is No such Thing as a Free Open Sky: Financial Markets and the Struggle over European Competences in International Air Transport

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1124-1140

Aviation is a prime example of a policy area where the clash over supranational regulatory responsibilities had pronounced economic repercussions. In this article, we examine the economic effects of the European Commission's struggle to obtain competences in international air transport. Stock market reactions to key events in the political conflict between 1995 and 2004 unravel whether investor beliefs about the distribution of power in the EU follow the basic conjectures of neofunctionalism, intergovernmentalism or institutionalism. The event studies show that particularly judicial proceedings and the involvement of the ECJ send credible integration signals to financial markets. This supports the hypothesis that investors consider the subtleties of the EU's decision-making apparatus carefully and only react to developments that definitively alter the political regime and thus also the market situation. These findings are in line with an institutionalist interpretation of a reform that has radically changed the international aviation regime.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mariano Rajoy

Think Like Europeans

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 3, July , 26-33

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jungar Ann-Cathrine

Three Nordic Power Investigations on the Repercussions of the European Union on Sovereignty and Democracy

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 21, issue 3 , 372-381

ABSTRACT: Public inquiries into the state of democracy and power were undertaken in three Scandinavian states—Norway, Denmark and Sweden—on the threshold of the twenty-first century. The parliamentary directives identified globalization and, above all, the effects of European integration as the main challenges to popular rule in these three small democracies. The Scandinavian power investigations arrived at different conclusions about the impact of European integration on national sovereignty and on the distribution of power in the respective societies, and each country saw their problem differently. The Swedish report acknowledged minor difficulty with regard to the distribution of power; the Norwegian investigation concluded on a bleak note; whereas the Danish conclusion was affirmative and was self-conscious of being a European role model. The article attributes national differences to different normative conceptions of sovereignty and to the historical and institutional character of the three states' relationship with the EU.



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Ben Rosamond

Three Ways of Speaking Europe to the World: Markets, Peace, Cosmopolitan Duty and the EU's Normative Power

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Volume 16, Issue 1 , 133–148

This article—a sympathetic critique of the literature on ‘Normative Power Europe’—observes that the rationales for EU external action, while understandable in terms of the concept of ‘normative power’, emerge from a variety of overlapping and potentially contradictory liberal arguments. For the purposes of the argument, these liberalisms are organised into three ideal types: market liberalism, the pursuit of peace through liberal means and the ethic of cosmopolitan duty. The article suggests that while it is possible to associate different domains of EU external action with different varieties of liberal discourse, it is often more appropriate to see these policy domains as sites of struggle, negotiation and (perhaps) reconciliation between competing liberal projects.

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Palacio Ana

To mitigate the effects of relative decline we will need increasingly to act in concert and speak with one voice in Europe's World, Issue 25, Autumn

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/to-mitigate-the-effects-of-relative-decline-we-will-need-increasingly-to-act-in-concert-and-speak-with-one-voice/#.UovwOXBg-rM>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Henig Stanley

Tony Blair

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XII, n. 32, "Integrazione europea: il passato di un'illusione?", ottobre

The author aims to analyse the mutable relationship between Tony Blair's New Labour political project and Europe. Blair – who was the first prime minister from the post-war generation – seemed to put to an end the traditional divisions of the labourites, defining a new approach to European integration far more positive than that of any previous British government, with the exception of Edward Heath's. Blair recognized the need to work with other member states, and in his first term in office he was more than happy to take a lead on a range of policy areas, from defence to economic reform, the most important of which was the Franco-British Saint Malo declaration. Nevertheless, the party remained divided over key issues such as the single currency and the Constitutional Treaty. The increasingly hostile relationship between Blair and Brown, as well as the changing international relations after 9/11, changed Blair's commitment and have not put an end to Britain's image as the “awkward partner”.



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Austermann Frauke

Towards One Voice in Beijing? The Role of the EU's Diplomatic Representation in China Over Time
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 18, n. 1 , 83-102

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Martins Verónica

Towards a Europeanisation of French Mediterranean Politics?
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 368, 2013/2 , 223-240

The analysis of the Europeanisation of the French Mediterranean Politics is the main focus in this article where we also deal with the dynamics of the Franco-German couple in foreign policy. By looking simultaneously to the bilateral relations through three Presidents of the Republic and to the French policy for the Mediterranean at the European level, it is possible to notice that the two dimensions co-exist and that French foreign policy has fallen into a 'path dependency,' particularly visible as far as the Maghreb is concerned whereas the policy towards Turkey seems to be improving. There is a Europeanisation in both directions: from a 'bottom-up' perspective, France has appeared to be mainly a 'policy shaper' and a 'policy supporter'; and, from a 'top down' direction through 'absorption' where the European logic, driven by Germany, has countered the projects of 're-francisation' of the European policy.

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Yuko Suda

Transatlantic Politics of Data Transfer: Extraterritoriality, Counter-Extraterritoriality and Counter-Terrorism
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2013 , 772-788

Transatlantic co-operation and conflict over air passenger information, financial transactions records and maritime container security illustrate the European Union's reaction to the transboundary assertion of US counter-terrorism regulation in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11. A close examination of the cases suggests that the EU-US agreements on the transfer and use of PNR and SWIFT data were made to safeguard the integrity of the EU data protection regime and more importantly the European norm of data privacy from the undermining effects that might arise from the extraterritorial exercise of authority by the United States.

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Philip McCann, Raquel Ortega-Argilés

Transforming European regional policy: a results-driven agenda and smart specialization



in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 29 n.2 , 405-31

The paper examines the nature, rationale, and logic of the reforms to EU Cohesion Policy. A particular focus of the paper is on the concept of smart specialization and the use of this concept to help facilitate a results-oriented policy agenda. On the one hand, the arguments underpinning the reforms in part relate to modern thinking regarding the role of industrial policy. On the other hand, they also partly relate to advances in our understanding of the relationships between economic geography, technology, and institutions. At the same time, the specific features of the EU context also heavily influence the nature and logic of the changes, whereby legal and institutional matters linking Cohesion Policy to other EU policies all play an important role.

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Mogens Hobolth & Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen

Transgovernmental networks in the European Union: improving compliance effectively?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 10 2013 , 1406-1424

The application of European Union (EU) rules is, in general, the responsibility of national executives. This key intergovernmental aspect of the EU's administrative order makes compliance with supranational law vulnerable to distortion. However, the European executive has added important fire-alarm oversight mechanisms by means of transgovernmental networks (TGNs) to its toolbox. This article examines the work mode, horizontalness and effectiveness of such networks as newer governance tools to oversee and monitor the compliance with EU law. It draws on a unique dataset on the Solvit network, enabling us to examine effectiveness and variation of a transgovernmental network in operation. The article substantiates the relevance of TGNs in identifying and solving manifold and complex problems of misapplied EU law, finds that the Commission constitutes a focal point in this type of multilevel executive and points out that learning in part explains why effectiveness varies across member states.

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Natalia Timu

Transnational Party Europeanization: EPP and Ukrainian parties

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 49, Issue 1 , 51-70

The article investigates the Europeanization of party politics by examining the accession of national parties to Europarties as a process of European regional integration. The advanced theoretical framework combines International Relations and Comparative Politics approaches and analyzes the dialectic relationship between the European People's Party (EPP) and Ukrainian domestic parties based on a systemic analysis of party manifestos and official documents, as well as discourse analysis. The study argues that the EPP has a direct, though weak, influence on aspiring Ukrainian members because of the low incentives, low degree of clarity of membership requirements and context-specific factors. In these circumstances, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung represents an informal channel for the Europeanization of Ukrainian center-right parties. A main finding is that despite the low size of material incentives and the lack of EU membership, both Ukrainian parties and the EPP engage in transnational cooperation following political incentives and ideational arguments.



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Zbigniew Hillebrandt Maarten , Curtin Deirdre, Meijer Albert

Transparency in the EU Council of Ministers: An Institutional Analysis

in *European law journal*, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 1–20

The development of access to documents and open meetings provisions by the Council of Ministers of the European Union shows an interesting pattern: before 1992 no formal transparency provisions existed, between 1992 and 2006 formal transparency provisions dramatically increased, and since 2006 this increase has come to a halt. This paper aims to enhance our understanding of these shifts by conducting a historical institutional analysis of policy change. As explanatory factors, we consider the preferences and power resources of Member States, as well as external catalysts and social structures. We conclude that the current revision deadlock is more stable than the situation before 1992 because now the pro-transparency coalition and transparency-sceptic Council majority have entrenched their positions. Nevertheless, and in spite of Council entrenchment, we expect that Council transparency will continue to develop in the longer term, under the pressure of increasingly influential outside actors, particularly the European Parliament.

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Alexander B. Murphy

Trapped in the Logic of the Modern State System? European Integration in the Wake of the Financial Crisis

in *Geopolitics*, Volume 18, Issue 3 , 705-723

In the wake of the Single European Act of the mid-1980s and a series of follow-on initiatives aimed at fostering greater integration in Europe, a number of commentators began describing Europe as a truly novel political-territorial arrangement. By the middle of the 1990s, however, the adoption of a common currency came to dominate the European integration agenda. The embrace of monetary union reflected a view of European integration that was firmly embedded in the logic of the modern territorial state system. That logic led many commentators to view the success or failure of integration in terms of the degree to which powers were being transferred from state governmental and economic institutions to the central decision-making bodies of the European Union. Such an approach cast the EU as a super-state rather than as a new type of political-institutional entity. As a result, the integration project was less subversive of the state system than it might otherwise have been – bolstering the view of the European Union as a distant bureaucracy not adequately attuned to the needs of everyday Europeans and fueling nationalist sentiments: a social force with deep roots in the modernist territorial order. Moving the European integration process forward will likely require embracing conceptions of progress that are less tethered to modernist territorial ideas and assumptions.

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Michele Salvati

Troppe regole, nessun governo. Un ragionamento realistico sul futuro dell'euro e dell'Europa

in *Mulino (il)*, n.4 , 567-576



No abstract available

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Ferguson Yale H.

Turkey and the EU: A Changed Context

in *European Review*, Volume 21 - Issue 03 , 362 - 371

In 2005 the European Union (EU) began formally to negotiate Turkey's application to become a full member. Today, the EU is a very different organization, Turkey has also experienced major changes, and the Arab Spring has dramatically impacted the Middle East. In sum, there is a changed context for the evolving relationship between Turkey and the EU. This article explains that context and concludes that, for the foreseeable future, Turkey is unlikely to become a full EU member, although close ties with respect to economic matters and immigration will persist.

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Adrienne Héritier

Twenty years of legislative codecision in the European Union: experience and implications

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 7 2013 , 1074-1082

Twenty years of practising codecision offers a welcome opportunity to pause and consider the structures, processes and policy impacts arising from this procedure and allows for a fine-grained analysis of the operation of codecision and its effects upon the various institutional actors. More specifically, it allows us to examine whether the European Parliament's (EP) role as a co-equal legislator has affected policy outcomes and patterns of democratic legitimacy within the wider political system of the European Union (EU). The editors of this collection are to be congratulated for collecting research results which differ greatly in their empirical focus and in the theories and methodologies used. They subject the diverse contributions to a set of common, important questions, i.e., how has the introduction of codecision affected political decision-making in the EU and to what extent has codecision contributed to a strengthening of the democratic legitimacy of EU decision-making?

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Alberto Quadrio Curzio

Un bilancio comunitario sempre più difficile

in *Mulino (il)*, n.3 , 469-478

No abstract available

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Chevalier Fabien

Un budget européen contre l'Europe

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 571, septembre , 472-473

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Robin Gabriel

Un concept en quête de substance : la défense européenne (mars 1995)

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été

No abstract available

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Nicolas Badalassi

Un continent, deux visions. La France, les États-Unis et le processus d'Helsinki

in *Relations internationales*, n°154 , 107-123

Two models of East-West détente dominated the West during the late 1960s and the early 1970s. While the United States gave priority to a military détente and negotiated measures of arms limitation with Moscow, France favoured political, economic and cultural détente, as Paris thought it was the only way to facilitate the overcoming of the bipolar order. According to President Georges Pompidou, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was a good opportunity to implement Gaullist principles of « détente, entente, cooperation » and to work on European reunification by fighting the US–USSR hegemony. Whereas Washington was at first not interested in the CSCE, the events of 1973-1974 convinced Henry Kissinger that the United States could also benefit from the Helsinki process.

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Villani Ugo

Una rilettura della sentenza Van Gend en Loos dopo cinquant'anni

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VIII, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 225-238

This article examines the famous judgment of the Court of Justice of the European Communities of 3 February 1963 in the case Van Gend en Loos, which established the foundations of the European legal order. After recalling the precedents of this judgment the author dwells upon the declaration of the Court according to which the Community constitutes a new legal order of international law for the benefit of which Member States have limited their sovereign rights and the subjects of which are not only these States, but also their nationals. According to this construction Community law provisions can directly confer upon individuals rights which national courts must protect. Moreover the article considers the question relating to the scope of jurisdiction of the Court, as well as the contribution of judgment Van Gend en Loos



to the subsequent developments concerning the supremacy of Community law over national law.

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Antonio Padoa-Schioppa

Una struttura costituzionale per l'Europa

in *Mulino (il)*, n.6

No abstract available

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Rik de Ruiter

Under the radar? National parliaments and the ordinary legislative procedure in the European Union

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 8 2013 , 1196-1212

Abstract

This study aims to bring together insights from scholars working on the ordinary legislative procedure with research on national parliaments and European Union (EU) affairs. It is assumed that members of national parliaments – when choosing directives in negotiation at the EU level in need of scrutiny – are confronted with variation in information processing costs, as well as in benefits in terms of policy influence and votes. Hypotheses are formulated on how the cost–benefit calculus can influence the scrutiny of directives agreed upon through the ordinary legislative procedure. An analysis of parliamentary activity in the Dutch and British lower houses on 293 directives indicates that directives which are longer in negotiation at the EU level, on which explanatory memoranda are published, receive media attention and are concluded without informal trilogues in second/third reading, are more scrutinized.

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Chavagneux Christian

Une Europe malade de l'Allemagne

in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 60, 2013/4 , 5

Les élections européennes qui s'annoncent devraient malheureusement voir progresser les partis à tendance nationaliste, et pas seulement en France. L'Allemagne a sa part de responsabilité dans cette dégradation du climat politique. En instaurant pour seul projet européen l'austérité budgétaire généralisée et le refus de la dette publique, le gouvernement de Mme Merkel suscite le rejet

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Lelong Gilles

Une réponse de l'UE aux contraintes budgétaires nationales



in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 764, Novembre

Une solution pour surmonter les conséquences en matière militaire des temps de disette budgétaire des États-membres de l'Union européenne serait l'acquisition, la détention et la gestion par celle-ci de capacités de défense. Cet article en explore les conditions, les contraintes et les avantages.

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Barthalay Bernard

Une souveraineté fédérale pour la zone euro. De la gestion intergouvernementale de la crise aux États-Unis d'Europe

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 368, 2013/2 , 167-188

From a survey of the recent evolution of Europe, marked by the individual and collective powerlessness of the states, the author advocates a new vision of the European structures, between republic and international association of states, organised through a federalism based upon meta-national state and lateral power.

However, the crisis calls for more than a mere structural federal approach, to take into account the links between Europe and the European democracy. Thus, the author puts forward a 'new deal' based upon a European social contract, released from the ordoliberal approach, in order to establish new values of economic solidarity and of financial and environmental sustainability. Therefore, the article advances the definition of a new capitalism of stakeholders, as a market economy where the state could play its necessary role, able to create a wish for unity.

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Bienvenu Hélène, Gobert Sébastien

Une structure de soutien mutuel

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juillet

C'est en février 1991, lors d'un sommet entre la Hongrie, la Pologne et la Tchécoslovaquie dans la citadelle médiévale de Visegrád (Hongrie), qu'est né le groupe de Visegrád (V4).

Initialement conçu comme une structure de soutien mutuel pour l'intégration européenne d'une région fraîchement affranchie de la tutelle soviétique, le groupe a survécu à l'adhésion des quatre pays à l'OTAN

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Max Stephenson Jr.

Unforeseen and Unaccounted: the European Union, the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland, peacebuilding, and accountability

in *European Security*, Volume 22, Issue 3 , 326-337

This article examines the case of the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland's (CFNI) experience as a primary



recipient of peacebuilding aid from the European Union (EU) under the Special EU Programmes Body Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland (SEUPB-EUSSPPR). The case serves as a lens into the tensions that such efforts create for community-based organizations as they seek both to honor their funder's accountability claims and their own needs to ensure legitimacy and efficacy with those with whom they interact so as to secure space and discretion to seek to catalyze social experimentation and learning. This paper argues the Foundation's experience and frustrations with EU accountability claims point up a difficulty with the SEUPB's comprehensive conceptualization of peacebuilding: It tends in practice to favor Union-prescribed aims and objectives over those its 'partners' derive from their daily efforts.

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Gellermann Uli

Union der Feigheit

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, August, 2013

Zwölf Stunden saß der bolivianische Präsident Evo Morales im EU-Knast, weil die Vereinigten Staaten glaubten, Edward Snowden befinde sich an Bord seiner Maschine. Gegen jedes Völkerrecht verweigerten europäische Vasallen-Staaten dem Bolivianer den Überflug, durchsuchten Beamte des österreichischen Duodez-Staates kühn dessen Flugzeug nach jenem Mann, der den Europäern die Wahrheit über ihren Rang offenbarte: Objekte der unerträglichen Spitzelei der USA und des mit ihr verbündeten Großbritanniens zu sein, dem sie kurz zuvor mal wieder einen Preisnachlass auf die EU-Mitgliedschaft gegeben hatten.

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Huber Peter M.

Unionsbürgerschaft

in *Europarecht*, Heft 6, 2013

No abstract available

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Ingo Schmidt

Unmaking Neoliberal Europe: Capitalist Crisis and the Search for Alternatives

in *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, Vol. 12, n°1-2, 41-62

The first part of this article situates the Euro-crisis in the larger context of the world economic crisis 2008/9 and then looks at the imbalances between creditor and debtor countries within the Euro-zone. These imbalances predate the introduction of the Euro, but sharpened massively since the start of European Monetary Union. These imbalances are the economic core of the Euro-crisis. The second part of the article looks at economic policies and argues that the



austerity measures prescribed by the EU Commission, European Central Bank, and International Monetary Fund (IMF) deepened the economic crisis and led to the outbreak of an already looming crisis of legitimacy in the Euro-zone and the EU at large. This latter crisis fosters economic nationalism and thus impedes any kind of EU-level response to the Euro-crisis.

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Julia Langbein

Unpacking the Russian and EU Impact on Policy Change in the Eastern Neighbourhood: The Case of Ukraine's Telecommunications and Food Safety

in Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 65, Issue 4 , 631-657

Russia is usually considered as being obstructive to European integration in the EU's Eastern neighbourhood, while the EU is portrayed as being the key promoter of convergence with EU rules. Thus, strong economic dependence on Russia and EU active leverage should account for cross-policy variation in convergence with EU rules. By comparing convergence in Ukraine's telecommunications and food safety regulations, I show that active leverage exerted by Western European multinationals rather than by the EU accounts for divergent outcomes. Further, Russia's 'bad guy' image does not hold if we stop treating Russia as a unitary actor but distinguish between passive and active leverage exerted by Russian government policies, the Russian market and Russian multinationals investing in the Eastern neighbourhood countries on domestic policy choices.

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Langbein Julia

Unpacking the Russian and EU Impact on Policy Change in the Eastern Neighbourhood: The Case of Ukraine's Telecommunications and Food Safety

in Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 65, n. 4, Special Issue: Explaining Policy Change in the European Union's Eastern Neighbourhood , 631-657

Russia is usually considered as being obstructive to European integration in the EU's Eastern neighbourhood, while the EU is portrayed as being the key promoter of convergence with EU rules. Thus, strong economic dependence on Russia and EU active leverage should account for cross-policy variation in convergence with EU rules. By comparing convergence in Ukraine's telecommunications and food safety regulations, I show that active leverage exerted by Western European multinationals rather than by the EU accounts for divergent outcomes. Further, Russia's 'bad guy' image does not hold if we stop treating Russia as a unitary actor but distinguish between passive and active leverage exerted by Russian government policies, the Russian market and Russian multinationals investing in the Eastern neighbourhood countries on domestic policy choices.

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Graziano Paolo R.

Usages et européanisation. De l'influence multiforme de l'Union européenne sur les réformes des systèmes



nationaux de protection sociale

in *Politique européenne*, n. 40, 2013/2, 94-118

The more recent literature on the transformation of national welfare systems has demonstrated that the European Union is an important variable to take into account in order to understand domestic reforms. Our aim is to analyse more precisely the political mechanisms thanks to which the EU plays a part in the social policy changes of its member States. We argue that in order to understand how the EU influence social policy reforms at the domestic level, it is necessary to look at the usages of European resources and constraints by national actors and to focus on how they transform them in political opportunities. We show that Europe contributes to change national welfare systems, making them more « employment-friendly ». However, this change does not result from a direct pressure on national government, but rather from the availability of different resources that national actors can (or not) use in order to follow their interest and attain their aims. By using these resources, including negatively, they participate to the incorporation of ideas and norms defined at the EU level into the national debate and policy process, thus contributing to the Europeanisation of domestic welfare reforms.

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Broberg Morten, Fenger Niels

Variations in Member States' Preliminary References to the Court of Justice—Are Structural Factors (Part of) the Explanation?

in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 4, 488–501

The preliminary reference procedure in Article 267 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), which enables national courts to request the Court of Justice to provide a ruling on the interpretation or validity of an EU legal act, is widely considered to be the jewel in the crown of EU law. When considering the number of references from different Member States, it will become immediately apparent that there are considerable variations. This article examines to what extent these variations may be explained by three structural factors, namely (1) population size, (2) willingness to litigate and (3) Member State compliance with EU law. It is concluded that some—but not all—of the variations in number of references from Member State judiciaries may be attributed to structural factors rather than being merely a reflection of different Member State courts' willingness to make use of Article 267 TFEU on such references (the so-called behavioural factors).

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de La Maisonneuve Éric

Vers le « Grand Large »

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 764, Novembre

Depuis la fin de la guerre froide, il n'y a pas d'autre horizon stratégique possible pour la France que la priorité donnée à la sécurité de l'Europe. Faute de pouvoir développer une politique militaire commune aux pays européens, sans craindre pour la sécurité intérieure et la sauvegarde de la population, c'est à une politique du Grand Large qu'appelle



l'auteur pour y défendre les intérêts du pays.

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Schwed Pierre, Bagnouls Henri

Vers une défense européenne (octobre 1984)

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 762, Été , Supplément numérique

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gialdino Carlo Curti

Verso la presidenza italiana del Consiglio dell'Unione europea

in *Federalismi*, Anno XI - Nr 22

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Fisahn Andreas

Vier Jahre Merkel, vier Jahre Eurokrise

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, September, 2013 , 9-12

Aus europäischer Sicht bedeuten vier Jahre Regierung Merkel vor allem eines: vier Jahre Krise. Ironischerweise fielen der Beginn der Legislaturperiode und der Beginn der Eurokrise fast zusammen. Das Fazit nach vier Jahren von Angela Merkel dominierter Krisenpolitik: Der neoliberale Weg der Bundesregierung zu einem europäischen Wettbewerbseuropa samt autoritärer Brüsseler Wirtschaftsregierung scheint sich durchzusetzen – zum Schaden Europas.

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Giovannelli Adriano

Vincoli europei e decisione di bilancio

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 4, , 933-972

No abstract available



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Praïnsack Ines Elise, Vodanović Andrea

Vital for democracy, but do they realise it? Europe's youth and the 2014 elections

in European View , vol. 12, n. 1, June , 85-94

In this article, we first highlight the recent trends of voter turnout for European elections and analyse whether or not young people care about these elections. Then we discuss the role and potential influence of social media on elections and their results. Finally, we outline why an investment in youth will 'pay off', as one could compare it with the relationship between a bank and its customers (even though banks are not the most popular objects nowadays, but then neither are politicians). If I open an account at a bank when I am young, I get good offers and good service; the bank looks after my interest, and it is likely that I will stay at this bank for the rest of my life. The same could be true for political parties: they invest in young people, who might become the voters and leaders of the party in the future.

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Streeck Wolfgang

Vom DM-Nationalismus zum Euro-Patriotismus? Eine Replik auf Jürger Habermas

in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, September, 2013 , 75-92

In seiner Rezension meines Buches „Gekaufte Zeit“ diagnostiziert Jürgen Habermas bei mir „nostalgische“ Gefühle für den guten alten Nationalstaat.[1] Eigentlich hätte klar erkannt werden können, dass es mir nicht um den Nationalstaat als solchen geht, sondern um die demokratischen Institutionen, die er, und immer noch nur er, allen postdemokratischen Bemühungen zum Trotz denjenigen zur Verfügung stellt, die sich dem supranational organisierten Vormarsch des Neoliberalismus entgegenstellen wollen. Warum das eine „nostalgische Option“ sein soll, entzieht sich meinem Verständnis.

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Siepmann Marcel

Vom Nutzen und Nachteil europäischer Geschichtsbilder

in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 42-43, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/170168/vom-nutzen-und-nachteil-europaeischer-geschichtsbilder>

Welche Geschichten erzählt man sich von Europa? Mit dieser Frage setzen sich Bürgerinnen und Bürger, Politikerinnen und Politiker, Lehrerinnen und Lehrer, Schülerinnen und Schüler sowie Historikerinnen und Historiker an den Universitäten und in Geschichtswerkstätten immer wieder auseinander. Einer der vielleicht spannendsten Versuche kann gerade in Brüssel beobachtet werden, wo bis Ende 2015 ein "Haus der europäischen Geschichte" entstehen soll.



Dort, so versprechen uns seine Macher, soll eine Plattform entstehen "for exchange about European history and the history of the European Union"...

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Kasperek Bernd

Von Schengen nach Lampedusa, Ceuta und Piräus: Grenzpolitiken der Europäischen Union
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 47, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/172382/von-schengen-nach-lampedusa-ceuta-und-piraeus-grenzpolitiken-der-europaeischen-union>

Die Tragödie, die sich in der Nacht auf den 3. Oktober 2013 vor der italienischen Insel Lampedusa im Mittelmeer zugetragen hat, holte mit aller Macht ein Thema zurück in die öffentliche Debatte, das seit vielen Jahren immer wieder auftaucht, aber ebenso schnell wieder verschwindet: das Sterben an Europas Grenzen. Ein Schiff mit bis zu 500 Flüchtlingen, das zwölf Stunden vorher in Libyen aufgebrochen war, erlitt Schiffbruch und kenterte. Nur rund 150 Menschen konnten gerettet werden. Leider, so muss hinzugefügt werden, ist dieses Drama keineswegs ein Einzelfall, auch wenn es sich diesmal um besonders viele Tote handelte. Gerade rund um die Insel Lampedusa, die weit südlich im Mittelmeer liegt, südlicher als Malta und nahe der nordafrikanischen Küste, ereignen sich regelmäßig Schiffsunglücke, bei denen Flüchtlinge zu Tode kommen. Auch an anderen Orten an der Außengrenze der Europäischen Union kommt es immer wieder zu Dramen. So versuchten Mitte September 2013 Flüchtlinge von Marokko aus in die spanischen Exklaven Ceuta und Melilla vorzudringen. Die beiden Städte umgibt die einzige Landgrenze zwischen Afrika und der EU; sie waren schon 2005 – und seitdem immer wieder – Orte, an denen es zum "Sturm"[1] auf die Grenzen Europas kam. Nach den Ereignissen von 2005, die in Europa einen starken medialen Widerhall fanden, wurden rund um die Städte die Grenzanlagen verstärkt, die Grenzzäune auf sechs Meter erhöht und durch Stacheldraht, Kameras und Bewegungsmelder ergänzt, jedoch offensichtlich ohne abschreckenden Effekt. Auch die griechisch-türkische Grenze, sowohl die Landgrenze im Norden als auch die Seegrenze zwischen der türkischen Küste und den griechischen Ägäis-Inseln, die an manchen Stellen nur durch wenige Kilometer Meer getrennt werden, sind Orte, an denen Flüchtlinge versuchen, die Grenze zur EU zu Fuß oder per Boot zu überwinden. Auch dort kommt es immer wieder zu Todesfällen und zu illegalen Zurückweisungen von Flüchtlingen...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Linda Gonçalves Veiga

Voting functions in the EU-15
in *Public Choice*, volume 157 n.3-4 , 411-28

This paper examines whether the European integration process, by transferring policy instruments to supra-national



authorities, has affected voters' evaluations of governments' economic performance at elections. The analysis is implemented on a panel of 15 EU countries, from 1970 to 2011. Results suggest that before the Maastricht Treaty, citizens held incumbents responsible for GDP growth and for the evolution of inflation, particularly when measured relative to the EU average. After the Maastricht Treaty, there was a significant reduction in the impact of economic variables, especially inflation, on electoral outcomes. During the current economic crisis the capacity to control the budget deficit appears to be the main determinant of incumbents' vote shares.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chevallard Giancarlo

Wastes and Deficiencies. A Survey on the Cost of Non-Europe in Defence in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVI, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/borderless-debate/item/846-wastes-and-deficiencies-a-survey-on-the-cost-of-non-europe-in-defence>

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Chevallard Giancarlo

Wastes and Deficiencies. A Survey on the Cost of Non-Europe in Defence in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVI, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/borderless-debate/item/846-wastes-and-deficiencies-a-survey-on-the-cost-of-non-europe-in-defence>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christoph M. Schmidt, Benjamin Weigert

Weathering the crisis and beyond: perspectives for the Euro area in International Tax and Public Finance, volume 20 n.4 , 564-95

The Euro area is experiencing a severe and highly complex crisis. It comprises three problem areas: the difficulties of some highly indebted European sovereigns to ascertain funding at palatable cost, the disconcerting fragility of the European banking system and disappointing growth prospects in the Euro area periphery. To make matters even worse, these problems have developed into a systemic crisis of the European Monetary Union (EMU), since observers have apparently developed fundamental doubts over its integrity. To overcome this systemic crisis, it would not be sufficient, if only the stronger Euro area economies provided more solidarity, nor would it be sufficient, if only all of Europe adhered to ironclad budgetary discipline from now on. A European Redemption Pact could be a strong political commitment to the EMU and offer a bridge between the proponents of fiscal discipline and structural reform and those governments advocating more support. This pact would entail two indispensable aspects, the codification of a credible and coherent reform path and a temporary and limited instrument for joint refinancing.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Helgesen Jan Erik

What Are the Limits to the Evolutive Interpretation of the European Convention on Human Rights?
in **Human Rights Law Journal**, vol. 31, n. 7-12 , 275-280

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Derviş Kemal

What Europe will look like in 25 years may well be determined earlier. Let's fast forward to March 2017
in **Europe's World**, Issue 25, Autumn

<http://europesworld.org/2013/10/01/what-europe-will-look-like-in-25-years-may-well-be-determined-earlier-lets-fast-forward-to-march-2017/#.Uov1T3Bg-rM>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spolaore Enrico

What Is European Integration Really About? A Political Guide for Economists
in **Journal of Economic Perspectives**, Vol. 27 No. 3, Summer 2013 , 125-144

Europe's monetary union is part of a broader process of integration that started in the aftermath of World War II. In this "political guide for economists," we look at the creation of the euro within the bigger picture of European integration. How and why were European institutions established? What is European integration really about? We address these questions from a political-economy perspective, building on ideas and results from the economic literature on the formation of states and political unions. Specifically, we look at the motivations, assumptions, and limitations of the European strategy initiated by Jean Monnet and his collaborators of partially integrating policy functions in a few areas with the expectation that more integration will follow in other areas in a sort of chain reaction toward an "ever-closer union." The euro with its current problems is a child of that strategy and its limits.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alexander Somek

What is Political Union?
in **German Law Journal**, vol. 14, issue 5 , 561-580

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saskia Bonjour and Maarten Vink

When Europeanization backfires: The normalization of European migration politics

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 48, Issue 4 , 389-407

This article investigates the impact of European cooperation on the dynamics of domestic policymaking in the field of migration policy. While European migration policy has gradually communitarized since the Amsterdam Treaty, member state governments have not yet fully caught up with the new reality. This is also reflected in a state of the art that, in contrast with the developing European Union (EU) studies literature at large, is still dominated by intergovernmentalist analyses, which assume that member states have full control over the integration process. The article zooms in on the Family Reunification Directive of 2003 and its domestic political impact in the Netherlands. The Dutch case illustrates that the realities of EU migration politics are increasingly at odds with intergovernmentalist assumptions and that it is high time for scholars of migration politics to broaden their theoretical perspective.

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Philip Lynch and Richard Whitaker

Where There is Discord, Can They Bring Harmony? Managing Intra-party Dissent on European Integration in the Conservative Party

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Volume 15, Issue 3 , 317–339

Divisions on European integration were prominent in the Conservative Party in the 1990s, but abated in opposition. In this period, the party became more cohesive in terms of attitudes on Europe as it embraced soft Euroscepticism. However, differences over the desired scale and pace of changes to Britain's relationship with the European Union saw dissent increase as the party entered coalition government with the Liberal Democrats. This article examines the effectiveness of various approaches to management of dissent on Europe utilised by the party leadership: intervention in candidate selection; patronage and discipline; permitting limited dissent; policy compromise and deferred decisions; pledging referendums; and agenda setting and issue salience. It shows that intra-party divisions on European integration are particularly difficult to manage and suggests that dissent on the issue may often be higher in governing parties than those in opposition.

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Sarmiento Daniel

Who's afraid of the Charter? The Court of Justice, national courts and the new framework of fundamental rights protection in Europe

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 5 , 1267-1304

ABSTRACT: The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union has forced the European Court of Justice and its national counterparts to face a series of difficult and principled questions: Who is the ultimate interpreter of



fundamental rights in Europe? Which standard of protection is to be given priority? How does the Charter bind Member States when applying EU Law? This article argues that the first seminal decisions of the European Court of Justice on the matter, in particular the judgments in *AkerbergFransson* and *Melloni*, have set the ground for a new framework of fundamental rights protection in the European Union. However, this framework does not depend on the sole authority of the Luxembourg court, but on a complex system of checks and balances that will demand complicity and commitment on the part of national supreme and constitutional courts.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Urs Steiner Brandt, Gert Tinggaard Svendsen

Why does bureaucratic corruption occur in the EU?

in Public Choice, volume 157 n.3-4 , 585-599

Why does bureaucratic corruption occur in the EU system? Several examples suggest that bureaucratic corruption exists and that the Commission's anti-fraud agency, OLAF, is not a fully independent authority. We thus develop a novel interpretation of the principal-supervisor-agent model to cope with non-independent anti-fraud units. This model shows that corruption is likely to occur when the expected value to the client from bribing the agent is larger than the expected value to the principal of truth-telling by the supervisor. Overall, this analysis points to the risks of flawed incentives and the lack of institutional independence among principal, agent, supervisor and client. Our main policy recommendations as a result of these findings are that OLAF should be placed outside the Commission, and that whistleblowers should receive adequate protection.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vandenbroucke Frank

Why we need a European social union

in Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique, Tome LII, 2013/2-3 , 97-112

Arguments on "social Europe" need to give an unequivocal answer to questions of why, what, and how. With regard to the question of why, I argue that, whereas ten years ago the quest for an operational description of the European social model might have been dismissed as interesting but not strictly necessary, today it is no less than an existential conundrum for the Union. EMU must be complemented with a genuine European Social Union, for it to be sustainable in the long term. A Social Union means that the EU would guide the substantive development of national welfare states, via general social standards and objectives, leaving ways and means of social policy to Member States. That presupposes a sufficient degree of consensus on the goals of social policy. It also requires pan-European solidarity based on reciprocity in the relationships between the Member States. With regard to the question of what, I briefly sketch some elements of the ensuing social agenda, with a focus on the notion of social investment. I also identify some of the urgencies in respect of the how, particularly the need to restore the unity between economic and social policy, and between short and long-term objectives, and how this would relate to the 'contractual approach' proposed by the President of the Council, Herman Van Rompuy.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sotirios Zartaloudis

Wielding Soft Power in a World of Neglect: The Europeanization of Greek and Portuguese Public Employment Services

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1178-1195

The Europeanization literature has extensively examined the influence of the European employment strategy (EES) on Member States' employment policies. However, two least-likely cases – Greece and Portugal – have been neglected in the literature. This article focuses on the activation of public employment services (PES), which has been one of the key elements of the EES. Based on a sample of 44 semi-structured interviews and primary and secondary document research on seven reform episodes during 1995–2009, it finds that the EES altered Greek and Portuguese employment policies by empowering policy entrepreneurs and, when the latter were absent, through European Social Fund financial conditionality. While the literature considers policy learning as the chief EES-Europeanization mechanism, little evidence is found herein to support such an explanation. The findings may be relevant for a number of EU policies based on voluntarism and EU funds, such as the new flagship EU initiative Europe 2020.

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Aydin Umut, Kirişçi Kemal

With or Without the EU: Europeanisation of Asylum and Competition Policies in Turkey

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 18, Issue 3 , 375-395

Despite growing pessimism in Turkey regarding EU membership negotiations, domestic reforms in a number of policy areas such as asylum and competition policy have continued and have brought Turkish legislation closer to the European Union (EU) *acquis*. What explains the continuation of costly reforms in the absence of credible membership prospects in EU candidate countries? We argue for a model of Europeanisation that in addition to policymakers' cost-benefit calculations takes into account whether there is a policy misfit or a vacuum, the role of domestic social actors, and the influence of international institutions and transnational networks beyond the EU.

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Antonin Céline

Zone euro : le calice de l'austérité jusqu'à la lie

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/3 (N° 129) , 59-99

Despite new hopes raised during the second semester of 2012, the Euro area is not yet out of recession. It has been following an economic strategy aiming at reducing budget deficits but hampering growth prospects. Budgets for 2013 have already been adopted by parliaments and lead to further consolidation, thereby maintaining the Euro area in recession. GDP will indeed fall by 0.4% in 2013. Consolidation will slow down in 2014 as more countries reach the 3% threshold for deficits. Growth will be back in the Euro area (0.9%), but it will be insufficient to lower unemployment. Besides, the balance of risks will remain on the downside as deflationary pressures intensify in the wake of the situation in Spain or Greece.



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Rodríguez Ortiz Francisco

Zone euro: des ègles de stabilité budgétaire nécessaires... non exemptes d'irrationalité économique

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 573, décembre , 618-626

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tausendpfund Markus

Zustimmung von Kommunalpolitikern zur weiteren europäischen Integration

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 3, 2013

Public support for European integration: an empirical analysis of local politicians

Within the discussion on stability and further development of the European Union the attitude of local politicians has not been paid a lot of attention so far. This is surprise for two reasons. On the one hand the EU has a great impact on the local area. On the other hand local politicians should help to explain decisions of the EU. More than 700 local politicians from 28 municipalities have been interviewed for the empirical analyses. The following conclusions can be drawn from the analysis: First, local politicians support the European Union. Second, the support varies between the municipalities. Third, support for the EU depends on both the contextual and the individual level although effects of the latter are more prevalent.

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Heinemann Friedrich

Zwischen »Kernschmelze« und »Fass ohne Boden« – zum Dissens deutscher Ökonomen in der Schuldenkrise

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 60, Heft 2, 2013

Between »meltdown« and »money sink« – the debt crisis controversy of German economists

Summary

As it was the case prior to the Euro introduction, German economists are again deeply split in their analyses and policy recommendations on the future of the European currency. The specter of opinions ranges from a decided rejection of all credit facilities combined with the plea in favor of a dissolution of the euro area up to proposals for further reaching mutual guarantees of euro area member countries. This contribution sheds light on prominent contributions to this debate and analyzes the causes for the dissent. It identifies as decisive different views with respect to the following aspects: the adjustment possibilities within a currency union, the extent of moral hazard effects, the effectiveness of rules, the existence of self-enforcing downward spirals and the cost of government defaults. The analysis hints towards the existing research needs and identifies important weaknesses in both argumentations.



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Busby Amy

'Bursting the Brussels Bubble': Using Ethnography to Explore the European Parliament as a Transnational Political Field

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 2, Special Issue: Europe, Discourse, and Institutions: Challenging the Mainstream in European Studies, 203-222

This article explores what ethnography can tell us about the practice of politics inside the European Parliament (EP). It responds to calls from within the discipline for a more sociological approach to the EU institutions and research which makes the real world of politics visible. The paper argues that an ethnographic methodology coupled with a Bourdieusian theoretical framework enables deeper exploration of the everyday practice of politics by individual MEPs and therefore a more nuanced understanding of political behaviour within this institutional context. First, it identifies the gap to which it hopes to contribute, discusses the growing sociological literature of the EU, and introduces ethnography. Then it discusses Bourdieu's structural constructivism and outlines relevant thinking tools, with particular reference to Adler-Nissen's work. The paper then applies the theoretical framework to data gathered through ethnographic fieldwork and elite interviews, aiming to open up the black-box and illuminate practices occurring inside. The EP is conceptualised as a transnational political field with a system of positions and power relations, where doxa operates beneath a habitus of dispositions, and where actors employ their position and capital in strategies to influence what is at stake in the game.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martin Benjamin George

'European Literature' in the Nazi New Order: The Cultural Politics of the European Writers' Union, 1941–3

in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 48, n. 3, July

This article examines the European Writers' Union, founded by Nazi Germany with representatives of 15 nations in October 1941, in the context of the history of the idea of European literature. It argues that this institution was a serious effort to re-order the international literary field into a European form, designed to help legitimate Nazi Germany's New Order Europe and to establish the cultural hegemony which German elites believed they alone deserved. Aware that what Pierre Bourdieu calls the 'literary field' had its own rules, the Nazis sought at Weimar to legitimate their bid to reorder European literary life by highlighting Germany's literary capital and by playing on the tensions within the interwar understanding of the concept of European literature. In this way, the European Writers' Union marked a historically significant intervention into the contested and high-stakes issue of what 'European literature' was. Drawing on work by scholars of comparative literature and cultural sociology, this article sets the Writers' Union in the transnational history of the literary field in twentieth-century Europe in order to interpret the rhetorical, ideological and practical strategies of what could be called the 'soft power' of Nazi Empire.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michael Blauburger, Moritz Weiss

'If you can't beat me, join me!' How the Commission pushed and pulled member states into legislating defence procurement

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 8 2013, 1120-1138

The smooth adoption of the European Union (EU) defence procurement directive in 2009 is puzzling, because member states had fiercely opposed legislation for the sensitive defence-industrial sector before. We argue that the Commission's strategic usage of judicial politics changed member states' opportunity structure and, by this, transformed a blocking majority of member states into legislative consensus. As it drew on new case law, the Commission pushed member states and threatened to leave the regulation of defence procurement uncontrolled to the European Court of Justice (ECJ). In parallel, it promised member states to restore legal certainty and political control if they would approve EU legislation on defence procurement. Following a process-tracing logic, we compare the failed Commission initiatives until 2005 with the adoption of the directive in 2009. Finally, the available evidence is checked against alternative explanations.

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Ana E. Juncos, Karolina Pomorska

'In the face of adversity': explaining the attitudes of EEAS officials vis-à-vis the new service

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 9 2013, 1332-1349

The establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS) by the Lisbon Treaty was preceded by time-consuming negotiations about the composition, organization, budget and accountability of the service. In spite of the negative views among EEAS officials concerning the actual implementation of the reforms, they displayed a surprisingly positive attitude towards the new organization and identified strongly with it. This contribution aims to explain this empirical puzzle by drawing on two different approaches to attitude formation: one based on material calculations and another one on socio-psychological factors. It shows that a narrow understanding of rationality based on short-term career-related calculations cannot account for the support that the EEAS garnered among its ranks since a majority of officials reported a negative impact in terms of careers prospects. An explanation of positive attitudes towards the EEAS thus needs to take into account a broader conception of 'career prospects', including other indicators such as reputation and job satisfaction. Moreover, this contribution shows how a strong identification with the European Union (EU) and a desire to make EU foreign policy work might also explain why officials profess strong support for the EEAS.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Parr Helen

'The Nuclear Myth': Edward Heath, Europe, and the International Politics of Anglo-French Nuclear Co-Operation 1970–3

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 35, Issue 3, 534-555

This article examines the course of Edward Heath's initiative to seek Anglo-French nuclear co-operation, 1970–3. It focuses on the deliberations in Whitehall, and the high-level international politics among Britain, the United States, and



France. It does so to bring to light the negligible progress made in nuclear matters between Britain and France, and to comment on the place of nuclear diplomacy within wider British policy towards Europe, France, and the United States. It also examines Britain's policy in an international context. The development of US nuclear co-operation with France trumped anything Britain could offer. While it appears compelling that the 1973 'Year of Europe' broke apart Anglo-French agreement, British and French nuclear strategies reflected broader national political trajectories in the cold war, and agreement between them was always extremely unlikely. The failure to generate nuclear co-operation between Britain and France also prompts some comment on the difficulties leaders faced in implementing 'grand designs'.

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Bellofiore Riccardo

'Two or three things I know about her': Europe in the global crisis and heterodox economics
in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 37 Issue 3 May 2013 , 497-512

Europe is in the middle of an economic and social storm. Although the turmoil since the mid-2008 originated elsewhere, the European dynamics may turn the Great Recession into a full-blown Great Depression. Within this dynamics, the faulty design of the 'single currency' is a key element, together with the neomercantilist fracture dividing the 'core' of Northern Europe and the 'periphery', mostly composed of Southern European countries. The paper gives a quick reminder of what the true nature of the global crisis is (Section 2). The neoliberal Great Moderation was a paradoxical kind of financial and 'privatised Keynesianism'. The heart of the Anglo-Saxon model has been the overcoming of the stagnationist tendencies emerging from 'traumatised workers' thanks to the transformation of 'manic savers' into 'indebted consumers'. I will then (Section 3) dissect the peculiarities of the neomercantilist export-led posture. The eventual establishment of the euro as the 'single currency' was in stark discontinuity with the Maastricht Treaty originating from the Delors Commission (Section 4). The real puzzle is to understand how the euro actually came into being from such fragile foundations, and also why for many years it seemed a happy experiment. The institutional setting of the eurozone and the German self-defeating obsession for fiscal austerity decisively drove the area into a double-dip recession. A way out of the crisis (Section 5) requires not only monetary reforms and expansionary coordinated fiscal measures, but also a wholesale change of economic model. This latter must be built upon a new 'engine' of demand and growth. A monetary finance of 'good' deficits is called for realising a radicalised 'socialisation of the investment': a class and Keynesian new deal.

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Alasdair R Young & John Peterson

'We care about you, but ...': the politics of EU trade policy and development
in **Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Volume 26, Issue 3 , 497-518

The European Union (EU) is one of the most important markets for developing countries, and trade policy has long been one of its most important instruments for promoting development. There is, however, a paradox at the heart of the relationship between the EU's trade policy and development. On the one hand the EU's trade as development policy has undergone a paradigm shift, the objective shifting from supporting the former colonies of the EU's member states to addressing poverty and with a greater emphasis on reciprocal liberalization. On the other hand, the EU's conventional trade policy initiatives—particularly its market access objectives in the Doha Round and in commercially motivated



bilateral trade agreements—have adverse consequences

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M. R. Freire & L. Simão

“From words to deeds”: European Union democracy promotion in Armenia

in **Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics**, Volume 29, Issue 2 , 175-189

This article analyses the European Union (EU)'s engagement in Armenia through policy frameworks (mainly the Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership) and practices, focusing on the correspondence between words and actions in democracy promotion. The article argues that the EU's role in democracy promotion in Armenia has provided grounds for fundamental improvements, but has also been facing several constraints, which result both from the relationships that are developed with local actors in Armenia and the two-way inter-connections that result from these, as well as the regional context where EU engagement is focused, which goes beyond Armenia to include transnational dynamics in the South Caucasus. The article builds on the authors' extensive field research in Armenia and on the analysis of important documents framing EU–Armenia relations in order to deconstruct the narratives and processes that underlie policy definition, as well as the mismatch between wording and implementation. This analysis aims to shed light on the EU's role in democracy promotion in Armenia in the context of its possibilities and limitations.

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Duchenne Geneviève

«L'éblouissement des incertitudes». Représentations belges de la réunification allemande à travers De Standaard et Le Soir, automne 1989-automne 1990

in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 18, n. 2 , 269-284

No abstract available

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Jürgen Habermas

¿Democracia o capitalismo?

in **Nueva Sociedad**, n. 246

Wolfgang Streeck's last book about the European crisis motivated an article by the philosopher Jürgen Habermas in which he establishes a critical dialogue with his thesis. Habermas coincides with the critiques of Streeck about the current European elitist model, but differs with his «pessimism» in relation to the very possibility of achieving another, more democratic and autonomous European Union in the face of pressure from the markets. While Streeck proposes the democratization of the Nation State markets, Habermas believes that a return to the nation would be an inadequate and nostalgic response to the current crisis and bets on a European political union on other terms.



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Susi Dennison, Richard Gowan, Mark Leonard, Hans Kundnani y Nick Witney

¿Por qué Europa necesita una nueva estrategia global?

in *Política Exterior*, n.157 Enero / Febrero

La última Estrategia Europea de Seguridad data de 2003. Desde entonces, el mundo ha cambiado y Europa se enfrenta a nuevos retos como el distanciamiento de EE UU o la emergencia de Asia.

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Christian Joerges, Florian Rödl

À propos de l'évolution fonctionnelle du droit des conflits de lois II : une constitution légitime pour la constellation post-nationale

in *Revue internationale de droit économique*, Vol. 27, n°1-2, 79-93

Our title refers to old but ongoing debates on conflict of laws as a legal subdiscipline. Christian Joerges has taken up this debate in his PhD-Thesis of 1971. Building on the so-called « American conflicts-law revolution » led by Brainerd Currie, he criticised the German private international law tradition as founded by Friedrich Carl von Savigny for its adherence to, and preservation of, the premises of classical liberalism and its formalism. This paradigm he argues should be substituted by a new policy-oriented conflicts-law which respected the transformation of the classical models through the democratic social state. Our title furthermore announces a second transformation, namely the need of the discipline to respond to the new challenges of the post-national constellation in general and the European integration project in particular. The essay focuses on this project and explores three conflict constellations of exemplary importance, namely: (1) Tensions between the establishment of internal European market law with its reliance on economic freedoms and national labour law with objectives of social protection. The essay pleads for interest mediation along the model of the (former) posted workers directive and criticises the recent labour law jurisprudence of the ECJ. (2) A second type of conflict constellation is generated by the need to organise transnational responses to regulatory concerns in particular in the field of consumer and environmental protection and safety at work. In that respect the essay defends the idea of a « political administration » as it was in principle realised by the comitology system and deplors the recent tendencies of agencification and scientification of regulatory politics. (3) The third challenge is generated by the integration of non-governmental actors in regulatory politics. European standardisation is a case in point. It is submitted that Europe has successfully ensured through hard law, procedural requirements and cooperative supervision that the pertinent governance arrangements « deserve recognition ».

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Guinard Dorian

À propos du soft law en droit de l'Union européenne : analyses théorique et pratique

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 573, décembre, 609-617

No abstract available



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Gürbey Gülistan

Öcalan und Erdogan: Auf dem Weg zum »osmanischen Frieden«?

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2013 , 21-24

Der türkische Ministerpräsident Recep Tayyip Erdogan steht zunehmend unter Druck. Sowohl im eigenen Land als auch in der Europäischen Union stößt die brutale Niederschlagung der Proteste im Gezi-Park und auf dem Taksim-Platz in Istanbul auf Unverständnis. Die unnachgiebige Haltung Erdogans belastet auch die ohnehin schwierigen Verhandlungen über einen EU-Beitritt der Türkei. Bei all dem gerät ein ganz anderer Konflikt aus dem Blickfeld: Der zwischen der türkischen Regierung und der Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans (PKK). Erstmals seit dessen Beginn im Jahr 1984 scheint eine politische Lösung zum Greifen nah.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Haug Volker M.

Über Partizipation zu einer postgrundgesetzlichen Verfassung. Zum Potential des Art. 146 GG im Licht der europäischen Integration

in **Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts** , Volume 138, Number 3, July 2013 , 435-463

Abstract:

According to recent constitutional court decisions further European Integration touches questions of constitutional identity in Germany, particularly aspects of statehood and democracy, as regulated in article 79 section 3 Basic Law (Grundgesetz). Constitutional identity as defined by the said article is guaranteed as unchangeable (Ewigkeitsgarantie) for the time the Basic Law is in power. Therefore, further Europeanization of the German polity requires a post-Basic Law constitution. Interestingly, the Basic Law itself provides for a way to create such a post-Basic Law situation in article 146, to allow a constitutional break without a revolutionary act. In this essay, I address the question whether article 146 is (still) a viable option today and what preconditions are to be fulfilled in order to use it.

After unification in 1990, many scholars considered article 146 as obsolete as the original intention of it was to provide for another option to organize re-unification of Germany. Nevertheless, during constitutional modernization of the Basic Law after 1990, article 146 was re-confirmed and adjusted to the new polity. The question debated was whether the German legislator, as *pouvoir constitué*, is legitimately empowered to decide on the prolongation of this clause. After all, the clause seemed quite obviously to be a part of the temporary character of the Basic Law. However, this position is questionable as article 146 of the Basic Law was equally due to reserved rights of the allied powers after World War II. Therefore, it is argued, continuing the option of regulating a way to make a totally new constitution within the framework of the Basic Law is still given. This raises a tricky constitutional problem: how to balance the binding core of the article 79 provision, designed to restrict the German legislator's room for manoeuvre when changing the constitution, with the option of article 146, which effectively requires the legislator to act as an original source of constitution-making, a



pouvoir constituant. In accordance with much of scholarly debate I claim that article 79 does not bind the the pouvoir constituant of article 146. Furthermore it is argued here that the legislator must have discretionary power to decide whether an evolutionary process of constitutional change within the limits of article 146 or a revolutionary act of creating a completely new constitution is chosen.

If the pouvoir constituant opts for the article 146 evolutionary process, it must accept the binding restrictions as laid down in the concept of a "free decision of the German people", as stated therein. That means, in essence, free communication and decision-making by the people. Therefore, all constitutional branches must guarantee a framework for the people to act as a pouvoir constituant itself, particularly a framework for a general vote on the "if" of taking this route and for the general election of a constitutional assembly. It is up to this very assembly to design ratification procedures which in turn will finally involve the people again.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Immerfall Stefan

Über die Euro-Krise zur Fiskalunion? Mögliche Lehren für europäische Integration

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 60, Heft 2, 2013

Via Euro-crisis to fiscal union? Potential lessons for the European integration

Summary

The euro-crisis is part and parcel of the crisis of financial capitalism. Yet, it has its own European flavour. Differences in productivity and institutional deficits of the monetary union are important ingredients of the current predicament but even more fundamental is the peculiar absence of a European society. Current consolidation efforts within the European system set its members against each other thus threatening to break up the monetary union. The call for 'more Europe' is no way out of the conundrum either, because it misunderstands the pragmatic and instrumental nature of European integration and overestimates the steering capacity of the proposed Union. Given the weak ties within the European Union, the article argues for strengthening the principle of subsidiarity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Michael Ewing-Chow, Alex W. S. Goh, Akshay Kolse Patil

Are Asian WTO Members Using the WTO DSU 'Effectively'?

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.3 , 669-705

Compared to the USA, the European Union, Brazil, and Mexico, Asian World Trade Organization (WTO) members initiate fewer disputes relative to their respective stakes in global trade. They are also more likely to manifest a preference for negotiated settlements as respondents. Some have suggested that this is due to an 'Asian culture of non-litigiousness'. This article seeks to explore this explanation as well as the fit of other explanations. We find that none of these explanations alone satisfactorily explain the current situation. We offer instead a combination of some



alternative explanations by looking at the capacity to engage in WTO litigation, the domestic legal vetting processes for trade measures, industry sophistication and Asian production networks.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Sherzod Shadikhodjaev

Duty Drawback and Regional Trade Agreements: Foes or Friends?

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.3 , 587-611

The nature of international trade has changed dramatically. Today, intermediate goods account for nearly 60% of the world merchandise trade, with the import content of the average export amounting to 40%. Global value chains increase the importance of duty drawback—a common practice of refunding duties on imported inputs either incorporated in finished goods for export or re-exported in the same state. Despite their great role in promoting overseas sales of products, drawback programmes have been handled under regional trade agreements (RTAs) in different ways due to a divergence of opinion on their pros and cons. This article provides a legal assessment of drawback schemes as permitted and prohibited within preferential trade areas. The main conclusion is that the no-drawback rule contained in many RTAs can have negative implications for non-parties, lacks justification under World Trade Organization's rules, and needs to be liberalized.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

James Parisot

American Power, East Asian Regionalism and Emerging Powers: in or against empire?

in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 34 n.7 , 1159-74

Recent years have seen a revival of discussions on American decline. This paper intervenes in this debate by suggesting that there is a tendency towards partial conceptualisations of US power. It suggests a new historical materialist perspective that makes it possible to theorise American Empire as a relational social totality embedded within global capitalism. The paper then analyses the social limits of China's rise and the integration of East Asian regionalisation into American Empire, suggesting the extent to which world power has shifted east has tended to be overestimated. It also analyses the emergence of Brazil, India, and the brics meetings, suggesting these developments have a limited, but overstated, capacity to challenge American Empire.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Elisabeth Pape

AN OLD PARTNERSHIP IN A NEW SETTING: ACP–EU RELATIONS FROM A EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE

in *Journal of International Development*, Volume 25, Issue 5 , 727–741

Global economic, demographic and geopolitical as well as internal developments since the signature of the Cotonou Partnership Agreement in 2000 have had a profound impact on relations between the European Union (EU) and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group. The paper analyses the process of adaptation in the areas of development



cooperation and in the political and security context, reflected in two revisions in 2005 and 2010. It discusses the influence of the Lisbon Treaty on the objective of poverty reduction, and the role of EU values and security concerns. The negotiation of new trading arrangements compatible with the World Trade Organisation triggered a veritable storm in ACP–EU relations. The paper discusses factors, which proved to be major hurdles to the successful and timely conclusion of the Economic Partnership Agreements, as real trade between the two groups saw a reversal of the downward trend and the ACP recovered part of the previously lost market share of ACP goods in total EU imports. The exclusivity of the flagship partnership has started to crumble as the importance of new partners increased both on ACP and EU side. The author maintains that with the Cotonou Partnership Agreement's purpose defined as solely supporting the development of the ACP countries, it is not surprising that it does not count among the strategic partnerships from the EU perspective. Yet, it is too early to predict the future of the ACP–EU relationship beyond 2020, but both the EU and the ACP have an interest in starting off their discussions and negotiations on their future relationship on the right footing.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Macky Sall

Africa and the United States of America: A New Kind of Partnership in Today's Globalized Environment? in American Foreign Policy Interests, Volume 35, Issue 6 , 313-316

Sub-Saharan Africa is emerging as a rapidly growing continent that has weathered the storm of worldwide recession. The United States should no longer view Africa as an area for humanitarian initiatives to be treated solely through foreign assistance. The time has come for a new relationship based on mutual interests signified by expanding trade and investment. The United States needs to get away from the conventional wisdom that Africa is too risky. African nations are engaged in adopting necessary reforms—especially the rule of law and expedited formalities—designed to attract and reassure investors. Times have changed and U.S. thinking needs to adapt if the United States wants to take advantage of some interesting new opportunities to make money.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Carbone Maurizio

An Uneasy Nexus: Development, Security and the EU's African Peace Facility in European Foreign Affairs Review, vol. 18, issue 4 , 103-123

ABSTRACT: Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the European Union has promoted, more explicitly than in earlier decades, the view that security and development policies are inextricably linked. Yet, trying to dismantle the walls erected around the two policy domains has proved very difficult. The launch and implementation of the African Peace Facility (APF), meant to support the African Union in the promotion of security in Africa, exemplifies some of these tensions. While existing analyses have emphasized the role of interests - in a sort of accidental convergence of the bureaucratic interest of the European Commission and those of the Member States - this article concentrates on the normative aspects of the initiative. In particular, the three principles underpinning it - promotion of ownership, solidarity, and a virtuous development-security nexus - make the APF different from any other EU security initiative. Whilst boosting the AU's clout in the field of peace and security and as an actor in the international arena, the implementation of the APF has nonetheless presented some problems. First, a larger number of resources have been devoted to the



peace missions than to capacity building. Second, its alleged success has diverted attention from other important areas in EU-Africa relations. Finally, the EU's rhetoric on the Africanization of security, paradoxically, has risked undermining the legitimacy of the African Union in Africa.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Mattar Mohamed Y.

Article 43 of the Arab Charter on Human Rights: Reconciling National, Regional and International Standards
in *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, vol. 26, issue 1 , 91-147

ABSTRACT: Article 43 of the Arab Charter on Human Rights states, "Nothing in this Charter may be construed or interpreted as impairing the rights and freedoms protected by the domestic laws of the States parties or those set forth in the international and regional human rights instruments which the states parties have adopted or ratified, including the rights of women, the rights of children and the rights of minorities." Article 43 thus addresses the interaction between the Arab Charter on Human Rights and the domestic laws of Arab states. It also addresses the relationship between the Charter and international law. In analyzing these interactions, I argue that interpretation of the rights stipulated in the Charter should not be impaired by domestic laws that may restrict such rights. Instead, I explain that the Charter, as a regional convention, should be read in accordance with the principles of international treaty interpretation. I conclude that the Article 43 mandate requires a review of domestic legislation to ensure compatibility with the Charter as well as the incorporation of international law in domestic courts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Verdecchia Anna Lisa, Panebianco Massimo

BRICS: Gruppo internazionale di Stati
in *Diritto comunitario e degli scambi internazionali*, n. 1-2, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ferry Martin, McMaster Irene

Between Growth and Cohesion: New Directions in Central and East European Regional Policy
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, n. 8 , 1499-1501

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation



Yeo Lay Hwee

Can the EU be a serious security actor in Asia?

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 11, n. 4, December , 465-467

Following the US “pivot” to Asia, the European Union (EU) announced its own pivot to Asia in 2012 with stepped-up engagement. A flurry of high-level visits to Asia, and in particular, Southeast Asia, by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy followed. The EU is looking for a much more comprehensive engagement of Asia, but at the same time, within Asia; there is always this nagging doubt as to whether the EU can be a serious security actor in Asia. This short brief surveys the constructive role that the EU can play in Asia and argues that the EU should stop fretting about whether it is seen as a serious security actor in Asia and instead focus on what it can do best and do its best in Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Berger Axel, Fischer Doris, Lema Rasmus, Schmitz Hubert, Urban Frauke

China–Europe Relations in the Mitigation of Climate Change: A Conceptual Framework

in *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol 42, No 1 , 71–98

Despite the large-scale investments of both China and the EU in climate-change mitigation and renewable-energy promotion, the prevailing view on China–EU relations is one of conflict rather than cooperation. In order to evaluate the prospects of cooperation between China and the EU in these policy fields, empirical research has to go beyond simplistic narratives. This paper suggests a conceptual apparatus that will help researchers better understand the complexities of the real world. The relevant actors operate at different levels and in the public and private sectors. The main message of the paper is that combining the multi-level governance and value-chain approaches helps clarify the multiple relationships between these actors.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Zonova Tatiana

Cultural diplomacy as a ‘soft power’ tool in the Eu-Russia relations

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, vol. 80, n. 3, luglio-settembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Brütsch Christian, Papa Mihaela

Deconstructing the BRICS: Bargaining Coalition, Imagined Community, or Geopolitical Fad?

in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 6 Issue 3 , 299-327

Can the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) build on their momentum to transform the international



order, or will they be remembered as a geopolitical fad? To assess the prospects of the figurehead for emerging power aspirations, this article examines the associational dynamics and practices that inform their collective journey. Drawing on the rationalist literature on bargaining coalitions and on the constructivist literature on 'imagined' communities, we develop an analytical framework to investigate whether states exploit their BRICS affiliation tactically, to rise in tandem, or strategically, to rise together. Two case studies, which examine BRICS efforts to curb Washington's 'exorbitant privilege' and to develop a collective response to the climate crisis suggest that even when the BRICS share soft revisionist goals, coalitional cohesion and community formation are tentative at best. In the absence of clear common objectives, the BRICS abandon all but the rhetoric of coalitional behaviour. We conclude that unless the five emerging powers agree on a coherent strategy to harness their relative strengths, the BRICS' geopolitical play will be defeated by their own tactical ploys.

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Shaw Timothy M.

Development in the Commonwealth Caribbeans after a half-century of independence: insights from transnational and regional perspectives

in Contemporary Politics, Vol. 19, Issue 3 , 293-303

After 50 years of formal independence in the anglophone Caribbean, this article suggests gains for both analysis and policy may be made by something of a paradigm shift towards a focus on transnational and regional relations. This is especially so for the myriad small, particularly island, states which have always been relatively 'open' especially as contemporary governance demands proliferate as indicated in the first section below. And it holds potential for island communities in the Indian and Pacific Oceans as well as the Caribbean, especially for those associated with inter- and non-state Commonwealth networks; these now include not only the original established 'Dominions' of Australia, Britain and Canada but also 2/5 BRICS, or 25% of the G20. A focus on the transnational and regional helps to transcend the old binary of 'vulnerability' versus 'resilience'.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Acikmese Sinem Akgul

EU conditionality and desecuritization nexus in Turkey

in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 13, n. 3 , 303-323

Borrowing the Copenhagen school's lexicon of desecuritization, the present paper appraises the EU's role as a desecuritizing agent for Turkey, with a particular focus on security speech-acts about 'Kurdish separatism' and 'political Islam'. Taking up the illustrative cases of silencing the military and abandoning limits to freedom of speech reflected in EU-Turkey accession documents, this paper observes the ways in which the EU membership conditionality has been an important catalyst for Turkey's desecuritizations; yet argues that the EU's impact is limited due to the necessities of the interplay between various desecuritization agents/processes as well as the existence of EU conditionality efficacy factors.



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Klose Hans-Ulrich, Scharioth Klaus

Ein Gewinn für den Westen. Eine transatlantische Handelspartnerschaft besäße Modellcharakter in Internationale Politik, 67. Jahrgang, n. 9-10, September-Oktober

ABSTRACT: Es geht nicht „nur“ um den Abbau von Handelshemmnissen oder um dringend benötigte Wachstumsimpulse für Europa und die USA. Eine Transatlantische Handels- und Investitionspartnerschaft hat auch eine geopolitische Dimension: Ein Abkommen wäre ein unübersehbares Signal für die Vitalität und Gestaltungskraft des Westens.

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Boute Anatole

Energy Efficiency as a New Paradigm of the European External Energy Policy: The Case of the EU–Russian Energy Dialogue
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, n. 6 , 1021-1054

Energy efficiency has long since been a pillar of the European internal energy policy. It now takes on increasing importance in European external energy relations. It is, for instance, key to the EU–Russian Energy Dialogue. I analyse how energy efficiency has been institutionalised in EU external energy relations, in particular towards Russia. I examine whether energy efficiency can be seen as a new paradigm for understanding external energy relations. Based on this conceptual delimitation, I describe and assess the regulatory mechanisms proposed by the EU to implement this approach in practice.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Anatole Boute

Energy Efficiency as a New Paradigm of the European External Energy Policy: The Case of the EU–Russian Energy Dialogue
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 65, Issue 6 , 1021-1054

Energy efficiency has long since been a pillar of the European internal energy policy. It now takes on increasing importance in European external energy relations. It is, for instance, key to the EU–Russian Energy Dialogue. I analyse how energy efficiency has been institutionalised in EU external energy relations, in particular towards Russia. I examine whether energy efficiency can be seen as a new paradigm for understanding external energy relations. Based on this conceptual delimitation, I describe and assess the regulatory mechanisms proposed by the EU to implement this approach in practice.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Jinnah Sikina, Morgera Elisa

Environmental Provisions in American and EU Free Trade Agreements: A Preliminary Comparison and Research Agenda

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 22, Issue 3, Special Issue: Focus on: CITES+40, November , 324-339

Environmental provisions are included into bilateral trade agreements in increasingly creative ways. This article offers an initial exploration of the policy and legal dimensions of environmental provisions included in recent bilateral trade agreements concluded by the United States and by the European Union. Based primarily on a coding analysis of the environmental provisions contained in American and EU trade agreements since the mid-2000s, the article illuminates the variable characteristics of these environmental provisions, including the different approaches of the United States and the EU (punitive versus cooperative) to their implementation. The article pays particular attention to the unprecedented links that these treaties create with multilateral environmental agreements. It concludes with a discussion of avenues for future research, including approaches that are comparative and interdisciplinary in nature.

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Sangeeta Khorana, Maria Garcia

European Union–India Trade Negotiations: One Step Forward, One Back?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2013 , 684-700

This article contributes to debates on the proliferation of bilateral free trade agreements (FTAs), by analysing novel empirical material: the EU–India FTA negotiations, which have attracted little academic scrutiny. By elaborating on the underlying negotiating interests and strategies of the EU and India, the article examines the significance of overarching interests in ongoing negotiations and articulates the defensive and offensive interests of both parties. It presents a vision of the controversial and milieu-shaping interests at stake, which offer an alternative theoretical explanation for the pursuit of FTAs, and highlights possible outcome scenarios.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Zaras Faidon

Europeanization or endogenous institutional change? The case of Turkey

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 13, n. 3 , 341-363

The Europeanization literature has successfully highlighted the effects of the EU impetus on Turkish domestic actors' incentives and ability to pursue democratizing reforms. Given the on-going institutional transformation despite the loss of the EU momentum and limited internalization of democratic norms, it is argued that explaining institutional change would greatly benefit from an analytical framework fit to account for both phases of Turkey's transformation. This study uses a rationalist analytical framework to explore the on-going process of institutional change, focusing on Kemalism as a primarily endogenous institution. Acknowledging the link between the Helsinki Summit and the launch of institutional reform, the evolution of an analytically defined Kemalism is traced and explained in terms of anti-Kemalist collective action facilitated by the instrumentally motivated AKP government.



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Morten Broberg

From colonial power to human rights promoter: on the legal regulation of the European Union's relations with the developing countries

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 26, Issue 4 , 675-687

Half a century ago, at the inception of what today has become the European Union (EU), several EU member states held colonies around the world. Today most of these colonies have become independent states, but many continue to have close links with Europe. This article analyses the development of the legal regulation of these links from the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 until the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty in late 2009. Based on this analysis the article goes on to discuss whether the proposition that the EU has developed into a normative power is supported by the legal analysis. It is concluded that the legal analysis lends strong support to the view that the EU seeks to be a normative power vis-à-vis the developing countries.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Crina Viju, May T. Yeung, William A. Kerr

Geographical Indications, Conflicted Preferential Agreements, and Market Access

in *Journal of International Economic Law* , volume 16 n.2 , 409-37

Canada is currently negotiating a Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement with the European Union; the issue of geographic indications is on the negotiating agenda and is expected to be one of the most contentious issues in the negotiations. While the exact nature of protection for Geographic Indications to be included in the agreement is not yet clear, there is potential for a conflict with commitments made by Canada in North American Free Trade Agreement. This article explores the wider issues surrounding differences in the protection of intellectual property and the effect on market access as well as the potential specific issues pertaining to the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement for North American Free Trade Agreement members. General issues include, among others, how market access could be restricted either by de facto import bans or the imposition of additional costs on exporting firms; would these restrictions qualify as nullification or impairment of a benefit under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade? Does the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property provides any guidance for this issue and would GIs be treated in the same way as a country entering a customs union and having to provide compensation if it raises tariffs to the common level?

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Coppolaro Lucia

In Search of Power: The European Commission in the Kennedy Round Negotiations (1963–1967)

in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 23, n. 1, February , 23-41



This article is about EEC trade policy-making in the GATT Kennedy Round negotiations. It questions whether the European Commission was decisive in terms of reaching an agreement in Brussels and then in Geneva, and whether the final outcome resembled the Commission's preferences. The article shows that in Brussels the Commission was able to make its preferences prevail only when these appealed to the Council of Ministers. In Geneva, member states pragmatically set limits to the actions of the Commission, guided by the principle of how they could enhance their trade interests. Eventually, they allowed the Commission to strengthen its role because this was in line with their interests.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Billy A. Melo Araujo

Intellectual Property and the EU's Deep Trade Agenda

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.2 , 439-74

The EU is considered to be one of the main proponents of what has been called the deep trade agenda—that is, the push for further trade liberalization with an emphasis on the removal of domestic non-tariff regulatory measures affecting trade, as opposed to the traditional focus on the removal of trade barriers at borders. As negotiations on the Doha Development Round have stalled, the EU has attempted to achieve these aims by entering into comprehensive free trade agreements (FTAs) that are not only limited exclusively to tariffs but also extend to non-tariff barriers, including services, intellectual property rights (IPRs), competition, and investment. These FTAs place great emphasis on regulatory convergence as a means to secure greater market openings. The paper examines the EU's current external trade policy in the area of IP, particularly its attempts to promote its own regulatory model for the protection of IP rights through trade agreements. By looking at the IP enforcement provisions of such agreements, the article also examines how the divisive issues that are currently hindering the progress of negotiations at WTO level, including the demands from developing countries to maintain a degree of autonomy in the area of IP regulation as well as the need to balance IP protection with human rights protection, are being dealt with in recent EU FTAs.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Schott Jeffrey J., Cimino Cathleen

Keys to negotiating the transatlantic trade and investment partnership

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 4, July 2013 , 263-264

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Guidono Cavalchini Luigi

Le relazioni economiche e commerciali tra Europa e Stati Uniti

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 172, autunno , 625-653

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Wallach Lori M.

**Le traité transatlantique, un typhon qui menace les Européens
in Monde Diplomatique (Le), Octobre**

Engagées en 2008, les discussions sur l'accord de libre-échange entre le Canada et l'Union européenne ont abouti le 18 octobre. Un bon présage pour le gouvernement américain, qui espère conclure un partenariat de ce type avec le Vieux Continent. Négocié en secret, ce projet ardemment soutenu par les multinationales leur permettrait d'attaquer en justice tout Etat qui ne se plierait pas aux normes du libéralisme.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/11/WALLACH/49803>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Fontagné Lionel, Gourdon Julien, Jean Sébastien

**Les enjeux économiques du partenariat transatlantique
in Lettre du CEPII, n. 335, Sep. - 2013 , 1-4**

En juillet 2013, les États-Unis et l'Union européenne se sont engagés dans la négociation d'un Partenariat transatlantique pour le commerce et l'investissement. Compte tenu du faible niveau de leur protection tarifaire réciproque, la libéralisation commerciale consistera surtout à réduire les barrières non tarifaires qui, elles, restent élevées. Nos simulations indiquent que le commerce bilatéral pourrait s'en trouver augmenté de moitié. Cependant, les enjeux de la négociation en cours vont bien au-delà des échanges bilatéraux et concernent la place des deux partenaires dans les nouveaux rapports de force économiques mondiaux.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Volz Ulrich

**Lessons of the European crisis for regional monetary and financial integration in East Asia
in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 11, n. 4, December , 355-376**

The debt crisis in several member states of the euro area has raised doubts on the viability of the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the future of the euro. While the launch of the euro in 1999 stirred a lot of interests in regional monetary integration and even monetary unification in various parts of the world, including East Asia, the current crisis has had the opposite effect, even raising expectations of a break-up of the euro area. Indeed, the crisis has highlighted the problems and tensions that will inevitably arise within a monetary union when imbalances build up and become unsustainable. This article discusses the causes of the current European crisis and the challenges that EMU countries face in solving it. Based on this analysis, it derives five lessons for regional financial and monetary cooperation and integration in East Asia.



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Sasse Gwendolyn

Linkages and the promotion of democracy: the EU's eastern neighbourhood

in *Democratization*, vol. 20, n. 4 , 553-591

The EU's eastern neighbourhood with its considerable divergence in regime types is a more challenging testing ground for democracy promotion than Central and Eastern Europe. This article explores the diversity of the international linkages in the eastern neighbours (Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan) and the role these linkages play in domestic politics. International linkages are filtered and activated by domestic politics. If diverse linkages reinforce domestic political competition, they can contribute to the creation of democratic openings. Conversely, in the absence of domestic political competition, international linkages can insulate a regime from internal pressures for reform, in particular if the linkages are deep and undiversified. This article focuses on one causal mechanism, namely stateness issues acting as a filter for international linkages.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Mathew Doidge

New Zealand and the Asia-Europe Meeting: Three Years On: Mathew Doidge Finds New Zealand's Engagement with ASEM to Still Be Tentative and Calls for a More Flexible Approach

in *New Zealand International Review*, November 1, 2013

Launched in 1996, the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) brings together 51 members (49 states and two regional organisations) in an increasingly dense and expansive dialogue framework. New Zealand joined ASEM at its eighth Summit in 2010, fully fifteen years after its initial expression of interest. Three years on, New Zealand's engagement with ASEM remains tentative. If the most is to be gained from its membership, a flexible approach is needed. There are a range of options open which together offer the possibility of achieving some of those benefits initially conceived, not the least of which is the demonstration of credibility and of commitment to the Asian space.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Doidge Mathew

New Zealand and the Asia-Europe Meeting

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 11, n. 2, June , 147-162

This article considers New Zealand's accession to the Asia-Europe Meeting, considering both its formal path to membership and the evolving calculus by which its views of the process were structured, focusing on elements such as the enabling context provided by a change of national government in 2008, the impact of the global financial crisis and the position of Australia. Drawing on a set of interviews undertaken within the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, it goes on to examine perceived benefits of the Asia-Europe Meeting for New Zealand, and the extent to which these have been achieved. Finally, it addresses the issue of a New Zealand ASEM strategy, outlining potential



areas for future engagement.

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John McKinnon

New Zealand between America and China: John McKinnon Argues That We Need to Recognise the Nature of Sino-American Competition and Understand Our Ability to Shape Events within This Framework

in *New Zealand International Review*, November 1, 2013

The United States and China, the two dominant powers of the Asia-Pacific region, have been managing their mutual relationship with some success since 1972. China's economic growth in recent decades has enormously strengthened its position. The United States has stated that it will remain in the region and it has the wherewithal to do so. Co-operation and competition will be equally present in this relationship. New Zealand has good relations with both countries. Neither containment nor exclusion benefits us. Rather, our interests and values are served best by a constructive relationship between the two powers. We can assist this through our bilateral relations and through participation with those countries and others in regional and multilateral organisations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Mukhtar Hajizada & Florent Marciacq

New regionalism in Europe's Black Sea Region: the EU, BSEC and changing practices of regionalism

in *Communist and post-communist studies*, Volume 46, Issue 3 , 305-327

What kind of region is the wider Black Sea area (WBSA)? Is it constructed by practices of regionalism framed by the Organisation of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), or does it follow a more inclusive scheme of integration, propelled by European Union (EU) policy instruments such as the Black Sea Synergy? This paper investigates the very nature of regionalism in the Black Sea region by focusing on trade integration. It measures and compares how patterns of intra-regional and cross-regional trade have been diverted in the WBSA by the BSEC and the EU between 1993 and 2008. The paper argues that the WBSA, overall, has inherited strong intra-regional trade preferences, but it questions the actual capacity of the BSEC to act as an effective promoter of regionalisation. It shows in particular that the EU has been reshaping the patterns of trade in the WBSA in a more significant manner than the BSEC. This indicates a shift from regionalism à la BSEC (nesting the WBSA within Europe), to EU-driven regionalism (interweaving differentially the WBSA states within a larger continental-scale scheme regionalism).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Carletti Cristiana

Opportunità di crescita delle partnerships istituzionali dell'Unione europea tra Medio Oriente ed Asia: il Consiglio di cooperazione del Golfo e l'Organizzazione per la cooperazione di Shangai

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VIII, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 353-374

New challenges are emerging in a sectorial perspective as far as the international relations between institutionalized



partners. This contribution focuses on the common and diverging grounds of the European Union, from one side, and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) from the other one. Their proper economic conditions and development perspectives, in terms of financial and trade opportunities, demand for an increased partnership without affecting the national interests of each Country involved in the cooperative programming process.

While respecting the traditional partnership framework promoted by the European Union with neighborhood Countries, the EU-GCC relations are moving forward a reinforced mutual and balanced asset; the prevailing option for a bilateral dialogue and the political component under the Chinese and Russian influence need to be reviewed to gain positive cooperative results.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Patrick I. Gomes

RESHAPING AN ASYMMETRICAL PARTNERSHIP: ACP-EU RELATIONS FROM AN ACP PERSPECTIVE

in *Journal of International Development*, Volume 25, Issue 5 , 714–726

The African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States and the European Union (EU) have engaged in what is known as a 'special privileged', legally binding contractual agreement on trade cooperation, development assistance and political dialogue since 1975. Currently expressed in the Cotonou Partnership Agreement for a 20-year period from 2000, the agreement faces its final 5-year review in 2015, which is proving conducive for an extensive debate between development practitioners on what future can be envisaged for ACP–EU relations in a world drastically different from the neocolonial era of the 1970s and offering new opportunities as well as challenges to trade, commerce and development assistance. From the perspective of a diplomatic representative of an ACP member state, a critique is offered of issues and instances in which the contested interests of the asymmetrical relationship can be interpreted in relation to the overarching objective of 'reducing and eventually eradicating poverty' as stated in the Cotonou Partnership Agreement. The author argues that the ACP Group, as the unique, transcontinental coalition of developing countries can be a significant partner with the EU and 'new actors', through south-south and triangular cooperations to challenge traditional thinking and practice on development assistance by a thoroughly refashioned paradigm, in which equality, sustainability, inclusive growth and structural transformation of ACP economies must be pre-eminent. Copyright © 2013 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Maurizio Carbone

RETHINKING ACP-EU RELATIONS AFTER COTONOU: TENSIONS, CONTRADICTIONS, PROSPECTS

in *Journal of International Development*, Volume 25, Issue 5 , 742–756

his Policy Arena has two main objectives. First, it seeks to unravel how the partnership between the European Union (EU) and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group has evolved since the adoption of the Cotonou Agreement in 2000, including its 2005 and 2010 reviews and the implementation of its three key pillars (development cooperation, trade and political dialogue). Second, it explores the prospects of EU-ACP relations in the medium to long term. In particular, it discusses whether the ACP-EU cooperation framework is still relevant in the light of a number of global changes and, more specifically, whether the ACP configuration is still useful to its members. To address these issues,



both the EU and the ACP Group have established two working groups. Within the ACP, voices are critical of the EU-ACP partnership, but there appears to be more willingness to reform and renew it. Within the EU, the record of the Cotonou Agreement is seen more positively, but there seems to be less willingness to preserve it. The third review of the Cotonou Agreement to be finalised by 2015, and more generally its expiration in 2020, provides an opportunity – to which this Policy Arena seeks to contribute – to rethink the EU-ACP cooperation model.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Muntschick Johannes

Regionalismus und Externer Einfluss: Stört die Europäische Union die Regionale Marktintegration im Südlichen Afrika?

in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 4, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ziya ÖNİŞ & Mustafa Kutlay

Rising Powers in a Changing Global Order: the political economy of Turkey in the age of brics

in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 34 n.8 , 1409-26

The rise of bric s presents a major challenge to the existing global order. A second category of emerging powers, which may be labelled near- bric s, have also displayed increasing pro-activism in recent years in terms of influencing the regional balance of power politics, in addition to their growing presence in international organisations and global affairs. It is in this context that we aim to examine Turkey as a striking example of a 'near- bric ' power, a country that has adopted an increasingly assertive and independent style of foreign policy with aspirations to establish itself as a major regional actor. Using the Turkish experience as a reference point, this paper aims to understand the extent to which near- bric countries possess the economic capacity, sustainable growth performance and soft-power capabilities needed to establish themselves as significant regional and global actors. The recent Turkish experience clearly highlights both the potential and the limits of regional power activism on the part of emerging powers from the 'global South'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Hassan Oz

Securitisering proliferation, failing security governance: the European Union's role in India and Pakistan's nuclear rivalry

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 11, n. 2, June , 93-112

In 2003, the European Union declared the threat of weapons of mass destruction 'potentially the greatest threat to our security' and increasingly called for the issue of nuclear proliferation to be managed within its preferred multilateral security governance frameworks. In spite of this, and the increased securitisation of proliferation, the EU has fundamentally continued its historical record of failing to engage with India and Pakistan's nuclear rivalry, and has not



been able to move significantly beyond a relationship with South Asia based on trade and aid. This is deeply problematic given the regional instability posed by the Indo-Pakistani enduring rivalry, and the fact that Pakistan is not only an unstable nuclear weapons state, but has been known to harbour international terrorists and nuclear proliferators. Given these conditions, as the EU acknowledges, the stakes of failing to engage could not be higher. A deeper analysis of EU engagement, however, demonstrates that EU security governance is limited, ineffectual, inconsistent and largely perceived as neo-colonial in what is the world's most likely nuclear flashpoint. If the EU is to be considered a global actor in security governance, a key objective of the Treaty of Lisbon, then this needs to be redressed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Tanja A Börzel & Christine Hackenesch

Small carrots, few sticks: EU good governance promotion in sub-Saharan Africa
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 26, Issue 3 , 536-555

The European Union has developed a one-size-fits-all approach to promote good governance reforms in African countries, focusing on strengthening the effectiveness of state institutions while increasingly asking for reforms that also target their democratic quality. Assessing the EU's policies in Angola and Ethiopia reveals, however, that the implementation of this approach is more differential. While the EU has a hard time making the two governments address governance issues, it has been more successful in implementing its policy approach in Ethiopia than in Angola. These differences are largely explained by these countries' different degrees of interdependency with the EU rather than differences in stability and democracy. Unlike Angola, Ethiopia heavily relies on EU development aid, giving the EU greater leverage to push for governance reforms. While conditionality is more effective in making African governments address governance issues, it undermines the legitimacy of the EU's development cooperation, which emphasizes partnership and ownership.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dinçer O. Bahadır, Kutlay Mustafa

The Arab Spring: A Game Changer in Turkey-EU Relations?

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 4 , 418-430

We argue in this paper that the Arab Spring has opened a window of opportunity not just to create stability and democracy in one of the most unstable regions of the world, but also for revitalizing Turkey-EU relations. In theory, Turkey-EU cooperation can make a decisive difference in determining the outcome of the triangular relationship between stability, development, and democratization in the Arab region. In normative terms, as an opportunity, it must be turned into an advantage. From a practical perspective, however, transforming the window of opportunity into policy output is linked to the policy leadership of the sides involved to undergo a paradigm shift in their approach to the region and toward one another.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Amaro Dias Vanda

The EU and Russia: Competing Discourses, Practices and Interests in the Shared Neighbourhood

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14, n. 2, Special Issue: Europe, Discourse, and Institutions: Challenging the Mainstream in European Studies , 256-271

This article analyses how the European Union (EU) and Russia perceive each other as regional players, by assessing their security-oriented policies towards the shared neighbourhood in Eastern Europe and South Caucasus, and delves into the impact those perceptions have on EU–Russia relations. It argues that both EU and Russian policies towards the region are built upon the belief that internal security starts outside their borders and, thus, the countries in the shared neighbourhood emerge as lynchpins in their internal and regional security strategies. In a mostly competing and mutually exclusive logic, the EU and Russia attempt to keep those countries in their own sphere of influence. Accordingly, commitments to European integration are generally seen by Moscow as a political loss, in the same way that a rapprochement towards Russia is usually perceived to constrain the EU's leverage in the region. This research is framed by a critical constructivist approach focusing on practices and discourses, thereby enabling a broader mapping of the dynamics resulting from the EU's and Russia's competing interests, perceptions and policies in the shared neighbourhood, and a deeper understanding of their impact on EU–Russia bilateral relations, particularly under the so-called strategic partnership.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Eleanor Bindman

The EU's strategy on economic and social rights in Russia: a missed opportunity?

in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 29, Issue 4 , 461-478

In recent years, the EU's policy on human rights in Russia has been the focus of considerable internal and external attention, much of it being critical. Despite long-standing programmes for funding human rights projects in Russia and the launch of biannual EU–Russia human rights consultations in 2005, the subject of human rights remains contentious within EU–Russia relations. One striking aspect of the EU's policy towards Russia is its focus on issues such as prison reform, freedom of speech and prevention of torture which can broadly be characterised as civil and political rights issues. The purpose of this article is to examine the EU's approach to another aspect of human rights policy which tends to receive very little attention, namely economic and social rights issues such as housing, health, access to social security and workers' rights. Using data gathered from elite interviews with EU officials and representatives of Russian human rights and social non-governmental organisations (NGOs) during fieldwork in Brussels and Russia in 2011, the article will argue that the EU's lack of internal consensus on the importance of economic and social rights issues hinders its ability to raise these issues in its interactions with Russia on human rights. Yet the fact that economic and social rights have traditionally enjoyed a relatively high degree of visibility and importance in Russia has the potential to make this an area where more fruitful engagement on human rights could take place.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Casier Tom

The EU–Russia Strategic Partnership: Challenging the Normative Argument



in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, n. 7 , 1377-1395

Russia–EU relations have often been presented in terms of a normative gap, with the EU appearing as a normative and Russia as a non-normative actor. This article critically analyses this ‘normative argument’ which sees this gap as the cause of tensions. Pleading for a less dichotomous approach to norms and interests, it challenges the normative argument on the basis of the assumed congruence between the norm-driven input and norm-promoting output of European foreign policy. As an alternative, the article explores how the normative agenda in Eastern Europe serves instrumental purposes. Selective norm promotion has the potential to change the hierarchy of identities among post-Soviet states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Tom Casier

The EU–Russia Strategic Partnership: Challenging the Normative Argument

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 65, Issue 7 , 1377-1395

Russia–EU relations have often been presented in terms of a normative gap, with the EU appearing as a normative and Russia as a non-normative actor. This article critically analyses this ‘normative argument’ which sees this gap as the cause of tensions. Pleading for a less dichotomous approach to norms and interests, it challenges the normative argument on the basis of the assumed congruence between the norm-driven input and norm-promoting output of European foreign policy. As an alternative, the article explores how the normative agenda in Eastern Europe serves instrumental purposes. Selective norm promotion has the potential to change the hierarchy of identities among post-Soviet states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Adriana Erthal Abdenur & João Moura Estevão Marques Da Fonseca

The North’s Growing Role in South–South Cooperation: keeping the foothold

in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 34 n.8 , 1475-91

Over the past 10 years Northern aid agencies have made a concerted effort to participate in South–South cooperation. This article analyses the key modes and motivations behind this growing engagement, looking specifically at three areas: multilateral platforms, triangular cooperation and knowledge production about South–South cooperation. Across all these efforts we perceive a concerted attempt to gain legitimacy by emphasising horizontality in the co-construction of knowledge about development. We argue that, within a context of shrinking Northern aid, this engagement is a way to harness South–South cooperation in order to preserve and expand Northern influence, both within and outside the field of development cooperation. This interpretation suggests the need to further examine the ‘bridging’ initiatives and mutual impact of intersection points between Northern aid and South–South cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Piers Ludlow N.



The Real Years of Europe? U.S.-West European Relations during the Ford Administration

in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 15, Issue 3 - Summer , 136-161

Little has been written about transatlantic relations during the presidency of Gerald R. Ford. This article shows that, contrary to what most of the recent historiography suggests, the brief period under Ford did make an important difference in U.S.-West European relations. During the Ford administration, the whole architecture of transatlantic relations was rearranged, creating structures and features that endured well after Ford and his secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, had left office. In particular, the Ford years witnessed the emergence of a pattern of quadripartite consultation between the United States, Britain, France, and West Germany on foreign policy issues; and the advent of multilateral economic summity. Each of these innovations transformed the pattern of U.S.-West European dialogue.

http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/JCWS_a_00373

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Zihnioğlu Özge

The 'civil society policy' of the European Union for promoting democracy in Turkey: golden goose or dead duck?

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 13, n. 3 , 381-400

'Golden goose' of European integration for some time now, EU's civil society policy displays a vivid example during Turkey's accession. This article queries the impact of this policy in the Turkish context, ultimately showing its limited extent on Turkish civil society organizations (CSOs) and illuminating its real constraints in the Turkish context. Drawing on interviews with CSOs, this article argues that the EU could not accomplish its expected objectives set within its civil society policy in Turkey due to its neo-Tocquevillian conceptualization that overlooks at the constraints on civil society actors and disregards civil society's political nature and its CSOs' autonomous character.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Evert Waeterloos, Robrecht Renard

Towards unity in Diversity in European development aid through donour harmonization and decentralised cooperation? A case study of Flanders and Belgium

in *Public Administration and Development*, volume 33 n.5 , 325-42

Official donors have over the past decade pledged to enhance aid effectiveness by improving donor harmonization. To this effect, the European Union (EU) launched initiatives on a division of labor among its Member States. At the same time, the EU encourages Europe's subnational authorities to engage in their own development cooperation. This however seems to undermine the same harmonization effort. Belgium, characterized by multiple levels of government, illustrates that these two approaches to aid effectiveness—collective division of labor at the national level and decentralized cooperation at lower levels—are only partially compatible. In partner countries where both the federal Belgian and regional Flemish governments are active donors, Belgium's composite aid is poorly harmonized. A principal-agent framework helps to explain such selfish positioning. This article argues that a higher degree of complementarity and harmonization among Belgium's various authorities is feasible, albeit in forms that are specific to



recipient country and context. As both donors are not so much competing in aid supply policies but rather in terms of supply management, such technical arguments may assist in lessening the political pressure to selfishly emphasize diversity over unity

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Stokes Doug, Whitman Richard G.

Transatlantic triage? European and UK 'grand strategy' after the US rebalance to Asia
in *International Affairs* , vol. 89, issue 5, september , 1087-1107

ABSTRACT: Transition in the Middle East, the ongoing effects of the global financial crisis and the United States' rebalance to Asia are key trends that will have an impact on transatlantic relations and European defence. As US priorities shift, a common European 'grand strategy' could encourage the development of a shared vision to help Europe order its priorities and begin to respond to the new, post-austerity context of world politics and shrinking defence budgets. Will these changes be enough to quicken Europe's currently shrivelled strategic thinking? In any scenario, given its relative weight and role as an interlocutor with the US, the United Kingdom will remain vital to any developing European security and strategy agenda, although its broader relations with the European Union will complicate this relationship. How it proceeds will also help to define the boundaries of this nascent European security order. This article charts these key global trends, relates them to current debates in European security and strategy and maps opportunities and constraints faced by Europe and the UK in developing a grand strategy in an increasingly 'American-lite' European neighbourhood.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bourrat Flavien

Un think tank pour l'Initiative 5+5 défense en Méditerranée occidentale
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 765, Décembre

Constitué sur une base coopérative depuis plus de quatre ans, le centre Euromaghrébin de recherche et d'études stratégiques conduit des études pour le bénéfice des ministres de la Défense des pays riverains de la Méditerranée occidentale. Un premier bilan de cette entreprise est effectué par l'un de ses chercheurs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Chevènement Jean-Pierre , Larcher Gérard

Une approche globale pour stabiliser le Sahel
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 763, Octobre

C'est sur la base des travaux conduits par le Sénat sur le Sahel que les auteurs présentent un bilan de l'action de contre-terrorisme conduite au Mali. Ils dressent la perspective de ce qui doit être maintenant poursuivi en Libye puis établi au niveau de la sous-région. C'est là qu'il faut transférer, avec l'aide internationale, la charge de la sécurité et du



développement de l'Afrique de l'Ouest.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Poulot Brice

Une défense de la francophonie pour la défense de la France

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 766, Janvier

Les statistiques révèlent que 60 % des opérations militaires de l'ONU se sont déroulées ces dernières années dans la Francosphère. Fort de cette réalité, l'auteur propose de consolider la Francophonie en développant sa dimension militaire et en la dotant de projets forts, comme une brigade francophone multinationale, et en réinvestissant linguistiquement la défense européenne.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Rodriguez Jimenez Francisco Javier

«Bridging the Atlantic gap». Gli American Studies alla John Hopkins University di Bologna (1955-1969)

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XII, n. 31, "Tra le due sponde: la diplomazia culturale degli americani", giugno, 11-39

With the outbreak of the so-called "Cultural ColdWar", Soviets and Americans strove to circulate their respective social and cultural models and ideologies in their rival fields. More importantly they aimed to restrict the expansion of the enemy values in their own territory. The promotion and diffusion of American Studies in the universities of the Western European block was part of that conflict. So far, knowledge about who took part in this effort and which activities were implemented in order to promote American History, Art, Literature, Political Science, etc., among citizens of the Old Continent is scarce. This paper seeks to illuminate this process by analyzing what happened at the Bologna Center of the John Hopkins University in that regard.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Swenden, Wilfried

Conclusion: The Future of Belgian Federalism Between Reform and Swansong?

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.3, 369-382

This article summarizes the main arguments of the special issue. It also probes into the deficiencies of the Belgian federal system and argues that the most recent crisis of Belgian federalism (2007/11) is not the result of rising socio-economic differences between Flanders and Wallonia, but the consequence of building a bipolar federation on to a split party system. The article concludes by identifying some potential roadmaps (federal reform, confederalism, and the referendum) for the future.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 1.Federalism

Beyers, Jan; Bursens, Peter

How Europe Shapes the Nature of the Belgian Federation: Differentiated EU Impact Triggers Both Co-operation and Decentralization

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.3 , 271-91

This paper disentangles the impact of various dimensions of European integration on different aspects of the Belgian federal polity. We discern two opposite trends. While the institutional embeddedness of Belgium as an EU member state results in domestic centralizing tendencies and co-operative political practices, economic integration stimulates political pressures for regional autonomy, contributing to further divergence and hollowing out of the federal level. We conclude by arguing that the EU clearly affects territorial politics in Belgium, but, as the European causes are multidimensional, that also the effects, albeit substantial, will be diverse.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Sinardet, Dave

How Linguistically Divided Media Represent Linguistically Divisive Issues. Belgian TV-Debates on Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde.

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.3 , 311-330

In line with public sphere theory, media in federal political systems can be expected to provide a forum for federal debate on federal issues. However, as media in Belgium are organized at the level of the language communities this is not necessarily the case. This contribution analyses how political TV debates of the two public broadcasters in Belgium represented the issue of the split of the electoral district BrusselsHalle-Vilvoorde (BHV), on which politicians of both language communities were divided. Results show that Dutch-speaking and French-speaking media in Belgium do not serve as a platform for federal debate where the contrasting viewpoints can be expressed, but rather echo and amplify the political consensus of their own language community.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Reuchamps, Min

The Future of Belgian Federalism Through the Eyes of the Citizens

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.3 , 353-368

How do Belgian citizens see the future of federalism? In the typical consociational Belgium citizens have not had much to say about the federalization process, which has been largely elite-driven. And actually not so much is known about the future of Belgian federalism through the eyes of the citizens. Survey research shows some differences in identity and in institutional preferences between the two language groups, but also a low salience of the issue when they cast a vote. This article, therefore, looks at alternative methods to capture the perceptions of the citizens: focus groups, deliberative experiments and mental maps.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 1.Federalism

Bouteca, Nicolas; Devos, Carl; Mus, Manu

The Future of Belgian Federalism as Seen Through the Eyes of the Social Partners: A Continuing Obstacle to Social Policy Decentralization?

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.3 , 293-309

In this article, we take a look at the discussion on the devolution of social policy. Despite the pressure of strong nationalist movements to decentralize socio-economic matters, the federal welfare state does not erode. In their study up to the early 2000s, Bland and Lecours explain this relative standstill by pointing to the institutionalization of neo-corporatistic organizations. These organizations, which are strongly involved in the management of the welfare state, have not split along language lines and prevent the decentralization of socio-economic policies in order to preserve their power. Based on empirical evidence, this paper shows that federal social partners are an important obstacle to social policy decentralization in Belgium while the regional social partners have differing opinions on the devolution debate.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Dandoy, Rgis; Matagne, Geoffroy; Van Wynsberghe, Caroline

The Future of Belgian Federalism: An Analysis of Party Preferences

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.3 , 331-351

This article studies the political discourses regarding the future of Belgian federalism since the year 2000. Analysing party manifestos, it intends to identify patterns of preferences about the long-term evolution of Belgian institutions and the distribution of competences. The quantitative and qualitative analysis shows that the systemic duality of Belgian federalism largely explains the preferences of political actors: French-speaking parties overall oppose the broad state reform that the Dutch-speaking parties collectively support. Yet, each party has a specific position on the decentralization cleavage and a vision of Belgian federalism that cannot be reduced to its linguistic affiliation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Miguel Angel García Herrera and Gonzalo Maestro Buelga

Del federalismo competitivo al federalismo global de mercado

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 88 , 11-49

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Nigoul Claude

Essai sur le fédéralisme et les fédéralistes face à la souveraineté

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 368, 2013/2 , 33-60



The sovereignty is an ambiguous concept par excellence, and is a reason for serious confusion in the European debate. Philosophers, lawyers and political scientists have different definitions or, at least, different perceptions of it, with no other purpose than to legitimize the ideologies of their respective disciplines. Whether it is used for the service of God, of the people, the science, the modernity, or simply for the service of the circumstances, there would be a wish to banish this reference from a debate where it would create confusion or become irrelevant. But sovereignty is still present, as well as the state to which it is inextricably linked, probably because it is the keystone of any global political architecture. Federalism had to face this reality that was, by definition, its negation, and with which he had to deal. The federalists, in particular the most radical among them—as the followers of Proudhon, like Alexandre Marc—who were dreaming of a society without a state, have avoided the problem only by ignoring it or skirting it around.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

White Linda A.

Federalism and Equality Rights Implementation in Canada

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 44, n. 1, Winter , 157-182

This article examines the impact of federalism on reproductive and sexuality rights in Canada. It highlights an important problem in rights implementation triggered by the particular division of jurisdiction in these policy areas. Despite favorable Supreme Court rulings recognizing the essential validity of these actions (namely access to abortion and contraception, and marriage between same-sex partners), cooperation by another level of government is necessary in order to implement access. Huge variation exists in the extent to which provincial and territorial governments have implemented access in law and policy. The article points to an important research agenda on rights implementation that moves beyond analysis of formal responses postjudicial review to consider the impact of divided jurisdiction.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Sala Gemma

Federalism without Adjectives in Spain

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 44, n. 1, Winter , 109-134

Is Spain a federal system? Most experts do not give a straight answer and define the system with adjectives. They tend to underline how it differs from other federations, rather than focusing on what they have in common. This article presents Spain as a fully fledged federation, analyzes the process of political decentralization (1978–2010) to explore the ways it is constitutionally entrenched, and confronts the arguments of its critics. I argue that some of its idiosyncratic institutions are precisely what turn the Estado de las Autonomías into a federal system. A clarification about what makes Spain a federation is needed to prevent future reforms from turning it into what it already is, rather than effectively improving its functioning, and to dissipate the kind of Spanish exceptionalism that makes this case seldom considered in comparative studies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism



Floriana Cerniglia and Riccarda Longaretti

Federalism, Human Capital Accumulation and Inequality

in *Economia Politica*, 2/2013 , 151-80

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Chatfield Sara, Rocco Philip

Is Federalism a Political Safety Valve? Evidence from Congressional Decision Making, 1960–2005

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 44, n. 1, Winter , 1-23

American federalism is often described as a system that contains “political safety valves,” or institutional mechanisms that ensure that major policy reforms can be created, even during periods of intense political conflict. By granting discretion to the states, for example, scholars claim that Congress can ensure that diverse constituencies receive their preferred policies. In this article, we examine Congress’s pattern of delegating discretion to sub-national institutions in the postwar period, systematically assessing how the political conditions under which a broad sample of landmark legislation passed are related to the delegation of administrative authority to the states. Contrary to the “safety valve” image of federalism, we find very little evidence to suggest that Congress grants more discretion to sub-national governments under periods of intense political conflict.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Guido Montani

Neoliberalismo, federalismo e democrazia europea

in *Mulino (il)*, n.6

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Jennifer Menzies

Reducing Tensions in Australian Intergovernmental Relations through Institutional Innovation

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, volume 72 n.3 , 382-89

Australia remains under-institutionalised in structures to manage intergovernmental relations. Negotiation and agreement remain dependent on the ad hoc summitry of COAG with deliberations dominated by the ‘soft’ factors of partisanship, personality and the political cycle. This articles outlines the ‘soft’ factors which dominate intergovernmental relations and argues institutional innovation is needed to formalise the management of multi-level governance in Australia



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

D. Michael Ray, Rodolphe H. Lamarche, Ian R. MacLachlan

**Restoring the “Regional” to Regional Policy: A Regional Typology of Western Canada
in Canadian Public Policy**, volume 39 n.3 , 411-29

The analysis and definition of economic regions at the sub-provincial scale is a neglected policy issue in Canada notwithstanding the severity and persistence of disparities in regional growth. Employment growth in the 30 Economic Regions (ERs) of Western Canada 2001–2006 is partitioned into region and industry-mix effects and the resulting regional typology identified. Western Canada became a single development-region in 1988, a quarter of a century ago, with a single policy focus of diversifying its industry-mix. However, its ERs display great diversity in their economic structure and growth rates and they have experienced both [End Page 411] the highest and the lowest employment growth rates in Canada. Regional diversity creates policy quandaries that require development policies crafted to individual regional opportunities and needs in place of the one-size-fits-all approach of Western Economic Diversification Canada.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Deschouwer, Kris; Reuchamps, Min

**The Belgian Federation at a Crossroad
in Regional and Federal Studies**, volume 23 n.3 , 261-270

In the introduction, the editors present the special issue and, in particular, the issue at stake: the future of Belgian federalism. Despite the agreement on the sixth state reform, four key issues remain for Belgium's future: decision making, distribution of powers, intergovernmental relations and the role of the parties. Drawing on past and present investigations of this topic, they present the state of the federation and, in so doing, they set the stage for the remaining papers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Case Holly

**The Strange Politics of Federative Ideas in East-Central Europe
in Journal of Modern History**, Vol. 85, No. 4, December , 833-866

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Mehler Andreas

**Why Federalism Did Not Lead to Secession in Cameroon
in Ethnopolitics**, Volume 13, Issue 1, 2014 , 48-66



This study argues that Philip Roeder's 'segmental-institutions thesis' does not provide a compelling explanation for the development of a separatist movement among the Anglophone community in West Cameroon. West Cameroon is not a case where the creation of a segment state had brought about secessionist aspirations. Instead, it was the abolishment of federalism that had the long-term effect of fostering secessionism when oil was detected and a political crisis later unfolded in the course of a flawed democratization process. This case suggests that more complicated dynamics are associated with both the institutionalization and abolishment of segment states than is proposed in Roeder's original thesis.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Williams Helen

Changing the National Narrative: Evolution in Citizenship and Integration in Germany, 2000–10
in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 49, Issue 1, January , 54-74

The past 10 years of German history give evidence of a paradigm shift in Germany's national narrative. The early years of the decade were marked by widespread denial at the elite level that Germany was a country of immigration and adherence to an assimilationist model of integration but progressed to the creation of a National Integration Plan by Christian Union Chancellor Angela Merkel and the liberalization of public opinion. Germany's recent history shows dramatic discursive and policy changes. This article documents the changes in elite discursive scripts, showing the gradual acceptance and rejection of discourses about integration and their implications for national identity. It concludes that, though the changes are not universally liberal, the decade as a whole constitutes a remarkable liberalization of both elite discourse and public opinion.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Gmez Fortes, Braulio; Cabeza Prez, Laura

Basque Regional Elections 2012: The Return of Nationalism under the Influence of the Economic Crisis
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.4 , 495-505

The 2012 Basque regional election, held on 25 March, resulted in a new government of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV). The incumbent Socialist Party suffered a dramatic reduction in electoral support, obtaining just 19% of the vote, far below the 30% they had attained in 2009. This was the first election held in the Basque Country without the looming shadow of ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna; Basque Homeland and Freedom). However, the influence of the economy was stronger than the nationalism issue in this election, as we show in this electoral report.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Perez Marco

Luis Arana e la corrente ortodossa del PNV negli anni del dopoguerra spagnolo (1939-1951)
in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXII, n. 43 , 51-75

This article focuses on the post-war transition of orthodox Basque nationalism, which was able to make up for its lack of



political influence by building an aranista historiographic “memory”. Luis Arana, whose late years are studied in this paper, started this process and turned the theoretical immobilism of Aranism (the expression of an ethno-religious nationalism) into the functional symbolism of a modern mass party.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jeffrey Lesser

A Reflection on Foreignness and the Construction of Brazilian National Identities
in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Volume 50, Number 2, 2013 , 53-63

A pesquisa sobre brasileiros de ascendência imigrantista ajuda-nos a entender questões amplas de raça e etnicidade. Ao dizer isso, eu tomo uma posição diferente da maioria das pesquisas onde os brasileiros nessa categoria são definidos como não normativos. A abordagem tradicional vem do uso linguístico no Brasil das categorias “imigrante” ou “estrangeiro” como ancestral ou herdado, como uma definição que pode ser aplicada mesmo para brasileiros nativos. Esse artigo, porém, muda o paradigma por não criar uma categoria única para pessoas nascidas no Brasil e pessoas nascidas fora do país. Fazendo essa distinção, posso analisar como e porque pessoas se representam e são vistos como “imigrantes” ou “estrangeiros” numa maneira situacional. Assim podemos lembrar que cidadãos brasileiros, independente da linguagem associada à sua descendência, são brasileiros.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Katherine E. Fleming, Edward Berenson, David Laven, Silvana Patriarca, Lucy Riall

A Round Table discussion of The Risorgimento Revisited. Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth Century Italy
in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* , Vol. 18, n°5 , 644-658

Based on the Round Table discussion held at the Remarque Institute, New York University, in November 2012, this paper consists of comments on the volume of essays *The Risorgimento Revisited. Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth Century Italy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), edited by Silvana Patriarca and Lucy Riall, followed by the editors' responses.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

ROMAO, Felipe Vasconcelos

A transformação dos mecanismos de materialização política das identidades nacionais: o Estado autônomo espanhol e a emergência das autonomias-nação basca e catalã.
in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.56 no.2 , 63-78

Este artigo visa a abordar a forma como duas identidades nacionais concretas, a basca e a catalã, potencializadas pelos respectivos nacionalismos e pelo processo de democratização espanhol, conseguiram materializar-se política e legalmente naquilo que qualificamos como autonomias-nação. Para chegar à análise deste estudo de caso, começa por percorrer o papel do Estado-nação e a relação entre os conceitos de Estado e nação. Destaca de forma especial a emergência de novas unidades políticas, que o autor denomina autonomias-nação, que constituem um autêntico



desafio ao conceito tradicional de soberania.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Venosa Joseph

Adapting to the new path: Khatmiyya Sufi authority, the al-Mirghani family, and Eritrean nationalism during British Occupation, 1941–1949

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 7, Issue 3 , 413-431

This article examines the relationship between Sufi authorities and political transformation in Eritrea during the mid- and late 1940s. It analyzes the role of Eritrea's largest and most influential Sufi order, the Khatmiyya, and how its leadership struggled to maintain its influence amidst the rapidly changing political and social climate initiated by the collapse of Italian colonial authority in 1941. With the arrival of the British Military Administration (BMA), much of the region comprising the Khatmiyya's historical heartland in western and northern Eritrea experienced rapid social and political transformation, as landless Tigre-speaking peasants mobilized a widespread emancipation movement to assert their economic independence, while other Muslim groups beyond the Khatmiyya's base articulated a pro-independence political platform. This article argues that Khatmiyya authorities were largely unable to transition the order from its previous role as an Italian-supported Sufi power into a legitimate authority in post-colonial Eritrea. The Khatmiyya leadership's half-hearted, compromised support for "serf" emancipation among Tigre-speaking groups and its eventual withdrawal from the Eritrean nationalist movement signaled a major decline in the order's influence by the end of the decade. This article thus looks at the role of Khatmiyya authorities to help illuminate one of the more complex and misunderstood aspects of Eritrea's early nationalist history.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Sandon Emma

African Mirror: The Life and Times of the South African Newsreel from 1910 to 1948

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 661-680

African Mirror, the South African-produced and world's longest running commercial newsreel, was a regular item in cinema programmes and on other exhibition circuits in South Africa from its inception in 1913. The importance of cinema newsreel has been recognised for its role as propaganda during wartime and its presence in everyday life, reaching wide audiences with representations of national and public events. The digitisation of Movietone, Pathé and other well-known newsreels has enabled scholars to access archive material and has generated detailed histories of newsreels' impact in the public realm. This article extends this analysis to African Mirror. The archive of the South African newsreel constitutes a substantial body of film, produced weekly over 70 years. Its operations extended across southern and eastern Africa, as well as North Africa during the Second World War. It was screened on cinema circuits to mainly white, but also Indian and 'coloured' South African audiences, the latter a category which incorporated some African audiences, and its footage was supplied to newsreels such as Pathé. This article highlights the similarity of African Mirror to other newsreels and argues that it played an important role in promoting 'South Africanism' in the first decades of Union. Providing an overview of its coverage of South African events, it details the conditions of production, distribution and exhibition of African Mirror, and describes how it became established as part of the cinema-going experience in South Africa between 1913 and 1948.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Simone Giulia

Alfredo Rocco e l'epilogo dell'Associazione nazionalista italiana: la fusione con il Partito nazionale fascista in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XII, n. 31, "Tra le due sponde: la diplomazia culturale degli americani", giugno

In 1923, the National Fascist Party (Pnf) and the Italian Nationalist Association (Ani) decided to merge: consequently, the Ani, a political party founded in 1910, disappeared from the Italian political scene. Although the merger did not appear to cause any tension, it was actually a rather complex process, involving the most prominent members of the Association from opposing positions. This paper, based on the analysis of printed sources and through an extensive use of archival material, intends to shed light on the role played in this context by Alfredo Rocco, who was at the time a leading nationalist and, from 1925, minister for Justice in Mussolini's government.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Sinem Adar

Ambiguities of Democratization: Nationalism, Religion, and Ethnicity Under AKP Government in Turkey in Political Power and Social Theory, Volume 25 , 3-36

This chapter explores the impact of the seemingly new recognition of non-Muslims in Turkey, a historically marginalized minority. In the 2000s, the ruling AKP party, a religiously and socially conservative party, made a number of symbolic gestures toward the increasing recognition of these communities. This chapter explores this ethnographically and historically by looking at the political effects of AKP's democratization attempts on the Rum Orthodox ("Greek") community in Istanbul. It argues that these attempts paralleled a similar language of democracy within the community particularly in the aftermath of the government's permission to run elections in the non-Muslim community institutions (vakifs), following a period of time during which no elections had been held in these institutions. At the same time, these attempts occasioned old and new forms of hierarchies within the community, which emerged as a result of the competing claims within it to its representation. These seemingly ambiguous effects of democratization within the Rum community emerged in the gap between the AKP's democracy discourse that claims universal inclusion and its highly selective practice of democracy. This was so because the AKP preserved the ethnoreligious definition of national identity even while it readopted the historical legacies of the Ottoman millet system that managed society along religious confessional lines. These findings contribute to the existing theories on democratization by highlighting the inextricable link between inclusion and exclusion that emerges in the gap between the discursive claims of democracy toward universal inclusion and the selective actualization of these claims in practice. Such selective inclusion that is inherent to the politics of democracy is managed differently in different contexts due to the hybrid forms of state recognition of the population.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Massó Guijarro Ester



An Independent Caprivi: A Madness of the Few, a Partial Collective Yearning or a Realistic Possibility? Citizen Perspectives on Caprivian Secession

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 39, Issue 2 , 337-352

The case of Caprivi in Namibia represents an example of independence movements operating within the (multi-)national states in the contemporary Southern Africa. An armed secessionist uprising in August 1999, although quickly stifled by the Namibian government, revealed the singular historical roots of this movement, as well as a presently widespread popular feeling of discontent and aspiration for separate Caprivian citizenship. This article explores some key visions of the local population's experience of their membership of the Namibian state and seeks to explore the possibility – real or not – of an independent Caprivi equipped with a shared ethnic identity. The aim is to address (at least partially) the gap found in research scholarship about Caprivian secession in terms of the views and preferences of the Caprivian population itself. On the basis of ethnographic field research, it has been possible to explore popular perceptions of the events of 1999, the idea of independence, and the general feeling of neglect by the Namibian government.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Laxer Emily, Carson Rachael Dianne, Korteweg Anna C.

Articulating minority nationhood: cultural and political dimensions in Québec's reasonable accommodation debate

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 20, Issue 1, January 2014 , 133–153

Abstract

Given their precarious position within larger states, national minorities cannot rely on federal governments to affirm their nationhood. Moreover, insofar as nationhood is predicated on a shared history, language and culture, immigrants place additional strains on the maintenance of national distinctiveness and the political claims that derive from it. In 2006–2007, following a series of confrontations over religious practices in the public sphere, Québec's provincial government appointed the Bouchard–Taylor Commission to investigate avenues for the accommodation of immigrant-related cultural and religious differences. While it failed to generate policy, the commission did provide a discursive space for the (re)assertion of Québécois nationhood. Analysing the production of national identity in newspaper debates of the Bouchard–Taylor report, we offer an alternative to the ethnic–civic paradigm in nationalism theory. Rather than treat ethnic and civic as two separate ends of a single continuum, we conceptualise a relationship between two dimensions: one of culture and one of politics. We show that in contemporary articulations of Québec national identity, the prerequisites of political membership derive their meaning from a productive tension between blood-based and adoptive conceptions of national culture.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Burg Steven L., Chernyha Lachen T.

Asymmetric Devolution and Ethnoregionalism in Spain: Mass Preferences and the Microfoundations of Instability

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 3, 2013 , 255-286



Abstract

This article examines the impact of asymmetrical devolution on mass preferences for devolution and voting behavior in the regions of Spain. Rather than mitigating demands for greater devolution, asymmetry encourages the escalation of such demands in both the ethnically distinct and the majority-dominated regions. Preferences for symmetry and perceptions of inequality that result from asymmetry are transformed into pressures for further devolution via the electoral mechanism. These findings suggest asymmetrical devolution may be an unstable solution for managing ethnoregionalism, and that Stepan, Linz, and Yadav's strong endorsement of asymmetrical federalism as a tool for the management of ethnoregionalism in democracies should be qualified.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kingsberg Miriam

Becoming Brazilian to Be Japanese: Emigrant Assimilation, Cultural Anthropology, and National Identity in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 56, Issue 1, January , 67-97

Assimilation makes new members of a group by changing particular characteristics of non-members to reflect the fundamentals of collective belonging. Gaining the qualities for inclusion in one community typically involves losing at least some features that confer acceptance in another. However, scholars have generally not acknowledged assimilation as a process of loss. In part, this gap bespeaks a larger tendency to overlook the influence of emigration on national identity in population-exporting states (compared to the vast literature on immigration and national identity in population-receiving countries). This article analyzes discourses of assimilation concerning Japanese emigrants as a case study of how the ways in which members are understood to leave the national community delimits the bases of belonging for those who remain. Historically, Japanese ideologies of assimilation have been most contested in Brazil, where the largest Japanese diaspora in the West sought to reconcile patriotism and the expectations of the Japanese government with local nation-building agendas. After World War II, many emigrants and their descendants in Brazil refused to acknowledge Japan's surrender. This crisis inspired the first study of the Japanese diaspora ever conducted by a Japan-based social scientist. Izumi Seiichi's work in cultural anthropology helped to build Japan's new identity as a "peace state." Subsequent generations of Japanese scholars continued to study the assimilation of the diaspora, recategorized as "Nikkei," as a foil for "Japaneseness." Their ethnic conception of national membership remains influential today, even as Japan transitions from a population exporter to a land of immigrants, including the Nikkei.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Zuber Christina Isabel

Beyond outbidding? Ethnic party strategies in Serbia in Party Politics, Volume 19, Number 5, September , 758-777

The outbidding model of ethnic party competition predicts that ethnic parties adopt radical strategies to maximize support among voters of an ethnic group. In contrast, this article argues that ethnic parties have a wider range of strategies at their disposal. Integrating recent findings, ethnic party strategies are defined by the criteria of appeal and policy position as 'static bidding', 'ethnic underbidding', 'ethnic outbidding', 'lateral bidding', 'lateral underbidding' and



'lateral outbidding'. Empirically, a comparison of strategies adopted by ethnic parties competing for votes of the Hungarian and Bosniak minorities in Serbia shows variance of strategies within and across groups despite an environment conducive to outbidding and while holding institutional context factors constant. Factors causing this variance are explored through content analysis of 18 semi-structured interviews with ethnic party elites. An explanation that links strategies to parties' goals and the incentives of the structure of intra- and inter-ethnic competition is suggested for further research.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Besnik Pula

Binding Institutions: Peasants and Nation-State Rule in the Albanian Highlands, 1919–1939
in *Political Power and Social Theory*, Volume 25 , 37 - 70

The seminal literature on state formation proposes a model of “co-opt and expand” to explain the rise of centralized nation-states in modern and early modern Europe. Building on this literature’s distinction between direct and indirect rule, other analysts have expanded the scope of this model to explain patterns of state building in the non-Western world, particularly in the construction of centralized authority in postcolonial and postimperial contexts. According to this literature, the failure of central rulers to co-opt local elites has frequently produced weak states lacking capacities of rule in their peripheries. Using archival materials to examine the Albanian state’s relatively successful penetration of the country’s highland communities during its early decades of national independence, this article suggests that state building can proceed along an alternative path called “co-opt and bind,” in which state builders “bind” peasant communal institutions to the institutional idea of the nation-state to legitimize and implement state building goals. The article identifies three mechanisms used by early Albanian state builders to generate legitimacy and institute political order in its remote communities, including disarmament, the institution of new forms of economic dependency, and the invocation of peasant cultural codes of honor.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Macleod Jenny

Britishness and Commemoration: National Memorials to the First World War in Britain and Ireland
in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 48, n. 4, October

The 1917 call for a national memorial to the First World War led to the establishment of the Imperial War Museum in London. It also inspired Scottish, Welsh and Irish national memorials. No English national memorial was ever proposed; instead the Cenotaph and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier were conceived as imperial memorials. The new statelet of Northern Ireland did not commemorate its overall war effort within its own territory. This article surveys the organization, location and design of the Scottish, Welsh and Irish national war memorials to the First World War. It examines some aspects of the complex set of relationships between the local, regional, national and imperial layers of identity that are inherent in Britishness. In doing so it reveals the confused and contested nature of national identity in the United Kingdom at the close of the First World War.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Jensen Carsten, Frølund Thomsen Jens Peter

Can party competition amplify mass ideological polarization over public policy? The case of ethnic exclusionism in Denmark and Sweden

in *Party Politics*, Volume 19, Number 5, September , 821-840

It is commonplace to see political parties as fundamentally constrained by public opinion. By contrast, this paper argues that party competition amplifies mass ideological polarization over public policy. Specifically, the investigation concerns the relationship between mass-level ideology and ethnic exclusionism (the call for harsh immigration policies). As party competition intensifies, this relationship strengthens. The party competition thesis is tested by performing a comparative study of Denmark and Sweden. Unlike their Danish counterparts, Swedish political parties have, most of the time, refused to take opposed stands on immigration policy. In effect, the empirical data show that the individual-level association between self-reported ideology and ethnic exclusionism is considerably stronger in Denmark than in Sweden. To investigate the party competition effect in depth, both longitudinal analyses and a cross-sectional analysis are performed. Data cover the period 1990-2008.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Urquhart Lela M.

Competing Traditions in the Historiography of Ancient Greek Colonization in Italy

in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 75, Number 1, January , 23-44

Recent assessments of the historiography of ancient Greek colonization have generally focused on its development in the context of European imperialism. Such studies have often overlooked a second tradition that evolved among Italian scholars and that differed from the "hellenization" paradigm common among scholars in northern Europe. Differing perceptions of non-Greek or "native" Italians informed these divergent representations of the process and significance of Greek colonization produced by each scholarly body. Such perceptions were, additionally, variably shaped by both the political conditions of imperialism and Italian nationalism and the recursive dialectic in which Italian and European intellectuals engaged.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Fournis Yann

Conclusion : De la «vague nationale» à l'économie politique des forums nationalitaires

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 13 - La vague nationale des années 1960-1970. Regards croisés sur le Canada et l'Europe

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=1209>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Zabalo Julen, Mateos Txoli, Iraola Iker



Conflicting nationalist traditions and immigration: the Basque case from 1950 to 1980

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 19, Issue 3, July 2013 , 513–531

Abstract

Immigration from the different regions in Spain to the Basque Country has traditionally opposed Basque and Spanish nationalism. This article provides an overview of the discourse of both nationalist traditions with respect to the intra-regional migration movement of the second half of the twentieth century as well as of the resulting controversy. Whereas the Basque nationalist movement claims to have defended the need to integrate immigrants since the middle of the twentieth century, particularly through politics, Spanish nationalism claims that Basque nationalism has helped marginalise these same immigrants. A qualitative analysis is used to contrast this controversy by consulting the opinion of the Spanish immigrants who settled in the Basque Country and did not avail of the political integration proposed by Basque nationalism. The main conclusion is that these immigrants tend to avoid the heart of the matter of discord between both nationalist traditions, granting little importance to political and cultural elements though stressing their social integration in the Basque Country.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Dabed Emilio

Constitutional Making and Identity Construction in Occupied Palestine

in *Confluences Méditerranée*, N° 86 , 115-129

The constitutional drafting in Palestine was seen by some people as another emancipatory step, as an opportunity to reassert Palestinian identity, and as a challenge to the Palestinian legacy of colonialism and occupation. However, in this article I argue that the role and impact of these legal processes were of a strikingly different nature. The starting point of the analysis is that the PA's constitutional and institutional frame was designed under occupation, by and for a non sovereign entity, and it thus represents the product of an ongoing colonial conflict rather than the end of it. Within this context, the PA political/constitutional regime rather than being an emancipatory reassertion of Palestinian identity tended to reproduce some colonial patterns –i.e. the Palestinian non sovereign status, authoritarian forms of domination, and the division of the colonized/occupied population in social groups with different legal status and often antagonistic interests

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

Constitutional identity as a dimension of national identity

Law and Identity in Palestine: Re-imagining the nation

The legal/constitutional re-articulation of colonial patterns

Towards an authoritarian non state

How to do things with law: the new realities of Oslo

Conclusions

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Fausto Barlocco



Consuming Ethnic Identities: “Materializing” the Nation and the Minority in Sabah

in Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia , Vol. 28, n°3 , 465-484

Newspaper advertisements for various products have been used to promote the annual rice harvest festival, the Pesta Kaamatan, of the Kadazandusun minority group of Sabah. Robert argued that advertisements in print, as a genre, qualify commodities as embodiments and/or possessions of the nation and that their consumption is a form of appropriation by individuals of the qualities of the nation. This paper asks whether the same notion remains applicable if we replace the nation with one of its allotropes: the ethnic group. While it can be argued that there is a specific Kadazandusun community of consumers, these consumers constitute only a subgroup of the Malaysian whole, albeit one that shares specific characteristics with that whole. This situation reflects the unique form of the Malaysian nation, which presents itself as a pluralistic arrangement in which the main communities retain their cultural distinctiveness. Cultures of consumption and advertisement can be agents in “materializing” and objectifying not only the nation but also the minority ethnic groups that constitute it. Such agency marks the legal, religious and cultural precepts that limit movements between objectified categories, specifically the categories separating Muslims from non-Muslims through different practices of consumption.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Klautke Egbert

Defining the Volk: Willy Hellpach's Völkerpsychologie between National Socialism and Liberal Democracy, 1934–1954

in History of European Ideas, Volume 39, Special Issue: Scottish Philosophy in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World, Issue 5 , 693-708

This article introduces the Völkerpsychologie of the German psychologist and liberal politician Willy Hellpach. It shows how Hellpach used the once venerable approach of Völkerpsychologie, introduced by Moritz Lazarus and Heymann Steinthal in the nineteenth century, to adapt to the Third Reich and distract the authorities from his political career. The article provides a close reading of Hellpach's main text on the subject, the *Einführung in die Völkerpsychologie* published in 1938, and explains the ease with which he was able to make this approach compatible with Nazi ideology. Hellpach's case thus illustrates the proximity of national-liberal thinking to ‘Nazi ideology’. Moreover, on account of the post-war reception of Hellpach's Völkerpsychologie by scholars such as Ralf Dahrendorf, the article examines the uneasy and incomplete repudiation of Völkerpsychologie after 1945. It concludes that the origins of widely used concepts such as ‘national habitus’ or ‘national identity’ can be traced back to the tradition of Völkerpsychologie and related studies of national character.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Marco Rovinello

Disegnare la naja. Rappresentazioni della leva in Italia fra nation-building e antimilitarismo (1861-1914)

in Memoria e ricerca , Fascicolo 44 , 43-71

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Boonen Joris, Hooghe Marc

Do nationalist parties shape or follow sub-national identities? A panel analysis on the rise of the nationalist party in the Flemish Region of Belgium, 2006–11

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 20, Issue 1, January 2014 , 56-79

Abstract

In this article, we examine the steep and unprecedented rise of the New Flemish Alliance (N-VA), a Flemish nationalist party in Belgium that succeeded in gaining almost thirty per cent of the vote in a couple of years. During this period, a panel survey among 3,025 late adolescents and young adults was conducted. Our analyses suggest that support for a sub-nationalist ideology is far more successful in explaining a subsequent vote for the nationalist party than vice versa. In terms of supply and demand mechanisms, we find that N-VA has managed to address a preexisting reservoir of Flemish nationalist voters (demand), rather than attributing to a development of a stronger Flemish identity among its followers (supply). We should therefore not overestimate the constructionist power of (sub-)nationalist political elites for the development of (sub-)nationalist identities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Leoussi Athena S., Spence J. E., Nugent Paul, Green Elliott

Dreams and Nightmares of Nationhood: The Obi Igwara Special Memorial Event to mark 50 Years of Decolonization in Africa, 1960–2010

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 19, Issue 3, July 2013 , 434–455

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Serrat Joan Esculies

El nacionalismo radical catalán (1913-1923)

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXII, n. 43 , 7-28

This article revises the organizational evolution of ultra-Catalanist entities between 1913 and 1923 and classifies them. Catalan radical nationalism thus appears to be made up of fewer groups, more closely related with Unió Catalanista and with an organization dating back earlier than thought. The paper also deals with the link between intransigent groups and Francesc Macià's first party, Federació Democràtica Nacionalista as well as its incipient relationship with the voting policy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Goikoetxea Jule

Emancipatory Nationalism and Catalonia

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 12, Issue 4, 2013 , 394-397

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Costa Anna

Focusing on Chinese nationalism: an inherently flawed perspective? A reply to Allen Carlson

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 41, Issue 6, 2013 , 93-112

Abstract

My article replies to Allen Carlson's critique of the existing literature on Chinese nationalism (Carlson's article was published in Volume 15, issue 1 of *Nations and Nationalism*, 2009). I address Carlson's criticisms and proceed to evaluate his proposal to move away from an allegedly unhelpful focus on nationalism towards the allegedly more illuminating framework of national identity construction. My approach to the existing literature on Chinese nationalism acknowledges efforts made within it at grappling with issues of theory and definition and builds on this acknowledgement to operate a selective appraisal of its strengths and weaknesses. I argue that while some of the problems identified by Carlson do indeed plague the literature, his advocacy of abandoning nationalism as a focus of research is unwarranted. There is continuing validity in using nationalism as a lens for understanding how China sees its place in the world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Meadwell Hudson

Gellner redux?

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 14, Issue 1, January 2008 , 18-36

Abstract

The work of Ernest Gellner continues to be an influential part of nationalism studies. A recent appraisal has raised questions about the argument that Gellner offered in his central text on nationalism, *Nations and Nationalism*. This article takes up other issues in Gellner's work on nationalism. The article examines Gellner's influential definition of nationalism and the interpretation that he placed on that definition, as well as his treatment of 'political cohabitation'. It also pays more attention to Gellner's later work, namely, Gellner's discussion of 'the time zones of nationalism'. The paper draws on secondary literature but its primary purpose is to assess the coherence of Gellner's arguments.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Opal J.M.



General Jackson's Passports: Natural Rights and Sovereign Citizens in the Political Thought of Andrew Jackson, 1780s–1820s

in *Studies in American Political Development* , Volume 27 - Issue 02 , 69-85

This essay examines the development of Andrew Jackson's ideas about nationalism, citizenship, and sovereignty within the southern borderlands of the post-Revolutionary United States. It argues that he was in many respects a conventional borderlands leader—that is, someone with little sense of attachment to any particular polity, who speculated in Indian lands while pursuing commercial ventures through American, Spanish, and Native jurisdictions. But an especially devastating war between the settlers of Middle Tennessee and some Cherokee warriors during the 1790s forced Jackson and others to articulate their attachment to the United States in new ways. Bitterly rejecting a Federalist model of citizenship that assumed clear territorial limits, they invented a new “protection covenant,” whereby the people themselves, imagined within a brutal state of nature, retained full sovereignty to deploy violence. In addition to a fresh look at Jackson, the article demonstrates the importance of international as well as Constitutional law in the formation of early American nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Elena Tabacchi

Gli alberi della nazione. Una festa "educatrice" nell'Italia di fine Ottocento

in *Memoria e ricerca* , Fascicolo 44 , 91-106

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Bekhuis Hidde, Meuleman Roza, Lubbers Marcel

Globalization and Support for National Cultural Protectionism from a Cross-National Perspective

in *European Sociological Review* , Volume 29, Issue 5, October 2013 , 1040-1052

Abstract

This study answers the question to what extent support for national cultural protectionism differs between countries, and to what extent differences between countries are related to levels of globalization. We propose that globalization processes affect people's support of cultural protectionism, both by a diversification view on globalization, that is, larger supply of goods, and by a nationalistic interpretation, that is, a threat to the nation and rising nationalism. National cultural protectionism of 27,725 respondents from 23 countries is analyzed (International Social Survey Programme data). Multi-level analyses show that globalization affects cultural protectionism negatively, providing support for the diversification interpretation. However, the positive indirect effect of globalization on cultural protectionism via chauvinism and cultural patriotism provides evidence for the nationalistic interpretation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism



Hoddie Matthew

Introduction: Segment States in the Developing World
in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 13, Issue 1, 2014 , 1-12

Abstract Philip Roeder's *Where Nation-states Come From: Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism* identifies a causal relationship between the creation of segment states within a country's borders and the heightened likelihood of both nation-state crises and state disintegration. This paper provides a summary of the key aspects of Roeder's theoretical argument. It also introduces the four country case studies that appear later in this volume, considering how they may serve as a means to evaluate the degree to which Roeder's theory provides an accurate depiction of the political dynamics within countries that contain segment states.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Ivan Serrano

Just a Matter of Identity? Support for Independence in Catalonia
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.5 , 523-45

The Catalan case is usually depicted in the literature as a typical example of a nation without state with a predominant civic nationalism, where the importance of dual identities tends to generate claims for self-government short of independence. However, the recent evolution of Catalan and Spanish politics shows that independence receives relevant levels of support even among groups expressing some degree of identification with the state identity. This paper aims to fill the gap in this relatively unexplored dimension of Catalan nationalism by analysing the factors that help explain support for independence in Catalonia. The results of the research point to the importance of identity in explaining attitudes towards independence but also that it receives widespread support across Catalan society, suggesting much more complex relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Pala Carlo

La Sardegna des années 1960-1970: le virage indépendantiste

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 13 - La vague nationale des années 1960-1970. Regards croisés sur le Canada et l'Europe

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=1202>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

GABRIEL ELORRIAGA PISARIK

La contradicción nacionalista

in *Nueva Revista de Política Cultura y arte (Spagna)*, n.145



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

López-Jurado Romero de la Cruz Carmen

La secesión de territorios no coloniales y el soberanismo catalán

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 26, diciembre 2013

In this paper, the problem of the secession of colonial territories will be analyzed considering the structural principles of International Law and on the basis of an analysis of State practice. With regard to EU Law, the conditions on which a territory that segregates from a member state, such as eventually could be Catalonia, can belong to this international organization will be analyzed, and if there are precedents in this matter.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kermeol Nathalie

Le nationalisme métis des années 1970 au Canada : un tournant politique majeur pour une plus grande reconnaissance

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, Volume 13 - La vague nationale des années 1960-1970. Regards croisés sur le Canada et l'Europe

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=1200>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kernalegenn Tudi

Le réveil des revendications régionalistes et nationalitaires au tournant des années 1968: analyse d'une «vague» nationale

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, Volume 13 - La vague nationale des années 1960-1970. Regards croisés sur le Canada et l'Europe

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=1195>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Quercia Paolo

L'evoluzione del concetto di interesse nazionale

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 171, luglio-estate, 338-353

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Lavi Liron

Making time for national identity: theoretical concept and empirical glance on the temporal performance of national identity

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 19, Issue 4, October 2013 , 696–714

Abstract

Despite global, economic, technological and social transformations, nationality has remained an influential identity category. It still forms the basis for collective self-determination, political sovereignty and sense of belonging. This article puts forward the concept of 'Chrono-Work' to offer a critical approach to national identity. Employing temporal and performative perspectives, the concept addresses the conditions for establishing and constructing national identity. Drawing on Judith Butler's performance theory, it is suggested that performance of national acts loads national identity with meaning through the construction of a chronological narrative. To complete the theoretical picture, a case study of 'Chrono-Work' among the Jewish settlers on the Golan Heights in Israel is offered. It is shown that national identity is constantly performed through temporal strategies that aim at achieving a chronological order. Therefore, it is suggested that national identity is not given, but rather is the result of continuous 'Chrono-Work'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Meuleman Roza, Lubbers Marcel

Manifestations of Nationalist Attitudes: Domestic Music Listening, Participation in National Celebrations, and Far Right Voting

in *European Sociological Review*, Volume 29, Issue 6, December 2013 , 1214-1225

Abstract

In this contribution, we aim to develop an understanding of the behavioural manifestations of nationalism. Building on social identity theory and ethnic competition theory, we examine to what extent nationalist attitudes and perceived cultural ethnic threat are related to domestic music listening, participating in national celebrations and commemorations and voting for far right parties. We use data from the Social and Cultural Developments in The Netherlands surveys (SOCON, wave 2007). We find that the stronger one's nationalist attitudes and perceived cultural ethnic threat, the more likely one is to listen to domestic music. With regard to participation in national celebrations and commemorations, only nationalist attitudes have a positive effect, which seems to be mainly driven by feelings of national pride. With respect to voting for far right parties, perceived cultural ethnic threat is most important, whereas nationalist attitudes hardly affect far right voting.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Eduardo Inclán Gil



Marine Le Pen: un nuevo rostro para la vuelta a la política ultranacionalista

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 41 Enero/Marzo

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kangas Anni

Market civilisation meets economic nationalism: the discourse of nation in Russia's modernisation

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 19, Issue 3, July 2013 , 572–591

Abstract

This article examines how the discourse of nation functions as a mechanism furthering the expansion of a neoliberal market civilisation in Russia. It contributes to discussions that have challenged the assumed mutual exclusivity of economic nationalism and neoliberalism. The article develops its argument in the context of the idea of contemporary international society as a market civilisation characterised by an adaptation to and adoption of neoliberal standards by states. The ongoing modernisation project in Russia illustrates the workings of such standards, as exemplified by the project for an innovation city in Skolkovo, in the Moscow metropolitan area. Building on an analysis of the Skolkovo debate, the article argues that there is no inherent contradiction between economic nationalism and neoliberalism. Rather, the nation is an important symbolic system that produces a cultural susceptibility to, and a discursive field for, the introduction of neoliberal standards of market civilisation in Russia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ramet Sabrina P.

Memory and identity in the Yugoslav successor states

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 41, Issue 6, 2013 , 871-881

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Konstantinos Kostagiannis

Mind the gap between nationalism and international relations: Power and the nation-state in E.H. Carr's realism

in *International Politics* , Volume 50, Issue 6 , 830-845

The aim of this article is to expand on the work done in recent literature which dispelled the simplistic notion that realism is to be identified with state-centrism and that the nation-state represents a sort of static 'unit' in the international system. I explore the connection between Carr's formulation of power and the way he approached the nation-state and nationalism. From such a discussion the nation-state emerges as an unfixed and historically conditioned entity whose development follows changes at the domain of power. Carr's particularly flexible conceptualisation of power with its



military, economic and ideational facet allows for a better understanding of the development of the nation-state and nationalism. This account can contribute both to the re-discovery of classical realism and offers a good starting point for efforts to bridge international relations and sociological accounts of nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Belliveau Joel

Moncton's Student Protest Wave of 1968: Local Issues, Global Currents and the Birth of Acadian Neo-Nationalism

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, Volume 13 - La vague nationale des années 1960-1970. Regards croisés sur le Canada et l'Europe

When Acadian students put forward a new, left-leaning brand of nationalism at the end of the 1960s, most observers concluded that it was simply a "spill-over" effect of Quebec's "Quiet Revolution". This paper will put forward the case that Acadian néo-nationalisme had a lot more to do with global currents of ideas than with Québécois nationalism. It is through a New Left inspired analysis of regional inequalities that Acadian student militants became aware of disparities between the province's linguistic groups, and through the loose adoption of an anticolonial viewpoint that they reconciled themselves to the idea of nationalism. Moreover, at all times, these actors felt and imagined their struggle to be part of a broader progressive movement.

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=1201>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Roger Scully

More Scottish than Welsh? Understanding the 2011 Devolved Elections in Scotland and Wales in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 23 n.5, 591-612

In line with the prevailing methodological nationalism of electoral studies, sub-state regional elections are often assumed to be shaped primarily by state-wide political dynamics. But such assumptions make it difficult to understand why, as occurred in Scotland and Wales in May 2011, simultaneous sub-state elections might produce sharply contrasting outcomes. Drawing on original data from the Scottish and Welsh Election Studies, this paper compares voting behaviour in these two elections. We test two main hypotheses: that the election outcomes differed because of the greater influence of UK-wide political dynamics in Wales than in Scotland; and that the differing election outcomes reflected simply the differing attractiveness of the main parties in the two nations. We find substantial support for the latter hypothesis, but also some support for the former: vote choice in the 2011 devolved elections was more distinctively Scottish than it was Welsh. The conclusion considers the implications of our findings for understanding devolved politics in Scotland and Wales, and sub-state elections in general.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Parsons Neil

Nation-Building Movies Made in South Africa (1916–18): I.W. Schlesinger, Harold Shaw, and the Lingering Ambiguities of South African Union

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 641-659

This paper examines three major feature films made in South Africa in 1916–18, and still surviving in archives. All three films were directed and/or scripted by Harold Marvin Shaw. *De Voortrekkers/ Winning a Continent* (1916) and *The Symbol of Sacrifice* (1918) were made for the African Film Productions Ltd of I.W. Schlesinger. They were nation-building historical epics promoting rapprochement between Dutch Afrikaner irredentism and British South African colonialism, on the common basis of black disenfranchisement and racial segregation. *The Rose of Rhodesia* (1918), filmed by Shaw as an independent producer, represented elements of the Cape-based liberal tradition in its portrayal of black and white 'buddies'. By contrast, the novel *Mhudi*, written in 1920 by the pioneer African nationalist Sol Plaatje, himself a cinephile, presents a fourth alternative nation-building narrative.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Hartzell, Caroline A.

Nation-state Crises in the Absence and Presence of Segment States: The Case of Nicaragua

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 13, Issue 1, 2014 , 28-47

This study provides a critical examination of the relationship between segment states and nationalist crises through a consideration of Nicaragua's recent history. Nicaragua experienced a nationalist crisis from 1981 to the mid-1980s. That crisis ended with the creation of two autonomous regions on the Atlantic Coast. Although relations between the common state and the new segment state proved difficult over the next few years, the new arrangement held for two decades. Roughly around 2007, however, a new nation-state crisis emerged in Nicaragua. Taking advantage of the fact that Nicaragua provides an opportunity to compare two nation-state crises across time, this study asks whether the country's pattern of nation-state crisis, creation of a segment state, and emergence of a second nationalist crisis may mean that segment states are endogenous to nation-state crises. In addition, it raises the question of whether, if fully followed through, autonomy arrangements may prove stabilizing under certain contexts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Jule Goikoetxea

Nationalism and Democracy in the Basque Country (1979–2012)

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 12, Issue 3, 2013 , 268-289

The article explores how the federal structure of the Basque Country has checked tendencies to the centralization and concentration of political and economic power. This distinctive pattern of distributing power and political autonomy has not only led to a distinctive form of Basque democracy, but has also shaped the meaning of Basque nationalism. The analysis will illustrate that the confrontation between Basque and Spanish nationalism is as much between two national identities as it is between two different demos-building projects.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Yiannos Katsourides

**Nationalism, anti-colonialism and the crystallisation of Greek Cypriot nationalist party politics
in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**, Volume 51, Issue 4 , 503-523

While the effects of nationalism and anti-colonialism on party politics in Cyprus have been influential throughout its contemporary history, mobilisation of the anti-colonial cleavage within the Greek community of Cyprus largely accounts for the nature of Greek Cypriot politics in the early decades of British rule. Nationalism and anti-colonialism produced a permanent division among the nationalist circles of the Greek ethnic community between intransigents and moderates. Within this overarching division Greek Cypriot politics was characterised by continuous factionalism among a small social and religious elite. The bases of factionalism among the leading dignitaries of the Greek Cypriot elite were access to and ownership of power channels overlaid by individual differences over the anti-colonial struggle. The institutional context established by the British facilitated the demarcation of the conflict on an ethno-religious basis, subsequently retaining its largely intraethnic character and only becoming largely interethnic with the later political mobilisation of the Turkish community.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Troy Smith

**Nations colliding: the civil war comes to indian territory
in Civil War History** , Vol. 59, n°3

In 1861, the leaders of the "Five Civilized Tribes" in Indian Territory (Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws and Seminoles) officially allied with the Confederacy. Several different concepts of nationhood were colliding in the area: the U.S. and Confederacy models, as well as the indigenous peoples' recently constructed modern governments. The Native American leaders stressed cultural and economic ties to the South, and to the institution of slavery they had adopted; many of their citizens, however, maintained traditional views of race and nation, and resisted both the Confederacy and their leaders' political vision. Confederate representatives wooed the tribes with recognition of their sovereignty, which fit into the Confederate governmental approach, while exerting pressure on those indigenous leaders who hesitated. The execution of the war not only deeply divided the nations of Indian Territory, it enabled the Five Tribes' political and economic elites to solidify their modernist vision.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Hien Markus

**Natur und Nation. Zur literarischen Karriere einer Fiktion in der deutschen Aufklärung
in Aufklärung**, Band 25, 2014

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Doig Jack

New Nationalism in Australia and New Zealand: The Construction of National Identities by Two Labo(u)r Governments in the Early 1970s

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 59, Issue 4, December , 559-575

During the 1970s the Whitlam government in Australia and the Kirk government in New Zealand each adopted a policy of new nationalism in an attempt to come to terms with a rapidly changing and increasingly decolonised world marked by the decline of Britain as an economic and military force in the world. In each case this new nationalism prioritised local and national identities over a larger pan-British identity. Both governments were more inward-looking and yet also more engaged with the Asia-Pacific region than their predecessors. They promoted their own national distinctiveness and independence, while also forging closer relationships with each other and the wider region. Both embraced a new understanding of their geographic position and repudiated the idea that Australia and New Zealand were European nations on the edge of Asia. The nationalisms they promoted were remarkably similar, yet there are important differences that reflect their different ethnic makeup and geographic position.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Moran M Mandelbaum

One state-one nation: the naturalisation of nation–state congruency in IR theory

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 16, Issue 4 , 514-538

This paper suggests that the notion of nation–state congruency has become a ‘leitmotif’ in International Relations (IR) theory, especially since the end of the Cold War. Congruent states are often constructed as the precursor of liberal democracy, peace, and modernity, while security in particular is discursively intertwined with nation–state congruency. This paper asks: how has this congruency discourse become so embedded in IR theory and, consequently, what can we learn about the nexus between IR and the states/international system? These questions are of a ‘how-possible’ and critical nature that engage with the power dynamics and thus the effects that emerge from this ‘congruency bias’. To answer these, I deploy the ‘discursive practices approach’ and show the various practices/strategies through which congruency is constituted and established, naturalised and legitimated. Finally, I conclude by proposing to inquire genealogically into the conditions of emergence of nation–state congruency in IR and modernity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Robert Lorenz Kuhn

Only a Nationalist Can Reform China

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 3, July , 49-51

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Spector Ronald H.

Phat Diem: Nationalism, Religion, and Identity in the Franco-Viet Minh War

in **Journal of Cold War Studies**, Volume 15, Issue 3 - Summer , 34-46

The wars of postcolonial Asia, although often viewed by U.S. officials as struggles between Communist and non-Communist forces or between colonial powers and independence movements, were in fact far more complex and ambiguous in nature. The conflicts displayed some of the characteristics of civil war, brigandage, and ethnic, regional, and religious warfare. This article exams the experience of Phat Diem, a predominantly Catholic enclave in northern Vietnam, during the First IndochinaWar, to highlight the dynamics of these cross-currents of regionalism, nationalism, and religion. Ultimately Phat Diem's attempts to steer a middle course between Communism and French colonialism ended disastrously, but its story highlights several important but little recognized aspects of the war in Indochina and the nature of Asia's wars in the first decade after the end of World War II.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Gunter Michael

Reopening turkey's closed kurdish opening?

in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 20, Issue 2, Summer , 88-98

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Roland Flamini

Scotland's Independence Bid: History, Prospects, Challenges

in **World Affairs**, Vol. 17, n. 3, May / June

At exactly 17:14 on the evening of September 15, 2012, in Barcelona's Camp Nou stadium, thousands of fans at a packed soccer game stood up as one and chanted, "Independence!" The timing was chosen to coincide with the year 1714, when Spanish troops annexed Catalonia—of which Barcelona is the capital—to Spain. Catalonia has its own distinct language and culture, and Catalan activists have been fanning the flames of separatism ever since.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Serrano Ivan

Secession in Catalonia: Beyond Identity?

in **Ethnopolitics**, Volume 12, Issue 4, 2013 , 406-409



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Vaubel Roland

Secession in the European Union

in Economic Affairs, Volume 33, Issue 3, October 2013 , 288-302

This paper argues the case for the right of secession in Western democracies. I suggest that the winners gain more than the losers may lose. Indeed, the external effects of secession may well be positive. However, the political economy of secession is highly problematic. Ideally, the rules for secession should be set at the international level but international organisations have a vested interest in preventing secession. It is easier to establish the right of secession at the national level. The opinion of the European Union institutions that Catalonia and Scotland, after seceding, would have to reapply for EU membership has no basis in the European treaties. Nor has this question been settled in any UN agreement or Vienna Convention. There are merely practices, and they vary among international institutions. The paper concludes with suggestions on how secessions from EU member states and withdrawals of member states from the EU might be implemented.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Guibernau Montserrat

Secessionism in Catalonia: A Response to Goikoetxea, Blas, Roeder, and Serrano

in Ethnopolitics, Volume 12, Issue 4, 2013 , 410-414

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Brincker Benedikte, Hearn Jonathan, Zimmer Oliver, Leerssen Joep

Seventh nations and nationalism debate: Joep Leerssen's National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 19, Issue 3, July 2013 , 409–433

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Mitra Subrata K.

The Ambivalent Moderation of Hindu Nationalism in India

in Australian Journal of Political Science, vol. 48, n. 3 , 269-285

ABSTRACT: Despite regular participation in national and regional elections and occupation of office both at the centre



and in the regional governments, the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has not acquired the aura of moderation. It has not achieved acceptance into the party system of India in a manner that would make it comparable to Christian Democratic parties in Europe. This appears puzzling in the light of Downs' moderation thesis, which suggests that regular participation in free, fair and competitive elections transforms extremist parties to moderates as they converge towards the median voter. The article approaches this puzzling counterfactual in intra-system comparison by drawing on the case of Sikh nationalism. With a focus on BJP, the article presents an analysis of party competition, party programs, policies and public opinion data on issue positions and the social base of the party. In conclusion, three general enabling conditions are identified that help explain the deviant case of the ambivalent moderation of the BJP.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Falkenhagen Frédéric

The CSU as an Ethno-regional Party

in **German Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 4 , 396-420

The Christlich Soziale Union in Bayern, despite its dominant position in the Bavarian party system, remains a relatively rare object of enquiry in political science both nationally and internationally. Alf Mintzel noted this research gap back in 1993. Though progress has been made since then, his basic conclusion that the CSU is the least studied German party remains true. This article will review some landmarks of CSU research before establishing the criteria held as essential for an ethno-regional party. It will then assess the CSU against these criteria: first on the supply side (generally based on existing research), then on the demand side (based on the author's own research as the CSU's electorate still remains understudied).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kim Jaeun

The Colonial State, Migration, and Diasporic Nationhood in Korea

in **Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Volume 56, Issue 1, January , 34-66

Studies of European colonialism have long documented how colonial states served as incubators of nationhood, yet the literature has limited its analytic scope largely to the encounters and ethnic mixings that took place within the territorial boundaries of colonies. This article examines a hitherto understudied phenomenon, the colonial state's trans-border engagement with its subjects who left the territorial unit of the colony and its impact on the contested development of diasporic nationhood. My empirical focus is the shifting trajectories of the classification struggles over Korean migrants in Manchuria during Japan's occupation of Korea. I identify the tumultuous and uneven development of specific legal, organizational, and bureaucratic infrastructures that helped the colonial state extend its trans-border reach and define and identify these migrants as "its own," often against suspicion, sabotage, hostility, and resistance on the part of other states, indigenous populations, or migrants themselves. I argue that the colonial state's extensive and intensive transborder engagement provided a critical institutional scaffolding for the imagined community of the Korean nation, which came to be conceived as transcending the geographical boundary of the colony. This article contributes to the comparative studies of empire, migration, diaspora, and nationhood formation by challenging the prevalent sedentary bias of the existing literature, by elucidating the critical infrastructural underpinning of the formation of diasporic nationhood, and by extending the horizon of comparison to the political dynamics and long-term ramifications



engendered by the migration of, not only metropolitan settlers, but also colonial subjects, within and beyond the ambit of the empire.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jabary Kawa, Hira Anil

The Kurdish Mirage: A Success Story in Doubt

in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 20, Issue 2, Summer , 99-12

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Smith Craig

The Scottish Enlightenment and Scottish Independence

in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 33, Issue 3, October 2013 , 334-347

As the 2014 referendum on whether Scotland should become an independent country approaches, there is increasing debate about the nature and advantages of the relationship between Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom. This paper seeks to examine the views on the Union between Scotland and England that are found in the writings of the main figures of the eighteenth century Scottish Enlightenment. It examines the arguments that Scotland's most famous social and political thinkers, such as David Hume and Adam Smith, put forward in favour of union with England and uses them to inform the contemporary debate.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Garcia Nuria

The paradox of contemporary linguistic nationalism: the case of Luxembourg

in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 20, Issue 1, January 2014 , 113–132

Abstract

Through a case study of the mobilisation around the Luxembourgish language in the 1970s and 1980s, this article investigates the paradox of contemporary linguistic nationalism, resulting from a hiatus between the continued influence of the classic nation-state model and the new constraints linked to a changed socio-historical context. Based on an analysis of actors' discourses, parliamentary debates and legislative documents, the investigation retraces the social, political and economic dynamics as well as the cognitive mechanisms leading to a change in the social perception of the Luxembourgish language. It shows how the contemporary context implies specific constraints and difficulties for mechanisms of the invention of tradition, but that at the same time the traditional nation-state model, where one nation equates with one state and one language continues to function as a reference. Through the Luxembourgish case is raised the more general question of the relation between linguistic nationalism, modernity and change in a contemporary context.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Silverstein Paul A.

The pitfalls of transnational consciousness: Amazigh activism as a scalar dilemma
in *Journal of North African Studies* , Volume 18, Issue 5 , 768-778

This essay explores the scalar dimensions of North African politics through an ethnographic investigation of the continuities and discontinuities between local, national, and transnational dimensions of Amazigh activism in the southeastern Moroccan oases. Since the 1960s, activists in Algeria, Morocco, and overseas have agitated for state recognition of Berber culture and language. Through their mobilisation of an international discourse on 'human rights' and their support for national 'wars on terror', Amazigh activists have elicited state promises to introduce Tamazight into the media and school systems of Algeria and Morocco. However, in peripheral areas such as pre-Saharan Morocco, this national entente has proved fragile, as Amazigh activists have mobilised protests for regional autonomy, including the control of collective lands, often at the expense of other local claimants. Thus, a social movement which internationally focuses on issues of human rights, engages questions of national integration and the 'war on terror' at the state level, while locally prioritising issues of resource development and domination. The essay investigates how these different dimensions are negotiated by activists from southeastern Morocco who simultaneously collaborate with militants from Kabylia and Europe. I argue that the ethical and pragmatic discontinuities between activist engagement at different scales – rather than their ideological divergences – constitutes the principal source of the Amazigh movement's internal fragmentation and occasional violence. In highlighting these scalar discontinuities, I challenge segmentary or composite models of North African politics that presume either a singular logic of political action or a unified structure of commensurable, nested organisational forms.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Raymond Christopher, Arce Moisés

The politicization of indigenous identities in Peru
in *Party Politics*, Volume 19, Number 4, July , 555-576

Until now, scholars have argued that, unlike other Latin American countries with sizable indigenous populations, indigenous politics are largely unimportant in Peru because indigenous-based parties or national-level movements are absent. Rather than focusing solely on the emergence of indigenous parties or movements, which ignores the larger consequence of individuals' indigenous identifications for electoral politics, we argue that it is more important to examine the emergence of indigenous political divisions and their effects on indigenous representation. Using data from the World Values Survey across the presidential elections of 1995, 2001, and 2006, we show that, as indigenous identity has become more carefully defined, indigenous voting divisions have emerged in Peru, and concomitantly, parties have begun to recognize and respond to these divisions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Woods Eric Taylor, Debs Mira



Towards a cultural sociology of nations and nationalism

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 19, Issue 4, October 2013 , 607–614

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Carel Ivan

Violence et décolonisation, FLQ et FLB

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 13 - La vague nationale des années 1960-1970. Regards croisés sur le Canada et l'Europe

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=1196>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Roeder Philip G.

When is Secession Emancipatory?

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 12, Issue 4, 2013 , 402-405

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Duriez Bart, Reijerse Arjan, Luyckx Koen, Vanbeselaere Norbert, Meeus Joke

Which national group will I identify myself with? The role of preferred and perceived identity representations

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 19, Issue 3, July 2013 , 456–474

Abstract

Research shows that the more people identify with a national in-group, the more their citizenship representation becomes in line with the citizenship discourse attached to this national-identity. However, although national identification may lead to a preference for a specific citizenship representation, national identification might itself depend on preexisting citizenship representation preferences. In line with this, a longitudinal study among Flemish-Belgian high-school students (N=275) showed reciprocal relations between national identification and citizenship representation. A second study among Flemish-Belgian high-school students (N=407) then showed that strength of national identification does not simply depend on preexisting citizenship representation preferences but on the (mis)match between such preferences and the citizenship representation perceived to be attached to a national-identity. In addition, results showed that the relation between national identification and out-group attitudes depends on the national-identity under consideration.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Maingard mJacqueline

'Assignment Africa': Donald Swanson's Colonial Imaginary and Chisoko the African (1949)

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 701-719

African Jim (1949) and The Magic Garden (1951), both directed by Donald Swanson, have a unique place in the history of film in South Africa as amongst the first films to place black identity and experience at their centre. While there is considerable scholarship on the films, there has been little consideration of Donald Swanson's varied career and output. This article shows how he participated in a network of documentary and colonial filmmakers in the late 1940s and early 1950s, first in Gaumont-British Instructional (GBI) and subsequently in African Film Productions (AFP). It builds on my earlier research and the recent recovery of two colonial films that he scripted and directed, Chisoko the African (1949) and Mau Mau (1954). Tracing Swanson's beginnings with the GBI series on British Railways for which he wrote two scripts, I identify key characteristics of his style and aesthetics. This leads into a discussion of the contexts within which GBI established its Africa office in Johannesburg; it was GBI's expertise in making films specifically for British audiences that led to the commission for Chisoko the African. I analyse the film, touch on its reception and consider evidence of Swanson's colonial imaginary which was characterised by a binary opposition between African primitivism and western civilisation. Finally, I note key aspects of his later work before drawing conclusions about the connected colonial film histories between Britain and Southern Africa; individual colonial film figures and their networks; and the importance of film in relation to histories of the late 1940s and early-mid 1950s. These contexts offer new perspectives on the appeal of African Jim and The Magic Garden for African audiences in South Africa.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

McCullers Molly

'The Time of the United Nations in South West Africa is Near': Local Drama and Global Politics in Apartheid-Era Hereroland

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 39, Issue 2 , 371-389

By examining a local succession dispute in Waterberg East Native Reserve in apartheid-era Namibia, this article explores how rural Herero communities experienced and interpreted debates surrounding decolonisation and apartheid through the context of local politics. Events in Waterberg East illustrate the ways in which rural communities employed historical discourses surrounding claims to land and authority, to translate these regional and global controversies into the parochial sphere, in order to negotiate questions of ethnic identity, sovereignty, and the future of the territory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Willems Marianne

»Das Erdbeben in Chili« in seinem Veröffentlichungskontext. Zum Zusammenhang von Naturkonzeption und Nationalismus bei H. von Kleist

in *Aufklärung*, Band 25, 2014

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Calvo Alberto Pérez

**¿ Adios a España ? La voie juridique vers l'indépendance d'un territoire espagnol
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 368, 2013/2 , 97-107**

This article considers the possibilities of secession of autonomous communities within the framework of the Spanish Constitution. Studying the distinctions between 'people' and 'nationalities' within the Constitution, as well as the possibilities of referendum and of revision of the Constitution, the author concludes to the impossibility to secede within the present Spanish constitutional framework. Moreover, he adds that a seceding state could not be considered as such as a member state of the European Union.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Vittori Rodolfo

**"All'assalto del Monte Bianco armato di uno stuzzicadenti" Ernesto Rossi e la cospirazione antifascista in Italia
1925-1930**

in Italia Contemporanea, n° 268-269, dicembre

Attraverso l'analisi di documenti inediti o sinora poco utilizzati (carte di polizia e corrispondenza clandestina), l'autore ricostruisce l'attività cospirativa antifascista di Ernesto Rossi dal 1925 al 1930, evidenziando il ruolo fondamentale da lui svolto nel promuovere in Italia una rete clandestina che rappresentò la principale forma di opposizione al fascismo in ambito liberaldemocratico e socialista. Col loro immane impegno, i componenti di questa rete (con Rossi, Riccardo Bauer, Nello Traquandi, Umberto Ceva, Ferruccio Parri, solo per citarne alcuni), oltre a riuscire a mettere a punto nell'Italia centrosettentrionale un'articolata distribuzione di stampa clandestina, un valido sistema di scambio di informazioni con gli antifascisti fuorusciti e varie azioni propagandistiche, costituirono l'indispensabile retroterra organizzativo e politico del movimento di Giustizia e libertà, nato a Parigi nel 1929. L'autore fa anche luce sul duplice livello investigativo di cui fu oggetto Rossi da parte degli apparati di polizia del fascismo: quello condotto in forme blande e circoscritte, a partire dalla fine del 1926, dagli organi periferici del ministero dell'Interno e l'altro, attivato in modo totalmente separato dall'Ovra tra settembre e ottobre 1930, che portò all'arresto di Rossi e del gruppo dirigente in Italia di Giustizia e libertà, di cui egli era parte.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Cureton Adam

**A Contractualist Reading of Kant's Proof of the Formula of Humanity
in Kantian Review**, Volume 18, Issue 03, November 2013 , 363-386

Abstract

Kant offers the following argument for the formula of humanity (FH): Each rational agent necessarily conceives of her



own rational nature as an end in itself and does so on the same grounds as every other rational agent, so all rational agents must conceive of one another's rational nature as an end in itself. As it stands, the argument appears to be question-begging and fallacious. Drawing on resources from the formula of universal law (FUL) and Kant's claims about the primacy of duties to oneself, I propose a contractualist reconstruction of this puzzling line of reasoning.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Chiayu Chou

A Pseudo Dichotomy: Hobbism and Kantianism in Political Philosophy

in Political Studies, Volume 61, Issue 4 , 799–815

This article examines the nature of a common tendency in studies of the political philosophies of Hobbes and Kant to presume that a dichotomy exists between them. In order to investigate this tendency, the two prevailing approaches in current scholarship on Kant and Hobbes are explored, and the content of two ideologies on which these studies heavily rely, Hobbism and Kantianism, are revealed. In the final section, a discussion of Hobbes' and Kant's theories of international politics will be used to point to how this tendency functions and what consequences it has for the study of political philosophy. The article closes by drawing attention to the wider implications of this tendency when it is applied to studies of Western political thought.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Molloy Seán

An 'All-Unifying Church Triumphant' A Neglected Dimension of Kant's Theory of International Relations

in International History Review (The), Volume 35, Issue 2 , 317-336

The purpose of this article is to examine the religious and theological elements of Immanuel Kant's work. This is an area of Kant's oeuvre that has been neglected in the history of international thought; this is problematic as it is in these works that Kant addresses many themes which are important to his international-relations project, for example, human nature, the corruption of society, the possibility of ethical community, and cosmopolitanism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Sbrescia Vincenzo Mario

Antonio Maccanico, meridionalista ed europeista, uno degli ultimi eredi di Guido Dorso

in Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno, n. 1-2 , 185-186

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations



Dean Richard

Humanity as an Idea, as an Ideal, and as an End in Itself

in *Kantian Review*, Volume 18, Issue 02, July 2013 , 171-195

Abstract

Kant emphasizes that moral philosophy must be divided into two parts, a 'purely rational' metaphysics of morals, and an empirical application to individuals, which Kant calls 'moral anthropology'. But Kant gives humanity (die Menschheit) a prominent role even in the purely rational part of ethics – for example, one formulation of the categorical imperative is a demand to treat humanity as an end in itself. This paper argues that the only concepts of humanity suited to play such a role are the rational idea of humanity, and the rational ideal derived from this idea, which Kant discusses in *Critique of Practical Reason* and other texts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Cellini Jacopo

Le Acli e il sindacalismo europeo di ispirazione cristiana, 1958-1974

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900* , n. 4, Ottobre

The article deals with the relations between the Italian Christian Associations of Workers (Acli) and the European organization of Christian trade unions (1958-1974). The history of their relations was retraced thanks to the documents in the archives of the two organizations (respectively in Rome and Leuven), the consultation of which made the research possible. Although they were not a trade union, but a Christian social movement, the Acli established a close connection with European Christian trade unionism in 1967, and contributed to its process of radicalization between the end of the Sixties and the beginning of the Seventies. They also significantly supported the project of a unified International of European trade unions, then founded in 1973-74, though they could not be accepted in the new confederation, due to their «hybrid» nature. In the article, the analysis, from a comparative perspective, of the particular configuration of the Italian context, might also contribute to shed some light on the interactions between the national and the international dimensions, particularly in a period - the Sixties and the Seventies - when a growing interdependence between the two took place and developed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Cellini Jacopo

Le Acli e il sindacalismo europeo di ispirazione cristiana, 1958-1974

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900* , n. 4, Ottobre , 553-580

The article deals with the relations between the Italian Christian Associations of Workers (Acli) and the European organization of Christian trade unions (1958-1974). The history of their relations was retraced thanks to the documents in the archives of the two organizations (respectively in Rome and Leuven), the consultation of which made the research possible. Although they were not a trade union, but a Christian social movement, the Acli established a close connection with European Christian trade unionism in 1967, and contributed to its process of radicalization between the end of the



Sixties and the beginning of the Seventies. They also significantly supported the project of a unified International of European trade unions, then founded in 1973-74, though they could not be accepted in the new confederation, due to their «hybrid» nature. In the article, the analysis, from a comparative perspective, of the particular configuration of the Italian context, might also contribute to shed some light on the interactions between the national and the international dimensions, particularly in a period - the Sixties and the Seventies - when a growing interdependence between the two took place and developed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Attal Frédéric

Luigi Einaudi, la Fondazione Rockefeller e le scienze sociali in Italia

in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XII, n. 31, "Tra le due sponde: la diplomazia culturale degli americani", giugno

Between the two World Wars, the Rockefeller Foundation Social Science Division aimed to encourage contact, exchanges and the study of the more recent fields in Social Sciences, particularly sociological enquiries, statistics, econometrics, and so forth, both in the USA and Europe. The Paris RF office had established contact with the most developed continental European countries. The French economist, Charles Rist, suggested the Economist's renowned Italian correspondent and professor at the University of Torino, Luigi Einaudi, as Italian advisor to the RF. The Foundation greatly appreciated the work he did for the RF's fellows in Economy who studied in Italy. Since Fascism was extending its control over the academics, the RF was concerned with helping Einaudi's attempts at resistance and proposed a small grant-in-aid aimed at developing some up-to-date research on the economy, which dealt with the fascist corporative economy and other new anti-crisis theories. However, the long-term intentions of the RF were to keep contact with the Italian academic world alive in order to develop Social Sciences in the future, in a country which mostly ignored them. Einaudi was the only, while somewhat fragile, contact remaining in an increasingly totalitarian system.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Santagostino Angelo

Luigi Einaudi: the architect of Europe?

in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, vol. 80, n. 3, luglio-settembre

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Ramón Máiz Suárez

Naturaleza, nación y república federal: el excepcionalismo norteamericano de Thomas Jefferson

in Revista de Estudios Políticos, N. 162, 13-28

This paper gives account of the main republican and federal theoretical principles developed by Jefferson from his seminal Notes on the State of Virginia, to some extent shared by Madison. «Great principle» that fuels a new collective



action logic, giving birth to the «Republican Party», and later the «Democratic-Republican Party». This question of principles �true «war of principles» (Hamilton)� about what sort of Nation and State the United States of America was to be, appears notoriously at the origin of the first party system and electoral competition in USA. The disagreement between the «republicans» (Jefferson, Madison) and «federalists» (Hamilton) was very deep and insurmountable, beginning by the idea of Nature as rural rather than urban landscape of the American society, the plural Idea of the American nation, the kind of American Republic defended («ward» based and democratic participative in Jefferson views), and the institutional design of federalism (dualist and defender of the States rights in Jefferson and Madison). The critic of Hamilton not only as «centralist» but as «monarchist» evidenced the substantive ideological and political differences among this three Founding Fathers

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Brezzi Camillo

Piero Calamandrei: l'uomo del ponte
in *Italia Contemporanea*, n° 271, giugno

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Aglan Alya

Pour une approche transnationale des mouvements clandestins de résistance
in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 38, Automne , 69-80

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

L'antifascisme, pré-résistances et résistances en diaspora

Une commune tension vers le futur

Les résistances et les frontières

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Pipitone Daniele

Storiografia e militanza Aldo Garosci e La vita di Carlo Rosselli
in *Italia Contemporanea*, n° 268-269, dicembre

La vita di Carlo Rosselli di Aldo Garosci, una delle prime opere storiografiche dedicate all'antifascismo e ai suoi protagonisti uscita in Italia, costituì a lungo il testo di riferimento sia per la biografia di Rosselli sia per la storia di Giustizia e libertà. Con essa Garosci, diede un contributo essenziale alla costruzione dell'immagine canonica di Rosselli eroe dell'antifascismo. Il saggio ricostruisce la genesi dell'opera, guardando sia alla formazione intellettuale e politica di Garosci sia al peculiare contesto in cui essa venne redatta; ne analizza l'impostazione storiografica, con particolare riguardo alla scelta e all'uso delle fonti e alle prospettive interpretative dominanti; mette in luce, infine, la compresenza in essa di due dimensioni: una più propriamente storiografica, l'altra prevalentemente agiografica e monumentale. In



conclusione, l'autore enuclea i limiti e i punti di forza della Vita; cerca di individuarne l'attuale significato storiografico; traccia un quadro delle influenze che essa esercitò sulla storiografia e sulla memoria collettiva; la colloca, da ultimo, all'interno del filone che più di ogni altro le è proprio: la storia contemporanea.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Maes Ivo

Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa: Macroeconomic and Monetary Thought, and Policy-making at the European Commission

in History of Economic Thought and Policy, 2013, volume 2, issue 2 , 21-43

Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa was one of the great architects of the euro. He is remembered in particular as co-rapporteur for the Delors Committee and as a founding member of the European Central Bank's Executive Board. For Padoa-Schioppa, becoming Director-General of the European Commission's DG II (from 1979 to 1983), was a defining moment in his career and life. This period is the main focus of this paper. At the Commission, Padoa-Schioppa's main priority was the European Monetary System, which was launched in March 1979. He was closely involved in several projects to strengthen the EMS, to improve economic policy convergence and develop the position of the ECU. The other main objective for Padoa-Schioppa was the strengthening of DG II's analytical capacity, especially its model-building capacity and its links with the academic world. As such, he played a crucial role in the professionalization of economics at the Commission and in preparing DG II for the important role it would play in the EMU process. This also shows that, for assessing the legacy of an economist, it is not only important to look at his own writings and contributions, but also how he shapes the institutions in which he participates.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Kevin Alleno

Un projet de paix perpétuelle. Fédéralisme et pacifisme chez Jacques Novicow

in Relations internationales, n°154 , 7-20

J. Novicow (1849-1912) est un penseur pacifiste et fédéraliste quelque peu oublié. Contempteur virulent du darwinisme social, son œuvre s'attaque à la guerre de manière générale, systématique et rationnelle. Sociologue de formation, sa pensée est très fortement inspirée par Kant, le positivisme comtien et le libéralisme. Identifiant le concept de souveraineté comme le mal principal, il estime que son éradication par l'établissement d'une fédération est l'unique solution pour établir une paix viable. Son pacifisme et son internationalisme l'amènent par ailleurs à un certain rapprochement avec les socialistes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Giuseppe Astuto

Unità senza federalismo. Cavouriani e democratici nel 1860

in Amministrare, n. 1 (supplemento) , 49-98



This essay analyses the political events of 1860, culminating in the insertion of the South and Sicily in the new Kingdom of Italy. Through the reading of the correspondence of the protagonists and recent scientific contributions, which have also appeared on the occasion of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Unity of Italy, the author reflects on the conflicts between the cavourians and the democrats about the institutional set-up. After the Expedition of the Thousand in Sicily, the Piedmontese government is in trouble because of the opposition of the European powers and the democrats' initiative. Cavour, who follows a pragmatic and undefined policy, has not got a clear plan on how to insert the South into the unitary state (Assemblies or plebiscites). Only after the landing of Garibaldi in Calabria, do the pressures of powers and the internal conditions, now all in favour of the liberation of Naples, persuade the Prime Minister to choose a plebiscite. At the same time the democrats, with the help of men from different backgrounds and especially Cattaneo, called to Naples by Garibaldi, propose the convening of Assemblies to prefigure a federal Italy. To the conflict between the moderates and the democrats historiography has not paid particular attention preferring to draw a veil on the errors of the winners and on the projects of the losers. To understand these events, which take place during the summer and autumn of 1860, the author dwells on some historiographical problems: the relationship between Cavour and the moderate exiles living in Piedmont, Cavour's politics of annexation and the program of the democrats which, though late, culminates in the convening of the Legislative Assemblies to legitimize the new unitary state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Steta Annick

Amartya Sen, l'économiste philosophe

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Juillet/Août

Amartya Sen est peut-être le plus atypique des économistes contemporains. Durant des décennies, il a été contesté par une grande partie de ses fellow economists. Dans les années cinquante et soixante, sa critique de la planification économique lui valut l'hostilité de ses collègues imprégnés de marxisme. Mais dans les années quatre-vingt et quatre-vingt-dix, la priorité qu'il accordait au développement économique jurait singulièrement avec la vogue d'un libéralisme débridé. Le président du comité Nobel prédit à cette époque que Sen n'aurait jamais le prix : il l'obtint en 1998 pour ses contributions à l'économie du bien-être, qui constituent la part la plus orthodoxe de ses travaux de recherche. Mais si Amartya Sen est devenu l'un des intellectuels les plus influents de notre temps, c'est grâce à son approche originale du développement économique ainsi qu'à l'accent qu'il met sur la dimension morale de l'analyse économique : l'un des principaux théoriciens de la croissance économique, Robert Solow, l'a qualifié de « conscience de notre profession »

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Olivier Walthera, Bernard Reitel

Cross-border Policy Networks in the Basel Region: The Effect of National Borders and Brokerage Roles

in *Space and Polity*, Volume 17, Number 2 / August , 217-236

This paper provides evidence of how national borders affect the structure of policy networks. Our analysis of the Basel cross-border metropolitan region located across Switzerland, France and Germany considers the case of public transportation in border regions. Using a social network analysis of the relationships between 44 actors, we show that national borders play a diminishing role in the formation of policy networks for both information exchange and decision



making. Local actors develop different brokerage roles according to their country of origin: Swiss actors function as coordinator and representative brokers vis-à-vis actors located in France and Germany.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

McGrane, David; Berdahl, Loleen

**Small Worlds No More: Reconsidering Provincial Political Cultures in Canada
in Regional and Federal Studies**, volume 23 n.4 , 479-493

The ability of sub-state polities to generate distinct political cultures is an important phenomenon in contemporary politics. For the last forty years, Canadian scholarship has been particularly engaged in discussions of sub-state political culture. This article presents new and original quantitative survey data to argue that, while there are subtle interprovincial variations in political culture that exist even after controlling for socio-demographic differences, region is a more important determinant of political culture in Canada than is province. Further, the findings contradict previous research on provincial political culture in Canada concerning the conservatism of Ontario, the left-wing nature of Quebec, disaffection in Atlantic Canada, and the differences between Alberta and the other two Prairie provinces.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Turgeon, Luc; Gagnon, Alain G.

**The Politics of Representative Bureaucracy in Multilingual States: A Comparison of Belgium, Canada and
Switzerland
in Regional and Federal Studies**, volume 23 n.4 , 407-425

The role of the public service in managing territorial diversity has too often been overlooked in the literature on multilingual states. In the article, we explore the issue of bureaucratic representation of the federal public administration of Belgium, Canada and Switzerland, three economically advanced federal states in which language has become over time the dominant cultural marker and dividing line. We argue that variations observed in mechanisms of bureaucratic representation can be explained by differences in the configuration of two variables: discourse about the contours of the political community and how it has been channelled through the policy-making process of each country.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Justine Lacroix

**A Democracy Without a People? The 'Rights of Man' in French Contemporary Political Thought
in Political Studies**, Volume 61, Issue 3 , 676-690

At the end of the 1970s, philosopher Claude Lefort emphasised – against the excessively restrictive Marxist vision – the political dynamics attached to the affirmation of human rights. This theme has remained predominant in theoretical debate about democracy in France until the present day. A first strand of thought considers the primacy of human rights as a driver of depoliticisation. Authors such as Marcel Gauchet and Pierre Manent have argued that the vitality of the plural society described by Lefort could ultimately backfire on democracy itself. This article argues that this school of



thought rests on a narrow conception of rights and an insufficiently dialectical conception of the relationship between rights and practice. Consequently, it defends Lefort's position by relying heavily on a second strand of thought that conceives human rights as the way forward for a radicalisation of democratic ambitions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Greker Mads, Stoknes Per Espen, Alfsen Knut H., Ericson Torgeir

A Kantian approach to sustainable development indicators for climate change in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 91, July , 10-18

Agenda 21 required countries to develop and regularly update a national set of indicators for sustainable development. Several countries now have such sets also including separate indicators for climate change. Some of these indicators typically report global concentration of green house gasses in the atmosphere or time series for global temperatures. While such indicators may give the public information about the state of the global climate, they do not provide a benchmark which makes it possible for the public to evaluate the climate policy of their government. With Kantian ethics as our point of departure, we propose a benchmark for national climate policy. The benchmark is that each nation state should act as if a global treaty on climate change were in place. This would require each nation state to carry out all green house gas mitigation projects below at a certain cost. Furthermore, it would require each nation to keep their national green house gas emissions including acquisitions of emission permits from other countries within a certain limit. Both measures are relatively easy to track and can thus serve as indicators.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Iwabuchi Koichi

Against Banal Inter-nationalism

in *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Volume 41, Number 5 , 437-452

This article discusses, with an emphasis on Japanese and East Asian contexts, the ways in which the increasing pervasiveness of the inter-nationalised modes — “inter-national” with a hyphen in the sense of highlighting the nation as the unit of global cultural encounters — of production, circulation and consumption of media cultures makes exclusive national boundaries even stronger and more solid. The underlying tenet of “methodological nationalism” has been promoted and instituted by the synergism of the process of cultural glocalisation and state’s policy of national branding that endorses it. What has been engendered in this process is “banal inter-nationalism”; a container model of the nation is further instituted as the inter-nationalised circulation and encounter of media culture has become a site in which national identity is mundanely invoked, performed and experienced. Banal inter-nationalism suppresses and marginalises multicultural questions within the nation, as national boundaries are mutually re-constituted through the process in which cross-border cultural flows and encounters are promoted in a way to accentuate an inter-nationalised form of cultural diversity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Scholten P.W.A.



Agenda dynamics and the multi-level governance of intractable policy controversies: the case of migrant integration policies in the Netherlands

in *Policy Sciences*, vol. 46, issue 3, september , 217-236

ABSTRACT: This article focuses on the relation between agenda dynamics and multi-level governance for a specific type of policy problems: intractable policy controversies. It discusses migrant integration policies in the Netherlands as a case-study, analysing problem, political and policy agendas in the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam and on the national level, as well as the relation and interaction between these policy levels. The article shows that in a contested policy area like migrant integration, patterns of agenda setting often have a strongly level-specific character, leading to different policy frames and thus complicating modes of governance in multi-level setting. Precisely when the framing of policy problems itself is at stake, level-specific agenda dynamics will produce different policy frames also in multi-level policy settings. This makes multi-level governance in terms of effectively coordinating relations between policy levels to create congruence of policies between different levels a particular challenge when faced with this type of policy problems.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Coetzee Carli

All Tickets Please, or How Cinema Histories of South Africa Can Stop Re-Enacting the Racialised Past

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 721-726

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pavan Ilaria, Tooze Adam, Canning Kathleen Sammartino Annemarie, Cerasi Laura, Salvati Mariuccia

Alle origini dell'Europa corporatista. Recasting Bourgeois Europe di Charles Maier

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900* , n. 3, luglio , 443-474

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Isabella Murizio

Aristocratic Liberalism and Risorgimento: Cesare Balbo and Piedmontese Political Thought after 1848

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 39, Issue 6 , 835-857

The paper discusses the political thought of Cesare Balbo (1789–1853), a leading Risorgimento moderate liberal and politician, in the context of the efforts by the Piedmontese political elite to support and legitimise the constitutional regime introduced by King Charles Albert in 1848. Revising current interpretations of Risorgimento moderate liberalism as backward and provincial, it seeks to locate the political thought of Balbo and his colleagues at the heart of



contemporary European, and particularly French, debates regarding liberty and aristocracy. In particular, it argues that the views of Balbo and more broadly Piedmontese moderate liberals on centralisation, the importance of a social elite to defend freedom, and equalisation, were conversant with the ideas of Guizot, Chateaubriand, Burke and Tocqueville. Their harsh condemnation of republican virtue, on the other hand, rendered their liberalism peculiar in the Italian context, where Tuscan moderate liberals continued to resort to the language of civic humanism after 1848 to defend their political and social model.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dent Christopher M., Thomson Elspeth

Asia's and Europe's energy policy challenges: introduction

in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 11, n. 3, September, Special Issue "Asia's and Europe's Energy Policy Challenges" , 201-210

We bring together a collection of papers that were presented at the inaugural event of the Asia‐Europe Energy Policy Research Network (AEEPRN), held at Singapore in May 2012. The idea for creating AEEPRN was in response to the growing importance of energy in Asia and Europe's relations and to our shared belief that energy will become a more significant aspect of these relations over the forthcoming years and decades. The papers presented here cover the following themes: wind energy, biofuels, natural gas and gas pipelines, exergy and manufacturing, green energy co‐operation, coal, unconventional gas and solar energy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ming Wan

Back to Nature: An Achievement-based Structural Assessment of the Modern International System

in Chinese Journal of International Politics (The), Volume 6 Issue 4 , 401-428

sing the 'achievement index', a country's relative size of gross domestic product divided by its relative size of population, I argue that the high-achieving position of the West, as a structural distortion, has been a principal source of instability in the modern international system. Rather than being just unsatisfied great powers, large high achievers and stagnant low achievers engage in hegemonic and counter-hegemonic warfare, respectively. Both hierarchy and balancing systems are structurally more stable if they are 'natural' and less stable if they are 'unnatural', with being natural defined as an achievement index of 1. The rise of the rest constitutes a long-term trend back to nature, beginning to flatten the heretofore skewed international structure, which lessens one source of modern system-level instability. With a much larger share of world population, China cannot rise to the same relative height as the West that rose with a much smaller share of the population. China's rise is thus unlikely to repeat the past experience of the rising West.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Oklopčić Zoran

Beyond Empty, Conservative, and Ethereal: Pluralist Self-Determination and a Peripheral Political Imaginary

in Leiden Journal of International Law, Volume 26 - Issue 03 , 509-529



Over the last couple of years, a stream of pluralist theories of international legal order has developed at the intersection of international law and political theory, having immediate implications for conceptualizing self-determination. The understanding of self-determination under the framework of bounded, constitutional, and radical pluralism markedly departs from the previous wave of normative theories in the 1990s: self-determination is now evacuated from the field of national pluralism and struggles over territory.

This article does not question the thrust of pluralists' recent work, but complements their critical attunement to global disparities of power, and complicates their neglect of nationalism and rejection of territorial reconfigurations as self-determination's core meaning. In doing so, it unearths two visions that come from the (semi-)periphery of the international political order. The first belongs to Edvard Kardelj, pre-eminent Yugoslav theorist of socialist self-management and the Non-Aligned Movement. The second belongs to Leopold Sédar Senghor, the poet and politician, advocate of *négritude*, a proponent of French West African integration, and a constitutional advocate for the reconfiguration – not abolition – of the French Union, the heir to the French Empire. While they are suspicious of extensive territorial reconstruction, like contemporary pluralists, unlike them they have seen a role for territorial reconfigurations in the name of national plurality.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kubiszewski Ida, Costanza Robert, Franco Carol, Lawn Philip, Talberth John, Jackson Tim, Aylmer Camille

Beyond GDP: Measuring and achieving global genuine progress

in Ecological Economics, Volume 93, September , 57-68

While global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has increased more than three-fold since 1950, economic welfare, as estimated by the Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI), has actually decreased since 1978. We synthesized estimates of GPI over the 1950–2003 time period for 17 countries for which GPI has been estimated. These 17 countries contain 53% of the global population and 59% of the global GDP. We compared GPI with Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Human Development Index (HDI), Ecological Footprint, Biocapacity, Gini coefficient, and Life Satisfaction scores. Results show a significant variation among these countries, but some major trends. We also estimated a global GPI/capita over the 1950–2003 period. Global GPI/capita peaked in 1978, about the same time that global Ecological Footprint exceeded global Biocapacity. Life Satisfaction in almost all countries has also not improved significantly since 1975. Globally, GPI/capita does not increase beyond a GDP/capita of around \$7000/capita. If we distributed income more equitably around the planet, the current world GDP (\$67 trillion/yr) could support 9.6 billion people at \$7000/capita. While GPI is not the perfect economic welfare indicator, it is a far better approximation than GDP. Development policies need to shift to better account for real welfare and not merely GDP growth.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rodriguez Robyn Magalit

Beyond citizenship: emergent forms of political subjectivity amongst migrants

in Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, Volume 20, Issue 6 , 738-754



This article traces the formation of the International Migrants Alliance (IMA) through a study of its leading organisations and central campaigns. Founded in 2008 by 108 self-described 'grass-roots' migrant organisations, the IMA is a transnational coalition of groups from nearly every continent of the world. I suggest that through their work in IMA, migrants express a new form of political subjectivity, a form of 'migrant labour transnationalism.' Migrant labour transnationalism, unlike the homeland-oriented, citizenship-based, state-supportive forms of migrant political transnationalism generally identified in the scholarship, is based on counter-hegemonic nationalisms through which migrants contest their home states' complicity with the project of neoliberal globalisation. Migrant labour transnationalism is, moreover, formed through contentious forms of political engagement and new transnational networks through which migrants are cultivating class-based collective identifications.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Luttikhuis Bart

Beyond race: constructions of 'Europeanness' in late-colonial legal practice in the Dutch East Indies in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 539-558

This article proposes to introduce the study of European identity into colonial history and vice versa. It analyses the ways in which the legal classification of the population functioned in late-colonial Indonesia. A close inspection of this case reveals that the oft-cited fundamental colonial difference between 'ruler' and 'ruled' was in reality not nearly as clear-cut. The concept of 'Europeanness' – as opposed to 'Whiteness' – is highlighted as the category at the center of colonial hierarchy. This leads to a re-evaluation of the relative significance of various differentiating categories in the colonial context, most importantly race and class. The author concludes that by not taking 'Europeanness' seriously as an independent category, scholars of 'cultural racism' have tended to overemphasise 'race', with the consequence of oversimplifying the complex, multi-layered nature of the colonial social hierarchy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hodgson Geoffrey M., Huang Kainan

Brakes on Chinese Development: Institutional Causes of a Growth Slowdown in *Journal of Economic Issues*, Volume 47, Number 3 / September 2013 , 599-622

China has enjoyed spectacular economic growth since the 1980s. Economic models based on production functions typically suggest that China's rapid growth will continue at similarly high rates, but they ignore pressing structural and institutional constraints on its development. Among the problems identified in this paper, we point to an impending demographic shift that will greatly increase the number of economic dependents, the inadequate corporate legal foundation for indigenous private enterprise, and the discriminatory, defective and disruptive system of land tenure. These issues point to a pressing agenda of institutional reform to help China develop in future decades. Reforms have to concentrate on political structures, state efficiency, incentives to educate and train migrant workers, land tenure, and on private enterprise.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Pei Qing, Liu Lanlan, Zhang David D.

Carbon emission right as a new property right: rescue CDM developers in China from 2012

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 3, September , 307-320

Clean development mechanism (CDM) is encountering many uncertainties due to the coming end of the commitment period and critically suggested reformation. As the largest participant in the CDM market, China shoulders the biggest proportion of market risk. Among the studies on CDM in China, few have focused upon the legal aspect of CDM, which is crucial in defending developers' interests. To fill this research gap in making the transition from policy to law, this paper claims that carbon emission right, which is the basis of trade, should be attributed as a property right in Property Law of People's Republic of China. The present study will discuss the characteristics of carbon emission, definition, and legal attribution of carbon emission right. The valid object of carbon emission right in the CDM market under Property Law should be certified emissions reductions (CERs). The usufructuary right could be specifically applied in practice to the owners' property right on CERs in China. Although experience from the CDM is not fully applicable to the development of cap and trading, the success of CDM market provides a reasonable platform to study emission right in the view of legal science. Furthermore, the proposed research acts as the pioneer study that lay the theoretical foundations in legal science on emission right trading for other potential schemes, which in turn addresses international environmental issues.

Open access at <http://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs10784-012-9191-0.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Giliberto Capano

Change in the Governance of Education Policy in Australia and Canada. The Diachronic Interaction between Policies, Ideas, Institutions and Politics

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 3/2013 , 425-456

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Harris Paul G., Chow Alice S. Y., Karlsson Rasmus

China and climate justice: moving beyond statism

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 3, September , 291-305

China is the largest national source of greenhouse gas (GHG) pollution causing climate change. However, despite some rhetorical progress at the 2011 Durban climate conference, it has consistently rejected calls to take on binding targets to reduce its GHG emissions. The Chinese Government has understandably argued that developed states are responsible for the predominant share of historical GHG emissions, have greater capacity to pay for the cost of mitigation, and indeed have an obligation to do so before China is required to take action. However, due to the explosive growth in its GHG emissions, China is now in a position to single-handedly dash any hope of climate stability if its position does not change. On the diplomatic level, other big polluters, particularly the United States, will not enter into new binding agreements to reduce substantially their own GHG emissions without a credible commitment from China. Challenging the "statist" framing of the climate justice, this article explores the possibility for China to take on a leadership role in



climate change diplomacy in a way that allows it to maintain its long-standing principled resistance to binding national emissions targets while making meaningful progress toward combating the problem. Action by China's rapidly growing affluent classes may hold the key to long-term climate stability.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wayne Bert

**Chinese Engagements: Regional Issues with Global Implications
in Pacific Affairs** , Volume 86, Number 3, September , 625-627

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Yong Wang, Pauly Louis  

**Chinese IPE debates on (American) hegemony
in Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 20, Issue 6, 2013 , pages 1165-1188

Reflections on hegemonic power have shaped the contemporary field of international political economy (IPE) within China. Shifts in the thinking of Chinese scholars correlate with China's own changing role and location in a system still most profoundly influenced by the United States. But real and perceived changes in America's position have also influenced the way in which Chinese IPE scholars are now reconceptualizing the nature of global authority and the international position of China. In one generation, the mainstream of China's IPE scholarship has moved away from its rigid Marxist origins and converged in substantial part with Anglo-American ideological traditions, now prominently including liberal institutionalism. Nevertheless, scholarship informed by other traditions, including a re-imagined Confucianism, flourishes. Major policy-changing events clearly affect the work of Chinese IPE scholars, a phenomenon hardly unknown elsewhere.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Andreas Fischer-Lescano, Gunther Teubner

**Collisions de régimes : la recherche vaine de l'unité juridique face à la fragmentation du droit mondial
in Revue internationale de droit économique** , Vol. 27, n°1-2 , 187-228

The article presents three arguments:

The fragmentation of global law is more radical than any single reductionist perspective – legal, political, economic or cultural – can comprehend. Legal fragmentation is merely an ephemeral reflection of a more fundamental, multi-dimensional fragmentation of global society itself.

Any aspirations to a normative unity of global law are thus doomed from the outset. A meta-level at which conflicts might be solved is wholly elusive both in global law and in global society. Instead, we might expect intensified legal fragmentation.

Legal fragmentation cannot itself be combated. At the best, a weak normative compatibility of the fragments might be



achieved. However, this is dependent upon the ability of conflicts law to establish a specific network logic, which can effect a loose coupling of colliding units.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Alvarez González Freddy Javier

Community Governments within the State/Nation

in *Partecipazione e conflitto*, Fascicolo 2, 2013

The article differentiates the Modern State governance - with its power relations sustained by capitalism, international politics and war - from the Ecuadorian indigenous' governance, built on horizontality, culture, experience and peace. Colonization, Church and Western way of production were the agents whose aim was the destruction of indigenous nations and peoples. But something is still alive...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

David Wright ; Semi Purhonen ; Riie Heikkilä

Comparing "Cosmopolitanism": Taste, Nation and Global Culture in Finland and the UK

in *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* , Vol. 12, n°3 , 330-360

This paper adds a comparative perspective to the study of taste, cosmopolitanism and social organisation. Drawing on material provided by two similar projects in the UK and Finland it explores the relationships between national and cosmopolitan taste cultures. Whilst there have been some recent attempts to study taste in a comparative perspective, the weight of sociological inquiry into taste is focussed on specific national spaces, including the France of Bourdieu's (1984) seminal contribution. This tendency persists even as the production and circulation of culture is increasingly accepted as global. Global culture is assumed to be the driver of cosmopolitan ways of being, but is also interpreted as a threat to distinct national cultures. Studies of taste provide an empirical setting where the lived experience of global culture and the ambiguities of cosmopolitanism can be observed. Based on interviews and focus group discussions from the UK and Finland, the paper broadly concurs with those critics who see cosmopolitanism in the context of the maintenance of privileged political or symbolic positions of classes/status groups.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Suri Manik V.

Conceptualizing China Within the Kantian Peace

in *Harvard International Law Journal*, Volume 54, Issue 1

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Corkin Joseph

Constitutionalism in 3D: Mapping and Legitimizing Our Lawmaking Underworld
in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 5 , 636–661

This article proposes a method for conceptualising the way lawmaking has ebbed away from our national parliamentary-governmental complexes: horizontally, towards unelected officials, in a process of bureaucratisation; vertically, towards the EU, in a process of Europeanisation; and laterally, towards private actors that are left to regulate themselves, in a process of privatisation. The combined effect has been to diffuse lawmaking across many very diverse actors that interact in dense constellations across a 3D governance space described by these axes. The descriptive innovation of analysing these processes together points also to a common normative challenge; that of finding new ways to legitimate the outer reaches of this governance space, furthest removed from our traditional constitutional structures and the reasonably neat (electoral) lines of accountability they offer back to us. A tentative solution is proposed in creatively rethinking administrative and constitutional law while remaining faithful to the philosophical core of classical constitutionalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Li Yitan

Constructing Peace in the Taiwan Strait: a constructivist analysis of the changing dynamics of identities and nationalisms

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 22, Issue 84 , 119-142

Economic integration in the Taiwan Strait has become increasingly stronger recently. Economic integration should have led to stronger political convergence. Why hasn't it occurred? I argue that democracy in Taiwan and the continuation of the single-party rule in China have created two very different social experiences. These different social experiences have formed two different identities. People in Taiwan are increasingly thinking of themselves as Taiwanese rather than Chinese. The growing level of popular nationalism in China has also altered the political identity of mainland Chinese. Such change could force Beijing to accommodate citizens' demand to act more toughly towards Taipei. Further political integration is still possible, but it would require another norm change, perhaps already in the making.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wang Qingxin K., Blyth Mark  

Constructivism and the study of international political economy in China

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 6, 2013 , pages 1276-1299

This paper surveys constructivist scholarship in the study of international political economy (IPE) in China. Chinese scholars in the field of IPE have until recently rarely used constructivism as an approach to study IPE for two reasons. The first, like Western IPE, is the short history of constructivism as a theoretical perspective. The second, unlike Western IPE, stems from the long-standing dominance of Marxism, China's official state ideology, in the academic field. In China, Marxism's materialist core shapes the basic research questions of IPE. Unsurprisingly then, constructivist



analysis is quite alien to the dominant intellectual discourse in China. Nonetheless, of late, more Chinese scholars have begun to apply constructivist analysis. This paper surveys these developments and is divided into three sections. The first section provides an overview of how Chinese Marxist scholars approach the major issues of IPE as they relate to China. The second section provides an overview of the work of liberal-minded Chinese scholars who work on major IPE issues, another counterpoint to the Marxist school. The third section, which is the major focus of this paper, examines how Chinese scholars have applied the constructivist concepts to study major IPE issues in the Chinese context.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Devetak Richard, Kaempf Sebastian, Weber Martin

Conversations in International Relations: Interview with Andrew Linklater

in International Relations, vol. 27, n. 4, december , 481-505

ABSTRACT: This in-depth conversation with Professor Andrew Linklater engages with his academic biography, his intellectual contribution to the field of International Relations (IR) and his reflections on the current state of, and challenges facing, the discipline of (IR). It thereby traces his biography from his undergraduate days in Aberdeen, via his first lectureships in Australia, back to the United Kingdom and eventually to Aberystwyth University; it engages with his main oeuvres from the 1982 book *Men and Citizens in the Theory of International Relations* to his most recent work on *The Problem of Harm in World Politics*, and covers the development of IR as a global discipline from the 1970s until today.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Freeman Jr. Chas W.

Coping with Kaleidoscopic Change in the Middle East

in Middle East Policy, Volume 20, Issue 4, Winter , 29-36

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Susan McManus

Cosmopolitan Exception

in Journal of International Political Theory, Vol.9, Issue 2 , 101-135

There has been a resurgence of interest in cosmopolitanism in contemporary political theory, based upon the hopeful premise that it heralds an ameliorative response to the malignity of sovereignty's lack and the treacherous violence of sovereignty's excess. The promise of cosmopolitanism inheres in the claim that state sovereignty is and should be supplemented by an international system backed by the legitimacy of international law, grounded in the sovereignty of human rights. Drawing upon Foucault and Agamben, my argument in this essay is that the laudable endeavour of liberal cosmopolitans is flawed in two ways: first, cosmopolitanism cannot escape sovereign violence, because it cannot escape sovereignty; and second, cosmopolitans misconstrue the composition of the very sovereignty they aim to



escape. This means that cosmopolitan theorists are unable to identify cosmopolitan practices of sovereignty that also entail forms of violence: cosmopolitan exception. Cosmopolitan exception denotes violent sovereign practices that cannot be differentiated from the protection of rights.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Barnes Ashley

Creating democrats? Testing the Arab Spring

in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 20, Issue 2, Summer , 55-72

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Paudyn Bartholomew

Credit rating agencies and the sovereign debt crisis: Performing the politics of creditworthiness through risk and uncertainty

in **Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 20, Issue 4, 2013 , 788-818

As member states struggle to retain the investment grades necessary to allow them to finance their governmental operations at a reasonable cost, credit rating agencies (CRAs) have been blamed for exacerbating a procyclical bias which only makes this task more difficult. How CRAs contribute to the constitution of the politics of limits underpinning the European sovereign debt crisis is at the core of this article. As a socio-technical device of control, sovereign ratings are an 'illocutionary' statement about budgetary health, which promotes an artificial fiscal normality. Subsequently, these austere politics of creditworthiness have 'perlocutionary' effects, which seek to censure political discretion through normalizing risk techniques aligned with the self-systemic, and thereby self-regulating, logic of Anglo-American versions of capitalism. The ensuing antagonistic relationship between the programmatic/expertise and operational/politics dimensions of fiscal governance leaves Europe vulnerable to crisis and the renegotiation of how the 'political' is established in the economy. New regulatory technical standards (RTS) can exacerbated the performative effects on CRAs, investors and member states.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Maria Perino

Da dove vieni? Quanto contano le categorie etnonazionali?

in **Quaderni di sociologia**, Vol. LVII, n. 63

Quali sono le caratteristiche sociali e sociologiche di questi nuovi italiani? Si tratta di una domanda di non facile risposta poiché si tratta di una popolazione plurale caratterizzata da un grande eterogeneità

Quale profilo demografico hanno assunto le seconde generazioni con il procedere degli anni? Qual è lo stato di avanzamento della legislazione sul riconoscimento dei diritti di cittadinanza? Quale immagine pubblica hanno i figli degli



immigrati? Sono stati scongiurati i rischi di una integrazione subalterna?

Si è sviluppata una pluralità di approcci di ricerca: in sintesi e semplificando, le posizioni emerse nel dibattito scientifico italiano potrebbero essere ricondotte all'opposizione fra gli studi che rimandano a una matrice culturalista e quelli che invece pongono l'accento sulla dimensione strutturale. Se per tutti l'obiettivo è studiare efficacemente i percorsi di integrazione delle seconde generazioni nel nostro paese, le prospettive analitiche adottate sono tuttavia differenti. Gli studi di matrice culturalista individuano nei tratti identitari e culturali legati a specifiche popolazioni migranti gli elementi utili a spiegarne le traiettorie di integrazione, ma anche per descriverne e interpretarne le difficoltà. I cultori della prospettiva strutturalista si concentrano invece sui modi in cui le condizioni materiali – economiche e sociali – in cui si trovano i figli di immigrati e i loro genitori, influenzano i loro percorsi di integrazione, con particolare attenzione alle loro strategie di investimento in istruzione e di collocazione nel mercato del lavoro. Negli ultimi anni il dibattito fra i due approcci ha consentito di sfumare molte contrapposizioni forzate.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Di Bartolo Francesco

Dalle lotte sociali alla globalizzazione delle rivolte. Il movimento bracciantile nelle zone capitalistiche del Mezzogiorno

in *Meridiana*, n. 77 , 175-201

1. Lotte salariali e controllo sindacale negli anni sessanta. 2. La «cesura» di Avola. 3. Il «lungo addio». 4. Rosarno e la globalizzazione. 5. Una nuova questione bracciantile: sindacato e multiculturalismo «Criminale» e «Gran Criminale».

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gibler Douglas M., Braithwaite Alex

Dangerous Neighbours, Regional Territorial Conflict and the Democratic Peace

in *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 43, issue 4, october , 877-887

ABSTRACT: The likelihood of conflict and the observation of joint democracy tend to cluster regionally. This article tests the argument that these clusters can be explained by regional variations in the stability of international borders using a new dataset of territorial dispute hot spots from 1960–1998. These hot spots identify spatial and temporal correlations in the territorial dispute data and therefore serve as close proxies for regional or neighbourhood instability. The addition of these hot spots also eliminates a common form of omitted variable bias – the spatial clustering of conflict – in international conflict models. These results confirm that joint democracy is only statistically significant as a predictor of fatal militarized interstate disputes in more peaceful neighbourhoods once territorial hot spots are jointly estimated. The interaction between joint democracy and regional instability confirms that the effects of regime type on continued conflict apply mostly to dyads in peaceful regions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Zhongying Pang, Wang Hongying



Debating international institutions and global governance: The missing Chinese IPE contribution
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 6, 2013 , pages 1189-1214

One of the fundamental questions in the study of international political economy (IPE) is the foundation of order, stability and justice in international politics and economy. The study of international institutions and global governance is part of this larger inquiry. With China's rising importance in the global economic system, it might be expected that IPE scholarship in China would give rise to uniquely 'Chinese' approaches to this area of inquiry, approaches informed by China's position in the world and China's rich cultural and intellectual traditions. However, our examination of Chinese scholarship shows that thus far, it has produced little new knowledge and theoretical innovation. Why has this been the case? We argue that it is because (1) as a new field of study, IPE in China – including the study of international institutions and global governance – is still under the strong socialization effect of Western scholarship; and (2) the institutional environment in China constrains the kind of research that promises new insights and innovative perspectives. We also discuss how scholarship in China could contribute to the positive evolution of IPE globally in the future, and the obstacles that may hinder this development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Seraina Pedrini, André Bächtiger and Marco R. Steenbergen

Deliberative inclusion of minorities: patterns of reciprocity among linguistic groups in Switzerland
in *European Political Science* , Volume 5 - Issue 03 , 483-512

We present a model of deliberative inclusion, focusing on reciprocity in the interaction between structural minorities/disadvantaged groups and majorities/privileged groups. Our model, however, comes with a 'friendly amendment': we have put the 'burden of reciprocity' mainly on majorities and privileged groups. It is mainly their obligation to seriously listen and respond to the demands and arguments of minorities and disadvantaged groups and show a willingness to respect and accommodate these interests. Empirically, we apply our model to the interaction of linguistic groups in the Swiss parliament. We find a highly egalitarian, sometimes even minority-favoring mode of interaction between the German-speaking majority and linguistic minorities. The German-speaking majority seems to be willing to take the 'burden of reciprocity' when linguistic minorities' vital interests are concerned. Conversely, linguistic minorities are slightly more self-referential and adversarial under such conditions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wolff Jonas

Democracy Promotion and Civilian Power: The Example of Germany's 'Value-Oriented' Foreign Policy
in *German Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 4 , 477-493

While Germany is generally considered one of the most important democracy promoters, there is still limited work on the German approach to promoting democracy. There is a general understanding that Germany – as a civilian power – should be guided by democratic values in its external affairs, but it is neither theoretically nor empirically very clear what this means for the actual practice of democracy promotion. The present paper contributes to filling this gap by (1) locating democracy promotion as a foreign policy aim and instrument in the role conception of civilian power, (2)



summarising the fragmented state of the art on German democracy promotion, (3) presenting results of a qualitative content analysis in order to reconstruct the main features of the official outline of German democracy promotion, and (4) confronting these programmatic findings with a brief comparative view on the practice of German democracy promotion towards Bolivia, Turkey and Russia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Niemeyer Simon

Democracy and Climate Change: What Can Deliberative Democracy Contribute?

in **Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 59, Issue 3, September , 429-448

This paper argues that deliberative democracy is best placed to meet the challenge that climate change poses to systems of governance, although the task of implementing it is challenging. Deliberative democracy extends on the basic idea of democracy by emphasising the way in which citizens engage with issues, requiring reflection on all relevant dimensions. Where climate change is easily crowded-out in the prevailing nature of political debate, deliberation helps to make salient less tangible and complex dimensions associated with the issue. Evidence is presented in support of the capacities of citizens to deliberate on climate change, with evidence drawn from a mini-public in the Australian Capital Region. The possibilities for “scaling up” these benefits of deliberation to the polity as a whole are then discussed. Although it is not straightforward, specific mechanisms for engendering deliberation among the wider public are suggested. If successful, deliberation not only promises to transform the possibilities for action on climate change, but also to build the capacity to respond by improving the underlying conditions for environmental governance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fredriksson Per G., Neumayer Eric

Democracy and climate change policies: Is history important?

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 95, November , 11-19

This paper argues that it is countries' historical experience with democracy, the democratic capital stock, rather than current levels of democracy that determines current climate change policies. Empirical evidence using data starting as far back as year 1800 for 87 countries, which together are responsible for 93.7% of global carbon emissions, suggests that the democratic capital stock has an important and robust effect on climate change policies. A history of executive constraints is particularly important. The current level of democracy does not play a role once democratic capital has been accounted for.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Andrew P. Owsiak

Democratization and International Border Agreements

in **Journal of Politics (The)**, Volume 75 - Issue 03 , 717-729

Does the removal of salient external threats foster democratization? Recent research proposes an affirmative answer



but either fails to examine democratization at the monadic level, to consider small-scale democratization, or to account for factors known to influence the democratization process. The current study addresses this deficit by (re)examining democratization during the period 1919–2006. The findings suggest a strong relationship between border settlement and democratization. A state that settles all of its interstate borders democratizes; any outstanding unsettled borders, however, prevent significant democratization. Furthermore, although border settlement contributes to democratization, it does not significantly affect democratic regime change. This empirical evidence cumulatively specifies a more precise relationship between external threat and democratization than previous work and thereby contributes directly to the recent debate between the territorial and democratic peace theories. It also suggests that democratization may proceed more readily if states address unsettled borders first.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Svensson Isak, Brounéus Karen

Dialogue and interethnic trust. A randomized field trial of 'sustained dialogue' in Ethiopia
in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 50, Number 5, September , 563-575

The growing field of peacebuilding has tried to mitigate interethnic conflicts by creating various sorts of dialogue programs, aiming to build social bonds and bridges between individuals from groups with a history of violent interaction. Yet, little is known of the effect of dialogue initiatives on interethnic relations and peacebuilding. Previous research on dialogue programs has suffered from the serious problem of selection bias: in other words, by not having comparable control groups it has not been possible to separate selection effects (that a program attracts certain types of people) from process effects (that programs have an effect on people). The present study is the first to examine the effects of a dialogue process in a context of political tension and ethnic violence through a randomized field experiment, thereby eliminating this problem. Using a stratified randomization process, participants were selected to a two-term Sustained Dialogue program at Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia, in 2009–10. Immediately following the dialogue intervention, an attitudinal survey and a behavioral trust game were conducted with a group of 716 participants and non-participants. We found that the program had a positive effect on participants' attitudes: it worked for decreasing mistrust and increasing the level of trust between people of different ethnic origins. Concurrently, however, participation in the dialogue program increased the sense of importance of ethnic identities as well as the perception of being ethnically discriminated – a somewhat counter-intuitive finding. Participation in dialogue processes had no significant effect on game behavior: participants in Sustained Dialogue were neither more trusting nor trustworthy than non-participants. This study shows the fruitfulness of randomized field-experiments in the area of peace and conflict research and finishes by identifying some important paths for future research.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Miles William, Vijverberg Chu-Ping C.

Did the Classical Gold Standard Lead to Greater Business Cycle Synchronization? Evidence from New Measures

in *Kyklos*, Volume 66, Issue 4, November 2013 , 93–115

Previous studies have presented findings suggesting that the gold standard may have led to an increase in business cycle synchronization among its member countries. This follows a growing literature which posits that currency unions in



general lead to greater synchronization of business cycles. The previous papers on the gold standard, however, suffer from simultaneity problems, and incomplete measures of just how synchronized output gaps are. We accordingly apply two new measures of business cycle coherence which have recently been applied to the modern Euro zone. These measures account both for differences in the sign as well as the amplitude of output gaps, and can be computed on a period-by-period basis, unlike previous metrics. In addition, we employ two other methods which do not allow for time-varying estimation, but have been employed in other studies of output convergence. We find, contrary to the earlier studies, that the classical gold standard did not appear to increase the coherence of business cycles.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Trabant Jürgen

Die Europäer: zweisprachig wie die alten Römer

in **Gegenworte**, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Eichengreen Barry

Does the Federal Reserve Care about the Rest of the World?

in **Journal of Economic Perspectives**, Vol. 27 No. 4, Fall 2013 , 87-104.

Many economists are accustomed to thinking about Federal Reserve policy in terms of the institution's "dual mandate," which refers to price stability and high employment, and in which the exchange rate and other international variables matter only insofar as they influence inflation and the output gap -- which is to say, not very much. In fact, this conventional view is heavily shaped by the distinctive and peculiar circumstances of the last three decades, when the influence of international considerations on Fed policy has been limited. In fact, the Federal Reserve paid significant attention to international considerations in its first two decades, followed by relative inattention to such factors in the two-plus decades that followed, then back to renewed attention to international aspects of monetary policy in the 1960s, before the recent period of benign neglect of the international dimension. I argue that in the next few decades, international aspects are likely to play a larger role in Federal Reserve policy making than at present.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Philippe Coppens

Droit économique international et justice distributive

in **Revue internationale de droit économique** , Vol. 27, n°4 , 511-521

Premières lignes

1Le droit comme l'économie se donnent pour horizon la notion, certes polysémique, du bien commun ou de l'intérêt général. Tous les ordres juridiques, quels que soient les chemins de traverse parfois étranges qu'ils prennent pour y



parvenir, se proposent toujours comme tâche de créer une société plus juste. Par ailleurs, l'économie repose classiquement sur la notion de la main invisible d'A. Smith....

Plan de l'article

Introduction

Le droit et l'universalisme des droits

Sur la redistribution des ressources

Conclusions

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Serghei Golunov

EU-Russian Border Crossing: The Dialogical Perspective

in Geopolitics, Volume 18, Issue 4 , 933-953

Mainstream post-positivist approaches to Border Studies typically represent national borders as losing their importance or blurring. This insight usually fails to grasp the perspective of those who have to cross 'hard' borders, for whom these borders are primarily 'hard facts' quite precisely restricting territorial limits of their movement. Aiming to take this perspective and practical problems experienced by such border crossers into account, the author proposes an approach focusing on communication between those who cross 'hard' borders and those who protect these borders. The case of the EU-Russian border shows that border crossers have an increasing range of options to make themselves heard by their own country's officials, though it is much more difficult for them to reach gatekeepers and public on the other side of the border without resorting to intermediaries (such as their states or business actors). The author suggests that border crossers could be heard better if cross-border cooperation initiatives would prioritise this purpose thus making the EU's external borders not only 'friendly' or 'blurred' but also 'dialogic'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Söderbaum Peter

Ecological economics in relation to democracy, ideology and politics

in Ecological Economics, Volume 95, November , 221-225

Two recent studies and policy documents are discussed in the present article. One is a UN report prepared by experienced politicians as input into the 2012 Rio de Janeiro Conference, the other a study about the ecological economics of biodiversity.

The UN report is of interest in informing about the thinking of politicians and their recommendations for action. It is however a consensus report where more fundamental changes in perspectives are not considered but rather avoided. A number of ecological economists participated in the second study on biodiversity. They demonstrated consciousness about many of the critical arguments about Cost-Benefit Analysis but finally argued in favor of relying on the conceptual framework of neoclassical economics with its CBA. The present author is criticizing this idea of "mainstreaming" the economics of biodiversity contending that radical change in perspectives is needed.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schwenke Holger

Europas Traum

in *Gegenworte*, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Radil Steven M., Flint Colin

Exiles and Arms: The Territorial Practices of State Making and War Diffusion in Post–Cold War Africa
in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 1, Issue 2 , 183-202

The end of the Cold War resulted in a wave of political change among post-colonial states in Africa. Following these political transformations was nearly two decades of war in central Africa (the so-called Africa's World War). Building on a notion of effective sovereignty regimes, or the relationships between central state authority and state territoriality, this paper examines the territorial strategies and practices associated with the transitions to multiparty politics that enabled the space/time spread of war in the region. The attempts of existing regimes to create polities capable of returning them to power through elections gave rise to territorial practices focused on supporting exile and refugee groups that actively undermined the sovereignty of neighboring states. These territorial practices, with their roots in the democratization of single-party states, directly contributed to nearly two decades of war and human suffering in the region, while ending the wars required altogether new territorial forms of cooperation between states. This example illustrates the diverse territorial practices of states and extends the idea of sovereignty regimes by showing the implications involved in the attempts to change the forms of effective sovereignty in certain geopolitical contexts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Oliver P Richmond

Failed statebuilding versus peace formation

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48 (3) , 378-400

This article outlines the often countervailing forces and norms of state formation, statebuilding and peacebuilding according to their associated theoretical approaches. It introduces a new concept of 'peace formation', which counterbalances a reliance on internal violent or externalised institutions' agency, reform and conditionality. Without incorporating a better understanding of the multiple and often critical agencies involved in peace formation, the states emerging from statebuilding will remain as they are: failed by design. This is because they are founded on externalised systems, legitimacy and norms rather than a contextual, critical and emancipatory epistemology of peace. Engaging with the processes of peace formation may aid international actors in gaining a better understanding of the roots of a conflict, how local actors may be assisted, how violence and power-seeking may be ended or managed and how local legitimacy may emerge.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Maurel Chloé

Faire de l'histoire mondiale/globale en Chine à l'heure de la mondialisation

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 216 , 19-43

The practice of history in China was long China-centered. With the opening of the country under Deng Xiaoping from the 1980s, Chinese historians had more access to foreign sources and global history took off. Handbooks, journals, institutes in global history appeared. Thanks to the efforts of Chinese historian Wu Yujin, global history won recognition in China : many works by Western scholars advocating the global approach were introduced into China. Recent trends in global history in China show an interest for ancient times, from Prehistory to Modern times, and for Orient-West relationships. The importance and diversity of the global history themes tackled by Chinese scholars in international symposia prove the enthusiasm for this trend in China, even if some remain reluctant.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Claude E. Jodoin

Federal and Quebec Incentives for Resource Exploration— Flow through Shares

in *Canadian Tax Journal*, volume 63 suppl , 147-66

AbstrAct The issuance of flowthrough shares has been, for a number of years, the cornerstone in the financing of exploration expenses in Canada, and particularly in Quebec. The popularity of this financing mechanism is attributable to tax incentives offered by both the Canadian and the Quebec governments. While the two tax regimes are to a large extent harmonized, Quebec offers some incentives that are not provided under the federal regime, making the province a destination of choice for carrying out exploration activities. The treatment of gains on the disposition of flowthrough shares has always been unique, given that their cost base is nil for tax purposes. In addition, until recently, a generous tax exemption has been available for donations of flowthrough shares to charities. The author reviews the federal and Quebec incentives, and discusses recent amendments relating to the taxation of gains resulting from the disposition or donation of flowthrough shares.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

EI Kholi Hugo

Global Justice and Practice-Dependence

in *Raisons politiques*, n. 51 , 7-42

The purpose of this introduction is two-fold. First, it is to provide readers unfamiliar with the debates on practice-dependence with the insight necessary to fully comprehend the different contributions to this volume. Second, it is to make readers already well versed in practice-dependence more sensible to the substantive nature of this view and to provide them with a workable typology. After establishing a first distinction between metaphysical, relational and



practice-dependent conceptions of justice, I draw a line, among practicedependent views, between institutionalism and cultural conventionalism. I complete the typology by differentiating between three forms of institutionalism according to how they regard the institutional fact, namely the fact that individuals are always already placed in a state of submission to existing institutions. Whereas de facto institutionalism describes this fact as a mere factual reality which imposes itself upon human beings, de jure institutionalism regards it as apractical necessity which stands in need of justification to each and every individual. Finally, moral institutionalism accounts for the institutional fact in terms of moral duty , namely the duty to contribute to the emergence of a state of affairs in which everyone's freedom of choice is respected.

La justice fondée sur les pratiques: une introduction

L'objet de cette introduction est double. Elle consiste, tout d'abord, à fournir aux lecteurs qui n'ont pas de connaissance préalable au débat sur la dépendance aux pratiques l'aperçu nécessaire à une compréhension pleine et entière des contributions de ce volume. Elle vise, ensuite, à rendre les lecteurs déjà familiers de la dépendance aux pratiques plus sensibles à la nature substantielle de cette approche et à leur fournir une typologie pratique. Après avoir opéré une première distinction entre conceptions métaphysiques, conceptions relationnelles et conceptions dépendant de la pratique, je différencie, parmi ces dernières, entre institutionnalisme et conventionnalisme culturel. J'achève cette typologie en distinguant entre trois types d'institutionnalisme selon le statut accordé au fait institutionnel, à savoir le fait que les individus sont toujours déjà placés dans une situation de soumission par rapport aux institutions existantes. Tandis que l'institutionnalisme de fait décrit cette situation comme une simple réalité factuelle qui s'impose à tous les êtres humains, l'institutionnalisme de droit la considère comme une nécessité pratique devant être justifiée à chaque individu. L'institutionnalisme moral, enfin, rend compte du fait institutionnel dans les termes d'un devoir moral, à savoir le devoir de contribuer à l'émergence d'un état de fait dans lequel la liberté de choix de chacun est respectée.

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

- I. Metaphysical, relational and practice-dependent conceptions of justice
- II. Normative concern and practice-dependence
- III. Two forms of practice-dependence
 - Cultural conventionalism
 - Institutionalism
 - The specificity of institutionalism
- IV. Two forms of institutionalism, plus a third one
 - Nonvoluntarism and reciprocity-based institutionalism
 - The status of the institutional fact
 - Moral Institutionalism
- V. The different contributions to the volume

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Frøslee Malte

Global Justice and Two Conceptions of Practice-Dependence

in *Raisons politiques*, n. 51 , 81-96

Practice-dependence has recently gotten a lot of press in political theory, not only for methodological reasons, but also because of its ostensible support for statism – the view that the scope of principles of justice is limited to the



nation-state. This article aims to refute the claim that practice-dependence necessarily entails statism. It distinguishes two senses of practice-dependence in Rawls's work in order to elucidate how statism follows not from Rawls's practice-dependence methodology as such, but from the kind of practices on which his conception depends. By distinguishing basic practices from institutionalised practices, we can identify a conception of practice-dependence, realised in the work of Jürgen Habermas, which entails cosmopolitanism. Finally, the article contrasts Rawls's internal criticism of the nation-state with Habermas's external criticism and argues in favour of the latter approach.

La justice globale et deux conceptions de la dépendance aux pratiques

La dépendance aux pratiques a récemment reçu une attention soutenue en théorie politique, pas seulement pour des raisons méthodologiques, mais aussi en raison de son soutien ostensible à l'étatisme – la position qui veut que la portée des principes de justice soit limitée à l'État-Nation. Cet article vise à réfuter l'affirmation selon laquelle la dépendance aux pratiques conduit nécessairement à l'étatisme. Il distingue deux sens de la dépendance aux pratiques dans les travaux de Rawls afin de clarifier la façon dont l'étatisme découle, non pas de la méthodologie rawlsienne en tant que telle, mais plutôt du genre de pratiques dont sa conception dépend. En distinguant les pratiques fondamentales des pratiques institutionnalisées, nous pouvons identifier une conception de la dépendance aux pratiques, à l'oeuvre dans les travaux de Jürgen Habermas, qui conduit au cosmopolitisme. L'article contraste enfin la critique interne de Rawls concernant l'État-Nation avec la critique externe de Habermas, et se prononce en faveur de cette dernière approche.

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

1. Rawls: From (Two Senses of) Practice-Dependence to Statism
 2. Basic Practices, Institutionalised Practices, and Global Justice
 3. Habermas: From Practice-Dependence to Cosmopolitanism
- Conclusion

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Feng Yi

Global Power Transitions and Their Implications for the 21st Century

in Pacific Focus, Volume 28, Issue 2, August, 170–189

This essay presents a theoretical approach toward war and peace, reviews basic conditions for world leadership, discusses four modes of global power transitions, illuminates the likely emergence of the future superpowers, and summarizes the differences and common interests between the United States, the incumbent world leader, and China, a potential contender for the global leadership in the 21st century. The theoretical background is power-transition theory, which predicts war when superpowers are close in power and peace when power preponderance exists. Power parity need be also considered in the context of common interests and preferences of superpowers. Conflict abates when the nations share fundamental rules of the game in world affairs. Four historical modes of transitions – co-dominion, deterrence, confrontation, and cooperation – were identified. Of the four historical transitions, each time, the challenger surpassed the hegemon in economic power, and deterrence and confrontation by the hegemon against the challenger did not prevent the challenger from assuming global leadership in the long term. Among the newly rising nations (BRICs), China is discussed as a potential contender for world leadership. The economic and financial interdependence between the United States and China is currently the driving force in their relations. It shapes their political arrangements, necessitating coordination and cooperation in policy issues. While economic collaboration and interdependence drive the relations between the two, they are not sufficient conditions for a peaceful transition, until



their political and security relations are solidified and their preferences coalesce substantively.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Zhu Tianbiao, Pearson Margaret  

Globalization and the role of the state: Reflections on Chinese international and comparative political economy scholarship

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 6, 2013 , pages 1215-1243

China's rapid integration into the global economy has had undeniable implications for the Chinese state – it raises questions about how the state has simultaneously encouraged globalization and, at the same time, tried to control for globalization's impact on China's economy, its culture, and on state policy and the state itself. These implications have not been lost on PRC-based scholars of international and comparative political economy, who have focused considerable – if, as we shall argue, incomplete – attention on globalization's challenge to state sovereignty, to economic sovereignty, and on the economic role of the state. The article highlights features of the Chinese scholarship that are quite distinctive. This literature reflexively favours a strong role for the state in the context of globalization. We also observe that the literature in general is not oriented to theory-building. Instead, scholarship is largely policy-driven; there is a strong impulse to provide positive policy advice to Chinese policy-makers. Most striking, the understanding of the state in the Chinese literature remains partial; there is a marked reluctance to delve into either empirical or theoretical study of the Chinese state itself – the state itself as a subject of critical analysis is rarely considered.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nathan Gardels

Governance After the End of Power

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 3, July , 2-7

With globalization and recent technological revolutions, both hard and soft power have lost their effectiveness.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Yeophantong Pichamon

Governing the World: China's Evolving Conceptions of Responsibility

in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 6 Issue 4 , 329-364

This article examines, from an historical perspective, how the idea of the 'responsibility of power' speaks to Chinese political thought, and assesses its significance to China's evolving engagement with global governance today. It argues that a shift in China's global mentality is now underway: from an aversion to taking the lead to one which sees China reprising its role as a global power and shouldering the responsibilities attached to this status in the management of world affairs. But, contrary to conventional depictions of China's 'responsible power' identity as an externally imposed or purely modern construct, the article illustrates how notions of responsibility and the corollary concept of responsible governance are not new, but have deep roots in Chinese traditions of statecraft and corresponding visions of world



order. Taking into account the complex interplay between Chinese conceptions of responsibility and expectations of its global role, change is necessarily situated amidst historical continuity, as linkages are drawn between China's past and its present.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kadochnikov Denis V.  

Gustav Cassel's purchasing power parity doctrine in the context of his views on international economic policy coordination

in *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, Volume 20, Issue 6, 2013 , pages 1101-1121

Gustav Cassel (1866–1945) has formulated a number of original ideas concerning international economics and finance. These include what possibly was one of the earliest theoretical visions of the goals and scope of international economic policy coordination. However, these ideas largely remained unnoticed or were forgotten after his death. To a large extent, it is due to the fact that Cassel's comprehensive theoretical framework was subject to later fragmentation, while one of the key elements of his argumentation – the purchasing power parity (PPP) doctrine – was taken out of the context and subsequently misinterpreted. The paper aims to reconstruct Cassel's vision of the goals and tools of the international economic policy coordination and to present PPP doctrine in the original theoretical framework.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kamila Stullerova

HUMAN RIGHTS: HUMAN WRONGS Rethinking human rights

in *International Politics* , Volume 50, Issue 5 , 686–705

This article contributes to thinking about human rights by linking them to the concept of suffering. Building on the work of Judith Shklar, it maintains that attentiveness to suffering can invigorate human rights and this especially today, when justifications for human rights face frequent challenge. The article elucidates how both the advantages and difficulties of linking human rights to suffering can be acknowledged. Upon this view, human rights are analytically comparable to political rights and the interplay between domestic affairs and global ones is strong. Moreover, Shklar's work demonstrates the constant competition between human rights' interventionist aspect and challenges to interventionism, revealing that both tendencies emanate from the same urge to politically attend to suffering. Shklar's cosmopolitanism, which incorporates these two competing tendencies, is therefore not free of inherent tension. But if properly delimited, this tension can both mitigate excess and induce extra carefulness precisely in situations when new suffering might emerge or is already occurring.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Boisseau du Rocher Sophie

How Does the Past Shape the Present? The EU Policy towards Myanmar in Inter-Regional Context

in *European Journal of East Asian Studies* , Volume 12, Number 2 , 191–216



The EU is active in Southeast Asia to enhance its profile as a major ASEAN partner. But in order to be perceived as a full-fledged partner, the EU has to convince ASEAN countries of its changing style and tone. This is a difficult endeavour since the 'Burmese experience' has produced much unease and a lasting irritation on the ASEAN side. After 20 years of sanctions escalation and clumsy declarations on Burma/Myanmar, the EU diplomacy has produced mixed results: on the one hand, it has enhanced its credentials as a global promoter of democracy and human rights, but on the other hand, it has done so in such a controversial way that its credibility and influence have been challenged. Vis-à-vis both ASEAN and Myanmar, it has produced widespread doubt on the EU capacity to become an actor of political influence in Southeast Asia, a doubt that is often underestimated by European circles. The recent evolution, both from regional and inter-regional angles, offers the EU a window of opportunity for new policy orientations as a path to regain legitimacy in Southeast Asia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mitra Subrata K.

How Exceptional is India's Democracy? Path Dependence, Political Capital, and Context in South Asia
in *India Review*, Volume 12, Issue 4 , 227-244

India in 1947 faced the challenge of transforming a poor, socially and spatially fragmented country with low literacy and violent memories of Partition to a democratic state and a cohesive nation. Though the country sorely lacked the "pre-conditions of democracy," it still made a successful transition to electoral democracy, and went on to consolidate it. Compared to other South Asian nations, India's democracy appears even more puzzling—common origin from British colonial rule has led to dissimilar outcomes among India's neighbors. I argue in this article that India's democracy is neither a sham nor idiosyncratic. India's transition to democracy is the outcome of general variables such as path dependency, adroit institutional arrangements, strategic policy reform, and political capital. India's democracy conflates Western liberal democratic forms and non-Western cultures, leading to enfranchisement, entitlement and empowerment of the citizens, and the creation of a sense of efficacy, social justice, legitimacy and trust among them.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Edmunds June

Human rights, Islam and the failure of cosmopolitanism
in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 13, n. 6

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gulati Jasmeet; Khosa Ivan

Humanitarian Intervention: To Protect State Sovereignty
in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 41, No. 3,



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Visone Tommaso

Idea e identità collettiva. Alcune considerazioni sul pensiero di José Ortega y Gasset
in *Società Mutamento Politica*, Vol 4, N° 8 (2013)

This article analyzes the concepts of "Nation" and "Collective life" in the Ortega y Gasset thought with the aim to stress the features of their relation and their importance for the current debate on collective identity. In order to do that this paper actually tries to examine the impact of "ideas" and "ideologies", notions created by the Spanish philosopher on the constructive dynamics that rule the lives of collective identities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bechhofer Frank, McCrone David

Imagining the nation: Symbols of national culture in England and Scotland
in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 13, n. 5

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Holbreich Matthew

In the Valley of the Dry Bones: Lincoln's Biblical Oratory and the Coming of the Civil War
in *History of Political Thought*, Volume 35, Number 1, 2014 , 121-14

Challenging traditional readings of Abraham Lincoln, this article investigates his public use of the Bible before he became President of the United States. The rhetorical tropes of covenant, purification, sacrifice and rebirth illuminate a previously under-appreciated dimension of Lincoln's Biblical oratory. A close study of those themes reveals a consistently radical and polarizing Lincoln from his early speeches (Lyceum and Temperance) to his late pre-Presidential ones (Peoria and House Divided). At the heart of this unity was an uncompromisingly moral vision of the Union. The article concludes with some reflections on the enduring importance of > the Bible in the American tradition, and the place of redemptive violence in political life.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

S.K. Jain

Indian Federalism: An Empirical Study of People's Perception
in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 25th Issue, 1/2012 , 77-92



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kalana Senaratne

Internal Self-Determination in International Law: A Critical Third-World Perspective

in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 3, issue 2 , 305-339

Internal self-determination is a popular dimension of self-determination in international law. Often regarded as a right to democratic governance, its early promoters were largely Western states and international lawyers. A central observation made by such promoters was that the West favoured internal self-determination while the Third World did not. The present article will argue why this is a misconception and an outdated observation today. However, having argued so, the article proceeds to develop a Third World-oriented constructive critique of internal self-determination, suggesting why the Third World should nevertheless be more critically cautious and vigilant about the promotion of internal self-determination by Western actors as a distinct and concrete right in international law.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Freeland Steven

International Criminal Justice in the Asia-Pacific Region: The Role of the International Criminal Court Treaty Regime

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Vol. 11, Num. 5, December 2013 , 1029-1057

Even as the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) continues to gain increasing acceptance worldwide, the number of states parties within the Asia-Pacific region remains relatively low when compared to Europe, Africa and the Americas. Although the position may be slowly changing, it seems that the broadly positive global viewpoint of the ICC has not thus far been widely embraced in the Asia-Pacific region, at least as far as active participation as a state party is concerned. This article discusses a number of possible reasons for this general lack of regional enthusiasm for the ICC, particularly in the relatively early years of its existence. However, it goes on to argue that there are tangible benefits for countries in the Asia-Pacific region to embrace the Court and become an active state party to the ICC Statute, both in terms of encouraging the increasingly important role played by regional countries in the ongoing development of international law, but also in relation to the greater formalization and recognition of human rights, as well as of international justice and accountability for those responsible for the commission of international crimes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kang David C.

International Relations Theory and East Asian History: An Overview

in *Journal of East Asian Studies* , Volume 13, Issue 2 (May-August 2013) , 181-205

Long understudied by mainstream international relations (IR) scholars, the East Asian historical experience provides an enormous wealth of patterns and findings, which promise to enrich our IR theoretical literature largely derived from and



knowledgeable about the Western experience. The intellectual contributions of this emerging scholarship have the potential to influence some of the most central questions in international relations: the nature of the state, the formation of state preferences, and the interplay between material and ideational factors. Researching historical East Asia provides an opportunity to seek out genuine comparisons of international systems and their foundational components. This introduction surveys the field and sets out to frame debate and the intellectual terms of inquiry to assess progress and guide future research. Theoretically, the essays in this issue provide insights on the emerging literature on hierarchy in international relations, and move beyond simplistic assertions that power “matters” to explore the interplay of material and ideational causal factors. Methodologically, scholars are no longer treating all East Asian history as simply one case, while also becoming more careful to avoid selection bias by avoiding choosing selective evidence from the rich historical record. Collectively, the empirical cases discussed in this volume span centuries of history, include a wide variety of political actors across East Asia, and represent an exciting wave of new scholarship.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Imlay Talbot C.

International Socialism and Decolonization during the 1950s: Competing Rights and the Postcolonial Order in *American Historical Review*, Volume 118, Issue 4, October , 1105-1132

In January 1953, almost two hundred socialists from ten different political parties in Asia and the Middle East gathered in Rangoon, Burma, to found the Asian Socialist Conference (ASC). During the nine-day gathering, the delegates discussed a variety of political, economic, and organizational issues of concern to Asian socialists. But what most impressed observers was the anticolonialist tone of the proceedings. “A socialist congress against colonialism” was how André Bidet, a French socialist, succinctly described the event.¹ In Rangoon, however, Asian socialists did not simply condemn colonialism; they also sketched out a program for the postcolonial political order. In his opening remarks, the conference chairman, the Burmese socialist U Ba Swe, equated anticolonial struggles with “national revolutions,” adding that every colony “has to go through its own.”² Just what he meant by this became clear several days later, when the delegates unanimously approved a resolution on “freedom movements in the colonies.” Defining freedom as the attainment of “independent statehood,” the resolution presented the nation-state as the precondition not only for the development of democracy and socialism within each colony, but also for ...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

**Chin Gregory, Pearson Margaret M., Yong Wang  **

Introduction – IPE with China's characteristics

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 6, 2013 , pages 1145-1164

This article serves as an introduction to the five articles submitted for the special issue on IPE in China. In addition to summarizing the special issue articles on key themes in IPE, we outline the genesis of IPE as a field of study inside China, detail the core characteristics of Chinese IPE, as seen in this special issue, and consider the limits of the development of Chinese IPE to date. Finally, we provide a road map for the development of the IPE field in China, and identify the potential contributions which the Chinese scholarship could make to knowledge creation in IPE, and to the global conversation, in the future.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lustick Ian

Israel Needs a New Map

in Middle East Policy, Volume 20, Issue 2, Summer , 25-37

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Blank Andreas

Johannes von Felden on Usucaption, Justice, and the Society of States

in Journal of the History of Ideas, Volume 74, Number 3, July , 403-423

In his response to Grotius, the seventeenth-century German jurist and philosopher Johannes von Felden rejects Grotius's view that usucaption—the acquisition of ownership through long-standing possession—could be a suitable means for settling territorial conflicts. At the same time, he defends a conception of a society of states. For him, the human need for security from the risks of war and the human need for justice demand from rulers that they establish international courts that have jurisdiction over territorial matters. In his view, the juridical relations connected with such international courts are constitutive of a society of states.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Naomi Roht-Arriaza

Just a 'Bubble'? Perspectives on the Enforcement of International Criminal Law by National Courts

in Journal of International Criminal Justice, Vol. 11, Num. 3, June, 2013 , 537-543

The international criminal justice project is not in decline. Its focus, however, has shifted to where it, arguably, belongs: to national courts. National courts are integral to both the origins and the future of international criminal justice. The difficulties involved in national prosecutions led to the establishment of international courts and the rise of universal jurisdiction; the difficulties in using these latter forums, in turn, is leading back to national courts. This article examines the forward movement and the backlash of the enforcement of international criminal law by national courts, drawing in particular on the Latin American and the Spanish examples. It concludes by arguing that the hangover after the euphoria should be used to correct the sky-high expectations and to (re)determine the relationship between international and national and among different national jurisdictions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fischer Joschka

L'America poliziotto del mondo che rimpiangeremo



in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLV, n. 172, autunno , 503-505

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Barberis Mauro

La fine dello Stato e altri racconti

in **Filosofia Politica**, numero 2, agosto 2013 , 317-329

In their recent works on pre-revolutionary France, Francesco Di Donato and Michel Troper highlight how the theories of legal sources have contributed to determine the origins and growth of the modern State not less than the doctrines of sovereignty. Moving from these assumptions, this essay points out the evolutionary methodology upon which Di Donato's and Troper's historical and theoretical investigations are based; it is then analyzed the very concept of legal source and its crisis within legal dogmatic and theory of law; finally, the narratives concerning the death of the State developed in the last two centuries are compared.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Altieri Rocco

La lezione di Operazione Colomba tra Gandhi e Martin Luther King

in **Quaderni Satyagraha**, n. 23, Dalla guerra alla riconciliazione. Operazione Colomba: corpo nonviolento di pace in zone di conflitto armato , 5-7

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Duranti Simone

La propaganda antisocietaria fascista attorno alla metà degli anni trenta

in **Italia Contemporanea**, n° 271, giugno

Il presente saggio indaga la prassi propagandistica che soggetti e istituzioni (variamente collegate al sistema di potere fascista) hanno dispiegato per delegittimare la Società delle nazioni (Sdn) e le democrazie che tradizionalmente venivano identificate come i suoi principali sostenitori: Francia e Gran Bretagna. Sono stati presi in esame gli anni che, dalla preparazione del conflitto in Africa Orientale, giungono all'abbandono dell'Italia del consesso ginevrino nel dicembre 1937, ma intenzione dell'autore è illustrare quanto la critica nei confronti della Sdn fosse strutturale per il fascismo e quindi non necessariamente da mettere in relazione con la contingenza dello scontro per l'Africa Orientale. Alla politica di continuo svilimento delle istanze e delle procedure ginevrine, messa in atto da Palazzo Chigi per l'intero ventennio, fece eco il lavoro demolitorio a livello propagandistico e culturale di riviste espressione di ambienti differenti,



dall'accademia ai circoli nazionalisti, dai Guf al Partito nazionale fascista, fino agli intellettuali legati agli studi di politica estera, alla geopolitica, alla diplomazia e alla storia delle relazioni internazionali.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Carrillo Santarelli Nicolás

La protección y promoción de los derechos humanos frente a violaciones no estatales por los órganos internacionales

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 26, diciembre 2013

The protection of human dignity and the peremptory principle of equality and non-discrimination, being two of the most important foundations and principles of human rights law, require that individuals are protected from non-state abuses, given the possibility that they affect the enjoyment and exercise of human rights. This explains and justifies the existence of positive duties of authorities to protect and prevent violations, but additionally requires further mechanisms of protection. Concerning some of them, it is possible to mention that international practice shows that international bodies and agents entrusted with the promotion and protection of human rights have conducted actions such as publicizing violations or contacting non-state actors with the aim of furthering the complete and effective protection of human dignity. Nevertheless, those actions and initiatives are often limited, which demands acknowledging both that there are implied and inherent powers to provide greater protection and that it is necessary to make changes regarding competence and jurisdiction de lege ferenda.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Busch Marc L., Pelc Krzysztof J

Law, politics, and the true cost of protectionism: the choice of trade remedies or binding overhang.

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 13 - Issue 01 - gennaio 2014 , 39-64

The literature on escape clauses in international commerce focuses on the workings of trade remedies. The logic is that, by adhering to a strict methodology that is subject to legal review, trade remedies credibly signal that the government is only temporarily defecting from free trade. And yet, countries often turn, instead, to a measure that does not adhere to a strict methodology and is not subject to legal review: binding overhang, or the gap between a country's bound and applied tariffs. What explains a government's decision to use trade remedies or binding overhang? We argue that trade remedies are used where import surges are big enough that injury can be proven, but low enough that governments have incentive to prove it. Otherwise, binding overhang is their flexibility measure of choice. We conduct a variety of empirical analyses concerning 22 emerging economies with access to both trade remedies and binding overhang. The results strongly bear out our hypothesis, shedding new light on governments' incentives over the design of the law governing flexibility provisions

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cherubini Francesco



Le prime due generazioni di diritti umani: origine, evoluzione e prassi recente

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VIII, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 303-326

This article deals with the evolution of the relationship between, from one hand, the first two generations of human rights (i.e. civil and political ones, and economic, social and cultural ones) and, on the other, the negative and positive duties of States. After a deep analysis of the origins of the first two generations of human rights, both within the United Nations and in the regional international organizations, such as the Council of Europe, the Organization of American States and the African Union, the article identifies the elements that have weakened, over the years, the traditional difference between the first two generations of human rights, i.e. the importance of mechanisms of protection associated to each of those generations and, most of all, case-law coming from the same mechanisms. In particular, the article underlines the importance of the doctrine of positive obligations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Park Mi

Lessons from the Asian financial crisis for the eurozone: a comparative analysis of the perilous politics of austerity in Asia and Europe

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 11, n. 2, June , 189-199

This paper comparatively examines diverse responses from three major actors in the global political economy (the state, civil society, international financial institutions) to the Asian financial crisis of 1997 and the current eurozone crisis. First, it analyses conditional lending policies of international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the International Monetary Fund toward countries in fiscal distress. It then critically examines how the lending policies engendered social tensions and conflicts as austerity measures such as cuts to social welfare programmes hit hard on the populace. Examining how the state and civil society in Asia reacted to and, as a result of contentious state–civil society interactions, altered the policies of IFIs, the paper draws lessons from the Asian financial crisis for the European Union and puts forwards alternative policy suggestions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Morris Justin

Libya and Syria: R2P and the spectre of the swinging pendulum

in *International Affairs* , vol. 89, issue 5, september , 1265-1283

ABSTRACT: This article examines recent UN Security Council deliberations over events in Libya and Syria and in particular assesses the extent to which Council members sought to justify their positions and voting behaviour by reference to the 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P). It shows how limited invocations of R2P were with regard to Libya, before proceeding to demonstrate how, somewhat paradoxically, R2P-sceptics such as Russia and China subsequently drew upon concerns over the manner in which NATO implemented its UN-mandate in Libya to cast doubts over R2P during debates over Syria. Contemplating the implications of the Libyan and Syrian cases for the future of R2P, the article concludes by arguing that the concept's international standing can best be preserved through the excision of its most coercive elements; R2P should be reconstituted as a standard of acceptable sovereign behaviour and a mechanism geared towards the provision of international guidance and support, while decisions over coercive military



intervention, inevitably infused with considerations of strategic interest, should be made outside the R2P framework.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Brunsmas David L., Delgadob Daniel, Rockquemore, Kerry Ann

Liminality in the Multiracial experience: towards a concept of identity matrix

in **Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power**, Volume 20, Issue 5 , 481-502

Although researchers have investigated Multiracials for their racial identity 'choices', many scholars continue to conceptualise racial identity as monolithic. This article both problematises and extends the notion of racial identity with an 'identity matrix'. This concept grounds the sociological processes of constructing and deploying a racial identity as strategic and agentic in interactional, political, cultural, physical (embodiment) and institutional contexts. Using insights from survey data from 231 black-white Multiracial young adults and follow-up in-depth interviews with 24 of these respondents, we develop the concept of 'identity matrix' both theoretically and empirically. This article provides heuristic results that we hope will encourage more development of methodological and theoretical complexity in the study of racial identity, allowing scholars to think about the various identities of Multiracials, the possibility of and conditions enabling an emergent Multiracial consciousness, as well as the socio-cognitive structure and active deployment of identity matrices across other social groups.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Brake Benjamin, Katzenstein Peter J.

Lost in Translation? Nonstate Actors and the Transnational Movement of Procedural Law

in **International Organization**, vol. 67, issue 4, october , 725-727

ABSTRACT: In recent years U.S. legal norms and practices reconfigured important elements of how law is thought of and practiced in both common and civil law countries around the world. With specific focus on the spread of American procedural practices (class action and pretrial discovery), this article applies a transactional view of law that emphasizes the private practice of law and nonstate actors. Such an approach highlights important aspects of world politics overlooked by traditional analyses of international legalization, conventionally understood as the direct spread of law by and among states. We find that the movement of law is a dynamic process involving diffusion, translation, and the repeated transnational exchanges of legal actors. Through our examination of this process, we offer insights into how aspects of American law moved into unlikely jurisdictions to reshape legal theory, pedagogy, procedure, and the organizing structure of the legal profession.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Reinhard Zimmermann

L'héritage de Savigny. Histoire du droit, droit comparé, et émergence d'une science juridique européenne

in **Revue internationale de droit économique** , Vol. 27, n°1-2 , 95-127



Based on the programmatic writings of Friedrich Carl von Savigny, this paper outlines the programme of a renewed “historical school of law”. Its task is to Europeanize legal scholarship. As far as the contribution of legal history is concerned, the legal rules that have emerged in the past, and from the past, should not be regarded as “something which is in the highest degree exemplary” and which has to retain its ascendancy in an unchanged form. At the same time, however, it is crucial to acknowledge the “vital connection” that ties the past to the present, for “without that knowledge we shall only be able to observe the outward form of our legal condition, not to grasp its inner substance”. The prerequisite for a European private law is the existence of a European legal scholarship. That European legal scholarship should be founded on an historical approach. Legal history allows us better to understand contemporary law, both on a national and European level.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tichkov Valery

L’unité dans la diversité : la Russie comme État-nation

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2013/4 (n° 92) , 87-96

La «question nationale» suscite aujourd’hui en Russie des débats idéologiques acharnés et met aux prises diverses stratégies politiques. Deux positions s’opposent. La première peut être désignée sous la formule « projet russe ». Elle est soutenue par les éléments d’obédience conservatrice de la classe politique et de l’intelligentsia, ainsi que par une...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Akhtar Zia

Mapuche Land Claims: Environmental Protest, Legal Discrimination and Customary Rights

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 551-576

The Mapuche are an Indian tribe spread over Chile and Argentina who have suffered from the appropriation of their lands by the state. The latest court case decided in June 2011 by the Supreme Court of Santiago adjudged under the National Security Act 1984 enforced the anti-terrorism law against the protestors who had been demanding environmental rights. This draconian legislation was drafted under martial law and is part of a framework that was introduced in an emergency imposed between 1972–1998 in Chile. It led to the suppression of protest on environmental rights and the disenfranchisement of the Mapuche. The tribe has been protesting against the breach of accords signed with the government and the management of their lands. It has led to court cases that have not yet served a precedence that the tribe can rely on for the preservation of their lands. As the land based protest gathers momentum the enforcement of the anti-terrorist law is causing grave concern due to its breach of fundamental rights of due process. It invites an examination of whether the Chilean state is breaching the international covenants and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007. In order for the human rights of the Mapuche to be respected the Chilean government has to repeal the laws that were enacted under the dictatorship, and furthermore there has to be a recognition of the customs and legal pluralism that will allow an alternative dispute mechanism which restores the cultural framework of the indigenous people.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Garapon Antoine

Michel Foucault, visionnaire du droit contemporain

in *Raisons politiques*, n. 52

Cet article analyse les mutations contemporaines du droit. Il constate une évolution paradoxale des pratiques juridiques néolibérales « à l'ombre du droit » : une tendance à chercher une solution aux controverses juridiques en dehors des tribunaux, à travers des modalités d'accord et de compensation. L'application de la loi est perçue comme une menace et un danger (notamment sur le plan économique), plutôt que comme une garantie de protection. Une nouvelle forme de subjectivité juridique comme capacité immédiate de calcul et de négociation se substitue progressivement au sujet titulaire de droits et de libertés inaliénables, exposant pourtant les individus et les entreprises au risque de subir des pressions les incitant à renoncer à défendre leurs droits, au nom même de leur intérêt.

Michel Foucault: a visionary insight into contemporary law

This article focuses on the contemporary transformations of the field of law. It underlines a paradox in the evolution of neoliberal juridical practices, which take more and more place "in the shadow of the law". A tendency arises to try to find a solution to legal controversies outside the law courts, by means of agreements and compensations. Law enforcement actions are perceived as a danger (especially in an economic sense) and not as a guarantee of protection. A new form of juridical subjectivity as immediate capacity of calculating and negotiating is gradually replacing the subject of inalienable rights and freedoms. But this process risks putting pressure on individuals and enterprises to give up their rights in the name of their own interest.

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

1. Le droit de la sortie du droit
 - Des droits fondamentaux à un armement des sujets
 - De l'observation d'une règle à une coopération avec l'autorité
 - Un sujet unidimensionnel
2. Un droit « connecté » à l'économie
3. Un droit praticable
 - Des pratiques sans législateur ?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chojnicki Xavier, Filer Randall K., Menezes António, Uzagalieva Ainura

Migration Flows and their Demographic Consequences in the Commonwealth of Independent States

in *Economia internazionale*, 2013, Volume 66, Issue 3 , 285-309

Migration in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has become a very complex phenomenon due to changing political systems, diverging economic and demographic situations, and issues related to border management in the successor states to the former Soviet Union. In this paper, we empirically analyze net migration flows to the Russian Federation, the largest destination of within-CIS migration. The results show economic incentives and demographic factors to be important determinants of migration flows. We further find that population ageing is almost inevitable over the next decades even accounting for projected migration. Indeed, the dependency ratio, or the ratio of retirees to the



working population, may double in some CIS countries. We conclude that reasonably and economically motivated migratory flows will have no significant impact on these trends.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Borgolte Michael

Mittelalterliche Erinnerungsorte als Bausteine Europas?

in **Gegenworte**, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jan Erk

Mobilizing in the Vernacular : Environmentalist and Federal Institutional Change in Belgium and Germany

in **Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique**, Volume 46 - Issue 02 , 345-367

This article proposes the nexus between social movements, interest groups and citizen initiatives, on the one hand, and federalism, on the other, as the key to unlock a theory of gradual institutional change. The empirical context is the pattern of mobilization of Belgian and German environmentalists. In time, subnational jurisdiction over environment in Germany gave way to a nationwide one, while national policy in Belgium was devolved to the subnational level. Evidence shows that, in addition to direct institutional opportunities and constraints external to interest groups, a key internal factor—language—indirectly influenced the level mobilization in the long run. United by a common language, various German environmentalist groups gravitated towards a nationwide frame of reference, in due course bringing about institutional changes towards nationwide policies. In Belgium, divisions between Flemings and Francophones brought institutional change in the opposite direction.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Conrad Justin, Kim Hong-Cheol, Souva Mark

Narrow interests and military resource allocation in autocratic regimes

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 50, Number 6, November , 737-750

Why do some autocratic states allocate more resources to the military than others? We contend that as narrow political interests have more influence on a leader, relative to broader political interests, a state's military burden increases. Further, we argue that two domestic factors are central to explaining the relative strength of narrow political interests for military spending, and therefore variation in state military burden. First, institutions that increase the cost of political participation reduce the influence of the median citizen, increasing the strength of narrow political interests and, concomitantly, military spending. Second, as a regime ages, narrow interests become more entrenched and the regime becomes less concerned about overthrow. In turn, older regimes spend more on their militaries. We test hypotheses from this argument by examining the military burden for all autocracies over the period 1950–2000. We find that variation in restrictions on political participation and the age of the regime are central to understanding differences in



military spending among autocracies. Further, once these institutional features are taken into account, we find only modest support for the view that certain types of regimes spend more than others. What matters is not regime type but specific institutional features that affect the strength of narrow interests and vary across, and within, autocratic regimes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rosa Mas Giralt

Negotiating Ethnic Recognition Systems in the UK: the soft pan-ethnic identifications of Latin American migrants in the north of England

in Third World Quarterly, volume 34 n.10 , 1911-26

Despite aiming to provide minority ethnic groups with material equality and protection from discrimination, the British ethno-cultural system of recognition has perpetuated social differentiation which is difficult to transcend.

Drawing from interviews with informants and 10 in-depth case studies with Latin American and Latino-British families in the Yorkshire and Greater Manchester

regions of the north of England, the paper explores the fraught relationship between these migrants and their multicultural framework of incorporation.

Significant here are the contested understandings of the Latin American collective identity, combined with the diversity of migration trajectories, socioeconomic backgrounds and life-course needs of migrants and their children, which contribute to soft pan-ethnic identifications among the participant population. It is argued that, by encouraging migrants and their descendants to seek recognition through absolute ethnic differences, multicultural recognition systems can reproduce colonial categories and fail to respond to the diverse social and life-course needs of migrants.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mancini Paolo

Nenni e l'unificazione socialista

in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XII, n. 31, "Tra le due sponde: la diplomazia culturale degli americani", giugno

After the split of Palazzo Barberini in 1947, Nenni was the protagonist of a long process that led to the reunification of the Psi and the Psdi in 1966. Based on Nenni's notes (most of them unpublished), this paper analyzes the debate within the Psi (Socialist Party) highlighting the contrasts between representatives, the debate amongst intellectuals close to the party and, in conclusion, the causes of the failure of the process. That failure then took form in the new split of 1969.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Owen Parker and Ben Rosamond

Normative power Europe' meets economic liberalism: Complicating cosmopolitanism inside/outside the EU in Cooperation and Conflict, 48 (2) , 229-246

This article offers a reading of 'normative power Europe' (NPE) suggesting that the concept has been used for two



distinct purposes: as a distinctive ontological characterisation of the EU, on the one hand, and as a critical approach to the study of the EU and its external projection, on the other. These positions are labelled 'NPE ontological reality' (NPE-OR) and 'NPE critical ontology' (NPE-CO), respectively, and this article sets out to show how they might work together in practice, even if they are incommensurable in theory. It is argued that NPE's ethico-political value resides in the extent that it embodies an ontologically plural reality, never entirely defined. By drawing attention to a blind-spot in the NPE position – the constitutive importance of economic liberalism ('market cosmopolitanism') to the EU's post-Westphalian character – attention is drawn to the normative basis of market cosmopolitanism and its connections to NPE-OR are described. It is argued that, from an NPE-CO perspective, we should exercise caution in celebrating NPE-OR as post-Westphalian reality to the extent that it is rooted in a market cosmopolitics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Matthew Wright & Tim Reeskens

Of what cloth are the ties that bind? National identity and support for the welfare state across 29 European countries

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 10 2013 , 1443-1463

An oft-made claim is that national identity (NI) can function as social glue underpinning public support for the welfare state by encouraging the identification with co-nationals essential for redistribution. Empirical tests have largely ignored the possibility that the relationship depends on the kind of NI people hold, that various dimensions of welfare support are shaped by NI differently, and that these relationships depend on demographic context. Analyzing the European Values Study's 2008 wave, we find ample evidence that these distinctions matter: ethnic conceptions of NI are linked to general welfare state support, whereas civic and cultural ones are not. Moreover, all three national self-conceptions induce welfare chauvinism against immigrants, albeit to varying degrees, an effect that strengthens as immigrant diversity increases. Ultimately, we find nothing to suggest that NI can sustain public support for redistribution in an ever-diversifying age, and much to the contrary.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ferraro Emilia, Reid Louise

On sustainability and materiality. Homo faber, a new approach

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 96, December , 125-131

This paper explicitly engages with recent debates in Ecological Economics on what mode of humanity and person the sustainability project requires (e.g. Becker, 2006; Siebenhüner, 2000) and responds to calls to widen our understanding of the human being beyond homo economicus (e.g. Bina and Guedes Vaz, 2011). Using the example of the increasing attention to well-being, both within policy and academic circles, we seek to contribute to current critical considerations of 'the sustainable person' (Becker, 2010, 2012). We do this by incorporating often neglected perspectives from disciplines rooted in the Arts and Humanities – specifically anthropology and philosophy – introducing to debates on sustainability the notion of 'homo faber'. Our aim is threefold: (1) to invite creative thinking about the role that materiality and practice play in the constitution of alternative notions of 'being'; (2) to soften the anthropocentrism of western worldviews by considering the possibility of a different mode of humanity based upon "connection rather than separation, interdependence rather than autonomy" (Gibson-Graham, 2011:2), and (3) to encourage deeper reflection about the



need for, and the challenge of interdisciplinary sustainability research.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Maes Ivo

On the origins of the Triffin dilemma

in *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, Volume 20, Issue 6, 2013 , pages 1122-1150

Robert Triffin became famous with his trenchant analyses of the vulnerabilities of the Bretton Woods system. These are still at the centre of many discussions today. This article argues that there is a remarkable continuity in Triffin's work. From his earliest writings, Triffin developed a vision that the international adjustment process was not functioning according to the classical mechanisms. This view was based on thorough empirical analyses of the Belgian economy during the Great Depression and shaped by a business cycle perspective with an emphasis on the disequilibria and the transition period. His doctoral dissertation on imperfect competition theory and his Latin American experience further reinforced this basic view.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hobson John M.

Part 1 – Revealing the Eurocentric foundations of IPE: A critical historiography of the discipline from the classical to the modern era

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 5, 2013 , pages 1024-1054

In this article and in Part 2 I advance a 'critical historiography' of IPE which excavates to the deepest foundations of the discipline. For while I very much welcome Benjamin Cohen's seminal historiographical intervention, nevertheless it obscures two foundational properties of IPE. First, identifying 1970 as the birth-year of IPE produces a distorted image of the discipline's purpose and historiography that can begin to be remedied by rehabilitating the originary era of classical political economy. Second, focussing on issues revolving around methodology and epistemology obscures the deeper Eurocentric metanarrative foundations upon which the vast majority of IPE scholarship between 1760–2012 stands. Specifically, I reveal the various Eurocentric metanarratives that underpin the orthodox traditions of classical political economy (Smith and List) and modern IPE (Gilpin and Keohane). My conclusion is that rather than producing positivist/objective (or even critical) explanations of the world economy, most of IPE has, often unwittingly, defended, promoted or celebrated Western civilization as the highest or ideal referent in the world. I follow this up in Part 2 by deconstructing open economy politics to bring my historiography upto the present while advancing an alternative non-Eurocentric empirical and theoretical research agenda for what I call inter-civilizational political economy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

**Hobson John M.  **

Part 2 – Reconstructing the non-Eurocentric foundations of IPE: From Eurocentric 'open economy politics' to inter-civilizational political economy

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 5, 2013 , pages 1055-1081



In Part 1 (this issue), I deconstructed IPE, past and present, to reveal the Eurocentric foundations of the discipline. This second part completes my critical historiography by revealing how Open Economy Politics, which dominates the latest phase of American IPE, is Eurocentric. However, some readers will, quite rightly, want to know why Eurocentrism poses a problem for IPE and what an alternative non-Eurocentric approach might look like. Accordingly, this article lays out some of the basic properties of what I call 'inter-civilizational political economy'. To this end, deconstructing OEP is undertaken in tandem with reconstructing a non-Eurocentric inter-civilizational account of trade regime change in the last few centuries. From there, I proceed to specify some key empirical areas that an inter-civilizational research agenda would examine, focussing on three types of politico-economic systems change: the rise of capitalism, the rise and development of globalization, and changes in the distribution of structural power within the world economy. I close that section by pointing to various smaller-scale areas of research that derive from what I call everyday inter-civilizational political economy. And I conclude by considering some of the key methodological and substantive issues that my own non-Eurocentric research approach throws up.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sulston John, Rumsby Marie, Green Nick

People and the Planet

in Environmental & Resource Economics, Volume 55, Issue 4, People and the Planet: Papers arising from the Royal Society report, August , 469-474

Full text available at <http://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs10640-013-9681-8.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Carlotta Latini

Per il "comune" bene: modelli di federalismo e unitarismo nell'Italia del Risorgimento

in Historia constitucional, no. 14 , 307-327

Il saggio ripercorre le tappe del Risorgimento italiano alla luce del pensiero costituzionalistico e dei modelli circolanti in Italia prima dell'Unità, ponendo in luce le ragioni delle scelte prevalenti nell'edificazione dell'identità nazionale del Paese. Dopo aver analizzato il concetto di costituzione, di Stato e di nazione, il saggio prende in esame due modelli di carte costituzionali: quello gaditano e quello nordamericano, il primo funzionale all'elaborazione della concezione di nazione e il secondo a progetti di costituzione federale. Nessuno dei due modelli risulterà vincente in Italia, ma alimenteranno per lungo tempo il dibattito scientifico fino alle soglie dell'Unità.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nebbia Giorgio

Per un Corpo nazionale di difensori del territorio

in CNS Ecologia politica, nuova serie, n. 1, ottobre

Full text online at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/?p=323>



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mace Georgina M., Terama Emma, Coulson Tim

Perspectives on International Trends and Dynamics in Population and Consumption

in Environmental & Resource Economics, Volume 55, Issue 4, People and the Planet: Papers arising from the Royal Society report, August , 555-568

There are increasing concerns that global environmental limits may soon be met as a result of increasing numbers of people coupled with increasing consumption of resources. However, the current level and rates of growth in both consumption and population vary systematically among countries grouped according to income levels. Many high income countries have population growth rates at close to replacement levels, but their per capita consumption is consistently several times higher than low income countries. Low income countries need to grow out of poverty and have high population growth rates. Using current population structures for India and the USA in an age-structured demographic model, and simple projections of annual reductions in fertility or consumption per capita over the next 50 years, we show that while reductions in both consumption and fertility are necessary to stabilize impacts, there are short term gains from consumption reductions in high income countries such as the USA, and long term gains from early fertility reductions in growing economies such as India.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jones Meirav

Philo Judaeus and Hugo Grotius's Modern Natural Law

in Journal of the History of Ideas, Volume 74, Number 3, July , 339-359

Hugo Grotius is commonly accepted as the first modern natural law theorist, yet Grotius's definition of natural law was not new and what, if anything, was "modern" about his natural law remains a subject of debate. This paper suggests that a key to the novelty of Grotius's natural law may be in the prominent role Philo Judaeus, cited 114 times in The Laws of War and Peace, played in Grotius's natural law theory. Philo's natural law is explored, and Philo's connection between will and reason, among other aspects of his thought, are found to have contributed to Grotius's modern conception.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Juan José Solozábal Echavarría

Pluralidad de ciudadanías, nuevos derechos y participación democrática

in Revista de Estudios Políticos , N. 162 , 264-269

El pluralismo territorial ha sido clásicamente examinado desde una perspectiva orgánica, centrada en analizar las distintas estructuras jurídico-públicas de poder y el reparto competencial que unas y otras ejercen. Este enfoque ha sido utilizado tanto hacia el interior de los Estados (para explicar su estructura federal, regional o autonómica) como hacia el exterior (centrándose, entonces, fundamentalmente, en el análisis de la Unión Europea).



Sin embargo, en los últimos tiempos, ha surgido otra línea de trabajo, que sitúa, en el centro del debate, a la ciudadanía (o, mejor dicho, a cada una de las ciudadanía: la estatal, la europea y la autonómica). No es que el pluralismo territorial no incidiera en el pasado en la posición jurídica de los ciudadanos ante el poder, sino que en la actualidad estamos asistiendo a una diversificación de la noción de ciudadanía porque ha aparecido, junto con la nacional, la ciudadanía europea y comienza ahora a desarrollarse un nuevo estatus, reconocido a quienes se encuentran territorialmente vinculados al territorio de las Comunidades Autónomas. Esta ciudadanía multinivel ha cobrado un gran impulso y nueva actualidad con las nuevas disposiciones de los Tratados de Lisboa y con la aprobación de los nuevos Estatutos de Autonomía, normas que han recogido, en sus primeros títulos, detalladas tablas de derechos.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Thomas Husted, David Nickerson

Political Economy of Presidential Disaster Declarations and Federal Disaster Assistance in Public Finance Review, volume 42 n.1 , 35-57

Billions of dollars have been transferred to state governments for disaster recovery. Owing to the discretionary authority of the president in these decisions, moral hazard may influence approval of such requests. We test within a model of recursive choice the hypothesis that the sequential executive decisions to grant disaster declarations and the conditional amount of aid allocated are affected by political incentives. We combine expenditure and approval data from FEMA with state-level census and political data for the period 1969 through 2005. After accounting for the severity of flood damage in the state and the ability of the state to recover, an incumbent president is more likely to grant disaster declarations when facing reelection, particularly in states with a larger number of electoral votes and in states with a governor from the same political party as the president. We also find Democratic presidents award more disaster aid than their Republican counterparts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Harper Sarah

Population–Environment Interactions: European Migration, Population Composition and Climate Change in Environmental & Resource Economics, Volume 55, Issue 4, People and the Planet: Papers arising from the Royal Society report, August , 525-541

The paper addresses the collision of two twenty-first Century transitions—the unprecedented change in the size, composition, density and distribution of the human population, and rapid change in the earth’s natural environment, in part a response to the above. It argues that it is important to consider these aspects of population change and environment together in order to understand the reality of any mitigation that may be made. Following a review of research which is beginning to address not only the environmental impact of population growth, but also of changes in density, distribution and composition, the paper turns to explore the interaction of population composition and density with environmental change through addressing interactions between migration, ageing populations and climate change. It considers a key population question facing the EU, that of the demographic deficit, and addresses how the mitigating role of migration will be affected by future climate change. It thus considers whether migration is a valid policy approach in the context of Europe’s demographic deficit and the impact of climate change on this relationship.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gerald Mara

Possessions Forever: Thucydides and Kant on Peace, War, and Politics

in Polity, Volume 45, Issue 3 , 318-346

Understanding how Thucydides and Kant contribute to the theorization of international politics is of more than historical interest. Kant is the most important resource for political theorists who envisage the reconstruction of international political institutions along constitutionally democratic lines. Yet this broadly Kantian perspective is challenged by critics who underscore the hostile and dangerous character of the world and who often use Thucydides' History as a counter-Kantian resource. In this article, I try to set their perspectives in conversation and move the discussion beyond a simple restaging of the quarrel between morality and power. I suggest that Thucydides represents politics in a way that is both demanded and frustrated by Kant's perspective. At the same time, Kant's project requires us to ask whether Thucydides' framework is too accommodating of political necessity, and whether the History is too dismissive of possibilities for political improvement.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Taylor Isaac

Practices, Institutions, and Global Public Good Regimes

in Raisons politiques, n. 51 , 121-135

A practice-dependent conception of justice holds that principles of justice depend, in their content, on the nature of the practice that they are intended to regulate. Institutionalism, one variety of practice-dependency, claims that it is institutional form which determines principles of justice. Specifically, principles of justice should enable the effective pursuit of the point and purpose of the institution they regulate. One consequence of this view is that it cannot be a duty of justice to set up new institutions when none already exist, as there are no principles of justice in the absence of institutions – call this the “conservative institutionalist claim”. In this paper, I argue against this claim, and use the case of global public goods as an example of when there can be duties of justice to set up new institutions.

Pratiques, institutions, et régimes des biens publics globaux

Une conception de la justice dépendant des pratiques est une conception qui considère que les principes de justice dépendent, dans leur contenu, de la nature des pratiques qu'ils visent à réguler. L'institutionnalisme, une forme de dépendance à la pratique, affirme que c'est la forme institutionnelle qui détermine les principes de justice. Plus précisément, les principes de justice devraient permettre la poursuite effective du but et de l'objet de l'institution qu'ils régulent. Puisqu'il ne peut y avoir, selon cette approche, de principes de justice en l'absence d'institutions, une de ses conséquences est de nier qu'instaurer de nouvelles institutions, lorsqu'elles n'existent pas déjà, soit un devoir de justice. Dans cet article, je plaide à l'encontre de cette dénégation, et prends le cas des biens publics globaux comme un cas exemplaire où il peut y avoir des devoirs de justice d'instaurer de nouvelles institutions.

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE



1. Practice-Dependent Justice
 2. Justice and Public Goods
 3. Global Public Goods
 4. Justice and Institutions
 5. Two Objections
- Conclusion

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jane Mummery

Protecting the Global Commons: Comparing three ethico-political foundations for response to climate change in Borderlands, Vol. 11, n°3

The ecological underpinnings of our world are at risk. According to the 2007 Assessment Report carried out by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), since the start of industrialization in the eighteenth century, atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases (including carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide and methane) have markedly increased. This is predicted to entail increases in global average air and ocean temperatures, leading to a larger proportion of the Earth being affected by drought and extreme weather events such as tropical cyclone activity, the reduction and/or loss of glaciers and sea ice, rises in sea level with consequent increases in coastal erosion and losses of coastal wetlands and mangroves, as well as persistent changes to oceanic currents and levels of salinity. These effects entail reductions in fresh water supplies, a loss of biodiversity, the risk of large-scale species extinctions, and significant reductions in the capacity of natural systems to absorb greenhouse gases. All of these effects will drastically impact both natural ecosystems and human societies and economies.

What is at stake, then, is the global commons itself, in particular the Earth's atmosphere which is of common concern to all of humanity and all other life on Earth. This situation – what we can call the tragedy of the atmospheric commons – demands immediate and effective response for the effects of climate change to be minimized, yet current proposals for response have been manifestly inadequate. This paper, then, contrasts three different ethico-political foundations for response: that constructed through the terms of state-centric international justice; that proposed under the logic of a global cosmopolitanism; and the array of responses collected under the umbrella of radical democracy. More particularly, the paper is concerned to explore key overlaps and tensions between these three responses, thereby not only making manifest some of the problems inherent in the current climate change response regime – so far founded primarily on the state-centric principles of international justice – but aiming to propose some more productive ethico-political principles by which the debate regarding a more efficacious response to climate change might be moved forward.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Huang Chieh

Public Morals with Chinese Characteristics: Explaining China's Adoption of WTO Rules in Asian Journal of Social Science, Volume 41, Number 3-4 , 333-351

This article examines China's compliance with World Trade Organization (WTO) law in the field of publications control



from an empirical and theoretical perspective. The study of publications control — a policy field of critical concern to China's Communist government — highlights the competing interests and ideas over 'liberalisation' and 'state control' within the Chinese leadership and within WTO circles. The article, first, describes these competing and historically shifting interests and ideas in the case of a recent landmark WTO dispute on publications control and, second, uses two apparently distinct IR theoretical approaches to explain China's behaviour during the dispute. The article argues that neither an interest-oriented approach nor an idea-centred approach by themselves can explain Chinese political decision-making. The article proposes a combination of two particular views that help to explain the dispute examined but also China's interactions with the WTO more generally.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tomz Michael R., Weeks Jessica L.P.

Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace

in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 107, issue 4, november , 849-865

ABSTRACT: One of the most striking findings in political science is the democratic peace: the absence of war between democracies. Some authors attempt to explain this phenomenon by highlighting the role of public opinion. They observe that democratic leaders are beholden to voters and argue that voters oppose war because of its human and financial costs. This logic predicts that democracies should behave peacefully in general, but history shows that democracies avoid war primarily in their relations with other democracies. In this article we investigate not whether democratic publics are averse to war in general, but whether they are especially reluctant to fight other democracies. We embedded experiments in public opinion polls in the United States and the United Kingdom and found that individuals are substantially less supportive of military strikes against democracies than against otherwise identical autocracies. Moreover, our experiments suggest that shared democracy pacifies the public primarily by changing perceptions of threat and morality, not by raising expectations of costs or failure. These findings shed light on a debate of enduring importance to scholars and policy makers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sharman J. C., Weaver Catherine  

RIPE, the American School and diversity in global IPE

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 5, 2013 , pages 1082-1100

On the occasion of the Review of International Political Economy's 20th anniversary, this paper systematically assesses RIPE's claim to represent an alternative to the 'mainstream' study of international political economy (IPE) with several new sources of evidence. The first is the IPE component of a 20-country survey of international relations (IR) faculty, the second a database of books in the field. The third, and most important, is derived from coding 326 RIPE articles published 2000–10 to discover key cleavages and trends. These results are compared with those from prior studies of the 12 IR journals identified as the 'leading' journals by the Teaching, Research and International Politics (TRIP) project. The article concentrates on five key issues: paradigmatic orientation, epistemology, methodology, policy orientation, and demography. The results provide ground for scepticism that the 'American School' of IPE does or will define the mainstream. The findings further tend to confirm that RIPE has stayed relatively true to its founders' intentions in representing diversity in the global study of IPE.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Katzenstein Peter J., Nelson Stephen C.

Reading the right signals and reading the signals right: IPE and the financial crisis of 2008
in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 20, Issue 5, 2013 , pages 1101-1131

Although the meltdown in the American financial system in 2008 created the most profound financial crisis in sixty years, the field of International Political Economy (IPE) has remained curiously silent. More worrisome is the inability of the paradigmatic approach to the study of IPE in the United States – Open Economy Politics (OEP) – to shed much light on the causes of the crisis. We develop the conceptual distinction between risk and uncertainty to explain why the rationalist (and largely materialist) “American School” of IPE failed so badly. OEP followed orthodox economics in conflating risk and uncertainty. Preserving the distinction, as constructivist IPE scholars and economic sociologists have done, enables us view the crisis through dual rationalist and sociological optics. Our illustrative evidence, drawn from public (the Federal Open Market Committee of the US Federal Reserve) and private actors (accountants, credit rating agencies, and arbitrage traders) in financial markets, shows that only eclectic approaches that make use of both rationalist and sociological optics give IPE scholars the depth of vision and the breadth of imagination necessary to make sense of the financial crisis of 2008.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stein Arthur A.

Recalcitrance and initiative: US hegemony and regional powers in Asia and Europe after World War II
in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 14 Issue 1 January , 147-177

This paper challenges the conventional wisdom that US power and preferences following World War II led to bilateralism in Asia and multilateralism in Western Europe. It argues that the challenges facing the United States in both regions were similar, as were US policies meant to address them. With some lag, the United States supported the economic recovery of the regional powers it had defeated (Germany and Japan), saw the restoration of regional trade as a prerequisite, sought military bases to assure postwar security, and envisioned rearming its former foes as part of its security strategy. The outcomes in the two regions reflected the preferences and reservations of regional actors. The critical differences between the regions were structural. The existence of middle powers was critical in Europe, the return of colonial powers to Asia precluded regional arrangements in the short term, and geostrategic differences shaped the requisites for regional security.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Haynes Jeffrey, Ben-Porat Guy

Religion, Secularization and Democracy in the Mediterranean Region: Problems and Prospects

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 18, Issue 2, Special Issue: Religion, Secularism and Politics: A Mediterranean View , 153-169

Political debates in many Mediterranean countries today are increasingly framed in dichotomous terms, highlighting



divisions between religious and secular worldviews. In some countries, for example Israel, the issue is so contentious that it is described as a 'culture war'. While Israel struggles to balance its commitment to a Jewish state and a democracy, it does not seem to matter if the countries in question are democracies or non-democracies, or what their majority religious faith is. Instead, the role of religion in public life or, put another way, the 'public return of religion', is a pertinent and controversial political question everywhere in the Mediterranean region. How do we explain this phenomenon? On the one hand, we can point to both economic and demographic changes, while, on the other, we can trace the impact of continuing secularisation. Together these two sets of developments produce new challenges to existing political arrangements.

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13629395.2013.799322>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Simon Thomas W.

Remedial Secession: What the Law Should Have Done, from Katanga to Kosovo
in *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 40, Number 1

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Charles-Philippe David

Repenser la guerre et la paix au XXI^e siècle
in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 78, n° 3, automne

La guerre entre grandes puissances semble appartenir au passé. Ce changement augure, entre États développés, d'une ère de conflits postmodernes, sans passage au conflit armé. D'autres conflits résultent de la fragmentation et de la reconstitution des espaces politiques, s'apparentant aux guerres prémodernes des seigneurs de guerre. Mais globalement, les guerres sont en voie de forte diminution. Une paix où les conflits seraient contenus en deçà des affrontements militaires serait-elle en vue?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hysing Erik

Representative democracy, empowered experts, and citizen participation: visions of green governing
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 6, November, 955-974

Reforming democratic political systems to handle environmental problems is one of the key political challenges of our time. Here, I analyse how local environmental officials in Sweden perceive the shortcomings of the current political system and what reforms they deem necessary to handle key environmental problems. While green political theory tends to focus on the need to deepen democracy through increased citizen participation, analysis of survey data shows that environmental officials, even though their perceptions of the current system's shortcomings are similar to those presented in the theoretical literature, are more likely to argue for increased expert influence than for direct citizen



participation. This result is not easily explained as officials seeking to expand their power, as environmental officials have more complex perceptions of their roles in democracy. The different visions of green professionals and green theory highlight the importance of deliberation on green democratic reforms, including the potentially undemocratic consequences of empowering experts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Capraro Santiago, Perrotini Ignacio

Revisiting Latin America's debt crisis: some lessons for the periphery of the eurozone

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 37 Issue 3 May 2013 , 627-651

A Domar–Pasinetti model of an emerging-market open economy with output growth endogenous to aggregate demand is presented, with foreign debt, interest and exchange rates playing a relevant role in the dynamics of the debt-to-GDP ratio (d). The model is used to assess the macroeconomic effects of the orthodox policy (fiscal austerity) implemented by policy makers to cope with the foreign debt crisis of Latin America in the 1980s. Such policy involved high costs in terms of welfare, job and output losses to no avail, since the region's financial fragility remained largely unresolved, in the end resulting in the so-called 'lost decade'. The main policy insight of Domar's and Pasinetti's analysis, we argue, posits a pro-growth expansionary policy as the most efficient strategy to abate and bring d to a sustainable path. Finally, we contend that Latin America's experience provides insight for dealing with the ongoing crisis of the periphery of the eurozone.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shmuel Nili

Rigorist cosmopolitanism A Kantian alternative to Pogge

in *Politics, Philosophy & Economics*, 12 (3) , 308-327

What counts as global 'harm'? This article explores this question through critical engagement with Thomas Pogge's conception of negative duties not to harm. My purpose here is to show that while Pogge is right to orient global moral claims around negative duties not to harm, he is mistaken in departing from the standard understanding of these duties. Pogge ties negative duties to global institutions, but I argue that truly negative duties cannot apply to such institutions. In order to retain the global force of negative duties, we need to dissociate these duties from global institutions: each society's negative duty to stop harming specific other societies ought to be seen as independent of global institutional change. In order to establish this thesis, I criticize both the features and the derivation of Pogge's variant of negative duties. I conclude that one must see global negative duties as applying to the relations between specific sovereign societies as unitary agents rather than to global institutions. I then show how this view of negative duties can yield significant global reform, based on Pogge's own accusations concerning democracies' conferral of trading privileges upon dictators who embezzle state resources. After presenting the normative, empirical, and strategic advantages of such reform, I anticipate Poggean objections.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Lynch Philip, Whitaker Richard

Rivalry on the right: The Conservatives, the UK Independence Party (UKIP) and the EU issue
in *British Politics*, Volume 8, Issue 3 (September 2013) , 233-259

The aim of this article is to help identify the fundamental characteristics of the British policymaking system. It highlights an enduring conflict of interpretation within the literature. On the one hand, most contemporary analysts argue that the 'Westminster model' is outmoded and that it has been replaced by modern understandings based on 'governance'. On the other, key ideas associated with the Westminster model, regarding majoritarian government and policy imposition, are still in good currency in the academic literature, which holds firm to Lijphart's description of the United Kingdom as a majoritarian democracy. These very different understandings of British government are both commonly cited, but without much recognition that their conclusions may be mutually incompatible. To address this lack of comparison of competing narratives, the article outlines two main approaches to describe and explain the 'characteristic and durable' ways of doing things in Britain: the 'policy styles' literature initiated by Richardson in *Policy Styles in Western Europe* and the Lijphart account found in *Democracies* and revised in 1999 as *Patterns of Democracy*. The article encourages scholars to reject an appealing compromise between majoritarian and governance accounts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bindman Eleanor

Russia, Chechnya and Strasbourg: Russian Official and Press Discourse on the 'Chechen Cases' at the European Court of Human Rights
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, n. 10 , 1954-1977

This article explores contemporary Russian official and media discourse on cases concerning human rights violations in Chechnya which have been heard at the European Court of Human Rights. By comparing and contrasting the discourses on the Court's rulings which have been reproduced by various government representatives and various Russian newspapers, the article aims to demonstrate that, while official discourse remains critical of the Court's work with regard to Chechnya, reporting of such cases provides certain media outlets with the opportunity to criticise the government for its perceived failings in relation to safeguarding Chechnya's civilian population from human rights abuses.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Roeder Philip G.

Secessionism, Institutions, and Change
in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 13, Issue 1, 2014 , 86-104

A nation-state project is a claim that a specific population (purportedly a nation) should be self-governing within a sovereign state of its own (Roeder, 2007, p. 12). The world is dotted with hopeful nation-state projects—perhaps thousands of projects—although there is no way to count them all. Most remain the pet projects of solitary intellectuals;



sometimes they attract a narrow circle of fellow patriots. Only some projects attract enough followers to be considered movements, but even most movements remain uncoordinated and impotent. Very few achieve the objective of a sovereign state. A search of the Times of London, the New York Times and Keesing's Contemporary Archives between January 1945 and December 2010, checked for completeness against handbooks of stateless nations (Minahan, 1996, 2002) and websites of liberation organizations and associations, identifies 171 nation-state projects that have sought to secede from the metropole of an existing state and have been able to get on the public agenda at one or more times so as to draw international press attention—what I label 'significant nationalist-secessionist projects', as a shorthand.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Parker Lyn, Hoon Chang-Yau

Secularity, Religion and the Possibilities for Religious Citizenship

in *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Volume 41, Number 2 , 150-174

Scholarly predictions of the secularization of the world have proven premature. We see a heterogeneous world in which religion remains a significant and vital social and political force. This paper reflects critically upon secularization theory in order to see how scholars can productively respond to the, at least partly, religious condition of the world at the beginning of the twenty first century. We note that conventional multiculturalism theory and policy neglects religion, and argue the need for a reconceptualization of understanding of religion and secularity, particularly in a context of multicultural citizenship — such as in Australia and Indonesia. We consider the possibilities for religious pluralism in citizenship and for “religious citizenship”. Finally, we propose that religious citizenship education might be a site for fostering a tolerant and enquiring attitude towards religious diversity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Matthew J. Gibney

Should Citizenship Be Conditional? The Ethics of Denationalization

in *Journal of Politics (The)*, Volume 75 - Issue 03 , 646-658

While many political theorists have focused on the question of whether states have a duty to grant citizenship to noncitizens, this article examines the issues associated with the state's withdrawal of citizenship. Denationalization powers have recently emerged as a controversial political issue in a number of liberal states, making their ethical scrutiny important. I begin by considering the historical practice of banishment and how denationalization power emerged and became consolidated in the United Kingdom and the United States in the first half of the twentieth century. I then discuss the nature of liberal objections to the power. My focus next shifts to the United Kingdom's Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act of 2002, which attempted to create a “liberal” denationalization power. In the final section of the article, I discuss whether the Act successfully addresses liberal concerns and in so doing shed light on the possibility of reconciling liberal principles with conditional citizenship.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stark Oded



Stressful Integration

in **European Economic Review**, Volume 63, October 2013 , Pages 1-9

This paper considers the integration of economies as a merger of populations. The premise is that the merger of groups of people alters their social landscape and their comparators. The paper identifies the effect of the merger on aggregate distress. A merger is shown to increase aggregate distress, measured as aggregate relative deprivation: the social distress of a merged population is greater than the sum of the social distress of the constituent populations when apart. Physiological evidence from neighboring disciplines points to an increase in societal stress upon merger.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jonathan Fisher

Structure, agency and Africa in the international system: donor diplomacy and regional security policy in East Africa since the 1990s

in **Conflict, Security, and Development**, Volume 13, Issue 5 , 537-567

Recent scholarship on Africa has sought to reject the notion that aid dependence precludes the securing of agency by many African states. This article seeks to support and develop this argument through exploring the relationship between aid 'structures' and African agency. Contending that structures and agents are mutually-constituted, it is argued that African governments' interactions with one such structure provide considerable room for agency. The 'rationale' upon which donor support for particular regimes is based, for example, can be reshaped and managed by African governments through the latter's diplomatic efforts. In doing so, these regimes can secure considerable agency in relations with donors by 'validating' narratives which encourage continued support and undermining those which do not. To establish this point, the diplomatic activities of four African states—Eritrea, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Uganda—will be analysed. All four have received donor assistance as a result of their perceived role as regional forces for stability and security. All four have also been faced with scenarios where these rationales have been challenged and undermined by their own policies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Walt Stephen M., Weiss Philip, Siegman Henry

Symposium: The Future of Israel and Palestine: Expanding the Debate

in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 20, Issue 2, Summer , 1-24

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lustick Ian, Munayyer Yousef, Ben-Ami Jeremy, Khalidi Ahmad Samih

Symposium: Two States or One? The Future of Israelis and Palestinians

in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 20, Issue 4, Winter , 1-28



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Khoury Nabeel A.

The Arab Cold War Revisited: The Regional Impact of the Arab Uprising in Middle East Policy, Volume 20, Issue 2, Summer , 73-87

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pretty Jules

The Consumption of a Finite Planet: Well-Being, Convergence, Divergence and the Nascent Green Economy in Environmental & Resource Economics, Volume 55, Issue 4, People and the Planet: Papers arising from the Royal Society report, August , 475-499

A variety of global metrics indicate the Earth has overshoot its capacity to supply source and sink resources without substantial negative feedback. Here the relationship between consumption indicators (oil, freshwater, vehicle and meat consumption, GDP, CO₂ CO₂ emissions) and well-being is analysed latitudinally across 189 countries and longitudinally over 60 years within three affluent countries. All latitudinal analyses show the characteristic “consumption cliff and affluent uplands” shape: e.g. at low per capita GDP, life satisfaction increases sharply up the cliff with rising GDP; after a threshold, well-being is independent of GDP across the affluent uplands. Longitudinal analyses of Japan, UK and USA since the 1950s show per capita GDP has grown between 3- and 8-fold, but mean levels of well-being remained unchanged. Consumption patterns are now converging on those typical in affluent countries. Indicators for seven baskets of countries: Affluent North America–Europe–Oceania, Affluent Asia, fast developing BRICs and CIVETS, high income Resource Extractors, Poor with Green Peaks, and the Poorest show the factors of consumption between the poorest and affluent (5- to 100-fold) and the fast developing and affluent (2- to 10-fold). A finite planet cannot resource such convergence. One indicator, climate change, grows more of a concern as evidence emerges, yet denial remains strong. A priority is to create opportunities for divergent ways of living. Although material culture has been sought as the means to meet personal well-being, it has failed both the affluent and poorest. A green economy will require human attachments to both place and possessions, thus reducing disposal and damage. Such entanglement produces high affiliation that improves life satisfaction, as does much non-material consumption. As yet, most political and economic systems are far from recognising these imperatives, though there have been notable policy innovations. A shift to a green economy is inevitable. It is simply whether it occurs before or after the world becomes locked into severe climate change and other consequences of harm to natural capital.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Steiner André

The Council of Mutual Economic Assistance – An Example of Failed Economic Integration? in Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Heft 2013 / 39,2 , 240 - 258



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nora Fisher Onar and Kalypso Nicolaidis

**The Decentring Agenda: Europe as a post-colonial power
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48 (2) , 283-303**

The aim in this contribution is to amplify the call, articulated across a range of disciplines relevant to international politics, for a paradigm shift that decentres the study and practice of Europe's international relations. Such a perspective is necessary both to make sense of our multipolar order and to reconstitute European agency in a non-European world. The analytical categories proposed in this article for a decentring agenda – provincialization, engagement and reconstruction(s) – can help to navigate the nexus of the empirical and the normative in such a decentring process. Applying the decentring logic to the EU's own foundational narrative, the authors suggest that, only by acknowledging the inflections of colonialism in the EU project itself, can the Union reinvent its normative power in the 21st century.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Beeson Mark, Stone Diane

**The European Union Model's Influence in Asia after the Global Financial Crisis
in *European Journal of East Asian Studies* , Volume 12, Number 2 , 167–190**

The European Union (EU) has exerted a powerful influence over the international system. Often overlooked is that this influence has not always operated in the manner the architects and admirers of the EU might have hoped. Instead, the diffusion of European norms and the policy transfer of the EU model of regional integration is mediated by triangular processes in Asia of (1) selective rule-taking, (2) translation and adaption, and (3) modifying external models with alternative indigenous visions and norms.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kennedy Peter

**The European Union and the Asia-Pacific Region: A Polish Perspective: Peter Kennedy Reports on a Panel
Discussion with Polish Foreign Minister Radek Sikorski on 3 May 2013
in *New Zealand International Review*, July 1, 2013**

After being introduced by Professor Rob Rabel, Foreign Minister Radoslaw (Radek) Sikorski opened the discussion by referring to the long trip from Poland to New Zealand and the 'gravitational experience' of passing over China. He had come from a European Union that was changing and reforming but 'determined to have a harvest time soon'. The problem of indebtedness was not intrinsically European (the debt to GDP ratio of the United States was worse). This was not the first crisis in the European Union, nor would it be the last. The European Union contained one-quarter of the world's GDP, more than the United States and more than Brazil, India and China together. It included also over ...



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Williams Sarah

The Extraordinary African Chambers in the Senegalese Courts: An African Solution to an African Problem?
in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Vol. 11, Num. 5, December 2013 , 1139-1160

The establishment of the Extraordinary African Chambers in the Senegalese Courts (EAC) concludes over two decades of efforts to secure a mechanism for the trial of Hissene Habré. The EAC breaks new ground on international criminal justice in Africa in several ways. The Habré trial represents the first trial by an African state of a former head of state of another African state. As the first internationalized tribunal to have been established with the involvement of the African Union, the EAC will also provide valuable insight into what a regional approach to internationalized justice may look like. Furthermore, the EAC sets a precedent for the creation of an internationalized criminal tribunal that operates exclusively on the basis of universal jurisdiction. This article examines a number of legal issues raised by the establishment of the EAC, including its proper characterization as an international criminal tribunal; the reasons for the minimalist approach to the inclusion of international features; the reliance on universal jurisdiction as the basis for an international or internationalized criminal tribunal; and the consistency of the EAC Statute with the nullum crimen sine lege principle.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hunter Ian

The Figure of Man and the Territorialisation of Justice in 'Enlightenment' Natural Law: Pufendorf and Vattel
in *Intellectual History Review*, Volume 23, Issue 3, Special Issue: Discourses of Humanity in the Enlightenment: Local Mediations of a Global Aspiration , 289-307

Discussions of early modern philosophical anthropology in postcolonial studies often treat it as tied to Eurocentric conceptions of civilisational supremacy and to the ideologies of imperialism and colonialism served by these conceptions. In discussing the conceptions of man contained in two key early modern doctrines of the law of nature and nations – those of Samuel Pufendorf and Emer de Vattel – this paper casts a sceptical eye on the postcolonial accounts. The anthropologies deployed by Pufendorf and Vattel relate not to European imperialism and colonialism but to intra-European problems associated with the formation of territorial states and the bellicose relations between them.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Seghezza Elena

The Interwar International Monetary Disorder: An International Political Economy Approach
in *Economia internazionale*, 2013, Volume 66, Issue 3 , 391-416

The lack of cooperation between central banks is the most widely accepted interpretation of the collapse of the gold-exchange standard. This explanation does not take account of the evolution of systems of payment: national commodity moneys were progressively replaced by fiduciary money. These changes were incompatible with the functioning of the classical gold standard. There was need, also at the international level, of greater elasticity of money



supply. The gold-exchange standard was such an attempt. However, an international convertible money, to be accepted, presupposes the existence of an institutional framework that guarantees its value. This can only occur under certain conditions. The prevalence of a multilateral equilibrium in international relations impeded the existence of an international money with a high level of fiduciary content.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Zhang Xiaowen, Li Xiaoling

The Politics of Compliance with Adverse WTO Dispute Settlement Rulings in China
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 23, Issue 85 , 143-160

Starting from 2004, China's trading partners, in particular the United States, have increasingly utilized the World Trade Organization (WTO) dispute settlement system (DSS) to challenge China's trade-related measures. As a major player in world trade, how China responds to adverse rulings is not only important to its trading partners, but also for the future of the international trade regime. China has thus far held a relatively good compliance record when facing adverse panel and/or Appellate Body rulings, except for the recent delay in full compliance in China—Publications and Audiovisual Products. Through examining the factors affecting China's decision making when targeted in a WTO dispute, this article finds that, in general, China is highly motivated to comply with the WTO DSS due to the reputational costs of noncompliance. Nevertheless, the recent delay in compliance in China—Publications and Audiovisual Products also demonstrates that successful implementation could be impeded by certain politically influential interest groups, especially when the measure at dispute is politically sensitive.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Juss Satvinder S.

The Post-Colonial Refugee, Dublin II, and the End of Non-Refoulement

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 20, Issue 2, Special Issue: Critical Reflections on Refugee Law , 307-335

Refugee law has been variously conceptualised. Sometimes, as a humanitarian enterprise. Sometimes, as an extension of foreign policy relations based on national self-interests. But can it be better rationalised as a post-colonial enterprise? Does its treatment of Arabs, Afghans and others from the Middle East and North Africa – who are the major consumers of modern refugee law today – tell us something about refugee law? Does it serve to essentialise refugees as the 'Others' of the West? If so, can we conceive of a post-colonial refugee? Is modern refugee law an exercise in 'post-colonialism', which can be defined as a cultural critique that is opposed to imperialism and Eurocentrism? This essay explores this question through an analysis of the Dublin II Regulation system. This system limits the number of asylum-seekers entering the countries of the European Union. Recent cases confirm that even powerful evidence of individual risk is of no avail and serves as no bar to an asylum-seeker being removed from one European country to another, from where he or she risks being refouled to his/her own country, where he/she may be subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment. This essay tells that story.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Galligan Denis J.

The Sovereignty Deficit of Modern Constitutions

in *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Volume 33 Issue 4 Winter , 703-732

The aim of this essay is to examine the place of the people in the constitutions of democratic nations. While the meaning of democracy and the degree to which it is achieved vary within the family of nations considered democratic, the idea common to all is that the people are self-governing. In its origins, the idea is tied to liberty: not to be self-governing is to be subject to the will of another and so not to be free. What constitutes self-government is open to interpretation, although this is not the place to examine the possible meanings. Nor is this the place to set out the history of the idea or to show how it became central to modern constitutions, except to note the number of nations qualifying as democratic has steadily increased in recent years to just under a half of the total. It seems reasonable to assume that a democratic nation, a self-governing people, would want to make sure that the constitution, the basic of government and of relations between the people and government, provide for and protect self-government and hence democracy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Giuliano Paola, Nunn Nathan

The Transmission of Democracy: From the Village to the Nation-State

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 103 No. 3, May 2013 , 86-92

We provide evidence that a tradition of village democracy is associated with the presence of national democracy today. We also show that a tradition of local democracy is associated with attitudes which are more supportive of democracy, with better quality institutions and with higher levels of economic development. Our findings indicate persistence in democratic institutions over time, and suggest the importance of traditional local institutions for well-functioning national-level institutions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Steele G. R.

The UK and the Eurozone: Sovereign Debt Management and Monetary Policy

in *Economic Affairs*, Volume 33, Issue 3, October 2013 , 327-333

Events in the wake of the 'credit crunch' can be understood only against institutional structures within which interdependent monetary and fiscal policy are administered. In the Eurozone, the attempt to keep a central monetary authority (together with its associated national central banks) independent from 17 diverse fiscal authorities was flawed. When sovereign debt approaches unmanageable levels, the Maastricht Treaty presents austerity as the single option. In the UK, the electorate has an opportunity to choose between monetary financing (inflation) and fiscal consolidation (austerity). Policy choices within the Eurozone and the UK are set against Keynes's focus on unemployment and more



recent concerns to retain (or restore) price and/or financial stability.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Akin Akinwumi

The Will to Transform: Nation-building and the Strategic State in South Africa in Space and Polity, Volume 17, Number 2 / August , 145-163

This paper proposes the neologism 'the will to transform' to explore the political rationalities of a state-sponsored national reconciliation project—specifically the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC). In this instance, the will to transform refers to the strategic impulse for nation-building that emerges from multiple agencies in society but is codified and directed by 'the state'. The will to transform not only implies action, it opens up critical questions concerning strategic intentionality and the agency of 'the state'. As the case explored in this paper shows, the will to transform is not a given but rather an emergent device. In opening up a terrain of analysis centred around the will to transform, the objective of this paper is to disturb the secure conceptual vantage point offered by Foucauldian theorisations of the state by placing state-led projects of nation-building at the heart of the arena of strategic intentionality.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Juergen Jung, Michael D. Makowsky

The determinants of federal and state enforcement of workplace safety regulations: OSHA inspections 1990–2010

in **Journal of Regulatory Economics**, volume 45 n.1 , 1-33

We explore the determinants of inspection outcomes across 1.6 million Occupational Safety and Health Agency (OSHA) audits from 1990 through 2010. We find that discretion in enforcement differs in state and federally conducted inspections. State agencies are more sensitive to local economic conditions, finding fewer standard violations and fewer serious violations as unemployment increases. Larger companies receive greater lenience in multiple dimensions. Inspector issued fines and final fines, after negotiated reductions, are both smaller during Republican presidencies. Quantile regression analysis reveals that Presidential and Congressional party affiliations have their greatest impact on the largest negotiated reductions in fines.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

**Johnson Juliet, Mügge Daniel, Seabrooke Leonard, Woll Cornelia, Grabel Ilene, Gallagher Kevin P.  **

The future of international political economy: Introduction to the 20th anniversary issue of RIPE in **Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 20, Issue 5, 2013 , pages 1009-1023

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bethune Sabine de, Van Hoof Els

The gender issue in Belgian party politics and elections

in *European View* , vol. 12, n. 1, June , 113-119

This article looks at how female politicians in Belgium, driven by a strong women's movement, have sought to achieve gender parity in politics. The first part explains the system of legislated candidate quotas introduced in 1994. The second part deals with the way the Flemish Christian Democratic party and its women's movement, which greatly contributed to the establishment of the quota system, have used the new legal framework to raise awareness and promote female candidates during and beyond election campaigns. We will conclude that both adequate legal conditions and a proactive stance towards women's empowerment on the part of political parties are crucial to achieving gender parity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Quaranta Mario

The impact of institutional decentralization on protest in Western Europe

in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 34, n. 5, november , 502-518

ABSTRACT: There are many explanations for variation in political protest. However, they have not focused sufficiently on institutions and the influence the latter exert on protest. This article, by using multilevel analysis and cross-national survey data, suggests that political protest depends on the level of institutional decentralization. In fact, decentralization increases the number of state actors, implies a multiplication of access points to the political system, and provides greater chances of influencing the decision-making process. Furthermore, it is shown that the effect of mobilizing agencies, such as political parties and trade unions, also depends on the level of decentralization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Edward Keene

The naming of powers

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48 (2) , 268-282

This article offers an historical examination of the evolution of the practice of representing international actors as 'powers', and the classification of them as different kinds of 'power'. It argues that the practice emerged in parallel with the use of the language of sovereign states, and points to the importance of the body of journalistic literature on the 'present state of Europe', to the development of the usage of the term 'powers' and associated ideas about 'interests' and 'pretensions', which it contrasts with the tendency within the body of juristic literature to focus on the 'rights' of 'sovereigns'. It also charts the contrary move in the discourse of powers towards a grading of different classes, whereas the tendency within the discourse of sovereigns was more towards equality, although the article also notes parallel elements of hierarchy within equality. The article concludes by asking how the 'normative power Europe' thesis fits with, but in some cases also departs from, these representational practices. For example, the idea is often used to convey the unique, sui generis nature of the EU's identity as an international actor, whereas the normal tendency within the discourse of powers is towards more generic and class-oriented forms of identity.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Goeke Simon

The past 10 years of German history give evidence of a paradigm shift in Germany's national narrative. The early years of the decade were marked by widespread denial at the elite level that Germany was a country of immigration and adherence to an assimilationist model of integration but progressed to the creation of a National Integration Plan by Christian Union Chancellor Angela Merkel and the liberalization of public opinion. Germany's recent history shows dramatic discursive and policy changes. This article documents the changes in elite discursive scripts, showing the gradual acceptance and rejection of discourses about integration and their implications for national identity. It concludes that, though the changes are not universally liberal, the decade as a whole constitutes a remarkable liberalization of both elite discourse and public opinion.

in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 49, Issue 1, January , 160-182

This article looks at the migration policy of the trade unions as well as the political activism of migrants in West Germany during the 1960s and 1970s. It argues that migrants' political activities have been rather neglected in historiography, because the research has followed the governmental view on migration which has led to an unnecessarily rigid analysis of migrants' individual motivations to emigrate and ignored their demands. Through several instances of migrant protest and self-organization, the article emphasizes the importance of migrants' political activism for the social history of the Federal Republic. Ultimately the idea of integration in historiography is discarded as a discourse that covers the migrants' precise demands for equal rights.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Comparato Vittor Ivo

The perception of Europe in italian historiography of the 17. century

in *Pensiero Politico (II)*, Anno XLV, n. 3, settembre-dicembre 2012 , 405-417

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wangler Leo, Altamirano-Cabrera Juan-Carlos, Weikard Hans-Peter

The political economy of international environmental agreements: a survey

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 3, September , 387-403

This paper surveys the recent literature on the political economy of the formation of international environmental agreements. The survey covers theoretical modelling approaches and empirical studies including experimental work. Central to our survey is the question how the political process impacts different stages of agreement formation and stability. We distinguish the rules defined during pre-negotiations that govern negotiations, ratification and implementation. Strategic delegation and lobbying are directly relevant during the negotiation and ratification phases. Implementation, the choice of policy instruments at the national level, will also be impacted by lobbying and indirectly



influence negotiations. We find that the basic theoretical framework for the analysis of international environmental agreements is largely unrelated to empirical approaches. Furthermore, we observe that models of the political process of agreement formation, like for example sequential game models, are yet to be developed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Toke David, Vezirgiannidou Sevasti-Eleni

The relationship between climate change and energy security: key issues and conclusions

in Environmental Politics, Volume 22, Issue 4, Special Issue: Energy Security and Climate Change: conflicts and synergies, July , 537-552

There has been considerable work on the politics of climate change and energy security as separate issues, but much less on the relationship between energy security and climate change. From studies of the relationships between these concepts in individual states and a comparison of media coverage of energy security in differing states, there appears to be little consistent connection between discourses on and policies for energy security and climate change. Climate change considerations appear to be constructed to promote elite and special-interest interpretations of energy security. It is concluded that efforts at a local, national, and global level should be oriented towards promoting climate change objectives to capture energy policy. Otherwise, nationally based conceptions of energy security are likely to predominate over climate-change objectives.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Umbach Frank

The unconventional gas revolution and the prospects for Europe and Asia

in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 11, n. 3, September, Special Issue "Asia's and Europe's Energy Policy Challenges" , 305-322

The development of unconventional gas exploration in the USA, in particular shale gas, caused a revolution in the American and the global gas markets. The regional-wide use of unconventional gas resources could stabilise the natural gas demand and the energy supply security of European and Asian countries. But traditionally, almost all gas contracts in Europe and Asia are linked to oil because of the demand for stable, long-term contracts. Furthermore, in many Asian countries, large state-owned enterprises dominate their national gas markets, leading to little competition and incentives to reduce gas prices. In Europe, the expansion of unconventional gas is facing grassroots opposition from environmental groups who are concerned about ground water safety, adequate waste water management, seismic events and greenhouse gas emissions. This article examines the rapidly changing natural gas markets and the role and prospects of unconventional gas as well as the impacts it may have on European and Asian energy security. It highlights, in particular, the geo-economic and geo-political implications and discusses whether the US unconventional gas revolution can be duplicated in Europe and Asia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Haynes Jeffrey

The 'Arab Uprising', Islamists and Democratization



in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 18, Issue 2, Special Issue: Religion, Secularism and Politics: A Mediterranean View , 170-188

This article surveys political activities of selected Islamists in three Arab countries in the Mediterranean region: Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco. Each is notable for recent growth in Islamist political activity in the context of democratization (Tunisia, Egypt) and political liberalization (Morocco). Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco are undergoing political changes consequent to the recent 'Arab uprising'. The 'Arab uprising' involved country-specific yet variable outbursts of popular political anger, although not necessarily with a clear and consistent democratizing focus. Generally, protests focused on interrelated political and socio-economic demands, including: greater 'freedoms', improved human rights, better social justice and economic progress, especially more jobs for millions of unemployed youths. The aim of the article is to explain recent developments in relation to the 'Arab uprising' in three Mediterranean Arab countries – Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco. The purpose is to complement the individual foci on these countries in subsequent papers in this special issue by providing a thematic overview and to locate the activities of Islamist entities in Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco in comparative context.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ulusoy Kivanc

The 'Europeanization' of the Religious Cleavage in Turkey: The Case of the Alevis

in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 18, Issue 2, Special Issue: Religion, Secularism and Politics: A Mediterranean View , 294-310

The EU accession process reveals a series of paradoxes, which are not merely indicative of the complexity of Turkey's state-religion relations in general but also point to how the Justice and Development Party (JDP) government portrays controversies such as the Sunni-Alevi divide. The religious cleavages in Turkey have become Europeanized and found expression in the European political and legal structures. The Alevis have been one of the groups most affected by this issue partly because of their heterodox and transnational religious identity and partly as a result of their links with secularist political sectors. The paper underlines a dilemma of current Turkish politics. The case of the Alevis shows that the regime's current transformation undermines its basis through exclusion. The JDP's political strategy, focusing on the effective control of the mainstream Sunni base, does not willingly accept or tolerate the autonomy of some civil society groups, including the Alevis.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hoddie, Matthew

Tibet and the Segment-state Hypothesis

in **Ethnopolitics**, Volume 13, Issue 1, 2014 , 67-85

This study examines the claim that the existence of segment states within a country enhances the likelihood of nation-state crises through an examination of the case of Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) within the People's Republic of China. The central argument I present is that the frequent nation-state crises within Tibet are not sufficiently explained through a focus on the influence of the segment state. This is the case for two reasons. First, the TAR cannot be accurately described as a segment state given significant limitations on the autonomy enjoyed by the Tibetan people within their homeland in terms of politics, religion, education and the economy. Second, rather than the existence of a segment state, international factors appear to play an important role in escalating nation-state crises within the TAR.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wang Xin, Chin Gregory

Turning point: International money and finance in Chinese IPE

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 20, Issue 6, 2013 , pages 1244-1275

Unlike the depth of international political economy (IPE) research on finance and money in North America and Britain/Europe, or the amount of work that has been done inside China on the IPE of international trade, the IPE of global finance and money is still at a nascent stage inside China. The paper examines the evolution of Chinese IPE research on global finance and money and suggests that research in these issue areas appears to be reaching a turning point. The main empirical finding is that this shift in knowledge production has been induced principally by China's emergence as a financial force and the national developmental concerns this entails, as well as by the onset of the 2008–09 global financial crisis and the rise of the emerging economies' grouping. The growing Chinese scholarship on the IPE of finance and money is adding analytical depth and broadening Chinese IPE, particularly on the impact of financial globalization on developing and emerging economies. While such research will likely contribute to Chinese policymaking in the future, the scholarly test for Chinese IPE is whether and how it will contribute to filling the global knowledge gaps on the determinants of financial and monetary policy, and whether it will give rise to new understandings on global finance and money, especially the causes of international financial crises. Heretofore, much of the literature has been heavily policy-oriented and normative.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Blaj Laura

Ukraine's Independence and Its Geostrategic Impact in Eastern Europe

in Debate: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe, vol. 21, nn. 2-3 , 165-181

This paper aims to provide a thorough analysis of the factors that led to Ukraine's independence on 1 December 1991, and on the impact that this event had on Soviet geopolitical space. The conclusions drawn are interesting and shed light on further developments of the new state. If other Soviet republics reached similar events through the actions of nationalist forces, in Ukraine the decisive factor was the communist conservative circles' desire to separate themselves from Gorbachev's and later on from Yeltsin's reforms. The alliance with the nationalist forces made possible the referendum result which was overwhelmingly for independence. The immediate consequences of the act of 1 December 1991 were, primarily, the Soviet Union collapse, followed by numerous ethnic tensions that have even led to economic destabilization. On the other hand, the new state entered into a long series of diplomatic tensions with both Russia and Romania over Ukrainian territories inhabited mostly by Russian or Romanian populations and with great strategic importance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fidrmuc Jan, Karaja Elira

Uncertainty, informational spillovers and policy reform: A gravity model approach



in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 32, December 2013 , Pages 182-192

Reforms often occur in waves, seemingly cascading from country to country. We argue that such reform waves can be driven by informational spillovers: uncertainty about the outcome of reform is reduced by learning from the experience of similar countries. We motivate this hypothesis with a simple theoretical model of informational spillovers and learning, and then test it empirically using an approach inspired by the gravity model. We find evidence of informational spillovers both with respect to both political and economic liberalization. While the previous literature has focused only on economic reform, we find that the spillovers are particularly important for political changes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jones Catherine

Understanding Multiple and Competing Roles: China's Roles in the International Order

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 28, Issue 2, August , 190–217

During the Xinhai revolution, China faced contending domestic identities, and its roles within the international order were assigned by external powers. In the 100 years that have followed, China's internal competing identities have become more stable and it now faces major challenges in reconciling its contending international identities. China's current ascendancy returns it to a position of directing the international order, which resembles its position before the Xinhai revolution.

As China changes international identities and gradually moves from being a developing state to a great power, it creates uncertainty among other states. In order for China's rise to continue, it needs to prevent this uncertainty from becoming conflict: it needs a stable international environment. This paper argues that by adopting a view of China's rise as a series of shifts in its identity, the scepter of conflict can be reduced because the uncertainty that is being created can be understood as well as contribute understanding about international behavior. This paper looks at the roles and identities displayed by China at the UN Climate Change conferences.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Astuto Giuseppe

Unita' senza federalismo. Cavouriani e democratici nel 1860

in *Storia amministrazione costituzione*, vol. 21 , 99-108

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Klabbers Jan

Unity, Diversity, Accountability: The Ambivalent Concept of International Organisation

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, Volume 14, Issue 1 (June 2013) , 1-22



This article explores the concept of international organisation, starting from the observation that many of these entities seem to exist and that few seem to be alike. This raises issues of cognition: how to establish whether an entity is indeed an international organisation? The question is all the more relevant in light of the suggestion, sometimes heard, that international law ought to treat different (groups of) organisations in different ways. Having first established the enormous variety of international organisations in existence, the article presents an overview of attempts by international institutional lawyers to differentiate between organisations, followed by an excursion into the relevant judicial decisions. Whereas the literature remains content with discussing formal characteristics, the courts suggest that a public task is one of the core elements of international organisation. This discrepancy is further discussed and it is concluded that the law of international organisations cannot include a public task as an essential element of the concept of international organisation, as this criterion is too fluid and too general to be of much use. In the end, the discipline cannot but uphold a single formalistic conceptualisation of international organisation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hien Josef

Unsecular Politics in a Secular Environment: The Case of Germany's Christian Democratic Union Family Policy in German Politics, Volume 22, Issue 4 , 441-460

Secularisation theory carried two implicit implications for Christian Democratic parties: either they become secular or they cease to exist. Both implications were wrong. Christian Democracy has neither vanished from the political landscape nor has it become fully secular. To secure its survival Christian Democracy has embarked on a delicate balancing act between the modern and the secular. Following up empirically on the thesis of Christian Democratic politics as being modern unsecular, the paper explores how much of the Christian element is still needed to explain Christian Democratic ideology and policy in the twenty-first century. By scrutinising the struggle surrounding Christian Democratic family policy in Germany, the paper finds that the conflict on the repositioning of Christian Democracy in a new cultural environment not only unfolds between secular modernisers and religious traditionalists. It has also led to the re-eruption of the interdenominational cleavage between Protestants and Catholics within the party.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kaarlo Tuori

Vers une théorie du droit transnational
in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 27, n°1-2 , 9-36

The difficulties of legal theory in coming to terms with transnational law demonstrate how intimately linked to nation-state law many of the supposedly universal concepts of our legal language are. The paper discusses such key concepts as “transnational law”, “legal pluralism” and “interlegality”, but tries also to elaborate a more comprehensive interpretative and normative framework. The paper agrees with radical pluralists on the significance of perspectivism in law, but give this perspectivism a legal cultural turn. Finally the paper argues that transnational law enhances our sensitivity to the spatiality and temporality of law; many-faceted qualities which mainstream legal theory of the 20th century, with its



universalist pretensions, tended to ignore or understood in narrow positivist terms. At issue is not only law's location but also conceptions of time and space, implicit in law, as well as durations and rhythms, boundaries and cross-boundary connections, typical of law at its various levels and in its two dimensions as a legal order and as legal practices.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tung Toy-Fung

Vitoria's Ideas of Supernatural and Natural Sovereignty: Adam and Eve's Marriage, the Uncivil Amerindians, and the Global Christian Nation

in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 75, Number 1, January , 45-68

In examining the potentially lawless core of Vitoria's ideas of sovereignty, I argue that Vitoria traces civil sovereignty to his concept of a fourth dominium (obligatio-dominium), originating in mankind's first marriage and embodying bivalent legal and moral values. Vitoria's obligatio-dominium unites the Thomist/Aristotelian and neo-Augustinian threads of his argument, which are tied to legal obligation and lawmaking freedom. Reflecting this duality, Vitoria envisions a doubled natural law and doubled ius gentium, which empower constituent communities to overthrow legally constituted commonwealths by invoking mankind's inalienable lawmaking power. Thus, Vitoria morally justified the conquistadors' supernatural Christian nation, while disenfranchising Amerindian civil communities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Riera Pedro

Voting differently across electoral arenas: Empirical implications from a decentralized democracy

in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 34, n. 5, november , 561-581

ABSTRACT: This article assesses the validity of several alternative hypotheses explaining dual voting across electoral arenas in a decentralized polity. Based on data from three different electoral cycles in Catalonia, I find evidence that the evaluation of the regional candidates of the two main parties has the largest, most consistent impact on vote transfers between levels of government. Results also emphasize, although to a lesser extent, the role played by retrospective voting at the regional level and the impacts that government performance and approval levels regarding national leaders have on the likelihood of casting a dual vote. Altogether, these results not only speak to the dual-voting literature, but also to broader research on the consequences of the de-alignment of the electorate in advanced industrial democracies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rohner Dominic, Thoenig Mathias, Zilibotti Fabrizio

War Signals: A Theory of Trade, Trust, and Conflict

in *Review of Economic Studies*, Volume 80 Issue 3 August 2013 , 1114-1147

We construct a theory of persistent civil conflicts, where persistence is driven by the endogenous dynamics of inter-ethnic trust and trade. In times of peace, agents belonging to two groups are randomly matched to trade bilaterally.



Trade hinges on trust and cooperation. The onset of conflict signals that the aggressor has a low propensity to cooperate, harming future trust and trade. Agents observe the history of conflicts and update their beliefs over time. The theory predicts that civil wars are persistent. Moreover, even accidental conflicts that do not reflect economic fundamentals erode trust, and can plunge a society into a vicious cycle of recurrent conflicts (a war trap). The incidence of conflict can be reduced by policies abating cultural barriers, fostering inter-ethnic trade and human capital, and shifting beliefs. Coercive peace policies, such as peacekeeping forces or externally imposed regime changes, have no enduring effects.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Reitinger Franz

Was war Europa? Ein bildhistorischer Exkurs über Sternstunden

in *Gegenworte*, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Richter Thomas

When do autocracies start to liberalize foreign trade? Evidence from four cases in the Middle East and North Africa

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 4, 2013 , 760-787

This paper argues that within autocracies the beginning of IMF-friendly trade and capital account reforms is highly contingent on the ability of alternative policy regulations to provide respective regimes with domestically needed amounts of convertible foreign exchange. A longitudinal comparison of four countries (Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt and Jordan) between the 1960s and the early 1990s in the Middle East and North Africa region shows a historical sequencing of reforms. Before the implementation of orthodox policy change, foreign exchange scarcity was managed primarily by rising restrictions, accumulation of debt and a number of unilateral country-specific strategies, including broader economic openings (infatih) and selective capital account liberalizations. However, IMF-friendly reforms only became a political option after the failure of these alternative policies and the simultaneous drying up of unconditional finance. These findings complement recent debates about the rush to free trade in at least two aspects. First, they point to distinct causal mechanisms depending on the type of political regime (e.g., autocracy versus democracy), explaining the beginning of trade and capital account liberalizations among developing nations. They specify, second, one important contextual condition in regard to the effectiveness of IMF surveillance power.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vik Hanne Hagtvedt, Semb Anne Julie

Who Owns the Land? Norway, the Sami and the ILO Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 517-550



In 1986, the International Labour Organization (ILO) started a process aimed at revising its 1957 Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention (C107). This process was completed in 1989 with the adoption of the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (C169). Simultaneously, national legal and political processes in many Western states addressed the rights of their own indigenous populations. These states voted in favour of C169, but only Norway chose to ratify it – indeed, as the first country in the world, in June 1990. This article details the internal political processes within the Norwegian government, to shed light on the significance of the domestic situation in Norway for its support for C169. We find that a low degree of perceived need for domestic changes may enable states to take a leading role in creating new human rights conventions. Furthermore, the participation of government officials in international horizontal and vertical policy networks may shape the policies of their ministries and thereby those of the state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

211-230

Wind energy development in East Asia and Europe, Pages

in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 11, n. 3, September, Special Issue “Asia’s and Europe’s Energy Policy Challenges”, Dent Christopher M.

Over the last decade, wind energy has emerged as the most important non-hydro renewables sector, contributing significantly to global efforts on developing low-carbon energy systems. In terms of grid electricity generation, its power output has increased almost 16-fold since 2000 and currently produces around 3 times that of solar photovoltaic, 4 times more than biomass and 20 times more than geothermal installations globally. Europe and East Asia have been at the forefront of wind energy development, together accounting for almost 70% of total installed capacity and most of the world’s largest wind turbine producers. This paper begins by providing an overview of historic and recent developments in wind energy and then discusses key techno-innovation, production and internationalisation issues before looking at policy approaches taken by European and East Asian countries to renewable energy generally and wind energy more specifically. Finally, obstacles to the future development of the wind energy sector are discussed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lappenküper Ulrich

„Le plus germanophile des chefs d’Etat français“? François Mitterrand und Deutschland 1916–1996

in Historische Zeitschrift, Volume 297, Issue 2, November 2013, 390–416

Abstract

There is no doubt that the biography of François Mitterrand is one of the most iridescent among those of the French statesmen of the 20th century. His metamorphoses from an adherent of the authoritarian Vichy-regime to the leader of the French socialists and the president of a republic whose constitution he had opposed in 1958 raise several questions to this day. Hardly less puzzling is Mitterrand’s relationship with Germany. For nearly his whole life he posed as a great European and an ardent protagonist of the French-German friendship. But was he really „le plus germanophile des chefs d’Etat français“, as his biographer Jean Lacouture claims? Based on extensive literature and numerous files found in German and French archives, the essay examines central issues of Mitterrand’s vita from 1916 to 1996, especially with regard to his image of, respectively his policy towards, Germany. In doing so it helps to unravel the mystery of the „sphinx“ and her relationship to Germany.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cook Alexander

‘The Great Society of the Human Species’: Volney and the Global Politics of Revolutionary France

in *Intellectual History Review*, Volume 23, Issue 3, Special Issue: Discourses of Humanity in the Enlightenment: Local Mediations of a Global Aspiration , 309-328

This article analyses the complex and contested geo-politics associated with the concept of a universal human society during the era of the French Revolution. It focuses on the figure of Constantin-François Volney (1757–1820), a neglected philosopher who played a significant role in the history of both French anti-imperialist thought and French imperial practice in North Africa and the Levant. It uses that focus to explore the relationship between visions of human emancipation and the exercise of global power during the 1790s and beyond.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Arudou Debito

“Embedded Racism” in Japan’s Official Registry Systems: Towards a Japanese Critical Race Theory

in *International Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies (The)*, Volume 10, No 1 , 49-77

Critical Race Theory (CRT), grounded in American legal theories of power and dominance, has been increasingly applied to other countries to analyse racialised power relationships between social groups. Applying CRT to Japanese society, where “racism” is officially denied as a factor in the systemic differentiation of peoples into a dominant majority and disenfranchised minorities, nevertheless reveals racialised paradigms behind deciding who is a “member” of society (as in a citizen) and who is not (as in, a non-citizen), systematically allocating privilege to people with “Japanese blood.” This research focuses on recent changes to Japan’s official registry systems vis-à-vis non-citizens. Historically, the Family Registry (koseki) and the Resident Registry (jūmin kihon daichū) have employed biological conceits to give systemic advantages (in terms of citizenship, employment, access to social welfare and official recognition as residents and family members) to “Wajin” (Japan’s dominant social group with “Japanese blood”) over “Non-Wajin.” Although the Resident Registry system was amended in July 2012 to allow equal registry of non-citizens, this research finds under CRT methodology that the dominant Wajin majority did not further enfranchise or cede power to the disenfranchised non-citizen minority. The reforms were merely cosmetic changes to a segregating system that remains largely intact in scope and enforcement.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Yoneyama Shoko

“Life-World”: Beyond Fukushima and Minamata

in *Asian Perspective*, Volume 37, Issue 4 , 567-592



The human and ecological disasters of Minamata and Fukushima highlight Japan's need to plan for a sustainable future. Ogata Masato, a Minamata fisherman, through his philosophy of "life-world" suggests that this quest for a sustainable future requires a change in the epistemology of social science. His philosophy offers a postmodern version of Japan's heritage of animism, where humans are connected with all living beings, including the souls of the living and the dead, as well as animate and inanimate entities in nature. His philosophy thus presents an alternative framework for a new modernity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Li Xing, Shaw Timothy M.

"Same Bed, Different Dreams" and "Riding Tiger" Dilemmas: China's Rise and International Relations/Political Economy

in *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 69-93

This paper seeks to present a framework for understanding the impact of China's rise on the established international order with a special focus on the contradictions and dilemmas facing both China and the order around it. It suggests heuristic insights from two Chinese cultural and linguistic metaphysics in order to denote the dynamic and interactive relationship between the rise of China and the existing order in terms of both opportunities and challenges. The authors argue that both China and the existing order have been going through periods of "sleeping in the same bed with different dreams", and now they are in the stage of "riding tiger" in which both sides face dilemmas in their complicated and complex relationship. The paper concludes that the rise of China and the existing order will continue to be intertwined in a dialectic of waxing and waning, and flux and reflux. In order for each to find a regional and global role which the other will accept and support both sides will have to go through a considerable period of struggle, tension and adjustment.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Carl Bouchard

« Formons un cœur aux innombrables voix... » : hymnes et chants pour la paix soumis à la Société des Nations

in *Relations internationales*, n°155 , 103-120

Hymns and peace songs sent by citizens to the League of Nations (LoN) after the Great War, intended (as did flag proposals) to provide the organization with a symbolic identity that would define its nature and goals. The goal was that the identity of the LoN's would emerge as being independent from the identities of individual member states. These proposals reveal ordinary citizens' conceptions and representations of world peace in the aftermath of the war. Based on a sample of thirty hymns and peace songs sent to the LoN, this article exposes how citizens justified the need for a LoN hymn. It also questions the ambiguous relationship between nationalism and internationalism in many peace hymns, as well as it examines the recurrent tension between the hymns' universalist ambition and their cultural and religious tropes. Aside from the emphasis on the oneness of mankind, the shared traumatic experiences and the sufferings during the war were used in peace hymns as a key marker of identity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mariuzzo Andrea

«Explaining Europe to Americans and America to Europeans». Mario Einaudi e gli studi politici internazionali nel secondo dopoguerra

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900* , n. 3, luglio , 409-428

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rahden Wolfert von

»Wir Europäer von übermorgen« – Nietzsches ideeller Gesamteuropäer

in *Gegenworte*, 30. Heft, Herbst 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.gegenworte.org/heft-30/gegenworteheft30.html>

Ein Gesamteuropäer ex negativo

Nietzsche polarisiert, immer noch. Bereits unter seinen Zeitgenossen traf er einerseits bei einigen auf engagierte Zustimmung, andererseits jedoch bei der Mehrheit entweder auf Nicht-Beachtung oder auf vehemente Ablehnung. Als aufschlussreich und auch überraschend vermerkt der Chronist dabei nicht so sehr die schon damals übliche Kritik an der Denkfigur des »Übermenschen«, wohl aber die noch heftigere und heute kaum noch bekannte Polemik gegen das »undeutsche« Denken, das die Gemüter seinerzeit in großen Teilen des deutschsprachigen Raums weitaus stärker erregte: So erfuhren des Autors Auffassungen und sein Schreibstil wiederholt Schmähungen, sei's als »französisch«, sei's als »slawisch« oder »jüdisch« (1). Als der Zeitgeist den Nationalstaat verherrlichte, stilisierten zeitgenössische Kritiker Nietzsche zum Feindbild vom »Nicht-Deutschen«. Er erscheint in diesen Polemiken als Typus eines ›Gesamteuropäers ex negativo‹; er wurde vor allem deshalb strikt abgelehnt, weil er nationale, ›rassische‹ und ›völkische‹ Barrieren attackierte, und war deshalb nicht selten besonders aggressiven Angriffen ausgesetzt...