



## Bulletin n. 3/2010 - January 2011

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

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

Wallner Jennifer

#### **Beyond National Standards: Reconciling Tension between Federalism and the Welfare State**

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 40, n. 4, Fall , 646-671

There is a tension between federalism and the welfare state. A keystone of federalism is preserving diversity by allowing populations to pursue alternative pathways from a national agenda. Under the logic of social citizenship, the welfare state should provide similar access to comparable programs for all citizens. To reconcile this tension, federations are encouraged to adopt national standards. But this begs the question: Are national standards a necessary condition for sub-national policy similarity? I test this by examining the Canadian education sector in a comparative context. My central findings suggest that national standards aren't necessary for the achievement of sub-national policy similarity. In lieu of national involvement, contextual factors help sub-national governments defy the odds and reconcile the tension between federalism and the welfare state.

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

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

Mendez Fernando, Mendez Mario

#### **Comparing Privacy Regimes: Federal Theory and the Politics of Privacy Regulation in the European Union and the United States**

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 40, n. 4, Fall , 617-645

This article draws on federal theory to analyze the dynamics of crafting a privacy regime in the European Union and the United States. Three dimensions of the policy domain are analyzed: how policy was framed, the policy dynamics activated, and the policy instruments used. The main finding is that despite obvious differences in the choice of specific policy instruments, a strikingly similar regulatory dynamic and framing of policy can be detected. Two conclusions are drawn: first, federal theory can reveal novel insights on the politics of regulating privacy, especially in relation to new technologies and counter terrorism measures. Second, applying a comparative research design to EU policy-making can help explain many of its apparent empirical puzzles.

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

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

Gerken Heather K.

#### **Federalism All the Way Down**

in **Harvard Law Review**, Volume 124 · November 2010 · Number 1 , 11-71

No abstract available



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

*Subsection 1. The theory of federation*

**Wlezien Christopher and Soroka Stuart N.**

**Federalism and Public Responsiveness to Policy**

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 41, n. 1, Winter - Symposium on Public Opinion and Federalism , 31-52

Public responsiveness to government policy is a crucial component of representative democracy, but may be far weaker in federal regimes. This article explores the consequences of federalism for public responsiveness in one highly federalized policy domain: welfare spending in Canada. Results suggest that citizens' preferences for spending at the federal level are affected by changes in both federal and provincial spending, and to an equal degree; they suggest, in short, that federalism poses serious problems where public responsiveness is concerned. A concluding section considers the implications of these findings for the representation of public opinion in policy in federalized states.

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

*Subsection 1. The theory of federation*

**Gibson Edward, Suarez-Cao Julieta**

**Federalized Party Systems and Subnational Party Competition: Theory and an Empirical Application to Argentina**

in **Comparative Politics**, Volume 43, No. 1

Comparative scholarship conceives of party systems nationally. This has created a situation of conceptual and measurement incompleteness in the study of party systems. The effects of subnational variations in party competition on national politics and the quality of democracy cannot be understood if subnational party systems continue to be erased from the theoretical mapping of party politics. The concept of "federalized party systems" denotes systems composed of national and subnational party subsystems. Its value for the comparative and longitudinal study of party politics can be demonstrated through an analysis of Argentina's federalized party system.

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

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**Lennox Esselment Anna**

**Fighting Elections: Cross-Level Political Party Integration in Ontario**

in **Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique**, Volume 43 - Issue 04 - December , 871-892

Conventional wisdom about the structure of political parties in Canada has emphasized their confederal nature. In other words (and the New Democratic party excepted), parties with identical partisan complexions at the federal and provincial levels are thought to operate in "two political worlds." This paper argues that election campaigns are a key integrating



link between parties. How they fight elections reveals extensive cross-level co-operation, particularly through shared activists (local party activists, party staff and party professionals) and technological expertise. This has the effect of shrinking the space between party cousins and forges unity between them. While there are certain obstacles to electoral collaboration, there are also incentives for these parties to work to maintain and strengthen their ties with their partisan cousin at the other level. These findings make an important contribution by directly challenging the notion that Canada's federal system has led to increasingly disentangled political parties.

Résumé. L'opinion communément admise au sujet de la structure des partis politiques au Canada a mis l'accent sur leur nature confédérale. En d'autres termes (exception faite du Nouveau Parti démocratique), on considère en général que les partis à caractère partisan identique au palier fédéral et provincial fonctionnent dans «deux mondes politiques à part». Le présent article avance que les campagnes électorales constituent un facteur d'intégration clé entre les différents niveaux d'un parti. La façon dont un parti dispute une élection révèle un haut degré de coopération entre les organisations provinciales et fédérales, surtout du fait qu'ils partagent des militants communs (militants locaux, personnel politique et professionnels du parti) et leur expertise technologique. Ce phénomène tend à rétrécir l'espace entre cousins du même parti et à bâtir l'unité d'organisation entre les deux niveaux. Même s'il y a des obstacles inévitables à la collaboration électorale, les partis cousins ont de bonnes raisons de veiller à maintenir et à renforcer leurs liens réciproques. Ces conclusions apportent une contribution importante à l'étude des partis politiques, en contestant directement l'idée que le système fédéral au Canada a encouragé les partis politiques de même allégeance à mener leurs activités de manière indépendante.

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

*Subsection 1. The theory of federation*

**Bolgherini Silvia**

**Germania: il federalismo consensuale**

in **Mulino (il)**, n. 6, novembre-dicembre, 2010 , 974-981

Con le elezioni federali del settembre 2009, l'elettorato tedesco ha posto fine all'esperienza della Grande coalizione tra democristiani (Cdu/Csu) e socialdemocratici (Spd), preferendo la coalizione tra Cdu/Csu e liberali (Fdp) e ripristinando così una configurazione più classica e consolidata. [...]

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

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**Kemmerer Alexandra**

**Kelsen, Schmitt, Arendt, and the Possibilities of Constitutionalization in (International) Law: Introduction**

in **Leiden Journal of International Law**, Volume 23 - Issue 04 , 717-722

It is tempting to introduce this special section in an apologetic tone. Has not enough been written, in recent years, on constitutionalization, that new phenomenon and term which has recently entered the world of politics and law, closely related to global constitutionalism, to constitutionalism in international law? And is there really a need to publish another three articles on Hans Kelsen, Carl Schmitt, and Hannah Arendt, instead of highlighting new faces and frames of thought in international law and its theory?

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

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Gaudreault-DesBiens, Jean François

**Le riconfigurazioni territoriali negli Stati Uniti ed in Canada: prolegomeni**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 2 , 1028-1040

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Ströbele-Gregor Juliana

**Demokratische Revolution in Bolivien?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 41-42, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/XW76AL,0,Demokratische\\_Revolution\\_in\\_Bolivien.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/XW76AL,0,Demokratische_Revolution_in_Bolivien.html)

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Häde Ulrich

**Die Ergebnisse der zweiten Stufe der Föderalismusreform**

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Band 135, Heft 4, Oktober 2010 , 541-572

Abstract:

This article is concerned with the second step of the 'federalism reform' in Germany. The first step rearranged legislative powers between the Bund (federation) and the Länder. In step two, the main focus became the modernization of financial relations between the two levels of state. The article scrutinizes necessity and practicability of the resulting changes in the German Basic Law in July 2009, specifically focusing on their greater goal of limiting the national debt.

The author identifies demands and limits set by European Union primary legislation as well as rivaling interests of the



involved political actors - mainly the economically and financially better-off Länder in contrast to those receiving money from the Länder solidary transfer system - and their impact throughout the reform process.

The most remarkable result of the constitutional reform's second step is the newly introduced popularly called "debt brake" (a debt limit) in article 109 section 3 Basic Law. Now for the first time not only the Federation, but also the Länder are restrained in public borrowing. This rule narrows the Länder's domestic constitutional law-making freedom but nevertheless does not infringe principles of federalism. However, a successful limitation of public debt will strongly depend on serious efforts by Bund and Länder and a restrictive interpretation of statutory exemptions.

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

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Heinz Dominic

**Federal Reform II in Germany**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 2, issue 2 , N 1-14

Recently Germany experienced yet another federal reform shortly after a previous modification to the German federal system. This paper explains agenda setting, negotiations and ratification of this recent federal reform. With regards to the case of the most recent federal reform in Germany the issue of debt limits had been effectively agreed upon as a package deal between political parties and Bund and Länder alike.

The Grand Coalition of CDU/CSU and SPD managed to quickly gather a qualified majority in the Bundestag, making the qualified majority of Länder the crucial negotiating point. At the end, stronger Länder forced weaker Länder either to accept the new debt regime suggested primarily by the federal government, forcing Bund and Länder to uphold balanced budgets until 2020 or to be responsible for a failed reform. In this situation weaker Länder saw the new constitutional debt regime as more acceptable than rejecting a reform.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/71-federal-reform-ii-in-germany>

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

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Perez Hualde Alejandro

**La reforma constitucional de 1994 y la falta de vocación federal de las provincias**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 24

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Balteo Yazbeck Cristian, Fernández Temes Melina

**Venezuela: Lektüre eines geteilten Landes**



in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 41-42, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/TNQFOR,0,Venezuela%3A\\_Lekt%FCre\\_eines\\_geteilten\\_Landes.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/TNQFOR,0,Venezuela%3A_Lekt%FCre_eines_geteilten_Landes.html)

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

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

Osman, F.A.

**Bangladesh Politics: Confrontation, Monopoly and Crisis in Governance**

in *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 18 Issue 3

Despite the restoration of parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh since 1991, political governance of the country is still mired by innumerable ills. It broadly features a wide array of confrontation, competition, monopolization of state institutions and resources by the party in power. This trend of politics has tremendously weakened the formal accountability mechanisms and put governance in crisis. This article depicts the nature of confrontational politics in Bangladesh, its causes and impacts on governance with supportive evidence from both primary and secondary sources. As case examples, it shows how bureaucracy and local government institutions are grossly politicized as a result of confrontational politics and their impact on governance.

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Hartz Emily, Kyritsis Dimitrios

**Boumediene and the Meanings of Separation of Powers in U.S. Emergency Law**

in *Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles*, Vol. 15, n. 1

No abstract available

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

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Martín Alonso Gerard

**De nuevo sobre la distribución de competencias en materia de energías renovables: aspectos generales y ámbitos problemáticos**



in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, n. 11 , 294-351

Full text available at:

[http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/\\_reaf11\\_Martin\\_esp\\_tcm112-136526.pdf](http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf11_Martin_esp_tcm112-136526.pdf)

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

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Reutter Werner

**Demokratie im Bundesstaat: Zum Verhältnis zweier verfassungsrechtlicher Strukturprinzipien**

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 20. Jahrgang (2010), Heft 2

Democracy and Federalism

Two Constitutional Principles and Their Relationship With Each Other

The relationship between democracy and federalism is a controversial issue in political science. The German case shows that two features characterize the respective debate: truncations and references to varying democratic theories. Thus, "refederalization" cannot per se be regarded as more democratic than the status quo ante, as many simply postulated in order to push forward the reform of German federalism. In contrast to what many had postulated, it rather has to be pointed out that the contradictions or the incompatibilities between democracy and federalism are merely tensions that are inherent to democracies and not to be dissolved.

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

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Hennigar Matthew A.

**Exploring Complex Judicial–Executive Interaction: Federal Government Concessions in Charter of Rights Cases**

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 43 - Issue 04 - December , 821-842

This article analyzes the federal government's concessions before the Supreme Court of Canada that its own laws are unconstitutional under the Charter of Rights, marking the first time that concessions have been analyzed empirically in Canada. Using data from 1984–2004, the author finds that full concessions of unconstitutionality are exceptionally rare but that partial concessions are not uncommon. There is weak support for the hypothesis that governments are more willing to concede laws passed by previous governments of a different party, but, on the whole, the federal government appears committed to defending its laws in court. The author explores the implications of this for the relationship between the judiciary and the executive, including judicial activism, Charter dialogue and government use of the courts to advance policy goals.

Résumé. Cet article analyse les concessions du gouvernement fédéral devant la Cour suprême du Canada que ses propres lois violent la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés. Il s'agit, en fait, de la première analyse empirique de ces concessions au Canada. S'appuyant sur des données des années 1984 à 2004, l'auteur constate que les concessions complètes d'inconstitutionnalité sont exceptionnellement rares, mais que les concessions partielles ne sont pas



inhabituelles. On donne peu d'appui à l'hypothèse que les gouvernements sont plus disposés à concéder les lois passées par des gouvernements précédents représentant un autre parti, et, dans l'ensemble, le gouvernement fédéral semble être engagé à défendre ses lois devant les cours. L'auteur explore l'incidence de cette situation sur les relations entre le pouvoir judiciaire et le pouvoir exécutif, abordant, entre autres, la question de l'activisme judiciaire, du dialogue sur la Charte et de l'utilisation des tribunaux par le gouvernement pour promouvoir certaines politiques.

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

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**Gerstle Gary**

**Federalism in America: Beyond the Tea Partiers**

*in Dissent*, Fall, 2010

We hear a lot today about federalism, the doctrine that emphasizes the rights and powers of the states versus those of the federal government. The political Right expresses alarm at the dramatic expansion in central government power that began under George W. Bush during the 2008 financial crisis and that continued during Barack Obama's first eighteen months in office, first through the government's bailouts of financial institutions and the auto industry and then through the passage of the landmark national health care bill. Liberal groups, on the other hand, have turned to federalism in response to the perceived failure of the federal government during the Bush years to address major economic, social, and ecological challenges. Progressive Californians, for example, have been pushing ecologically friendly bills in their state, given the obstructions such legislation has faced in Congress. Massachusetts enacted its own government health care bill in response to a long period of federal inaction on the issue. Many gay marriage and marijuana legalization advocates now believe that they can accomplish more in state rather than national arenas. These advocates want to "free" their states from the grasp of federal authority on the issues that matter most to them. In this essay I explore the historical background to the current interest in federalism and argue that the powers possessed by state governments throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were more capacious, influential, and resilient than we customarily recognize them to have been. The durability of the states as a force in economic, social, and cultural affairs can only be understood by reference to an expansive and constitutionally sanctioned doctrine of police power. Police power endowed state governments (but not the federal government) with broad authority over civil society for at least the first 150 years of the nation's existence. The Civil War posed a sharp challenge to this doctrine, and, for a time, it seemed as though Reconstruction would inter it. But in the late nineteenth century, state legislatures, backed by the federal courts, rehabilitated this doctrine to attack and, in many cases, to reverse the centralization of power in the federal government that the Civil War seemed to have done so much to advance. Federalism finally did weaken in the 1930s and 1940s, but not until the 1960s and 1970s can we say that the central government had superseded the states as the premier center of political authority in America. Federalism's demise, then, is still a relatively recent phenomenon, a fact that fuels the hopes of those who want to see it revived. [...]

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**Santos Fabiano, Batista Cristiane**

**Instituciones políticas y políticas públicas en la Federación brasileña**

*in Latin American Research Review*, Volume 45, Number 3, 2010 , 187-211





El objetivo del trabajo es analizar los determinantes de las políticas públicas de naturaleza social en los estados brasileños. Más específicamente, se trata de examinar el gasto público en las áreas de salud y educación y explorar las posibles causas de la variación eventualmente observada. La motivación teórica de esta propuesta adviene de una línea de investigación en la literatura que afirma que a nivel estatal el ejecutivo es una fuerza sin contraposición dentro del sistema político y que, además, la lógica de producción de políticas públicas estaría, sobre todo, vinculada a los objetivos individuales del gobernador. Entretanto, según nuestros resultados fueron descartadas las hipótesis nulas de la inexistencia de un efecto positivo de la ideología del gobernador sobre el nivel del gasto social y de la ausencia de impacto negativo del número de comisiones, aún en gobiernos controlados por la izquierda, en este mismo nivel de gasto.

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Allegri Maria Romana

**L'esercizio del potere estero nel modello federale statunitense**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 17 -

No abstract available

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

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Boggero Giovanni

**La co-responsabilità per l'integrazione europea dei Länder tedeschi e del Bundesrat**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 23

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

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Cortese Fulvio

**La sicurezza urbana e il potere di ordinanza del Sindaco tra competenze statali e competenze regionali: come districare l'intreccio?**

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 123-140

No abstract available

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

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Laurent Fourchard

**Lagos, Koolhaas and Partisan Politics in Nigeria**

in *International Review of Economics and Finance*, Volume 35, Issue 1 , 40–56



Architect Rem Koolhaas and his team from Harvard regard Lagos as an extreme and pathological form of the city in Africa and as a paradigmatic case of a modern avant-garde city. In rehabilitating the informality at work in Lagos, they put forward a romanticized vision of a self-regulatory system working outside state regulation and political influence. In this article I consider that the crisis of urban infrastructure in Lagos is less the result of the weakness of the Nigerian state than of a historical opposition between the Federal government and Lagos State leaders, especially concerning the allocation of resources to the city. I also suggest that informality and state decline analysis are inadequate theoretical frameworks for detailing the way Lagos has been planned or governed since the end of the colonial period. Instead, this article, based on empirical research covering local government, motor parks and markets, considers that the city's resources have been used to build political networks between state officials and a number of 'civil society' leaders. This process and the reinforcement of taxation in the last 30 years are not so much a manifestation of informality and state decline as part and parcel of the historical state formation in Nigeria and in Lagos.

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

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Alkadiri Raad

**Oil and the question of federalism in Iraq**

in *International Affairs* , vol. 86, issue 6, november , 1315-1328

ABSTRACT: The 'oil question' in Iraq has traditionally been viewed almost exclusively through the prism of ethno-sectarianism. Disputes over the management and licensing of the hydrocarbon sector and over revenue distribution have been seen as a battle for power between Iraq's ethnic and sectarian communities, as if these were monolithic entities. This has led to a conviction—especially among US policy-makers in post-war Iraq—that solving the problem lies in a simple formula of apportioning control of the sector to decentralized authorities and dividing revenue proportionally. This view ignores the fact that disagreements over management of the sector and over revenue distribution reflect a deeper dispute that cuts across ethno-sectarian lines. In reality, disputes are driven far more by the as-yet-unresolved issue of whether ultimate sovereign authority in Iraq lies with the central government or should be decentralized to regional and provincial governments. As the main source of revenue in Iraq, control over the oil and gas sector is critical to the success of these rival agendas. Consequently, compromise has been impossible to achieve, and neither side is willing to make concessions for fear of threatening their long-term ambitions.

Tactical maneuvering by different parties in the aftermath of the recent elections may provide some temporary respite to the oil and gas dispute, as Arab leaders in Baghdad seek to co-opt the support of Kurdish parties to form a new coalition government. But an accommodation over the federalism question in Iraq still seems out of reach. This will not only hamper the legislative process and effective government in the coming years, but could also threaten stability, particularly along the fragile border that separates the Kurdistan Region from the rest of Iraq.

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Bose Feler

**Parliament vs. Supreme court: a veto player framework of the Indian constitutional experiment in the area of economic and civil rights**



in **Constitutional political economy**, Volume 21, Number 4 / December 2010 , 336-359

This essay is on the Indian constitution and extends and responds to the work of Singh (Constitutional Political Economy 17:17, 2006) in the analysis of economic rights. The veto player framework is used to analyze the development of economic rights which was diminished and civil rights (through Public Interest Litigation) which was expanded since Indian independence. The Congleton Model (Constitutional Political Economy 12:193–215, 2001) and Tsebelis Model (British Journal of Political Science 25(3):298–325, 1995) on veto players are used to develop the hypotheses and analyze the evolution of the Indian constitution.

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Angerbrandt Henrik

**Political decentralisation and conflict: The Sharia crisis in Kaduna, Nigeria**

in **Journal of Contemporary African Studies**, Volume 29, Issue 1, January , 15-31

When states in northern Nigeria started processes for implementing Sharia laws in 1999, it triggered sentiments all over the country. In Kaduna State, the proposal led to demonstrations and violent clashes. The article examines the ways in which different scales of politics are mutually constituted in the Sharia case and how the Sharia proposal subsequently resulted in clashes in Kaduna. It is argued that the Sharia initiative, even though it started as a sub-national question, was connected to a national power contestation. However, the federal government remained passive and diverted the issue to local political space. In Kaduna, the issue took dimensions that incurred with apprehensive local political contention that made it escalate into violence and polarising people according to religion. An analysis of the crisis in Kaduna is offered that does not regard the conflict as locally confined, but as inherently related to wider political and historical processes.

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

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Afsar, R.

**Poverty, Inequality and the Challenges of Pro-Poor Governance in Bangladesh**

in **Journal of South Asian Development (The)**, Volume 5, No. 2, October , 187-219

Weak governance as a result of clientelist practice is often considered as the single-most important factor behind the growing inequality and persistent poverty in Bangladesh. Using a rights-based approach (RBA), this article examines regional disparity, central–local relations and the scope for peoples' participation under the existing rules and practices. It also sheds light on the cultural aspects of governance constituted of trust, social solidarity and institutional connectivity using an empirical data set generated from a census of six villages in Bangladesh backed by a triangulation of the qualitative and quantitative research tools. It has demonstrated that the rising inter- and intra-regional inequality is an outcome of inequitable distribution of public goods and services confirming the clientelist syndrome of the government. Further, excessive control by the national government impedes innovation and efficient delivery of services by the local bodies, which ultimately hampers pro-poor growth. One of the most important findings of this study is the emergence of the school as the most trusted institution in the village. On the basis of the study, it can also be argued that social capital does not always lead to a positive-sum outcome, rather it can be turned to a zero-sum game depending on the socio-cultural contexts and other factors such as the overall level of literacy of the villagers, strong networks both within



and outside the village among other factors.

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

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**Berry Christopher, Burden Barry, Howell William**

**The President and the Distribution of Federal Spending**

in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 104, issue 4, november , 783-799

ABSTRACT: Scholarship on distributive politics focuses almost exclusively on the internal operations of Congress, paying particular attention to committees and majority parties. This article highlights the president, who has extensive opportunities, both ex ante and ex post, to influence the distribution of federal outlays. We analyze two databases that track the geographic spending of nearly every domestic program over a 24-year period—the largest and most comprehensive panels of federal spending patterns ever assembled. Using district and county fixed-effects estimation strategies, we find no evidence of committee influence and mixed evidence that majority party members receive larger shares of federal outlays. We find that districts and counties receive systematically more federal outlays when legislators in the president's party represent them.

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

**Alan J. Auerbach, William G. Gale**

**Déjà Vu All Over Again: On The Dismal Prospects For The Federal Budget**

in *National Tax Journal*, 63 (September 2010)

This paper provides new estimates of the federal budget outlook over 10-year and long-term horizons under three sets of assumptions: the Congressional Budget Office baseline, which assumes no changes in current law; an extended policy scenario, in which it is assumed that future Congresses act more or less like previous Congresses in extending expiring provisions; and the Administration budget.

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

**Fleischer Julia**

**A Dual Centre? Executive Politics under the Second Grand Coalition in Germany**

in *German Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 3-4 Special Issue: Grand Coalition as Systemic Transformation? The German Experience , September , 353-368

This article analyses executive politics under the second Grand Coalition in Germany with a particular emphasis on the role of the Chancellor and her Office. It applies a principal-agent framework to examine how the two parties in government affected the power relations within the executive. Next to external features such as the coinciding G8 and EU presidency as well as the global financial and economic crisis, particular institutional features structuring these delegation relationships, i.e. the partisan composition of the government and the rules for cabinet decision-making,



account for the dynamics in executive politics during the second Grand Coalition. Initially, the traditional prerogatives of a German Chancellor were restricted and two hubs for executive coordination emerged for directing cabinet members from both government parties. The G8 and EU presidency in 2007 weakened the parties' influence and enabled the Chancellor and her Office to centralise executive politics. When the global financial and economic crises hit Germany in 2008, executive politics shifted towards a concentration of power at the Chancellery and the Ministry of Finance, also balancing the interests of both catch-all parties in government to engage in crisis management.

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**Dyson Kenneth, Saalfeld Thomas**

**Actors, Structures and Strategies: Policy Continuity and Change under the German Grand Coalition (2005-09) in German Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 3-4 Special Issue: Grand Coalition as Systemic Transformation? The German Experience , September , 269-282

No abstract available

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

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**Krishna Anirudh**

**Continuity and change: the Indian administrative service 30 years ago and today in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**, Vol. 48, issue 4 , 433 – 444

Continuity trumps change: in essential respects the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) remains as it was 30 years ago. Thirty years hence the IAS should continue much as it is, albeit with gradually waning influence. Pressures from below and above will increasingly constrict the zone of discretion enjoyed by IAS officials. But in the foreseeable future the basic structure of the IAS will remain substantially unchanged

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**Goodman Rachel E.**

**Imagining a Federal Emergency Board: A Framework for Legalizing Executive Emergency Power in New York University Law Review** , Vol. 85, n. 4 , 1263-1290

In the United States, the tripartite system ensures the rule of law by dividing the power to make laws between Congress and the President. The system, however, makes virtually no provision for moments of grave emergency, in which the President is expected to act before authorization from Congress can be secured. As a result, presidential discretion—exercised first in emergency—creeps into nonemergency governance, corroding the rule of law.

This Note employs John Locke's concept of the federative power to define the



emergency moment as limited to that period of time during which it is logistically impossible for Congress to approve executive action. From there, it proposes an administrative agency, the Federal Emergency Board, with the power to declare an emergency during this interval, thereby authorizing and legalizing the exercise of executive power.

Without ignoring the somewhat fantastical nature of this proposal, this Note engages seriously in a discussion of its constitutionality. It explores the remedies that would remain available to individuals whose rights were violated during a declared emergency. Finally, it examines whether a sitting President would be likely to seek authorization for his emergency action. It concludes that, at the very least, the existence of the Federal Emergency Board would remind Americans that the system of checks and balances does not disappear during moments of emergency

Full text available at:

[http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm\\_dlv2/groups/public/@nyu\\_law\\_website\\_\\_journals\\_\\_law\\_review/documents/documents/ecm\\_pro\\_067135.pdf](http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm_dlv2/groups/public/@nyu_law_website__journals__law_review/documents/documents/ecm_pro_067135.pdf)

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**Miller Bernhard, Müller Wolfgang C.**

**Managing Grand Coalitions: Germany 2005-09**

**in German Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 3-4 Special Issue: Grand Coalition as Systemic Transformation? The German Experience , September , 332-352

Grand Coalitions are a specific type of government known in Austria and Germany as the cooperation of the main competing parties in government, rallying behind the governments' vast parliamentary majorities. Grand Coalitions subject their partners to specific challenges in terms of achieving party goals and demands on their policies. This, in turn, increases the demands on coalition governance. The article analyses how the Grand Coalition under Angela Merkel has coped with the problems of coalition management. In so doing it compares its management mechanisms with those employed by the German Grand Coalition of the 1960s and the many Austrian cabinets of this type. It measures the level of intra-coalition conflict and shows how coalition management instruments have been employed to manage or resolve conflict. Specifically, it shows that the coalition committee was summoned more frequently when conflict levels were up and that most of the Grand Coalition's key decisions had already been contained in the coalition agreement. Yet not all plans were fully implemented. Overall the Grand Coalition enacted important reforms. While failing to meet the high expectations a Grand Coalition raises because of its capacity of overcoming resistance, it did well when considering the constraints specific to Grand Coalition governance.

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**Hough Dan**

**Political Opposition in the Era of the Grand Coalition (2005-09)**

**in German Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 3-4 Special Issue: Grand Coalition as Systemic Transformation? The German Experience ,



September , 369-381

Political parties in opposition have a number of possible strategies open to them. They may look to act as policy pushers, stressing the government's apparent neglect of a set of core issues that they hold dear. They may act as strategic opponents, opposing the government's agenda wherever possible, but not opposing the system within which it is embedded. Alternatively, they may choose to be a more obstructionist force, attempting to both delegitimise the government and the broader political system. The parliamentary parties in opposition to the Grand Coalition in Germany have adopted all three of these approaches to varying degrees and with varying rates of success.

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**Mitraa Subrata**

**Symbiosis, re-use and evolution: administrators, politicians, citizens, and governance in post-colonial India in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**, Vol. 48, issue 4 , 457 – 478

Democracy, governance and citizenship in post-colonial states are crucially contingent on how civil servants and political leaders see one another. Civil servants and political leaders are important links in the national chain of governance, joining the modern state and traditional society. A trained, professional, politically neutral bureaucracy, held accountable to local, regional and national leaders, is the core of India's strategy of governance. Based on the management of order, welfare and identity, this design underpins the vast expanses of the Indian political system, reaching out to every corner of the country, constantly extracting and circulating new ideas and resources, and functioning as the veins and arteries of this complex body politic. The evolution of this complex system, the fortuitous result of the symbiosis of administrators and politicians, and the strategic re-use of the colonial and the pre-modern past, accounts for the puzzle of the formal continuity of a colonial institution in India's post-colonial context. The article examines this argument on the basis of narratives, conversations with regional elites (the empirical analysis draws on interviews with 150 of them, drawn from six states) and findings from a cross-section survey of the Indian electorate

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**Cooper Phillip J.**

**The Duty to Take Care: President Obama, Public Administration, and the Capacity to Govern in Public Administration Review**, Volume 71, Issue 1, January/February , 7-18

President Barack Obama inherited many challenges as he entered the White House. One of the most important obligations he faced was the constitutional duty to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." Meeting that commitment has been rendered more difficult because Obama seems not to have recognized that the people and



organizations of the executive branch are facing a crisis in the capacity to govern. This essay argues that no matter how talented President Obama may be in public policy or on the stump, he likely will not accomplish his constitutional duty unless he engages that capacity crisis.

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**Lees Charles**

**The Grand Coalition and the Party System**

**in German Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 3-4 Special Issue: Grand Coalition as Systemic Transformation? The German Experience , September , 312-331

This article examines the formation of the Grand Coalition in the context of the German party system and draws upon a synthetic analytical framework derived from formal coalition theory. It argues that both the SPD and CDU/CSU would have anticipated that the Grand Coalition would have generated relatively high levels of inter-party conflict as well as significant electoral costs. The article demonstrates that the CDU/CSU's motives for entering a Grand Coalition were quite evident but those of the SPD were more questionable. The SPD's course of action is only explained by a number of specific policy objectives, a desire to minimise co-ordination costs, and through the concept of pure time preference, in which SPD elites demonstrated a preference for an established coalition model over new and untested coalition options. The article concludes that, whilst it is not possible to demonstrate that the Grand Coalition increased the rate of party system fragmentation, it failed to stabilise the declining vote share for the two Volksparteien.

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**Saxenaa N. C.**

**The IAS officer - predator or victim?**

**in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**, Vol. 48, issue 4 , 445 – 456

The Indian Administrative Service is a troubled institution - not least because of political compulsions imposed upon it. This article examines several of the more serious problems that it faces: a lack of professionalism, the creation of redundant posts, unsatisfactory structures of reward and punishment, and an inability to deliver services adequately. It then suggests steps which an increasingly proactive central government might take to address these problems at the state level in this federal system, where they are most apparent. These include a greater focus on policy outcomes; linking transfers with performance by state governments; and enhancing accountability outward to society and citizens, rather than inward and upward within the government

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**Burraa Arudra**





**The Indian Civil Service and the nationalist movement: neutrality, politics and continuity**  
in *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 48, issue 4 , 404 – 432

How was it that the Indian Civil Service (ICS), involved as it was in various activities to secure the British Raj against the pressures of Indian nationalism, was able to survive and flourish in the new political order after independence? This article argues that part of the explanation lies in the fact that it was, and was seen to be, a 'politically neutral' institution. In the course of making this argument, it surveys the changing role of the ICS vis--vis the nationalist movement before independence, and also considers the theoretical question of what is meant by the claim that bureaucratic work is 'apolitical' or 'neutral' with respect to politics

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del Carmen Pardo María

**The Proposed Administrative Modernization in Mexico: between Tradition and Change**  
in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN L - NÚMERO 2

This article reviews the changes that have taken place in the federal public administration over the last three six-year terms and points out some of their limitations. First of all it includes a general reference to certain features which might be characteristic of the traditional model of public administration and which in many countries, including Mexico, continue in effect. It also points out new references for public actions, encompassed under the framework of New Public Management (ngp). These help shape the public administrations of countries where it has been adopted. Reference is also made to the tensions this transition causes, among other reasons because the two models coexist. The third section sets forth observations on what is happening in Mexico's case

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Kropp Sabine

**The Ubiquity and Strategic Complexity of Grand Coalition in the German Federal System**

in *German Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 3-4 Special Issue: Grand Coalition as Systemic Transformation? The German Experience , September , 286-311

The 2005-09 Grand Coalition under Chancellor Angela Merkel was generally seen as an exceptional response to a difficult verdict of the voters in the 2005 elections. It was also seen as a chance to overcome the legislative gridlock characteristic of much of the Kohl and Schröder chancellorships. This article demonstrates that grand coalition politics based on relatively inclusive bargaining processes runs much deeper in the German federal republic than is sometimes acknowledged. Since unification in 1990, federal-state coalitions across the national government-opposition divide in the Bundestag have become more frequent, reflecting the change from a two-bloc towards a 'fluid five-party system' (Niedermayer) and necessitating inclusive bargaining in the Bundesrat. The federal states have become a testing ground for new coalitions. Not only do these more fluid coalition patterns at the state level include grand coalitions of the



two major parties, but also 'Red-Green' minority cabinets of SPD and Greens, 'Red-Red' coalitions of SPD and Linke, 'Jamaica coalitions' of CDU, FDP and Greens, and 'traffic-light coalitions' of SPD, FDP and Greens. Although the 2006 reform of German federalism reduced the share of bills requiring Bundesrat consent, the Grand Coalition under Merkel was tied into a comprehensive multi-level bargaining system as were its predecessors and successors. Majoritarian decision-making is close to impossible in this system, horizontal and vertical bargaining prevails.

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Häberle Peter

**Métodos y principios de interpretación constitucional. Un catálogo de problemas**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

El autor analiza en este artículo las cuestiones más relevantes de la interpretación constitucional, partiendo de sus teorías previas relativas al Derecho comparado como “quinto método de interpretación jurídica”, a la importancia que debe darse al contexto cultural en el ámbito de la interpretación constitucional y a la sociedad abierta de los intérpretes constitucionales, entre otras. Destaca la inexistencia de una ordenación jerárquica entre los distintos métodos de interpretación y la necesidad de su utilización combinada. También la inconveniencia de limitarse a un solo método, teniendo en cuenta la perspectiva metodológica de la Constitución del pluralismo. La interpretación constitucional se entiende como proceso público y pluralista. Respecto de la teoría constitucional resalta la especial idoneidad de la teoría constitucional para recurrir a la ciencia cultural, al orientarse a la totalidad del orden jurídico. Analiza igualmente la relación entre la interpretación constitucional y otras disciplinas jurídicas. Por último, aborda la cuestión de los principios de la interpretación constitucional y de sus límites. Concluye haciendo unas reflexiones específicas sobre el Derecho constitucional en España.

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/Haeberle.htm>

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Magrassi Mattia

**'Bussate e vi sarà aperto'. La Corte di giustizia sulla presunzione di rilevanza delle questioni pregiudiziali e sul principio dell'equivalenza procedurale**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 2 , 867-873

No abstract available

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Chemerinsky Erwin

**A Progressive Visionary: Stephen Reinhardt and the First Amendment**



in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 120, issue 3 , 515-528

Full text available at:

<http://www.yalelawjournal.org/images/pdfs/924.pdf>

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Radmilovic Vuk

**A Strategic Approach to Judicial Legitimacy: Supreme Court of Canada and the Marshall Case**

in *Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles*, Vol. 15, n. 1

No abstract available

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

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Balthasar Stephan

**Analysis and Reflections Locus Standi Rules for Challenges to Regulatory Acts by Private Applicants: The New Article 263(4) TFEU**

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 4 , 542-550

No abstract available

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

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Brudney James J.

**Canon Shortfalls and the Virtues of Political Branch Interpretive Assets**

in *California Law Review*, Vol. 98, n. 4 , 1199 ff.

This Essay examines Frickey's treatment of the canons of construction, an aspect of his attentiveness to complexity. Two general themes emerge from the discussion and analysis in a number of Frickey's articles. One is his effort to unmask: he critically assesses descriptive claims that the canons promote more predictable construction of statutes, as well as normative claims that they foster more neutral policy outcomes. The second theme is Frickey's effort to understand and justify: he views the canons as performing a useful role for the judiciary as an institution in certain settings. Ultimately, Frickey defends the canons as an institutional resource, but in more reserved terms than those offered by canon enthusiasts.

The Essay then expands upon Frickey's concerns by presenting two sets of observations that focus on how the canons differ from legislative history and agency guidance. Based on these observations, the Essay suggests that the canons should be subordinated to interpretive resources produced by the institutions of Congress and the executive

Full text available at:



<http://www.californialawreview.org/assets/pdfs/98-4/brudney.FINAL.pdf>

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Conway Gerard

**Conflicts of Competence Norms in EU Law and the Legal Reasoning of the ECJ**

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 9 , 966-1005

full text available at:

[http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No9/PDF\\_Vol\\_11\\_No\\_09\\_966-1005\\_Conway.pdf](http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No9/PDF_Vol_11_No_09_966-1005_Conway.pdf)

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Kratz Pauletto Fernando, Carraro Lisiana

**Controle de constitucionalidade relativo à legislação municipal**

in *Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito*, n. 20 , 129-148

O sistema controle de constitucionalidade brasileiro se apresenta de forma mista, podendo ser exercitado de forma concentrada ou difusa, formas de origem européia e norte-americana respectivamente. Por tal razão, é considerado um dos mais completos em relação aos dos demais países, ocupando espaço de grande destaque em nosso ordenamento jurídico e na atual conjuntura brasileira. Tal complexidade faz existir a necessidade de ser realizada uma específica forma de controle para cada espécie de norma quando forem violadas as Cartas Magnas Federal e Estadual. Nesse sentido, o presente artigo propõe uma análise profunda do controle de constitucionalidade exercido pelo método difuso através da via incidental, abordando o tema com o objetivo de mostrar sua aplicação em relação à legislação municipal que afronta a Constituição Federal, realizando um estudo comparado com o controle concentrado em relação à lei municipal que contraria a Constituição Estadual.

Full text available at:

[http://www.panoptica.org/op20/20\\_6.pdf](http://www.panoptica.org/op20/20_6.pdf)

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Bastianon S.

**Da Bosman a Bernard: note sulla libera circolazione dei calciatori nell'Unione europea**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 707 ff.

No abstract available

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Lori HauseggeraRiddella ,Troy , Hennigara Matthew, Richez Emmanuelle

**Exploring the Links between Party and Appointment: Canadian Federal Judicial Appointments from 1989 to 2003**

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 43 - Issue 03 - September , 633-659

Studies of federal judicial appointments made before 1988 discovered significant partisan ties between judicial appointees and the governments appointing them. In 1988, in response to criticism of these “patronage appointments,” the Mulroney government introduced screening committees to the process. This article explores the impact of these committees. Using information gained from surveys of legal elites, we trace the minor and major political connections of federal judicial appointees from 1989 to 2003 in order to determine whether patronage has continued despite the reform to the process. We discover that political connections continued to play an important role in who was selected for a judicial appointment. However, these connections were not quite as common as those found before 1988, and the new process does appear to have prevented the politically motivated appointment of completely unqualified candidates. Interestingly, our findings also suggest that the impact of patronage varies by region and interacts with other, newer influences, in particular, concerns for group representation on the bench. The paper concludes by briefly discussing these results in the context of the relationship between judicial selection and politics with a comparative perspective.

Résumé. Les études sur les nominations judiciaires fédérales réalisées avant 1988 ont découvert des liens partisans étroits entre les juges nommés à la cour et les gouvernements les nommant. En 1988, en réponse aux critiques sur le favoritisme entourant les nominations, le gouvernement Mulroney a introduit des comités d'évaluation dans le processus. Cet article explore l'impact de ces comités. En utilisant de l'information recueillie lors de sondages menés auprès de la communauté légale, nous retraçons les connexions politiques mineures et majeures des attributaires judiciaires fédéraux de 1989 à 2003 en vue de déterminer si le favoritisme a persisté malgré la réforme du système. Nous découvrons que les connexions politiques continuent à jouer un rôle important dans la sélection des juges. Toutefois, ces connexions ne sont pas aussi importantes que celles qu'on a identifiées avant 1988 et le nouveau processus semble avoir réussi à prévenir les nominations partisanses de candidats entièrement non qualifiés. Les résultats de notre recherche suggèrent également que l'effet du favoritisme varie par région et dépend aussi d'autres facteurs plus nouveaux, en particulier le souci de représentation de certains groupes au sein de la magistrature. L'article conclut en discutant brièvement ces résultats dans le contexte de la relation entre la sélection judiciaire et la politique dans une perspective comparative.

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Mulligan Lumen N.

**Federal Courts Not Federal Tribunals**

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, Vol. 104, n. 1 , 175-232

Full text available at:

<http://www.law.northwestern.edu/lawreview/v104/n1/175/LR104n1Mulligan.pdf>



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**Cerulli Irelli Vincenzo**

**Federalismo e giustizia amministrativa**

in **Federalismi**, Anno VIII - Nr. 18

No abstract available

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**Zorn Christopher, Bowie Jennifer Barnes**

**Ideological Influences on Decision Making in the Federal Judicial Hierarchy: An Empirical Assessment**

in **Journal of Politics (The)**, vol. 72, issue 4, October , 1212-1221

Scholars of judicial politics have long speculated that the factors influencing judicial decision making operate to varying degrees at different levels of the judicial hierarchy. We investigate what we term the "hierarchy postulate": that the effect of judges' policy preferences on their decisions increases as one moves up the judicial hierarchy. Using original data on cases decided at each level of U.S. federal courts, which allow us to evaluate the impact of policy preferences on judicial decision making while holding constant the influence of case-specific factors, we find robust support for the contention that ideological and policy-related influences on federal judges' decisions are larger at higher levels of the judicial hierarchy.

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**Almerighi Mario**

**Il giudice italiano come giudice europeo**

in **Nomos**, n. 1-2/2008 , 121-142

No abstract available

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**Barbisan Benedetta**

**Il mito di "Marbury v. Madison" e le origini della giustizia costituzionale negli Stati Uniti**

in **Storia amministrazione costituzione**, Vol. 18 , 33-153

No abstract available

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Vitale G.

**Il principio dell'autonomia procedurale in due recenti sentenze della Corte di giustizia: i casi Olimpiclub e Asturcom**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 727 ff.

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Fabbrini Federico

**Il procedimento di nomina dei giudici della Corte Suprema USA in prospettiva comparata**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 1 , 281-307

No abstract available

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Martinico Giuseppe

**Il trattamento nazionale dei diritti europei: Cedu e diritto comunitario nell'applicazione dei giudici nazionali**

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 3 , 691-734

No abstract available

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Pugliese S.

**L'influenza del sistema giurisdizionale dell'Unione europea sul Tribunale della Comunità di Sviluppo dell'Africa australe**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 625

No abstract available

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Perrie Jean-Baptiste

**La Cour de cassation et la question prioritaire de constitutionnalité : de la réticence à la diligence**

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 84

No abstract available



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**Magnon Xavier**

**La QPC face au droit de l'Union : la brute, les bons et le truand**

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 84

No abstract available

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**Drago Guillaume**

**Le nouveau visage du contentieux constitutionnel**

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 84

No abstract available

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**Clark Tom S., Lauderdale Benjamin**

**Locating Supreme Court Opinions in Doctrine Space**

in *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 54, Issue 4 , 871-890

We develop a scaling model to estimate U.S. Supreme Court opinion locations and justice ideal points along a common spatial dimension using data derived from the citations between opinions. Citations from new opinions to precedent opinions usually apply and endorse the doctrine of the precedent opinion; however, sometimes they implicitly or explicitly dispute the precedent opinion. We collect original datasets classifying citations from search and seizure and freedom of religion opinions written between 1953 and 2006 into these different types and develop a model relating the similarity of the doctrine embodied in the citing and cited opinions to the relative probability of these different types of citations. The resulting spatial estimates of opinion location are used to evaluate theories of Supreme Court bargaining and opinion writing. We find empirical support for theoretical models that predict the majority opinion will fall at the ideal point of the median member of the majority coalition. Given the centrality of theories of judicial policymaking to various substantive problems in political science, the method of scaling opinions developed in this article can facilitate a range of future research.

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**Bast Jürgen**

**Of General Principles and Trojan Horses – Procedural Due Process in Immigration Proceedings under EU Law**





in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 9 , 1006-1024

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[http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No9/PDF\\_Vol\\_11\\_No\\_09\\_1006-1024\\_JBast.pdf](http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No9/PDF_Vol_11_No_09_1006-1024_JBast.pdf)

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Hansford Thomas G., Savchak Elisha Carol, Songer Donald R.

**Politics, Careerism, and the Voluntary Departures of U.S. District Court Judges**

in *American Politics Research*, Vol. 38, n. 6, November , 986-1014

Prior studies hypothesize that judges time their retirements to allow a like-minded president to select their replacements. We propose a modification to this argument and theorize that during the earlier part of a district court judge's career, it is the likelihood of elevation to an appeals court and other career-oriented concerns that affect whether the judge resigns or stays on the bench. It is during the latter stage of a judge's career when the desire to be replaced with a like-minded judge affects the retirement decision. Our analysis reveals that judges who are not yet pension eligible are influenced by being passed over for appeals court nominations as well as financial incentives to leave for private practice. Only judges who have attained pension eligibility appear to consider their ideological compatibility with the president when deciding to call it quits.

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Tizzano A., Iannuccelli P.

**Premières applications de la procédure de « réexamen » devant la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 681 ff.

No abstract available

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

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Blane Michael M.

**Reading the Fourth Amendment: Guidance from the Mischief that Gave it Birth**

in *New York University Law Review* , Vol. 85, n. 4 , 905-931

The Supreme Court begins the twenty-first century with increasing use of a cramped approach to Fourth Amendment interpretation. That approach, championed by Justice Scalia, gives determinative weight to outdated common law rules from the framing era in assessing the reasonableness of searches and seizures. In the annual James Madison Lecture, Judge Blane Michael urges a fundamentally different—yet still traditional—approach.

He argues that Fourth Amendment interpretation should be guided by the basic lesson learned from the mischief that



gave birth to the Amendment in 1791: Namely, there is a need for constitutional protection against intrusive searches of houses and private papers carried out under grants of open-ended discretion to searching officers. This need for Fourth Amendment protection remains compelling in today's ever more interconnected world. Above all, the Court should not weaken the Fourth Amendment's protection by exclusive use of antiquated common law rules from the framing era.

Full text available at:

[http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm\\_dlv3/groups/public/@nyu\\_law\\_website\\_\\_journals\\_\\_law\\_review/documents/documents/ecm\\_pro\\_067219.pdf](http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm_dlv3/groups/public/@nyu_law_website__journals__law_review/documents/documents/ecm_pro_067219.pdf)

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

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**Manning John F.**

**Second-Generation Textualism**

**in California Law Review**, Vol. 98, n. 4 , 1287-1317

In his perceptive histories of the late-twentieth-century revival of interest in statutory interpretation theory, Philip P. Frickey, always modest, predictably failed to account for his own large contribution to the debate. Assessing this contribution, of course, would present difficulty for anyone, as the work spans so widely. With his frequent coauthor, William Eskridge, Professor Frickey explained statutory interpretation as a form of practical reasoning that transcends any single foundational approach to the subject; thoughtfully explored the utility and dangers of the Supreme Court's renewed interest in canons of construction, both substantive and procedural; and developed an intellectually rich casebook that reintroduced Legislation as a core element of the law school curriculum. Writing on his own, Professor Frickey enriched our understanding of the canon of constitutional avoidance as a pragmatic instrument for a Court to use in times of political peril, the transitional problems associated with abrupt changes in the Court's approach to statutes, and the importance of judicial craft in statutory cases.

Full text available at:

<http://www.californialawreview.org/assets/pdfs/98-4/Manning.FINAL.pdf>

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

**Westerland Chad, Segal Jeffrey A., Epstein Lee, Cameron Charles M., Comparato Scott**

**Strategic Defiance and Compliance in the U.S. Courts of Appeals**

**in American Journal of Political Science**, Vol. 54, Issue 4 , 891-905

Why do lower courts treat Supreme Court precedents favorably or unfavorably? To address this question, we formulate a theoretical framework based on current principal-agent models of the judiciary. We use the framework to structure an empirical analysis of a random sample of 500 Supreme Court cases, yielding over 10,000 subsequent treatments in the U.S. Courts of Appeals. When the contemporary Supreme Court is ideologically estranged from the enacting Supreme Court, lower courts treat precedent much more harshly. Controlling for the ideological distance between the enacting



and contemporary Supreme Courts, the preferences of the contemporary lower court itself are unrelated to its behavior. Hence, hierarchical control appears strong and effective. At the same time, however, a lower court's previous treatments of precedent strongly influence its later treatments. The results have important implications for understanding legal change and suggest new directions for judicial principal-agency theory.

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

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Williams Ryan C.

**The One and Only Substantive Due Process Clause**

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 120, issue 3 , 408-509

The nature and scope of the rights protected by the Due Process Clauses of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments are among the most debated topics in all of constitutional law. At the core of this debate is the question of whether these clauses should be understood to protect only "procedural" rights, such as notice and the opportunity for a hearing, or whether the due process guarantee should be understood to encompass certain "substantive" protections as well. An important though little explored assumption shared by participants on both sides of this debate is that the answer to the substantive due process question must be the same for both provisions. This Article questions that assumption by separately examining the historical evidence regarding the original public meaning of the Due Process Clauses of both the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments with a single question in mind: did the original meaning of each clause, at the time of its enactment, encompass a recognizable form of substantive due process? At the time of the Fifth Amendment's ratification in 1791, the phrase "due process of law," and the closely related phrase "law of the land," were widely understood to refer primarily to matters relating to judicial procedure, with the second phrase having a somewhat broader connotation referring to existing positive law. Neither of these meanings was broad enough to encompass something that would today be recognized as "substantive due process." Between 1791 and the Fourteenth Amendment's enactment in 1868, due process concepts evolved dramatically, through judicial decisions at the state and federal levels and through the invocation of due process concepts by both proslavery and abolitionist forces in the course of constitutional arguments over the expansion of slavery. By 1868, a recognizable form of substantive due process had been embraced by courts in at least twenty of the thirty-seven then-existing states as well as by the United States Supreme Court and the authors of the leading treatises on constitutional law. As a result, this Article concludes that the original meaning of one, and only one, of the two Due Process Clauses—the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment—was broad enough to encompass a recognizable form of substantive due process.

Full text available at:

<http://www.yalelawjournal.org/the-yale-law-journal/content-pages/the-one-and-only-substantive-due-process-clause/>

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

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Gulasekaram Pratheepan

**The " People" of the Second Amendment: Citizenship and the Right To Bear Arms**

in *New York University Law Review* , Vol. 85, n. 5 , 1521-1580



The Supreme Court's recent Second Amendment decision, *District of Columbia v. Heller*, asserts that the Constitution's right to bear arms is an individual right to armed self-defense held by law-abiding "citizens." This Article examines the implications of this description, concluding that the Second Amendment cannot concurrently be a right of armed self-defense and restricted to citizens. The Article proceeds in three parts. First, it analyzes the term "the people" as it has been interpreted in recent Court cases. The Article concludes that constitutional text and Supreme Court jurisprudence provide no sustainable basis to believe the Second Amendment is limited to citizens. Second, the Article situates *Heller* within a historical context of gun regulation motivated by racial animus and xenophobia, manifested by contractions of citizenship to exclude—and gun laws intended to disarm—racial minorities and noncitizens. Third, the Article attempts to revive a coherent theory justifying the limitation of gun rights to citizens but ultimately concludes that armed self-defense is conceptually unrelated to historically political rights such as voting and jury service. Thus, *Heller*'s holding regarding who is entitled to armed self-defense is logically unsound and doctrinally troubling.

Full text available at:

[http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm\\_dlv1/groups/public/@nyu\\_law\\_website\\_\\_journals\\_\\_law\\_review/documents/documents/ecm\\_pro\\_067506.pdf](http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm_dlv1/groups/public/@nyu_law_website__journals__law_review/documents/documents/ecm_pro_067506.pdf)

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

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**Tennis Bradley T.**

**Uniform Ethical Regulation of Federal Prosecutors**

in **Yale Law Journal (The)**, Vol. 120, n. 1, October , 144-184

Federal prosecutors are subject to a bewildering array of ethical regulations ranging from state ethical codes to local rules adopted by federal courts to the internal policies of the Department of Justice. The inconsistent and overlapping application of these ethical rules has led to regulatory confusion that has inhibited the development of clear ethical expectations for federal prosecutors. To ensure the consistent enforcement of federal criminal law, a uniform system of ethical regulation—dividing regulatory authority amongst the courts, the Department of Justice, and a yet-to-be-created independent ethical review commission—should be adopted to replace the existing regulatory framework.

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

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**Grossberg Benjamin**

**Uniformity, Federalism, and Tort Reform: The Erie Implications of Medical Malpractice Certificate of Merit Statutes**

in **University of Pennsylvania Law Review**, Vol. 159, issue 1 , 217-274

Medical malpractice "certificate of merit" statutes are pieces of state legislation designed to reduce frivolous malpractice



lawsuits and associated costs. Although the statutes vary in the requirements they place on litigants and in the breadth of lawsuits to which they apply, they all require the plaintiff in a malpractice action to consult with an expert either before the suit is filed or within a fixed period of time thereafter.

This Comment addresses whether, under the Erie doctrine, these statutes are applicable in federal court. It then considers the policy implications of the answer. This Comment concludes that the statutes are not applicable in federal court. A faithful application of *Hanna* and its progeny—including the Supreme Court’s recent decision in *Shady Grove*—shows that the vast majority of the statutes conflict with one or more of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. The few that are not clearly in conflict are not outcome determinative when that test is applied as *Hanna* instructs. As to the policy question, this Comment observes that *Hanna* tends to require the subordination in federal court of certain state laws designed to regulate specific areas of policy. Questioning whether reform is needed to provide greater protection, this Comment analyzes both radical and moderate suggestions for reforming the Erie doctrine, incorporating where appropriate the three main viewpoints represented in *Shady Grove*. The policy discussion concludes by analyzing how a moderate adjustment to *Hanna* might affect the certificate of merit issue.

Part I contains a brief discussion of the timeliness of this issue, followed by an overview of the statutes currently enacted, a survey of past decisions, and a review of other scholarly works. In order to determine whether these statutes conflict with the Federal Rules, Section II.A analyzes the decisions in which the Supreme Court has indicated whether or not a state statute and a Federal Rule conflict. To the extent possible, that Section extracts the legal principles animating those decisions and uses them as a framework to analyze whether various state statutes conflict with Rules 8, 9, 11, 12, 26, and 37. Concluding that conflicts do exist, the discussion in Section II.A points out errors in the reasoning of the courts that have concluded otherwise. Section II.B discusses the modified outcome determination test and how its application reveals a paradox built into *Hanna*, which favors the application of federal law. Part III discusses policy implications.

Full text available at:

<http://www.pennumbra.com/issues/pdfs/159-1/Grossberg.pdf>

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

**Sigwart Hans-Jörg**

**We and the People: Selbstverständnis und politische Rolle des U.S. Supreme Court**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 57, Heft 4, 2010

#### Summary

This article focuses on the particular political position and function of the U.S. Supreme Court within the American constitutional framework and within current American politics and raises the question of whether and how the court’s respective self-conception concurs with and influences its particular political role. From its peculiar position between law and politics and its function as a guard of the Constitution, the Supreme Court traditionally derives the claim of being a particularly independent and impartial political institution – independent not only from the other branches of government, but also from the momentary currents of public opinion. Behind this background, the court’s current political role turns out to oscillate between two possibilities. While on the one hand the court is in danger of becoming one of the central battlegrounds of the current American »culture war« between liberals and conservatives and therewith of coming into a



fundamental conflict both with its constitutional role and its own self-conception, there is also looming, on the other hand, a peculiarly constructive role the court may be able to play within this “culture war” situation. The final chapter of this article argues that particularly the discussion on the issue of “judicial transnationalism” indicates such a constructive role.

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

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**Buratti Carlo**

**Autonomia e centralismo. Un commento allo schema di d.lgs. in materia di autonomia di entrata delle regioni a statuto ordinario e delle province.**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IX - Nr. 1

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

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**Andrew Mitchell, Thomas J. Bossert**

**Decentralisation, Governance and Health-System Performance: ‘Where You Stand Depends on Where You Sit’ in *Development Policy Review*** , Volume 28, Issue 6 , 669–691

Advocates of local government often argue that when decentralisation is accompanied by adequate mechanisms of accountability, particularly those responsive to local preferences, improved service delivery will result. From the perspective of the health sector, the appropriate degree of decentralisation and the necessary mechanisms of accountability depend upon the achievement of health system goals. Drawing on evidence from six countries (Bolivia, Chile, India, Pakistan, Philippines, Uganda), this article comes to the conclusion that a balance between centralisation of some functions and decentralisation of others, along with improved mechanisms of accountability, is needed to achieve health system objectives.

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**Neal D. Woods, Matthew Potoski**

**Environmental Federalism Revisited: Second-Order Devolution in Air Quality Regulation in *Review of Policy Research*** , Volume 27, Issue 6 , 721–739

In this paper we examine states' use of local clean air agencies and provide a preliminary assessment of what causes states to devolve air quality policy authority to the local level. Data from a unique comparative state survey shows that states vary widely in the number of local clean air agencies they employ and the amount of authority these agencies have to set standards, monitor air quality, and enforce regulations. Multivariate analyses suggest that second-order devolution is partly driven by a general propensity to decentralize policy authority, but that policy-specific factors relating



to the problem and interest group environment affect devolution as well. These findings indicate that local agencies play an important role in U.S. air quality regulation, and that the dynamics of state devolution to local agencies deserve further study

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**Renzsch Wolfgang**

**Federal Reform under the Grand Coalition**

**in German Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 3-4 Special Issue: Grand Coalition as Systemic Transformation? The German Experience , September , 382-392

This article compares the approaches of the first (1996-69) and second (2005-09) Grand Coalition to the problems of a renewal of Germany's system of intergovernmental fiscal relations. The conditions and challenges were different. The first Grand Coalition was wanted by its partners, and they had a common agenda, the second one was unwanted and forced by electoral circumstances. It lacked a common agenda. The fiscal reform of 1969 finished finally what the Parliamentary Council had left open in 1949 and followed the path of interlocking federalism. Its general theme was 'uniformity of living conditions'. The challenges of the second Grand Coalition were different: public debts and budgetary restrictions. In order to cope with these the second Grand Coalition introduced the 'debt brake'. The debt brake is a part of the change of paradigm of German federalism towards less 'equality of living conditions' and can partly be seen as the reversal of the 1969 reform.

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**Lecours André, Béland Daniel**

**Federalism and Fiscal Policy: The Politics of Equalization in Canada**

**in Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 40, n. 4, Fall , 569-596

Fiscal equalization is a key political issue in many federal countries, including Canada. Yet, relatively few scholars have paid systematic attention to the political dimensions of Canada's federal equalization program. Taking an historical and institutionalist perspective, this article explores the politics of equalization policy in Canada, with a focus on the mid-2000s, a period when equalization policy suddenly became a major source of intergovernmental conflict. The main objective of the article is to explain why and how such political struggles over equalization developed. The explanation focuses on four factors: (i) the importance of executive discretion over the equalization program; (ii) the "inter-state" nature of Canadian federalism; (iii) the concentration of non-renewable natural resources in certain provinces; and (iv) the perceptions that surround the program.

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**Valdesalici Alice**

**Federalismo fiscale e autonomie speciali: il nuovo assetto finanziario del Trentino - Alto Adige/Südtirol**

**in Federalismi**, Anno VIII - Nr. 18



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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Degrassi Lidianna

**Federalismo fiscale. Il problema della collaborazione stato-regioni**

in *Diritto dell'economia (il)*, n. 2-3 , 227-238

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Jorio Ettore

**Federalismo fiscale: occorre bandire le immunità**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 17 -

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Velo Francesco

**Fiscal Federalism: from the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act to the Atlantic Maastricht Treaty**

in *European Union Review*, Vol. 15, n. 1

No abstract available

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

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Lan Phi Nguyena; Sajid Anwar

**Fiscal decentralisation and economic growth in Vietnam**

in *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)*, Volume 16 Issue 1 , 3-14

By making use of a recently released panel dataset that covers 61 provinces of Vietnam, this paper examines the link between fiscal decentralisation and economic growth. Significant fiscal decentralisation has taken place in Vietnam from the mid-1990s. This paper explicitly considers the effect of fiscal decentralisation on economic growth (1) under the 1996 State Budget Law, which covered the period 1996 to 2001, and (2) under the 2002 State Budget Law, which covered the period 2002 to 2007. Our empirical analysis reveals that economic growth in Vietnam is positively associated with revenue decentralisation but negatively associated with expenditure decentralisation.





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Axel Dreher, Justina A. V. Fischer

**Government decentralization as a disincentive for transnational terror? An empirical analysis  
in *International Economic Review*, Volume 51, Issue 4 , 981–1002**

Using panel data for a maximum of 109 countries over the years 1976–2000, we empirically analyze the impact of decentralization on the occurrence of transnational terror. Our results show that expenditure decentralization reduces the number of transnational terror events in a country, while political decentralization has no impact. These results are robust to the choice of control variables and method of estimation.

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Shirin Madon, S. Krishna. Edwin Michael

**Health information systems, decentralisation and democratic accountability  
in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 30, Issue 4 , 247–260**

While decentralisation is a much-used term in development discourse, there is lack of clarity about how much autonomy should be granted to local agencies in programme implementation. This is particularly the case in the health sector in developing countries where decentralisation has resulted in the primary health centre (PHC) being identified as the focal point for the delivery of basic health services to rural citizens. An important element of primary healthcare reform has been the implementation of health information systems (HIS). These systems primarily account for monies spent to higher levels of administration and funding bodies rather than account for primary healthcare provision to citizens. In this article, we focus on various emergent processes of change that are occurring under the auspices of the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) in India to strengthen the interface between the PHC and the community. We present a case study of Gumballi PHC in Karnataka, South India. Our findings reveal ways in which these new processes can be supported by conceptualising the HIS as more than a mere reporting tool.

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Pizzetti Franco

**Il federalismo demaniale: un buon segnale verso un federalismo fiscale  
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 3-14**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Viesti Gianfranco

**Il federalismo difficile**



in **Mulino (il)**, n. 5, settembre-ottobre, 2010 , 730-738

"Come se: proviamo a ragionare di federalismo fiscale a Mezzogiorno come se l'Italia fosse oggi pronta ad affrontare con serietà una questione così complessa e importante. Nell'interesse generale. Dimenticando che invece l'Italia, per le sue caratteristiche, e per il momento politico-culturale che sta vivendo, è tra i Paesi al mondo in cui è oggi più impervio realizzare un sistema di federalismo fiscale. [...]"

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**Carboni Giuliana Giuseppina**

**Il federalismo fiscale dinamico in Spagna**

in **Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno**, numero : 2, giugno , 573-590

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

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**Italia Vittorio**

**Il federalismo fiscale e la "riduzione" delle funzioni fondamentali**

in **Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza**, n. 15 , 1413-1414

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Jorio Ettore**

**L'attuazione del federalismo fiscale. Qualche incidente interpretativo e gli emendamenti della Conferenza**

**Unificata**

in **Federalismi**, Anno IX - Nr. 1

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

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**Gregory Burge, Cynthia Rogers**

**Local option sales taxes and consumer spending patterns: Fiscal interdependence under multi-tiered local taxation**

in **Regional Science and Urban Economics**, Volume 41, Issue 1 , 46-58



Twenty US states currently allow both county and municipal governments to impose sales taxes on purchases within their jurisdictions. This study investigates the complex multi-jurisdiction and multi-tier dimensions of local option sales taxes (LOSTs) in this setting. We estimate own-rate and cross-tier elasticities using data from 1993 to 2006 for Oklahoma municipalities and counties. Using a variety of panel data techniques including first differenced and random trends models, we show both are significant determinants of consumer spending patterns. Additionally, accounting for localized tax rate differentials reveals important nuances in the interpretation of cross-tier and own-rate elasticities. Our results suggest that municipal LOST revenues can be significantly affected by the rate setting decisions of parent counties as well as nearby regional retail centers. Therefore, the ability of municipal governments to control LOST revenues by varying their own LOST rate is affected by both vertical and horizontal fiscal spillovers. Understanding the nature of fiscal interdependence in this setting is important for the 34 US states that authorize some form of LOSTs as well as any considering their implementation.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Robin Boadway, Jean-François Tremblay**

**Mobility And Fiscal Imbalance**

in **National Tax Journal**, 63 (December 2010) , 1023-53

We study how labor mobility affects optimal transfers in a federation and the fiscal imbalances that arise because of constraints on federal tax-transfer policies. Fiscal imbalance — a deviation from the optimal fiscal gap — occurs when the second-best allocation of resources in a federation cannot be achieved because fiscal transfers do not or cannot undo fiscal externalities among regional and federal governments. Under reasonable circumstances, we find that labor mobility increases the optimal fiscal gap, that is, increases the transfers required to achieve the second-best optimum. In a decentralized federation, the optimal fiscal gap cannot be achieved. In the absence of labor mobility, vertical fiscal externalities will apply. Regional governments will overspend, which will induce the federal government to create a negative fiscal imbalance to contain the size of its tax rate, assuming it can commit to future transfers. If the federal government cannot commit, regions will overspend even more and federal transfers will be excessive, leading to a positive fiscal imbalance. In both cases, mobility of labor mitigates the fiscal imbalance by reducing the tendency of regions to overspend

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Thushyanthan Baskaran**

**On the link between fiscal decentralization and public debt in OECD countries**

in **Public Choice**, Volume 145, Numbers 3-4 , 351-378

Excessive borrowing by subnational governments is considered to be one of the perils of fiscal decentralization. On the other hand, fiscal decentralization might ensure the fiscal stability of the public sector by constraining Leviathan governments. Since the impact of decentralized government on fiscal outcomes is therefore ambiguous from a theoretical perspective, we explore this question empirically with a panel of 17 OECD countries over the 1975–2001 period. Our findings suggest that expenditure decentralization significantly reduces public indebtedness, whereas tax decentralization and vertical fiscal imbalances are insignificant.



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Gordin Jorge P.

**Paradoxes of Federalism?: Political Institutions and Fiscal Decentralization in Argentina and Spain**  
in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, n. 11 , 142-168

Full text available at:

[http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/\\_reaf11\\_Gordin\\_tcm112-132305.pdf](http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf11_Gordin_tcm112-132305.pdf)

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

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Vartapetov Karen

**Russia's federal fiscal grants: regional equalisation and growth**  
in *Post communist economies*, Volume 22 Issue 4 2010 , Pages 471 – 481

This article reviews recent developments in federal fiscal arrangements in Russia and evaluates the complicated system of centre-to-regions grants until 2010. The objective of the research is to assess the equalisation effect of federal fiscal grants to the regions over the last decade and look into the proposed changes in 2010-12. The development of fiscal inequality between Russia's regions is discussed and the contribution of the grant system is analysed. The research also compares Russia's territorial fiscal fortunes with the evolution of regional economic disparities. The article suggests that the stochastic and often non-transparent system of federal-to-regions grants coupled with modest revenue and expenditure discretion of sub-national governments might present a barrier to long-term economic growth in Russia's regions.

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Baskaran Thushyanthan

**Supranational integration and national reorganization: On the Maastricht treaty's impact on fiscal decentralization in EU countries**  
in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 21, Number 4 / December 2010 , 309-335

We explore the implications of European integration for fiscal decentralization in EU member states with a dataset on 21 OECD countries over the 1975–2000 period. The difference-in-difference methodology is used to establish causality. EU member states are classified as the treatment and non-EU OECD countries as the control group. The Maastricht treaty is interpreted as a quasi-experimental policy intervention that substantially advanced European integration. Our results suggest that tax decentralization has increased in EU countries after the signing of the Maastricht treaty. The treaty's effect on expenditure decentralization also seems to be positive, but is less clear-cut.

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



*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Daubanes Julien, Grimaud André

**Taxation of a Polluting Non-renewable Resource in the Heterogeneous World**

**in Environmental & Resource Economics**, Volume 47, Number 4, December , 567-588

This paper extends the literature on the taxation of polluting exhaustible resources by taking international heterogeneities and national tax-setting into account. We propose a two-country Romer model of endogenous growth in which the South is endowed with the stock of an essential polluting non-renewable resource and world economic growth is driven by a northern research sector. We consider the stock of pollution as affecting global welfare. First, we characterize the optimal environmental taxation policies. Second, we examine the impacts of national taxes. Their time profile determines the extraction path, the dynamics of pollution accumulation and that of world output. Their respective levels entail inter-country interactions by altering the efficiency of the world resource allocation, the tax revenues and the resource rents. We study isolatedly the distortional and distributional effects of local taxes. Then, we completely assess the overall impact of a unilateral tax increase. Finally, we find that, even if heterogeneous countries coordinate their taxation policies to correct the global environmental problem, their divergent strategic interests cause another global, non-environmental distortion in the allocation of the resource.

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Christian Von Haldenwang

**Taxation, Fiscal Decentralisation and Legitimacy: The Role of Semi-Autonomous Tax Agencies in Peru**

**in Development Policy Review** , Volume 28, Issue 6 , 643–667

This article analyses the Servicios de Administración Tributaria (SAT), which currently operate in nine Peruvian cities, to show that semi-autonomous tax agencies can play a significant role in strengthening the effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy of decentralised tax systems. Its findings indicate that the SAT collect local taxes and non-tax revenues more effectively than conventional tax administrations, and that, although the SAT model per se does not generate strong incentives for the promotion of efficiency, efficiency may become more important once the SAT are consolidated. Finally, there are hints that the Peruvian SAT contribute to the legitimacy of the tax system thanks to higher levels of transparency and client orientation.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Gary C. Cornia, Scott Grimshaw, Ray Nelson, Lawrence Walters

**The Effect of Local Option Sales Taxes on Local Sales**

**in Public Finance Review**, 38 (6) , 659-681

Because retail sales taxes generate substantial revenue for many local governments, public officials contemplating differential local option tax rates must carefully assess the potential impacts of such decisions on purchasing decisions. The authors use a unique pooled time series to examine these impacts and apply a methodology that permits an analysis of the effects on purchasing decisions of sales tax rate differences across numerous consumer goods. The results indicate that the response to sales tax rate differences depends on the general characteristics of the goods being purchased. A unique variable that controls for the distance to the next significant alternative for making a purchase also



provides key insights. The observed significance for this variable and its interaction with tax rates has significant public policy implications.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Gene Park

**The Politics of Budgeting in Japan: How Much Do Institutions Matter?**

in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 50, No. 5, September/October , 965-989

In the past decade, the Japanese government has revamped its budget institutions twice. This paper examines how these changes have changed the configuration of power among the actors in the budget process. It also explores the implications of these changes for the management of the nation's finances.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Lai Yu-Bong

**The political economy of capital market integration and tax competition**

in *European Journal of Political Economy* , Volume 26, Issue 4, December 2010 , 475-487

This paper investigates the effect of capital market integration (CMI) on capital taxes in a political economy framework in which policy is influenced by lobbying of interest groups. CMI increases the efficiency cost of the capital tax, which introduces incentives to reduce the tax rate, but also reduces lobbying by owners of capitalists, which introduces countering incentives to increase the tax rate. CMI can therefore result in a higher capital tax rate. When the market share of each country is small, CMI may increase government supply of public goods and enhance efficiency, which implies that, in the presence of policy endogeneity through lobbying, decentralized policymaking can be more efficient than centralized policymaking.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Scuto Filippo

**The transfer of State Property to Regions and Local Authorities within the Italian Fiscal Federalism Reform**

in *Perspectives on federalism* , Vol. 2, issue 2 , E 265-287

The present article examines the process concerning the transfer of State Property to Regions and Local Authorities, recently introduced in Italy pursuant to Decree 85/2010. The transfer of State owned assets and properties to territorial bodies according to this legislation is the first step in the implementation of the Fiscal Federalism Reform. The article analyses in depth the legal framework of this "Public Property Federalism" ("federalismo demaniale") and the various steps leading to the actual transfer and assignment of some State assets to Regions and Local Authorities. The financial issues of this transfer are also discussed. The article concludes with some remarks on the future prospects of this reform.

Full text available at:



<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/78-the-transfer-of-state-property-to-regions-and-local-authorities-within-the-italian-fiscal-federalism-reform>

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Joshua C. Hall, Justin M. Ross

**Tiebout Competition, Yardstick Competition, and Tax Instrument Choice: Evidence from Ohio School Districts in Public Finance Review**, 38 (6) , 710-737

Previous research has shown that Tiebout-style fiscal competition among local governments reduces the likelihood of adopting income taxes. This literature has not yet considered the impact of yardstick competition on tax instrument choice. This article uses spatial econometrics to test for yardstick competition in the decision to adopt an income tax. The results, based on Ohio school district data, indicate that school districts are more likely to adopt an income tax if their neighbors have already done so. While a negative correlation of Tiebout competition on district income tax adoption persists, controlling for spatial dependence reduces the statistical significance of the effect.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Philip Bodman, Andrew Hodge

**What Drives Fiscal Decentralisation? Further Assessing the Role of Income in Fiscal Studies**, Volume 31, Issue 3 , 373–404

This paper investigates the determinants of fiscal decentralisation, focusing in particular on the impact of the level of income on the level of fiscal decentralisation. Various measures of fiscal decentralisation, several of them novel in this context, are employed in a cross-country econometric model to test established and more recent hypotheses. Paying careful attention to variable measurement, model specification and sample coverage, the results suggest that there are significant relationships between fiscal decentralisation and income, as well as a range of other factors. However, these relationships may be more complicated than previously reported. For the entire large sample of countries, and for the OECD subsample, a positive relationship between income and decentralisation is found. This corroborates the results found in earlier studies. However, for the middle- and lower-income nations, higher income is found to be associated with less decentralisation.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Herrero Alcalde Ana, Ruiz-Huerta Carbonell Jesús

**la reforma de la financiación autonómica de 2009 in Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals**, n. 11 , 169-205

Full text available at:

[http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/\\_reaf11\\_Herrero\\_RuizHuerta\\_Vizan\\_tcm112-132307.pdf](http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf11_Herrero_RuizHuerta_Vizan_tcm112-132307.pdf)



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

*Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)*

Tramontana Antonio

**Banca Centrale Europea e crisi finanziaria**

in *Nuova Antologia*, n. 2254, aprile-giugno

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)*

Lebaron Frédéric

**European Central Bank leaders in the global space of central bankers: A Geometric Data Analysis approach**

in *French Politics*, Volume 8, Issue 3, September, 2010 , 294–320

In this article, we analyse the space of the world's central bankers since the second half of the 1990s on the basis of a collection of public biographical data. The world's central bankers compose a global 'reference space' for the study of ECB leaders. ECB leaders are distinctive in certain dimensions of this space, especially in relation to the Asian (Japanese and Chinese) central bankers and, although to lesser extent, in relation to the US Federal Open Market Committee members. These distinctions relate to the properties of two different sub-groups of ECB members of the Governing Council: one group composed of the members of the executive board, and another comprising the governors of the national central banks. This article stresses the methodological use of Geometric Data Analysis when applying a multi-level and sociological perspective to the central bank's decisions and discourses: in the process of examining the relevant social space, this approach allows us to study the inter-individual social variations between agents at a micro-level and to analyse institutional differences in behaviour as a probable consequence of these variations. Monetary strategies and economic discourses of central banks are analysed as the probabilistic products of a combination of individuals' orientations, which in turn are the results of variations in their biographical experiences, based on different cultural and cognitive dispositions.

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

*Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)*

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**Too Sovereign to Be Sued: Immunity of Central Banks in Times of Financial Crisis**

in *Harvard Law Review*, Volume 124 · December 2010 · Number 2 , 550-571

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*





Lapuente Victor

**A Tale of Two Cities: Bureaucratisation in Mayor-Council and Council-Manager Municipalities**  
in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, issue 6 , 739 – 757

This paper presents a theory that predicts under what circumstances self-interested politicians 'bureaucratise' their administrations, in the sense that they delegate the powers to hire, fire and promote public employees to autonomous bodies (like civil service commissions). The main testable proposition is that, in polities with a higher concentration of powers, politicians will bureaucratise their administrations to overcome time inconsistency problems in their relationships with public employees. This prediction is tested with data drawn from US municipalities, where two main types of local governments co-exist: mayor-council and council-manager. Results show that municipal governments with a higher concentration of powers (i.e. mayor-council) tend to have more bureaucratized administrations.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Barfield Thomas, Nojumi Neamatollah

**Bringing More Effective Governance to Afghanistan: 10 Pathways to Stability**  
in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 17, Issue 4, Winter , 40-52

First page and preview online:

<http://www.mepec.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/bringing-more-effective-governance-afghanistan-10-pathways-stability>

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Bonetti Paolo

**Considerazioni conclusive circa le ordinanze dei sindaci in materia di sicurezza urbana: profili costituzionali e prospettive**  
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 429 ff.

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Caruso Corrado

**Da Nottingham a La Mancha: l'odissea dei sindaci nell'arcipelago dei diritti costituzionali**  
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 15-32

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*



Hankla Charles, Downs William

**Decentralisation, Governance and the Structure of Local Political Institutions: Lessons for Reform?**  
in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, issue 6 , 759 – 783

Many governments are devolving power to elected local councils, hoping to improve service delivery and citizen representation by bringing officials closer to the people. While these decentralisation reforms hold the promise of improved governance, they also present national and sub-national leaders with a complex array of options about how to structure newly empowered local political institutions. This article draws on cross-national experience and the latest research to identify the trade-offs inherent in structuring local political institutions. The study's specific interest is in the impact of strong, locally elected councils on governance and representation. Proceeding from an empirical basis that competitive elections are vital for the legitimacy and efficiency of local political institutions, the analysis first questions the impact of four institutional features - central versus local control, local executive versus local council authority, local council structure, and the role of parties - on service provision and fiscal solvency. The article's second section analyses the impact of decentralisation on political representation, with a particular focus on the role of institutional design in combating the threat of extremist parties. A final section summarises empirical findings and advances some policy-relevant conclusions.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Ruga Riva Carlo

**Diritto penale e ordinanze sindacali. Più sanzioni per tutti, anche penali?**  
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 385-396

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Gracia Retortillo Ricard

**El nivel supramunicipal de gobierno local en Alemania**  
in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, n. 11 , 83-141

Full text available at:

[http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/\\_reaf11\\_GarciaRetortillo\\_tcm112-132303.pdf](http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf11_GarciaRetortillo_tcm112-132303.pdf)

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Christensen Dag Arne, Aars Jacob

**Electing Mayors with the Supplementary Vote Method: Evidence from Norway**  
in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, issue 6 , 823 – 841

Both Norway and England have used the supplementary vote (SV) method to elect mayors. SV was intended to elect



mayors with a broad popular mandate, and deemed easy for voters to use. Previous research on English mayoral elections focusing on the supply side of the elections has found that voters supporting minority candidates with their first vote face difficulties using the optional second vote to choose among the remaining two top-candidates in municipalities where there are many candidates in the race. A close race, on the other hand, seems to give voters a helping hand in making this choice. Drawing on these findings, we link data on the 48 Norwegian mayoral races to survey data to further explore how the supply side of the elections and individual voter resources affect effective voting and use of the optional second vote. We use both standard logistic regression and multi-level models as statistical tools. The result reveals that 27 out of the 48 elected mayors in Norway came out as majority winners (more than 50 per cent of the votes). The analysis suggests that the supply side of the elections is of minor importance for whether voters use their second vote or not. The probability of using the second vote is reduced by age, and voters who claim to understand how the electoral system works use the second vote more frequently. The analysis also reveals considerable variation in the number of first and second votes for the top two candidates (effective votes) between municipalities, and the results suggest that this variability may be explained partly by the closeness of the elections. Voters in municipalities with competitive mayoral races are more likely to vote effectively than voters in municipalities with less competitive elections. At the individual level party members are more likely to vote ineffectively.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Corvaja Fabio**

**Esiste una libertà "innominata" da tutelare? Ordinanze sindacali "creative" e libertà individuale in Regioni (Le), n. 1-2 , 33-48**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Mastromarino Anna**

**Gli organi di garanzia statutaria nelle regioni a regime ordinario: uno sguardo d'insieme in Nomos, n. 1-2/2008 , 29-47**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Parmigiani Francesca**

**Il divieto di bivacco e di stazionamento nelle ordinanze adottate dai Sindaci ex art. 54 TUEL in Regioni (Le), n. 1-2 , 333-348**

No abstract available

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



*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*

Lorenzetti Anna

**Il divieto di indossare "burqa" e "burqini". Che "genere" di ordinanze?**  
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 349-366

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*

Giulio Pedrini

**L'analisi economica dell'impatto della regolazione negli Stati Uniti**  
in *Amministrare*, 3, dicembre , 29-460

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*

Cassatella Antonio

**L'obbligo di motivazione delle "nuove" ordinanze a tutela della sicurezza urbana previste dall'art. 54, comma 4, del Testo unico degli enti locali: osservazioni critiche**  
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 157-188

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*

Furlan Federico

**La disciplina concreta del potere di ordinanza**  
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 141-156

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9.Local government(s)*

Francesca Trimarchi Banfi

**La gestione dei servizi pubblici locali e la tutela della concorrenza**  
in *Amministrare*, 3, dicembre , 339-372

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Trimarchi Banfi Francesca

**La gestione dei servizi pubblici locali e la tutela della concorrenza**

in *Amministrare*, n. 3 , 339-372

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Magrassi Mattia

**Le c.d. "ordinanze anti-kebab"**

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 325-332

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

De Martin Gian Candido

**Le funzioni amministrative delle Regioni e degli enti locali dopo la legge n. 42/09**

in *Amministrare*, n. 3 , 485-494

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Gian Candido De Martin

**Le funzioni amministrative delle Regioni e degli enti locali dopo la legge n. 42/09**

in *Amministrare*, 3, dicembre

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Guazzarotti Andrea

**Le ordinanze dei Sindaci in materia di sicurezza urbana: quale ruolo assume la riserva di legge?**

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 83-92

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Ruggiu Ilenia

**Le ordinanze dei sindaci ex art. 54 TUEL in tema di bevande alcoliche e tossicodipendenza  
in Regioni (Le), n. 1-2 , 299-308**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Busatta Lucia

**Le ordinanze fiorentine contro i lavavetri  
in Regioni (Le), n. 1-2 , 367-384**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Lorenzetti Anna

**Le ordinanze sindacali e il principio di uguaglianza: quali garanzie?  
in Regioni (Le), n. 1-2 , 93-112**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Mazzarella Marco, Stradella Elettra

**Le ordinanze sindacali per la sicurezza urbana in materia di prostituzione  
in Regioni (Le), n. 1-2 , 237-276**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Tega Diletta

**Le ordinanze sindacali: un nuovo caso di glocalism?  
in Regioni (Le), n. 1-2 , 113-122**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Carrer Matteo

**Le ordinanze sul decoro urbano**

**in Regioni (Le)**, n. 1-2 , 309-324

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Erminia Barbara, Santolini Raffaella

**Local Expenditure Interaction in Italian Municipalities: Do Local Council Partnerships Make a Difference?**

**in Local Government Studies**, Vol. 36, issue 5 , 655 - 677

This paper investigates interdependence among local councils in Italy in their public spending and distinguishes between possible sources of this interdependence. We find significant positive interaction among neighbouring local councils in regard to both spending at the level of total expenditure and spending on different sub-categories. Attempts to identify the source of this horizontal interaction seem to reject the yardstick competition hypothesis. Addressing the role that local council partnerships may play in internalising fiscal externalities, we suggest that expenditure interaction may be driven by spill-over

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Satoshi Shimizutani

**Local Government in Japan: New Directions in Governance toward Citizens' Autonomy**

**in Asia Pacific Review**, Volume 17 Issue 2 , 99 - 117

Local autonomy is a fundamental base for making democracy work, and is often referred to as a "school in democracy." However, in Japan to date, local autonomy has suffered from a substantial gap between what it should be in an ideal form and what it has been in reality. This article explores a desirable and effective reform of local governance with the advent of the "local era," which is prompting unprecedented levels of citizens' attention to local authorities.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Bochel Hugh, Bochel Catherine

**Local Political Leadership and the Modernisation of Local Government**

**in Local Government Studies**, Vol. 36, issue 6 , 723 – 737

Political leadership has been a key element of central government's attempts to 'modernise' local government over the past decade, within a discourse that emphasised 'strong' and 'visible' leadership and the role of leaders and leadership in driving change within local authorities. In the context of such an approach, and also taking account of academic discourse, this article draws upon interviews with nearly thirty individuals in leadership positions in local authorities in



England, Scotland and Wales to assess their experiences of leadership and their views of some aspects of the role and work of councils. It suggests that whilst there is broad convergence between the aspirations of government and the narratives that emerge from these leaders on some aspects of local political leadership, there are also differences, perhaps most notably over the relationship between changes to decision-making structures and the loci of political power.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Lawrence Roger

**Metaphors of Governance in Central and Eastern Europe: Multi-level, Asymmetrical or Variable Geometry?**

**in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, issue 6 , 785 – 801**

Theories of multi-level and network governance have been applied to changes derived from processes of Europeanisation. These theories reflect vertical and horizontal interdependencies which may erode the power of the central state vis-a-vis supra-national and regional layers of governance. This paper suggests that through the enlargement process institutional adaptation has been uneven and led to the creation of a democratic deficit. It suggests that metaphors of asymmetry or variable geometry better reflect the reality of fluidity and dynamism in the distribution of powers at differing territorial levels in accession states.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Van den Brande Karoline, Happaerts Sander, Bruyninckx Hans

**Multi-level interactions in a sustainable development context: different routes for Flanders to decision-making in the UN commission on sustainable development**

**in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 21, Issue 1, January-February , 70-82**

This article focuses on how subnational governments try to be part of the global sustainable development debate. In particular, it looks at the Belgian subnational government of Flanders and decision-making in the UN Commission on Sustainable Development. Subnational entities, such as Flanders, are not directly represented in global multilateral organizations and thus need to find other ways if they want to be involved. Yet, those organizations play an important role, for example with regard to agenda-setting and the formulation of global sustainable development goals. Starting from a multi-level governance perspective, we use a typology of four routes, along the dimensions intra- and extra-state and intra- and extra-European, that subnational governments have at their disposal. In each of those routes multiple interactions take place between different levels of government. We show that the Flemish government has most extensively used intra-state routes, first and foremost because of the constitutional opportunities it has within the Belgian institutional context. Extra-state routes that bypass the state are used less, because greater access is possible through the state and because those routes require a higher investment in financial and human resources. A direct consequence of the use of the intra-state routes is the important role that has to be ascribed to the interactions between the Flemish and the federal level of government. Those interactions are steered by specific intra-Belgian arrangements and shape how Flanders can be involved.

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





*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Lassalle Marine de

**Multilevel governance in practice: Actors and institutional competition shaping EU regional policy in France in French Politics**, Volume 8, Issue 3, September, 2010 , 226–247

In order to analyze multi-level governance in practice, this article presents the initial results of an empirical study on EU policy officers in French local authorities. This research shows the limits of theories that claim that the development of this group is an essential channel of Europeanization processes. Owing to their specialization and claim of a specific competence, these professionals tend to hold a monopoly over the dissemination of specifically European standards and skills. My analysis also nuances the hypothesis of their multi-level mobility and the ability of these agents to promote significant exchanges between government levels. Lastly, by emphasizing the constraints of this intermediation activity, I highlight a largely unexplored point in research on interinstitutional mediation: the situations of ‘double bind’ to which these positions tend to lead and that prevail in the agents’ practices.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

De Ceuninck Koenraad, Reynaert Herwig, Steyvers Kristof, Valcke Tony

**Municipal Amalgamations in the Low Countries: Same Problems, Different Solutions**  
in **Local Government Studies**, Vol. 36, issue 6 , 803 – 822

Municipal amalgamations in Belgium took place some time ago and the local council elections of 8 October 2006 marked the thirtieth anniversary of this thorough overhaul of the local administrative landscape. The municipal amalgamations of 1976 were undoubtedly the biggest reform the local level in Belgium has ever faced. The Netherlands also underwent municipal amalgamations, but there the amalgamation process followed a different pattern, taking longer, with discussions conducted in a different way. This article examines the principal similarities and differences between these two countries with regard to municipal amalgamations. The first part of the article looks at the different scales of local government in several European countries; in the sections following, the Belgian and Dutch experience with municipal amalgamations is discussed in greater detail. In the last section an attempt is made to answer the question of why the processes in the two countries were so different.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Petrow Stefan

**Municipalisation in Australia: The Case of Launceston 1880–1914**

in **Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 56, Issue 4, December , 521-539

This article expands upon the crucial role of the state in the provision of infrastructure in late-nineteenth century Australia by examining the hitherto overlooked role of local government, and in particular, the provision of municipal services in Launceston, Tasmania’s second largest city. From the 1890s, socialist groups across Europe actively sought to control councils, believing “good” local government the key to social reform. Municipalisation in Tasmania had more pragmatic origins. Colonial governments encouraged local-level service provision to prevent the draining of their own



finances. In Launceston an ideological element occasionally surfaced. But municipalisation was driven by resentment of a neglectful Tasmanian government, by the desire to modernise the town, by intent to secure new sources of revenue, and by the strong civic pride of businessmen.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Rossi Stefano

**Note a margine delle ordinanze sindacali in materia di mendicITÀ**

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 1-2 , 277-298

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Cornelli Roberto

**Ordinanze e sicurezza urbana: il background criminologico**

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 1-2 , 419-428

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Strazzari Davide

**Per una cultura istituzionale dell'antidiscriminazione: margini e opportunità di intervento dell'Ufficio Nazionale Antidiscriminazioni Razziali nel contesto delle ordinanze sindacali in materia di sicurezza urbana**

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 1-2 , 219-236

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Serritzlew Søren, Blom-hansen Jens, Skjæveland Asbjørn

**Portfolio Allocation or Policy Horizons? Determinants of Coalition Formation in Danish Local Government**

in **Local Government Studies**, Vol. 36, issue 6 , 843 – 866

It is widely assumed that policy considerations are important when parties form government coalitions. But if this is so, and if coalitions are negotiated in multi-dimensional policy spaces with no majority parties, then a rapid turn-over of coalitions should be observed, cf. the chaos theorem. However, we rarely witness this. Here we analyse two of the most prominent theories that address this puzzle: Laver and Shepsle's portfolio allocation model; and Warwick's policy



horizon hypothesis. We do not analyse the 'usual suspects' (i.e. national government formations in Europe), but present a new empirical testing ground: Danish local governments. We rely on Laver and Shepsle's Winset programme to identify 'strong parties' in the portfolio allocation model but develop a new measure of Warwick's policy horizons that better deals with problems of multi-dimensionality. In a conditional logit analysis of survey data from 3000 local councillors, we find support for the policy horizons model, but not for the portfolio allocation model

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Grotto Marco**

**Potere di ordinanza e diritto penale sostanziale**

**in Regioni (Le)**, n. 1-2 , 397-418

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Pellizzari Silvia**

**Poteri di ordinanza, sicurezza urbana e sindacato del giudice amministrativo**

**in Regioni (Le)**, n. 1-2 , 189-202

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Righettini Maria Stella**

**Quarant'anni dopo. La Regione Veneto e il suo management**

**in Amministrare**, n. 3 , 373-428

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Markku Sotarauta**

**Regional development and regional networks: The role of regional development officers in Finland**

**in European Urban and Regional Studies**, Volume 17, No. 4 , 387-400

People responsible for regional development often understand fairly well the need to construct regional advantage and build clusters. They also know the importance of industry—university interaction and they have been taught to respect innovation systems and to build them. But what they have not been given much advice on is how to do it — how to create networks for these purposes, how to direct and maintain them, how to lead complex policy networks. Network management, or leadership in networks, in the context of regional economic development is a black box not only for



practitioners but for academics too. The research questions discussed here are: a) what do regional development officers actually do in the early 21st century to gain influence in policy networks, and hence in their efforts to promote regional development, and b), related to the first question, what are the key processes in their efforts to mobilize policy networks and guide them. The empirical research is based on data gathered through 41 interviews with Finnish actors responsible for the promotion of regional development at different levels of regional development activity

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

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**Simonati Anna**

**Sicurezza urbana e ordinanze dei sindaci: quale coordinamento tra sindaco e forze di polizia?  
in Regioni (Le)**, n. 1-2 , 203-218

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Denita Cepiku<sup>1</sup>, Riccardo Mussari**

**The Albanian approach to municipal borrowing: From centralized control to market discipline  
in Public Administration and Development**, Volume 30, Issue 5 , 313–327

Local governments (LGs) in transitional countries face pressing infrastructure needs, which, given the severe shortcomings of traditional funding, make a strong case for debt financing. This article explores the case study of Albania, using document analysis and interviews with mayors, civil servants, citizens and investors. We go beyond an analysis of technical aspects (macroeconomic conditions and legal constraints on borrowing) to include 'soft' elements (political and managerial issues, attitudes of key actors), with the aim of highlighting the approach adopted under current policies and the approach that should be adopted. Favorable macroeconomic conditions and the completeness of the legal framework have motivated policy-makers to choose the market model. Their aim is to develop the financial market rapidly; however, the development of sound management systems at the local level is largely ignored. We argue that the role of managerial capacities, public accountability and professional mechanisms is not adequately taken into account. Future policies need to make the best use of some early experiences of public participation and build upon the extensive training in accounting and auditing issues provided to local civil servants in order to exploit other models of municipal borrowing control

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**Kantor Paul**

**The Coherence of Disorder: A Realist Approach to the Politics of City Regions  
in Polity**, Volume 42, Issue 4, October , 434–460

Although study of political cooperation has yielded valuable insights about city region governance, this approach achieves less understanding of its actual practice. Viewing it mainly as a struggle to achieve political cooperation neglects how local governments sometimes find other ways of pulling together. A realist perspective uncovers how local



governments pursue collective action despite limited political cooperation. Taking cues from theories of international politics, a framework for realist analysis of metropolitan areas is fashioned. It focuses on identifying processes of coordination and their political, economic and social structural linkages. This approach reveals enduring patterns of governance in support of de facto regional politics and policies. The framework is illustrated by the case of the New York tri-state region where a two-tier system of coordination having distinct policy biases is found in the region's fragmented politics. The usefulness of this framework for the comparative study of urban regional politics is suggested.

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*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Graeme Smith

**The Hollow State: Rural Governance in China**

*in China Quarterly (The)*, Volume 203, Sep. , 601-618

Over the last decade, rural township governments have been subjected to intensive streamlining and rationalization programmes. This article examines which ongoing reforms and processes are causing township governments to become "hollow shells," and explores the effects of "hollowing out" on township government leaders, staff and rural residents. While the aim of local government reform was to transform extractive township governments into "service-oriented" agencies, this article finds that the current logic of rural governance has produced township governments which are squeezed from above and below. From above, township leaders face the political imperatives of inspections, annual assessments, the need to attract industrial investment and an ongoing process of "soft centralization" by higher levels of government. From below, township staff are drawn out to the villages to enforce family planning policies and maintain social stability. Unprecedented numbers are working as "sent-down cadres" in villages where their capacity to deliver services has been weakened by village amalgamations and the lifting of agricultural taxes and fees. Despite significant boosts to rural health and education investment, rural residents still face a level of government that regards them as problems to be dealt with, rather than citizens to be served.

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Kuindersma Wiebren, Boonstra Froukje G

**The changing role of the state in Dutch regional partnerships**

*in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 28, Issue 6, December , 1045-1062

We address the changing relationship of the state vis-à-vis regional partnerships on issues of state policy performance, partnership legitimacy, and the role and position of the state. Theoretical expectations regarding these issues differ greatly according to whether a state-centric or a society-centric perspective is adopted. A general case study of Dutch area-based rural policy (1988 – 2008) reveals that changes predominantly lean towards the state-centric perspective. These changes include an increased usage of regional partnerships as state instruments, an improved democratic anchorage of regional partnerships, and a continuation of the state's privileged position. An embedded case study shows that individual partnerships can continue to develop in other directions and can institutionalise into largely self-organising partnerships. We conclude by showing that regional partnerships can serve as state instruments, provided that a certain degree of self-organisation is possible. Overregulation of regional partnerships could eventually



undermine their overall performance.

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Young Robert F.

**The greening of Chicago: environmental leaders and organisational learning in the transition toward a sustainable metropolitan region**

in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 53, Issue 8, December , 1051-1068

Urban sustainability literature calls for new governance relations to support green urban agendas. Privileging non-hierarchical relations, this literature fails to address the means by which organisations create these capacities. The author interviewed public, private and community environmental leaders in metropolitan Chicago regarding their disposition toward creating boundary spanning organisations (BSOs) in addressing the City's Environmental Action Agenda. Their responses reflect engaged efforts to enhance cross-boundary sharing of information, resources, and power. However, they also reflect the decisive role of central authority in initiating this process. These findings suggest the complexity of urban governance in transitions toward sustainability and the opportunities they provide to explore the implications of on-the-ground practice.

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

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Palma Giuseppe

**Un tentativo di ricostruzione del potere municipale nella funzionalità del sistema delle autonomie politiche**  
in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 19

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Aimo Piero

**Un'istituzione "debole": l'ente Provincia nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento**

in *Amministrare*, n. 3 , 229-246

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Hajnal Zoltan L., Trounstine Jessica

**Who or What Governs?: The Effects of Economics, Politics, Institutions, and Needs on Local Spending**

in *American Politics Research*, Vol. 38, n. 6, November , 1130-1163



The core question driving the study of local politics is—who or what governs local democracy? After decades of study, researchers continue to debate the relative merits of economic, political, institutional, and bureaucratic accounts of local democracy. By providing a test that incorporates each of these four different theoretical perspectives, that analyzes major spending decisions that cities make, and that includes a large, representative sample of localities, we offer a systematic examination of local government decision making. We find that each of the existing one-sided stories is incomplete. Economic constraints are critical in determining what a government can do but the overall balance between redistributive, allocational, and developmental spending is also strongly influenced by political imperatives, institutional constraints, and actual needs.

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**Goldoni Marco**

**Belgio: il federalismo che disunisce**

**in Mulino (il)**, n. 6, novembre-dicembre, 2010 , 965-973

In un momento in cui i Paesi come Irlanda e Portogallo sono "osservati speciali" delle istituzioni dell'Unione europea e della comunità economico-finanziaria, sorprende la scarsa attenzione prestata a una crisi come quella del Belgio, che non è limitata alla congiuntura economica, ma è di natura profondamente politica. [...]

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**Roland Gjoni, Anna Wetterberg, David Dunbar**

**Decentralization as a conflict transformation tool: The challenge in Kosovo**

**in Public Administration and Development**, Volume 30, Issue 5 , 291–312

Perspectives are divided on whether decentralization can ease ethnic conflict. This article considers whether asymmetric decentralization reforms in Kosovo have reduced tensions between Kosovo Albanians (K-Albanians) and Serbs (K-Serbs). We argue that because decentralization has been linked to Kosovo's sovereignty in the years after the NATO bombings, during the final status talks, and after independence, it has not achieved intended outcomes throughout the territory of Kosovo. Instead of assuaging tensions and generating allegiance to the central government, decentralization has re-inforced ethnic divisions and strengthened K-Serb ties to Serbia, particularly in northern Kosovo. Concessions to majority Serb municipalities in Kosovo have been seen by K-Serbs as a bribe to buy acceptance of independence, while K-Albanians question their leaders' continued policy of asymmetric decentralization. Since independence, there have been some encouraging developments in southern municipalities, where K-Serbs have participated in municipal elections organized by Pristina. Based on Kosovo's experience, we argue that policy-makers must consider the impact of decentralization reforms at multiple levels of conflict. Further, although we find that decentralization may engage minorities in political processes if reforms are attempted after the establishment of a central government, we caution that it must be combined with policies to encourage interaction and dialogue between ethnic groups if it is to assuage conflict.

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Guibernau Montserrat

**Devolution and Independence in the United Kingdom: the case of Scotland**

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, n. 11 , 56-82

Full text available at:

[http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/\\_reaf11\\_Guibernau\\_tcm112-132306.pdf](http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf11_Guibernau_tcm112-132306.pdf)

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

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Sherlock Ann

**Devolution in Transition in Wales**

in *European public Law*, Volume 17 (2011) Issue 1 , 25–34

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

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Jeffery Charlie

**Devolution: Auflösung des Vereinigten Königreichs?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 49, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/M6D7LQ,0,Devolution%3A\\_Aufloesung\\_des\\_Vereinigten\\_Koenigreichs.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/M6D7LQ,0,Devolution%3A_Aufloesung_des_Vereinigten_Koenigreichs.html)

Inhalt

Einleitung

Devolution als instabile Territorialverfassung

Unsystematische Territorialtradition

Zentrifugale politische Dynamik im Vereinigten Königreich

Ausblick

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

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Miodownik Dan, Cartrite Britt

**Does Political Decentralization Exacerbate or Ameliorate Ethnopolitical Mobilization? A Test of Contesting Propositions**





in **Political Research Quarterly**, vol. 63, n. 4, december , 731-746

ABSTRACT: This article presents the results of an experiment that attempted the reconciliation of opposite expectations regarding the effectiveness of political decentralization on ethno-political mobilization. An agent-based model was run thousands of times to explore the effect of decentralization. The experiments suggest that the impact is nonlinear: weak and medium levels of decentralization increase the likelihood of ethno-political mobilization, while strong decentralization decreases it. The explanation derives from how minority control of political institutions affects the dynamic of minority identity ascription and the realization of the goal or the frustration of ethnic members seeking more complete political dominance of the regional ideational space.

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Trampusch Christine, Busemeyer Marius R.

**Einleitung: Berufsbildungs- und Hochschulpolitik in der Schweiz, Österreich und Deutschland**

in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 16, Number 4, Winter 2010 , 597-615

Politikwissenschaftliche Bildungsforschung hat bislang vier Schwerpunkte: Vergleichende Policy-Analyse, Prozesse der Internationalisierung und Europäisierung, Arbeiten der vergleichenden politischen Ökonomie sowie Studien zu den Effekten von Bildungsinstitutionen und -politiken. Auf der Grundlage einer dichten Analyse der gegenwärtigen Transformation und Reform von Bildungs- und Ausbildungssystemen in der Schweiz, Österreich und Deutschland ergänzen die Artikel- und Forumsbeiträge dieses Sonderheftes diese Perspektiven um drei spezifische Punkte, die in der zukünftigen Forschung zum Wandel von Bildungssystemen vertieft werden sollten: erstens die Untersuchung der Wechselwirkungen zwischen Bildungspolitik und der föderalen Entscheidungsarena, zweitens die Analyse des Einflusses von Machtverteilung und der Dynamik politischer Koalitionen auf Reformen und drittens die Unterscheidung zwischen Reformpolitik und Prozessen des institutionellen Wandels.

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Mohammed Nuruzzaman

**Federalism and State Disintegration - United Pakistan, 1947-1971: Some Historical Lessons for Afghanistan and Iraq**

in **Journal of Asian and African Studies** , Volume 45, No. 5, October

Multiethnic, multilingual and socially divided large states usually, though not always willingly, prefer a federal system of government to build state institutions and promote national integration. Recently, there has been a surge in interest in federalism following the US-led invasions of Afghanistan in October 2001 and Iraq in March 2003. There are, however, both successes and failures in federal endeavors. This article analyzes the underlying reasons behind United Pakistan's (1947—1971) choice of federalism right after its independence in 1947, probes the complex factors that eventually led to the disintegration of Pakistan in 1971, and finally highlights the historical lessons the failure of federalism in United Pakistan holds for Afghanistan and Iraq which are ethnically, socially, culturally and politically diverse and share many of



the characteristics of United Pakistan. It argues that both Afghanistan and Iraq have much to learn from failed federal experiment in United Pakistan if they wish to avert their possible disintegration in future.

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Gromes Thorsten

**Federalism as a Means of Peace-Building: The Case of Postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina**

**in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 16, Issue 3 & 4, July 2010 , 354–374

Abstract

As federalism offers a compromise between a unitary state and secession, it plays a prominent role in agreements on terminating civil wars between ethnically-defined parties to the conflict. This article examines the impact of federalism on peace-building in postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina. It argues that in the chosen case federalism in conjunction with a consociational democracy, peacekeeping troops, and the prospect of integration into the European Union brought about a partial success of peace-building. Although the federal system did not work well, it seems plausible that Bosnia and Herzegovina would be worse off with a unitary state or a partition.

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Suresh Kumar, Abdallah Balasim A.

**Federalism in Iraq: Critical Challenges and Possibilities**

**in Indian Journal of Federal Studies**, 22nd Issue, 2/2010

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Vipiana Piera

**Federalismo demaniale: le vicende successive alla prima attuazione del d.lgs. n. 85 del 2010**

**in Quaderni Regionali** , n. 2

No abstract available

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

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Allersa Maarten A., Ishemoi Lewis

**Fiscal Capacity Equalisation in Tanzania**

**in Local Government Studies**, Vol. 36, issue 5 , 697 - 713

Fiscal equalisation aims at enabling decentralised governments to supply similar services at similar tax rates. In order to equalise fiscal disparities, differences in both fiscal capacities and in fiscal needs have to be measured. This paper



focuses on the measurement of fiscal capacity in a developing country. The current intergovernmental transfer system in Tanzania does not take differences in fiscal capacity into account. As a result, local governments in rich areas are able to generate considerably more revenue per capita than those in poor areas. Public services in poor areas are hard to finance. We propose a way of measuring fiscal capacities of local governments in Tanzania using poverty data. We use this measure to derive an equalisation grant that would support local governments that have a low fiscal capacity

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Tenorio Pedro

**Futuro del estado de las Autonomías**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1343 ff.

No abstract available

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

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Griessen Thomas, Braun Dietmar

**Hochschulföderalismus zwischen Kooperationszwang und Blockadegefahr: Deutschland und die Schweiz im Vergleich**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 16, Number 4, Winter 2010 , 715-746

In diesem Artikel werden jüngere Entwicklungen föderaler Koordinations- und Verflechtungsstrukturen in der Hochschulpolitik Deutschlands und der Schweiz untersucht. Seit rund zwanzig Jahren führen politische und funktionale Herausforderungen, beispielsweise die Anbindung nationaler Bildungspolitik an internationale Entwicklungen im Bildungsbereich, zu Anpassungszwängen hochschulpolitischer Governance-Strukturen. Beide Länder waren aber für strukturelle Reformen relativ schlecht gerüstet: Deutschland litt unter der Schwerfälligkeit seiner föderalen Entscheidungsstrukturen, während die Schweiz gerade in der Hochschulpolitik große Mühe hatte, das Handeln zwischen Bund und Kantonen zu koordinieren. In beiden Ländern wurden bis ins Jahr 2006 grundlegende Reformen der Governance-Strukturen im Föderalismus durchgeführt. Der Artikel untersucht, inwiefern diese Reformen dazu beigetragen haben, die Schwächen in der föderalen Koordination beider Länder zu überwinden. Es wird aufgezeigt, dass sich Deutschland trotz der umfassenden Reformen nur wenig gewandelt hat, während die Schweiz institutionell deutlich verflochtener wird, aber institutionelle Mechanismen etabliert hat, die möglicherweise Entscheidungsblockaden verhindern helfen.

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Camarda Lorenzo

**Il sofferto passaggio da uno Stato centralista ad uno Stato federalista**

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, n. 15 , 1414-1416



No abstract available

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Morand-Deville Jacqueline

**Indivisibilità, diversità e mutabilità dei territori in Francia**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1061-1069

No abstract available

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

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Romano David

**Iraqi Kurdistan: challenges of autonomy in the wake of US withdrawal**

in *International Affairs* , vol. 86, issue 6, november , 1345-1359

ABSTRACT: In August 2010, the United States officially ended the combat mission of its military forces in Iraq and withdrew all but 50,000 of its troops from the country. Iraqi Kurds now contemplate the implications of the looming withdrawal of the remaining 50,000, scheduled for the end of 2011. While Arab–Kurdish relations in Iraq face the risk of serious deterioration, the US military withdrawal will probably not greatly affect the internal politics of Kurdistan. Given the de facto autonomy the region has enjoyed since 1991 and the Kurds’ resulting experience with self-rule, Iraqi Kurdistan never suffered from the post-2003 security and political vacuums plaguing the rest of the country. As a result, no more than a few hundred coalition troops were stationed in Iraqi Kurdistan (and no coalition casualties have occurred there since 2003), with governance and security remaining completely in the hands of the Kurdish authorities.

While important centrifugal tendencies do exist in Iraqi Kurdistan and are discussed here, the region will most likely continue to deal with Baghdad and the rest of the outside world with the united voice it cultivated after 2003. US civilian personnel and advisers will also remain in Iraq after the military withdraws, which offers the possibility of assisting Iraqi Kurdistan to overcome obstacles in order to achieve better, more transparent governance. A continuing American diplomatic engagement in Iraq also offers the possibility of helping Kurdistan further institutionalize its autonomy vis-à-vis Baghdad and neighbouring states.

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Ruíz G., Anguita Susi Alberto

**La reforma estatutaria y legal de los comisionados parlamentarios autonómicos**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 26 , 167-190

No abstract available

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Castellà Andreu Josep M.

**La sentencia del Tribunal constitucional 31/2010, sobre el Estatuto de autonomía de Cataluña y su significado para el futuro del estado autonómico**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 18

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

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Martino Pamela

**Le variazioni territoriali nel Regno Unito: la dimensione territoriale del local government nella Costituzione evolutiva**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1041-1060

No abstract available

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

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Filippini Caterina

**Le variazioni territoriali nella Federazione di Russia e la riduzione dei suoi 'soggetti'**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1004-1027

No abstract available

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

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Pons Parera Eva

**Llengua i immigració a l'Estat autonòmic i a Catalunya: una aproximació jurídica**

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, n. 11 , 352-398

Full text available at:

[http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/\\_reaf11\\_Pons\\_tcm112-132310.pdf](http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf11_Pons_tcm112-132310.pdf)

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Sylvie Mahieu, Serdar Yilmaz

**Local government discretion and accountability in Burkina Faso**

in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 30, Issue 5 , 329-344



Burkina Faso opted for a progressive approach to decentralization reforms, aiming at building local government capacity first before transferring responsibilities. We employ a diagnostic framework to analyze local government discretion and accountability in Burkina Faso. We find that local governments have a very low degree of discretionary power accompanied with weak accountability towards citizens at all levels. In the political and administrative spheres, the center plays a dominant role in local government affairs leaving little space for discretion. In the fiscal sphere, taxing powers are restricted, while transfers are insufficient and unpredictable, making local financial management extremely difficult.

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Tajadura Tejada Javier

**Los convenios de cooperación entre Comunidades Autónomas: marco normativo y propuestas de reforma**  
in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, n. 11 , 206-254

Full text available at:

[http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/\\_reaf11\\_Tajadura\\_tcm112-132311.pdf](http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf11_Tajadura_tcm112-132311.pdf)

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

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Gibler Douglas M., Tir Jaroslav

**Settled Borders and Regime Type: Democratic Transitions as Consequences of Peaceful Territorial Transfers**  
in *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 54, Issue 4 , 951-968

Research arguing that external threats determine regime type has generally failed to provide systematic evidence in favor of the peace-to-democracy hypothesis. We suspect that the lack of confirmatory findings is likely driven by conflating the concepts of negative (absence of conflict) and positive (mutual trust and cooperation) peace. By focusing on territorial issues and the phenomenon of peaceful state-to-state territorial transfers (i.e., peaceful alteration of borders), we are able to observe the effects of replacing territorial threat stemming from negative territorial peace (or territorial rivalry) with the positive territorial peace associated with legitimate, mutually accepted borders. Our findings support the expectations that peaceful territorial transfers remove active and latent territorial threat and lead to demilitarization and democratization. Importantly, peaceful territorial transfers are not endogenous to regime type. Our study therefore supports an alternative explanation for the democratic peace: both democracy and peace may be a function of settling territorial threats.

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Duranti Francesco

**Sulla via dell'indipendenza: il nuovo statuto d'autonomia per la Groenlandia**  
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 957-963



No abstract available

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**The Nigerian federal system: Performance, problems and prospects**

in **Journal of Contemporary African Studies**, Volume 28, Issue 4, October , 459-477

The transformation and centralisation of the Nigerian federation by 'soldiers and oil' has produced contentious and contradictory outcomes. Many influential commentators describe the current centralised system of federalism as a veritable source of, rather than a credible solvent for, the country's multifaceted crises of unity, democracy, and development. A more balanced perspective would distinguish between the system's remarkable achievements in alleviating inter-group political inequality and insecurity, and its conspicuous failures to advance good democratic and economic governance. Ultimately, focused reforms, especially electoral and anti-corruption reforms, will be required to consolidate Nigeria's real successes in mitigating potentially disintegrative ethno-political conflicts and to assuage current agitations for the wholesale restructuring or dismantling of the federal system.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Carter David B.**

**The Strategy of Territorial Conflict**

in **American Journal of Political Science**, Vol. 54, Issue 4 , 969-987

Many empirical studies have found that disputes over territory are central to the outbreak and intensity of the majority of interstate military conflict. However, the existing literature lacks an explicit theoretical link between the role territory plays in disputes and the outbreak of violence as well as an exploration of how the control of territory is related to conventional military capabilities. This article demonstrates that the targets of territorial claims can consolidate their control over disputed territory to improve their ability to fight effectively on it. The empirical analysis suggests that when territory is strategically located, target states are more likely to consolidate their position, while challenger states are less likely to escalate militarily. Furthermore, when the presence of territorial characteristics such as strategic location makes consolidation an effective strategy, target states are increasingly likely to consolidate as they face stronger opponents.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Parrado Salvador**

**The role of Spanish central government in a multi-level State**

in **International Review of Administrative Sciences** , September 2010, vol. 76 No. 3 , 469-488

The Spanish polity has made the transition in the last three decades from a centralized system to a quasi-federal one characterized as having features of a shared power model with overlapping powers among levels of government. The



new system has implied a change in the functions of central government from service delivery to planning and policy design. Enquiring beyond the hierarchy—non-hierarchy role of central government of intergovernmental studies, this article applies control concepts of oversight, mutuality, competition and contrived randomness from grid & group cultural theory in order to empirically examine the evolution of the role of central government in intergovernmental relations. Although the institutional features of the Spanish polity are expected to foster cooperative intergovernmental relations and a brokerage role of central government fostering mutual (peer) relations of the regions, the text suggests that institutional praxis and the ‘youth’ of the Spanish decentralization process are accountable for the direction taken by the Spanish polity. The system is characterized by central government still embedded in the inertia of oversight (with examples of fostering mutuality at times and in some policy fields) and by the regions seeking unilateralism through contrived randomness.

#### Points for practitioners

This text tries to unveil two distinct aspects of central government’s role in intergovernmental relations. First, it crosses the traditional axis (hierarchy and autonomy) between central/federal government and the regions/states when examining intergovernmental relations by including cases of competition and collegiality among the constituent parts. Second, it assumes that early stages of intergovernmental relations are likely to be conflictual regardless of the formal (cooperative) institutional design of the system. By acknowledging this, promoters of decentralization should be aware not only of the formal aspects of cooperation, but also of the informal mechanisms for building up cooperative practices

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

##### *Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Bartu Peter**

#### **Wrestling with the integrity of a nation: the disputed internal boundaries in Iraq**

**in *International Affairs*** , vol. 86, issue 6, november , 1329-1343

**ABSTRACT:** The disputed internal boundaries in northern Iraq between the Kurds and the Arabs have been a persistent fault-line in the state's history and have rapidly emerged as a core dispute since the 2003 invasion of Iraq. The Kurds underwrote, more than any other constituency, the democratic project in the new Iraq and contrived an ambitious constitutional route through Article 140 to place Kirkuk and other disputed areas under the administration of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) by December 2007. Article 140 was designed to resolve the issue in the Kurds favour once and for all, to circumvent yet another tedious negotiation round with the Arabs and to quarantine the Kurdish project from regional interference, particularly Turkey. On all three counts the strategy failed. This is primarily because of the complexity of the issue but there is also evidence of internal Kurdish discord with the strategy concerning the restoration of Kirkuk governorate's boundaries. The years 2007–2008 were a watershed for Kurdish designs to incorporate Kirkuk through a constitutional process and since then the disputed boundaries question has been left in a state of suspended animation.

However, if a negotiating framework were to emerge the contours of a ‘deal’ have begun to crystallize and there is scope to move from management of the issue to resolution. Answers to the questions of when and how will depend on the shape of the complete package, the new government constellation and the extent that Turkey and Iran reveal themselves in the political marketplace.





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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Manfrellotti Raffaele

**I sistema giuridico del Marocco tra centralismo e aspirazioni di decentramento: la prospettiva del diritto dell'ambiente della gestione dei rifiuti e della valutazione d'impatto ambientale**

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 2

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Juppé Alain

**'Yes' to Cancún but 'No' to handicapping the world's poor**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn

Copenhagen wasn't the unmitigated disaster it's portrayed as, and Cancún may yet build on its foundations. But Alain Juppé warns that "green fundamentalists" who advocate limiting economic growth should think again if the world's poorest nations are not to suffer.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21708/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21708/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Grover Leena

**A Call to Arms: Fundamental Dilemmas Confronting the Interpretation of Crimes in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court**

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 21, issue 3 , 543-583

This article seeks to initiate a dialogue within international criminal law (ICL) on treaty interpretation. The state of the art is reviewed and three fundamental interpretive dilemmas are identified and analysed. In the author's view, these dilemmas need to be addressed before a method of interpretation for crimes in Articles 6, 7, and 8 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court can be formulated and operationalized. The 'normative dilemma' highlights how the normative tensions underlying ICL might be perpetuated by the interpretive imperatives in Articles 21(3) and 22(2) of the Rome Statute. The 'interpretive aids dilemma' concerns the respective roles of the Elements of Crimes and custom as aids to interpreting crimes in the Rome Statute. The 'inter-temporal dilemma' pertains to whether these crimes are 'frozen' or are to be interpreted in light of relevant and applicable legal developments. Throughout, the aforementioned dilemmas are grafted onto Article 31 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties to illustrate that they are, at their core, universal problems of interpretation.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Schmid Evelyne

**A few comments on a comment: the UN Human Rights Committee's General Comment No. 32 on Article 14 of the ICCPR and the question of civilians tried by military courts**

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 14, Issue 7, December , 1058-1071

In its recent General Comment No. 32, the UN Human Rights Committee ('the Committee') has addressed the question as to when civilians may be tried by military tribunals. After outlining the most notable aspects of the General Comment, this article analyses the Committee's statements on this contentious issue and traces the negotiation history of the relevant paragraph in General Comment No. 32 on Article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Committee insisted on a two-pronged test. First, whenever a state tries a civilian before a military or another special tribunal, the state party needs to offer the due process standards contained in Article 14 of the Covenant. Secondly, states are moreover required to provide objective reasons to try a civilian in a military court and must show that ordinary courts could not be used. This second condition was one of the most controversial issues during the drafting of the General Comment. This article concludes that claims of a novel and unjustified departure from previous jurisprudence are exaggerated. While the Committee's statements on the use of military tribunals to try civilians are legally well-founded, the article recommends how the Committee could explain and defend its stance in a more robust way if faced with subsequent individual communications.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Crawhall Nigel

**Africa and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples**

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 15, Issue 1, January , 11-36

This article examines the efforts of a transnational indigenous peoples' civil society network to convince African states to support the 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Indigenous peoples' activism with regards the UNDRIP was successful despite the challenges. The author argues that success with UNDRIP was due to the effectiveness of the main African transnational indigenous peoples' network, though there were favourable conditions including a surge of idealism associated with African bloc politics at the United Nations, South Africa's democratisation and focus on human rights, a global awareness of the need for more effective human rights mechanisms for non-dominant peoples and an unwillingness by Africa to forsake the benefits and alliances of the international system. The emergence of an indigenous peoples' movement in Africa represents an evolution of civil society on the continent and the lobbying in favour of UNDRIP was a measure of its capacity. The reactions of African diplomats provide an opportunity to examine Africa's relationship with its own legal and cultural traditions, its openness to pluralist forms of governance and non-state institutions in post-colonial regimes, as well as Africa's relationship with the international human rights system.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*



Waite Prince Neto D.C.B

**An Inquiry into the ICC Appeals Chamber's Exercise of the Power of Remand**

**in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)**, vol. 9, n. 2 , 313-325

ABSTRACT: The ICC's Appeals Chamber (AC) has the authority to review, on appeal, judgments, decisions, orders and the exercise of power by the Pre-Trial and Trial Chambers. The Rome Statute and the Rules of Procedure and Evidence expressly provide that the AC may confirm, reverse or amend matters on appeal, and has the power of remand in Article 81 and Article 83 appeals against decisions of acquittal, conviction or sentence. There is no express power to remand an issue in Article 82 (interlocutory) appeals. This article discusses whether the AC has the power, generally, to remand a matter to Chambers below, thereby not coming to a determination itself. The article concludes by suggesting that the AC has the power of remand, and that it springs from two sources: (1) for appeals generally, the Court's inherent powers and (2) for Article 81 and Article 83 appeals, the Court's Statutory powers in Article 83(2). Therefore, the AC, under its inherent jurisdiction, may exercise the power of remand for Article 82 (interlocutory) appeals.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Driekens Edith

**Beyond Chapter VIII: Limits and Opportunities for Regional Representation at the UN security Council**

**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 7, n. 1 , 149-169

ABSTRACT: Zooming in on the serving European Union (EU) Member States and exploring the legal parameters defining regional actorness both directly and indirectly, this article analyzes the EU's representation at the United Nations (UN) Security Council. Looking at the theory and practice behind Articles 52, 23 and 103 of the UN Charter, we shed fresh light on the only provision in the European Treaties that explicitly referred to the UN Security Council, i.e. the former Article 19 of the EU Treaty. We define that provision as a regional interpretation of Article 103 of the UN Charter and discuss its implementation in day-to-day decision-making, especially as for economic and financial sanctions measures. Hereby, we focus on the negotiations leading to UN Security Council Resolution 1822(2008).

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Hanrieder Tine

**Big Pharma und die WHO**

**in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Oktober, 2010 , 25-28

Die Welt-Aids-Konferenz im Juli verdeutlichte erneut den dringenden Handlungsbedarf bei der Bekämpfung dieser Krankheit – und überhaupt bei der Umsetzung des Menschenrechts auf einen höchstmöglichen Gesundheitsstandard. Zur Verwirklichung dieses Menschenrechts bedarf es insbesondere des Zugangs zu Medikamenten für die von lebensbedrohlichen Krankheiten Betroffenen. Derzeit jedoch sterben jährlich rund zwei Millionen Menschen an den Folgen von Aids, vor allem weil von den geschätzten zehn Millionen Erkrankten nur etwa 40 Prozent Zugang zu einer adäquaten medikamentösen Behandlung haben.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Collins John F.

**Culture, Content, and the Enclosure of Human Being UNESCO's "Intangible" Heritage in the New Millennium**  
in *Radical History Review*, Volume 2011, Number 109, Winter

Cultural heritage, or patrimony, is a technology that transforms people's everyday habits, or culture, into forms of property. Thus in neoliberalism's wake, patrimony has been configured as a source of value essential to development schemes that stress knowledge economies. In this review and extension of anthropological approaches to patrimony, I argue that a vacillation between alienable and inalienable cultural properties constructed around quotidian habits, or what has been construed as some sort of human essence supervised by UNESCO, has come to rest today on a hybrid form of mining and enclosure of human qualities. I thus follow the logic of a rampant commodification under neoliberalism and consider how enclosure may be extended conceptually from analyses of land to the marketing of a peoplehood. My goal in doing so is to suggest avenues for future research on the global production of value and its relationship to struggles for social justice today.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

McCausland Julieta Solano, Rojo Enrique Carnero

**Developments at the International Criminal Court**

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 9, n. 3, 495-555

ABSTRACT: This column covers the activity of the International Criminal Court during the first four months of 2010. The Court has continued investigating alleged crimes in four situations (the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Uganda, Darfur/Sudan and the Central African Republic) and has started investigations in a fifth country (Kenya). The judicial activity of the Court has gained momentum, with proceedings against four accused persons, including ongoing trials against three persons. The commencement of the trial of one more person is pending, and an additional six individuals remain subject to warrants of arrest. Several Chambers have confirmed their previous decisions on the way in which trial proceedings must be prepared and conducted, including the scope of victim participation at trial and the legal framework for non-disclosure of information to the Defence as an exceptional measure of protection during trial. Moreover, the first decision on a Prosecutor's request to open an investigation has been adopted. All in all, during the period of time covered in this column the Court has consolidated the foundations for the conduct of its investigations and trials.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Urquhart Brian

**Die Anfänge der Vereinten Nationen**

in *Europäische Rundschau*, Heft 2, 2010

No abstract available



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Nooruddin Irfan, Lockwood Payton Autumn

**Dynamics of influence in international politics: The ICC, BIAs, and economic sanctions**

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 47, Number 6, November , 711-721

In 2002, the USA asked all countries to sign agreements exempting US citizens from prosecution by the International Criminal Court (ICC) and threatened economic sanctions if they refused. Some countries yielded to this pressure even after ratifying the ICC Statute, while others chose to honor their original commitments. Why were some countries more responsive to US influence than others? This article provides an explanation of state vulnerability to attempts of influence through the lens of economic sanctions. Assessing the success of sanctions is difficult because of the selection bias in the instances of the use of such strategies observed by the researcher. Since all countries were asked to sign such agreements, one can observe exactly which signed, whether sanctions were enforced, and how quickly countries responded to such pressure. Arguments about sources of influence — shared interests, economic and security dependence, and domestic politics — are tested using an original dataset collected on country decisions to sign bilateral immunity agreements (BIAs). The authors find support for some existing explanations, including relative power and the relationship of dependency, while previously held beliefs about alliance and security relationships appear to be less influential on decisions to ratify BIAs. These findings have implications for existing research programs on economic sanctions, international organizations, and power politics.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Escudero Sonia

**For a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly**

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

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

The United Nations Charter, written in 1945 by the victorious states of the Second World War, begins its preamble stating: “We the peoples of the United Nations”. Half a century on, we ask ourselves: We? Which peoples?

An academic perspective

In a thesis recognized in the academic world of international relations, John Ikenberry states that international organisations are the result of a transaction between the victorious countries and the defeated countries of a systemic war. He describes a systemic war as one in which the structure of the international system is replaced, thus modifying its own logic of interaction.

So, after all systemic wars, the victorious countries develop deliberate strategies to maintain their position of relative power. For example, the Great War destroyed “the concert of nations” strategically created in the nineteenth century by Chancellor Bismarck, and structured the peaceful period that followed in accordance with the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Through this agreement, France tried to consolidate its situation of relative success, as compared to its neighbor Germany, by imposing war costs, by forcing them to return territories over which they had historical claims, and



by forcefully restricting Germany's military power.

The same happened towards the end of the Second World War. The victorious countries were the ones that pushed for the creation of an organisation with the objective of avoiding a new systemic war, based on Wilson's League of Nations: the United Nations. Although the objective of preventing a new situation of systemic crisis was by all means ethically commendable, the effect was to perpetuate, to some extent, the immediate status quo. The victors of the Second World War developed an institutional structure for the new organisation based on the desire to maintain the power asymmetry.

In this way, they created the Security Council, with two mechanisms to maintain their relative power: five permanent seats and the right of veto. The Security Council is in charge of deciding and acting on any threat to international peace and stability. Therefore, it is the only body authorized to decide on the use of force.

We have said that John Ikenberry explains the emergence of international organisations as the result of a transaction between the victorious and the defeated countries in a military struggle with systemic characteristics. The question is, what drives the non-victorious countries to enter in a relation which reproduces the power asymmetry at a particular juncture? The answer is the ability to be heard by the international community, in the face of the threat of potential unilateral decision-making, without the possibility of expressing their opinion.

Today, half a century after the signing of the San Francisco Charter, we have an organisation that reproduces an age-old international order. Who would doubt the power of the countries of the G-8, the G-14 or the G-20, for instance?

One of the challenges that the United Nations will have to face in order not to become obsolete is its own reform. The UN is a formal institution, and, in this role, it needs to find a correspondence with the set of practices that, by the force of customs, have become institutionalized but haven't acquired any formality yet (the G-8, the G-14 or the G-20).

#### An empiric perspective

Returning to the beginning, we asked ourselves to whom the preamble of the San Francisco Charter refers when it states "We the peoples". We observed that it alluded to a much more restricted group than its current one: the 50 countries who signed the San Francisco Charter on the 24th of October 1945. Nowadays, the organization is composed of 192 countries. Nevertheless, it was in 1945 that these 50 countries created a mechanism that, 50 years later, neither constitutes nor represents the 192. But, let us think a little about this claim.

Let's see what happens in the main bodies of the United Nations: the Assembly and the Security Council. The United Nations General Assembly is the arena where diplomatic delegations of the 192 member countries interact. It is the main deliberative organ, that formulates policy and, according to the Charter, is "representative" of the United Nations. Nevertheless, diplomatic delegations represent countries and, sometimes, merely governments, not the heterogeneity of the peoples. We should not confuse these two. The diplomatic delegations are in the best of cases representing countries, not peoples. And this is without speaking of the representation of specific collectives, recognized by the Assembly through the so-called "Third Generation" Treaties. Neither are these collectives, i.e. women, native peoples, etc., part of the decision-making process.

What happens at the Security Council? Here we find a selective composition: five permanent members and ten who rotate every two years. Likewise, we can see that decisions are taken by a majority of members, but the five permanent seats are the ones with the right to veto these decisions. We also find that decisions taken in the Security Council are the only ones which are binding. In this way, in accordance with the Charter's famous Chapter VII, the United Nations



Security Council is the only one authorized to call on members to apply economic sanctions and take military action.

So we can ask ourselves whether these five “world policemen” represent the global population. What we can conclude is that little more than 25% of the global population is represented by the Council’s permanent seats. If we restrict this measure to the western population we find that only about 6% is represented at the moment of taking binding decisions about international peace and security, decisions that affect all of us. As a Latin American, I find myself obliged to ask about the “presence” of my region in this Council. And then I find that the percentage is 0%! To what representation do we refer if the indexes of representation are 0%, 6% and, in the best of cases, 25%? It seems we just have to be sorry that the USA, China, Russia, France and the United Kingdom are not Latin Americans, nor Africans, for instance. What continues to prevail is the logic of force over the logic of consensus and constructive deliberation.

#### Towards the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly

It is imperative to undertake an integral reform of the United Nations taking into account that any representative institution, that is to say, any democratic institution, should have a structure that honours this characteristic. We propose a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, composed of delegates elected by the peoples represented in the international community.

To ensure international cooperation, the acceptance and legitimacy of the United Nations, and to improve its ability to act, the peoples should be directly and effectively integrated into the United Nations and its agencies.

A UN Parliamentary Assembly will not be just another institution. As the mouthpiece of the citizens, it would be the expression and the vehicle of the transformation of world consciousness and of the comprehension of international politics in peaceful terms. It is clear that the establishment of such an institution would be a decisive step towards the democratic consolidation of the United Nations system.

#### Actions to support the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly

The Congress of the Republic of Argentina was the first national legislative organ that supported the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. On the 8th of November, 2008, the Chamber of Senators approved a draft authored by myself on this matter, and on the 5th of August, 2009, the Chamber of Representatives passed a similar bill/draft, presented by MP Fernando Iglesias.

Likewise, the Latin American Parliament was the first regional parliament which passed a declaration supporting the constitution of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, on the 5th of December of 2008. These initiatives express the desire of the region to be more actively represented in the United Nations.

#### In Conclusion

Albert Einstein, a highly revered scientist but in particular a skilled analyst of the modern world, sent an open letter to the UN General Assembly, in which he stated: "The method of representation at the UN should be considerably modified. The present method of selection by government appointment does not leave any real freedom to the appointee. Furthermore, selection by governments cannot give the peoples of the world the feeling of being fairly and proportionately represented. The moral authority of the UN would be considerably enhanced if the delegates were elected directly by the people. Were they responsible to an electorate, they would have much more freedom to follow their consciences". Fifty-two years later, we are still fighting for an organisation in which “we the peoples” truly and actively participate.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Pedersen Susan

**Getting Out of Iraq — in 1932: The League of Nations and the Road to Normative Statehood**  
in *American Historical Review*, Volume 115, Number 4, October , 975-1000

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Sunga Lyal S.

**How can UN human rights special procedures sharpen ICC fact-finding?**  
in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 15, Issue 2, February , 187-205

This article explores how information gathered or received by the range of United Nations human rights special procedures investigative and monitoring mechanisms can help to improve International Criminal Court (ICC) fact-finding and sharpen the prosecutor's case. The author focuses on how the ICC could draw upon human rights fact-finding mechanisms (whether of the Human Rights Council or the Security Council), highlighting both limitations and potentialities of various fact-finding special procedures as well as those of the United Nations human rights treaty bodies, field presences deployed by the United Nations Office of the high commissioner for human rights and United Nations or regional peace-keeping operations and NGOs. It is argued that human rights fact-finding mechanisms should focus more on the eventuality of international or domestic criminal prosecutions and adjust their working methods accordingly. On the other hand, the ICC prosecutor should adopt a much more coherent, structured and balanced approach to the use of UN human rights fact-finding sources. The author concludes with a set of recommendations on the optimal relation between human rights and prosecutorial fact-finding.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Keith KJ

**International Court of Justice and Criminal Justice**  
in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 59, issue 4 , 895-910

Despite appearances to the contrary, the International Court of Justice can and does have much to say on matters of criminal justice. This article considers four areas in which such matters arise before the Court: jurisdiction over criminal offences allegedly committed abroad and immunity from that jurisdiction; principles of individual criminal liability and the potential for concurrent State responsibility; issues of evidence and proof; and the Court's review of the exercise of those domestic criminal powers which are subject to international regulation. In the process of addressing these issues, the ICJ has contributed to the development of fundamental principles of criminal law, while drawing on the experience of domestic courts.





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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Chow Jack C.

**Is the WHO Becoming Irrelevant?**

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 185, December

Why the world's premier public health organization must change or die.

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/12/08/is\\_the\\_who\\_becoming\\_irrelevant](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/12/08/is_the_who_becoming_irrelevant)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Della Morte Gabriele

**La conferenza di revisione dello Statuto della Corte penale internazionale ed il crimine di aggressione**

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCIII, fascicolo 3 , 697-752

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Añaños Meza Maria Cecilia

**La consolidación de la paz en el Derecho Internacional**

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 20/ 2010

Peacebuilding is one of the most important UN activities in peace maintenance, which is aimed at reinforcing statehood in countries after conflict. It has a theoretical framework, relies on a legal basis and comprises complex actions in conflict management developed through the UN practice of the last decades. As a matter of analysis, it has been extensively appraised and improved by other social sciences, but not by international law. This paper intends to overcome this shortcoming and encourage a discussion on it. It will deal with the concept of peacebuilding, its development and legal status, including its legal limitations and connected legal problems. Questions of feasibility and necessity, as well as of the theoretical foundation and analysis of cases are excluded from this work

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Sepúlveda Juan Pedro, Riquelme Rivera Jorge

**La reforma del Consejo de Seguridad: una mirada desde América Latina**

in *Nueva Sociedad*, N. 230 , 23-36

Las Naciones Unidas, y en particular el órgano responsable de asegurar la paz en el mundo, el Consejo de Seguridad, han sido blancos de numerosas críticas. Las dificultades para reaccionar a tiempo ante masacres y guerras han



revitalizado el debate acerca de la necesidad de reformar el organismo. A partir de una visión latinoamericana, el artículo analiza los diferentes proyectos y posiciones y los grupos de interés formados en torno de este tema. Más allá de los escasos resultados obtenidos hasta ahora, se concluye que la reforma del Consejo de Seguridad es imprescindible para poner a la organización a tono con los tiempos actuales.

Full text available at:

[http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3738\\_1.pdf](http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3738_1.pdf)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Kévonian Dzovinar

**Les juristes et l'Organisation internationale du travail 1919-1939. Processus de légitimation et institutionnalisation des relations internationales**

in *Journal of the History of International Law*, Volume 12, Issue 2 , 227-266

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Maas Mathias

**Militärischer Interventionen als Mittel der Bearbeitung innerstaatlicher bewaffneter Konflikte. Eine statistische Analyse des Zeitraumes von 1989 bis 2006**

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 20. Jahrgang (2010), Heft 2

The Value of Military Interventions for Intrastate Conflict Resolution  
A Statistical Analysis for the Time Between 1989 and 2006

Theoretically the ability of an intervening actor to end a conflict depends on its capacities to manipulate the decisionmaking process of the warring parties through coercive measures and to establish the socioeconomic and political structures for long-term peace. An analysis of the period between 1989 and 2006 using logistic regression shows that the number of intervention troops, the intervention strategy, actual defensive intervention activities as well as interventions by the UN significantly influence the chance to end a violent conflict, while the power capabilities of the intervening actors as measured by the Composite Index of National Capabilities as well as non-UN interventions do not make a difference.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Bergsmo Morten, Bekou Olympia, Jones Annika

**New Technologies in Criminal Justice for Core International Crimes: The ICC Legal Tools Project**

in *Human Rights Law Review*, Vol. 10, issue 4 , 715-729



No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Dickinson Elisabeth

**New U.N. Report Reveals a Smarter, Healthier -- Yet More Unequal -- World  
in Foreign Policy**, Issue 184, November

On the 20th anniversary of the world's most in-depth country ranking, the U.N. Human Development Index finds that global progress is largely on track. But those left behind are more numerous than ever.

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/04/new\\_un\\_report\\_reveals\\_a\\_smarter\\_healthier\\_world](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/04/new_un_report_reveals_a_smarter_healthier_world)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Ker-Lindsay James

**Not such a 'sui generis' case after all: assessing the ICJ opinion on Kosovo  
in Nationalities Papers**, Volume 39, Issue 1, January 2011 , 1-11

Abstract

For 60 years, the international community has limited the right of territories to gain independence without the permission of the "parent state." Such limits were, however, challenged when Kosovo unilaterally declared independence from Serbia, in February 2008. As a result, Belgrade referred the matter to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). On 22 July 2010, it came back with its long-awaited decision. Taking a narrow view of the question, the majority argued that, in general, declarations of independence, as mere statements, do not violate international law unless stated otherwise by the Security Council. Thus, Kosovo's declaration of independence cannot be considered as being wholly "unique" - as those states that supported its statehood have claimed. On the key questions of whether Kosovo's secession is legal, or if it is even a state, they chose to avoid controversy. On these points, the international community is no clearer now than it was before the case.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Rodley Nigel S.

**On the responsibility of special rapporteurs  
in International Journal of Human Rights (The)**, Volume 15, Issue 2, February , 319-337

While acclaimed for their activities in addressing human rights violations on behalf of the United Nations, the special procedures of the Human Rights Council have also been criticised by UN member states for actions asserted to be incompatible with their obligations. The criticisms have generally been self-serving and unconvincing, but some have had plausibility. The obligations of the special procedures are examined from the perspective of the main documents governing the activities of UN 'experts on mission' generally, as well as those specifically applicable to the special procedures. Existing and proposed channels for dealing with complaints about their activities are considered.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Bell Christine, O'Rourke Catherine**

**Peace agreements or pieces of paper? the impact of UNSC resolution 1325 on peace processes and their agreements**

in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 59, issue 4 , 941-980

On the 31 October 2000 UNSC Resolution 1325 was adopted. The resolution provided for a range of measures aimed at the inclusion of women in the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. In particular, several of the resolution's provisions addressed the role of women and gender in peace negotiations and agreements. This article examines whether and how Resolution 1325 has impacted on the drafting of peace agreements. We analyse explicit references to women and gender in peace agreements from 1990 to 2010, providing a quantitative and qualitative assessment of the extent to which women and gender are addressed. We conclude by using our findings and analysis to address the relationship of feminist intervention to international law, and debates around the strategies and trade-offs which underlie feminist promotion and use of UN Security Council Resolutions in particular.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Naples-Mitchell Joanna**

**Perspectives of UN special rapporteurs on their role: inherent tensions and unique contributions to human rights**

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 15, Issue 2, February , 232-248

This article evaluates the role of United Nations special rapporteurs through a systematic study of the perspectives of mandate-holders. Qualitative interviews with current and former rapporteurs and their assistants reveal that three central tensions inherent in the rapporteur's task give the rapporteur room for individual experimentation. First, the tension between UN affiliation and independent status allows the rapporteur to determine his/her orientation toward the UN. Secondly, the tension between competing obligations to treat sovereign states as partners and as adversaries forces the rapporteur to develop innovative strategies to address national sovereignty. Thirdly, the tension between the universal scope of thematic mandates and the impossibility of realising that scope enables the rapporteur to travel between specific contexts and international norms. The unparalleled autonomy afforded by the position enables rapporteurs to define rights in real time, responding to situations as they unfold rather than after the fact. For that reason, any reform of the special procedures system should preserve the role's unique features. Rather than expend political will on ambitious structural changes, reform advocates should focus on increasing funding, resources, and pressure on states to cooperate.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Golubok Sergey**

**Pre-Conviction Detention before the International Criminal Court: Compliance or Fragmentation?**

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 9, n. 2 , 295-311



ABSTRACT: This article analyses nascent case law of the International Criminal Court on provisional detention at the investigation stage and in the course of trial (together referred to as “pre-conviction detention”) vis-à-vis the standards developed in the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights, being a reflection of “internationally recognized human rights” to which the ICC, according to its Statute, must adhere. At least several instances of presumed inconsistencies are detected. It is argued that international criminal tribunals should above all comply with standards set by international human rights law for domestic criminal proceedings, in particular when the most fundamental and basic human right - the right to personal liberty - is affected. Failure to comply entails a serious risk of hazardous fragmentation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Quintana Juan

**Procedural Developments at the International Court of Justice**

**in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)**, vol. 9, n. 2 , 327-400

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Davies Mathew

**Rhetorical Inaction? Compliance and the Human Rights Council of the United Nations**

**in Alternatives: Global, Local, Political**, Volume 35, n. 4, Oct.-Dec. , 449-468

The Human Rights Council of the United Nations was inaugurated in 2006 to much acclaim. Promising to defuse the tensions that had overwhelmed its maligned predecessor, the Commission on Human Rights, the council is based on the belief that depoliticizing human-rights discussions would enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in the realm of human-rights promotion. This article investigates just what type of compliance pressure the council, particularly through its Universal Periodic Review mechanism, has been able to develop over countries through comparing the genesis and workings of the council to existing accounts of how actors influence each other in international politics. It is argued that the reforms instigated by the council may have shifted the system away from the overt politicization previously experienced, but they have certainly not removed totally the role of state politics in rights promotion. As such, they represent conceptually a middle position, identified by Thomas Risse, known as “rhetorical action.” Identifying this allows for an analysis of the potential success of the council, as existing accounts of this type of compliance pressure have developed “scope conditions” about what the precursors for successful compliance are. Using these conditions, the article concludes that the council's prospects may not live up to the acclaim that surrounded its creation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Alwasil Abdulaziz M.

**Saudi Arabia's engagement in, and interaction with, the UN human rights system: an analytical review**



in **International Journal of Human Rights (The)**, Volume 14, Issue 7, December , 1072-1091

The purpose of this article is to examine the way in which Saudi Arabia has engaged in, and interacted with, the UN human rights system along with its declaratory, promotional, and monitoring mechanisms. This article argues that Saudi Arabia has participated in the creation of the international human rights project and has shown, especially in the last few years, signs of greater adherence to the internationally-recognised human rights standards. An analytical review demonstrates that Saudi Arabia has moved from a limited involvement to a tendency to be part of the international human rights arrangements, as of the mid-1990s. It concludes by making suggestions and posing questions on the influence of the UN human rights system in enhancing progress in human rights in a country like Saudi Arabia.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Herfkens Eveline

**Saving the Millennium Development Goals means scrapping the CAP**

in **Europe's World**, Issue 16, Autumn

Half way through their 10 year timetable for meeting the Millennium Development Goals the G8 countries seem as far away as ever. Former Dutch Development Minister Eveline Herfkens urges Europe to take the lead on reducing global poverty by reforming its Common Agricultural Policy.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Lugato Monica

**Sono le sanzioni individuali del Consiglio di sicurezza incompatibili con il rispetto delle garanzie procedurali?**

in **Rivista di diritto internazionale**, vol. XCIII, fascicolo 2 , 309-342

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Katz Cogan Jacob

**The 2009 Judicial Activity of the International Court of Justice**

in **American journal of international law**, Vol. 104, issue 4 , 605-619

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Keitha KJ

**The International Court Of Justice And Criminal Justice**



in **International & Comparative Law Quarterly** , Volume 59 - Issue 04 , 895 -910

Despite appearances to the contrary, the International Court of Justice can and does have much to say on matters of criminal justice. This article considers four areas in which such matters arise before the Court: jurisdiction over criminal offences allegedly committed abroad and immunity from that jurisdiction; principles of individual criminal liability and the potential for concurrent State responsibility; issues of evidence and proof; and the Court's review of the exercise of those domestic criminal powers which are subject to international regulation. In the process of addressing these issues, the ICJ has contributed to the development of fundamental principles of criminal law, while drawing on the experience of domestic courts.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Hugh Thirlway

**The International Court of Justice 1989-2009: at the heart of the dispute settlement system?**

in **Netherlands International Law Review**, Volume 57, Issue 3 , 347-395

Examination of the work of the International Court of Justice over the period mentioned shows more frequent use of the Court by a wider range of states; a consistent use of the possibilities of advance acceptance of jurisdiction; and some procedural developments, in particular the establishment of provisional measures as imposing a binding obligation of compliance. Some concern is expressed at a trend toward favouring jurisdiction in doubtful cases. The major problem noted is the Court's excessive workload, and a tentative proposal is advanced for easing this.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Watenpaugh Keith David

**The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920–1927**

in **American Historical Review**, Volume 115, Number 5, December , 1315-1339

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Annan Kofi

**The MDGs' 2015 deadline must not be postponed**

in **Europe's World**, Issue 16, Autumn

The deadline for the UN's ambitious Millennium Development Goals is looming large, but their architect Kofi Annan warns against premature pessimism and looks at what is already being achieved. What is needed now, he says, is for political leaders to explain why the MDGs are vital to us all.



[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21712/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21712/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Bernhagen Patrick, Mitchell Neil

**The Private Provision of Public Goods: Corporate Commitments and the United Nations Global Compact in *International Studies Quarterly***, vol. 54, issue 4, december , 1175-1187

ABSTRACT: We examine the commitments of transnational corporations to human rights, labor, environmental, and anti-corruption standards. Modeling commitment as a function of the nature of the firm's business activities and conditioned by neighborhood and audience contexts, we investigate adherence to the principles entailed in the UN Global Compact program by the world's 2000 largest companies. Our results suggest that the decisions to participate in and to take steps to comply with the Global Compact are influenced by the characteristics of the firm as it adapts to its institutional and political environment. Signing up to the program increases the likelihood of firms developing human rights-related company policies and receiving positive external assessments of their performance.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Luck Edward

**The Responsibility to Protect: Growing Pains or Early Promise? in *Ethics and International Affairs***, vol. 24, n. 4, winter , 349-365

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Piccone Ted

**The contribution of the UN's special procedures to national level implementation of human rights norms in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)***, Volume 15, Issue 2, February , 206-231

As independent experts within the UN system, special procedures play a unique role in calling attention to emerging and chronic human rights problems and calling on states to improve their performance in accordance with international law. Yet there is no empirical study documenting what kind of impact they have at the national level. Based on an exhaustive review of nearly 9000 communications by 17 thematic mandates to 174 states, as well as field research and interviews with over 200 experts, our research team concluded that this mechanism plays a direct, positive but uneven role in influencing government behaviour. Lack of state cooperation with special procedures represents the chief obstacle to their work. They are also hobbled by a host of other challenges, including inadequate resources and training, insufficient understanding of the local context for their work, and the lack of a systematic process for following up their recommendations. Despite these obstacles, the special procedures mechanism represents one of the most effective tools of the international human rights system, but needs further strengthening and support.





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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Golaya Christophe, Mahona Claire, Cismasa Ioana

**The impact of the UN special procedures on the development and implementation of economic, social and cultural rights**

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 15, Issue 2, February , 299-318

This article analyses the impact that some of the United Nations special procedures, namely those focusing on economic social and cultural rights (ESC rights), have upon the development of international human rights law, in particular through clarifying the normative content of the rights and the development of soft-law instruments. It also examines the impact of the ESC rights mandate-holders in implementing ESC rights through promotion activities, protection work and country missions and explores modalities for improvement.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Smith Rhona K. M.

**The possibilities of an independent special rapporteur scheme**

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 15, Issue 2, February , 172-186

The independence and impartiality of the special rapporteurs<sup>1</sup> is undoubtedly one of considerable importance to their work. In the context of the special procedures operating under the auspices of the Human Rights Council, a number of questions arise: what is meant by independent; independent of what; why is independence deemed so important; and what are the major barriers to independence? This article focuses on those questions, with particular regard to the role of the Human Rights Council (whose operation is scheduled for review in 2011) then draws together the threads of argument to ponder the implications, particularly for the Human Rights Council, of removing rapporteurs from its jurisdiction.

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*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Subedi Surya P. , Wheatley Steven, Mukherjee Amrita, Ngane Sylvia

**The role of the special rapporteurs of the United Nations Human Rights Council in the development and promotion of international human rights norms**

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 15, Issue 2, February , 155-161

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

&#268;erni&#269; Jernej Letnar

**Two Steps Forward, One Step Back: The 2010 Report by the UN Special Representative on Business and**



## **Human Rights**

in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 11, n. 11 , 1264-1280

Full text available:

[http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No11/PDF\\_Vol\\_11\\_No\\_11\\_1264-1280\\_Articles\\_Cernic.pdf](http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No11/PDF_Vol_11_No_11_1264-1280_Articles_Cernic.pdf)

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Maywald Jörg

#### **UN-Kinderrechtskonvention: Bilanz und Ausblick**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 38, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/Z56ALP,0,UNKinderrechtskonvention%3A\\_Bilanz\\_und\\_Ausblick.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/Z56ALP,0,UNKinderrechtskonvention%3A_Bilanz_und_Ausblick.html)

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Papandreou George A.

#### **A New Global Financial Architecture: Lessons from the Greek Crisis**



in **Mediterranean Quarterly**, Volume 21, Number 4, Fall , 1-6

The prime minister of Greece discusses the causes, dimensions, character, and contributing factors to the current global financial turmoil and points to lessons to be learned from the crisis in his own country. The essay underscores the potential consequences of inattention to emerging threats to financial stability, and warns that no economy is too small to have huge implications for broader economic stability. The author offers concrete recommendations for a new, transparent, and global financial architecture

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Flor Elena

**An International Colloquium on the Initiative Triffin 21 - Towards a World Reserve Currency in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIII, n. 3, November

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

On the 14th of May 2010, an International Colloquium on the Initiative Triffin 21: "Towards a World Reserve Currency", organized by the Triffin International Foundation<sup>1</sup> in co-operation with the Compagnia di San Paolo<sup>2</sup>, took place in Turin (Italy) and gathered policy-makers, central bankers and economists from all over the world.

The Initiative Triffin 21 was launched by the Triffin International Foundation, chaired by Alexandre Lamfalussy, with the aim to contribute to the debate on the reform of the international monetary system. The first step of the Initiative was a lecture given by Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa on "The ghost of bancor: the economic crisis and global monetary disorder"<sup>3</sup> at the University of Louvain-la-Neuve last February. The international colloquium in Turin was the second step of the initiative, with the objective of bringing together different views of scholars and policy-makers, all united by the will of developing a multilateral approach to international economic and monetary issues.

The colloquium focused on two areas which constitute the necessary premise of any reform proposal: on the one hand, the analysis of the non-sustainability of the present monetary arrangements as a systemic root of the current crisis, and, on the other hand, the identification of the rules and requirements of a stable international monetary system.

On the first point the discussion was based on the recognition of the persistence of the so-called "Triffin dilemma". Triffin, back in 1960, identified a flaw at the basis of the use of a national currency, namely the US dollar, as the international reserve currency, basically linked to the impossibility to reconcile the external equilibrium of the US with the creation of an amount of international liquidity sufficient to support the development of international trade. The symmetrical growth of the deficit of the US balance of payments on the one hand and the accumulation of reserves in the emerging countries on the other hand, experienced in the last decade and generally considered one of the problems at the heart of global imbalances, resulted in a net transfer of funds from the developing countries to the developed ones: in other words, the developing countries' savings were financing the developed countries' expenditures.

After the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, the global economy was left without any monetary order: exchange rates were left to the market and, even without a formal global arrangement, the dollar became the international reserve currency. In a sense, after the gold exchange standard and the dollar standard, we have experienced a "fiduciary dollar standard". This monetary "non-system" was the result of individual countries' choices and it gave rise to a broad and



bizarre combination of exchange rate regimes, ranging from monetary unions and hard pegs to freely floating rates.

Currently, there is no adjustment mechanism of global imbalances nor there is a stable anchor for the monetary policy stance of the global standard's issuer. Furthermore, there is no international authority empowered to adopt coordinated (domestic) measures to address the problem.

During the discussion in Turin there was a common acknowledgement that the lack of a monetary anchor with a universally accepted rule and the lack of a mechanism able to ensure the global consistency of national objectives has brought about a recurrent systemic instability with large fluctuations of the exchange rates, repeated episodes of currency and financial crises in the emerging markets and a sharp widening of current account imbalances. Furthermore, in the long run it cannot be politically acceptable and economically sustainable that developing and emerging countries transfer funds to the industrialized ones, while still under-represented in international institutions.

On the second point about the desirable requirements of a stable international monetary system, the considerations emerged during the colloquium pointed to the ruling out of the two extreme solutions: worldwide flexible exchange rates or fixed exchange rates. Both options appear to be unrealistic and undesirable. The former option would be destabilizing, as it would require a fully efficient market reacting to disequilibria in the fundamentals. The latter implies to give up capital mobility and establish a single world monetary policy, namely a transfer of sovereignty from the national level to the international level, that appears to be politically impossible in the foreseeable future.

If the possible solution is not simply one of the above mentioned extremes, other options need to be considered which allow for gradual adjustments aiming at incremental solutions, rather than sharp turns.

During the colloquium, a number of requirements for a future and more stable monetary system were expressed, namely:

- the presence of rules (and incentives) that impose some form of discipline on national economic policies, that are now left to the market only;
- the presence of a global anchor to stabilize inflation expectations. This would replace the use of the US monetary stance, which is determined on national parameters and needs, as a global stance;
- the need to find a solution to the issue of the global (mis-)matching of demand and supply of reserves and to the diversification needs;
- the participation of the emerging countries to the definition of possible solutions and the need to answer to their request for a stronger representation.

Starting from these points, some hints about possible future actions and configurations of the international monetary system looking ahead were put forward.

Particular reference was made to the proposal of the Governor of the People's Bank of China, Zhou Xiaochuan, who, in March 2009, put forward a plan for the use of the SDRs issued by the IMF as a supra-national reserve currency. His proposal included a number of desired reforms, including the need to review and broaden the composition of the SDR basket<sup>4</sup>.

In line with this proposal, a number of measures have been discussed during the meeting in Turin to support the adoption of the SDRs as international reserve currency, consistent with the demand in the international settlements and payments for trade and finance. It is worth noting that there are some obvious similarities between some proposals for



the development of the SDR and the European experience with the development of the ecu.

The first step indicated is linked to the need to make the SDR fully convertible. The IMF and all its members could sign a pact in which they agree to make the SDR fully convertible, which means that a member can exchange the SDR currency mix into a "real" SDR and vice versa. It has also been argued that, in revisiting the composition of the SDR basket, it should be kept in mind that all the currencies included in the basket should be fully convertible.

Secondly, SDR payments and settlements need to be made legal in every IMF member country. There should be a settlement system between the SDR and other currencies, and the BIS (or the IMF itself) could act as the international SDR settlement bank.

On the other hand, it is not perceived as necessary to back the SDR with commodities, as it is already the case for national currencies, and the SDR could coexist with national/regional currencies, which means that each country can continue to enjoy a relevant degree of independence in its monetary policy.

Since the use of the SDR as the internationally accepted reserve currency implies the overcoming of the drawbacks currently linked to the SDR, as it was invented by the governments, and the achievement of a critical mass, it is unrealistic to rely on the private market only. On the contrary, there is common acknowledgment that there must be an organized and top-down approach by the governments. Then, also market players could perceive the SDR as an opportunity, notably as a sort of global hedge due to its basket's composition. Therefore, it is essential that world leaders are convinced that this process is in the interest of both the international system and individual countries.

However, before looking at possible solutions and actions to put in place, it is essential to reach a wide consensus on the two points discussed during the meeting, i.e. the non-sustainability of current global monetary arrangements as sources of systemic instability and imbalances, and the requirements for a more stable monetary system. With this aim in mind, the next step of the Initiative Triffin 21 consists in the stimulation and collection of studies and researches from economists and experts from all over the world, in order to formulate recommendations for national and international policy-makers.

1 A foundation established in the 1990's to preserve the intellectual heritage of the Belgian/US economist Robert Triffin and to address the new problems of our global economy in light of his ideas.

2 An Italian foundation with a strong focus on European and international issues.

3 The full text is available, in English and French, on the website of the Triffin International Foundation  
<http://www.uclouvain.be/fondation-triffin.html>

4 The SDR basket now includes only the US dollar, the euro, the Japanese yen and the British pound and its next review is scheduled for end 2010.

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## **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

### *Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Ghérari Habib, Chemain Régis

## **Chronique OMC 2009: l'Union européenne et l'organisation mondiale du commerce - Règlement des différends**



in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 543, décembre , 677-684

With over 400 disputes settled, the WTO's dispute settlement body proves, if ever needed, its qualities and the extent of the role it plays at the service of the members of that organisation. Indeed it was in 2009, 15 years after the WTO went into operation, that the bar of 400 disputes was reached and promptly exceeded. Such trust shown by WTO members is not the result of chances: the WTO judge has imposed itself firstly as a true court in spite of some features that are disturbing and then developed case law whose balance and delicacy earned its the trust of those so particular parties, WTO members. certainly some of them use that dispute court often and see it used against them: the European Union and the United States are indisputably the leaders in that area; but is that really a surprise considering their respective place in international trade relations. One unknown factor is the change in China's place considering the irresistible commercial rise of that country? From a litigation point of view however, year 2009 will not to be a great year, as there are not many cases, and the cases settled confirm established case law in many respects (in the area of dumping); yet, year 2009 could be more interesting than expected due to the fact that old conflicts that sometimes seemed unending are being settled, at least judging by the agreements signed by the various parties, and that they lead to new prospects.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Kaja Ashwin, Werker Eric

**Corporate Governance at the World Bank and the Dilemma of Global Governance**

in *World Bank Economic Review (The)*, Volume 24 Issue 2 2010 , 171-198

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Quamrul Alama; Mohammad Abu Yusufa; Ken Coghilla

**Does unilateral liberalization promote WTO GATS commitment? Cross-country evidence from the telecommunications sector**

in *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)*, Volume 16 Issue 1 , 29-49

This paper addresses two questions: (1) does unilateral liberalization in the telecommunications sector promote a country's commitments in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and (2) what are the possible reasons for a disconnection between unilateral liberalized measures and General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) commitments? On the basis of interviews with trade and WTO experts and a closer comparison between the GATS commitments and actual policies of the selected WTO members in the telecommunications sector, we argue that unilateral liberalization, in most cases, acts as a push factor and provides the grounds for making multilateral WTO commitments. Apart from unilateral liberalization, a country also requires the achievement of 'sufficient conditions' before agreeing to undertake liberalization commitments under GATS. Furthermore, the study suggests that the desire to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and also to overcome domestic resistance to reform may encourage each WTO member to make higher commitments. Conversely, a countries' intention to remain unconstrained by WTO commitments may induce them to commit at a lower level than their actual level of openness.

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*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Tsingou Eleni

**Global financial governance and the developing anti-money laundering regime: What lessons for International Political Economy?**

*in International Politics* , Volume 47, Issue 6, November , 617–637

The developing anti-money laundering (AML) regime exhibits a specific, non-financial set of policy preoccupations. Yet it is important to examine AML from a global financial governance perspective as the regime essentially imposes controls on the movement of money. This article analyses the political, institutional and regulatory evolution of the regime and argues that it serves to address a need for action on a diverse set of public policy goals (corruption, drug trafficking or terrorism); to relieve financial centres in advanced economies from offshore competitive pressures; and, unintentionally, to shape private sector practices so as to consolidate the position of key market institutions. The article stresses that the achievements with respect to its goals remain modest at best in relation to its ambitions, while important side-effects raise concerns about its role, efficiency and legitimacy. It also examines the possibility that AML has been tacitly accepted as the price for capital mobility.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Sattler Thomas, Bernauer Thomas

**Gravitation or discrimination? Determinants of litigation in the World Trade Organisation**

*in European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 50, issue 2, march , 143-167

ABSTRACT: The strong presence of large countries in World Trade Organisation (WTO) dispute settlement and the absence of very poor ones have raised concerns that increasing legalisation in the global trading system has not diminished discrimination against less powerful countries as much as expected. This article examines dispute initiations in all WTO member state dyads in 1995-2003 to shed more light on this issue. The analysis suggests that the main driver of dispute initiation is a gravitational one: larger economies and bigger traders are more likely to become involved in trade disputes primarily because their economies are more diversified, and also because greater market size makes them more attractive targets of litigation. While evidence is not found for discriminatory effects against countries with small legal capacity, the results of the article point to a more complex form of power bias - namely a preponderance effect. They suggest that disputes among country dyads including a much more powerful defendant than complainant or vice versa are dealt with outside the WTO. This finding is potentially worrying because it is, arguably, easier to reduce legal capacity differences than to reduce power differences.

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Cook Kate, Bowles David

**Growing Pains: The Developing Relationship of Animal Welfare Standards and the World Trade Rules**

*in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 19, Issue 2, July , 227-238



This article looks at the reasons why animal welfare is likely to be an important issue in trade disputes in the future and in the clarification of policy on the World Trade Organization's (WTO's) Article XX exemptions. Trade disputes that are based on animal welfare issues, such as product differentiation, have historically been settled before discussion at the WTO. The growth in legislation based on animal welfare has increased the likelihood of a dispute being considered by a panel. A dispute is likely to look at cultural differences between countries, which is an area that the WTO is increasingly looking at. It is probable that any dispute will see further clarification on the use and limits of the Article XX exemptions and these are explored in the article.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

**Moschella Manuela**

**International financial governance in hard times: tracing the transformations in Contemporary Politics**, Vol. 16, n. 4, December , 421-436

This article reviews the tenets of the intellectual consensus on how to organize the international financial system that came to crystallize at the end of the 1990s and the contestation of such a consensus in the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2007-09. Illustrating the path of ideational transformation from the early 1990s until the present time, the article builds on recent constructivist works in international political economy that take economic ideas held by agents as the principal unit of analysis. In doing so, it brings to the surface both the substantive changes that had taken place in the principles underlying the governance of the international financial system and the dynamics of ideational change. Specifically, the article suggests a shift away from a governance project based on the dispersion of supervisory authority and finds that new policy ideas of regulation and political centralization have all been conceived with negative reference to the past.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Babu Rajesh**

**Interpretation of the WTO Agreements, Democratic Legitimacy and Developing Nations in Indian Journal of International Law**, volume 50, issue 1 , 45-136

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

**Laroche Dupraz Catherine, Postolle Angèle**

**La souveraineté alimentaire en Afrique est-elle compatible avec les négociations commerciales agricoles à l'OMC?**

in *Politique africaine*, n. 119

Née d'une mobilisation collective, l'idée de « souveraineté alimentaire » est pensée comme une alternative globale pour assurer la sécurité alimentaire des populations, en rupture avec la libéralisation de l'agriculture initiée lors de l'Uruguay Round en 1986. Si elle permet de mobiliser et de fédérer les acteurs, sa traduction précise en outils économiques et





politiques s'avère cependant délicate. L'examen du volet agricole à l'OMC montre que les revendications commerciales portées par la souveraineté alimentaire s'avèrent finalement assez compatibles avec l'orientation des négociations agricoles, même si le terme de souveraineté alimentaire n'est pas entré dans les textes de projets d'accord. Les exemples du riz au Niger et du poulet au Cameroun sont mobilisés pour illustrer ce propos.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Major Aaron

**Monetary orders, financial dependence, and idea selection: the international constraints on American Monetary Policy, 1961–1963**

in *Political Power and Social Theory*, Volume 21 , 49-92

Social scientists have increasingly turned to constructivist models to explain when, and how, international and world-level social forces constrain the policy-making autonomy of national states. While constructivists have shown that international ideational processes matter for domestic policy making, they have had a harder time explaining why some ideas gain prominence in policy discussions while others do not. This chapter develops an institutionally centered materialist model of idea selection, arguing that international relations of dependency give actors who control vital financial resources a greater capacity to shape the ideational agenda. This model is explored through a case study of the international sources of American monetary policy in the early 1960s. A detailed examination of archival materials shows that European officials at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development were able to advance their own ideas for American monetary policy because the United States was dependent on European cooperation to help resolve its mounting balance of payments problems.

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Pavoni Riccardo

**Mutual Supportiveness as a Principle of Interpretation and Law-Making: A Watershed for the 'WTO-and-Competing-Regimes' Debate?**

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 21, issue 3 , 649-679

This article focuses on the principle of mutual supportiveness as a key legal tool to address tensions between competing regimes, with specific reference to the articulation of the WTO system with other subject areas protecting essential interests of the international community, such as in particular the right to health, cultural diversity, and environmental protection. It argues that the multiple references to mutual supportiveness found in recent treaties and other legal instruments should not be briskly dismissed as mere political statements devoid of any normative significance. On the contrary, while such reiterated references are important in terms of progressive consolidation of a general principle of international law, mutual supportiveness seems to be characterized by two remarkable legal dimensions. The first is its interpretative dimension, which serves the purpose of disqualifying solutions to tensions between competing regimes involving the application of conflict rules. The second is the law-making dimension of mutual supportiveness which comes into play when efforts at reconciling competing rules have unsuccessfully been exhausted. This dimension implies a duty to pursue good faith negotiations aimed at the conclusion of law-making instruments, including treaty amendments, which clarify the relationship between the competing regimes at hand. This duty is especially important for the ongoing WTO Doha negotiations which call into question non-trade regimes and values, for instance the fair and



equitable use of biological resources under the 1992 Biodiversity Convention. Most importantly, either for its nature as a general principle or for its recognition as a standard internal to the WTO, mutual supportiveness under the guise of a duty to negotiate in good faith would also bind WTO Members which are not parties to the competing treaty regime which needs accommodation in WTO law

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Roberts Anthea

**Power and persuasion in investment treaty interpretation**

in *American journal of international law*, Vol. 104, issue 2 , 179-225

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Alvarez-Jiménez Alberto

**Public Hearings At The Wto Appellate Body: The Next Step**

in *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* , Volume 59 - Issue 04 , 1079 -1098

The WTO Appellate Body has so far authorized public appeal hearings as the exception, not the rule: it is limited to those instances in which the main parties request it. Such authorization constitutes a very positive development for the WTO dispute settlement system, for it enhances the transparency of the system at its highest stage. Indeed, the Appellate Body is becoming a leading actor in the formation of international law owing to the fact that it is the most active international court of the world, the relevance of the issues it deals with and the fact that it is at the apex of a dispute settlement system with permanent and exclusive jurisdiction over 153 States. Nonetheless, it is not in tune with inter-state international adjudication where the trend concerning hearings is, for good reason, geared towards openness and transparency, not privacy, as the rule.

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Berlinschi Ruxanda

**Reputation concerns in aid conditionality**

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 5, n. 4, december , 433-459

ABSTRACT: This paper analyzes the conditions under which reputation concerns induce donors and recipients to respect conditional aid contracts. Donors enforce conditionality if the benefits of improving compliance in future contracts thanks to a tougher reputation exceed the costs of resisting disbursement pressure. The level of conditionality enforcement is optimal if all the costs and benefits of reputation building are internalized by the decision maker. This condition is not satisfied at the World Bank and the IMF, where enforcement is decentralized to country departments which do not internalize the benefits of a tough reputation on other departments. Recipients comply with conditionality if the costs of implementing conditionality are lower than the benefits of securing tranche release thanks to compliance



and obtaining future contracts thanks to a good reputation for compliance. Reputation concerns increase recipients' incentives to comply only if there is some uncertainty on future aid commitments, which is true for successive single-tranche contracts, but not for multi-tranche contracts.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Elizabeth C.

**The Game Changer Economy**

*in Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2010, Volume 89, Number 6

As China's economic might expands, Beijing not only wants a greater stake in international organizations but also to remake the rules of the game.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Fujita Sanae

**The challenges of mainstreaming human rights in the World Bank**

*in International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 15, Issue 3, March , 374-396

The World Bank should mainstream human rights in its operation given the high level of influence it has on many people's lives. In spite of the Bank's tendency to avoid any involvement in human rights issues in the past, it has recently stated that it officially takes human rights into account in its work. This article pinpoints and examines obstacles toward the goal of human rights mainstreaming by the World Bank through the analysis of the Bank's reaction to its critics. Human rights are viewed by the Bank merely as ways and means to development and the Bank's human rights commitments cannot be taken literally. Thus, there is still a gap between its human rights goals and reality.

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Ruckert Arne

**The forgotten dimension of social reproduction: the World Bank and the poverty reduction strategy paradigm**

*in Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 17 Issue 5 2010 , Pages 816 – 839

This article invokes Gramscian theory in an effort to better grasp the reorganization of social reproduction under neoliberal globalization. It argues that recent transformations in the world development order warrant a rethinking of the concept of social reproduction, towards acknowledging the increasingly apparent role of transnational governance institutions in organizing social reproduction processes, particularly in peripheral countries. To substantiate this argument, the article interrogates the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper development approach, the most visible policy tool of the post-Washington Consensus. In the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper process, the World Bank has started to link debt relief administered through the Enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC II) initiative to the delivery of basic social services to the poor, and directly finances human capital investments through conditional cash transfer programs. While conditionalities attached to Bank funding continue to promote the privatization of various state functions



associated with social reproduction, especially in the areas of health care and education, the Bank, at the same time, funds 'social inclusion' programs that directly absorb some of these functions. This signals the emergence of a new social reproduction regime of 'conditional inclusion' under World Bank leadership.

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**Pilkington Marc**

**Transnational Corporations in a Global Monetary Theory of Production: A World-Systems Perspective**  
in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol. XVI, n. 2

ABSTRACT: In this paper, I argue that it is possible to enrich world-systems analysis with a heterodox Keynesian monetary theory of production known as the Theory of Money Emissions, based on the views put forward by the French economist Bernard Schmitt. In the aftermath of the global financial crisis, I aim to rehabilitate and adapt the old Keynesian proposal of an international clearing union to the modern world-system by providing a rationale behind a common world currency and a renewed perspective on money and transnational production.

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**Van Damme Isabelle**

**Treaty Interpretation by the WTO Appellate Body**  
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 21, issue 3 , 605-648

This article analyses how the Appellate Body in practice expresses its interpretation of the WTO covered agreements, and discusses whether the Appellate Body's hermeneutics is different from that of other international courts and tribunals. It shows that it is impossible to discern the Appellate Body's hermeneutics from the practical exposition of how it interprets treaties. It also addresses the alleged particularity of the Appellate Body's hermeneutics. The key thread is the function of treaty interpretation in the development of the judicial function in the WTO. From the outset, the Appellate Body made the conscious choice to function as if it were a court. This exercise of the judicial function relates to the tasks and powers of the international judge and transcends the mere mandate and context of a particular court or tribunal as established in its constitutive document and other procedural rules. The Appellate Body's use of principles of interpretation has been instrumental in making acceptable its early choice to function as a court and to build its judicial identity. After 15 years of jurisprudence, the response of WTO members and the broader audience for the Appellate Body's decisions shows general acceptance of this initial, but perhaps not unavoidable, choice and the strategy to achieve this objective. In turn, this response has prompted less formalism in the Appellate Body's recent interpretations of the WTO treaties

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**Helleiner Eric**

**What Role for the New Financial Stability Board? The Politics of International Standards after the Crisis**  
in *Global Policy*, Volume 1, Issue 3, October, 2010 , 282-290



Created in April 2009, the Financial Stability Board (FSB) represents the G20 leaders' first major international institutional innovation. Why was it established and what role will it play in global economic governance? The creation of the FSB has been linked to a US-led effort to strengthen an international prudential standards regime that had evolved in the years leading up to the 2007–08 global financial crisis. The FSB faces a number of serious challenges in its new role: developing effective mechanisms for monitoring and encouraging compliance; promoting the development of effective international standards and fostering consensus on their content; establishing its legitimacy vis-à-vis non-members and within member countries; and clarifying its relationship with other global governance institutions. Since these are very difficult tasks, the FSB may be forced to assume a less ambitious role in international regulatory politics than some of its creators initially envisioned.

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Hoekman Bernard, Messerlin Patrick

**What's needed is a WTO for services**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn

The EU should take the lead and help create a new body tasked with liberalising world trade in services say Bernard Hoekman and Patrick Messerlin. To do so would kick-start and also stabilise economic recovery around the world.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21776/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21776/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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Shankar Jha Prem

**When emerging markets will define the new international order**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn

As China's economic weight and its control of western debt grows, Prem Shankar Jha asks whether the West's creditors will soon begin to turn their economic and financial muscle into political power?

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21721/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21721/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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Keating Joshua E.

**Why Do Currency Wars Start?**

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 183, October



[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/14/how\\_will\\_we\\_know\\_when\\_the\\_currency\\_war\\_starts](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/14/how_will_we_know_when_the_currency_war_starts)

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Christian Kelly

**Worth Keeping Around? The United States' Biofuel Policies and Compliance with the World Trade Organization in Georgia** *Journal of International and Comparative Law* , Volume 38, Number 1, 2010 , 165-204

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Bickerton Christopher

**'Oh bugger, they're in the tent': British responses to French reintegration into NATO** in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 1, March , 113-122

This article looks at the British response to the French decision to re-integrate into the military structures of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance. It outlines the official Whitehall position, expressed by officials within the British Ministry of Defence, that welcomes the decision as a sign that France has strategically converged onto the British position as outlined in the UK 1997/8 Strategic Defence Review. An alternative view, set out by prominent members of the British establishment and supported by the work of think tanks, notes that the most striking feature is the lack of any coherent British response. This view emphasises the ad hoc nature of contemporary British defence policy, its lack of strategic reflection and the prominence of many unanswered questions vis--vis British defence policy more generally. The article ends by suggesting that contemporary Franco-British defence cooperation is likely to be dictated more by the pragmatic requirements of budgetary stringency than power political considerations.

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Williams Michael

**(Un)Sustainable Peacebuilding: NATO's Suitability for Postconflict Reconstruction in Multiactor Environments** in *Global Governance*, vol. 17, n. 1, january-march , 115-134

ABSTRACT: Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO has progressively adapted itself to the new strategic environment. This has meant a shift from a defensive posture to a more proactive risk management strategy. A key component of this mandate is contributions to international peacemaking and peacebuilding operations. In both the Balkans and Afghanistan, NATO has worked to utilize its military assets to create and maintain peace so that civilian organizations can administer aid, development programs, and good governance projects. These multifaceted operations, however, are complex and rely on well-structured relationships between the different civilian-led international organizations on the ground and NATO. Sadly, as the case of Afghanistan illustrates, these organizations have proved woefully inadequate in terms of providing sustainable peacebuilding. The hypothesis is that international organizations do not play well on the ground in conflict or postconflict environments because they were



meant to manage a balance of power, rather than an absence of power. These organizations are more worried about their bureaucratic turf than they are sustainable outcomes.

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Sierra Pardo Oscar

**A corridor through thorns: EU energy security and the Southern Energy Corridor  
in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 4, December , 643-660**

The Southern Energy Corridor (SEC), which aims to link Caspian Basin and potentially Middle East gas supplies to Europe, is one of the EU's six priority axes of energy infrastructures. Drawing on the external governance literature, the article provides an analysis of the EU's efforts in the wider Black Sea area to increase its energy security. It concludes that despite difficult domestic and geopolitical obstacles, the EU is pushing forward its objective to establish the SEC. However, the EU's institutionalised governance, with the incentives derived from close cooperation, has been a necessary condition of impact, but not sufficient. The SEC builds upon the east-west pipelines supported by the USA in order to prevent the Russian control over the Caspian Basin supplies. If the SEC is possible it is mainly because of the path-dependent processes created by those pipelines, which linked the international position of Azerbaijan and Georgia to their transit role between the Caspian Sea and Europe.

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Binnendijk Hans, Kugler Richard

**A plan to blunt the impact on NATO of European defence cuts  
in *Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn**

NATO's European allies are set to make swingeing cuts in their defence budgets. Hans Binnendijk and Richard Kugler set out an 8-point plan for ensuring that austerity policies do not weaken NATO and endanger transatlantic relations.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21724/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21724/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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Varwick Johannes

**Das neue strategische Konzept der NATO  
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50, 2010**

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/D98FDL,0,Das\\_neue\\_strategische\\_Konzept\\_der\\_NATO.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/D98FDL,0,Das_neue_strategische_Konzept_der_NATO.html)



Inhalt:

Einleitung

Entwicklung der NATO-Strategie

Weg zu einem neuen Konzept

Zentrale Inhalte des neuen Konzepts

"NATO 3.0"?

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**Fleuriot Caroline**

**Dimension humaine**

**in Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Novembre

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2010/11/FLEURIOT/19869>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Fleuriot Caroline**

**Dimensione Humaine**

**in Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Novembre

Taboue dans les relations Est-Ouest, la question des droits de l'homme est abordée par la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe (CSCE) en 1975. L'Acte final d'Helsinki (Finlande) du 1er août consacre cette évolution décisive. Ainsi le professeur de droit Emmanuel Roucouas, de l'université d'Athènes, estime-t-il que, « depuis que le document de clôture de la réunion de Vienne [en 1989] établit la "dimension humaine", les droits de l'homme se répandent partout dans les instruments de la CSCE (1) ». Avec le processus d'Helsinki, les droits humains sont reconnus comme un des éléments fondamentaux d'une nouvelle conception de la sécurité continentale.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2010/11/FLEURIOT/19869>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**De Neve Alain**

**Diplomatie silencieuse**

**in Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Novembre





[http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2010/11/DE\\_NEVE/19870](http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2010/11/DE_NEVE/19870)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Gheciu Alexandra

**Divided Partners: The Challenges of NATO-NGO Cooperation in Peacebuilding Operations**

in *Global Governance*, vol. 17, n. 1, january-march , 95-113

ABSTRACT: In this article, I examine the challenges associated with the cooperation between NATO and nongovernmental organizations in peacebuilding operations.

I argue that those challenges need to be understood as part of a process of contestation and competition over the redefinition of the "rules of the game" in the changing domain of peacebuilding. This process of contestation, I suggest, can significantly undermine NATO's ability to contribute to sustainable peacebuilding in war-torn countries.

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Morillas Pol, Carnicero Urabayen Carlos

**Europa y EE UU: hacia una relación pragmática**

in *Política Exterior*, 139 - Enero / Febrero 2011

Afganistán, Irán y Oriente Próximo son ejemplos de lo que podría aportar la actuación conjunta entre EE UU y Europa. El Tratado de Lisboa permite una política exterior europea dinámica, pero hace falta una Europa pragmática capaz de relanzar la relación transatlántica. Frente a lo que muchos predijeron, la llegada de Barack Obama al poder en Estados Unidos en enero de 2009 no se ha traducido en un relanzamiento de la relación transatlántica

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Pesme Frédéric

**France's 'return' to NATO: implications for its defence policy**

in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 1, March , 45-60

President Sarkozy's decision to bring France back into NATO's integrated military structure was logical from a military standpoint, since France was heavily involved in the missions of the Alliance, without occupying the corresponding positions of responsibility. France has made major efforts to restructure its defence tool and thus, all the capabilities it will provide to NATO gives the country some legitimacy to wish a renewed Alliance, rational and credible. But so far, France still continues to support the Common Security and Defence Policy as it continues its reintegration with NATO. This article examines this seemingly contradiction in French security policy.

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Fortmann Michel, Haglund David, von Hlatky Stéfanie



### **France's 'return' to NATO: implications for transatlantic relations**

**in European Security**, Volume 19, Number 1, March , 1-10

The paper looks at France's return to NATO, looking at the impact of its ongoing reintegration in the alliance's military structure from a strategic, a political and an operational perspective. We address three main questions: (1) How will France's reintegration affect other NATO countries? This question will be answered from the perspectives of Canada, the UK, Germany and the United States; (2) How will France cope with the transition? French experts will assess the French debate on NATO, the operational dimension of France's reintegration of the command structure and France's role in transatlantic relations; (3) How will the decision affect the future prospects for allied action? This question will be addressed by looking at the nuclear dimension of NATO, burden-sharing, NATO's transformation and the impact of France's reintegration on European defence.

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**Irondelle Bastien, Mérand Frédéric**

#### **France's return to NATO: the death knell for ESDP?**

**in European Security**, Volume 19, Number 1, March , 29-43

Our article focuses on the likely impact of France's return to NATO's integrated military command on the future of the European security and defense policy (ESDP). First, we describe the triangular relationship between France's defense, NATO and European defense policies that dominated the era of the Gaullist-Mitterrandist consensus (1958-95) and its gradual erosion under Jacques Chirac's tenure (1995-2007). Second, we explain the context in which President Sarkozy made the decision in 2007 to rejoin the Allied military command. Relying on interviews with French foreign and defense policy-makers, we address the extent to which ESDP considerations really played a role. Finally, we develop four scenarios for the future of European defense: (1) ESDP gets a new lease of life; (2) France becomes a normal player in a NATO-dominated Europe; (3) NATO and ESDP work out of a division of labor; and (4) France becomes the Trojan horse of European cooperation inside NATO. To develop each scenario, we rely on rationalist and constructivist mechanisms drawn from International Relations theory.

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**Hoffman David E.**

#### **Global heroes**

**in Foreign Policy**, Issue 184, November

How the Cold War's wise men went anti-nuclear.

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/29/global\\_heroes](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/29/global_heroes)

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Haglund David G.**



**Happy days are here again? France's reintegration into NATO and its impact on relations with the USA**  
in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 1, March , 123-142

This paper's title, invoking as it does the optimism of Franklin D. Roosevelt's theme song during his 1932 presidential campaign, speaks to a growing expectation that a profound change for the better is in store for the Franco-American relationship. That bilateral relationship has long been billed as one between the world's two 'oldest allies', with the unstated assumption being that because they have been such longstanding 'partners' in international security, they must typically interact in a constructive fashion, advancing in the process not only their own respective national interests but also the interests of the greater community (the 'West') to which they belong. The reality of their interaction since they initially became allies (in 1778) is, of course, quite different, and is best characterised by long periods of strategic ennui disrupted by occasional moments of bliss and just as occasional bouts of vehement animosity. Although alliance dynamics have not been the only, or even the chief, source of upset in the Franco-American security relationship, there is no denying that at times the two states have differed bitterly over matters precisely because they have been allies. The Western alliance, for each state though for different reasons, has served as a symbolic referent of the first order of importance. Therefore, the nature of their involvement with NATO could be said to serve as a shorthand means of assessing the nature of their involvement with each other. If this is so, then France's reintegration into NATO's military side might reasonably be taken as a harbinger of long-term improvement in the quality of the France-US strategic relationship. This seems to be what many analysts believe, at least. It is the aim of this article to examine critically this supposition.

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Ehrhart Hans-Georg

**Homeward bound..., wherever: France's return to the military integration of NATO from a German point of view**  
in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 1, March , 97-112

The new constellation after the elections in France, the USA and Germany offer a window of opportunity for restructuring the transatlantic relations. Washington has become more multilateral and supportive to the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) provided it contributes to its global agenda. The Lisbon Treaty provides for a better framework to the Europeans to act together in this field. Paris has realised that the best way to reach its traditional goal of Europe becoming an autonomous global actor in the field of security is to become more 'atlanticist'. France may have altered its tactical approach but its strategy regarding EU and NATO remains strongly path-dependent. From a German point of view, the best-case explanation is the preferred outcome: France's return into the military integration of NATO leading to an enhanced ESDP and improved transatlantic relations based on a shared security culture and values.

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Fiammenghi Davide, Pasquazzi Simone

**La potenza civile e il futuro delle relazioni transatlantiche**  
in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XL, Numero 3, Dicembre , 423-448

What should be done to improve the European position in the international arena? Since long time both politicians and politologists wondered how to boost European performance in international affairs. The often-prescribed remedy is to



build up military capabilities, in a classic realpolitik scheme of diplomatic counterpoise vis-à-vis other Powers, such as the United States. In this paper we make the very opposite point. First, we argue that investing in military capabilities is neither possible nor desirable, due to both domestic and external constraints. Then we go on to describe how the investment in civilian capabilities might represent a much more fruitful approach to European foreign policy. We lay down a game-theoretical model in order to show the role of civilian power in political bargain with America. Our central thesis is that civilian power can exert a great impact upon transatlantic relations, and be the basis of a growing division of labour among Europe and America. In the second half of the paper we suggest concrete policy prescriptions to improve European civilian capabilities. In particular, we stress the importance of four factors: 1) increasing appropriation of funds for the Esdp missions; 2) a more efficient inter-pillar coordination, obtainable through the Athena mechanism; 3) supranational integration of national forces, e.g. through the European Security and Defense College or the Eurogendforce; 4) a clear division of labour between Esdp and Nato missions, in order to avoid unproductive duplications and conflicts of attribution among states.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Ackere Patrice van

**Let's Boost the European Defence through a Renewed Euro-Atlantic Partnership**  
in *European Union Review*, Vol. 15, n. 1

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Gheciu Alexandra, Paris Roland

**NATO and the Challenge of Sustainable Peacebuilding**  
in *Global Governance*, vol. 17, n. 1, january-march , 75-79

ABSTRACT: This piece introduces the concept of sustainable peacebuilding and briefly examines the growing involvement of NATO in peacebuilding operations.

It also previews the empirical articles in this special section, explaining how they advance our understanding of the challenges faced by NATO in its peacebuilding efforts.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

O'Connell Mary Ellen

**NATO at Sixty: America Between Law and War**  
in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, Volume 17, issue 2, summer , 187-196

ABSTRACT: NATO was founded to counter the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Both have been gone for over twenty years. So why is NATO still here? Part of the explanation may lie in Americans' strong belief in the efficacy of military force. NATO remains associated in Americans' minds with the greatest time of U.S. military power. Yet, the United States also has a strong commitment to the rule of law. The country appears overdue for a return to this



other commitment. We should not be surprised to soon see the United States promoting international law again—and that could mean finally shutting down NATO.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Schmidt Frithjof

**NATO auf Jobsuche**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Oktober, 2010 , 29-32

Am 19. und 20. November werden sich die Staats- und Regierungschefs der 28 NATO-Staaten in Lissabon versammeln, um ein neues strategisches Konzept zu verabschieden. Heute umfasst ihr Militärbudget 70 Prozent der globalen Militärausgaben. Die NATO repräsentiert damit, zumindest statistisch, eine fast unglaubliche militärische Dominanz. Sie hat die Epoche des Kalten Krieges im 20. Jahrhundert faktisch als Siegerin überstanden – und existiert weiter als überlebender Dinosaurier der einstigen Blockkonfrontation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Terriff Terry

**NATO military transformation: challenges and opportunities for France**

in **European Security**, Volume 19, Number 1, March , 61-78

In the first decade of the 21st Century the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has begun the process of 'Transformation'. NATO determined to pursue military transformation because of the evident changes in the strategic environment and recognition of the growing military capabilities and concepts gap between the US and the rest of NATO. NATO Transformation has at its core three main strands: expeditionary capabilities; NATO's Network Enabled Capability (NNEC); and Effects Based Approach to Operations (EBAO). NATO's member states have since late 2002 started the process of transforming their military forces, but the progress of their individual efforts has been uneven, resulting in military capabilities and conceptual gaps beginning to emerge within Europe. This article examines these issues before turning to explore the challenges and opportunities NATO Transformation poses for France as it rejoins the Alliance's integrated military structure.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Mutz Reinhard

**NATO: Expansion im Tarnanzug**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Dezember, 2010 , 9-12

The full text is free:

[www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2010/dezember/nato-expansion-im-tarnanzug](http://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2010/dezember/nato-expansion-im-tarnanzug)



Auf ihrem Gipfeltreffen vom 19./20. November in Lissabon beschloss die NATO ein neues strategisches Konzept. Wozu sie es braucht, ist jedoch schwer ersichtlich. Weder enthält es eine stimmige Lageanalyse noch wegweisende neue Orientierungsmarken für die Zukunft der Allianz. Zwischen den Mitgliedstaaten strittige Fragen werden damit nicht geklärt, sondern mit Kompromissformeln überdeckt. Der Eindruck entsteht, dass eine kostspielige internationale Megainstitution, die sich nicht gerade überschwänglicher Popularität erfreut, versucht, ihre Anliegen wieder in das Zentrum politischer Aufmerksamkeit zu rücken. Dafür spricht nicht zuletzt der fast anderthalb Jahre dauernde, sorgsam organisierte Diskussionsvorlauf des Gipfels.

Kein Thema hat darin breiteren Raum eingenommen als die Klage über den vermeintlichen Unwillen europäischer Gesellschaften, für ihre eigene Sicherheit einzustehen. So behauptete der amerikanische Verteidigungsminister Robert Gates vor Offiziersanwärtern in Washington: „Die Entmilitarisierung Europas hat sich zum Hindernis für Sicherheit und dauerhaften Frieden im 21. Jahrhundert entwickelt.“ ...

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Rasmussen Fogh Anders

**NATO's budding partnership with Russia has global implications**

in **Europe's World**, Issue 16, Autumn

From the moment he stepped into the job a year ago, NATO's Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen has championed a constructive new relationship with Moscow. He explains why it's crucial not only to Europe but to global security too.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21722/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21722/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Farrell Theo

**Nuclear non-use: constructing a Cold War history**

in **Review of International Studies (The)**, Vol. 36, Issue 4, November , 819-829

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=7918482&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0260210510001294>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Howorth Jolyon

**Prodigal Son or Trojan Horse: what's in it for France?**



in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 1, March , 11-28

Debate in France about the return to NATO's integrated command structure revolved largely around whether or not Sarkozy had broken with the sacrosanct Gaullist principles of 'non-alignment'. In reality, the decision was taken for quite different reasons. Since the end of the cold war, France has found itself heavily involved with NATO in a range of overseas missions. Militarily, to remain outside the command structure had become a major liability. The move, militarily, approximated to the return of the Prodigal Son. At the political level, the ongoing process of NATO's quest for a 'new strategic concept' meant that France needed to be fully present in the internal debates. Here, the move is closer to that of the Trojan Horse. There is no break with the Gaullist tradition.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Gestrin, C.

**Regional cooperation in the Baltic Sea Region—recommendations to foster a joint understanding and take action against common risks and threats**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 8, Number 3 , 267-269

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Frazier Derrik, Stewart-Ingersoll Robert

**Regional powers and security: A framework for understanding order within regional security complexes**

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 16, n. 4, december , 731-753

ABSTRACT: In this article we propose a framework for understanding order within Regional Security Complexes (RSCs), focused upon the importance of regional powers. We argue that there are three factors to consider in adequately explaining regional security with respect to the influence of regional powers: structure, regional power roles, and regional power orientations. The first factor emphasizes the necessary but not sufficient attributes of power and capability for understanding regional security dynamics. The last two factors stress the importance of regional power behavior as being critical to the security process. To this end we highlight three specific roles and sets of orientations that when examined in the context of structural factors, provide a clearer picture of security orders in RSCs.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Kupchan Charles A.

**Solidaridad transatlántica y declive occidental**

in *Política Exterior*, 139 - Enero / Febrero 2011

Europeos y estadounidenses sienten una decepción recíproca comprensible ante la hasta hoy considerada 'alianza más importante'. No obstante, la solidaridad transatlántica será fundamental a medida que Occidente intente adaptar el nuevo orden mundial emergente. La elección de Barack Obama como presidente de Estados Unidos dio pie a grandes



expectativas a ambos lados del Atlántico sobre el florecimiento de las relaciones entre europeos y estadounidenses

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Paul T. V.

**Taboo or tradition? The non-use of nuclear weapons in world politics**

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, November , 853-863

The non-use of nuclear weapons since Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 has emerged as a major puzzle in international politics. Traditional International Relations scholarship views this largely as a function of the deterrent relationship that emerged between the nuclear powers, especially during the Cold War era. The fact that nuclear weapons have not been used against non-nuclear states, despite temptations to use them, remains a challenge to the deterrence-only explanation. More normatively oriented scholars have argued that a taboo has emerged against the non-use of nuclear weapons. Nina Tannenwald's book, *The Nuclear Taboo* is the most comprehensive study on this subject which relies on constructivist logic of inter-subjective taboo-like prohibition in accounting for the puzzle. While I see much merit in Tannenwald's empirical case studies, it is far-fetched to call the non-use largely a function of a taboo-like prohibition. For, taboos by their very nature forbid discussions of their breaking, whereas nuclear states have national military strategies that call for nuclear use under certain circumstances. They have also in many crises situations considered the use of nuclear weapons. I have argued in my book, *The Tradition of Non-use of Nuclear Weapons* (Stanford University Press, 2009), that a more modest tradition can be given partial credit for the absence of nuclear attacks on non-nuclear states. The tradition emerged because of a realisation of the horrendous effects of nuclear attack (a material fact) which generated reputation costs for a potential user. These reputation costs in turn generated self-deterrence which has helped to create a tradition which is partially restraining nuclear states from using their weapons for anything other than existential deterrence. Unlike Tannenwald, I contend that the tradition is not a strict taboo and hence it can be altered if material and political circumstances compel nuclear states to do so. The recent policy changes that have taken place in nuclear powers such as the US, Russia, UK, and France do not augur well for the tradition as the conditions for atomic use have been expanded to include prevention, pre-emption and other non-proliferation objectives involving rogue states and terrorist groups.

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Delcour Laure

**The European Union, a security provider in the eastern neighbourhood?**

in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 4, December , 535-544

This article analyses the extent to which and the way in which the European Union (EU) has acted as a security provider in its eastern vicinity since the European Neighbourhood Policy was launched. The EU's capacity to emerge as a security provider and the approaches developed in this purpose are gauged against three major EU objectives in the eastern neighbourhood: conflict resolution, control of migration flows and good governance. The article sustains that EU efforts to reach objectives which it considers important for regional security are undermined by a lack of coherence in policy implementation across the eastern neighbourhood.





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Fly Jamie M.

**The False START Debate**

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 184, November

The critics and the boosters are both wrong: Obama's nuke treaty with Russia is a huge nothingburger. But Republicans should vote to ratify it anyway.

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/24/the\\_false\\_start\\_debate](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/24/the_false_start_debate)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Mearsheimer, J.J.

**The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia**

in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 3 Issue 4, Winter , 381-396

The United States has been the most powerful state on the planet for many decades and has deployed robust military forces in the Asia-Pacific region since the early years of the Second World War. The American presence has had significant consequences for Australia and for the wider region. This is how the Australian government sees it, at least according to the 2009 Defence White Paper: 'Australia has been a very secure country for many decades, in large measure because the wider Asia-Pacific region has enjoyed an unprecedented era of peace and stability underwritten by US strategic primacy'.<sup>1</sup> The United States, in other words, has acted as a pacifier in this part of the world.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Shinichi Kitaoka

**The Secret Japan-US Security Pacts: Background and Disclosure**

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 17 Issue 2 , 10 – 25

For many years the Japan-US Security Treaty has been the cornerstone of Japanese foreign policy and security policy. Suspicions have long been voiced, however, that behind the security treaty there lurked unpublicized secret pacts. In particular, despite the denials of the Japanese government, there were suspicions that nuclear-armed warships had in fact called at Japanese ports. With the change in government in September 2009, the issue came to be the subject of an investigation by the new Democratic Party of Japan administration. The author of this article served as chairman of the commission of inquiry.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Quang Minh Pham

**The South China Sea security problem: towards regional cooperation**



in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 8, Number 3 , 427-434

The year 2009 marked many dynamic developments in the South China Sea which attracted the attention of the international community. The main objective of this paper is to analyze these recent security developments by examining the following questions: why tensions are rising in the South China Sea, how challenging is the problem, and what can be done to promote regional cooperation among the countries involved? The paper argues that in order to preserve regional stability, a comprehensive approach must be developed, beginning with confidence-building measures through cooperation in solving non-traditional security problems.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Author: Andrew T. H. Tan

**The US and China in the Malay Archipelago**

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 17 Issue 2 , 26 - 55

After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, US measures to improve counter-terrorism and maritime security in the Malay Archipelago, home to the world's largest population of Muslims, have led to a heightened US role and presence in the region. However, this has sparked fears in China over the ability of the US in interdicting vital waterways in a region which China increasingly relies on for its economic development. China has therefore also worked hard to improve relations with states in the Malay Archipelago. The states in the region have responded to the increased Sino-US strategic rivalry by adopting a classic hedging strategy, whereby they hope to reap the benefits of US security assistance and assurances while at the same time engaging with a resurgent China. However, this is a difficult challenge and there are dangers that the deepening US-China strategic rivalry could yet embroil the region in new conflicts.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Walker William

**The absence of a taboo on the possession of nuclear weapons**

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, November , 865-876

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=7918491&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0260210510001324>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Eden Lynn

**The contingent taboo**

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, November , 831-837

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=7918485&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0260210510001300>



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Tomohiko Satake

**The origin of trilateralism? The US–Japan–Australia security relations in the 1990s  
in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 87-114**

This paper analyzes US–Japan–Australia security relations in the 1990s. Since the establishment of the Trilateral Strategic Dialogue (TSD) in 2005, there have been a growing number of studies which focus on the TSD or bilateral security relations between Japan and Australia ( Terada, 2006; Williams and Newman, 2006; Tow et al., 2007; The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2008). The announcement of the Joint Security Declaration between Japan and Australia in 2006 also received wide attention from researchers interested in the security policies of each country or Asia-Pacific security in general ( Bisley, 2006; Sato, 2008; Cook and Shearer, 2009). These studies focus mainly on the current development of US–Japan–Australia or Japan–Australia security relations in various dimensions, such as peacekeeping, non-proliferation, disaster relief, and other forms of multilateral cooperation. In particular, many studies emphasize that Japanese and Australian contributions to the US-led ‘global war on terror’ significantly upgraded their respective alliance relations, leading to the creation of the TSD ( Jain and Bruni, 2006; Wolton, 2006). In comparison, few studies exclusively focus on security relations between the three countries in the 1990s.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Ham, Peter van

**The power of war: Why Europe needs it  
in *International Politics*, Volume 47, Issue 6, November, 574–595**

The European Union likes to portray itself as a postmodern entity that does not require war to establish itself as a political player. This breaks a pattern, as war and violence have historically played a major part in state formation and shaping the national interest. Europe’s public disavowal of power gained political prominence after Robert Kagan’s influential essay *Power and Weakness*. Kagan’s depiction of Europe as a postmodern Kantian space was not unjustified, but his conclusion that a more military-capable Europe would close the transatlantic power gap, and hence make US–European cooperation easier, remains controversial. Robert Cooper nuanced Kagan’s point by claiming that ‘Europe may have chosen to neglect power politics because it is militarily weak; but it is also true that it is militarily weak because it has chosen to abandon power politics’. Commentators have frequently summarized this ‘chicken-and-egg’ dilemma by quipping that ‘if all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail’, or, alternatively, ‘when all you have is a pen, every problem looks like a treaty’. What may at first glance sound like a silly, somewhat trivial, debate is actually a profound and fundamental question about the relationship between military power and foreign policy in general, and between war and identity in particular.

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Ivanov Ivan Dinev

**The relevance of heterogeneous clubs in explaining contemporary NATO politics**  
in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , vol. 8, n. 4, December , 337-361

This article expands the logic of the club goods theory as a framework for studying North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) politics and argues that NATO should be approached as a heterogeneous club that incorporates several different groups of allies with relatively similar characteristics. The successful decision-making in this club depends exclusively on the capacity of the allies to reach consensus. If the member states agree on a decision, it is usually optimal, while the lack of willingness to accommodate the diverging positions of the allies stimulates solutions outside of the club which for the most part are sub-optimal. The relevance of this model is illustrated with two cases: the negotiations within NATO preceding Operation 'Iraqi Freedom' in 2003 and the decision to start the NATO Training Mission in Iraq in 2004.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Saudabaiev Kanat, Guichard-Sherbina Gaël

**Un sommet stratégique (interview)**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Novembre

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2010/11/A/19871>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Menon Anand, Welsh Jennifer

**Understanding NATO's Sustainability: The Limits of Institutionalist Theory**

in *Global Governance*, vol. 17, n. 1, January-March , 81-94

ABSTRACT: Our assumption in this article is that sustainable peace operations require the involvement of organizations and institutions that are themselves sustainable.

We begin by presenting a set of propositions regarding the sustainability of international institutions in which the capacity for adaptation and incremental change are centrally important. We then examine these propositions in relation to NATO, paying particular attention to the ways in which the alliance has taken on both new roles and new members. A central concern of the article is the ways in which NATO member states' conceptions of identity and definitions of national interest affect the sustainability of the alliance, and limit the ability of alliance members to generate the longer-term commitment needed for peace support operations.

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Liberti Fabio

**Une certaine idée de la sécurité. Au nom de la paix en Europe**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Novembre



Moins connue que l'Alliance atlantique (OTAN) ou l'Union européenne, l'Organisation pour la sécurité et la coopération en Europe (OSCE) joue pourtant un rôle majeur dans la prévention des conflits et la gestion de crise. Rassemblant cinquante-six Etats, de Vancouver à Vladivostok, elle se présente comme le plus vaste forum sur la sécurité dans le monde. Le sommet des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement de l'OSCE, qui se tient à Astana (Kazakhstan) les 1er et 2 décembre prochain, constitue un événement. En effet, si les experts de l'organisation se réunissent régulièrement tandis que près de vingt missions sont déployées sur le terrain, cela faisait onze ans qu'un tel sommet n'avait pas été convoqué. Il illustre l'importance nouvelle de l'Asie centrale dans la géopolitique mondiale.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2010/11/LIBERTI/19867>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**De' Robertis Anton Giulio**

**Verso una rinnovata dottrina strategica della Nato**

**in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 77, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 391-406

In front of the ever changing international political environment Nato is updating again, after ten years, its strategic doctrine through a process of consultations and analysis carried on by a the special group of experts named by its Secretary general. The widening of the spectrum of threats for the Western societies and the effort to ensure security and preserve stability requires the streamlining of the decision making of the Alliance and the deepening of the cooperation with the international actors which are part of the network established by Nato. A comprehensive approach, mixing military and civilian resources, is suggested in the implementation of missions, in order to win also the peace at the end of military operations. The recalled indivisibility of the European security involves a renewed engagement of Russia and the adoption of a real 'joint action' practice, as stated in the two agreements already entered with Moscow. This article introduces the concept of sustainable stability, achievable trough the practice of balance of the interest in the European as well as in the international system.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**von Hlatky Stéfanie**

**What, if anything, will France's reintegration imply for the alliance debate on nuclear weapons?**

**in European Security**, Volume 19, Number 1, March , 79-96

This article asks whether France's return to North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)'s integrated military command could translate into a bigger role on nuclear issues within NATO. As NATO prepares its new strategic concept, its nuclear doctrine is bound to change as several allies have expressed their dissatisfaction with the status quo. The presence of American theater nuclear weapons in five NATO countries remains controversial. First, I argue that the removal of NATO's nuclear weapons does not mean the end of extended nuclear deterrence, by making a distinction between extended deterrence and collective-actor deterrence. Second, I compare the nuclear postures of NATO, France and the USA to show that harmonization is possible. Finally, I outline several options for a new nuclear doctrine under NATO and formulate some policy recommendations.



**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Rotfeld Damien Adam

**Why NATO and Russia need each other**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn

As part of its strategic re-think, NATO urgently needs to define its co-operative approach towards Russia, and Russia needs to show that it accepts the right of other nations to choose the alliances they will belong to. Adam Daniel Rotfeld explains that NATO and Russia can make a new start providing it is reciprocal.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21723/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21723/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Lattarulo Alessandro

**Oltre la sovranità degli Stati-nazione: la governance**

in *Democrazia e diritto*, Anno XLVI, n. 2

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Mosconi Antonio

**A World Currency for a World New Deal**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 2, issue 2, E 239-264

The wars in western Asia and the financial crisis of 2007-2008 spelt the end of the American attempt to global supremacy. Global public goods such as security and monetary and financial stability are no more granted by the US. This opens up the possibility of cooperation among vast regional areas to establish a new world order, through the reform of the Bretton Woods institutions, the progressive institutionalization of the current governance instruments, and a democratic reform of the UN. The Dollar was from 1920s to 1960s the currency of a creditor country, and since the 1970s of an increasingly indebted one: it cannot be the world currency anymore. The positive spontaneous transition of the monetary system from the dollar standard towards a multicurrency/multibasket regime can produce instability if not governed towards the creation of a world currency, as it happened in the EU. The Chinese Central Bank Governor proposal to modify the IMF SDR (Special Drawing Rights) composition and to use them to that purpose should be supported by the Eurogroup, which on the contrary is even unable to decide for its unitary representation within the IMF

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/76-a-world-currency-for-a-world-new-deal>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Blokker Niels**

**Abuse of the Members: Questions concerning Draft Article 16 of the Draft Articles on Responsibility of International Organizations**

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 7, n. 1 , 35-48

ABSTRACT: This contribution discusses Article 16 ("Decisions, authorizations and recommendations addressed to member states and international organizations") of the ILC draft articles on responsibility of international organizations, completed in first reading in 2009. According to Article 16, international organizations may incur international responsibility for their binding and non-binding decisions if certain conditions are fulfilled. The main rationale of this provision is that an international organization may not require its members to perform acts which the organization itself may not perform under its own obligations. The need to include this provision in the draft articles is not questioned. Five specific issues are addressed. The provision concerning authorizations may in the future turn out to be the most troublesome, in particular in relation to Security Council authorizations for the use of force.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Gupta Joyeeta, Lebel Louis**

**Access and allocation in earth system governance: water and climate change compared**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 10, Number 4 - Special Issue: "Earth System Governance", December , 377-395

A significant percentage of the global population does not yet have access to safe drinking water, sufficient food or energy to live in dignity. There is a continuous struggle to allocate the earth's resources among users and uses. This article argues that distributional problems have two faces: access to basic resources or ecospace; and, the allocation of environmental resources, risks, burdens, and responsibilities for causing problems. Furthermore, addressing problems of access and allocation often requires access to social processes (science, movements and law). Analysts, however, have tended to take a narrow, disciplinary approach although an integrated conceptual approach may yield better answers. This article proposes a multi-disciplinary perspective to the problem of access and allocation and illustrates its application to water management and climate change.

Full text available online: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/y4565114207406n4/fulltext.pdf>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Juan Francisco Lobo Fernández**

**Adiós a Westfalia : hacia la «constitución» de un derecho cosmopolita**

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 43, No. 167 , 55-73

Starting from the explanation of the precepts of law and sovereignty, this essay analyses the symptoms of the transformation of the classic paradigm of international law, which is founded on a will - centered model introduced by the



peace of Westphalia in the XVII century, whose peak can be seen in the «Lotus case» in 1927, towards a constitutional paradigm typical of public law, which acquires the shape of a cosmopolitan law whose seminal constitution can be found in the United Nations charter, the universal declaration of human rights and *ius cogens*.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Schroeder Heike

**Agency in international climate negotiations: the case of indigenous peoples and avoided deforestation**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 10, Number 4 - Special Issue: "Earth System Governance", December , 317-332

This article examines the agency of indigenous peoples in designing a mechanism for reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD) under the emerging post-2012 agreement to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. It investigates whether indigenous peoples have agency in international negotiations and specifically the REDD design process and if so, how they have obtained it. Agency refers to the ability of actors to prescribe behaviour and to substantively participate in and/or set their own rules related to the interactions between humans and their natural environment. The aim of this study is to gain understanding of what role non-nation state actors, particularly indigenous peoples, play in shaping the REDD design process under the climate convention and what is shaping their agency. A special emphasis is placed on indigenous peoples as they may be highly vulnerable to the impacts from both climate change and certain policy responses. The article finds that, through REDD, indigenous peoples and forest community alliances are emerging in the climate regime but their agency in designing a mechanism on forest protection in a post-2012 climate regime remains indirect and weak. They are being consulted and invited to provide input, but they are not able to directly participate and ensure that their views and concerns are reflected in the outcome on REDD.

Full text available online: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/yq78x9223664551w/fulltext.pdf>.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Reinisch August

**Aid or Assistance and Direction and Control between states and International Organizations in the Commission of Internationally Wrongful Acts**

**in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 7, n. 1 , 63-77

ABSTRACT: Questions concerning the international responsibility of international organizations and/or their member States for internationally wrongful acts primarily raise important issues of attribution. In addition, a concurrent responsibility may arise from situations where international organizations aid or assist or direct and control the acts of States or other international organizations. This contribution intends to highlight some problems that stem from the fact that the current formulations of Articles 13 and 14 of the ILC Draft Articles on responsibility of international organizations are largely based on the corresponding provisions of the 2001 ILC Articles on State responsibility.

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Kanie Norichika, Nishimoto Hiromi, Hijioka Yasuaki, Kameyama Yasuko

**Allocation and architecture in climate governance beyond Kyoto: lessons from interdisciplinary research on target setting**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 10, Number 4 - Special Issue: "Earth System Governance", December , 299-315

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change envisions that all countries will follow the principle of 'common but differentiated responsibility' in terms of their responsibility to protect the earth's climate system. However, its concrete application has always been controversial. The Kyoto Protocol framed this allocation issue in terms of quantified emission reduction and limitation objectives (QERLOs) in its Annex B, but this also triggered the refusal of the United States to ratify the Protocol. This article identifies some of the problems associated with allocation, and its problems inter-linked with governance architecture, by examining the case of the allocation of reduction commitments for greenhouse gas emissions in the context of climate governance beyond 2012. Three broad criteria are used in the discussion, namely, responsibility, capability, and efficiency. Target numbers for individual countries differ with the criteria used, but they also differ even within the same criteria category, due to different ways these conceptual criteria are translated into quantitative calculation formulas. Sometimes this makes a large difference for individual targets. Our calculations using different criteria and formula to come up with medium-term targets for selected developed countries show that differences in results are caused by the choice of allocation principle, differences in allocation formula under a given allocation principle, and different calculation criteria used under a given allocation formula. Assumptions in modeling and the choice of data also affect results. Importantly, interests are often embedded explicitly or implicitly behind these different ideas. Although allocation and architecture seems to be different problems of governance at first glance, there is also a link between limited data availability for allocation calculations and the form of governance architecture proposed. This is an area where further scientific research is required.

Full text available online: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/54681345g0411331/fulltext.pdf>.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Vucetic Srdjan

**Anglobal governance?**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 23, n. 3, September , 455-474

The 'Anglosphere' refers to a grouping of English-speaking states, nations and societies united by the language, values and institutions associated with the historical experience of England/Britain. After being introduced in 1999-2000 at two conferences convened by the Hudson Institute, the idea of the Anglosphere has become increasingly popular with various Anglophiles and especially with Anglo-American conservatives and neoconservatives. After a brief inquiry into the broader conceptual and historical foundations of this neologism, this article considers some ways in which the Anglosphere relates to the research programme on global governance in the field of international relations (IR). Using 'liberal imperialism' as a theoretical starting point, the article evaluates the Anglosphere as a tool for promoting greater attention to the role of race and racism in the emergence of the structure and processes of contemporary global governance. For all its political, logical and other ambiguities, when approached as an arena of critical analysis, an Anglosphere perspective can indeed help us comprehend the development and general patterns of the racialized world order. For that reason alone, Anglobal governance should be worthy of study in IR.

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**Makko Aryo**

**Arbitrator in a World of Wars: The League of Nations and The Mosul Dispute, 1924-1925**

in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 21, n. 4, december , 631-649

ABSTRACT: The League of Nations is primarily remembered for its failures in the 1930s. Indeed, the established perception of its history usually emphasizes weaknesses. Failing to settle the question of which Power should possess the former Ottoman province of Mosul after the First World War, Turkey saw the dispute addressed to the League in summer 1924. Within a short time, a multi-leveled negotiation process that involved a large number of politicians, diplomats, and lawyers was put in motion. Sixteen months and many crises later, the League Council awarded the entire Mosul province to Iraq. The arbitration had been based upon data collected by two enquiry commissions comprising representatives from eight different Powers, the work of both numerous mediators, and a Council sub-committee. Though certainly not perfect, the League's role averted war and renewed disaster.

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**Broszies Christoph**

**Assembling Realistic Utopias: New Paths in the Global Justice Debate**

in *Journal of International Political Theory*, Volume 6, Number 2, October , 217-230

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Rixen Thomas**

**Bilateralism or multilateralism? The political economy of avoiding international double taxation**

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 16, n. 4, december , 589-614

ABSTRACT: Why do states cooperate bilaterally or multilaterally? This article addresses the issue using the example of international double tax avoidance. It is argued that double tax avoidance exhibits the strategic structure of a coordination game with a distributive conflict. The distribution of tax revenues depends on the asymmetry of investment flows between treaty partners. Since investment flows are defined dyadically, bilateral bargaining can best accommodate countries' concerns for the distribution of tax revenues and other economic benefits connected to the tax base. Moreover, because there are no serious externality problems with bilateral agreement, this solution is also viable. At the same time, there is a need for a multilateral organization to disseminate information and shared practices in the form of a model convention that provides a focal point for bilateral negotiations. This solution minimizes transaction costs. Since agreements are self-enforcing in coordination games there is no need for third-party enforcement. Instead, the Mutual Agreement Procedure (MAP) is a device to address problems of incomplete contracting.

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Palea Roberto

**Blessed Unrest: Potential and Limits of the Global Civil Society Movements**

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

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

Paul Hawken

Blessed unrest: how the largest movement in the world came into being, and why no one saw it  
New York, Viking, 2007

Paul Hawken is an environmentalist, journalist and well-know author among ecologists and supporters of natural environment. His activity and publications, translated in 27 languages and published in over 50 countries, have won him huge recognition.

In this last book, the Author reflects upon the common roots of the movements dealing with environmental issues and of those fighting for social justice, and upon the significantly unitary nature of their respective inspirations that foreshadow a single Movement, without the parties concerned knowing it; in every corner of the world, groups of persons representing the "civil society" get organised into non-profit and non-governmental associations, created spontaneously, which work for the environmental sustainability of development or for social justice, on very similar bases.

This complex "archipelago" forms a movement that does not correspond to any traditional model, is not organised, is proudly independent, does not acknowledge any leader, and, therefore, represents a global humanitarian movement that is timidly emerging from the bottom up. The Author sees it as «the largest social movement in the history of humanity», and, in the first chapters, he reviews its story in the various regions of the world, starting from North America, highlighting connections and coincidences that show common inspiration, although unconscious.

On this point, the Author quotes very interesting data on the Web sites of millions of organisations, data that form an indispensable "database" at world level. Through this "database" it is possible to know "who does what and where", to exchange mutual experiences and resources and try to put in relation the local organisations, with the purpose of implementing common actions to achieve unitary objectives.

For further information on this subject, reference can be made, among others, to the very well documented site "wiserearth.org". The Author then dwells upon the initiatives of the indigenous populations that, together with some non-profit organisations, are opposing the invasion of multinational companies which, hungry for resources, are destroying the "biological arks" of Latin America, Asia and Africa.

He also emphasizes the damages of globalisation and the damages produced by the "free market fundamentalism" in many areas of the world. In the chapter "Immunity" the Author uses the cells of an organism defending itself as a metaphor for describing the movement's collective activity. In the final chapter, entitled "Recovery", the Author explains his thesis on the future prospects of the Movement.

According to the Author, the condition for future action lies in the conviction that, too often, the issues appear unsolvable due to the methods used to tackle them, that is "in an ideological, oligarchic and militarist manner, from top to bottom".



And he proposes a different approach, starting from simpler facts, proceeding from the bottom up, solving the issues “by schemes”, one after the other, «without any mega solution, so that the various groups can find their place in a multicentric world».

According to Hawken, in the end the movement will prevail. The way of thinking at the root of the movement’s objectives will become predominant in front of the gradual worsening of the environmental situation and the aggravation of the social conditions that will emerge and will become unsustainable to everyone.

«Soon, it will spread among many institutions, but before that, it will change a sufficient number of people to trigger an inversion of the trend after centuries of frenetically self-destructive behaviour.... People do not change until they feel at ease». «Human nature’s resilience will clash with the severity of the social and environmental conditions we are in».

Therefore «it is not too late for the major institutions and companies of the world to get together to save the Earth, however cooperation must take place under the terms of the planet», which means learning from life and reinventing the world from the bottom up, on the basis of justice and ecology principles. Ecological recovery appears to be extremely simple to the Author: all there is to do is to eliminate what prevents the system from healing by itself. Social recovery functions in the same way.

«We must have trust in “Ourselves”: ourselves means all of us, everyone of us». «Our house is burning: the only way to stop the fire is to unite the environmental movement to the movement for social justice».

The Author concludes with the following statement. «Our guide will be an intelligence that creates miracles every second and lives through a nameless movement».

The Author is certainly right to magnify the potential of the civil society movements, however he does not seem to realise the conditions under which so many spontaneous movements operating at local level can turn into a single revolutionary entity, able to transform the world to impose peace, to start restructuring the world economy in an ecological manner, to govern globalisation in the interest of the whole of humanity.

The optimism of Hawken’s conclusions is puzzling, as it reveals trust in the spontaneous and nearly automatic capacity of citizens and institutions to react in front of the foreseeable further aggravation of the world situation, a position that cannot be shared since there is no evidence and no historical parallel capable of supporting this expectation. The naiveté of the thesis is contradicted by the very statement contained in the title according to which, up to now, “nobody has been aware” of the largest movement in the world.

It is worth mentioning that Hawken’s fideistic and optimistic statements have many precedents in the environmental philosophy, since its origins. In the 1970’s, Aurelio Peccei, founder of the Club of Rome, wrote (in *Quale futuro*, Mondadori, 1974) «I see a huge popular army that slowly rises and moves on scattered and fragmented fronts all over the world. It is an army of citizens, who believe that the time has come to change things... . Like in the tradition, this popular army has strong motivations but is very badly equipped, it wins skirmishes but loses battles; this notwithstanding, as history marches with it, sooner or later it will prevail».

Since then, things have kept worsening from all points of view; from the point of view of climate changes, the world is dangerously reaching a “point of no-return” and the possibility of an environmental disaster; the distribution of wealth, incomes, consumption of natural resources, has never been so unequal and unjust between and within the States;



structural unbalances between the various monetary zones have grown to a huge extent; and we cannot say that wars and international tensions have decreased, on the contrary.

This notwithstanding, the political weight of the civil society movements has not increased. Its opponents, among which international finance, multinational companies, international crime, terrorism, taking advantage of a globalisation trend without rules and without government, have taken on a global dimension and turned the international scenario into a “Far West” governed by free market rules where the use of lawless force triumphs, according to the logic and law of the jungle.

On the other hand, the issues have grown since then, so much so that peace, environmental protection, sustainable development and financial balance have acquired a global dimension, taking on the features of real global public assets to defend.

Therefore, I deem out of place the Author's satisfaction in finding “concreteness” in the civil society movements that measure themselves daily with the problems that have remained within their reach, and his exaltation of the need to build a single movement “from the bottom up”, as if the virtuous commitment to the “particular” were automatically the premise and condition for union and force.

Hawken has not understood that the civil society movements can weigh upon and condition power only if they are able to get organised in a coordinated and united manner on precise political objectives, clearly aimed at pursuing at all levels, including worldwide, the global public assets mentioned above. These require a unitary management, a suitable strategy and the clear awareness of the institutional instruments required to change the world.

A successful strategy that could be taken as an example for the way to follow, is that of the NGO coalition (in the beginning they were 300 and they became now 2.500) that obtained in 1998 the Charter of the International Criminal Court against war crimes and crimes against humanity.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Florini Ann, Sovacool Benjamin

#### **Bridging the Gaps in Global Energy Governance**

in **Global Governance**, vol. 17, n. 1, january-march , 57-74

ABSTRACT: Energy constitutes a rich, but underexplored, arena for global governance scholars and policymakers. The world is currently on an unsustainable and conflict-prone track of volatile and unreliable supply of energy fuels, vulnerable infrastructure, massive environmental degradation, and failure to deliver energy services to an enormous proportion of the global population.

Changing to a different path will be a monumental global governance endeavor that will require bridging multiple issue areas, regimes, and policy silos. Meeting that challenge will require a greatly expanded research agenda aimed at understanding the institutions, interests, and concerns that do and could shape global energy governance. In this article,



we lay out key energy-related global issues and explore some of the connections among them to suggest an initial research agenda for global governance scholars.

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Li Mingjiang, Chen Gang

**China's Search for a Multilateral World: Dilemmas and Desires**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 4, December , 13-25

While China will probably become more proactive in its multilateral diplomacy and increase its influence in global multilateral settings, various concerns and constraints make it unlikely that it will completely overhaul or even dramatically reshape the multilateral architecture at the global level. Stuck in defining its identity, China is caught up between posturing as a leader of the developing world on some policy issues and siding with the developed countries on others. China's involvement in global multilateralism is likely to be guided by pragmatism rather than grand visions.

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Lake Marilyn

**Chinese Colonists Assert Their "Common Human Rights": Cosmopolitanism as Subject and Method of History**

in *Journal of World History*, Volume 21, Number 3, September , 375-392

This article about claims to "common human rights" made by Chinese colonists in Australia in the nineteenth century argues in favor of cosmopolitanism as both historical practice and subject of historical inquiry. It seeks to challenge the conventional Eurocentric—or North Atlantic—account of the history of human rights by pointing to arguments for racial equality advanced by Chinese political activists who forged an alternative tradition of human rights claims, articulated at the postwar conferences at Versailles in 1919 and Dumbarton Oaks in 1944. By investigating the ways in which Chinese Australians invoked the idea of "cosmopolitan friendship and sympathy" when responding to racial discrimination, we can uncover the multiple histories of cosmopolitanism as well as the advantages of a more cosmopolitan historical method.

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Manonelles Manuel

**Civil Society Participation in Intercultural Dialogue**

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 7, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 131-141

ABSTRACT: In the past it was argued that the core of intercultural dialogue remained in the «realm of ideas», with a special emphasis on the central responsibility of intellectuals, the university and the academic milieu. Today it has been widely recognised that the only way in which intercultural dialogue can become socially useful is to conceive it as intercultural dialogue «in action», implying a shared responsibility by political and social actors. Within this framework, the article presents a brief selection of some of the most relevant institutional processes linked to intercultural dialogue in a multi-level perspective (from the global level with the initiatives of the United Nations system to the local, municipal



level), highlighting the recognition of the importance of civil society in each case. In doing so, it clarifies the reasons why civil society and civil society organisations (CSOs) are unique contributors in creating both the spaces and the conditions that (pre-) determine intercultural dialogue.

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Andrieu Kora

**Civilizing Peacebuilding: Transitional Justice, Civil Society and the Liberal Paradigm**  
in *Security Dialogue*, vol. 41, n. 5, october , 537-558

ABSTRACT: In spite of recurrent calls for a more locally rooted approach to the building of 'local capacities', peace operations today are still largely under the influence of US hegemony and neoliberal values. Their aim is to transform war-torn societies along liberal lines, in both the political and the economic spheres. To achieve this, it is argued that the international community must begin by acting illiberally: rebuilding the structures of the state in order to give it the capacity to monopolize legitimate violence and manage the societal conflicts that are the unfortunate by-products of democracy and the free market. Leaders and 'high politics' are the central targets, as it is hoped that the rest of society will be affected in turn. However, this kind of social engineering from the top down can be counterproductive for the peace process and the nature of transition. Civil society should not be a secondary target: it should be the primary one. The Weberian approach to peace operations focuses too much on objective sources of legitimacy at the expense of those rooted in local, subjective perceptions of society. Since transitional justice has recently become part of the liberal peacebuilding 'package', integrated into a broad, positive definition of peace itself, transitional justice too should focus on civil society first. Building upon Habermas's notion of communicative action and Putnam's definition of social capital, this article will formulate the basis of a new approach to peace operations, one that would aim less at the rebuilding of state institutions and more at the reconstruction of social relations and unfettered dialogue between communities.

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Sluga Glenda, Horne Julia

**Cosmopolitanism: Its Pasts and Practices**  
in *Journal of World History*, Volume 21, Number 3, September , 369-374

Historians are returning to cosmopolitanism as a significant historical theme. This introductory essay briefly surveys some of the latest trends that mark this new interest, including its interdisciplinary influences and its focus on both cultural and political forms of cosmopolitanism.

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Thorup Mikkel

**Cosmopolitanism: Sovereignty denied or sovereignty restated?**  
in *International Politics* , Volume 47, Issue 6, November , 659-679



This article explores and criticizes key assumptions of contemporary cosmopolitanism, not least the notion of post-sovereignty, trying to understand how the cosmopolitan power and sovereignty critique may be very compatible with present-day reconfigurations and relegitimizations of state power and sovereignty. Through a critique of how cosmopolitans sketch out a problematic nation state's past and a more factual efficient and morally appropriate post-nation state condition the article claims that cosmopolitanism may come to serve as legitimizing cover for a new sovereigntist language and practice wielded by the same powers who were dominant in the nation state age, namely the Western states. The purpose of the article is to ask whether cosmopolitanism and humanitarianism have become the new sovereigntist language uniting state officials and state-critical scholars?

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**Mori Massimo**

**Cosmopolitismo**

in **Mulino (il)**, n. 6, novembre-dicembre, 2010 , 897-911

Il cosmopolitismo è, riprendendo la definizione di Seyla Benhabib, "una delle parole chiave dei nostri tempi". In gran parte questa fortuna è una risposta al processo di "globalizzazione". La "società globale del rischio" richiede soluzioni in tema di ambiente, finanza, criminalità, sicurezza che vanno al di là della prospettiva dei singoli Stati (Ulrich Beck); la perdita di capacità decisionale [...]

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**Cottier Thomas**

**Das Völkerrecht im Spannungsfeld von Nationalstaatlichkeit und Universalität**

in **Zeitschrift für Politik**, Jahrgang 57, Heft 2, 2010

Summary

The law of nations oscillates between the traditions of sovereignty of nation states and universal norms and aspirations. In this matrix, the paper briefly addresses the evolution of law from coexistence to cooperation and to integration. It depicts the increase of universal values and emphasizes that such values and norms are not limited to the protection of human rights, but can be equally found in international economic law, in particular with the principles of non-discrimination enshrined in the law of the World Trade Organization WTO. The paper depicts the current evolution in legal thinking from traditional contractual to constitutional theory in international law, with a view to enabling the modern law of nations to cope with the challenges of globalization and regionalization. It draws attention to parallel discussions in philosophy, in particular cosmopolitanism, and suggests enhancing the interdisciplinary discourse of philosophers and international lawyers. Both no longer can afford staying within self-referencing systems of analysis and thought.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**





*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Prichard ALEX

**David Held is an Anarchist. Discuss**

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 39, n. 2, december , 439-459

ABSTRACT: David Held's international political theory is an echo of many of the core ideas at the heart of the anarchist tradition. These include an attempt to mediate a course between liberalism and Marxism, the centrality of the principle of autonomy to his political theory, a similar critique of the state and the economy based on this principle, and a vision for politics that is decentralised, multi-level and federal. The core differences revolve around a different reading of the history of state formation, the centrality of the democratic legal state to Held's work and the rejection of the same by the anarchists. From an anarchist perspective, it is internally contradictory for Held to call for the continued existence of the institution which has historically been the antithesis of autonomy — the state. I will argue that because he has not taken the anarchist literature seriously, his defence of the state is left open to an anarchist critique. My argument will be that anarchy, rather than the state, is the precondition of autonomy. My dual aim with this article is to help bring anarchism in from the cold and to show where anarchist theory and contemporary cosmopolitanism might fruitfully learn from one another. My conclusion is that David Held is not an anarchist, but a more consistent Heldian political philosophy would be.

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Dauderstädt Michael

**Deudas de Estado y Estados con deuda. Crisis y crecimiento en Europa**

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 229 , 17-25

Tras el shock financiero de 2007-2008 y la caída en el comercio internacional y la economía real de 2008-2009, la crisis económica mundial ingresó, en los primeros meses de este año, en su tercera fase: ahora aparece la amenaza de una crisis de las finanzas estatales. En este marco, en la reunión del g-20 realizada en Canadá, Alemania impuso un plan de recortes fiscales, en contraste con las posiciones de países como Estados Unidos y Francia, que defendían políticas más expansivas. El artículo analiza la situación actual de la crisis mundial y las diferentes alternativas para superarla.

Full text available at:

[http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3720\\_1.pdf](http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3720_1.pdf)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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McGregor Ian M.

**Disenfranchisement of Countries and Civil Society at COP-15 in Copenhagen**

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 11, Issue 1, February , 1-7

Civil society organizations were disenfranchised, as were many countries, at COP-15 in Copenhagen in December 2009. The main forces that contributed to this disenfranchisement were not, however, increased registration and the merging of movements within civil society. Poor planning did contribute to the disenfranchisement; however, in



cooperation with state actors, this was also to some extent overcome at COP-15. The unusual process by which the Copenhagen Accord was developed did disenfranchise civil society and many countries. Major concerns regarding the undemocratic nature of this process and the inadequacy of the Accord were raised by some countries in the final plenary of COP-15. These countries were backed by a number of civil society organizations that had already denounced the Accord as a non-deal, contributing to the COP not adopting the Accord as a formal decision. The Accord's existence was eventually only noted by the final COP-15 plenary, reflecting this widespread disaffection.

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**Biermann Frank, Betsill Michele M., Gupta Joyeeta, Kanie Norichika, Lebel Louis, Liverman Diana, Schroeder Heike, Siebenhüner Bernd, Zondervan Ruben**

**Earth system governance: a research framework**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 10, Number 4 - Special Issue: "Earth System Governance", December , 277-298

The Earth System Science Partnership, which unites all major global change research programmes, declared in 2001 an urgent need to develop "strategies for Earth System management". Yet what such strategies might be, how they could be developed, and how effective, efficient and equitable such strategies would be, remains unspecified. It is apparent that the institutions, organizations and mechanisms by which humans currently govern their relationship with the natural environment and global biochemical systems are not only insufficient—they are also poorly understood. This article presents the science programme of the Earth System Governance Project, a new 10-year global research effort endorsed by the International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change (IHDP). It outlines the concept of earth system governance as a challenge for the social sciences, and it elaborates on the interlinked analytical problems and research questions of earth system governance as an object of study. These analytical problems concern the overall architecture of earth system governance, agency beyond the state and of the state, the adaptiveness of governance mechanisms and processes as well as their accountability and legitimacy, and modes of allocation and access in earth system governance. The article also outlines four crosscutting research themes that are crucial for the study of each analytical problem as well as for the integrated understanding of earth system governance: the role of power, knowledge, norms and scale.

Full text available online: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/gv683h1556q50151/fulltext.pdf>.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Botto Mercedes Isabel**

**El G-20 y la gobernanza global: ¿un cambio en la arquitectura o en los procedimientos? Una mirada desde América Latina**

**in Nueva Sociedad**, n. 229 , 26-40

Surgido a partir de la preocupación por la inestabilidad del sistema financiero mundial, el g-20 reúne a los países centrales y a aquellos en vías de desarrollo, junto a instituciones globales de carácter económico y político. Esto lo ha convertido en la principal instancia de diálogo Norte-Sur y le otorga un carácter más democrático que el que tienen otros foros globales. Tras analizar su composición, su historia y su agenda, el artículo sostiene que, como sus decisiones no son vinculantes, la eficacia del g-20 reside en la posibilidad de intercambiar experiencias y buenas



prácticas. Y concluye que el gran desafío de los países en desarrollo es alcanzar consensos en torno de intereses compartidos, de modo de fortalecer su voz en el diálogo con los países del Norte.

Full text available at:

[http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3721\\_1.pdf](http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3721_1.pdf)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Ghose Arundhati

**Emerging Markets and Global Governance: An Indian Perspective**

*in International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 4, December , 49-61

China's emergence as an economic and military power has given rise to apprehensions globally, related not only to China's cultural and historical 'alienness', but also to its apparent willingness to challenge the global system and architecture of global governance. While non-Western countries are wary of the possible impact on them and on the global order of Chinese actions, they appear to be willing to cooperate with China on some global issues in order to change a system often seen as inequitable and unbalanced. Yet, the West seems to conflate the idea of a rising China with that of other emerging markets. Given their historical, political and cultural experiences, however, their access to power and influence, if and when it happens, need not necessarily take the same route as China. This is true particularly of India; India is likely, at least for the foreseeable future, to remain within the existing paradigm of global governance, though it may seek to adapt the rules and structures to better reflect its economic, political and security interests. This would not preclude cooperation on a selective basis on specific global issues with different partners, particularly in the realm of global challenges such as climate change, non-proliferation, international trade and finance and the global commons, such as space, the oceans and cyberspace.

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Urpelainen Johannes

**Enforcing international environmental cooperation: Technological standards can help**

*in Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 5, n. 4, december , 475-496

ABSTRACT: Market instruments, such as emissions trading or pollution taxes, are less costly than "command and control" regulation. Yet technological standards are common in international environmental agreements and now figure prominently among proposals to mitigate global warming. I show that technological standards can be combined with market instruments to create collective enforcement power. They allow states to internationally enforce technology installation, so the payoff to free riding decreases. A notable feature of the argument is that technological standards and market instruments are complements, while previous research has treated them as substitutes. Empirically, technological standards are most valuable if international cooperation is difficult to enforce and the rate of technological change in concerned industries is slow.



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Lazar Harvey, Wilson Kumanan, McDougall Christopher

**Federalism and the New International Health Regulations**

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 22nd Issue, 2/2010

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Dombrowski Kathrin

**Filling the gap? An analysis of non-governmental organizations responses to participation and representation deficits in global climate governance**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 10, Number 4 - Special Issue: "Earth System Governance", December , 397-416

The involvement of civil society actors such as NGOs is often presented as one possible remedy to shortcomings in the democratic legitimacy and accountability of institutions of earth system governance. This article uses the case of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to show how its constituency of environmental and development NGOs has responded to perceived representation and participation deficits in global climate policy-making. It discusses three types of NGO responses, which could potentially help to bring the voices of affected but marginalized communities to the relevant levels of climate policy-making: firstly, NGO proposals designed to remedy representation inequities among governments; secondly, NGO demands for strengthening opportunities for participation by societal stakeholders at all levels of climate policy-making; and finally, representative practices (based on authorization and accountability) reflected in the NGOs' own decision-making processes and governance structures. With regard to the first two types of responses, the article finds that the NGOs tend to support broadly similar standards of participation and representation in the climate convention. The analysis of the decision-making processes and governance structure of the Climate Action Network, the constituency focal point for the environment and development NGOs in the climate convention, highlights a number of ways through which the network can legitimately claim to represent a wider constituency. At the same time, however, it is important for NGOs not to underestimate the potential costs of high standards of inclusiveness and representativeness.

Full text available online: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/p267012117v55135/fulltext.pdf>.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Hamilton Daniel

**Forging Networked Security in a Nobody-in-Charge World**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 4, December , 5-11

There is much discussion of a 'multipolar' world in which great power consortia will manage global affairs. Reality will be different. The evolving international order is less likely to be shaped by great power condominium than driven by



in-between peoples and spaces in a nobody-in-charge world. In an era of more fluid alignments, secondary states and non-state actors are setting their own agendas, even as the nature of many regional and global challenges has changed. State-centric approaches must give room to network-based solutions providing more effective interactions among a broader range of actors, including governments, the private sector and non-governmental organisations.

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Gardels Nathan

**From a Flattening World to an Interdependence of Plural Identities**

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 27, Issue 4, Fall , 66-74

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5842.2010.01211.x/abstract>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Velo Dario

**From the European Monetary Union to the Atlantic Economic Monetary Union**

in *European Union Review*, Vol. 15, n. 1

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Dubois Pascale H el ene, Nowlan Aileen Elizabeth

**Global Administrative Law and the Legitimacy of Sanctions Regimes in International Law**

in *Yale Journal of International Law (The)*, Volume 36 (Fall 2010)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Acuto Michele

**Global Cities: Gorillas in Our Midst**

in *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Volume 35, n. 4, Oct.-Dec. , 425-448

This article calls for greater attention to global cities in the study of world affairs so as to promote a more holistic reading of global governance as a multiscalar set of processes composed by overlapping spheres of authority. The article shows how international studies have been insufficiently sensitive to the strategic role of global cities and how they are capable of acting on the global stage by exerting network power. This sheds light on the multilayered governmentality of global governance from an urban perspective. Looking through a lens of global cities, it is argued, will enable theorists to



connect macro processes to micro dynamics across a far wider spectrum of governance and political agencies.

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Lamy Pascal

**Global Governance: Getting Us Where We All Want to Go and Getting Us There Together**  
in **Global Policy**, Volume 1, Issue 3, October, 2010 , 312-314

The world of today is virtually unrecognizable from the world in which we lived at the turn of the millennium. The last ten years have given rise to new actors playing prominent roles on the global stage, new technological breakthroughs that have changed the way we interact and new challenges so serious in nature that they require all our collective energies and talents to confront them.

The sea change that has washed over our planet during the past decade means that we need to view the world in a different way. Long-standing methods of addressing global problems need to be scrutinized, updated or re-tooled if we are to tackle adequately the problems of today and tomorrow. This is not to suggest that existing institutions of global governance need to be scrapped or that new ones need to be created. It may be that the institutions of today can better respond to our needs if we can conceive of a superior method of interaction among institutions and governments. What do I mean by global governance? For me global governance describes the system we set up to assist human society to achieve its common purpose in a sustainable manner, that is, with equity and justice. Growing interdependence requires that our laws, our social norms and values and our mechanisms for framing human behaviour be examined, debated, understood and operated together as coherently as possible. This is what would provide the basis for effective sustainable development in its economic, social and environmental dimensions.

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Florig Dennis

**Hegemonic overreach vs. imperial overstretch**  
in **Review of International Studies (The)**, Vol. 36, Issue 4, November , 1103-1119

The concept of hegemonic overreach proposes a revision of Kennedy's notion of imperial overstretch that puts more emphasis on policy choices of hegemonic states. Previous long-cycle theories of hegemonic breakdown have focused on the contradiction between the hegemon's growing military-political commitments and its slipping economic capability relative to rising challenger states. Another key contradiction in US foreign policy is between the imperatives of hegemony and the ideology of messianic mission developed long before the US stepped up to its current global role. Hegemonic overreach, driven by this sense of messianic mission, is a major cause of failure in US foreign policy.

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Khanna Parag

**How's That New World Order Working Out?**



in **Foreign Policy**, Issue 184, November

The multipolar moment has arrived -- and it's nothing like Americans imagined.

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/29/hows\\_that\\_new\\_world\\_order\\_working\\_out](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/29/hows_that_new_world_order_working_out)

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De Brabandere Eric

**Immunity of International Organizations in Post-conflict International Administrations**

in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 7, n. 1 , 79-119

ABSTRACT: The role played by international organizations in international law has evolved in the past decades. However, the continued application of an absolute system of immunities to international organizations has often led to a perception of impunity, in particular when organizations are involved in the administrations of foreign territories. Even though absolute immunity has been described as an 'anachronism', this article argues that international organization immunity serves a useful and essential purpose. The grant of privileges and immunities to international organizations is indispensable to allow the organization to effectively and independently carry out its functions. The functional reflections that lie at the basis of the immunities system of international organizations still are extremely pertinent when organizations exercise administrative duties in place of a state. This article thus claims that there is a need to maintain immunities in order to preserve institutional autonomy, even when the UN or another international organization has taken up administrative duties in a state or territory, and suggests that, instead of proposing a revision or abolition of the system of immunities, the focus should be placed on the establishment of effective alternative mechanisms to assess alleged violations of the international legal obligations of the organization.

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Akanle Tomilola

**Impact of Ozone Layer Protection on the Avoidance of Climate Change: Legal Issues and Proposals to Address the Problem**

in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 19, Issue 2, July , 239-249

This article examines some of the issues raised by the interconnections between efforts to protect the ozone layer and efforts to address climate change. It focuses on the replacement of certain ozone-depleting substances with alternatives that have high global warming potential, and the proposals made by some countries to address the resulting problems by placing the responsibility on parties to the Montreal Protocol to control these alternatives. The article also discusses some of the challenges of having two or more regimes deal with the same subject matter, albeit in different ways, and highlights the need for cooperation and coordination across regimes.

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Welsh Jennifer

**Implementing the “Responsibility to Protect”: Where Expectations Meet Reality**  
in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 24, n. 4, winter , 415-430

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Ngwena Charles

**Inscribing Abortion as a Human Right: Significance of the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa**  
in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 32, number 4, november

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Lawlor Kathleen, Weinthal Erika, Olander Lydia

**Institutions and Policies to Protect Rural Livelihoods in REDD+ Regimes**  
in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 10, Issue 4, November , 1-11

While there is growing interest among researchers and practitioners concerning the risks that emerging REDD+ regimes pose to rural livelihoods, there has been little scholarly analysis of specific policies that could be applied to guard against these risks. We argue that for REDD+ regimes to avoid negative impacts on local populations, social safeguard policies will need to overcome the significant barriers posed by ambiguous property rights and weak governance and create five institutional conditions: (1) local community support for project-level activities, (2) citizen participation in reforms affecting property rights and land use, (3) transparency of forest carbon revenue flows, (4) citizen access to grievance mechanisms, and (5) opportunities for adaptive management through evaluation. We identify and discuss various policies that could be applied to produce these conditions. We argue that positively engaging rural populations in REDD+ may be integral to the effectiveness of programs in reducing deforestation and degradation, and enhancing forest carbon stores. Future research should aim to identify the causal mechanisms (policies and institutions) responsible for positive socioeconomic and ecological impacts in REDD+, while testing key theories that link participation to conservation and development outcomes.

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Schneiderman David

**Investing in democracy? Political process and international investment law**  
in *University of Toronto Law Journal*, Vol. 60, n. 4 , 1710-1174

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Gillett Rachel

**Jazz and the Evolution of Black American Cosmopolitanism in Interwar Paris**

in *Journal of World History*, Volume 21, Number 3, September , 471-496

This article shows that African American jazz performers created a cosmopolitan diasporic network through transatlantic touring during the interwar years. Successful black musicians and dancers lived in large international cities, or "cosmopolitan pleasure centers," to quote singer Florence Mills, and they performed in the international space of the nightclub. Most of them retained a strong sense of identity as black Americans and invoked their international experiences to criticize narrow racial practices in the United States. Collectively, these men and women forged a practice of black American cosmopolitanism that was transmitted back to America by way of the black press. Examining their experiences serves to interrogate and expand the idea of cosmopolitan practice, and understanding their experiences as cosmopolitan explains why the "jazz migration" was an important political and cultural phenomenon for the larger black American community at the time.

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Mauro Maria Rosaria

**Leggi di amnistia e punizione dei crimini internazionali**

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCIII, fascicolo 2 , 343-401

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Mazor Joseph

**Liberal Justice, Future People, and Natural Resource Conservation**

in *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Volume 38, Issue 4, Fall 2010 , 380-408

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Karlsson Christer, Parker Charles, Hjerpe Mattias, Linnér Björn-Ola

**Looking for Leaders: Perceptions of Climate Change Leadership among Climate Change Negotiation Participants**

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 11, Issue 1, February , 89-107

There is widespread consensus that effective leadership will be required in order to successfully address the climate change challenge. Presently there are a number of self-proclaimed climate change leaders, but leadership is a relationship between leaders and followers. An actor aspiring to be a leader needs to be recognized as such. Despite its



fundamental importance for leadership relationships, the demand side of the leadership equation has been comparatively neglected by past research. In this study we are looking for leaders by analyzing the perceptions of climate change leadership among participants. Our results show that the climate change leadership mantle will have to be worn by more than one actor. Among the leadership candidates the EU was most widely recognized as a leader, however, only a small minority reported that they saw the EU as the only leader. The data also show that the US and the G77 thus far have failed to impress potential followers and it was China that clearly emerged as the second strongest leadership candidate.

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Pararas Petros J.

**L'impossible universalité des droits de l'homme**

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, n. 85

Au départ d'une distinction à opérer entre l'universalité, l'universalisme et l'universalisation des droits de l'homme et compte tenu de l'origine occidentale des droits de l'homme ainsi que de la réticence de certaines cultures, spécialement, aujourd'hui, de celle de l'islam, aux droits de l'homme proclamés, l'article conclut à l'universalité limitée des droits de l'homme ainsi conçus.

Based on a distinction between universality, universalism and universalization of human rights and considering their occidental origin as well as the reticence of some cultures, in particular, nowadays, of the Islamic one, towards internationally proclaimed human rights, the present article concludes that the universality of human rights, as conceived today, is limited.

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Salpin Charlotte, Germani Valentina

**Marine Protected Areas Beyond Areas of National Jurisdiction: What's Mine is Mine and What You Think is Yours is also Mine**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 19, Issue 2, July , 174-184

The article analyses the progress and challenges related to the establishment of marine protected areas (MPAs), in particular beyond national jurisdiction, in light of relevant global goals. A number of myths related to MPAs are highlighted, as well as issues of a legal and institutional nature that have arisen recently as a result of proposals to establish MPAs beyond national jurisdiction. In particular, the article focuses on issues relating to the establishment of these MPAs as they relate to the on-going process of establishment of the outer limits of the continental shelf of coastal States pursuant to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

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Badescu Cristina, Weiss Thomas



**Misrepresenting R2P and Advancing Norms: An Alternative Spiral?**

in *International Studies Perspectives* , vol. 11, issue 4, november , 354-374

ABSTRACT: International relations scholars generally argue that norm-building requires a number of successful cases. This essay, however, is about three concrete examples when virtually everyone—except for the state citing it—disputes the legitimacy of applying the emerging norm of the responsibility-to-protect (R2P). Misrepresentations of humanitarian intentions can be disingenuous and geopolitically driven, as was the case for the US and UK war in Iraq and the Russian claim to protect South Ossetians, or disinterested but wrong, as was the French invocation of R2P for Burma. These cases suggest that misuses can advance norms through contestation and conceptual clarification. Because contestation prompts debates, denial, and tactical concessions on the norm in question, it is insightful to compare and contrast R2P’s development against the early stages of two theoretical models that deal most explicitly with contestation: the “spiral” of human rights change and the “cascade” of norm development.

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Collins Richard, White Nigel

**Moving Beyond the Autonomy-Accountability Dichotomy: Reflections on Institutional Independence in the International Legal Order**

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 7, n. 1 , 1-8

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Levi Lucio

**Multi-level Governance and Federalism**

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

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

The globalization process is characterized by a tension between unification and fragmentation. The global and local do not exclude each other. On the contrary, they are two aspects of a single process. The move towards globalization and world unification coexists with decentralization and localization. Nor is the nation-state destined to disappear.

Ronald Robertson coined the word “glocalization” to describe this process, for while globalization brings with it the unification of markets, civil society, cultural models, life styles and political institutions, it also fosters a need to preserve existing differences, local cultures and institutions. In fact, the moves to equalize and level social patterns simultaneously generate a need to maintain and develop more traditional local cultures and identities.

The trend towards fragmentation, takes two different forms. The first is a type of ethnic nationalism which not only resists globalization, but also can often result in the disintegration of established nation-states, thus leading to the transformation of the world into a collection of closed communities divided by tribal hatred. The second, alternative, scenario foresees the redistribution of governmental powers to different levels ranging from sub-national to



supra-national through a structure of local and regional self-governments designed to be compatible with supranational powers and institutions.

Thus the erosion of state sovereignty stimulates the need for new forms of governance based on a division of competences between the national and the higher and lower levels of government. The architectural articulation of authority structures which has occurred in the globalization era has much in common with the medieval political organization, as Hedley Bull pointed out in his book *The Anarchical Society*, written in 1977 at the time when the word globalization was just beginning to come into use. His theory of a “new medievalism” underlines the analogy between the reorganization of the national and international political space, in progress during the last phase of the Cold War, and the overlapping of different levels of government from the local to the universal community which was typical of medieval times.

Whereas the formation of the modern state was characterized by the assertion of the concept of sovereignty – i.e. the progressive centralization of power on the military, fiscal, administrative, legislative and judiciary plane –, globalization on the other hand triggers a process which is developing in the opposite direction, namely that of the decentralization of political power and legal systems. A growing number of power centers are escaping state control and thereby undermining state sovereignty.

Observation of the effects of the globalization process shows the old sovereign states’ diminishing authority, the wider spread of political power and the weakening of legal certainties. Clashes between ill-defined rights pave the way to abuse. Encroachment by the strongest powers and groups against the weakest, the assertion of new privileges, the limitation of individual liberties, the spread of violence: all these aspects of the globalization process represent a serious danger to the values and institutions on which our civilization rests.

The ‘state’ is an invaluable heritage and a building bloc of the civilization process. On it depends the supremacy of the common good over the private interests. The problem, therefore, is to rethink and reorganize the state, not to abolish it.

In contemporary political-science literature, this reorganization of political power at different territorial levels has been called “multi-level governance”. This expression echoes the federalist vision of political institutions and enables us to rethink and question the traditional model of the unitary state. It is worth recalling that Kenneth C. Wheare defines the federal government “that system of power sharing that allows the central government and the regional governments to be, each in its own sphere, coordinated and independent”. It is appropriate to call this institutional arrangement “multi-level government”.

It is simply a delusion to imagine that the destruction of the nation-state alone could prove to be the vehicle towards more elevated forms of solidarity. It is true that the nation-state has led to the deepest political divisions and the strongest concentrations of power that the world has ever experienced. However, the well-known examples of Yugoslavia and Somalia show how the collapse of the state has meant a return to primitive barbarism, to ferocious, selfish tribalism and a return to obsolete forms of solidarity based on ethnic or religious ties.

Faced with these phenomena, one can appreciate the positive aspects of national solidarity in overcoming local, regional and class self-interests and the great role that nation-states have played in our history. France, Spain, Italy and Germany have unified populations with a variety of cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds. To be sure, this unity was achieved by means of centralization, i.e. by sacrificing pluralism. It is what the federalists of the past century, from Proudhon to Frantz and Cattaneo, untiringly denounced even if the federalist political proposal, historically, had no



chance of influencing states such as France, Germany and Italy. In fact, the strong political and military pressure that these states underwent on their borders and the radical nature assumed by the class struggle created a drive towards power centralisation that no force could oppose. The fact is that democratic centralism has been a stage in the construction of democracy, of its extension to mixed populations with equal rights as citizens; and a means of overcoming old political and economic institutions in which the privileges of the feudal guilds were concealed.

Federalism's contribution to understanding, and therefore to identifying, the limitations of the national experience lies in the denunciation of the exclusive character assumed by the ties of national solidarity, which do not tolerate any loyalty towards communities that are smaller or larger than the nation itself. However, national solidarity does not have to be abandoned in the globalization era. It should rather be considered as a necessary step towards wider forms of solidarity shared between nations within regional federations which will themselves be bound together in a worldwide federation. At the same time, national solidarity does not exclude other forms of solidarity within regional and local communities, but can coexist with them.

The federal model is therefore an institutional formula that allows for the coexistence of solidarity between territorial communities of varying sizes ranging, where necessary, from small local communities to – through UN reform – the entire world.

Evidence shows that the federalizing process is now increasingly widespread. It will eventually embrace entire continents and potentially the whole of the planet. At the same time, certain unitary states have also been influenced by federalism, leading some of them to transfer power towards smaller territorial communities. As a result of this process developing in two directions, one towards the top of the federal hierarchy and the other towards the bottom, it has become necessary to organize federations with more than two levels of government and so to supersede the traditional model that shared power only between the federal government and the federated states.

To these two levels of government must now be added (with an equal standing within the state) the region, county or province (i.e. the intermediate community between the region and towns), and local community levels, i.e. the borough of a large city or the town. Then, above the continental federation, there is the worldwide level. Of course, in each of these territorial areas, institutions already exist that are a clear expression of governmental and organizational requirements. These are not, however, usually autonomous centres of power, but are subordinate to the nation-state. Their institutional reorganisation according to the federal pattern allows every level of government to be given an independent power. This implies full freedom for each level of government to have relationships within the framework of its own authority with all the other corresponding or different levels without being subjected to the control (except for those of a constitutional nature) of the higher levels of government. For example, Region-European Union relationships, or links between bordering regions, and so on.

The federal model should be seen not as destroying the national model but as superseding it. It is a change in two directions: towards the top and towards the bottom. In fact, the federalist design improves on the limitations of national democracy, which is in decline owing to its excessive concentration of power in the hands of national governments. This improvement is achieved by adding new levels of government, popular participation and citizenship, both above and within the nations.

On the other hand, the decline of power politics and the ever closer interdependence between peoples have weakened not only the incentives towards centralisation. It has also changed the traditional concept of border. This used to give states the unchangeable shape of a closed society with homogeneous characteristics. The new forms of federal



organization link the coexistence of different levels of government with openness and the overlapping of the individual territorial communities.

As an example, the removal of military and economic divisions within the European Union has brought to light the artificial character of nation-states. It is now possible for border populations to develop new forms of association with their neighbours in the European regions, such as in the Basque countries, Tyrol, Catalonia and Roussillon, Alsace and Baden, or the region where the French and English face each other across the Channel. Possibly there will be in the future an institutionalization of these regions that goes beyond mere cross-frontier cooperation. This would constitute a new aspect of contemporary federalism and point the way to overcome the obsolete formula of the nation-state.

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Peterson John

**Multilateralism and the EU: A 'Cheap Date'?**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 4, December , 43-48

Future historians may consider 2010 a defining moment in the evolution of attitudes towards multilateralism. Natural disasters, China's economic rise, and continued sluggish growth elsewhere might well condition future attitudes. Beyond the headlines, three points seem clear. First, building multilateralism is a long game: there is a considerable lag between changed perceptions about the desirability of multilateral cooperation and its realisation. Second, building multilateralism requires political impulse and leadership. Third, the extension of multilateralism requires the right domestic as well as international political conditions. Current political and economic conditions suggest that patience is in order in the quest to build a more multilateral order.

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Boström Magnus, Tamm Hallström Kristina

**NGO Power in Global Social and Environmental Standard-Setting**

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 10, Issue 4, November , 36-59

We have seen a worldwide increase in new nonstate, multi-stakeholder organizations setting standards for socially and environmentally responsible behavior. These standard-setting arenas offer new channels for political participation for NGOs. Scholars have drawn attention to the rise and the role of NGOs in global politics, but there is less research on the power and long-term implications of NGO participation in transnational multi-stakeholder standard-setting. This article analyzes NGOs within three such global organizations: the Forest Stewardship Council, the Marine Stewardship Council, and the International Organization for Standardization on Social Responsibility. Using a power-based perspective, we demonstrate the impact that NGOs can have on multi-stakeholder work. In doing so, we analyze four types of NGO power: symbolic, cognitive, social, and monitoring power. The article further emphasizes institutional, structural, and discursive factors within multi-stakeholder organizations that create certain challenges to NGO power and participation in the longer term.



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Baratta Joseph

**Opinion on World Government in the USA**

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

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

“Notwithstanding this prospect of a very full and respectable meeting [the Philadelphia Convention of 1787], no very sanguine expectations can be well indulged. The probable diversity of opinions and prejudices, and of supposed or real interests among the States, renders the issue totally uncertain. The existing embarrassments and mortal diseases of the Confederation form the only ground of hope that a spirit of concession on all sides may be produced by the general chaos...”

James Madison2

Anyone who seeks principled guidance for establishing a republic of the world, and hence the beginnings of a world governed by universal law, would do well to study the records of the American constitutional convention at Philadelphia and The Federalist Papers, which justified it. The diversity of people brought into the American Union was certainly not so great as in Europe, and far less than in the whole world, but the courage with which the Founding Fathers faced the necessity of a government will continue to inspire humanity in search of peace. “If we are in earnest about giving the Union energy and duration”, wrote Hamilton, “we must abandon the vain project of legislating upon the States in their collective capacities; we must extend the laws of the federal government to the individual citizens of America” 3.

Thomas G. Weiss has written another challenging book on the United Nations, starting from the perspective of global governance, but what is unusual about this one is that he concludes with some regret that the idea of world government seems to have dropped out of contemporary thinking about international relations. Governance lacks, he admits, “prescriptive power in pointing to where we should be headed”. Their assumptive framework (world government is unattainable) reduces governance scholars to observers at most of creative initiatives mostly within the UN Secretariat (what Weiss calls the “Second UN”) to solving global problems, while those efforts mostly fail in the face of state (“First UN”) resistance. “We have strayed too far”, he writes, “from the kind of paradigmatic rethinking of human relations that is absolutely critical if we are to solve the more intractable problems faced by the United Nations”.

What is also surprising, Sir Brian Urquhart in his preface praises Weiss for going further from the present stage of thought on “international governance” toward “world government”. “Weiss suggests”, writes Urquhart, “that world government is the necessary conceptual basis for adequate future management of the major problems of our planet”. Since Urquhart refused to write a preface for my book, *The Politics of World Federation*, we wonder what has changed his mind? In the last chapter of *What’s Wrong with the United Nations*, Weiss does not fail to appeal to the prejudices of fellow scholars in the mainstream with remarks about “rabid world federalists” and “idealism beyond the pale”, “naive and demented”. But later he actually makes quite an argument, as he did in his 2009 International Studies Association presidential address<sup>4</sup>, for restoring the idea of world government to the spectrum of thinking about international relations. His last line is, “...how soon will we revert to an old-fashioned concept, world government?”. His next book is said to be, *The UN and Global Governance: An Unfinished Journey*.



The very term, “world government”, in the hands of most mainstream scholars in the United States, is pejorative, since they imagine it means a unitary world state built on the destruction of the national states. Hence, we prefer the term, “world federal government”, since no historic proposal since first use of atomic bombs in war was unitary and all aimed to preserve the states: Robert M. Hutchins, G.A. Borgese, and the University of Chicago’s Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution (1948), Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn’s *World Peace through World Law* (1958), and Philip Isley’s *Constitution for the Federation of Earth* (1977). The whole point of these proposals was to preserve the United States, like other states, in a world grown too interdependent for isolationism, another name for absolute sovereignty.

Weiss at least uses “world government” fairly as the fundamental alternative to an organization of sovereign states (a “confederation”) like the United Nations. The idea of world federal government has historically functioned as the extreme of the spectrum of thinking about international organization. UN introductory documents take care to define the UN as “not a world government”. Until recently, it was possible for such a person as Gillian Sorenson, advisor to the UN Foundation, to deflect “UN bashing” by the Heritage Foundation with bashing “world government” – at least until she was challenged in Cambridge by someone who knew *The Federalist*, Nos. 23 and 51! What is significant about Weiss and Campbell Craig, as reviewed here in *The Federalist Debate*, Year XXIII, Number 2, July 2010, is that they are not ridiculing the idea any more but taking it seriously. Even Paul Kennedy, in *The Parliament of Man*, cites my book in his first note. He treats world federalism as beyond the pale, but at least he does not ignore it<sup>5</sup>. Joshua Goldstein and Jon Pevehouse, in their standard text, *International Relations*, used in many courses including my own, repeatedly discuss world government as the theoretical alternative to anarchy, especially in the field of positive peace<sup>6</sup>. World federal government may be difficult to establish, but it is adequate to the problem of the anarchy of states.

The philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer wrote: “Truth passes through three stages: first it is ridiculed, then it is violently opposed, and finally it is accepted as self-evident”<sup>7</sup>. World federalism is currently in the first stage, yet, since the end of the Cold War, it is slipping into the more serious category. Weiss’s book exhibits the strain. The whole book goes by without a mention of the rule of law until p. 218, when “laws” are mentioned as elements in the notion of global governance. Does he mean domestic or international law? A little later in a context closer to world federalism (described there as “rabid”), there is a second mention of “law”. The good man cannot even imagine that what is seriously proposed is the rule of world law, enacted by a world legislature, enforced by a world executive, with the assistance of a world judiciary, exactly as in any of the 30 historic national federations. Weiss makes no mention of a Second Chamber of the UN General Assembly, as proposed by Andrew Strauss and Richard Falk<sup>8</sup>, which is exactly the kind of current, shrewd proposals to move the world toward the inauguration of the rule of world law. The idea is building a constituency in the Campaign for the Establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, which as of 2009 has been supported by 731 members of national parliaments from 96 countries<sup>9</sup>.

What is needed to break the current impasse at the UN – however naïve and unrealistic it may seem – is to find ways to enlist the people in the work of the United Nations. In Weiss’s book, there is virtually nothing on the people, prospective world citizens, representative government (even like that of the EU), and law enacted with the consent of the governed. As long as global governance scholars cannot bring the people into their thinking, they will be unable to take the step toward world federal government. For what world federalists demand is to abandon the distinction between “domestic” and “international” affairs, just as is happening now with the weakening of the Charter’s Article 2(7), the shift in peacekeeping to peace enforcement, repeated humanitarian intervention to protect human rights, and the emerging norm of the responsibility to protect (R2P). After 2007, in the fifth edition of his mainstream text, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, Weiss introduced a term for the people’s role in the work of the UN (the “Third UN”, mostly NGOs, Multi National Corporations, and the occasional individual), but it needs to be greatly developed and encouraged.





The notion of world politics, we submit, has to change if we are to move to world federal government. Weiss seems to think, with Goldstein and most mainstream international relations scholars, that world politics means the relations between states and occasional non-state actors. But that includes war and all the violence that goes under the head of the threat and use of force, despite the Charter's effort to forbid it in Article 2(4). To call such things politics, seems to me like calling rape, love. It is not politics as the completion of ethics (Aristotle), nor the process by which a free people choose their governors and enact the laws (American usage). If the US invasion of Iraq, without UN Security Council mandate, and then the killing of at least 100,000 people and the making of 2,000,000 refugees is politics, then it must be extremely primitive politics, suitable for Men emerging from the Stone Age.

One difficulty in going still further toward world federal government is that federalist plans like the Chicago Committee's or Clark and Sohn's have run against the conventional wisdom of the inadvisability of Charter amendment. Yet the Charter has been amended (1965, 1973), so it is not impossible, and the old plans deal with conditions not very different from those today. Even my history of the federalist movement, read with a little imagination, recounts events rather like those today. Probably the last significant proposal for the practical federation of modern states was Altiero Spinelli's Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union (1984), which was enacted by the European Parliament after it was made directly elected by the people. It passed by a vote of 237 to 31, with 43 abstentions. Although rejected by the Council of Ministers, it led to the Maastricht Treaty and the European Union we have today since Lisbon. At the world level, a similar proposal based on democratic legitimacy could lead to similar achievements.

Weiss's book will be useful for both global governance theorists and scholars inclined toward world federal government. His views draw attention to the post-Cold War developments (like the decline of sovereignty and the growth of new partnerships) that point toward greater centralization in international organization. He informs the public about the great continuing difficulties (like the North-South imbalance) that cannot be wished away by projects to increase popular representation in the General Assembly or strengthen the rudimentary international court system (ICC). He draws his guidance, if not from the world federalist literature, then from such Second UN critical works as Robert Jackson's Capacity Study (1969); the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty's report (2001), which gave us R2P; the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change's report (2004), which outlined Security Council reform for the ill-fated 2005 summit on UN reform; and especially the High-Level Panel on Coherence's report, *Delivering as One* (2006), which Weiss cites revealingly for his critique of development. Any scholar or aspiring world citizen would do well to consult these works for current information on the difficulties before any form of international organization.

We conclude with some world federalist comments on the UN's delivery of international peace and security. It is time to admit that most of Chapter VII is misconceived; it amounts to international war on the pattern of World War II, starting with aerial bombing (Art. 45). There is a reason why collective security has worked only twice (1950, 1990), if threatened perhaps eleven times, as Daniel Ellsberg once pointed out: Such "action" is so indiscriminate that national states will not agree to its use, except in the now exceptional case of cross-border aggression. Meanwhile, the threat of UN force corrupts the whole development of peaceful settlement (Chapter VI) and of proper institutions of world law, including treaties to protect and promote human rights, state reporting systems, and slow progress toward courts like the European Court. Madison, faced with the problem of enforcement by the federal government, once argued that "the use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war, than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound"<sup>10</sup>. There is a need for a military power at the world level, true, but it cannot be the usual meaning of "enforcement".



Experience shows that cooperation among sovereigns is almost worthless in building lasting peace. Jean Monnet understood this when turning to the European Community, looking forward to its outcome in a federal union<sup>11</sup>. In a European context, to suppose that voluntary cooperation is enough to undo a history of war and hatred would be to suppose that the Council of Europe could succeed better than the still emerging European Union, which already, even if not yet a strict federation, has abolished war among its 27 members.

Almost certainly, for a change from cooperation to binding law, a crisis will be necessary, as Mark Malloch Brown fears. Jean Monnet did, too, saying, for the hard work of uniting sovereignties, people will act only when faced by a crisis<sup>12</sup>. Thomas Jefferson said much the same when he wrote, "All experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than they are to right themselves by changing the forms to which they are accustomed"<sup>13</sup>. Judging by current trends, this crisis will come when America falls, as did Britain, from the rank of world hegemon. Then we will need world federal government. Scholars should prepare for such a day.

Let me conclude by pointing out that there exists a vast, unworked literature on world federation and general international relations scholarship that looks in that direction. In *The United Nations System: Meeting the World Constitutional Crisis* (1995), we surveyed the most progressive literature since the end of the Cold War<sup>14</sup>. The book is an annotated bibliography, organized from most to least consensus on effective international organization – from the Universal Postal Union to the UN Environment Program. In *The Politics of World Federation* (2004), we included another annotated bibliography on world federal government, pro and con<sup>15</sup>.

Review of Thomas G. Weiss, *What's Wrong with the United Nations, and How to Fix It*. Foreword by Sir Brian Urquhart. Polity Press, 2008.

2 *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, Vol. I, 1769-1793 (New York, 1884), pp. 286-87.

3 *Federalist*, No. 23. Other numbers relevant to UN reform include 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 21, 39, 46, 51.

4 Thomas G. Weiss, "What Happened to the Idea of World Government?" *International Studies Quarterly* (2009) 53, 253–271.

5 Paul Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations* (New York: Random House, 2006), 3, 295.

6 Joshua S. Goldstein and Jon C. Pevehouse, *International Relations* (Longman Pearson, 9th ed., 2009), 134.

7 Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, Foreword to the First Edition (1818), p. xv.

8 Andrew Strauss and Richard A. Falk, "Toward Global Parliament", *Foreign Affairs*, 80 (2001): 212-20; Strauss, "Envisioning a More Democratic Global System", *Widener Law Review*, 13, 2 (2007).

9 <http://www.unpacampaign.org/>

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Nations\\_Parliamentary\\_Assembly](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Parliamentary_Assembly)

10 Max Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911, 1966), I: 54.

11 Jean Monnet, *Memoirs*, trans. Richard Mayne, intro. George Ball (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978), 17-20, 87, 271, 295, 316, motto.

12 *Ibid.*, 13, 421.

13 *Declaration of Independence*, 1776.

14 Joseph Preston Baratta, *The United Nations System: Meeting the World Constitutional Crisis*. Oxford: ABC-Clio; New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press, 1995.

15 Baratta, *The Politics of World Federation*. Vol. 1: United Nations, UN Reform, Atomic Control. Vol. 2: From World



Federalism to Global Governance. Westport, CT: Praeger Press, 2004.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Young Alasdair R.

**Perspectives on the Changing Global Distribution of Power: Concepts and Context**

**in Politics**, Vol. 30, Issue 4, December , 2-14

Since the mid-2000s it has become common, although far from universal, to characterise the world as 'multipolar'. There has, however, been scant attention to how the key protagonists view the changing distribution of power. This article sets the stage for this special issue of POLITICS, which begins to address that lacuna. It introduces the significance of a change in the global balance of power and explores how power in the international context is understood and assessed. It then makes the case for which actors are the key protagonists in the current global distribution of power and contextualises the subsequent articles by providing comparative indicators of power across a range of dimensions. Drawing on the contributions, this article concludes that while the 'rules of the game' of international politics probably will change, they are unlikely to do so beyond all recognition.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Ostrom Elinor

**Polycentric systems for coping with collective action and global environmental change**

**in Global Environmental Change**, Volume 20, Issue 4, 20th Anniversary Special Issue, October , 550-557

The 20th anniversary issue of Global Environmental Change provides an important opportunity to address the core questions involved in addressing "global environmental" problems—especially those related to climate change. Climate change is a global collective-action problem since all of us face the likelihood of extremely adverse outcomes that could be reduced if many participants take expensive actions. Conventional collective-action theory predicts that these problems will not be solved unless an external authority determines appropriate actions to be taken, monitors behavior, and imposes sanctions. Debating about global efforts to solve climate-change problems, however, has yet not led to an effective global treaty. Fortunately, many activities can be undertaken by multiple units at diverse scales that cumulatively make a difference. I argue that instead of focusing only on global efforts (which are indeed a necessary part of the long-term solution), it is better to encourage polycentric efforts to reduce the risks associated with the emission of greenhouse gases. Polycentric approaches facilitate achieving benefits at multiple scales as well as experimentation and learning from experience with diverse policies.

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Leone Jacopo

**Post-Sovereign Security and the Absence of the Political**

**in Peace, Conflict and Development**, Volume 16, Issue 6, November , 87-109

The present study offers a comprehensive account of the dynamics at the base of the meaning of post-sovereign security, with particular attention to its emerging humanitarian sensibility. Using recent post-positivist theoretical approaches, the universalist ontology proper of human rights considerations is critically considered, and its codification illustrated through the principle of Responsibility to Protect. As several failures of the recent past showed, humanitarian practices need to reject their cosmopolitan attitude ultimately unfeasible within an anarchical system, and apply instead the interactional concept of the political. In this way the pluriverse of identities proper of anarchy can be assessed, and a fruitful synthesis with the universalist values of the humanitarian regime can be found. Indeed, although a more flexible new medieval international order of overlapped authorities could have a positive impact, the rejection of absolute state-sovereignty cannot consent to easily pursue universal aims. Anarchy remains the ultimate systemic condition, and the political its main corollary. In conclusion, a politicisation of humanitarian practices appears as the only practicable solution for an effective international action. Full text available online:

[http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/iss\\_16\\_art\\_12f.pdf](http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/iss_16_art_12f.pdf)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Hulme Mike

**Problems with making and governing global kinds of knowledge**

**in Global Environmental Change**, Volume 20, Issue 4, 20th Anniversary Special Issue, October , 558-564

During its 20 years of publication, the journal *Global Environmental Change* has given visibility and coherence to the eponymous research paradigm. Global environmental research has brought forth new kinds of knowledge about the multi-scale interactions between physical and social dimensions of the environment. This essay reflects on some of the problems with making and governing these global kinds of knowledge, as suggested through the perspectives of a nascent geography of science. I use climate change – an emblematic theme of global environmental change research over the last 20 years – to examine three facets of the global environmental change paradigm: making global kinds of knowledge, globalising environmental values and the governance of knowledge-making. New global kinds of knowledge have gained power and visibility in contemporary scientific, public and political fora and yet such knowledge can be 'brittle', easily cracked and broken. A geography of global environmental change knowledge therefore demands we turn our attention away from the globalising instincts that so easily erase difference and collapse meaning, and instead concern ourselves with understanding the relationships between knowledge-making and human culture in evolving places. Only then will we recognise the ambiguities, voids and blind spots in our understanding of the world's complexity.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Berkhout Frans

**Reconstructing boundaries and reason in the climate debate**

**in Global Environmental Change**, Volume 20, Issue 4, 20th Anniversary Special Issue, October , 565-569

In this article I argue that the climate controversies of 2009 and 2010 should be seen as a contest about the boundaries



of science; a contest which sociologists argue has long been important in establishing claims about the nature and authority of science. This boundary typically comes under pressure where science is asked to contribute to public policy. Three changes appear to have brought pressure on this boundary, and therefore on the authority of science, in the domain climate change: public scrutiny of practices in science, such as peer review; the intensification of climate politics, especially around the 2009 Copenhagen climate summit; and the opportunities provided by new media for dissident opinions to play a role in the international public discourse about climate change. These changes explain the intensity of the recent climate controversies. They seem to confront climate science and science generally with uncomfortable questions about its own procedures, about the status of scientific knowledge claims in the public realm and about the role of expertise. At the end of the article I speculate about how to reconstruct a more open and interactive boundary between science and public discourse as a basis for more reasoned debate about climate change.

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Mahubani Kishore

**Regards asiatiques sur la gouvernance globale**

in *Esprit*, Octobre 2010 , 85-99

Les institutions internationales installées dans les suites de la Seconde Guerre mondiale accordent peu de représentation à l'Asie. Or, la montée en puissance des pays asiatiques rend ce déséquilibre plus flagrant et plus insupportable. Comment rééquilibrer le poids des acteurs internationaux sur la scène globale ?

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Angelov Angel

**Regional involvement in peace operations: an analysis of the debate within the UN Security Council**

in *Conflict, Security, and Development*, vol. 10, issue 5, december , 599-623

ABSTRACT: The paper analyses the debates within the UN Security Council on the role of regional organisations in peace operations and examines associated pro and con arguments. The systemisation of the findings is facilitated through the application of SWOT analysis that requires an insight into the unit and system levels of analysis. The first one looks at regional organisations and studies the strengths and the weaknesses that could promote or obscure their greater involvement in peace operations. The second level studies the international political environment that could provide opportunities for greater regional involvement or pose threats (obstacles) to it. The study indicates that there is a clearly established numerical predominance of supporters of greater regional involvement in peace operations over the regio-sceptics. However, the conclusion is that while the permanent members of the UN Security Council continue to endorse such involvement in the field, they will keep avoiding the formalisation and institutionalisation of the role of regional organisations on a political level.

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Urpelainen Johannes

**Regulation under Economic Globalization**



in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 54, issue 4, december , 1099-1121

ABSTRACT: How does economic globalization shape the regulations that states enact to control negative externalities? Previous research downplays the role of international cooperation and the present historical context, so it cannot offer a coherent theoretic account of the empirical record. I construct a formal model in which states can engage in regulatory cooperation to coordinate their policies. I prove three main results. First, a “race to the bottom” is unlikely because it requires non-cooperative adjustments by industrialized countries. Second, a partial “race to the top” is likely because many emerging countries stand to gain from reduced negative externalities and the competitiveness problem is limited when the most lucrative export markets are already regulated. Finally, powerful industrialized countries with a high regulatory capacity benefit from a global expansion of regulation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Paasivirta Esa

**Responsibility of a Member state of an International Organization: Where Will It End? Comments on Article 60 of the ILC Draft on the Responsibility of International Organizations**

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 7, n. 1 , 49-61

ABSTRACT: The paper addresses the issue of possible responsibility of a member state for acts of an international organization of which it is a member. This particular issue forms part of the on-going work of the International Law Commission of establishing rules for the responsibility of international organizations. The particular challenge is posed by possible “responsibility gaps”, i.e. situations where a state might avoid compliance with its own obligations by prompting the organization of which it is a member to act instead. The paper compares the ILC approach, approaching the issue by way of trying to establish general rules of responsibility (“secondary rules”) and the practice of the EU, which has addressed the issue by tailor-made solutions in the context of specific treaties (“primary rules”). The latter approach is more flexible as it allows individual solutions pertinent to particular circumstances and treaty regimes so as to ensure that either the organization itself or its member state is responsible, depending whichever is genuinely responsible. The paper concludes that the ILC work is progressing in the right direction as it narrows down the possibilities where a member state can be held responsible to cover only situations bordering abuse, rather than more open-ended standards for individual member state responsibility, which can open the door for unpredictable results.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Arfi Badrendine

**Rethinking International Constitutional Order: The Auto-immune Politics of Binding Without Binding**

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 39, n. 2, december , 299-321

ABSTRACT: The article proposes a deconstruction of Ikenberry’s theory of constitutional order via binding institutions. I argue that binding institutions are founded and conserved through an ‘arbitrary exercise of power’ which takes the form of an originary performative violence. The binding institutions become more or less legitimate as a result of retroactively effacing the originary violence. I also argue that the binding institutions are inherently auto-immune to their own logic and rules and that this condition makes the binding of constitutional order a binding without binding, that is, a binding which is marred with undecidability and hence an impossible politics of aporia. The latter is, however, the possibility



condition for invention, change and transformation of the binding institutions beyond mere adjustments and adaptations to new contexts. I am thus calling for a recognition of the chance that inheres in the politics of aporia, the chance that would make continuously possible responsible decisions within a recast form of 'binding institutions'. This implies that we need to rethink both the very notion of 'binding' as well as the logic of founding and conserving international order through binding institutions. In doing so, we would avoid creating a dichotomy between ethics/responsibility and politics since we would necessarily speak of responsibility (a responsibility which is much more than just a programme of cost—benefit calculation) as inherent to the decisions (through originary performativity) that found and legitimate the order. To this end, our thinking and analysis should be one of restlessly riding a 'negotiating' shuttle between possible theoretical formulations of world order and the impossibility of closing the theorising process.

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Hartmann Moritz

**Review Essay: "Lost In Disordered Clouds: Transnational Legal Pluralism and the Regulation of Global Asymmetries" – Mireille Delmas-Marty's Ordering Pluralism (2009)**

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 10 , 1025-1037

Full text available at:

[http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No1/PDF\\_Vol\\_11\\_No\\_09\\_1025-1037\\_Moritz\\_Hartmann.pdf](http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No1/PDF_Vol_11_No_09_1025-1037_Moritz_Hartmann.pdf)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Zagorski Andrei

**Russian Approaches to Global Governance in the 21st Century**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 4, December , 27-42

The shifting distribution of power challenges Russia's great power ambition and exposes it to growing competition in an increasingly polycentric world. But the emergence of 'rising powers' also provides Russia with greater room for manoeuvre. While remaining a status quo power determined to minimise changes in the international system, Russia is forced to adapt to ongoing change which it cannot halt. This has led to a policy of preserving the benefits of permanent membership on the UN Security Council while, at the same time, increasingly engaging in informal multilateral institutions of global governance, such as the G4, G8 and G20.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Merritt Giles

**Shaping Europe's global role I: Why the EU badly needs a new political narrative**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn

Brussels' eurocrats bemoan the ingratitude of public opinion and even of Europe's voters. Yet Giles Merritt, Editor of *Europe's World*, says they themselves have dismally failed to explain what the EU stands for, and why it's so central to



the futures of 500m Europeans.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21718/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21718/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Vike-Freiberga Vaira

**Shaping Europe's global role II: The EU's potential roots are its spring board for the future in Europe's World**, Issue 16, Autumn

There is much that is wrong with Europe, and much that is right. Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Latvia's former President, argues that a return to the visions of the founding fathers holds the key to a greater global role for the EU.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21719/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21719/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Spies Yolanda Kemp

**South Africa's Multilateral Challenges in a 'Polypolar' World in International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLV, n. 4, December , 73-91

The emerging global order is challenging multilateralism in the sense that power is becoming situational: centres of gravity are overlapping and transient, and the transnational interdependence that characterises this 'polypolar' world challenges small and great powers alike. Emerging powers are forming a 'new middle', straddling the North-South divide with dynamic new multilateral formations, and prioritising economic self-interest. South Africa is at risk of being relegated to a new global periphery if it gives priority to political solidarity with the global South rather than economic pragmatism in its multilateral strategies. Its comparative advantage in the diplomatic arena is its middle power credentials. If it rationalizes its multilateralism to focus on diplomatic niche areas it can enhance its political influence in global governance institutions, despite its small economic stature.

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Magi Laura

**Sull'attribuzione ad una organizzazione internazionale dell'attività di società private che operano per suo conto in Rivista di diritto internazionale**, vol. XCIII, fascicolo 3 , 753-801

No abstract available





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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Death Carl

**Summit theatre: exemplary governmentality and environmental diplomacy in Johannesburg and Copenhagen in Environmental Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 1, February , 1-19

Global summits - such as the 2002 Johannesburg Summit and the 2009 Copenhagen COP15 - can be seen as theatrical techniques of environmental governmentality. Summits such as these, which do not produce new international agreements or strengthen environmental regimes, are commonly regarded as failures. However, they can also be viewed as moments of political theatre, performative enactments of legitimacy and authority, and sites for the communication of particular examples of responsible conduct. This political theatre is not a distraction from the real business of governing the global environment, but rather it is a primary technique of government at a distance. Summits function as 'exemplary centres' for a global audience, although their mobilisation of particular stages, scripts, casts and audiences remains open to subversion and conflict. The symbolic, theatrical and performative dimensions of summitry are rarely theorised, but their implications are profound, not only for responses to the ecological crisis, but for the nature and character of global politics and the potential for resistance and dissent.

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*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Özerdem Alpaslan

**The 'responsibility to protect' in natural disasters: another excuse for interventionism? Nargis Cyclone, Myanmar**

in **Conflict, Security, and Development**, vol. 10, issue 5, december , 693-713

ABSTRACT: The 'responsibility to protect' (R2P) places the 'international community' under an obligation to take coercive action for the protection of lives in the circumstances of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. Following the dismal response to the May 2008 cyclone disaster in Myanmar where many affected people were provided with almost no relief assistance by the country's military regime that also hampered external assistance, the idea of military humanitarian intervention under the rubric of R2P was proposed by Bernard Kouchner. However, considering the urgency of the provision of relief assistance in an emergency, which is often a matter of life or death, this paper questions the effectiveness of invoking R2P as a possible response strategy in the aftermath of natural disasters. Therefore, in relation to state sovereignty the paper focuses on the concept of 'humanitarian diplomacy' at macro and micro levels as an alternative strategy and having analysed the issue in the wider framework of humanitarianism, the paper concludes with the importance of exploring the opportunities provided by humanitarian diplomacy before invoking R2P in the context of natural disasters.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Vigevani Tullo, Ramanzini Haroldo Junior

**The Changing Nature of Multilateralism and Brazilian Foreign Policy in International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLV, n. 4, December , 63-71



An important characteristic of the current international setting is the crisis of the structure in existence, rather than the emergence of a new order. The rise of new interests and demands, as well as the speed of the transformation make the current understanding of global governance more complex. Brazil, like other medium powers, has an interest in institutionalised multilateralism as a means of increasing its bargaining capacity and hindering the unilateralism of major powers, without being antagonistic to them. It is attempting to increase its weight in traditional international bodies, which provide the grounding for international legitimacy, as well as in new informal arrangements. While this strategy could lead to the establishment of a new hierarchy that brings in countries of growing relative importance, it has put the weight of regional integration into another perspective in Brazilian foreign policy.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Jóhannsdóttir Aðalheiður, Cresswell Ian, Bridgewater Peter<sup>3</sup>

#### **The Current Framework for International Governance of Biodiversity: Is It Doing More Harm Than Good? in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 19, Issue 2, July , 139-149

The latest international status reports confirm that change, and especially loss, of biodiversity continues all over the globe. Consequently, it would seem the body of international biodiversity law and its attendant governance apparatus have failed to deliver their intended effects. From this standpoint, we argue that particular weaknesses in existing biodiversity governance are contributing to this situation, instead of being supportive. Thus, some structural changes seem inevitable if the global biodiversity governance system is to arrest the current rates of biodiversity decline. Based on these propositions and viewed through the lens of environmental law methodology, this article proposes particular changes in international biodiversity law which would enhance international biodiversity governance presently and in the future. Governments are seeking to develop new targets, goals and strategies to prevent biodiversity loss, but what is needed is little short of a revolution in biodiversity governance. We propose some first steps for a radical system redesign, which, underpinned by appropriate science, will enable the international community to regain control of the diminishing status of biodiversity.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Papandreou George

#### **The Danger of Global Austerity**

*in New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 27, Issue 4, Fall , 20-27

The United States accuses China of subsidizing its entire export economy through artificially undervaluing its currency. China accuses the United States of fiscal profligacy while flooding the world with easy credit to keep its economy afloat. This dispute reflects the reality that the world's two largest economies are built on opposite dynamics of production and savings vs. consumerism and debt. In Europe, the wages of unsustainable debt that financed the welfare state have also come due.

Rebalancing the global economy in this context is not only a matter of fixing exchange or interest rates and extending the retirement age. It must also involve a recalibration of democracy in both East and West. Two Nobel economists, the Greek prime minister, a ranking Chinese economist and the former chief economist of the IMF address these issues.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Whitman Richard

**The EU: Standing Aside from the Changing Global Balance of Power?**

*in Politics*, Vol. 30, Issue 4, December , 24-32

The EU has developed its global role in recent years. This has taken place by developing procedures for foreign policy and in the deployment of civilian and military missions internationally. However, the EU suffers from weaknesses that limit its ability to exercise significant global influence and that are apparent in the EU's relationship with the rising powers. The article analyses these limitations which encompass the EU's 'hardware'– its capacity to deploy fully the capabilities of all its constituent Member States – and failings in its 'software'– incoherence and inconsistency in the definition and application of its ideas guiding the EU's global role.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Morgera Elisa, Tsioumani Elsa

**The Evolution of Benefit Sharing: Linking Biodiversity and Community Livelihoods**

*in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 19, Issue 2, July , 150-173

This article traces the evolution of the use of the legal concept of benefit sharing in the context of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), with a view to highlighting its contribution to indigenous and local communities' livelihoods. To this end, the article proposes a distinction between inter-State benefit sharing (as identified in the third CBD objective and as usually linked to access to genetic resources) and notably lesser known State-to-community benefit sharing (in relation to the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity). The article highlights the different legal connotations of the two dimensions of this legal concept, while supporting an integrated interpretation of the CBD. It points to a wide array of benefit-sharing-related tools under the CBD that can be used to support indigenous and local communities' livelihoods in pursuing the convention's three objectives. The article also identifies other international processes – in the areas of intellectual property, health and climate change – in which these conceptual developments may have a significant influence.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Burgess J. Peter, Tadjbakhsh Shahrbanou

**The Human Security Tale of Two Europes**

*in Global Society*, Volume 24, Issue 4, October , 447-465

If the concept of human security is to be meaningful, it must be applicable to any region, developing or developed. Such was the point of departure for authors of two reports on Western and Eastern Europe that were commissioned by UNESCO as part of a series of regional reports aimed at detailing the human security situations in different regions. The



present article, compiled by the co-authors of both reports, summarises the reports and critically revisits this premise. By exploring the notion that human security varies according to national, regional and local settings, thus gaining meaning from the context in which the framework is applied, it poses a number of critical questions about the universality of the concept of human security. It argues for a supple concept of human security capable of identifying vulnerabilities in a variety of settings and adapting legitimate responses to them. By exploring the applicability of human security in Eastern and Western Europe it sets out to test the limits of the concept and to contribute to ongoing debate about “broad” and “narrow” conceptions of human security and addresses the criticism of the concept as ideologically skewed. The paper first addresses the subjective question of what human security means in the Western and Eastern European contexts before outlining in broad terms the objective question of what is concretely taking place in Europe. It concludes by suggesting that human security actually lends itself equally to the developed world where mid- or large-scale physical violence is less common as a source of insecurity, concluding that many of the threats faced are of similar nature, if of varying degrees of severity.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Ryngaert Cedric

**The Immunity of International Organizations Before Domestic Courts: Recent trends in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 7, n. 1 , 121-148

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the international organizations' immunity defence before domestic courts, and its relationship with the organizations' internal dispute settlement mechanisms. The focus of the article lies primarily on private law disputes between international organizations and individuals, and on (employment) disputes between organizations and their staff in particular. It draws inductively on cases that have recently been decided or made available, and that draw attention to three main issues: 1. the legal nature of the immunity of international organizations, 2. the weighing of the individual's right to a remedy and the organization's immunity and, to a lesser extent, 3. the relationship between the immunity from jurisdiction and the immunity from enforcement.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Shannon Megan, Morey Daniel, Boehmke Frederick

**The Influence of International Organizations on Militarized Dispute Initiation and Duration in International Studies Quarterly**, vol. 54, issue 4, december , 1123-1141

ABSTRACT: We argue that international organizations decrease the duration of international conflicts by mitigating commitment problems and encouraging combatants to cease hostilities more quickly. Empirical analyses of militarized interstate dispute duration (1950–2000) reveal that increasing shared international organization (IO) participation reduces the length of disputes, even after accounting for selection into international conflict. We also find that international organizations designed to mitigate commitment problems decrease dispute duration, while IOs capable of reducing information asymmetries do not influence dispute length.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Outhwaite Opi

**The International Legal Framework for Biosecurity and the Challenges Ahead**

*in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 19, Issue 2, July , 207-226

Effective biosecurity is an important requisite for the conservation of biodiversity. Preventing the introduction and spread of invasive species including pests, diseases and other organisms through biosecurity measures is important, not only for food security and agricultural health, but also links directly with the prevention of biodiversity loss. Although several international instruments are relevant in this regard, legal analysis of biosecurity at both the international and national levels remains limited. In light of the far-reaching implications of biosecurity failures, there is an urgent need to recognize the nature of biosecurity and to understand how effective biosecurity frameworks can be developed. The present article seeks to contribute to this gap, first, by highlighting the nature of biosecurity as a regulatory concept; second, by providing an overview of some of the key international legal provisions and standards applicable to biosecurity; and, finally, by discussing some of the challenges which arise for the application of an international framework to biosecurity and the adoption of domestic biosecurity frameworks, particularly in the context of developing countries.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Barelli Mauro

**The Interplay Between Global and Regional Human Rights Systems in the Construction of the Indigenous Rights Regime**

*in Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 32, number 4, november , 951-979

ABSTRACT: The emergence of indigenous peoples' rights represents one of the most significant developments in the recent history of international human rights. The difficult and complex process that ultimately led to the recognition of these rights in international law has demonstrated that global and regional systems can increasingly interplay in the context of human rights development. By considering the parallel normative and political developments that have taken place at the global and regional levels, this article submits that the Inter-American, African, and European human rights systems made important contributions to the construction and consolidation of the global regime of indigenous rights.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Langenhove Luk van

**The Transformation of Multilateralism Mode 1.0 to Mode 2.0**

*in Global Policy*, Volume 1, Issue 3, October, 2010 , 263-270

This article presents an analysis of the multilateral system, arguing that multilateralism is going through a profound set of changes as a result of: (1) the emergence of new multilateral actors; (2) the development of new multilateral playing fields; and (3) the rise of new concepts of multilateralism. This has consequences for world politics: the world is moving from unipolarity towards a networked form of multipolarity. This article proposes to grasp these changes through the 'Web 2.0' metaphor, as the existing multilateral system is contrasted with the emerging 'Mode 2.0' of which the main



characteristics are: (1) the diversification of multilateral organisations; (2) the growing importance of nonstate actors such as substate regions and supranational regional organisations; (3) the increased interlinkages between policy domains; and (4) the growing space for citizen involvement. The main upshot is that the multilateral system is moving from a closed to an open system. Both states and international organisations will have to adapt to this new reality.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Zurn Michael, Stephen Matthew

**The View of Old and New Powers on the Legitimacy of International Institutions in Politics**, Vol. 30, Issue 4, December , 91-101

International institutions have developed into a site of political authority of their own as can be seen by looking at a number of authority indicators. The concept of international authority, however, is intimately bound to the concept of legitimacy. The stronger the role that international institutions play in policymaking, the stronger the demands for their legitimacy that can be expected to arise. Against this background, we ask which of the state powers analysed in this special issue prefer which form of legitimation of international institutions, whether their general conceptions of legitimacy diverge or converge, and what this means for the future of global governance.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hannesson Rögnvaldur

**The coalition of the willing: Effect of country diversity in an environmental treaty game in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 5, n. 4, december , 461-474

ABSTRCAT: It is analyzed how size differences among countries affect the benefits from climate coalitions. It is shown that size differences lead to smaller coalitions and greater benefits than coalitions among identical countries. The importance of trigger strategies for supporting cooperative solutions is considered. A real world example, based on the world's six largest emitters, is used to illustrate the implications of size differences in terms of emissions versus valuations of benefits. Climate coalitions become smaller when ranking in terms of benefits is different from ranking in terms of emissions. Three cases of benefit valuations are considered: benefits equal (i) share in world emissions, (ii) share in world GDP, and (iii) share of world population.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Lukyanov Fyodor

**The global reality is that only "Greater Europe" will count in Europe's World**, Issue 16, Autumn



The gradual geopolitical decline of Russia and the EU means that both need to change their strategies. Fyodor Lukyanov explains the new political partnership between Brussels and Moscow that holds the answer to their global influence.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21720/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21720/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

He Kai

**The hegemon's choice between power and security: explaining US policy toward Asia after the Cold War in Review of International Studies (The)**, Vol. 36, Issue 4, November , 1121-1143

After the Cold War, US strategists have suggested four strategies for the hegemon: hegemonic dominion, selective engagement, offshore balancing, and multilateralism. Rather than debating which strategy is the best for the US at all times, this article focuses on examining which policy is more likely to be chosen by the hegemon – the US – under different strategic conditions. Through a neoclassical realist argument – the power-perception hegemonic model, I argue that US foreign policy depends on how US policymakers perceive US hegemonic status in the international system. Under rising and stable hegemony, selective engagement and hegemonic dominion are two possible power-maximisation strategies given the weak security constraints from the system. Under declining hegemony, offshore balancing and multilateralism are more likely to be chosen by US policymakers to pursue security because of a resumed security imperative from anarchy. US policy toward Asia after the Cold War is a case study to test the validity of the power-perception hegemonic model. I conclude that US policymakers should prepare for life after Pax-Americana, and early implementation of offshore balancing and multilateralism may facilitate the soft-landing of declining US hegemony.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Byrd Scott C., Jasny Lorien

**Transnational Movement Innovation and Collaboration: Analysis of World Social Forum Networks in Social Movement Studies**, Volume 9, Issue 4, November 2010 , 355 – 372

Abstract

In this article we first trace the ideological development and collective framing of the World Social Forum (WSF) as a non-hierarchical gathering for collaboration and networking within the global justice movement. We then analyze the consequences of organizational design, thematic resonance, and technological innovations implemented to produce more open and horizontal collaboration. We do this by conducting two-mode network analysis of organizations that facilitated sessions and workshops during two separate meetings (2003 and 2005) of the WSF in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Our findings indicate that organizational affiliations were less hierarchical in 2005, but we uncover mixed results from analyzing patterns of interaction produced by individual organizations and groups of organizations. Finally, we discuss the implications of such macro-level innovations on the dynamics of multi-organizational fields (collaboration, coalition building, and thematic resonance) and the contributions of such an approach to the study of transnational organizational



networks.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Sluga Glenda**

**UNESCO and the (One) World of Julian Huxley**

in **Journal of World History**, Volume 21, Number 3, September , 393-418

This article investigates the idea of cosmopolitanism associated with internationalism and the origins of UNESCO at the end of World War II. In the first few years of UNESCO's operation, delegates and functionaries portrayed "world citizenship" as the path to permanent world peace and as a necessary step in the evolution of human society from tribes to nations, from national consciousness to "one world." A key figure in that history was Julian Huxley, UNESCO's first director-general. This article argues that Huxley's conception of cosmopolitan internationalism provides an important link between the history of postwar international organizations and a long nineteenth-century vision of historical and political progress and of imperial policies and practices.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Papisca Antonio**

**Value Roots for Multi-level Governance and Intercultural Dialogue**

in **Pace Diritti Umani**, anno 7, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 95-116

ABSTRACT: Multi-level governance has become a popular topic both in the academy and in the political business. The concept should be complemented with referring to the human rights paradigm as the steering compass for good governance in the era of interdependence and globalisation. In the context of this new planetary «human condition» the dynamics of the key principle of subsidiarity should be carefully enquired to find out its moral and anthropological roots. Local governments being the basic territorial pole of subsidiarity and the most direct bearer of the responsibility to protect human rights in the daily life, are reclaiming a more substantial role in the overall MLG architecture. The author refers to them as to those institutional entities that are truly «territory» but not «border», then suitable to meet in a positive way the challenge of inclusion, intercultural dialogue and plural citizenship. The author argues that MLG opens the way to extend the practice of democracy beyond the states borders: the establishment of European Groups of Territorial Cooperation is a good opportunity to be seized for this purpose.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Donno Daniela**

**Who Is Punished? Regional Intergovernmental Organizations and the Enforcement of Democratic Norms**

in **International Organization**, vol. 64, issue 4, october , 593-625

ABSTRACT: Scholars have found an association between membership in regional intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and democracy, and IGO enforcement is often credited as an important factor explaining this link. But empirical evidence reveals great variation in whether these organizations actually respond to violations of democratic norms, even





in democratic regions. Why do IGOs punish some norm-violating countries but not others? What does this variation imply for theories about how IGO membership helps states make credible commitments? This article presents a theoretical framework for understanding variation in multilateral norm enforcement. It identifies two obstacles to enforcement—the presence of competing geopolitical interests and uncertainty about the nature and scope of norm violations—and it argues that international monitoring can help mitigate these obstacles by revealing and publicizing information that pressures reluctant member states to support enforcement. An original data set of democracy enforcement in Latin America and postcommunist countries is used to examine regional IGO enforcement in response to one prevalent type of democratic norm violation: electoral misconduct. I find that enforcement is less likely in countries of high geopolitical importance, but the presence of election observers increases the probability of enforcement, and the content of observers' reports influences the type of enforcement that is imposed. These findings suggest that the link between IGO membership, credible commitments, and democracy should be theorized and tested as a conditional relationship, depending on country- and incident-specific factors that influence the likelihood of enforcement.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hans Agné

**Why democracy must be global: self-founding and democratic intervention**  
in *International Theory*, Volume 2, Issue 03, November , 381-409

Globalization, foreign intervention, and failed states have drawn new attention to theoretical issues of how political orders and communities can be legitimately founded, and what it means for a people to be self-governing. In this article, I will challenge an argument in this debate saying that the founding of new political orders is always in some sense illegitimate insofar as it cannot be decided democratically. In opposition to this view, I will suggest that the founding of political orders is legitimate even from a democratic point of view when decided together by people within as well as beyond the boundaries inherent in the foundation. In case of persisting disagreement over boundary issues, political decisions can still derive democratic legitimacy from global procedures that are equally inclusive of everyone capable of contesting those decisions. Elaborating on the implications of this argument, I will also reject the notion that foreign interventions for establishing democracy are themselves necessarily illegitimate or undemocratic.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Linder Wolf

**Zur Universalität von Menschenrechten, Markt und Demokratie – zweifelhafte Begründung, fragwürdige Folgen**  
in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 57, Heft 2, 2010

Summary

While the globalisation of human rights, capitalist markets and democracy is an unquestioned fact, it remains controversial whether these concepts can be conceived as universal. Universalism – in contrast to globalisation – is not only a descriptive notion but also a normative one. In its abstract form, universality means: what is valid here should also become valid where this is not yet the case. Politically speaking, universality provides legitimation for an intervention in foreign states. This claim will be challenged in what follows. The argument is that there are good reasons for distinguishing modern from premodern concepts of morality and law – because these concepts are not independent from a society's access to resources and its basic structures; the latter fundamentally differ in industrialised and



non-industrialised societies. Moreover, inequalities of access to resources and political power of regulation render claims to universality as well as their consequences highly problematic. Nevertheless, global policies of human rights and of democratisation can become legitimate – on the condition of mutual recognition of societal difference and in a dialogue renouncing pretensions of universality.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Methmann Chris Paul

**'Climate Protection' as Empty Signifier: A Discourse Theoretical Perspective on Climate Mainstreaming in World Politics**

*in Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 39, n. 2, december , 345-372

ABSTRACT: More and more international organisations are starting to incorporate climate protection as an important policy goal. Strikingly, most institutions only rephrase existing activities in the terms of climate protection instead of changing them, although there are tensions and contradictions between short-term economic and long-term environmental goals. The aim of this article is to explore the logic of climate mainstreaming and explain the paradoxical result of such a consistent inconsistency. It employs a poststructuralist approach that combines elements of governmentality and discourse theory. Analysing discourses of the WTO, IMF, World Bank and OECD, it argues that the global governmentality of climate protection is built on four discursive pillars — globalism, scientism, an ethics of growth and efficiency — that make climate protection function as an empty signifier; that is, they make it possible to integrate climate protection into the global hegemonic order without changing the basic social structures of the world economy. International organisations can claim to be in favour of climate protection and stick to business as usual at the same time. This claim is backed up by an interpretive discourse analysis of 31 texts of the respective organisations.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Lloyd Lorna

**"Another National Milestone": Canada's 1927 Election to the Council of the League of Nations**

*in Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 21, n. 4, december , 650-668

ABSTRACT: Ten days after announcing its candidature, and amidst some surprise, Canada was elected to a non-permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations. This article will show how and why this came about. In so doing, it will demonstrate that Canada's election was an important episode from several perspectives. First, it was a milestone in Canada's gradual international coming of age, confirming that it was entitled to all the rights and responsibilities of League membership. Second, it was a significant step in the development of the Commonwealth into an association of equals. And, third, it contributed to the gelling of the emerging group system in elections to the League Council.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*



Halvorson Dan

**'Bringing international politics back in': reconceptualising state failure for the twenty-first century**  
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, n. 5 / November , 583-600

This article argues that the failed-state phenomenon is not unique to the post-cold war era, nor is it uniquely threatening in comparison with other historical periods. The article contends that state failure is not primarily a failure of formal institutions of governance but a subjective condition defined by the great powers. 'Bringing international politics back in' is essential to a clear understanding of the issue for an emerging multipolar international system of the twenty-first century. The article draws on classical realist and critical constructivist perspectives to define state failure before developing a theoretical framework to reconceptualise the issue in a historical and international systemic context. Interpretations of state failure are based on the interplay of contingent transnational threats with the distribution of capabilities in the international system, the pattern of order in the international society, and the sensitivity of the domestic polities of leading actors to risk. The article draws some implications of this for the coming decades of the twenty-first century.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Urkidi Leire

**A glocal environmental movement against gold mining: Pascua–Lama in Chile**  
in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 70, Issue 2, 15 December , 219-227

Gold mining projects are spreading in Latin America due to increasing international interest in gold and to the legal reforms that attract mining investment to the region. As metal mining has critical social and environmental impacts, conflicts related to it are also soaring. The conflict around the Pascua–Lama mining project in Chile is a paradigmatic example of these conflicts. Starting with the defence of some mountain glaciers being endangered by the mine, local protests have been internationalized. It has become one of the most important Chilean environmental conflicts of recent years. In order to characterise the movement, the article analyses its social bases or participants, the values and arguments articulated and the strategies developed. This agency analysis shows that it is not a case of environmentalism of the poor or of post-materialist environmentalism, but a glocal environmental movement. The movement has not achieved to stop the project due to structural limitations; but it has been able to problematise and politicise the concept of development in the affected Chilean valley.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Cudworth Erika, Hobden Stephen

**Beyond environmental security: complex systems, multiple inequalities and environmental risks**  
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 1, February , 42-59

The development of environmental security as an academic project is an important contribution in theorising the politics of global environmental change and shifting security contexts, but there are significant problems with the ways in which environmental issues have been incorporated into security discussions. Approaches to theorising environmental questions in international politics in terms of environmental conflict or environmental security tend to reproduce a dualistic understanding of human relations to 'the environment' in which humans are either threatened by or pose a



threat to 'nature'. An approach in terms of ecological security does account for changes in the biosphere resultant from human endeavours and understands social relations as ecologically embedded, but it underplays the extent to which multiple and complex inequalities shape the environmental impact of different populations. Drawing on concepts from complexity theory, alongside different elements of political ecology, it is argued that human relationships with environments are characterised by social intersectionality and complex inequalities. Complexity approaches can help capture the patterns of these relations and understand the co-constitution of human communities and the 'natural environment'

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Jensen Carsten

**Catching up by transition: globalization as a generator of convergence in social spending**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 18 Issue 1 2011 , Pages 106 – 121

Over the past decades a clear consensus has emerged that welfare states do not converge, either because powerful partisan differences remain between countries or because institutional path dependencies lock in existing arrangements. Against this common wisdom, this article presents a new argument on why we in fact should expect to see some measure of catch-up following the rising economic globalization of the past couple of decades. The article posits that the risk exposure of the workforce is greater in traditionally closed economies than in traditionally open economies as economic globalization intensifies. The argument is tested in a novel set-up using times series cross-section regression analysis, which allows for a much more exact test of the argument than is normally provided in the literature. The empirical test clearly corroborates the argument.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Deléage Jean-Paul

**Conflits pour les ressources dans la mondialisation**

in *Pensée (La)*, n° 363, 2010

Les guerres et les conflits pour les ressources ravagent la planète et constituent l'un des visages les plus hideux de la mondialisation contemporaine. Après un rappel des violences anciennes pour le contrôle de la rente minière, sera abordée une nouvelle dimension de ces conflits, traitée sous l'angle de la mainmise sur des « biens communs » tels que le climat, la biodiversité, et de l'accaparement de terres agricoles, au cœur de conflits émergents nés de l'expansion capitaliste mondiale dans un monde fini. Enfin, il sera montré en quoi les guerres dites locales pour les ressources redessinent les territoires de la mondialisation et des luttes de classes associées à cette dernière.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Ricci Andrea

**Crisis and Global Imbalances: the Fragility of the Current International Monetary System**

in *Rivista italiana degli economisti*, 3, dicembre 2010 , 341-364



No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Gros Daniel

**Currency wars?**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 6 / November 2010 , 338-339

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Jayjit Roy

**Do Custom Union Members Engage in More Bilateral Trade than Free Trade Agreement Members?**

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 18, Issue 4, September 2010

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Donders Yvonne

**Do cultural diversity and human rights make a good match?**

in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 61, Issue 199, March 2010 , 15-35

The link between cultural diversity and human rights was clearly established by the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, adopted by the member states of UNESCO in 2001, which holds that “the defence of cultural diversity is ... inseparable from respect for human dignity” and that it “ implies a commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms”. The UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, adopted in 2005, states that “cultural diversity can be protected and promoted only if human rights and fundamental freedoms ... are guaranteed” (Article 2[1]). The precise relationship between cultural diversity and human rights, however, is not clarified and thus leaves room for further exploration. This contribution analyses the issues surrounding the relationship between cultural diversity and human rights, in particular cultural rights. Firstly, it addresses general human rights issues such as universality and cultural relativism and the principles of equality and non-discrimination. Secondly, it explores the scope of cultural rights, as well as the cultural dimension of human rights. Thirdly, several cases are discussed in which human rights were invoked to protect cultural interests, confirming the value of cultural diversity. Finally, some concluding remarks are presented, indicating which areas require attention in order to further improve the promotion and protection of human rights in relation to cultural diversity.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Mulligan Shane

**Energy, Environment, and Security: Critical Links in a Post-Peak World**  
in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 10, Issue 4, November , 79-100

Energy supplies are central to human ecology and key to the sustainability of human communities, but the decline of fossil fuel resources is largely ignored in global environmental politics. Most political analysis of energy focuses on state-centered “energy security” while largely overlooking discourses of environmental or ecological security. Yet energy and the environment are intimately connected; in the 1970s and 1980s, energy resources were seen as very much a part of the environment to be secured, while today fossil energy is seen as an evident threat to the environment, especially through the medium of climate change. This article surveys the changing relationships among energy, the environment, and security, and suggests a framework for examining the discursive forces that have affected such changes. This framework offers guidance toward developing a more ecologically informed approach to energy and (state, global, and human) security under conditions of scarce and declining global fossil fuel supplies.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Belton Kristy A.

**From Cyberspace to Offline Communities: Indigenous Peoples and Global Connectivity**  
in **Alternatives: Global, Local, Political**, Volume 35, n. 3, July-Sept. , 193-215

This article examines how indigenous peoples use two unique spaces of a globalizing world—cyberspace and the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues—to make their claims, foment alliances, and assert their right of self-determination. It describes how indigenous peoples' use of these two spaces positions them so they are no longer simply reacting to globalizing processes and events but are situated so that others will have to contend with their alternative visions of the world.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Kalyan Rohan K.

**Ghostly Images, Phantom Discourses, and the Virtuality of the Global**  
in **Globalizations** , Volume 7, Issue 4, December 2010 , 545-561

Abstract

The central premise of this article is that the conceptual terrain of the global is fundamentally unstable, that its content is far from determined. This opens the door to many different interpretations and uses of the term, where the referent is not so much to a pre-given reality, or even a tangible geographical space. Rather, the global constitutes its own content in the various fields in which it gets deployed, selectively affirming particular images and representations, while denying, repressing, or otherwise excluding others. I draw on the early history of film to argue that the global is a virtual distribution of value and intelligibility, where its images and signs no longer 'represent' an independent reality, but actually shape and transform the inter-subjective experiences of its virtual subjects. I use a recent documentary film on



call centers in India to demonstrate how distinct regimes of cinematic images enable different kinds of interventions into these virtual distributions, revealing the global as a richly imagined terrain of discourses and representations, which are always already subject to re-distribution.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Senese Salvatore

**Globalizzazione e diritti umani**

in *Questione giustizia*, fasc. 4

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Füssel Hans-Martin

**How inequitable is the global distribution of responsibility, capability, and vulnerability to climate change: A comprehensive indicator-based assessment**

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 20, Issue 4, 20th Anniversary Special Issue, October , 597-611

While it is generally asserted that those countries who have contributed least to anthropogenic climate change are most vulnerable to its adverse impacts some recently developed indices of vulnerability to climate change come to a different conclusion. Confirmation or rejection of this assertion is complicated by the lack of an agreed metric for measuring countries' vulnerability to climate change and by conflicting interpretations of vulnerability. This paper presents a comprehensive semi-quantitative analysis of the disparity between countries' responsibility for climate change, their capability to act and assist, and their vulnerability to climate change for four climate-sensitive sectors based on a broad range of disaggregated vulnerability indicators. This analysis finds a double inequity between responsibility and capability on the one hand and the vulnerability of food security, human health, and coastal populations on the other. This double inequity is robust across alternative indicator choices and interpretations of vulnerability. The main cause for the higher vulnerability of poor nations who have generally contributed little to climate change is their lower adaptive capacity. In addition, the biophysical sensitivity and socio-economic exposure of poor nations to climate impacts on food security and human health generally exceeds that of wealthier nations. No definite statement can be made on the inequity associated with climate impacts on water supply due to large uncertainties about future changes in regional water availability and to conflicting indicators of current water scarcity. The robust double inequity between responsibility and vulnerability for most climate-sensitive sectors strengthens the moral case for financial and technical assistance from those countries most responsible for climate change to those countries most vulnerable to its adverse impacts. However, the complex and geographically heterogeneous patterns of vulnerability factors for different climate-sensitive sectors suggest that the allocation of international adaptation funds to developing countries should be guided by sector-specific or hazard-specific criteria despite repeated requests from participants in international climate negotiations to develop a generic index of countries' vulnerability to climate change.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Flores Marcello

**I diritti umani, l'Occidente, la globalizzazione. Spunti per un approccio non ideologico**  
in *Questione giustizia*, fasc. 4

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Powell Emilia Justyna, Rickard Stephanie

**International Trade and Domestic Legal Systems: Examining the Impact of Islamic Law**  
in *International Interactions*, vol. 36, issue 4, October, 335-362

ABSTRACT: What factors determine countries' international trade relations? Recent theories point to the potential importance of domestic legal traditions. Countries' legal systems influence the enforcement of contracts. This has been shown to affect trade flows in common law and civil law countries. However, these two legal systems do not constitute the universe of legal traditions. Islamic law is an important and fundamentally distinct legal system that has been largely overlooked. In this article, we offer the first direct test of the effect of Islamic law on countries' trade relations. We find that, on average, levels of bilateral trade are lowest among Islamic law states, holding all else constant. This finding suggests that, contrary to conventional wisdom, shared institutions alone are insufficient to enhance trade flows. Instead, levels of bilateral trade depend critically on the quality of shared institutions. The importance of countries' legal systems for trade declines over time, possibly due to the increased role of international arbitration bodies and/or the standardization of international sales contracts.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Holzinger Katharina, Knill Christoph, Sommerer Thomas

**Is there convergence of national environmental policies? An analysis of policy outputs in 24 OECD countries**  
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 1, February, 20-41

A central issue of globalisation research is the question whether globalisation leads to the convergence of policies or whether domestic responses to global challenges remain strongly influenced by existing domestic structures. In the field of environmental policy, there is some analysis of the diffusion of policy innovations, but there is a lack of systematic knowledge as to whether this leads to policy convergence at a broad scale. To what extent does environmental policy convergence take place? The analysis of policy development uses a data-set covering 22 different environmental policy measures in 24 OECD countries from 1970 to 2005. It reveals increases in the similarity of individual policies across countries, in the homogeneity of their policy repertoires and, particularly, in the strictness of regulations, as well as processes of catching-up and overtaking among countries.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**





*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Moellendorf Darrel

**Keynote Address to the Third International Global Ethics Association, 30 June 2010, Bristol. Human dignity, respect, and global inequality**

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 6, Issue 3, December 2010 , 339-352

Abstract

In this paper I argue that respect for human dignity establishes a justificatory presumption in favor of egalitarian rules, which presumption is applicable to the global economic association. This is the basis for condemning several features of current global inequality as unjust.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Roccella Massimo

**La condizione del lavoro nel mondo globalizzato fra vecchie e nuove schiavitù**

in *Ragion Pratica*, numero 2, dicembre 2010 , 419-438

Abstract

Firstly the paper focuses on forms of slave work which persist in the world at present, not only in developing countries, though in the latter they possess specific cultural roots and socioeconomic reasons. Secondly the attention is highlighted on what are known as «extreme forms» of work: the author underlines their complete integration in the chain of value creation of multinational companies and their functionality to produce a progressive worsening of working conditions in the most ancient industrialized countries. In the final remarks the author mentions the present debate about the demand of a more incisive regulation of the capital at a global level to avoid such a drift.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Akakpovie Ékoué Didier

**L'importance de la capacité des parties lors de la conclusion d'un accord international. Vers une redéfinition du traité international**

in *Etudes Internationales*, 3, Septembre 2010

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Farrell Henry, Newman Abraham L.

**Making global markets: Historical institutionalism in international political economy**

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 17 Issue 4 2010 , Pages 609 – 638

As dramatically evidenced by the global financial crisis, the interaction of domestic regulatory systems has significant



international consequences. Nevertheless, these relationships have received only limited attention from international relations scholars. This special issue, therefore, provides a detailed examination of international market regulation - the processes through which the domestic regulatory activities of states and other actors set the effective rules of internationally-exposed markets. To this end, we borrow and extend on arguments developed by historical institutionalists in comparative politics and American political development. In particular, the contributions adapt two mechanisms - policy feedbacks and relative sequencing - to explain state and bureaucratic preferences over international market regulation as well as bargaining strength in relevant negotiations. In addition to contributing to central IPE debates about international economic governance, the individual contributions shed light on a number of important empirical domains such as corporate accounting, intellectual property, pharmaceuticals, hedge funds, and financial market standardization.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Peterson Timothy, Quackenbush Stephen

**Not All Peace Years Are Created Equal: Trade, Imposed Settlements, and Recurrent Conflict in International Interactions**, vol. 36, issue 4, october , 363-383

ABSTRACT: The peace through trade hypothesis receives extensive support from a large empirical literature. However, extant research does not isolate whether this relationship holds for states that have fought in the past, or whether its influence following armed disputes is dependent upon the ways in which states settle their conflicts. Additionally, although recent research finds that imposed settlements are more pacifying than other forms of political settlement, these studies tend not to isolate factors associated with variation in the stability of imposed settlements. In this article, we examine how settlements condition the influence of trade on conflict recurrence, both to overcome a limitation in extant studies of trade and conflict, which tend to ignore the way states settle prior disputes, and to further an understanding of how post-conflict state interaction varies by (and within) settlement type. Looking at dyadic trade and recurrent conflict from 1885 to 2000, we find that imposed settlements foster a pacifying effect of trade, while negotiated settlements and failures to reach settlement lead to relationships in which trade has crosscutting effects on the stability of peace, resulting in an overall null effect of trade on conflict recurrence.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Shawki Noha

**Organizational structure and strength and transnational campaign outcomes: a comparison of two transnational advocacy networks**

in **Global Networks**, vol. 11, n. 1, january , 97-117

ABSTRACT: In this article I address the question of why some transnational advocacy networks (TANs) are better able to influence policy outcomes than others. How do we explain the variation in the political impact of TAN campaigns? Drawing on some of the theoretical formulations developed by social movement and international relations scholars, I argue that organizational structure and organizational strength can help us understand this variation. A comparison of a highly influential and successful TAN, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, with a less successful TAN, the International Action Network on Small Arms, demonstrates that such networks can mobilize a large number of diverse civil society groups. However, a coherent and well-coordinated campaign with a clear political message provides the



major explanation as to why some TANs are more likely to shape the global policy process than others.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Whitmarsh Lorraine, Seyfang Gill, O'Neill Saffron**

**Public engagement with carbon and climate change: To what extent is the public 'carbon capable'?**

*in Global Environmental Change*, Volume 21, Issue 1, February , 56-65

The relevance of climate change for society seems indisputable: scientific evidence points to a significant human contribution in causing climate change, and impacts which will increasingly affect human welfare. In order to meet national and international greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions reduction targets, there is an urgent need to understand and enable societal engagement in mitigation. Yet recent research indicates that this involvement is currently limited: although awareness of climate change is widespread, understanding and behavioral engagement are far lower. Proposals for mitigative 'personal carbon budgets' imply a need for public understanding of the causes and consequences of carbon emissions, as well as the ability to reduce emissions. However, little has been done to consider the situated meanings of carbon and energy in everyday life and decisions. This paper builds on the concept of 'carbon capability', a term which captures the contextual meanings associated with carbon and individuals' abilities and motivations to reduce emissions. We present empirical findings from a UK survey of public engagement with climate change and carbon capability, focusing on both individual and institutional dimensions. These findings highlight the diverse public understandings about 'carbon', encompassing technical, social, and moral discourses; and provide further evidence for the environmental value-action gap in relation to adoption of low-carbon lifestyles. Implications of these findings for promoting public engagement with climate change and carbon capability are discussed.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Belke Ansgar, Dreger Christian, Erber Georg**

**Reduction of Global Trade Imbalances: Does China Have to Revalue Its Currency?**

*in Economic Bulletin*, 30/2010 , 223-230

China's growing trade surplus with the USA has triggered a discussion whether the Yuan is fundamentally undervalued in relation to the US Dollar. So far, China has resisted the demand to drastically revalue its currency. This creates tension as the US economy is only slowly recovering and unemployment rates will probably remain high for a while. In return, this increases the risk of protectionist measures by the US government, such as punitive tariffs on Chinese exports, in order to pressure China to revalue the Yuan. This would also pose a serious threat to growth opportunities in Germany.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Posner Elliot**

**Sequence as explanation: The international politics of accounting standards**

*in Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 17 Issue 4 2010 , Pages 639 – 664



The gravitational pull of US capital markets in the early 1990s created incentives for foreign multinational companies and governments to adopt or converge to American accounting standards, US Generally Accepted Accounting Standards (US GAAP). Fifteen years later, more than a hundred countries had accepted (or planned to accept) a single set of accounting standards - yet not the American ones. Instead, a London-based private body had become the world's standard setter, and even in the US there was serious discussion about phasing out national standards for multinational companies. My explanation for change in the international politics of accounting standards emphasizes two conceptual tools featured in this special issue: cross-border sequencing effects and internal institutional configurations and capacity building. Unlike previous work that centers on the rise of private or technical authority or gives pride of place to either EU regional reform and capacity building or US developments, this article attributes the change in the politics of accounting standards to a sequence of developments that took place in the transatlantic political arena, inside and between these two large polities. The order and timing by which the US created and the EU emulated institutional configurations and regulatory capacities determined the particular set of transatlantic interactions. If the US or the EU had never developed these arrangements and capacities or had developed them in a different sequence or at different historical moments, transatlantic interactions would likely have followed an alternate path and generated different types of international politics.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Sperotto Federico**

**Sull'uso della forza nelle relazioni internazionali**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 2, aprile-giugno, 201-209

In his study, recently published by the «European Journal of International Law», professor Christian Tams examines the developments occurring in the area of extraterritorial use of military force during the last 20 years, to conclude that there is a tendency to see exceptions to the use of force in international law more favourably today than 20 years ago. Building on the analysis of Tams, this article supports the idea that relationships within the community of States, and consequently the right to wage war, or more generally to use military force (*jus ad bellum*), especially in relation to new global threats, are taking a profile that from «Grotian» goes to «Hobbesian», but that is deemed developing into a third model, which is not the model defined by Bull as «Kantian», but a model where the two traditions, «Hobbesian» and «Grotian» compete in substantial equilibrium, which Sean Murphy describes as a more «Protean *jus ad bellum*».

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Edelman Eric S.**

**The Broken Consensus: America's Contested Primacy**

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 14, n. 6, November-December

<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/articles/2010-NovDec/full-Edelman-ND-2010.html>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Ehrlich Sean**



**The Fair Trade Challenge to Embedded Liberalism**

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 54, issue 4, december , 1013-1033

ABSTRACT: The embedded liberalism thesis, a major component of the trade policy literature in political science, argues that governments can build support for free trade by compensating economically those hurt by trade, usually with welfare or education policies. This strategy depends, though, on opposition to trade being driven by employment factors, such as job or income loss because of increased competition. The current fair trade movement raises many non-employment criticisms of trade such as concerns about the environment and labor standards but the literature tends to treat these concerns as traditional protectionism in disguise. This article argues, instead, that for many, these concerns are sincere and that this presents a growing challenge to the compromise of embedded liberalism. The article demonstrates this by examining survey data in the United States and showing that those who support fair trade tend to have characteristics that are opposite those who support economic protection.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Robinson William I.

**The Global Capital Leviathan**

in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 165, January/February 2011

The full text is free:

[www.radicalphilosophy.com/default.asp?channel\\_id=2187&editorial\\_id=29356](http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/default.asp?channel_id=2187&editorial_id=29356)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Hayden Patrick

**The Relevance of Hannah Arendt's Reflections on Evil: Globalization and Rightlessness**

in *Human Rights Review*, Volume 11, Number 4 / December , 451-467

ABSTRACT: The centenary of Hannah Arendt's birth in 2006 has provided the catalyst for a body of literature grappling with the legacy of her thought, especially the question of its enduring political relevance. Yet this literature largely excludes from consideration a significant aspect of Arendt's legacy, namely, her account of evil and its devastating political reality. This article contends that the neglect of Arendt's understanding of the dynamic reality of evil unnecessarily delimits the opportunities her legacy affords to diagnose forms of evil today. In particular, I propose that Arendt's notion of evil and her unique insight into its dynamic reality remain very much pertinent in light of a globalizing world where the conditions of extreme deprivation and exclusion have become thoroughly bound up with the structurally unequal conditions of the global political economy. The persistent global poverty knowingly reproduced in and through policies and practices of economic globalization effectively renders vast numbers of people superfluous and "rightless," resulting in a distinctive form of political evil. I conclude that more attention should be paid to the deeper pertinence of Arendt's concepts of evil, human superfluosity, and rightlessness for contemporary political life.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Hufbauer Gary, Suominen Kati

**The Return of Globalization**

in **Foreign Policy**, Issue 183, October

As the G-20 finance ministers gather in South Korea, trade is returning but currency wars are brewing. Can they agree to cooperate before protectionist urges tear them apart?

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/21/The\\_Return\\_of\\_Globalization](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/21/The_Return_of_Globalization)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Morin Jean-Frédéric

**The Two-Level Game of Transnational Networks: The Case of the Access to Medicines Campaign**

in **International Interactions**, vol. 36, issue 4, october , 309-334

ABSTRACT: The rapid emergence of transnational networks in world politics calls for an analysis of their power dynamics. By combining the advocacy network literature and the two-level game theory in an innovative manner, this article provides a theoretical conceptualization of the interplay between intra- and inter-network interactions. It argues that the strength of a network as agent springs from its force as a structure. A network win-set is determined by its internal games, thereby affecting both its bargaining power and its chance to reach a consensual agreement with other networks. The issue of access to medicines is used as a factual background to illustrate how the flow of influence within networks affects influence among networks.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Newell Peter

**The elephant in the room: Capitalism and global environmental change**

in **Global Environmental Change**, Volume 21, Issue 1, February , 4-6

Full text available at

[http://www.sciencedirect.com/science?\\_ob=ArticleURL&\\_udi=B6VfV-51V3035-1&\\_user=10&\\_coverDate=02%2F28%2F2011&\\_rdoc=3&\\_fmt=high&\\_orig=browse&\\_origin=browse&\\_zone=rslt\\_list\\_item&\\_srch=doc-info\(%23toc%236020%232011%23999789998%232872748%23FLA%23display%23Volume\)&\\_cdi=6020&\\_sort=d&\\_docanchor=&\\_ct=30&\\_acct=C000050221&\\_version=1&\\_urlVersion=0&\\_userid=10&md5=0d1307f1648ee44da835ce9af86a8973&searchtype=a](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science?_ob=ArticleURL&_udi=B6VfV-51V3035-1&_user=10&_coverDate=02%2F28%2F2011&_rdoc=3&_fmt=high&_orig=browse&_origin=browse&_zone=rslt_list_item&_srch=doc-info(%23toc%236020%232011%23999789998%232872748%23FLA%23display%23Volume)&_cdi=6020&_sort=d&_docanchor=&_ct=30&_acct=C000050221&_version=1&_urlVersion=0&_userid=10&md5=0d1307f1648ee44da835ce9af86a8973&searchtype=a)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Waller Michael

**The environmental issue in the East of Europe: top-down, bottom-up and outside-in**

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 5, September , 831-849



The implosion of Communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe opened the closed frontier imposed by early Bolshevik policy and which was a key factor supporting the top-down nature of Communist rule. Behind it the market was abolished and the centrally determined plans were protected from world markets and other external influences. These states thus played no part in the development of globalisation, but their Communist parties fell from power just as globalisation was becoming a major factor in world affairs. The upshot was a marked asymmetry as Western influence entered the post-Communist space. The environmental issue was powerfully affected, as donor NGOs came to operate most congenially at intermediate level between government and grassroots groups. The outside-in operation of transnational NGOs thus replaced the incipient bottom-up activism in Eastern Europe from the Helsinki Agreements in 1975 onwards, and the 'informals' in the Soviet Union responding to Gorbachev's glasnost. This raises questions about the definition of participation and representation in a global age.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Leimbach Marian, Baumstark Lavinia

**The impact of capital trade and technological spillovers on climate policies**

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 69, Issue 12, 15 October , 2341-2355

In this paper, we present an intertemporal optimization model that is designed to analyze climate policy scenarios within a globalized world which is characterized by the existence of technological spillovers. We consider a type of technological spillovers that is bound to bilateral capital trade. Importing foreign capital that increases the efficiency of energy use represents a mitigation option that extends the commonly modeled portfolio. The technical details of the model are presented in this paper. The model is solved numerically. First model applications highlight the differences between climate policy analyses which either take or do not take technological spillovers into account. In the final part, we apply the model to investigate first-mover advantages and commitment incentives in climate policy scenarios. The existence of both is supported by simulation results.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Montagna Nicola

**The making of a global movement: cycles of protest and scales of action**

in **Sociological Review**, Volume 58, Issue 4, November 2010 , 638-655

Abstract

This article addresses some of the issues concerning the trans-nationalisation of collective action by focusing on the White Overalls and the Disobedients and their participation in three transnational cycles of protest that took place at different geographical levels – local, macro-regional, and global – between the second half of the 1990s and the early 2000s.

The first part briefly discusses some historical, transnational precursors to global collective action and will argue that the Global Justice Movement was a global and original actor with reference to three dimensions of contentious action: the organisational dimension, framing processes and campaigns. The second part focuses on the origins and identity of the White Overalls, while the third describes their analysis of globalization and looks at how the scale of action has shifted. The analysis of these three cycles of protest shows that the global shift has not superseded other scales of action, but



rather has been interwoven with them as a consequence of the political cleavages offered by the international context. It is also argued the space for action is only partially global and the global mobility of social movement activists is stratified. Finally it is shown how opponents, institutions and movements have all dynamically contributed to the transformation of the external political environment.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Albright Jeremy J.**

**The multidimensional nature of party competition**

**in Party Politics**, Volume 16, Number 6, November , 699-719

Left-right is a convenient tool for summarizing the complexities of voter-party linkages in a manner that is comparable across contexts and that avoids the pathologies of preference aggregation in higher dimensions. Yet several reasons exist to believe that left-right is increasingly incapable of summarizing political behavior: the inability of left-right to capture policy concerns beyond economics and religion; the accumulation of new issue concerns over time; pressures for policy convergence stemming from the globalization of the world economy; and the decline of social cleavages that historically structured vote choice. This paper shows that parties are indeed talking about a growing number of issues, they are converging on the left-right scale, and the ideological cues they are sending to voters are growing increasingly ambiguous. Social democratic parties have in particular been affected by these trends.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Hamm Bernd**

**The study of futures, and the analysis of power**

**in Futures**, Volume 42, Issue 9, November - Special Issue: The Futures of International Business , 1007-1018

This study attempts to find out in which direction global power distribution is shifting. This is expected to shed light on the chances we have to build a democratic, ecologically sustainable and socially just world future society. The paper raises and explores, to some extent, three questions: (1) Who is the emerging global ruling class, and does it develop some sort of class consciousness? (2) What are the means used by the global ruling class in the class struggle? and (3) What are likely consequences for the future of global society?

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Toporowski Jan**

**The transnational company after globalisation**

**in Futures**, Volume 42, Issue 9, November - Special Issue: The Futures of International Business , 920-925





International capital market integration has facilitated the rise of a new kind of 'financially enhanced' transnational. The mode of operation of the financially enhanced transnational corporation is compared with that of the more traditional production-orientated multinational company. The paper discusses the breakdown of globalisation into a new regionalisation in the international financial system, and the spreading macroeconomic crisis in the major industrialised economies. It argues that new financing constraints will freeze the current structure of international business. The crisis reveals finance as the key enabler and feature of international business.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Kim Dong-Hun, Trumbore Peter F.

**Transnational mergers and acquisitions: The impact of FDI on human rights, 1981—2006**

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 47, Number 6, November , 723-734

While globalization advocates have argued that market liberalization and economic integration will strengthen human rights by promoting economic development and facilitating the diffusion of rights-supportive norms and values, critics contend that the same processes threaten to undermine human rights through economic exploitation and the repressive actions of pro-growth governments. To contribute to this debate, the authors examine the relationship between one aspect of economic globalization, foreign direct investment, and human rights performance. But the authors go beyond existing studies of the human rights impact of foreign direct investment, which generally lump all forms of FDI into a single aggregate indicator, by focusing on one specific form of FDI, transnational mergers and acquisitions (M&As). This is a particularly important area to explore given the human rights literature's emphasis on multinational corporations as both potential violators of human rights and catalysts for improvements in human rights performance. This study examines the impact of cross-border M&As, which have become an increasingly prominent form of foreign direct investment over the last 25 years, on human rights performance globally from 1981 through 2006. The results of the statistical analysis show that transnational mergers and acquisitions have a positive impact on human rights conditions across several indicators, including physical integrity rights, empowerment rights, workers' rights, and women's economic rights. This positive impact of cross-border M&As is particularly pronounced in developing countries.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Rafiq M. S.

**Understanding the interaction between international and euro area output volatility**

in **Bulletin of Economic Research**, Volume 63, Issue 1, January 2011 , 53-81

This paper addresses two main questions. First, it seeks to establish whether the stylized facts of the 'great moderation' that have been documented for the UK and US economies can be found for the Euro area. Second, it explores possible explanations for any changes that have occurred in the volatility of Euro area output fluctuations. In examining why business cycles have moderated, much of the existing literature has tended to concentrate on a few key factors. These include shifts in the structure of the economy, improved monetary policy and a 'good luck' factor. This paper, however, follows a relatively new branch of the great moderation literature by focusing on whether international business cycle linkages have changed in a way that may have perpetuated the dampening in Euro area output fluctuations. The results



show Euro area output fluctuations to have significantly reduced in variability over the last quarter of a century. The results go on to highlight that, although Euro area cycles differ little from rest of the world cycles, the moderation in Euro area output fluctuations is only marginally due to changes in international business cycle linkages and smaller international and domestic shock variances.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Friedman George

**Une crise globale de légitimité**

in *Esprit*, Octobre 2010 , 138-145

Affaiblis par la crise, les États-Unis et l'Europe, où les élites semblent échapper aux conséquences de la crise, n'ont plus la légitimité pour prétendre imposer leurs décisions au niveau international. En l'absence d'acteur légitime reconnu, comment les rapports de force géopolitiques peuvent-ils se réorganiser ?

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Daase Christopher

**Wandel der Sicherheitskultur**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/OOUBJS,0,Wandel\\_der\\_Sicherheitskultur.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/OOUBJS,0,Wandel_der_Sicherheitskultur.html)

Inhalt:

Einleitung

Von der nationalen zur menschlichen Sicherheit

Von der militärischen zur ökologischen Sicherheit

Von der territorialen zur globalen Sicherheit

Von der Bedrohungsabwehr zur Risikovorsorge

Ansprüche und Ressourcen demokratischer Sicherheitspolitik

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Bude Heinz

**What's wrong with globalization? Contra 'flow speak' - towards an existential turn in the theory of globalization**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 13, No. 4, November 2010 , 481-500

Abstract



The article attempts a reformulation of globalization theory. We identify 'flow speak' and the flattened ontology of the social that goes with it as a major limitation in contemporary globalization theory. Contrary to the prevailing overemphasis on mobility and deterritorialization, we suggest an existential turn that orients future globalization thinking more towards issues of belonging, choice and commitment, and the rhythmicity of social relations. To highlight the processual character of this shift of perspective, we shall draw on the paradigmatic figure of the 'homecomer'. S/he, in our understanding, embodies the ambivalence between the lure of global options and the need for commitment to lasting bonds. Thus, we do not argue for a post-mortem on globalization theory, but maintain that a deeper understanding of globalization as a 'way of being in the world' would require a phenomenologically inclined repositioning of the concept.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

#### *Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Staiger Robert W, Sykes Alan O.

#### **'Currency manipulation' and world trade**

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 9, Issue 04, 2010 , 583 -627

Central bank intervention in foreign exchange markets may, under some conditions, stimulate exports and retard imports. In the past few years, this issue has moved to center stage because of the foreign exchange policies of China. Numerous public officials and commentators argue that China has engaged in impermissible 'currency manipulation', and various proposals for stiff action against China have been advanced. This paper considers the relationship between exchange rate policy and international trade, and addresses the questions of whether and how currency manipulation should be addressed by the international trading system. Our conclusions are at odds with much of what is currently being said by proponents of multilateral or unilateral actions against China. In particular, we question whether China's practices can be adjudicated to be 'manipulation' under international law, and doubt that their trade effects can be identified with the degree of confidence necessary to ascertain whether the practices 'frustrate the intent' of WTO/GATT commitments. The difficulty of identifying the trade effects of currency practices undermines the ability of the WTO dispute resolution system to address them, and calls into question the wisdom and legitimacy of unilateral countermeasures that have been proposed in various quarters.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Soderbaum Fredrik, Sbragia Alberta

#### **EU Studies and the 'New Regionalism': What can be Gained from Dialogue?**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 6 / November , 563-582

This article explores what can be gained from increased dialogue between European Union studies and 'new regionalism' studies within International Relations, focusing on two crucial analytical dimensions: the link between globalisation and regionalism, and the link between regionalism and the state. First, globalisation is a universal process, and it provides the context for regionalism across the globe, which enhances the potential for cross-fertilisation between EU studies and 'new regionalism' studies. Cross-regional comparison is, however, constrained by the fact that globalisation's effects are unevenly spread around the globe. Second, comparing the EU with other forms of regionalism highlights the difficulty faced by scholars when moving across the divide separating advanced industrial states from



developing countries/emerging economies. Strong state institutions and structures matter in the shaping of both national and regional governance; so does national wealth. Given the difficulties when trying to work across that divide, a focus on comparative regionalism should be viewed with both excitement and caution. The possibility for dialogue and cross-fertilisation depends therefore strongly on the compatibility of (meta-)theoretical perspectives and basic assumptions about states as well as regional institutions.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Alter Karen, Helfer Laurence

**Nature or Nurture? Judicial Lawmaking in the European Court of Justice and the Andean Tribunal of Justice in International Organization**, vol. 64, issue 4, october , 563-592

ABSTRACT: Are international courts power-seeking by nature, expanding the reach and scope of international rules and the courts' authority where permissive conditions allow? Or, does expansionist lawmaking require special nurturing? We investigate the relative influences of nature versus nurture by comparing expansionist lawmaking in the European Court of Justice (ECJ) and the Andean Tribunal of Justice (ATJ), the ECJ's jurisdictional cousin and the third most active international court. We argue that international judges are more likely to become expansionist lawmakers where they are supported by substate interlocutors and compliance constituencies, including government officials, advocacy networks, national judges, and administrative agencies. This comparison of two structurally identical international courts calls into question prevailing explanations of ECJ lawmaking, and it suggests that prevailing scholarship puts too much emphasis on the self-interested power-seeking of judges, the importance of institutional design features, and the preferences of governments to explain lawmaking by international courts.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Janauskas, G.

**New structures, changing identities: the concepts of the Baltic Sea region in Asia Europe Journal**, Volume 8, Number 3 , 339-345

The accession of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland to the European Union (EU) has led to an increase in initiatives on Baltic Sea issues and a degree of enhanced confidence in moving towards solutions. While EU policies and instruments, and the provision of significant financial resources, have increased, one might still ask whether people across the Baltic Sea region are ready for the changes implied by the new Baltic strategy and comparable initiatives. Marko Lehti and David Smith have "tried to show that national thinking is by no means self-evident and that the Baltic can be comprehended as a trans-national space". Yet, how this position is articulated in the various societies warrants close investigation. This position is closely related to dominant identities and images within Baltic societies. How will the EU's innovative strategy and the resulting change of images impact upon the conceptual understandings of the Baltic Sea and region, including perhaps the search for a common identity as a successful and a pilot scheme?

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Erll, A.



### **Regional integration and (trans)cultural memory**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 8, Number 3 , 305-315

This article asks how we can understand processes of regional integration through the lens of memory. Regional integration, despite its taking place in the here and now, rests on acts of cultural recall. Socially shared versions of history, concepts of identity, values and norms, stereotypes, and prejudices as well as certain modes of behavior are usually formed in long historical processes and become part of a “cultural memory.” Cultural memory is one of the “soft factors” which are inevitably at work in the negotiation of economical questions, energy and power politics—the “hard factors” of regional integration, as it were. It can affect the way in which processes of regional integration function, or fail to do so. And it often does so in ways that social groups are not even conscious of. The article will present theories of cultural memory put forward by Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Nora, and Aleida and Jan Assmann as well as recent trends in research on “transcultural memory” and ask about their implications for the study of regional integration.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Warleigh-Lack Alex, Van Langenhove Luk

### **Rethinking EU Studies: The Contribution of Comparative Regionalism**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 6 / November , 541-562

This article introduces the special issue on the contribution of comparative regionalism/regional integration studies to the rethinking of EU studies. It sets out what we consider to be a danger for EU studies, namely its tendency towards introversion, and argue for a sustained engagement with the studies of other global regions as a means to avoid this. We draw on political science and psychology to set out a suitable framework for comparing global regions such as the EU, and show how the various contributions to the special issue demonstrate the utility for EU studies scholars of a more sustained, and more routinised, engagement with the work on 'new regionalism'.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

North, M.; Turner, B.

### **The Baltic Sea and South China Sea regions: incomparable models of regional integration?**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 8, Number 3 , 271-277

The article explains the key concepts of integration and exemplifies how they can be applied to processes of regional integration in the Baltic Sea and South China Sea regions.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Genna Gaspare M., De Lombaerde Philippe

### **The Small N Methodological Challenges of Analyzing Regional Integration**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 6 / November , 583-595

As the number of regional integration organizations increases, the attention to case selection in small-N qualitative



analysis becomes more necessary in order to avoid selection biases that could produce results with doubtful generalizations. This paper addresses the problem of selecting cases and offers solutions to potential pitfalls in research. First we examine various research designs in qualitative methods and discuss the problems of selecting observations on the dependent variable. We next discuss the operational definition of regions. In order to select from a population of observations, it is important to understand what is and what is not included. Finally, a few implications are presented for the EU studies community.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Turner, B.

**The construction of spatial regional identities: the case of the Baltic in a global context**  
in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 8, Number 3 , 317-326

Comparative interregionalism is often limited to the policy or panoramic dimension, reducing local differences and specificities, the “minute particulars” (Blake, William Blake’s Writings, 614, 620, 1978) of the lifeworld to their more abstract forms. This is particularly the case when the European Union (EU) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are compared: generalities remain abstractions, whereas the sharper the focus the more differentiated the mindscape becomes and the more the basis for the comparison is undermined. Yet, in a global knowledge networked economy (to get all the buzzwords in one phrase), comparisons are necessary if often invidious. While commentators are often reluctant to see the EU as a model for ASEAN, it is often seen as a complex of experiences to be shared. Yet what—in this domain—gets exported, transplanted and implanted elsewhere, how does this transference take place in such an internetted society, and to what end? Seen in an interregional, even global context, and including an examination of teaching Günter Grass’ *Crabwalk* (Im Krebsgang, 2002) in English translation to undergraduates of a contemporary European literature class at the National University of Singapore, the paper hopes to indicate some temporal and spatial contexts of transplantation and the means by which this is achieved.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Aydin Aysegul

**The deterrent effects of economic integration**

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 47, Number 5, September , 523-533

Economic interdependence and international conflict studies have traditionally focused on the role of bilateral trade on direct deterrence, mostly omitting its indirect effects on third-party states. While scholars in the extended deterrence literature have examined the role of defender—target trade in deterring aggressors, most empirical research has remained limited to immediate deterrence and neglected general deterrence. This article synthesizes these literatures and goes beyond the dyad-level analysis in trade—conflict studies by focusing on the deterrent effects of trade. I claim that trade ties between the defender and target are not sufficient for extended general deterrence. This is mainly because international trade by itself is a poor indicator of the extent to which the target is an economically important friend of the defender, worth defending against aggressors. Empirical analysis of militarized disputes between rival states in the post-1945 period supports this point and shows that extended deterrence success is most likely in cases where the defender and target are economically integrated through regional trade institutions as well as conducting heavy trade. Economically minded defenders can successfully generate credible signals of resolve if they have



institutional ties with their important trade partners.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Borschberg, P.; North, M.**

**Transcending borders: the sea as realm of memory**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, Volume 8, Number 3 , 279-292

In this joint paper, 'Transcending Borders: The Sea as Realm of Memory', we shall discuss issues of regional integration by applying the concept of realm of memory to maritime border regions in the Baltic Sea and the South China Sea. Since the material or immaterial realms of memory constitute symbolic intersections between cultures, spaces and times, they simultaneously affect not only the neighbouring countries and the national cultures of memory, but also societies and ethnic or religious groups. The Sea and adjacent regions provide an excellent example and object of study for this category of shared realms of memory. In this paper we are studying two straits regions in comparison—the Danish Sound (Øresund) and the Strait of Malacca—and try to reconstruct their different, shifting roles across history. Since the collective memory shapes how we perceive things and spaces across time, it affects contemporary policy making and thus (regional) integration in maritime border regions.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Habte Mussie**

**Afrika neu denken. Krise und Zukunft der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit**

**in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Januar, 2011 , 67-73

The full text is free:

[www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2011/januar/afrika-neu-denken](http://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2011/januar/afrika-neu-denken)

Die Bilanz von fünf Jahrzehnten Entwicklungspolitik für Afrika könnte verheerender kaum sein: Trotz gewaltiger Summen, die jahrelang geflossen sind, sind die Fortschritte, die auf dem Kontinent im Kampf gegen Armut und Unterentwicklung erzielt wurden, alles andere als erfreulich. Die internationale Entwicklungszusammenarbeit hat es nicht vermocht, grundlegende ökonomische und politische Entwicklungen in Afrika in Gang zu setzen; der Kontinent leidet weiterhin unter strukturellen chronischen Problemen, zu denen Bürgerkriege genauso zählen wie die massive Ausbreitung der HIV/Aids-Pandemie, die weltweit höchste Säuglingssterblichkeitsrate und eine allgemein mangelhafte Gesundheitsversorgung sowie Bildungssysteme, die sich durch die weltweit niedrigste Alphabetisierungs- und Einschulungsrate auszeichnen. Hinzu kommt die wirtschaftliche Unterentwicklung, durch die der Kontinent nur wenig attraktiv ist für Investoren und die Produktion von Gütern vor Ort – während internationale Konzerne weiterhin gerne die dortigen Rohstoffe abbauen und exportieren. Bis heute dominiert daher die Sorgenkind-Metapher den Duktus internationaler Organisationen und westlicher Medien...

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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



Gänzle Stefan, Franke Benedikt

**Afrikanische Friedens- und Sicherheitsarchitektur: Institutionalisierte Zusammenarbeit in und für Afrika**  
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/YSHUM6,0,Afrikanische\\_Friedens\\_und\\_Sicherheitsarchitektur%3A\\_Institutionalisierte\\_Zusammenarbeit\\_in\\_und\\_f%FCr\\_Afrika.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/YSHUM6,0,Afrikanische_Friedens_und_Sicherheitsarchitektur%3A_Institutionalisierte_Zusammenarbeit_in_und_f%FCr_Afrika.html)

Inhalt:

Einleitung

Afrikanische Union als institutioneller Kern

Säulen der Sicherheitsarchitektur

Internationale Unterstützung

Herausforderungen: Worauf kommt es an?

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Bernard Hoekman, Khalid Sekka

**Arab Economic Integration: Missing Links**

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 44 Issue 6 , 1273–1308

This paper surveys the recent literature on Arab economic integration and discusses the goals and progress that has been made to date and some of the key policy, regulatory, and political factors that underpin the segmentation of Arab markets. It argues that there has been an excessive focus by both analysts and policy makers on trade in goods and that the prospects for – and returns to – efforts to deepen integration of other markets (services, labour, and capital) are likely to be higher.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Bama Orlando

**Assessing media in developing societies: is the APRM an appropriate framework for Africa?**

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 17, n. 3, december , 295-311

ABSTRACT: This article explores the opportunities and challenges of designing a media assessment framework for a continent as different and disparate as Africa. It problematises the presumption that there is such a thing as culturally transcendent democratic norms and asserts that the values that underpin concepts such as 'media freedom' — inherent





in most media assessment frameworks — are hegemonised social constructs. Using the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as a case study, the article seeks to identify and highlight the potential benefits and limitations of the peer review concept in general and the APRM in particular, as a framework for assessing African media systems. Is the APRM a possible alternative or complementary media research and policy instrument to the liberal frameworks hitherto employed by the international development community? The study postulates that in its principles and design, the APRM is a good first step in the difficult but necessary task of developing an appropriate framework for assessing media systems in Africa, within the broad purview of a complex, fast-changing global communications ecology.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Ewers Michael C., Malecki Edward J.

**Leapfrogging into the knowledge economy: assessing the economic development strategies of the Arab Gulf states**

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)*, Volume 101, Issue 5, December, 494-508

The oil-abundant, labour-deficient countries of the Persian Gulf are investing their wealth towards creating economic development beyond oil. At a minimum, these strategies are attempts to craft the basis for sustainable economic development in a global economy that is more dependent on human capital and creativity than on natural resource wealth. This paper examines the Gulf development experience in light of theories on the diversification of natural resource-based economies, the transition from pre- to post-industrial development, and the role of services as an economic base. The paper assesses the Gulf's current development efforts and post-oil, knowledge-based aspirations in terms of the region's competitiveness, knowledge accumulation, and labour market structure.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Fawcett Louise, Gandois Helene

**Regionalism in Africa and the Middle East: Implications for EU Studies**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 6 / November, 617-636

This article analyses and contrasts the growth and development of regionalism in Africa and the Middle East and considers what lessons can be drawn from these regions for studies of the European Union. Rather than asking why regionalism has failed in certain parts of the world, while succeeding in Europe, it takes a more nuanced view of the processes associated with regionalism, regionalization and regional integration. It identifies the particular conditions which have led to the rise of regional organizations in Africa and the Middle East and then singles out four factors of importance in understanding the relative success or failure of different schemes, namely external influence; hegemony and leadership; regime type and identity. This discussion then forms the backdrop to a comparative consideration of the European Union. In highlighting those factors which account for the different trajectories of regional institutions, the article aims to widen the scope of EU and comparative regionalism studies.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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



Dorr Norbert, Lund Susan, Roxburgh Charles

**The African Miracle**

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 184, November

How the world's charity case became its best investment opportunity.

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/29/the\\_african\\_miracle](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/29/the_african_miracle)

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Balázs Égert

**The Impact of Monetary and Commodity Fundamentals, Macro News and Central Bank Communication on the Exchange Rate: Evidence from South Africa**

in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 21, Number 5 , 655-677

This paper studies drivers of high-frequency (daily) dynamics of the South African rand vis-à-vis the dollar from January 2001 to July 2007. We find strong nonlinear effects of commodity prices, perceived country and emerging market risk premium and changes in the dollar-euro exchange rate on changes in daily returns of the rand-dollar exchange rate. We also identify a one-sided nonlinear mean reversion to the long-term monetary equilibrium. In addition we establish very short-lived effects on the exchange rate of selected macroeconomic surprises and central bank communication aimed at talking up the rand.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Moolakkattu John S.

**The Role of the African Union in Continental Peace and Security Governance**

in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 66, n°2 , 151-165

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Asseburg Muriel, Busse Jan

**What Europe must do to ensure a two-state deal**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn

Questions still abound as to the EU's position regarding Palestinian statehood. Muriel Asseburg and Jan Busse list the key decisions European policymakers must take to ensure the peace process becomes viable.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21716/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21716/language/en-US/Default.aspx)



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*

**Vega Cánovas Gustavo**

**2010: Balance and Prospects of Free Trade between Mexico and the United States**

in **Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN L - NÚMERO 2

The article assesses NAFTA's results sixteen years after its entry into force, for the three economies, particularly Mexico's. Although the agreement favored an exponential increase in trade and investment flows between the three countries, the study shows how it was insufficient to generate economic growth to benefit the majority of the people in Mexico. The study makes an analysis of Mexico's challenges and opportunities in its relations with the United States in the 21st century. The paper also broaches the urgency of formulating new policies to address the most pressing problems facing Mexico and the United States in the economic, social and security spheres

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*

**Julie Cupples, Irving Larios**

**A Functional Anarchy Love, Patriotism, and Resistance to Free Trade in Costa Rica**

in **Latin American Perspectives: a Journal on Capitalism and Socialism** , 37 (6) , 93-108

During the Bush administration, the United States ratified a free trade agreement with five Central American countries and the Dominican Republic. Ratification in Costa Rica was considerably delayed because of widespread popular opposition that led to a referendum in October 2007. The strategies used to gain a victory for the Yes campaign were opposed by the Patriotic Movement for No, a diverse network of neighborhood-based patriotic committees, trade unions, agricultural organizations, academics, women's organizations, environmental movements, and the Church. Resistance to the agreement in Costa Rica is helping to dereify free trade doctrines and producing proliferating forms of political association that articulate credible and appealing alternatives to neoliberalism. The referendum unleashed a struggle for hegemony in Costa Rica that has important implications for state—civil society relations and the rescaling of state power.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*

**Stephen W. Hartman**

**NAFTA, the Controversy**

in **International Trade Journal**, Volume 25 Issue 1

The 2008 U.S. Presidential election highlighted the controversy that exists regarding NAFTA. Four of the most vocal criticisms are the loss of U.S. jobs to Mexico, the loss of the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the United States, no net income gain for the average working American, and illegal migration from Mexico as a result of NAFTA. The research did not validate three of these criticisms. However, illegal migration from Mexico has been an unintended consequence



of NAFTA. The data clearly indicate that strong trade growth occurred among the NAFTA partners, but it is difficult to prove conclusively the growth occurred only because of NAFTA. Of the three NAFTA trading partners, Mexico has benefited least from NAFTA as the country is still witnessing high unemployment, strong income disparities, and weak governance indicators.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Vibhanshu Shekhar

**India and Indonesia: Reliable Partners in an Uncertain Asia**

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 17 Issue 2 , 76 - 98

The India-Indonesia strategic engagement is both a reflection of as well as a response to the changing politico-strategic landscape of Asia during the post-Cold War era and the first decade of the twenty-first century. The partnership has emerged out of growing concerns about prevailing strategic uncertainty in Asia and the mutual desire of benefitting from the Asian stories of growth, integration, and development. Moreover, two decades of the multi-pronged strategies of engagement under India's Look East Policy have not only broadened the canvas of the engagement but also placed the relationship in the broader strategic context of Asia, a discourse once advocated aggressively by the two leaders of the two countries—Nehru and Sukarno.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Damsky Isaac

**La internacionalización del ordinamento jurídico argentino. Su caracterización a la luz del sistema interamericano de Derechos humanos y la incipiente integración comunitaria del Mercosur**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 924-943

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Malamud Andrés

**Latin American Regionalism and EU Studies**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 6 / November , 637-657

Outside Europe, nowhere but in Latin America have integration attempts and thinking developed so extensively across space and so consistently over time. This article introduces the historical waves of Latin American regionalism in order to discuss the theories applied to account for, and frequently advocate, regional integration. The aim is twofold: on the one hand, to assess the capacity to travel of theories that have been crafted for the EU; on the other, to draw lessons from the Latin American experiences that may contribute to advance integration theory in general and EU studies in particular.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Fabio Morosini

**The MERCOSUR Trade and Environment Linkage Debate: The Disputes over Trade in Retreaded Tires**  
in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 44 Issue 5 , 1127–1144

Brazil is currently immersed in the project of building a new common market, known as MERCOSUR, with its neighbours Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. That project is largely based on the assumption that increased regional trade and harmonization of environmental standards will be beneficial for the environment. However, these assumptions have been challenged after recent Brazilian efforts to regulate the environmental and health risks associated with retreaded tire imports. Despite the protests of environmentalists, MERCOSUR tribunals have now issued two separate decisions finding that the Brazilian measures violate international trade rules. This article examines the MERCOSUR framework on the relationship between trade liberalization and environmental protection and examines how this framework was applied by MERCOSUR tribunals with respect to the two disputes concerning trade in retreaded tires.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Lixinski Lucas

**Treaty Interpretation by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights: Expansionism at the Service of the Unity of International Law**  
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 21, issue 3 , 585-604

The article examines the jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in several areas of adjudication which initially did not fall under the instrument, such as environmental rights, international humanitarian law, and investors' rights. In all these areas, the Court has used instruments 'foreign' to the Inter-American system as a means to expand the content of rights in the American Convention. As a result, the umbrella of protection of this instrument, and the reach of the Court, is far greater than originally envisaged. After analysing the specific provision on interpretation of the American Convention on Human Rights as compared to the equivalent mechanisms in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, the article analyses several case studies of expansionism in the case law of the Court, asking throughout the analysis the question whether this helps the unity or the fragmentation of international law. The article argues that this exercise in expansionism, albeit imperfect, eventually contributes to the unity of international law. In this sense, this expansionism happens within controlled boundaries, and the use of external instruments is more of a validation of findings the Court could make based solely on the Inter-American instruments, rarely creating new rights.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Rizwanul Islam

**An Appraisal of the South Asian Free Trade Agreement and Its Consistency with the WTO Rules on Preferential Trade Agreements**  
in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 44 Issue 6 , 1187–1206

This article critically analyses the main features of the Agreement on South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA). As a preferential trade agreement (PTA) concluded among WTO members, the SAFTA must comply with the WTO rules on



PTAs. This article finds that the SAFTA has flouted with the requirement of timely notification to the WTO. Even though the Agreement complies with the discreet requirements of the Enabling Clause, its shallow internal trade liberalization scheme would not have complied with Article XXIV of the GATT.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Shintaro Hamanaka

**Asian Financial Cooperation in the 1990s: The Politics of Membership**  
in *Journal of East Asian Studies* , Volume 11, Number 1, January , 75–104

A commonplace view holds that the trend toward Asian financial regionalism is a relatively new phenomenon, developing in response to the 1997–1998 Asian financial crisis in particular. In this article I challenge this view by analyzing financial regionalist projects before the crisis. Asian countries, especially Japan, sought to establish an Asiaonly financial cooperation framework throughout the 1990s. The policy stance of the United States, in contrast, was to participate in Asian forums and/or by itself propose and establish regional groupings that included the United States. This competition between Japan and the United States is a key factor in understanding the rise and fall of various regionalist projects and also has theoretical implications for membership politics in regional financial cooperation frameworks.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Smith Gary

**Australia and the rise of India**  
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, n. 5 / November , 566-582

Australia is at risk of being left behind by the pace of India's emergence as a regional and global power and its lack of engagement with India during this emergence. The Rudd Labor government is developing a framework which may make Australia a significant partner with India. There is the potential for a thoroughgoing engagement of interests and ideals in proposals Australia has put forward in three areas. Australia's vision of an Asia Pacific Community, with cooperation as its habitual operating principle, and with a membership that includes India and the USA as well as China and Japan, fills a multilateral gap. Secondly, the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament may provide a global framework assisting the development of Australian and Indian initiatives in the controlling and winding back of nuclear proliferation. Thirdly, Australia's national carbon pollution reduction program is intended to demonstrate international leadership and engagement in climate change, and opens the prospect for Australia of a substantial bilateral partnership with India (and others) to advance common interests around climate change. Australia, while emphasising its close relationship with the USA, is preparing to live in a region where the USA will, over time, be less influential as its relative power declines. As other great powers rise, Australia can actively pursue a hedging strategy to diversify its dependencies, and develop a much deeper engagement with that other emerging Asian giant.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Tomonori Sasaki



**China Eyes the Japanese Military: China's Threat Perception of Japan since the 1980s**  
in *China Quarterly (The)*, Volume 203, Sep. , 560-580

This article represents the first attempt to examine the Chinese elite's threat perception of Japan using statistics to analyse what, if any, differences exist among the People's Liberation Army, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Chinese economic institutes. It seeks to answer two questions that have not previously been addressed in the literature. First, has there been a change in perception of the Japanese threat in these three sectors over time? And if so, what can we deduce about the causes of this change? This study finds that there have indeed been two major shifts in China's threat perception of Japan since the 1980s, one in the late 1980s and the other in the mid-1990s. It also finds that there were no differences between sectors as to the direction and timing of these shifts. It suggests that Japan's military build-up in the late 1980s and the strengthening of the US–Japan alliance from 1996 onwards are what prompted these shifts in China's threat perception.

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

Jing-Dong Yuan

**China's Role in Establishing and Building the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)**  
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 19 Issue 67 , 855-869

In June 2001, China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan established the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). While the immediate focus of the organization was to combat the so-called 'three evils'—ethnic separatism, religious extremism, and international terrorism—the SCO's long-term viability and effectiveness in promoting regional stability and economic development depend on how member states build up common identity and cooperate on issues of mutual concern. This article looks at China's role in initiating the Shanghai-5/SCO structure within the broader framework of Beijing's foreign and security policy interests and priorities in Central Asia and seeks to examine both the prospects for and the potential obstacles to its efforts in achieving key objectives for this new regional organization: management of ethnic and religious unrest, including the fight against terrorism and separatism; maintenance of stable borders; development of energy resources; and promotion of economic prosperity. In addition, the article will also examine the extent to which Beijing has used the opportunity to exercise leadership and whether or not China can extend its influence to Central Asia using the SCO as a vehicle.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Murray Philomena

**East Asian Regionalism and EU Studies**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 6 / November , 597-616

This article examines the development of Asian regionalism and the scholarship on regionalism in Asia in relation to EU studies. It provides a brief overview of the development and relative successes to date of East Asian regionalism. It then examines scholarship on the East Asian region — the principal approaches, concepts and methods before moving on to ask what, if anything, scholars of EU studies can learn from scholarship on the East Asian region and what, if anything, scholars of the East Asian region might learn from scholarship on the EU. It seeks to establish some pathways to deeper dialogue between scholarly understandings of the EU experience of integration and the East Asian experience of



regionalism, aiming to contribute to comparative regional integration analysis. It argues that the key characteristic of European integration theory is an 'institutions plus embedded norms' framework and that the distinguishing feature of East Asian regionalism is a framework of architecture based on open economic regionalism, normative priors and security imperatives.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Kivimäki, T.

**East Asian relative peace and the ASEAN Way**

**in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific**, Volume11, Issue1 , 57-85

East Asia has experienced a drastic decline in incidences of warfare and has had exceptionally low levels of battle deaths after 1979. However, East Asian peace had already begun in 1967 inside ASEAN. Is it possible that East Asian peace began in ASEAN and spread to the rest of East Asia? This is the question that this article aims to tackle by showing the association between a reasonable and plausible explanation, the ASEAN Way, and East Asian peace after 1979. The argument about the role of the ASEAN approach in the pacification of East Asia is based on an examination of the patterns of frequency of conflicts, numbers of battle deaths and conflict termination. In this kind of examination, it seems that the recipes for peace in East Asia after 1979 are similar to those of ASEAN after 1967, and that their relationship to conflicts was also very similar.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Zhao Hong

**Energy security concerns of China and ASEAN: trigger for conflict or cooperation in the South China Sea?**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, Volume 8, Number 3 , 413-426

China and some ASEAN countries are emerging economies. As their population and economies grow at a rapid pace, energy security and related environmental problems remain a big concern. This paper tries to address some interrelated topics: what are China and ASEAN countries' energy status and concerns, and what strategies and approaches have these countries taken to enhance their energy security? Since the South China Sea is vital to the economic prosperity of China and ASEAN countries in terms of energy transportation sea lanes and is believed to contain significant oil and natural gas, how will these countries react, in rivalry or cooperation, for energy exploration there?

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Chheang, V.

**Environmental and economic cooperation in the Mekong region**

**in Asia Europe Journal**, Volume 8, Number 3 , 359-368

Greater Mekong Subregional Integration has been promoted quite remarkably in the past decade with the support from key international and regional actors. Hard and soft infrastructure has been developed extensively. The road connection development in the Greater Mekong Subregion under the framework of East–West Corridor and North–South Corridor





encourages more human and goods exchanges. The policy coordination and harmonization among the countries in the region have been upgraded but at a very slow pace. The future of the regional integration in the region is realizable through hard and soft infrastructure integration. As this article attempts to demonstrate, the main concern, though, still surrounds the issue of political willingness and real cooperation.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Hsiu-Fen Hsu

**Is a Common Currency Area Feasible for East Asia? A Multivariate Structural Vector Autoregression Approach in Asian Economic Journal**, Volume 24, Issue 4, December 2010 , 391-411

In this paper the feasibility of forming a common currency area in East Asia is investigated. A three-variable structural vector autoregression model is used to identify three types of shocks: global, regional and domestic shocks. The empirical results show that in the post-crisis period the importance of asymmetric domestic shocks has declined sharply, whereas that of symmetric global and regional shocks has increased. Furthermore, although a 'prevalent shock' cannot be uniquely defined, most East Asian economies respond to global and regional shocks in a symmetric way. Although the findings do not provide strong support for forming a common currency area in this region at the current stage, they suggest that most East Asian economies have become relatively symmetric in terms of economic shocks and adjustments, implying that a common currency area might become viable through deepening regional integration

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

Arp Björn

**La nueva Comisión Intergubernamental de Derechos Humanos de la ASEAN : ¿un avance global de derechos humanos o un tigre sin dientes?**

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 20/ 2010

This article presents the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights. The Commission was set up in October 2009 to promote human rights in the ten member States of this regional cooperation organization of southeast Asia. The article explores the process of recognition of human rights within this organization, the act of constitution of the Commission and the reactions to it by other relevant States, international organizations and NGO's. Then there is an analysis of the Commission's statute, focusing particularly on the possibilities left open by the statute to develop its functions, taking into account the experience and practice of other international mechanisms, on a universal as well as a regional level. The article is closed with a reference to the first case brought to the attention of the Commission where violations of human rights took place, and with a compilation of the most relevant conclusions.

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

Yves-Heng Lim

**Locating Transition: the prospect for a US-China transition in Asia**  
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 19 Issue 67 , 913 - 934



In charting the water of the post-Cold War world, one of the most prominent questions touches upon the likely effects of China's rise. Echoing more or less explicitly power transition theory's assumptions, the rapid and multifaceted ascent of China has popularized the idea of a likely overtaking of the American dominant power by the rising challenger. Sceptics have, however, pointed out that by most standards China remains far from being on a par with the United States. This paper argues that though a global power transition lies far beyond the horizon, the relevant level at which the transition should be considered is the East Asian region, or the Asian 'super-region'.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Toby Carrolla; Benjamin Sovacool**

**Pipelines, crisis and capital: understanding the contested regionalism of Southeast Asia**  
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 23 Issue 5 , 625 - 647

via an analysis of the trans-ASEAN gas pipeline project (TAGP), in this article we argue for a reconceptualising of the regional dynamics of Southeast Asia and the forces shaping them. For this task, we propose an analytical framework based upon social conflict theory that delves within and beyond the state, and which places emphasis upon the roles of both material and ideological factors operating across time in the reordering of particular geographical spaces. The framework reveals that the tensions acting within and upon ASEAN and the TAGP influence regionalism in such a way that the gas pipeline project - much like other 'regional' projects - is unlikely to ever come close to fulfilling its brief of enhancing regional security and cohesion. What is more probable is that the project's form will continue to be conditioned by entrenched politico-economic realities and the influence of dominant ideologies - factors which have the capacity to exacerbate existing regional animosities and disparities.

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

**Nabers Dirk**

**Power, leadership, and hegemony in international politics: the case of East Asia**  
in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, November , 931-949

The article inquires into the conditions of effective leadership of states in international politics, and develops a framework for the study of so-called (new) regional powers such as Brazil, China, India, and South Africa in processes of regional institution-building. Various theoretical strands will be discussed as to the requirements of effective leadership in international affairs. Most importantly, the relationship between power, leadership and hegemony will be outlined. It is argued that the connection between leadership and hegemony is one of co-constitution. Leadership is necessarily based on hegemony, while hegemony can only be sustained through leadership. Furthermore, it will be shown that both leadership and hegemony are essentially political in character, whereas power has no such insinuation but has to be translated into leadership and hegemony through discursive means. Finally, the analysis asks for the preconditions of leadership in East Asia, using China's and Japan's roles in East Asian regionalism as an illustration.

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

**Yang Jiang**



**Response and responsibility: China in East Asian financial cooperation**

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 23 Issue 5 , 603 - 623

China's behaviour in East Asian financial cooperation has overall changed from passively responding to external pressures to taking proactive initiatives, which are highlighted by Chinese elites as evidence of a sense of responsibility. China has taken varied positions towards proposals for Asian financial regionalism, from 'silent' objection, to lukewarm or superficial support, to enthusiastic participation and substantial contribution, and this variance has not always taken place in a chronological order. Despite much speculation over the trajectory of China's role in East Asian regionalism, there has not been a study focused on China's policymaking towards East Asian financial cooperation. Therefore, this paper fills the gap by analysing the factors and policymaking processes that have led to those varied positions. It argues that China, recognising the momentum in the region to enhance cooperation, has replaced the blunt dismissals of proposals, particularly those from Japan, with a more subtle approach that is aimed at ensuring China's influence and promoting the image of a responsible great power; that the extent to which it can contribute to this process is mainly constrained by its economic conditions, particularly the financial institutions.

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

Hidetaka Yoshimatsu

**Understanding Regulatory Governance in Northeast Asia: Environmental and Technological Cooperation among China, Japan and Korea**

in *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 18 Issue 3 , 227 - 247

After the early 1990s, the wave of regionalism covered broader areas in the world, and Northeast Asia, which had weak regional cohesion largely due to history-oriented animosity, gradually developed initiatives for regional cooperation since the late 1990s. This article seeks to address why and how China, Japan, and South Korea have pursued regional cooperation by relying on the concept of 'regional governance'. It advances two arguments. First, the governments of China, Japan, and South Korea have identified the avoidance of risk from uncertainty as a major objective of promoting trilateral cooperation in specific functional areas. Second, they have gradually intensified the harmonisation of regulatory frameworks in the cooperative process in collaboration with non-state actors. The article examines the arguments by tracing the evolution of trilateral cooperation in environmental protection and information technology (IT) development.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Balaguer Callejón Francisco

**«Un jurista universal nacido en Europa». Entrevista a Peter Häberle**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/12Entrevista.htm>

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Schillaci Angelo

**Derechos fundamentales y procedimiento, entre libertad y seguridad**  
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/08Schillaci.htm>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Miccù Roberto

**El mercado en la doctrina de la Constitución como ciencia de la cultura: las aportaciones de Peter Häberle**  
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

El autor en este ensayo reinterpreta el alcance y el significado del “mercado” en la “nueva” constitución económica europea, en relación con los valores y los objetivos recogidos en el Tratado de Lisboa. A este propósito, el Tratado de Lisboa (art. 3 TUE), establece que: “La Unión establecerá un mercado interior” y “Obrará en pro del desarrollo sostenible de Europa basado en un crecimiento económico equilibrado y en la estabilidad de los precios, en una economía social de mercado altamente competitiva, tendente al pleno empleo y al progreso social, y en un nivel elevado de protección y mejora de la calidad del medio ambiente. Asimismo, promoverá el progreso científico y técnico”. Si a todo ello se añaden los objetivos que derivan del principio de subsidiariedad: es decir, la “cohesión económica, social y territorial, la solidaridad entre los Estados miembros” y la lucha a “la exclusión social y a la discriminación”, “la justicia y la protección sociales, la igualdad entre mujeres y hombres” y la solidaridad entre generaciones”, se puede afirmar que las metas primarias de la Unión no tienen solo un carácter económico, como antes, sino más bien que la Unión parece tener un “programa” parecido al de los Estados. A este propósito el autor resalta el significado y la importancia de la reflexión de Peter Häberle y de su teoría del Derecho constitucional como “Ciencia de la Cultura” también respecto de la constitución económica europea con el fin de elaborar un concepto nuevo de “mercado” en sentido jurídico. Desde esta perspectiva teórica, el «Estado constitucional» debería fundarse en la primacía de la Constitución, concebida no solo como un acto normativo del Estado, sino como la base del ordenamiento en su conjunto y el resultado de procesos dialécticos abiertos y dinámicos

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/06Miccu.htm#resumen>

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Barnier Michel, Bollaert Baudoin

**L'Europe face à la crise (Interview)**

in *Politique internationale*, n°129 - Automne



In this exclusive interview with Baudouin Bollaert for *Politique Internationale*, the new European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services discusses the top priorities on his desk. The first Frenchman to occupy this position, Michel Barnier was appointed just as Europe faced one of the most serious crises in its history. He takes particular pride in the agreement on financial supervision, signed last September, which will provide early risk-detection and emergency action before any future disaster occurs. But there is even more work to be done, like realigning markets to better serve the real economy and encouraging long-term investment rather than short-term profits. However, to achieve these goals, the internal EU market must function well, which is why Michel Barnier is preparing an extensive slate of measures to overcome the bottlenecks that continue to block progress.

[http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id\\_revue=129&id=943&content=synopsis](http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=129&id=943&content=synopsis)

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D'Atena Antonio

**La Constitución oculta de Europa (antes y después de Lisboa)**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

El Tratado de Lisboa ha abandonado la palabra "Constitución". Eso ha determinado un cambio de tendencia respecto al Tratado de Roma de 2004, que fundamentaba toda su estrategia institucional y comunicativa en aquella palabra. En ambos casos, estamos ante dos tratados internacionales, los cuales, salvo derogaciones expresas, se perfeccionan y se modifican solo a través del consenso de todas las partes. Sin embargo, a pesar de este dato formal y de las peculiaridades que caracterizan la Unión europea no hay que olvidarse de la existencia de principios materialmente constitucionales.

Son estas las razones por las que a pesar de la ausencia de una Carta constitucional, no se podía (ni se puede) negar la existencia de una "Constitución" europea: una constitución diseminada en los Tratados constitutivos, cuyos contenidos tienen sus propias raíces en la misma matriz cultural de las constituciones estatales.

La Unión europea no es un Estado, sino un ordenamiento "nuevo", sin precedentes en la historia de las instituciones, conectado sistemáticamente a los ordenamientos estatales, de interpretar a la luz de la teoría de la pluralidad de los ordenamientos jurídicos y del constitucionalismo multinivel.

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/01DAtena.htm>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Bilancia Paola

**Posibles desarrollos futuros de la Política Exterior de Seguridad Común después del Tratado de Lisboa**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

En el presente trabajo se analizan los avances que supone el Tratado de Lisboa en relación a la Política Exterior y Seguridad Común de la Unión Europea; y ello desde la percepción de cómo la Unión Europea no ha conseguido, al día



de hoy, un rol sobre la escena internacional equivalente al peso económico que ostenta. Es de este modo que la autora comience viendo los pasos dados al respecto en el seno de la integración europea, así como las dificultades halladas, para a continuación analizar las posibilidades que abre el vigente Tratado de Lisboa. En este sentido, el Tratado de Lisboa refuerza la figura del Alto Representante para Asuntos Exteriores, al tiempo que asume el cargo de Vicepresidente de la Comisión, lo que ha de contribuir a dar una mayor visibilidad a la diplomacia europea; y asimismo, los progresos alcanzados en la integración, y delineados por el propio Tratado en lo que concierne a la Europa de la defensa (PESD), bien pueden favorecer situar la Unión en una posición de mayor presencia en el escenario internacional, al dotarla de medios militares correspondientes a sus ambiciones.

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/09Bilancia.htm>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Majone Giandomenico**

**The European Union and the Global Financial Crisis: The Failure of Supranational Governance?**

in **Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN L - NÚMERO 2

The global financial crisis and the debt crisis of its members in the southern euro zone have clearly shown that the European Union's supranational institutions are neither sufficiently strong nor sufficiently flexible to act forcibly in the face of an emergency. The failures in the supranational system of governance are largely due to the strategy of the "fait accompli". An example of this strategy was the decision to go ahead with the monetary unit before having an agreement on political unity. The eu does not have an instrument to curb pre- and post-contractual opportunism, which has taken Greece, for instance, to the edge of bankruptcy. It is difficult to predict the economic and political consequences of this fiasco in supranational governance

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**Touraine Alain , Marongiu Jean-Baptiste**

**"Plus personne ne contrôle personne" (interview)**

in **Revue des deux mondes**, Janvier

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Dollat Patrick**

**"Der Teufel steckt im Detail". De l'adhésion de l'Union européenne à la CEDH et de ses vicissitudes...**

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 542, octobre-novembre , 556-565



Der Teufel Steckt im Detail, the German motto is once again illustrated with the negotiation of the Union membership treaty for the European Human Rights Convention specified in article 6.2 of the European Union treaty (EUT). The Spanish presidency of the Council, which ended July 1, 2010, had made it one of its priorities, and it reached its aim. On March 17, 2010, the Commission suggested negotiation guidelines with in view the EU's CEDH membership. Two months later, on May 19, 2010, the European parliament passed a motion on the institutional aspects of the Union's CEDH membership. On May 28, 2010, the Ministers Committee of the European Council gave the Human Rights Steering Committee an occasional mandate to prepare, with the EU, the legal instrument required for the EU's CEDH membership. Lastly, the Justice and Interior Affairs Council meeting dated June 4, 2010, reached a political agreement on the English version of the negotiation mandate entrusted to the Commission, which remains subject to the approval of the other language versions. The negotiation guidelines set by the Council are flexible enough to leave necessary manoeuvring room to the negotiators; the swift outcome however came as a surprise to some delegations considering the complexity of the questions asked. Many obstacles remain and setting a membership date is premature.

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Ransom James

**'A Little Marshall Plan': Britain and the formation of the European Payments Union, 1948-50**  
in *International History Review (The)*, vol. XXXII, n. 3 , 437-454

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Moshe Syrquin

**27 Countries in Search of a Project: A Skeptical View from Outside Europe**  
in *Economia Politica*, 2, agosto , 389-396

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Bekemans Léonce

**A Cosmopolitan Perspective of Multi-level Governance in Europe**  
in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 7, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 45-67

abstract: The paper proposes a cosmopolitan understanding of the emerging European polity of multi-level governance structures. Point of departure is the weakening of the spatial paradigm of territoriality and identity-building by the globalisation forces. Moreover, the European integration has developed to a much more complex and mixed political project evolving to a «common citizenship» and a trans-national democracy. The article argues that a cosmopolitan shaping of the European Union, using a complexity of multi-level governance structures, is conducive to its underlying objective of legitimating the emerging European polity. The major working hypothesis is that the concept of cosmopolitanism contributes to understanding the transformation of the European societies. In a first part contemporary



cosmopolitan thought is explained from within the context of globalisation and post-modernity. The major characteristics and developments of contemporary cosmopolitanism are identified. It is further argued that the viability of cosmopolitan democracy as developed by authors such as D. Held, D. Archibugi and R. Falk and further qualified by J. Habermas rests on the ability to facilitate a new understanding of multi-level governance and intercultural dialogue from the globalising conditions of post-national multiculturalism and transnationalism. The second part of the paper focuses on a cosmopolitan perspective of the Europeanisation process as developed in U. Beck's political and sociological cosmopolitanism. It argues that the EU represents a first attempt to create a cosmopolitan post-modern polity and intercultural dialogue. In short, a cosmopolitan reading of the process of European integration is proposed to understand, comprehend and assess the viability of a «cosmopolite» Europe.

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**Schäuble Wolfgang**

**A plan to tackle Europe's debt mountain**

in **Europe's World**, Issue 16, Autumn

The eurozone crisis has demonstrated the urgent need for tougher and more effective rules, says Wolfgang Schäuble. He sets out how EU countries can cut their deficits in growth friendly ways.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21726/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21726/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Gornitzka Ase, Sverdrup Ulf**

**Access of Experts: Information and EU Decision-making**

in **West European Politics**, vol. 34, n. 1, January, 48-70

ABSTRACT: Who provides the European Union with information? This article examines patterns of participation in the large expert group system under the European Commission. It explores competing propositions about the character of the Commission's information system, and tests four hypotheses about what affects participation in the EU expert group system. The authors distinguish between three kinds of information providers: scientists, societal actors and government officials. The empirical section of the paper builds upon an analysis of a data set covering all of the Commission expert groups (N = 1237). Although scientists, and interest groups, industries and NGOs are prevalent information providers for the Commission, the authors show that the informational foundation is strongly biased towards officials from national administrations. They argue that these distinct patterns of participation are significantly affected by inter-institutional and environmental conditions that the Commission Directorate Generals operate under. Access of experts increases the ability of the Commission to anticipate reactions to its proposals and initiatives and hence it impinges on the inter-institutional dynamic of the EU.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**





*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Kaltenhaler Karl, Anderson Christopher J. Miller William J.

**Accountability and Independent Central Banks: Europeans and Distrust of the European Central Bank**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 5, November 2010 , 1261–1281

This article explores whether Europeans distrust the European Central Bank (ECB) because they dislike its policies or think they cannot control the institution. Distrust of the ECB is a function of individuals believing the bank cannot be counted on to fulfill the duties that Europeans have assigned it.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Sadursky Wojciech

**Adding bite to a bark: the story of article 7, E.U. enlargement, and Jörg Haider**  
in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, Vol. 16, issue 3 , 385 ff.

The Article 7 mechanism of the Treaty on European Union fills a gap in the Union's approach to human rights protection by setting up a system of early warning about the risk of breaches of rights in a Member State, and of sanctions in the event of a determination that such breaches have occurred. This Article traces the history of the discussions and decisions that have incorporated this mechanism into the TEU system and emphasizes that, at each important stage of this process, the prospect of eastward enlargement of the Union has played an important part. E.U. decision-makers have cast a cautious sideways glance at the newentrants from Central Europe, particularly in the fields of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. The principal strategy adopted to contain the perceived risks associated with these new members has been to preemptively strengthen the monitoring mechanism in these fields. In this way, somewhat ironically, the eastward enlargement of the European Union has been an important impetus of supranational constitutionalisation of the Union.

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Kaunert Christian, Léonard Sarah

**After the Stockholm programme: an area of freedom, security and justice in the European Union?**  
in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 2, June , 143-149

No abstract available

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Masini Fabio

**Alternative Routes to Monetary Integration in the British Economic and Political Debate (1989-91)**  
in *History of Economic Thought and Policy*, 2010, Fascicolo 1 , 71-97

In 1989, the Delors Report pushed the accelerator on European economic and monetary integration, setting the calendar for a three-steps process aiming at a single currency. The British Government tried to hinder this goal, casting



into the scientific debate and political negotiations alternative plans, first based on currency competition, later on the issuance of a parallel currency (the “hard-ecu” proposal). The aim of this work is to reconstruct the theoretical framework in which such debates took place in Britain, both at a scientific level and in the political arena.

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Tamazian Artur, Melikyan Davit N.

**An Empirical Assessment of Economic and Political Challenges of European Union Accession**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 5, November 2010 , 1391–1408

The collapse of the Soviet Union was an exceptional experiment in the economic history of the world, which made the post-socialist countries the subject of various economic studies. Different researchers and organizations tend to monitor the progress of economic and institutional reforms through inventing different indexes (indicators), apparently trying to understand how to detect the end of the transition process. The European Union, opening its door to accession candidates and starting negotiations with a number of eastern European and Baltic states, was the first to rely on those assessments of progress in reforms for making decisions on the readiness of the countries in terms of economic and institutional development to become a member of the European family. This study tries to link the actual assessments of reforms (start of negotiations) and the available set of indicators to construct an empirical model. We apply statistical techniques of limited dependent variable models to reveal the most important criteria followed by the ‘EU admission committee’ and capture them in limited dependent variable models, which are applied to evaluate the readiness of a number of other post-socialist countries to start hypothetical negotiations with the EU. Based on available empirical results the factors captured in the model include the share of public expenditure in GDP, GDP per capita, private sector share of GDP, share of trade with EU in external turnover, democratization and inflation (macroeconomic stability). Our empirical assessments show that there are several transition economies (Albania, Armenia and Georgia), which despite not having candidate status, offer better general standing in terms of ‘accession criteria’ than the current candidates. This fact may suggest to policy-makers (other geopolitical conditions being equal) to consider these countries for future EU enlargement waves.

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Kostakopoulou Dora

**An open and secure Europe? Fixity and fissures in the area of freedom, security and justice after Lisbon and Stockholm**  
in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 2, June , 151-167

The Lisbon Treaty's depillarisation of justice and home affairs (JHA) cooperation represents a major break from the past. It opens the way for the full involvement of the Commission, the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice, an involvement that is bound to influence the substantive scope, and perhaps liberalise, legal and policy output in the years ahead. A different form of cooperation in area of freedom, security and justice institutionally and substantively is digging out its space within the present, security-oriented and traditionally executive-driven architecture. The Stockholm Programme and the proposed Action Plan are a reflection of this. Present in them are aspects of the Hague Programme and the logic of control and surveillance. But there also exist vessels of less ideology-driven policies, pragmatic responses to JHA challenges and respect for citizens' rights, human rights and the rule of law. Whether the



latter paradigm, which is wrapped up within the logic of security, remains confined and cramped in the next five years or will be given room to grow remains to be seen.

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Cabras Daniele

**Appunti sul tema del coordinamento della finanza pubblica tra Unione Europea, Stato e autonomie territoriali in Federalismi**, Anno VIII - Nr. 22

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Maier Charles S.

**Après l'empire**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Janvier

No abstract available

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Hahn-Lorber Marcus

**Are There Methods of Reasoning on 'Meta-Legislation'? The Interpretation of Legislative Competence Norms within the Methodology of European Constitutional Law**

in *European law journal*, Volume 16, Issue 6, November 2010 , 760–779

Legislative competence norms are paradigmatic elements of European constitutional law and the supranational, post-federal era. The article aims to address legislative competence norms from the viewpoint of methodology by considering significant features of reasoning on European legislative competence norms. The discussion will be based on understanding legislative competences as 'meta-legislation'. That concept encompasses a substantive rather than formalistic, and a politically informed rather than strictly positivist account of legislative competences and their methodology. Against that background, the interpretation of competence norms is assessed. Subsequently, the process of interpretation is discussed according to judicial practice, constitutional theory and general legal methodology. A consideration of the significance of the—usually vast—wording of competence norms completes that discussion. Finally, consequences about the political inclusiveness of interpreting competence norms and the issue of 'clarity' are drawn. A conclusion summarises the results.

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Menz Georg

**Are you being served? Europeanizing and re-regulating the single market in services**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 7 2010 , Pages 971 – 987

While the freedom of service provision is one of the pillars of the Single Market Project, such deregulation clashes with national wage regulation and social policy-making. This article examines recent attempts by the European Commission to further promote liberalization, epitomized in the so-called 'Bolkestein Directive', as well as three case studies of political conflict involving the transnational posting of workers within the framework of service liberalization in Ireland, Sweden and Germany. Re-regulation of service provision by governments is crucially affected by the lobbying efforts of trade unions and employers. Internal organizational characteristics of labour market interest associations are crucial in predicting their effectiveness. The deregulatory effects are felt most severely in Germany, while even in Sweden the former gentlemen's agreement can no longer be sustained without serious modification. In France, no conflict unfolded. In Ireland, a business-friendly compromise emerges, whilst the European Union directive was severely watered down, though not neutered.

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Crespy Amandine

**Avec la société civile contre «Bolkestein». Le Parlement Européen entre idéologie et stratégie institutionnelle**

in *Revue française de science politique*, Vol. 60, n°5, octobre

Cet article démontre comment, en dépit d'un large consensus sur la nécessaire libéralisation des services, considérée comme la pierre angulaire de la Stratégie de Lisbonne, les détracteurs du projet ont pu obtenir un compromis atténuant de manière significative la portée dérégulatrice du texte. L'étude de la mobilisation des partis politiques de gauche, des syndicats et des altermondialistes d'Attac dans trois pays centraux dans le conflit (Allemagne, Belgique et France) ainsi qu'au niveau européen permet de mettre à jour deux séries de facteurs, institutionnels et discursifs, largement interdépendants. Tandis que les opposants au projet « Bolkestein » sont parvenus à européeniser le conflit, les discours stratégiques mettant l'accent sur l'idée d'Europe sociale, d'une part, et sur le lien entre citoyens et Parlement européen, de l'autre, ont largement déterminé l'issue du conflit sous la forme d'un compromis parlementaire.

This article explains how, despite a wide consensus on the need to liberalize services as



the very cornerstone of the Lisbon Strategy, opponents succeeded in significantly diluting the deregulatory force of the draft EU Services Directive.

A study of organized mobilization by left-wing political parties, trade unions and the alter-globalist Attac movement in three countries – Belgium, France and Germany – reveals institutional and discursive explanatory factors that were closely interrelated. The opponents succeeded in Europeanizing the conflict, and their strategic discourse invoking a social Europe, on the one hand, and stressing the close nexus between the citizenry and the European Parliament, on the other, largely determined the fate of the Bolkestein Directive, which ended in a parliamentary compromise.

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Argomaniz Javier

**Before and after Lisbon: legal implementation as the 'Achilles heel' in EU counter-terrorism?**  
in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 2, June , 297-316

Implementation has often been described as a key weakness affecting European Union (EU) counter-terrorism. However, this view is often adopted as a given and there has not been so far a systematic examination of the degree to which this represents an obstacle to the effectiveness of the EU response. This paper aims to contribute towards this goal through the use of primary sources in the study of the legal transposition of counter-terror instruments into national law, a key stage in the implementation process. It shows the presence of major implementation delays in this policy sector but, importantly, also significant cross-national variation with regards transposition failure associated with the administrative endowment of the individual member states. Furthermore, the mechanisms deployed by the Union to encourage a fluid implementation of European measures are critically evaluated and the potential impact in the process of the institutional transformations brought about by Lisbon is also examined.

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Hannay David

**Benchmarking the EU's new diplomatic service**  
in *Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn

The EU's new "External Action Service" has been the focus of a fiercely fought turf war between rival officials in Brussels. David Hannay looks at the background to its difficult birth and sets out criteria for its future success.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21730/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21730/language/en-US/Default.aspx)



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Smits Jan M.

**Beyond Euroscepticism: on the choice of legal regimes as empowerment of citizens**

in *Utrecht Law Review*, Vol. 6, issue 3 , 68-74

This contribution aims to show that Euroscepticism is based on a particular view of how citizens' interests are represented. This view should be replaced with a different type of thinking about ensuring citizens' participation in the European integration process. In this alternative view, the possibility of citizens choosing legal regimes other than their 'own' (and States being explicit about the limits of exercising such an enhanced party autonomy) is seen as a method of empowering citizens in fields that matter to them the most. Typically, these fields relate to (but are not limited to) what is known as 'private law', the law that deals with how private parties can shape their own private, professional and business lives.

Full text available at:

<http://www.utrechtlawreview.org/index.php/ulr/article/viewFile/URN%3ANBN%3ANL%3AUI%3A10-1-101156/137>

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Norheim-Martissen Per M.

**Beyond Intergovernmentalism: European Security and Defence Policy and the Governance Approach**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 5, November 2010 , 1351–1365

Over the last decade, the EU has developed into a regional institution whose military ambitions extend well beyond Europe. This development counteracts the assumptions of realist and intergovernmental theories, raising the question of what concepts are appropriate for understanding security and defence policy in the EU. It has been argued that governance approaches are particularly well-suited to describe the functioning of the EU. Yet analyses of the EU's common security and defence policy (CSDP) have to date not been granted the benefits of this insight. This article seeks to remedy this by venturing down the yet unfulfilled EU trail of a burgeoning literature on security governance. Exploring five features of security governance, the article identifies the most promising questions and approaches of the so-called governance turn in IR theory, ending up with a putative EU security governance research agenda that will lead to a deeper understanding of the kind of security actor that the EU has evolved into.

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de Ayala José Enrique

**Carta de Europa: La recurrente crisis del euro y las reticencias de Alemania**

in *Política Exterior*, 139 - Enero / Febrero 2011

La insolidaridad de Alemania, secundada por Francia, ante el temor a la indisciplina fiscal de los países periféricos,



provoca reiterados ataques al euro que pueden poner en peligro su supervivencia. El hundimiento financiero de Irlanda obligó al gobierno de Dublín a pedir una ayuda por valor de 85.000 millones de euros de la Facilidad Europea de Estabilidad Financiera (FEEF), la mayor parte mediante un préstamo –a siete años y al 5,8 por cien– que fue aprobado por los ministros de Economía y Finanzas de la Unión Europea el 28 de noviembre

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Davor Jancic

**Caveats from Karlsruhe and Berlin: whither democracy after Lisbon?**

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, Vol. 16, issue 3 , 337 ff.

This Article analyzes the evolution of the reasoning about E.U. democracy that the German Federal Constitutional Court (BVerfG) has been shaping starting with the Solange I and II, Maastricht, and European Arrest Warrant cases and culminating with the Lisbon Treaty case. The BVerfG's reasoning has often taken the form of caveats, whereby the BVerfG "warned" the European Union of its assessments of the state of democracy in the Union. This Article argues that the BVerfG's view of the primary source of the Union's democratic legitimacy has gradually shifted away from the European towards the German Parliament. Never before has the BVerfG highlighted the role of national parliaments in buttressing E.U. democracy with such clarity. In what can be called "democracy solange," the BVerfG ruled that as long as the European Union is an association of sovereign states, two consequences ensue: (a) the democratic legitimacy provided by national parliaments and governments, and complemented by the European Parliament, is sufficient; and (b) E.U. democracy cannot and need not be shaped in analogy to that of a state. As a corollary, the German system of parliamentary involvement in E.U. affairs has significantly been overhauled to enhance the legal position of the German Parliament vis-à-vis the Federal Government. The initial academic reactions to the BVerfG's Lisbon judgment have failed to credit the BVerfG's role in this important development.

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Toralf Pusch, Arne Heise

**Central banks, trade unions, and reputation—is there room for an expansionist maneuver in the European Union?**

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, Vol. 33 No. 01

No abstract available

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Koenig Pierre

**Chronique constitutionnelle: Vers un droit européen de la liberté**

in *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, 42 (2010), 3

No abstract available



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Quaglia Lucia

**Completing the single market in financial services: the politics of competing advocacy coalitions**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 7 2010 , Pages 1007 – 1023

Why has the completion of the single market in financial services proved so difficult and time consuming? This paper addresses this question by evaluating the explanatory power of a revised version of the 'advocacy coalition framework' against the empirical record of the policy-making processes of key pieces of legislation dealing with securities trading in the EU. The findings suggest that in almost all the Lamfalussy directives, the main (but, by no means, the only) line of division was between a 'market-making' coalition and a 'market-shaping' one. This was owing to differences in the national regulatory frameworks, the configuration of national financial systems and their competitiveness (hence, 'interests'). However, the tension was also a consequence of different belief systems (hence, 'ideas') about financial services regulation. The latter have undergone a significant reappraisal as a result of the global financial crisis.

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Hollyer James

**Conditionality, compliance, and domestic interests: State capture and EU accession policy**  
in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 5, n. 4, december , 387-431

ABSTRACT: States and international organizations often attempt to influence the behavior of a target government by employing conditionality—i.e., they condition the provision of some set of benefits on changes in the target's policies. Conditionality may give rise to a commitment problem: once the proffered benefits are granted, the target's incentive for continued compliance declines. In this paper, I document a mechanism by which conditionality may induce compliance even after these benefits are distributed. If conditionality alters the composition of domestic interest groups in the target state, it may induce permanent changes in the target government's behavior. I construct a dynamic model of lobbying that demonstrates that conditionality can reduce long-term levels of state capture. And I test the model's predictions using data from the accession of Eastern European countries to the EU.

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Riccardi Ferdinando

**Confidence and the Community Method**  
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 3, November

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

Appreciation of Agence Europe's role

The Altiero Spinelli Institute on Federalist Studies awarded its 2010 Prize for Journalistic Services on European Political





Unity to the press agency Agence Europe; the prize-giving ceremony took place on August 29 in Ventotene, a small Mediterranean island in Italy where Altiero Spinelli was imprisoned by the fascist regime and where he wrote his celebrated Manifesto recommending the creation of a European Federation.

#### A message of confidence

I am not going to highlight the importance and scope of Altiero Spinelli's work or the role of Agence Europe in helping people understand this bold adventure that changed the face of the world. I would like to stress the message of confidence and the enthusiasm of the speakers in a debate on the Schuman Declaration, in reaction to the currently fashionable apathy. Lucio Levi, chair of the European Federalist Movement, pointed out how much the main goals of the founders of Europe have already been achieved. The reconciliation of peoples who had been butchering one another during the cruelest and most inexorable war in history only months before, the scrapping of border controls, supranational institutions, an elected European Parliament with genuine powers, the single currency - all this is in existence despite the wars that continue to exist elsewhere in the world. There are still big lacunas, of course, and Levi explained that progress is essential, yet he said that the European Federation already exists in part.

MEP Gianluca Susta then described the current time as a moment of hope, explaining not only the many disappointments but also the various options opened in the field of foreign relations by the European diplomatic corps and in the field of business by the emergence of a common European economic governance, which may be embryonic but exists nevertheless. He also pointed out how Europe is in the avant-garde when it comes to the climate - he added that he'd like President Obama to adopt similar positions to Europe's on climate issues.

The other speaker, Pier Virgilio Dastoli, who worked directly with Altiero Spinelli at both the European Commission and the European Parliament in Strasbourg, naturally regretted that the programmes launched by the great visionary had not succeeded at the time, but he said that 60% of the current achievements and projects are based on what Spinelli recommended and prepared for back then.

These messages to young people on the small island where the imprisoned Altiero Spinelli wrote his European Manifesto reinforce my conviction that the European project is far from going through a period of stagnation and crisis and is actually preparing its recovery, even in areas where all previous attempts have failed, like economic governance, foreign policy and defence. The agreement that has just been reached on financial supervision is a significant feat and several signs show that the energy industry may soon be added to the list of innovations.

#### Return to the intergovernmental method?

I am well aware of the fear that the EU is gradually slipping backwards into an intergovernmental type of management to the detriment of the Community method. The greater weight of the European Council is described as a symptom of this. The danger certainly exists and must be closely monitored. But we should not forget that the European Council is a European institution with a permanent President who is not a national head of state, so the holders of real power in the member states can no longer wriggle around the Community method. I believe this development should be seen as a positive step in itself. It is risky, as Martin Schulz makes clear, but the risks can be managed through the increasing role of the European Parliament (which is in the process of properly assuming its greater powers and responsibility) and the gradual enhancement of how the president of the Commission and the president of the European Council will work together. Both presidents come from small member states and are probably keen to safeguard the Community method. The "big countries" are tempted to throw their weight around but are increasingly aware that their weight in the world depends these days on whether they speak for Europe rather than just for their own country; and they aim to speak for Europe as often as possible. If the other EU institutions function as they should, then the Community method will be



safe.

The text originally appeared in A Look Behind The News, Agence Europe, September 4, 2010.

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Klamert Marcus

**Conflicts of Legal Basis: No Legality and No Basis but a Bright Future under the Lisbon Treaty?**  
in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 4 , 497-515

No abstract available

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Hong Quoc Loc

**Constitutional Review in the Mega-Leviathan: A Democratic Foundation for the European Court of Justice**  
in *European law journal*, Volume 16, Issue 6, November 2010 , 695-716

The European Court of Justice (ECJ) serves, among other things, as a constitutional court for the EU. This means that it possesses the legal right to strike down both EU and national laws it deems irreconcilable with treaty provisions. In the present article, we shall draw on Hans Kelsen's theory of democracy to argue that the ECJ's competence to review and invalidate legislation is, in fact, indispensable for the democratic legitimacy of the EU's legal system as a whole.

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Héritier Adrienne, Moury Catherine

**Contested Delegation: The Impact of Co-decision on Comitology**  
in *West European Politics*, vol. 34, n. 1, january , 145-166

ABSTRACT: This article shows that, for the area of environmental policy, the Commission and the Council have been more willing to rely on extensive delegation after the introduction of co-decision. It also shows that the tendency of these two actors to delegate has followed the ratification of the Amsterdam Treaty - which indicates that the Council and Commission had anticipated their relative loss of power to the EP and rushed to delegate as much as possible before the effective introduction of co-decision. However, the Council was only willing to delegate more to the Commission on condition that it could exert as much control as possible over the procedure by using regulatory committees. These empirical findings confirm a distributive institutionalist argument according to which the Council and the Commission, seeking to maximise their institutional power, would try to circumvent the EP through delegation when the latter's competences in legislation increase. The expectation, also based on this argument, that the EP would react to this behaviour by opposing delegation altogether was not confirmed: the EP, rather than opposing delegation as such, has



systematically tried to restrict its scope.

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Öni&#351; Ziya

**Contesting for Turkey's Political 'Centre': Domestic Politics, Identity Conflicts and the Controversy over EU Membership**

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 18, n. 3, september , 361-376

ABSTRACT: 'Westernization' has been a major goal for Turkish political elites in the contemporary era. The roots of this interest can be traced to the late Ottoman times. Westernization in this context is synonymous with modernization, progress and reaching the highest civilizational standards; in other words, obtaining a first division status in terms of economic performance, democratic credentials and other performance criteria that one could identify. Becoming a member of the European 'club' was a natural objective in this direction. Although frequent references have been made regarding the value of Turkish membership in terms of its contribution to fostering inter-civilization dialogue, possible economic benefits and enhancement of European security, there is no doubt that the primary emphasis has been on the role that EU membership could play in Turkey's own national transformation. Indeed, in the recent era, the dramatic impact of the Europeanization process in Turkey can be observed, motivated by the signal for full-membership in the three inter-related areas of the economy, democratization process and foreign policy behaviour. In spite of a decline of momentum in recent years, it is very much a real and on-going process which would be very hard to reverse.

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Uglietti Guido

**Crescita o declino?**

in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIII, n. 2 , 141-148

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=480](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=480)

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Masera Rainer

**Crescita, stabilità, regole di bilancio e regolazione finanziaria: l'Unione monetaria dopo la crisi della Grecia**

in *Industria (L')*, 2, aprile-giugno 2010 , 193-202

No abstract available

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Iñarritu Beatriz

**Crónica comunitaria: la actualidad institucional y económica de España en el marco de la Unión Europea**



in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 43 , 139-162

No abstract available

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Fabrizio Balassone, Maura Francese and Stefania Zotteri

**Cyclical asymmetry in fiscal variables in the EU**

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 37, Number 4

In this paper we present a stylised framework of fiscal policy determination that considers both structural targets and cyclical factors. We find significant cyclical asymmetry in the behaviour of fiscal variables in a sample of fourteen EU countries over 1970–2007, with budgetary balances (both overall and primary) deteriorating in contractions without correspondingly improving in expansions. Analysis of budget components reveals that cyclical asymmetry comes from expenditure. We find no evidence that fiscal rules introduced in 1992 with the Treaty of Maastricht affected the cyclical behaviour of fiscal variables. Numerical simulations show that cyclical asymmetry inflated average deficit levels, contributing significantly to debt accumulation.

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Cantaro Antonio

**Democracia e identidad constitucional después de la “Lissabon Urteil”. La integración “protegida”**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

En el presente estudio el autor se plantea cual es el alcance jurídico y constitucional de la sentencia del Tribunal constitucional federal alemán de 30 de junio de 2009 sobre el Tratado de Lisboa («Lissabon Urteil»).

A este propósito, el autor adopta una perspectiva más equilibrada y sistemática respecto tanto a la “perspectiva minimalista” como a “la perspectiva maximalista”. En su opinión, la sentencia «Lissabon» no es solo un “caso” de Derecho “interno” que no afectará al Derecho de la Unión y cuyos efectos se limitan al ordenamiento alemán; y tampoco es solo un caso de Derecho “europeo”, cuyos efectos se proyectan en las relaciones entre el ordenamiento alemán y el ordenamiento europeo, así como entre el ordenamiento europeo y los distintos ordenamientos de los Estados miembros.

La sentencia «Lissabon» es todo ello y algo más. Es la expresión tangible de una filosofía relativamente inédita de la integración, “«la integración protegida»”. Una integración puesta bajo la tutela permanente de los órganos constitucionales nacionales (“responsabilidad parlamentaria”) y bajo la tutela del Tribunal alemán (“responsabilidad jurisdiccional”), hacia la conservación del “Estado constitucional soberano”.

Este es el mensaje “constitucional” recogido en la sentencia «Lissabon», que profundiza y radicaliza la asimetría que caracteriza a la Unión Europea y las relaciones con sus Estados miembros

Full text available at:



<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/05Cantaro.htm>

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Tizzano Antonio

**Der italienische Verfassungsgerichtshof (Corte costituzionale) und der Gerichtshof der Europäischen Union in Europäische Grundrechte zeitschrift**, vol. 37, issue 1 , 1-12

No abstract available

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López Ainhoa Lasa

**Derechos de conflicto y razones de mercado: caracterización jurídica de la huelga en el Derecho comunitario europeo**  
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

Con frecuencia, el análisis del derecho a la huelga conecta con una concepción estática del derecho, obviándose que la huelga tal y como se configura en la tradición del constitucionalismo social trasciende el marco de las relaciones laborales para adquirir también una dimensión dinámica vinculada a la integración política del trabajo. Por otro lado, el reconocimiento del derecho a la huelga en la Carta de derechos fundamentales de la Unión implica la integración de este derecho en la decisión de sistema a la que está vinculado el espacio constitucional europeo. Una decisión caracterizada por su confrontación con los contenidos propios del Estado social y que adopta los parámetros del constitucionalismo de mercado. Precisamente, la contraposición entre las decisiones político fundamentales a las que se vincula este derecho en uno y otro marco constitucional y los efectos en su configuración, constituyen el objeto de análisis del presente artículo.

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/11Lasa.htm>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Stark Jürgen

**Designing a new institutional architecture for the eurozone**  
in *Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn

There's no reason to worry about the future of the euro, says ECB board member Jürgen Stark. But there's every reason to re-design and strengthen the eurozone's rules and sanctions.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21727/language/e](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21727/language/e)



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Auer Stefan

**Die EU und die Geburt des freien Europa. Identität, Legitimität und das Erbe von 1989**  
in *Osteuropa*, 60. Jahrgang, Heft 8, August

ABSTRACT: Die EU bemüht sich, unter ihren Bürgern eine europäische Identität zu fördern. Sie bedient sich dazu der Mittel und Methoden der Nationalstaaten. Doch diese Identitätspolitik hat Grenzen, denn Europa ist keine Nation und die EU kein Nationalstaat. Vor allem die unterschiedlichen historischen Erfahrungen lassen sich kaum auf einen Erzählstrang reduzieren. Die deutsch-französische Aussöhnung als Legitimitätstiftender historischer Kern der europäischen Integration hat seit der Osterweiterung an Bindungskraft verloren. Entscheidend ist, wie mit dem Freiheitsstreben in Ostmitteleuropa vor 1989 umgegangen wird. Wer das Erbe von 1989 instrumentalisiert, kann die Glaubwürdigkeit der EU beschädigen.

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Abelshauer Werner

**Die Erblast des Euro – eine kurze Geschichte der Europäischen Währungsunion**  
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 43, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/OR8FAK,0,Die\\_Erblast\\_des\\_Euro\\_%96\\_eine\\_kurze\\_Geschichte\\_der\\_Europ%E4ischen\\_W%E4hrungsunion.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/OR8FAK,0,Die_Erblast_des_Euro_%96_eine_kurze_Geschichte_der_Europ%E4ischen_W%E4hrungsunion.html)

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Kirsch Guy

**Die Euro-Krise ist (nicht nur) eine Währungskrise**



in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 43, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/7VQWLS,0,Die\\_EuroKrise\\_ist\\_%28nicht\\_nur%29\\_eine\\_W%E4hrungskrise\\_Essay.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/7VQWLS,0,Die_EuroKrise_ist_%28nicht_nur%29_eine_W%E4hrungskrise_Essay.html)

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Enderlein Henrik

**Die Krise im Euro-Raum: Auslöser, Antworten, Ausblick**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 43, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/3MA510,0,Die\\_Krise\\_im\\_EuroRaum%3A\\_Ausl%F6ser\\_Antworten\\_Ausblick.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/3MA510,0,Die_Krise_im_EuroRaum%3A_Ausl%F6ser_Antworten_Ausblick.html)

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Pehle Heinrich, Sturm Roland

**Die europäische Integration – ein relevanter Bezugsrahmen des nationalen Parteienwettbewerbs?**

in **Zeitschrift für Politik**, Jahrgang 57, Heft 3, 2010

Summary

German political parties have only been marginally affected by the Europeanization of German politics. The most visible change they have gone through is their engagement in European political parties. Anti-Europe parties have so far had no electoral success in Germany. German parties still regard European elections as »secondary elections«. Controversies in election campaigns focus on national issues. German parties welcome, of course, the additional



income created by the state- financing of political parties based on European election results. They have, however, not adjusted their organisational structure to make it more responsive to European issues. This is no surprise, because national parties' electoral concerns, i.e. vote-maximisation and office-seeking, are mostly untouched by EU policy debates and struggles.

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**Vobruha Georg**

**Die postnationale Grenzkonstellation**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 57, Heft 4, 2010

Summary

To study the emerging postnational border constellation, European integration is a good case in point. After the end of enlargement politics, the expansive dynamics of the EU cause new forms of cooperation between the EU and its periphery. They can be understood as a political exchange, in which border politics and mobility play a crucial role. The dissolution of the classical pattern of political unity represented by the nation state leads to the dissoziation of different closure functions of borders. The deepening of European integration and the dismanteling of inner European borders trigger the Europeanization of border politics and border control. The permeability of borders becomes a subject of negotiations between the EU and its neighbours. These are the relevant elements of the postnational border constellation.

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**Barker Tyson**

**Die pragmatischen Europäer. Auf der To-Do-Liste der Tories: wieder mehr europapolitisches Engagement**

in *Internationale Politik*, 66. Jahrgang, n. 1-2, Januar-Februar

No abstract available

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**Bicchi Federica**

**Dilemmas of implementation: EU democracy assistance in the Mediterranean**

in *Democratization*, vol. 17, n. 5, October, 976-996

The article shows how and why, after having agreed upon a programme for democracy assistance under the name of European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), the EU fell short of its original objectives in programme implementation. This is demonstrated by close analysis of microprojects in Mediterranean countries. The scope of EU





action shrank as priorities for action were defined and projects approved. As a consequence, the EU has promoted democracy less than human rights, in relatively less demanding countries, and without spending all the budgeted money. This article shows how these findings are consistent with important themes in Policy analysis and implementation research, and thus supplements other explanations of EU shortcomings. EU democracy assistance, as represented by the EIDHR, is an ambiguous and contested policy, which also suffers from an institutional setting characterized by a long chain of command. This means that there are opportunities for small decisions to gradually shift the focus and downsize the relevance of the policy initiative. The EU is thus unintentionally undermining its own policy goals, as the large number of actors interpret the EU's best interest (and their own position in relation to it) in various and divergent ways.

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Zahariadis Nikolaos

**Discretion by the rules: European state aid policy and the 1999 Procedural Regulation**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 7 2010 , Pages 954 – 970

The contribution assesses the effectiveness of the Procedural Regulation on the Commission's ability to control state aid. Using a principal-agent framework infused with insight from sociological institutionalism and data during the period 1992-2004, the study finds the Regulation strengthened the Commission's hand, reducing state aid. The study has implications for the single market and the literatures of international delegation and bureaucratic control.

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Örücü Esin

**Diverse cultures and official laws: multiculturalism and Euroscepticism?**  
in *Utrecht Law Review*, Vol. 6, issue 3 , 75-88

Normative pluralism refers to a social fact: the co-existence of different bodies of norms within the same social space. State legal pluralism indicates a single overarching national legal system but plural laws, the state recognising different rules for specific categories of persons. However, the equating of multiculturalism and legal pluralism with state law is challenged. In the modern unitary nation state of the Western type only a weak version of legal pluralism in which state centralism still prevails is acceptable. Below it is advanced that in this state the accommodation of cultural diversity and multiple normative orders can only be brought about by the judge, the tuner or the navigator and steersman of the law, by using discretion and creative interpretation and not by the legislators, whose main demarcation lines are clearly drawn within domestic law by the Constitution, and within Europe and within the EU by the demands of human rights and 'ever closer integration'. In both of the critical illustrations below - the equality of the spouses in Turkish family law and the General Principles of the CEFL on divorce and maintenance - more scope should be given to judges to cope with and to create the necessary 'fit' between law and culture that do not coincide.

Full text available at:

<http://www.utrechtlawreview.org/index.php/ulr/article/view/URN%3ANBN%3ANL%3AUI%3A10-1-101157/138>

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Wagnsson Charlotte

**Divided power Europe: normative divergences among the EU 'big three'**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 8 2010 , Pages 1089 – 1105

The article challenges Ian Manners's 'Normative Power Europe' thesis by arguing that although the European Union (EU) promotes norms in the international arena, it is not different from other powers. Drawing on a large set of empirical data and making use of a new institutionalist framework, it discerns how major European powers - Russia, France, Germany, Britain and the EU - have worked to gain acceptance for their individual favoured normative yardstick in the realm of security. The article concludes that as a consequence of diverging logics of appropriateness in Europe, the EU should rather be regarded as a divided than as a strong normative power. As long as both the EU and its major member states hold strong individual normative ambitions, the Union risks becoming hampered from acting rapidly and concertedly in international crises.

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Costello Rory

**Does Bicameralism Promote Stability? Inter-institutional Relations and Coalition Formation in the European Parliament**

in *West European Politics*, vol. 34, n. 1, January , 122-144

ABSTRACT: In the European Parliament, different coalitions form from one vote to the next. To understand the process of coalition formation it is necessary to consider the inter-institutional context in which decisions are made. This paper develops hypotheses regarding how changes in the relations between the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers affect coalition formation in the European Parliament. The hypotheses are tested using roll-call data from the fifth parliamentary term. In line with expectations, it is found that coalition patterns are more consistent in relation to final decisions under the co-decision procedure (when both institutions come to an agreement) than they are under the consultation procedure. Furthermore, the closer relations between the institutions have increased the importance of the median party group on the left-right dimension in coalition formation.

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Kemmerling Achim

**Does Europeanization lead to policy convergence? The role of the Single Market in shaping national tax policies**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 7 2010 , Pages 1058 – 1073

In this contribution, I review and test the quantitative and qualitative evidence on tax policy convergence for four major fields of taxation in European Union (EU) and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. I interpret the empirical results using major causal mechanisms observed in the literature on international policy convergence. I find that competition and co-ordination alone are insufficient to explain the role of Europeanization of national tax systems. In direct taxation, competition is enhanced by forms of supranational imposition, whereas



indirect taxation co-ordination efforts seemed to be enhanced by policy learning.

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Lynggaard Kennet

**Domestic change in the face of European integration and globalization: Methodological pitfalls and pathways in Comparative European Politics**, vol. 9, n. 1, february , 18-37

ABSTRACT: Before the early 2000s, research on Europeanization and globalization developed largely independently of each other. Since then a limited, yet increasing, number of studies have shown an interest in investigating and differentiating between the domestic implications of European integration – known as Europeanization – and trends which are usually seen as having a broader global application including market liberalization, the construction of global institutions and policies. While research concerned with domestic change in the face of European integration and globalization in itself is a reaction to pressing epistemological concerns within the Europeanization literature, this in-the-making research agenda is also faced with a number of methodological challenges. This article deals with some of the most pressing methodological challenges we face when conducting empirical research and moving towards more comprehensive accounts of domestic change. Drawing on methodologies known from comparative politics and discourse analysis, the article argues in favour of three methodological moves: (1) from top-down towards bottom-up methodological set-ups; (2) from counterfactual analysis towards compound temporal comparative and cross-country research designs; and (3) from hypothesis tests towards multiple theoretical analysis.

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Sciarabba Vincenzo

**Dopo Mangold la Corte di giustizia torna sul rapporto tra principi generali, direttive e norme interne in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, n. 2 , 376-386

No abstract available

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Lenaerts K.

**Droit international et autonomie constitutionnelle de l'ordre juridique de l'Union in Diritto dell'Unione europea**, n. 3 , 555 ff.

No abstract available

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Hierlemann Dominik

**Du bist Brüssel. Historische Idee auf leisen Sohlen: Die Europäische Bürgerinitiative**



in *Internationale Politik* , 65. Jahrgang, n. 11-12, November-Dezember

No abstract available

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**Vanhoonacker Sophie, Jacobs An D.**

**ESDP and Institutional Change: The Case of Belgium**

in *Security Dialogue*, vol. 41, n. 5, october , 559-581

ABSTRACT: Since 2003, the European Union has launched more than 20 civilian and military missions across the world. This new role as a crisis manager has not only triggered the creation of more Brussels-based institutions, but has also brought new challenges for the domestic level. The national ministries in the EU member-states are responsible for delivering the civilian or military resources necessary for the implementation of the missions. This article raises the question whether and to what extent the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has affected national administrative structures in terms of both competence allocation and coordination, and examines which factors account for processes of change. The proposed analytical framework builds upon the Europeanization literature and complements the historical institutionalist argument with an actor-based approach emphasizing the preferences and beliefs of the principal political actors. The analytical framework is tested in a case study of Belgium (1999—2007).

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**Léonard Sarah**

**EU border security and migration into the European Union: FRONTEX and securitisation through practices**

in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 2, June , 231-254

This article examines the contribution of the activities of FRONTEX, the Agency in charge of managing operational cooperation at the external borders of the European Union (EU), to the securitisation of asylum and migration in the EU. It does so by applying a sociological approach to the study of securitisation processes, which, it argues, is particularly well-suited to the study of securitisation processes in the EU. Such an approach privileges the study of securitising practices over securitising 'speech acts' in securitisation processes. After identifying two main types of securitising practices in general, the article systematically examines the activities of FRONTEX and the extent to which they can be seen as securitising practices on the basis of these two (non-mutually exclusive) criteria. The article shows that all the main activities of FRONTEX can be considered to be securitising practices. The article therefore concludes that the activities of FRONTEX contribute to a significant extent to the ongoing securitisation of asylum and migration in the EU. It also highlights that this does not automatically make FRONTEX a significant securitising actor in its own right and that more research is needed on the relations between FRONTEX and the EU institutions, especially in the light of the current negotiations aiming to amend the founding Regulation of FRONTEX.

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**Callanan Mark**



**EU decision-making: reinforcing interest group relationships with national governments?**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 18 Issue 1 2011 , Pages 17 – 34

Theories of interest intermediation in the European Union (EU) increasingly emphasize how domestic embeddedness influences the strategies of domestic interest groups. This article investigates a number of hypotheses advanced in this area empirically, based on analysis of the mobilization of local government interests in Denmark, Ireland and the Britain in relation to EU environmental directives. Interest groups that have a weak influence over national governments may be tempted into a 'by-pass' strategy, while interests that have a privileged position in domestic policy networks may be initially reluctant to embark on EU-level strategies. However, such strategies are not static but rather evolve and change over time - there is evidence of policy learning and a trend towards 'venue shopping' at both national and EU levels. On the other hand, those interests that remain weak at national level may also remain weak at European level.

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Skjærseth Jon Birger

**EU emissions trading: Legitimacy and stringency**

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 20, Issue 5, September-October , 295-308

In December 2008, the EU Emissions Trading System (EU ETS) was significantly revised and strengthened. This article explores the basis for, and the consequences of, the revision for legitimacy. The key to legitimate EU governance is seen in the convergence of different sources of legitimacy at various levels of society. In addition to member-state consent, participation of non-state actors, democracy, expertise and effectiveness are of relevance. The first conclusion is that the recent revision of the EU ETS has indeed been grounded in a broader multilevel legitimacy basis. Second, the system faces significant challenges with regard to carbon markets and effectiveness, which could reduce its legitimacy in the long term.

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Koopmann Georg, Wilhelm Marco

**EU trade policy in the age of bilateralism**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 5 / September 2010 , 305-312

Together with a strong emphasis on deep integration, the main thrust of the EU's new trade strategy as announced in October 2006 is competitive regionalism, i.e. the competition between different jurisdictions which seek strategic advantages for themselves through the conclusion of bilateral agreements with priority trading partners. This article outlines the new trade strategy in the light of the changes caused by the Lisbon Treaty. It then presents a detailed positioning of the EU in the geography of international trade policy.

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Pfaff William

**EU: Am deutschen Wesen genesen?**



in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Dezember, 2010 , 34-35

Die Führungsmächte der Europäischen Union, Deutschland und Frankreich, einigten sich am 30. Oktober auf den Versuch, den Vertrag von Lissabon erneut zu ändern. Dieser Entschluss wiegt schwer und birgt enorme Spaltungsgefahren. Denn während Deutsche und Franzosen wesentliche Änderungen anstreben, wünscht ein Großteil der anderen 25 Mitgliedsländer diese nicht. Die Iren sind gesetzlich verpflichtet, keiner substantziellen Veränderung der Bedingungen ihrer EU-Mitgliedschaft zuzustimmen, ohne zuvor ein Referendum darüber abgehalten zu haben. Alle anderen fürchten, das hieße die Büchse der Pandora zu öffnen.

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**Bonvicini Gianni**

**EU's Projection of Security. Peace Missions as a Tool either for Fusion or Fragmentation**

in **Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 2, issue 2 , E 175-193

If one looks at the rapid growth of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) since the Blair-Chirac meeting of Saint-Malo in 1998 and in particular at the launch of several crisis management missions it is worth asking , in the light of these experiences, whether and how far this area of cooperation has progressively moved into forms of communitarisation/fusion (to use a theory developed by Wolfgang Wessels) or whether, due to its strictly inter-governmental character, it might be turning into a tool of fragmentation between policies, forms of governance and institutions. The answer is not just to be found in the new articles of the Lisbon Treaty but rather in the willingness or otherwise of the member states to use these articles in the most coherent way.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/64-eus-projection>

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**Chatzistavrou Filippa**

**Early preferences of national political parties in the EU for Turkey's accession**

in **Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**, vol. 10, n. 4, December , 385-409

This paper addresses the issue of early preferences of national political parties in the EU regarding Turkey's accession. Two main hypotheses are proposed. First, national moderate parties contribute mainly to the de facto transformation of the accession in an 'open' process by developing volatile attitudes. Second, in the case of moderate parties, volatile attitudes and concrete political discourses on Turkey's accession are mainly determined by explanatory factors other than ideology (structural and strategic factors).

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**European Economy News**



### **Economic governance: the EU gets tough**

in *European Economy News*, October 2010 - Issue 19

The crisis has exposed gaps in the current governance system and showed that existing instruments for economic policy coordination need to be used more fully. The Commission has put forward a comprehensive and coherent package of reforms that will strengthen the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP), particularly through an increased focus on public debt and fiscal sustainability, the extension of surveillance to macroeconomic imbalances and by making enforcement more effective through the use of sanctions and incentives. The Commission also proposes that national fiscal frameworks be strengthened and better aligned with the EU's new economic governance rules

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Banús Enrique**

#### **Education to Intercultural Dialogue**

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 7, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 143-149

ABSTRACT: The essay follows the recommendations on the need of promoting education to intercultural dialogue included in the Declaration made by the Scientific Committee of the Symposium on Intercultural Dialogue organised by the European Commission in 2002 and tries to deepen in this topic by providing answers to two arising questions: Why education to intercultural dialogue? And how to educate to intercultural dialogue? Referring to the first question the author argues that intercultural dialogue means a change of paradigm in relation to the common way of approaching «the other» which has to be not only accepted, but done by the society. Since most of the intercultural dialogues are done on the street, education for daily life has to include education to intercultural dialogue. Regarding the modalities to educate for intercultural dialogue, the author concentrates on practice which has to be complemented by reflection and focuses on stories as pedagogical instruments. Showing how the acceptance of «the other» is included into the cultural mainstreams that have formed the European «common narrative heritage», the education to intercultural dialogue can be combined with the so needed transmission of the knowledge of this common cultural heritage.

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**Pichl Maximilian**

#### **Eine Mauer für Europa**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2011 , 12-15

Zum Jahreswechsel überraschte der griechische Minister für Bürgerschutz, Christos Papoutsis, mit der Ankündigung, seine Regierung plane die Errichtung eines Zauns entlang der 206 Kilometer langen Landgrenze zur Türkei. Diese – wenig später auf die 12,5 Kilometer lange besondere „Schwachstelle“ am Grenzfluss Evros beschränkte – Grenzsicherung soll Griechenland aber nicht etwa vor den Türken schützen, sondern vor dem wachsenden Ansturm von Flüchtlingen. „Das Vorbild für unseren Plan ist der Grenzzaun zwischen den USA und Mexiko“, erklärte Papoutsis...

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Diamandouros P. Nikiforos

**El Defensor del Pueblo Europeo y el Tratado de Lisboa**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 26 , 77-94

No abstract available

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Pinon Stéphane

**El Derecho Constitucional Europeo: ¿una disciplina autónoma?**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

Una lectura constructiva del título que da lugar al artículo requiere una respuesta positiva. No obstante, no estamos a salvo de riesgos: los que planean sobre las divisiones disciplinarias tradicionales, los que plantean los partidarios de una visión estado-céntrica del Derecho constitucional, o los que apuntan aquellos que temen que la autonomía de los campos tradicionales de estudio pueda verse afectada. Antes de intentar establecer las premisas de una ciencia de la Constitución europea, el trabajo comienza resaltando qué elementos nos permiten señalar que esta constitución existe. Respecto al primero de estos elementos, se procede a subrayar una vez más lo inadecuado de una gran parte de los instrumentos conceptuales de la doctrina constitucional francesa. En este sentido, se pasa revista a una serie de argumentos falsos que sirven para justificar que no hay una Constitución Europea (la vinculación Estado/Constitución, la ausencia de poder constituyente, o el déficit de legitimidad democrática). Frente a ellos, nuestro análisis se centra en los verdaderos argumentos a partir de los cuales admitir que contamos con un contenido constitucional (un contenido progresivamente decantado en forma sistemática por los jueces de Luxemburgo, que se ha venido superponiendo a las disposiciones de los Tratados). El segundo y más innovador elemento de nuestro trabajo consiste en proponer un nuevo marco conceptual, necesario para afirmar el nacimiento de una nueva disciplina autónoma. Tras mencionar los estimulantes trabajos que han contribuido a elaborar una nueva gramática doctrinal (Armin Von Bogdandy e Ingolf Pernice), sugerimos abandonar el uso automático de conceptos como el de “separación de poderes” o el mito de la “unidad” en el estudio del nuevo sistema constitucional europeo. Otros principios, como el de “coordinación” de poderes, la “fragmentación” de la soberanía o en el proceso decisorio o el entrecruzamiento de legitimidades, se nos presentan como mucho más adecuados para explicar el marco europeo.

Por último, proponemos soslayar entre las herramientas interpretativas de esta nueva realidad los trabajos de Montesquieu, Schmitt o Habermas y dirigir nuestra atención a Kelsen y a su obra «Esencia y valor de la democracia». Kelsen comienza planteando la necesidad de liberarnos de las ficciones que han rodeado la idea de democracia (la idea de la unidad del Pueblo o de una voluntad general). Lo que propone es anclar la cultura democrática en una filosofía relativista. Para el modelo de gobierno de los “veintisiete”, el modelo que se desarrolla en esta obra de Kelsen, (un modelo de relaciones entre los poderes sobre la base de la confrontación de intereses, del compromiso, de una dinámica integración de la pluralidad a través de una renovación constante de los términos compromisorios entre mayorías y minorías) resulta ser muy funcional en múltiples aspectos.

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/10Pinon.htm>





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Chicharro Lázaro Alicia

**El Tratado de Lisboa y el programa de Estocolmo: Los nuevos retos de la cooperación judicial en materia civil**  
in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 20/ 2010

The consolidation of a common area of freedom, security and justice has become one of the priorities of the European Union. Within the policies which compose this space, judicial cooperation in civil matters is an area that has not undergone major changes with the Treaty of Lisbon. However, following the line started in Amsterdam, the new regulation of Title V of the Treaty on the Functioning of the Union provides a legal basis to move forward in a judicial cooperation, which is becoming more and more necessary given the increasing internationalization of private relationships. On the other hand, the Stockholm Program establishes the main goals to achieve in relation to the European judicial area for the next five years. The initiatives related to civil matters will require new European legal instruments, which should be adopted using the tools and procedures provided in Lisbon.

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Mellado Prado Pilar

**El defensor del Pueblo Europeo, quince años después: De Maastrich a Lisboa**  
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 26 , 191-228

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Leonard Mark, Krastev Ivan

**El fantasma de la Europa multipolar**  
in *Política Exterior*, 139 - Enero / Febrero 2011

Poco puede hacer la UE para evitar que Europa evolucione de un orden unipolar a otro multipolar, pero puede hacer mucho para moldear la relación entre sus polos emergentes: Rusia y Turquía. A las tres potencias europeas les interesa que haya orden entre ellas. La Unión Europea se ha pasado buena parte de la última década defendiendo un orden europeo que ya no funciona, esperando un orden global que probablemente nunca llegará

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Börzel Tanja, Buzogány Aron

**Environmental organisations and the Europeanisation of public policy in Central and Eastern Europe: the case of biodiversity governance**  
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 5, September , 708-735



How has Europeanisation of environmental policy, as represented by the adoption of European Union (EU) biodiversity policies, influenced the agendas and repertoires of action employed by environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS) in Hungary, Poland and Romania? The EU's environmental acquis gave ENGOS new and often forceful tools to reach their aims by emphasising the importance of collaborative relations between state and non-state actors and by offering opportunities to civil society actors to circumvent their national governments in the policy process. Implementation of the EU's Natura 2000 network in Hungary, Poland and Romania further reinforced endogenously driven professionalisation and institutionalisation of civil society groups. While EU accession benefited from the expertise of professional ENGOS, the logic of the accession process together with the weakness of both state actors and civil society has not led to the development of sustainable cooperative state-society relations in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE).

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Krätke Michael R.

#### **Etikettenschwindel Euro-Krise**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Februar, 2011 , 5-9

The full text is free:

[www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2011/februar/etikettenschwindel-euro-krise](http://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2011/februar/etikettenschwindel-euro-krise)

Die Lage ist ernst – und unübersichtlich. EU-Ratspräsident Herman van Rompuy spricht von einer „Überlebenskrise“ der Europäischen Währungsunion. Laut Angela Merkel geht es um Sein oder Nichtsein der Europäischen Union: „Scheitert der Euro, scheitert Europa“.

Alles redet also von der Euro-Krise. Dabei handelt es sich jedoch um einen Etikettenschwindel erster Güte. Denn der Euro ist weit stärker und härter als es die D-Mark je war. Anders als die DM ist der Euro nämlich eine Weltreservewährung, ohne nennenswerte Inflation, ohne wilde Auf- und Abwertungen. Auch wenn viele Ökonomen das gerne anders sähen: Der Euro ist durchaus eine Erfolgsgeschichte, und er hat – vor allen anderen – Deutschland enorm genutzt. Ohne den Euro wären sämtliche Stärken der deutschen Exportindustrie, allen Staatshilfen zum Trotz, alsbald im Rauch von DM-Aufwertungen aufgegangen. Dank des Euro ist die wirtschaftliche Integration in der EU heute stärker als je zuvor.

Seit Anfang 2010 hat sich die Finanzkrise zur (Staats-)Schuldenkrise gewandelt. Niemand sollte sich von der gängigen Rhetorik täuschen lassen: Die Defizite und öffentlichen Schulden im Euroraum sind nämlich erst infolge der diversen Bankenrettungsaktionen und Konjunkturprogramme dramatisch gestiegen. Bis zum Ausbruch der Weltfinanzkrise hatten Länder wie Portugal, Irland, Griechenland und Spanien (PIGS), die heutigen Sorgenkinder, keine Finanzprobleme, im Gegenteil: Spanien und Irland verzeichneten gar Budgetüberschüsse. Erst in der Krise erfolgte die Kehrtwende: Der ganz große Krach wurde in Europa (wie in den USA) nur durch eine extreme Ausweitung des öffentlichen Kredits verhindert. Kaum waren die Banken und Finanzkonzerne gerettet, drohten Staatspleiten – kurioserweise vorläufig nicht in den USA oder in Japan, sondern in den vergleichsweise viel geringer verschuldeten Ländern der Eurozone ...

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Moloney Niamh

**Eu Financial Market Regulation after the Global Financial Crisis: “More Europe” or more Risks?**

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 47, issue 5 , 1317-1383

ABSTRACT: This article charts the EU's regulatory response to the global financial crisis, and explores what the response suggests about the new regulatory landscape and its risks. It explores how the current reform programme, in contrast to earlier reform periods, has been dominated by a concern to manage the pathology of the internal market through intensive EU “rules on the books” (law-making) but also, and for the first time in EU financial market regulation, through more radical “rules in action” (supervision and enforcement).

The defining feature of the post-crisis reform movement seems to be the array of influences, chief among the new institutional structures, which are driving the financial markets regime toward greater centralization. The article examines this decisive move towards “More Europe” and assesses its ramifications. It argues that, while radical reform is certainly needed, the extent to which the EU now governs financial market regulation does generate risks, particularly with respect to the extent to which Member State flexibility and discretion is being squeezed from the regime.

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Alvi Geminello

**Euro Prejudices**

in **Equilibri**, anno XIV, n. 2, agosto , 281-285

The euro was invented by neither the liberals nor the Keynesians. Von Hayek disapproved of central banks, the only ones authorized to mint currencies. He believed in the monetary polytheism of every single State. As for Keynes, his argument against fixed exchange rates should be an effective antidote for the single currency dictatorship. The euro was established to foster enduring European peace, but it has now become the trigger of worldwide instability.

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Jurczenko Wieslaw

**Euroland in Bankenhand**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Januar, 2011 , 11-14

Nun ist es durch, das Rettungspaket für Irland und damit – so jedenfalls die offiziellen Stellungnahmen – auch für den Euro. Doch Zweifel sind angebracht. Zweifel daran, dass hier tatsächlich Irland oder gar der Euro gerettet werden sollten. Denn selten war eine Debatte so zynisch und verlogen wie diese...

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Biorcio Roberto

**Europa, vento populista**

in *Reset*, Numero 122, Novembre / Dicembre

Prima del successo dei Tea Party negli Stati Uniti, una serie di incredibili vittorie dei partiti populistici ha scosso i palazzi e le coscienze della democrazia in Europa. Dalle super liberali Svezia e Olanda arrivano segnali che parlano di un nuovo radicalismo di destra che non è più rivolto solo alla tradizione. Gli immigrati sono i nuovi capri espiatori. Roberto Biorcio analizza con precisione il nuovo vento estremista che scuote il vecchio albero europeo.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Kuelahci Erol

**Europarties: Agenda-Setter or Agenda-Follower? Social Democracy and the Disincentives for Tax Harmonization**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 5, November 2010 , 1283–1306

This article explains Europarties' inability to act and position themselves cohesively in EU politics. It develops a theoretical framework based mainly on domestic parties' disincentives to agree on a common Europarty position. The framework is applied to the case of social democracy and fiscal competition. Despite opportunity for agreement, (dis)incentives related to self-economic interests and domestic institutional settlements (and corresponding electoral calculus) were aggravated by substantive ideological preferences. The case implications are drawn on literatures on the national parties' general positioning on EU issues as well as on Europarties and the EU agenda.

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Bieber Tonia

**Europe à la Carte? Swiss Convergence towards European Policy Models in Higher Education and Vocational Education and Training**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 16, Number 4, Winter 2010 , 773-800

In the last decade, European education has experienced far-reaching transformation through the international initiatives of the Bologna process in higher education (HE) and the Copenhagen process in vocational education and training (VET) for enhancing European cooperation. This study investigates the mostly underresearched effects of these initiatives on Switzerland to discern whether Swiss HE and VET policies have converged towards European models, and which mechanisms were influential. It combines research on Europeanization and convergence and uses process-tracing based on expert interviews and document analysis. Results reveal that Swiss HE policy strongly converged towards the Bologna model, while the development of a partial convergence of VET policy towards the model of the Copenhagen process can be observed. The study demonstrates the impact of domestic politics on shaping Europeanization effects and reconstructs the processes through which the initiatives took effect through transnational



communication.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Wood Steve

**Europe's Energy Politics**

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 18, n. 3, september , 307-322

ABSTRACT: A cluster of interconnected energy-related challenges confronts the European Union (EU), individual member states, and their populations. GHG emissions, economic-industrial restructuring, rising costs, developing and implementing new technologies, and external dependency, are prominent. Existential imperatives and political constraints imposed by energy needs have affected environmental and foreign policy ambitions. Some EU states are compelled to renew their nuclear industries.

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Leslie Peter

**European Futures: The Unbearable Heaviness of Thinking Federally**

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 22nd Issue, 2/2010

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Galbreath David J , McEvoy Joanne

**European Integration and the Geopolitics of National Minorities**

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 9, Issue 3&4, September , 357 - 377

The issue of national minorities in post-Cold War Europe has warranted considerable scholarly attention with regard to security, democratization and regional integration. The literature has focused on how European integration compelled host states to comply with obligations to protect a national minority within their borders. Missing from this debate, however, is a more comprehensive analysis of whether European integration has had an effect on the wider geopolitical relationship between the host state and the kin state over national minorities. Has European integration served to dampen or to intensify the salience of nationalist politics between host and kin states? To address this gap the range of host state-kin state relations in Central and Eastern Europe is explored corresponding to whether both states are EU members (at least one may be a candidate country) compared with when one state remains external to the EU for the foreseeable future. It is argued that, despite much of the Europeanization literature, European integration can have an amplifying effect on nationalism regardless of whether kin states are existing members, acceding states or outside the process altogether.



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Harpaz Guy

**European Integration in the Aftermath of the Ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon: Quo Vadis?**

*in European public Law*, Volume 17 (2011) Issue 1 , 73–89

On 2 October 2009, the Irish electorate, in a mandatory and legally binding referendum, approved the Treaty of Lisbon (hereinafter 'Lisbon Treaty'). That vote, followed by the signing of the Lisbon Treaty by the Czech President on 3 November 2009, completed the ratification process of the Lisbon Treaty and paved the way for its entry into force. The corpus of literature on the ratification of EU Treaty revisions, particularly on national referenda on European integration, is growing. According to the taxonomy offered by Taggart, scholarship on national referenda on European integration can be classified into four broad categories. The first pertains to the broader normative issue of direct democracy; the second, to single-case, national studies; the third, to the dynamics of referenda in general; and the fourth, to models of turnout and of outcomes. The focus of this contribution is somewhat different. Its focal point is the two Irish referenda and other major milestones in the ratification process of the Lisbon Treaty in the other EU Member States. Yet its objective is to go beyond Irish socio-political borders and to probe the broad constitutional implications and ramifications of the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty for the future of European integration.

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Iozzo Alfonso, Majocchi Alberto

**European Recovery Plan, Union Bonds and Budget Reform**

*in Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn

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

1. The first, feeble signs of recovery appeared in Europe after the financial tsunami that threatened to disrupt the world economy cannot hide the fact that the predicted growth for 2010 is still quite modest and it will take many years for people to get back to the pre-crisis income levels. On the other hand, the negative impact of income falloff on tax revenues has produced significant unbalances in public finance accounts, making it difficult to put in place expansionary policies. Within a monetary union, a policy of income and employment stabilization run at the national level produces nowadays very limited effects, and must be supported necessarily by a plan of interventions managed at the European level. An expansive policy run by a single member country of the European Union concentrates costs -hence the increase in public finance indebtedness- in the country that carries it out, while the benefits in terms of expansion of demand are transmitted to a large extent abroad, in the other countries of the European internal market. In the presence of significant positive externalities, the production of the public good "stabilization" is therefore sub-optimal, since every country finds it convenient to wait until others take the initiative, thus avoiding to bear the costs.

The necessity to launch a European project to stimulate the economy in this difficult phase following the financial crisis is generally acknowledged but, confronted with the difficulties of building the necessary political support in an institutional



framework characterized by the absence of a European government of the economy, there is anyway a strong desire to try to get a similar result through support measures taken at the national level. However, also on the basis of the experience accumulated since the start of the crisis, it looks utterly illusory to think that a coordination of national policies could lead to results similar to those attainable with a European recovery plan.

2. The burst of the crisis has in addition made it apparent that a phase of the European economic growth has now come to an end. The decisive factor of growth was represented by a technological development of an imitative type: in essence, it was enough to import the best technologies from the more advanced countries to increase productivity and hence continuously raise the living standards of the population. But Europe has now reached the technological frontier and is not able any more to relaunch development by importing technologies from abroad. If it wants to start growing again, Europe must count only on its own resources and in particular on a renewed and strong capacity of producing innovation, in order to promote an increase in productivity and in its ability to successfully compete in the world markets.

From the present crisis we will not get out with a mere policy of support of the demand of consumption goods; instead, it is a question of launching a new phase of growth of the European economy, with the aim to promote a development that has to be sustainable on the economic, social and environmental plan. The motor of that new development phase shall be, then, public investments, which will have short-term effects in supporting demand and employment, but also long-term effects on the supply side, by making higher the potential income and more competitive the European economic system.

3. A lasting growth of the European economy implies, in fact, a productivity increase, which in turn requires a series of measures that shall be taken and implemented at the European level in order for them to be effective, in the framework of an evolution of the world economy that looks today quite different than in the past. A new technological revolution has by now taken place, and the United States was able to take the greatest benefits of it, with very high growth rates in productivity and output, while the new industrially emerging countries are now competing in many sectors (and not just in those with mature technologies) with the countries of long-established industrialization. Europe is thus caught in from two sides and has difficulties to find a new road to a stable and sustainable growth.

In the United States, productivity growth was supported by a technological development originated and accelerated by public demand, coming in particular from the defense sector, that made investments of a very innovative nature possible. But such a propulsive element cannot be envisaged in Europe, where military expenditures are necessarily limited after the tragic experience of nationalism and the ruins caused by WWII.

4. The increase in investments is therefore tied by necessity to launch a plan promoting a sustainable development and improving the Europeans' living standards, through expenditure plans for research and higher education, the betterment of the network of material and immaterial infrastructures, the promotion of energy efficiency and the use of renewable energies, the support of soft mobility, and for assuring the conservation of the patrimony of artistic and natural riches, and favoring urban renewal. But the implementation of such a plan is blocked by, on the one hand, the constraints plaguing national budgets, and, on the other, the limited size of the European budget and the inability to take constructive decisions in an institutional structure of a confederal type like the one that still dominates at the European level.

The recovery plan can be financed through the issuing of securities by the EIB as far as investments in infrastructures or in projects liable to generate revenues on the market are concerned, while it shall be covered by the issuing of bonds guaranteed by the Union's budget when there is to finance expenditures that have the nature of investments aimed at



the production of European public goods. The issuing of bonds shall reach an amount equal to at least one point of the GDP of the euro-area -i.e. of the order of €100 billion- in order for it to have a meaningful macro-economic impact and a positive influence on the confidence of families and businesses.

5. Supporting development on the part of European institutions by recurring to Union bonds, in addition to budget resources, was already done in the past. In the 1950s, the ECSC financed through the issuing of bonds of its own the conversion of the coal industry (which represented the energy problem of the time), while in the 1980s the Commission, with the proposal of Commissioner Ortoli, intervened with the NIC (Nouveau Instrument Communautaire) in support of the industrial conversion made necessary by the changes brought about by the oil crises.

Thanks to the Union's prestige in the world market and the current strength of the European currency, the Union bonds could be issued at a low interest rate and could contribute, beside strengthening the European financial market by absorbing part of the liquidity surplus that is one of its present features, to help attract a large share of world savings that, lacking suitable alternatives, are still invested in the American market despite the dollar's progressive loss of value.

Should the maneuver be realized up to the recommended amount, the European budget would rise to a comprehensive volume equal to about 2% of GDP -as already suggested in 1993 by the commission of experts tasked with the study of the role of fiscal policy in an economic and monetary union in its Stable Money-Sound Finances. Community Public Finance in the Perspective of EMU Report-, and would be composed of two sections: a section in capital account, financed with Union bonds and aimed to finance the development plan; and a balanced section -in line with the rules of Art. 310 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union-, which finances the agricultural policy and the redistribution and cohesion policies.

In the new context of the European economy -characterized by the necessity of a conversion for facing the challenge of environmental sustainability and the changed structure of the world market caused by the transformation of demand brought about by the growing purchasing power of the emerging countries and by the ensuing necessity to raise the savings of the already developed countries- we can see different modes of intervention that can be carried out through the action of European federal agencies.

6. The American experience demonstrates how in a federal system it is possible for the government to mobilize huge resources in support of economic growth, provided that at the same time a full transparency and responsibility is assured in the use of the funds collected at the federal level. The two most meaningful examples of federal agencies are represented by the Tennessee Valley Authority, instituted by Roosevelt as the exemplary instrument of the New Deal, and, in the post-WWII period, by NASA, instituted with the aim to face the challenge with the USSR in the Space Race, which gave origin later to the great progress in information technologies whose emblematic symbol is the Silicon Valley.

A system of federal agencies would allow, on the one hand, to keep in the hands of political institutions (the Commission, the Council and the Parliament) the choice of the objectives to be pursued and the priorities in their implementation, and, on the other, to entrust to the agencies the task to realize individual programs, maintaining the authority to control the outputs and the use of public money (which would be very difficult to do if the resources to invest are part of the general budget).

Such a system has already been successfully realized in Europe, first with the ECSC and later with the EIB, where the Board of Governors (composed of the Finance Ministers) sets the priorities, while the Board of Directors, where a representative of the Commission sits, implements the operational decisions. And in fact the EIB's success induced the





American Congress to examine a proposal to institute a federal National Investment Bank, just taking inspiration from the European model, and that proposal is currently supported with determination by the Obama Administration.

7. The historical activity of the EIB can today go hand in hand with the agencies created jointly by the European Union, with the same EIB, and financial public institutions (Caisse de Dépôts, Cassa Depositi e Prestiti, KfW, etc.) oriented to the long-term, capable of sharing in the capital of companies concessionaires of networks, as in the case of the “Marguerite” fund, now in its start-up phase. The Union bonds issued by those agencies can be repaid with the revenues coming from their respective investments, although with long-term reimbursement plans, given the characteristics of that type of projects, which the financial market institutions, oriented to the short-term, are unable to give suitable answers to.

Such agencies, managing public goods presenting monopolistic features, are in a position to impose the payment of usage rights (“taxes”) on market operators exploiting such goods. On this point, there is to consider the fact that technological evolution and the constraints of environmental sustainability considerably widen the need to use public goods (suffice it to think of air quality in the cities).

A particularly meaningful example of joint projects is the “Galileo” project for the use of satellites, but there may be other cases of shared usage of the airspace. The juridical instrument to resort to in such cases is the “joint undertaking” provided by Art. 187 of the Lisbon Treaty.

8. As to the financing of research and innovation, a real program replacing the disastrous Lisbon strategy launched ten years ago must single out a limited number of strategic projects -as the USA did with NASA-, where to concentrate the European common resources. In addition to the energy sector, and in particular the new renewable sources, one shall not forget basic medical research, which cannot be left entirely in the hands of multinational companies.

The financing of the agencies cannot but pass through the Union’s “warranty”, that must ensure, through its own budget, that the funds collected through the Union bonds will be paid back. The project, already put forward by Delors, to resort to a European “Carbon Tax” -endorsed today by the Swedish Presidency- becomes topical once more.

9. The increase of the EU budget’s size, aimed to support the European development plan, would also allow to proceed to a first rationalization (hence a parallel reduction) of the member States’ military expenditures, with the creation of a first embryo of European Army – as recently proposed in the Munich Security Conference by the German Foreign Minister Westerwelle-, and to launch a Marshall Plan for the countries overlooking the Mediterranean, aimed at stimulating the endogenous development projects able to rein in the migratory flow towards the European Union, and the social problems connected to that in the immigration countries.

The fact remains, however, that, due to the fact that the increase of the EU budget is limited to 1% of the European GDP initially, the dimensions of the potential market for Union bonds are anyway influenced by its limited size, as it is supposed to guarantee their service and reimbursement. Consequently, to the extent that the requests of investments to be financed through European debt will inevitably grow further in the next years, in parallel becomes more urgent the need to proceed to an in-depth reform of the European budget.

10. In the perspective of a reform of the European budget aimed to make it capable of guaranteeing the financing of the investments required by a European recovery plan, through the issuing of public debt securities, it is necessary to contemplate a return to a system of veritable EU own resources. In fact, it is not a true own resource the so-called fourth



resource, which is nothing else but a national contribution proportional to a nation's GDP, which should be replaced with a European surtax, additional to the national income taxes -which will not be touched by the reform-, directly paid by the citizens to the European budget so as to assure a better transparency of the tax collection and reinforce at the same time the responsibility of those using up the resources.

A new resource could be provided to the European budget by reconsidering the Directive Proposal introducing a carbon/energy tax. In a situation where the dangers connected to climate change appear clearer and the ever more urgent necessity emerges to replace fossil fuels with alternative energy sources, a tax proportional to the carbon content of energy sources appears to be a suitable instrument to start virtuous energy-saving and fuel-switching processes in the direction of renewable energy sources, reducing the negative impact on the environment of energy consumption, and favoring the introduction of less energy-intensive production processes, thus promoting the transition to a low-carbon economy.

That tax, whose structure is outlined in the Directive Proposal approved by the European Commission in 1992, with an estimated yield at full speed of 1% of the European GDP, would have a twofold objective: to finance the budget and guarantee the debt service, and, at the same time, to promote the conversion of the European economy along a path of sustainable development. The tax could be introduced by the Union unilaterally, in order to avoid a stalemate otherwise caused in every country by the fear that the other members will behave as free-riders, and to exert a considerable pressure on the member States in view of a multilateral agreement to be reached in the post-Copenhagen phase, without putting at risk the external competitiveness of European production if it were accompanied by the introduction of a border tax adjustment to be levied on imported goods, of the same amount as that resting on the shoulders of European producers.

11. The launch of the European development plan, with the issue of Union bonds and the introduction of a carbon/energy tax to ensure an enlargement of the European budget and promote the transition towards a sustainable economy, presents obviously difficulties of a political nature, since it implies to reach an agreement between all the governments. In addition to the objections of principle by countries like the UK, which oppose any initiative contemplating a government of the economy at the European level, there is also a resistance on the part of Germany, because the Berlin Government believes that the cost of an issue of Union bonds would be higher than the cost of German issues. Actually, the risk of default of some countries of the euro-area pushed upward interest rates and weakened the value of the European currency, while a crisis of those same countries would inevitably hit German export, which for German enterprises represents the main component affecting the growth of demand. But, as Padoa Schioppa observed – and a similar opinion has been expressed by Eichengreen-, the Greek crisis does not represent, as many argue, the prelude to the end of the euro; on the contrary, just when the crisis hit one country and threatened the euro, the governments “began to understand that we cannot do any longer without the State of the euro”, and a process started that shall bring us from a monetary Union – a currency without a State – to a political Union.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 6. The European unification process*

De Vries Catherine, Tillman Erik

#### **European Union issue voting in East and West Europe: The role of political context**



in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 9, n. 1, february , 1-17

ABSTRACT: Recent research has shown the rise of domestic contention over European integration. This paper examines the extent to which preferences over European integration influence domestic party support in 19 European Union (EU) member states in West and East-Central Europe (ECE). The analysis finds broad evidence of EU issue voting across the countries included in the analysis, but the effect of the EU issue on party preferences is stronger in ECE. These results are consistent with the view that the same underlying causal dynamics explain party and voter behavior in both West and ECE, but the post-communist legacy shapes the political and economic contexts in the ECE states, resulting in predictable differences between the two regions.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Christou George, Croft Stuart, Ceccorulli Michela, Lucarelli Sonia**

**European Union security governance: putting the 'security' back in  
in *European Security***, Volume 19, Number 3, September , 341-359

The central aim of this article is to discuss the question of how we can understand and explain the European Union (EU) as a security actor - in essence, to elaborate on the current literature on security governance in order to provide a more theoretically driven analysis of the EU in security. Our contention is that whilst the current literature on security governance in Europe is conceptually rich, there still remains somewhat of a gap between those that do 'security governance' and those that focus on 'security' per se. We argue that a synergy or at least a conversation between these two literatures is required in order to enrich further the study of the EU as global-regional security actor.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Mendoza Alan**

**European defence in the long run: can Europe play a leading role in a multipolar world?  
in *European View*** , vol. 9, n. 2, December , 233-240

The global system is moving away from an order in which a Western state, most recently the US, is at the centre. Instead, the rise of China and India and other emerging economies, has caused a shift towards multipolarity. There is cause for concern as these new powers are not founded on the same values as those of Europe and the US. The decisions made are thus not only unaligned with the West, but these emerging economies also possess the power to implement and reinforce their decisions. Europe has taken certain initiatives to maintain some semblance of influence on today's global stage; however, these initiatives are not flawless.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Bache Ian, Andreou George, Atanasova Gorica, Tomsic Danijel**

**Europeanization and multi-level governance in south-east Europe: the domestic impact of EU cohesion policy  
and pre-accession aid  
in *Journal of European Public Policy*** , Volume 18 Issue 1 2011 , Pages 122 – 141



This article considers the extent to which European Union (EU) cohesion policy and related pre-accession instruments are contributing to the development of more compound polities in south-east Europe and, specifically, promoting multi-level governance. In this respect, the article has two points of departure: the first is the argument by Schmidt (2006) that the EU is a highly compound polity that tends to pull member states in this direction; the second is the considerable literature that links EU cohesion to the promotion of multi-level governance. In addressing the core question, we draw on the new institutionalist strand of the Europeanization literature to offer insights into the domestic responses to EU incentives and pressures.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Browning Christopher S.**

**Experimenting in the northern laboratory: the emergence of an EU approach to security governance in the north and its broader significance**

*in European Security*, Volume 19, Number 3, September , 395-411

This article explores the changing nature of security governance in Northern Europe since the end of the Cold War. Prior to enlargement in 2004 European Union (EU) involvement in the region was limited and cautious, with security governance driven predominantly by regional actors. At the same time, the connection between 'security' and projects of 'regional cooperation' was complex and largely interdependent. Since 2004 the EU has become more engaged in the region, most recently through its new Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region via which the north is conceptualised as a possible test case for broader conceptions of regional governance in Europe. The article argues that such developments raise significant questions, not only for the future and nature of regional security conceptions in the north, but also in respect of how the EU conceptualises itself in relation to security more generally.

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**Kösters Wim, De Grauwe Paul, Gros Daniel, Schelkle Waltraud, Mabbett Deborah, Lachman Desmond**

**FORUM: Eight months later - Has the Eurozone been stabilised or will EMU fall apart?**

*in Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 6 / November 2010 , 340-356

Eight months ago, as the risk of sovereign default in Greece first emerged, the Intereconomics Forum invited a number of contributors to examine the options available to EU policymakers. As the threats to European Monetary Union resurface now, six of the same authors return in this issue's Forum to reassess the situation, in particular with regard to the EU's recent policy responses to the ongoing crisis. Whereas both optimists and pessimists could support their views with strong arguments eight months ago, the EU's current predicament has shifted the prevailing sentiment strongly toward the pessimistic view. From the Irish bailout to the precarious status of Portugal, not to mention the potentially disastrous situation looming in Spain, our contributors are uncertain whether EU policymakers are up to the challenge of defending the euro. As evidence of this, several point to the EU Council's October decision to establish a permanent crisis resolution mechanism to ensure an orderly state insolvency procedure, which did little to calm markets. Nonetheless, most of these economists still see ways for the EU to escape the crisis without being forced to abandon the common currency.

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Perez Sofia A., Westrup Jonathan

**Finance and the macroeconomy: the politics of regulatory reform in Europe**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 8 2010 , Pages 1171 – 1192

This article analyses major changes in the regulation of the financial sector across Europe over the last three decades. The authors explain the timing of major regulatory variation in regulatory outcomes across five countries (Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Spain) in terms of political calculations on the part of elected elites that involve the relationship of financial regulation to other policy areas (including monetary policy and pension reform). The first countries to initiate major regulatory overhauls in Europe were those in which postwar regulatory institutions raised the costs to elected governments of imposing monetary austerity in the 1970s. On the other hand, the move to create single, politically accountable financial regulators in Britain and Germany over the following decades is related by the authors to the more radical effort to promote private savings at the expense of mandatory pensions in these two countries.

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Chaltiel Florence

**Finances et conscience**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 542, octobre-novembre , 553-555

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Mamadouh Virginie, Van Der Wusten Herman

**Financial, monetary and governance crisis: an outlook on the Euro(zone)**

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 102, Issue 1, February , 111-118

First page of article online: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2010.00643.x/abstract>

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Skjærseth Jon Birger, Wettestad Jørgen

**Fixing the EU Emissions Trading System? Understanding the Post-2012 Changes**

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 10, Issue 4, November , 101-123

This article explains why the significant changes in the EU Emissions Trading System (EU ETS) for the 2013–2020 phase were adopted in 2008. The combination of a more stringent EU-wide cap, allocation of emission allowances for payment, and limits on imports of credits from third countries have strengthened the system for the post-2012 period.



This will promote reduction in greenhouse gases compared to the old system. The main reasons for these changes are, first, changes in the positions of the member states due to unsatisfactory experience with performance of the EU ETS so far. Second, a “package approach” where the EU ETS reform was integrated into wider energy and climate policy facilitated agreement on the changes. Third, changes in the position of nonstate actors and a desire to affect the international climate negotiations contributed to the reform.

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**Economides Spyros, Ker-Lindsay James**

**Forging EU Foreign Policy Unity from Diversity: The ‘Unique Case’ of the Kosovo Status Talks in European Foreign Affairs Review**, volume 15, issue 4 , 495-510

ABSTRACT: This article explores the way in which the European Union (EU) attempted to forge a united position on the question of Kosovo over the course of the latter stages of the status process, which ran from late 2005 until the end of 2007. Following an overview of the development of EU foreign policy decision-making processes, the work analyses how these were applied in the case of Kosovo. It shows that while significant efforts were made to reach a united position on the question of recognition, these efforts eventually proved to be unsuccessful. The EU Member States ultimately agreed to the establishment of a law and order mission for Kosovo. To some, this was a success, but it cannot disguise the fact that procedural changes in the EU’s foreign policy decision-making do not cover up for diverging Member State interests and that the EU was unable to take charge of what was essentially a European issue.

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**Petithomme Mathieu**

**Framing European integration in mediated public spheres: an increasing nationalization and contestation of European issues in party political communication?**

**in Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research**, Volume 23, Number 2 / June , 153-168

This article proposes a claims-making analysis of party political communication over Europe in mediated public spheres in France, Ireland, the UK and Spain between 1993 and 2006. It demonstrates that office-seeking parties and especially the representatives of the executive power generally dominate Europeanized debates. In contrast, peripheral parties and other party actors such as party MPs and extra-parliamentary politicians face significant difficulties in obtaining visibility and resonance for their Europeanized frames. The empirical and longitudinal analysis also shows the prevalence of claims directed towards the EU level and of nationalized debates over Europe. Overall, even though critical engagements with Europe have progressed over time, the domination of mainstream parties and party actors in framing European integration and the pro-European consensus between office-seeking parties nevertheless limit the potential for contestation on European matters.

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**Wiesbrock Anja**



**Free Movement of Third-Country Nationals in the European Union: The Illusion of Inclusion**  
in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 4 , 455-476

No abstract available

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Merlingen Michael

**From Governance to Governmentality in CSDP: Towards a Foucauldian Research Agenda**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2011 , 149–169

Governmentality theory is a tool to study networked governance beyond the state. Its research profile is characterized by a focus on power and micro-practices from a critical perspective. This article identifies the theory's comparative strengths and its distinct analytical style. It lays out the conceptual tools of governmentality theory before applying them to internal CSDP governance and the external governance by the CSDP of post-conflict societies. These short case studies serve the didactic purpose of demonstrating the kinds of research questions, analytical concerns, arguments, empirical evidence and methods that governmentality research calls for and the sorts of findings that it can generate. The article concludes by pinpointing shortcomings of the theory that will be of concern to some CSDP researchers.

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Schütze Robert

**From Rome to Lisbon: “Executive Federalism” in the (New) European Union**

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 47, issue 5 , 1385-1427

ABSTRACT: Is the European Union a legislative giant on clay feet? Is it true that the Union has, with some specific exceptions, no original competence to implement European law? This article analyses the structure of the Union's “executive federalism” in three steps. After a comparative constitutional section on the centralized (American) and decentralized (German) enforcement systems of federal norms, the constitutional foundations of executive power in the European Union are explored. Will Article 291 TFEU provide a reformed textual base for the (new) Union's executive powers? A third section then examines existing constitutional limits to the national (decentralized) and European (centralized) enforcement of European law. Beginning with the decentralized implementation mechanism, a first part of this section looks at the substantive, procedural and morphological limits on the national implementation of Union law. A second part of that section changes perspective as it investigates the constitutional limits on the executive powers of the Union in the form of, for example, the principle of subsidiarity. An excursus briefly analyses the phenomenon of “mixed administration” through a federal lens. And a conclusion finally argues that the Lisbon Treaty will remedy, to some extent, the lack of clear constitutional foundation of Union executive power.

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Serricchio Fabio



**Gli italiani e l'Europa: un rapporto che muta tra benefici, "institutional proxies" e identità nazionale**

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XL, Numero 3, Dicembre , 371-396

Italians are among the stronger supporters of European integration process: they have developed a considerable sense of attachment to the new social-political entity called Europe, probably by the fact that it is considered a source of benefits and could give them a more efficient political system than domestic one. Nor does the sense of attachment to their country, rather accentuated in Italy, threatens the feelings toward Europe. To be sure, the role of national attachment is different, according to the meaning of national identification. The civic national identity increase Italian Europeanism while cultural national attachment depresses it. These evidences, in contrast with previous research, are probably due to the recent enlargement of Europe to Eastern countries on the one hand threatens the cultural heritage, on the other reduces the benefits granted and could lead Italy among the Eurosceptic countries. Italians now have a domestic political system efficient, by virtue of stabilizing the national political scenario and with the inevitable reduction of EU benefits, due to the eastern enlargement, they could change the attitudes toward Europe. Mainly if Europe, now, threatens national culture and traditions and especially if Euroscepticism is a relevant issue of many influential parties and the same national government.

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Lodge Martin, Wegrich Kai

**Governance as contested logics of control: Europeanized meat inspection regimes in Denmark and Germany**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 18 Issue 1 2011 , Pages 90 – 105

The term governance has been used in many contexts and meanings. This paper assesses three logics of control widely associated with governance, namely multi-level governance, the regulatory state and performance management. It questions to what extent these logics are present, are reinforcing or are mutually self-destructive in their effects. This paper explores the field of meat inspection as a critical aspect of the Europeanized food safety regime and concentrates on the cases of Denmark and Germany. The paper concludes that the three logics of control's effects are interactive and that, far from being mutually reinforcing, the various logics are mutually self-destructive and destabilizing.

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Rossolillo Giulia

**Gradualismo o salto federale? La corte costituzionale tedesca e il processo di integrazione europea**

in *Politico (II)*, n. 224, anno XXXV, maggio-agosto , 53-74

No abstract available

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Halmai Peter, Vásáry Viktoria

**Growth crisis in the EU — challenges and prospects**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 5 / September 2010 , 329-336





The following article uses a production function approach to analyse the long-term trends of the European growth potential. It describes the possibility of a further significant decline in the potential growth rate and the mechanisms of this decline. EU Member States are divided into five country groups, and the potential growth rates of each of these as well as the contribution of different growth factors are analysed. The great challenges facing the “catch-up” (Mediterranean and new) Member States with regard to convergence are outlined. Finally, the paper summarises the long-term trends, the impacts of potential shock scenarios on potential growth and the new risks originating from the crisis.

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Montanari Laura

**I limiti europei alla disciplina nazionale della cittadinanza**  
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 948-956

No abstract available

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Weber Steffen

**Iceland and EU membership**  
in *European View* , vol. 9, n. 2, December , 285-286

No abstract available

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Faraguna Pietro

**Il Mangold Urteil: controllo ultra vires ma da maneggiare europarechtsfreundlich**  
in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 4, dicembre , 863-866

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Caponi Remo

**Il Mangold Urteil: l'europismo della Corte tedesca ed i suoi limiti**  
in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 4, dicembre , 860-862



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Spezia F.

**Il coordinamento giudiziario nell'Unione europea: il rafforzamento dei poteri di Eurojust**  
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 655

No abstract available

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Allegrì Giuseppe

**Il diritto di iniziativa dei cittadini europei (ECI) e la democrazia partecipativa nell'Unione Europea: prime riflessioni**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 23

No abstract available

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Zicchittu Paolo

**Il diritto di iniziativa dei cittadini: un nuovo strumento di partecipazione all'interno dell'Unione europea**  
in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 3, settembre , 621-624

No abstract available

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Costa Anna

**Il futuro del modello sociale europeo nell'era della globalizzazione**

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LII, n. 2 , 116-127

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=478](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=478)

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Federalista II

**Il futuro dell'Unione europea**

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LII, n. 2 , 85-93



L'Europa, in questo momento, sta vivendo tre crisi. Come spiegava Alain Touraine, alcune settimane fa, in un articolo apparso su La Repubblica il 29 settembre, oggi l'Europa, "rimasta senza futuro", è al tempo stesso aggredita da una crisi economica e finanziaria, da una drammatica crisi politica (derivata dall'impotenza dei nostri Stati di fronte alla sfida della ripresa della crescita e della riduzione della disoccupazione — condizioni necessarie per il risanamento dei bilanci), e da una gravissima crisi culturale, frutto dell'incapacità di elaborare un progetto di sviluppo e di civiltà per il futuro del nostro continente.

Su tutti e tre questi fronti i nostri paesi sono chiamati urgentemente a trovare delle risposte. E questo spiega bene perché all'Europa non possono bastare piccoli aggiustamenti all'interno del quadro comunitario in vigore, ma serve un atto di forte volontà politica per dare nuove basi al progetto di unificazione.

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=476](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=476)

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**Ceccorulli Michela**

**Il regime del defence prucevment europeo: implicazioni del coordinamento in dinamiche di sicurezza in Politico (II)**, n. 224, anno XXXV, maggio-agosto , 75-98

No abstract available

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**Favell Adrian**

**Immigration, migration et libre circulation dans la construction de l'Europe in Politique européenne** , n. 31, février

Bien que les Européens semblent sédentaires en comparaison des habitants de l'Amérique du Nord, l'histoire européenne a connu d'incessants et d'importants mouvements de populations qui continuent aujourd'hui. Qu'en est-il du rôle de la mobilité spatiale dans toutes ses formes dans la construction européenne ? Cet article répond à cette question en analysant les trois types de migrants dans l'Europe contemporaine : les populations issues des vagues migratoires de l'après-guerre et les nouveaux migrants des pays tiers, les « libres circulants » ou « Eurostars » utilisant le droit à la libre circulation inscrit dans le Traité à la libre circulation, et enfin les ressortissants des pays de l'Europe centrale et orientale entrés dans l'Union européenne (UE) en 2004 et 2007 qui peuvent désormais vivre et travailler dans d'autres pays de l'UE. On peut dire qu'un nouveau système migratoire en Europe se met en place, qui repose sur un marché de travail secondaire exploitant les libres circulants de l'est, une ouverture à l'Est qui a permis une politique de plus en plus sécuritaire de fermeture au Sud avec une logique raciale claire.

Immigration, migration, free movement and the making of Europe

Despite the image of European populations as sedentary in comparison to the highly mobile populations of North America, population movements have played a recurrent role in the history of Europe, up to and including the present



day. How then does spatial mobility in all its forms fit into the European integration process ? This article answers this question by contrasting the three principle types of migrants in Europe today : the traditional, post war immigration of “ethnically” distinct populations from non-European sources, the “free movers” or “Eurostars” living and working as foreigners within Europe via the use of EU free movement rights, and the citizens from the new East and Central European member states who have gained access to the West European labour market as a result of the EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007. It argues that a new European migration system, dependent on the secondary labour market exploitation of new East-West movers, is in the making, an opening to the East that has enabled a stricter attempt to close doors to immigration from the South and elsewhere along clearly racialised lines.

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Fève Patrick, Matheron Julien, Sahuc Jean-Guillaume

**Inflation Target Shocks and Monetary Policy Inertia in the Euro Area**

in **Economic Journal**, Volume 120, Issue 547, September 2010 , 1100-1124

The euro area as a whole has experienced a marked downward trend in inflation over the past decades and, concomitantly, a protracted period of depressed activity. Can permanent and gradual shifts in monetary policy be held responsible for these dynamics? To answer this question, we embed serially correlated changes in the inflation target into a DSGE model with real and nominal frictions. The formal Bayesian estimation of the model suggests that gradual changes in the inflation target have played a major role in the euro area business cycle. Counter-factual exercises show that, had monetary policy implemented its new inflation objective at a faster rate, the euro zone would have experienced more sustained growth than it actually did.

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Thomson Robert, Torenvlied René

**Information, Commitment and Consensus: A Comparison of Three Perspectives on Delegation in the European Union**

in **British Journal of Political Science**, vol. 41, issue 1, january , 139-159

ABSTRACT: Three perspectives on delegation in the European Union are presented in this article. The transaction-costs perspective focuses on information asymmetries between policy makers and implementers. According to the commitment perspective, policy makers delegate authority as a solution to commitment problems. The consensus-building perspective views the decision to delegate as a trade-off between decisiveness and inclusiveness during the bargaining process. Hypotheses are derived from these perspectives regarding the amount of delegation to both the European Commission and to member states in legislation. From detailed information on eighty-six EU laws, there is some evidence for the transaction-costs perspective as an explanation of delegation to the Commission. With respect to delegation to member states, there is some evidence for both the transaction-costs perspective and the consensus-building perspective.

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Chaltiel Florence

**Initiative Spinelli**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 543, décembre , 621-623

Introduction and interview with Isabelle Durant, vice-president of the European Parliament

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Majone Giandomenico, de Leonardis Ota, La Spina Antonio

**Integrazione europea, tecnocrazia, e deficit democratico.**

in *Rassegna italiana di sociologia*, numero 4, ottobre-dicembre

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Majone Giandomenico

**Integrazione europea, tecnocrazia, e deficit democratico. Commenti di Ota de Leonardis e Antonio La Spina**

in *Rassegna italiana di sociologia*, numero 4, ottobre-dicembre 2010 , 599-626

Abstract

The European Union provides a unique example of the limits of technocratic governance. As long as the competences of the EU were limited public opinion was willing to accept the deficit of democracy as the price to be paid for the hoped-for benefits of economic integration. Since the 1980s, however, it has become increasingly clear that in terms of growth, employment, and productivity Europe is falling behind its major international competitors. In spite of these disappointing developments, and of the public discontent revealed by a series of negative referendums, more and more powers were delegated to the European level, culminating in the establishment of monetary union and of the European Central Bank. The ECB is unique in two respects: its independence has a quasi-constitutional, rather than merely statutory, basis; and since there is no politically accountable European government, the Bank operates in an almost total political vacuum. The political isolation of the ECB has serious consequences also in terms of policy efficiency. This is because the Bank's commitment to price stability is too rigid to permit sufficient flexibility in crisis situations. In such situations a central bank should work with the government to determine the right balance between the commitment to monetary stability and the flexibility necessary to respond to external shocks. In the EU such a balance cannot be achieved since the ECB technocrats have no political counterparts. Thus, a monetary union introduced before there was agreement on political union, has revealed the limits of technocratic governance.

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Yordanova Nikoleta

**Inter-institutional Rules and Division of Power in the European Parliament: Allocation of Consultation and**



### **Co-decision Reports**

in *West European Politics*, vol. 34, n. 1, January, 97-121

ABSTRACT: Studies on the European Parliament have largely overlooked the impact of the inter-institutional context on its internal organisation. This paper argues that the stronger legislative powers of the Parliament vis--vis the Council of Ministers under the co-decision than under the consultation procedure affect the intra-parliamentary allocation of different types of legislative report. The analysis of the period 2004-07 shows that legislators from the centre-right party group coalition and loyal party group members are privileged in the allocation of co-decision reports. In contrast, legislators with outlying special interests and experts are given systematic access to drafting only consultation reports. The higher competition for co-decision versus consultation reports left unchecked by the formal EP rules has thus been exploited by party group leaders to promote group cohesion and coalition-building, producing clear winners and losers.

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Broz Tanja

#### **Introduction of the euro in CEE countries – is it economically justifiable? The Croatian case**

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 22 Issue 4 2010, Pages 427 – 447

This article analyses correlation of demand and supply shocks between the EMU and the CEECs in order to see whether there is some degree of business cycle coordination between them. The main interest is to investigate the impact on Croatia and compare it with other CEECs. Information on the correlation of demand and supply shocks between the EMU and CEECs is important if a country wants to join the monetary union, since synchronisation of business cycles and policy coordination will have a significant impact on willingness to enter the monetary union (unless the decision is a political one). We employ structural vector autoregression in order to identify demand and supply shocks and analyse their correlation, size and speed of adjustment. The results indicate that at the moment Croatia is far from ready for the common monetary policy of the EMU, while among other CEE countries Slovenia and Latvia have the closest connection between their business cycles and those of the EMU.

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Schendel Frank van, Aronstein Irene

#### **Introduction. Euroscepticism and multiculturalism**

in *Utrecht Law Review*, Vol. 6, issue 3, 1-7

Full text available at:

<http://www.utrechtlawreview.org/index.php/ulr/article/viewFile/137/133>

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#### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Donnarumma Maria Rosaria

#### **Intégration européenne et sauvegarde de l'identité nationale dans la jurisprudence de la Cour de justice et des**



**cours constitutionnelles**

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 84

No abstract available

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Redor Dominique, Saadi Mohamed

**Inégalités et redistribution des revenus dans les nouveaux pays membres de l'Union européenne Ruptures et continuités**

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 41, n. 3, September , 43-70

The EU's new member states with the highest level of inequality in individual income since 2000 are the same as those that had the highest level during the Communist era. How to explain this persistent inequality, which has withstood systemic changes? During the first decade of the new century, ethnic and language fragmentation in all EU member states were a hindrance to income redistribution via the welfare system. From a historical perspective, it is hypothesized that the presence of ethnic and language minorities in some countries has been a factor, since 2000 as well as during the Communist period, accounting for both the low level of income redistribution and the high inequality in individual incomes.

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Laïdi Zaki

**Is Europe a Risk Averse Actor?**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, volume 15, issue 4 , 411-426

ABSTRACT: This article makes the hypothesis that the European Union (EU) is a political actor whose identity and strategy on the international field are based on a strong aversion towards risk. In order to follow this hypothesis, we will define the exact meaning of a Risk Averse Power (RAP). Roughly speaking, an RAP can be defined as an international actor that defines and responds to the political stakes of a given identified risk in terms of a will to reduce its uncertainties and uncontrollable effects. Then, in the absence of any existing composite index, we propose five criteria for measuring this risk aversion: job loss risk, biotechnology risks, climate change risk, financial risks, and risk of war. In the next section, we attempt to explain why Europe is risk averse, through various factors: Europe's non-state construction, the existence of a deliberative European political space, Europe's social model aiming towards market risk minimization, and, finally, the end of the need for an Empire. Finally, we determine the broader implications of risk aversion for Europe as a global actor.

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Gambino Silvio

**Jurisdicción y justicia entre Tratado de Lisboa, Convenio Europeo de Derechos Humanos y ordenamientos nacionales**



in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

El presente estudio pretende analizar el proceso de institucionalización y desarrollo de un Derecho constitucional comunitario del poder/orden judicial. Con tal fin, el autor desarrolla un análisis sistemático desde una perspectiva multinivel y comparativa de protección de los derechos fundamentales. Objetos de tal estudio son las siguientes fuentes: el Derecho constitucional comunitario tras las modificaciones aportadas por el Tratado de Lisboa, que incorpora la Carta de los Derechos Fundamentales de la Unión Europea (CDFUE) y establece la adhesión de la UE al Convenio Europeo para la protección de los Derechos Humanos y las Libertades Fundamentales (CEDH), el Derecho convencional-internacional, con una atención especial al CEDH, las derivaciones nacionales de tal constitucionalismo y las tradiciones constitucionales comunes a los Estados miembros, que en virtud de la reformulación jurisprudencial realizada por el TJUE, han adquirido el valor de principios generales del Derecho. El objetivo es contribuir a la creación de un Derecho constitucional comunitario propio del poder/orden judicial con respecto tanto a los principios generales de tal orden como al derecho a la tutela judicial efectiva y a un proceso debido y, con ello, a un sistema de protección de los derechos fundamentales verdaderamente europeo

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/04Gambino.htm>

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**Caponi Remo**

**Karlsruhe europeista (appunti a prima lettura del Mangold-Beschluss della Corte costituzionale tedesca)**

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 5 , 1103-1127

No abstract available

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**European Economy News**

**Klaus Regling, head of the EFSF, on EU governance**

in *European Economy News*, October 2010 - Issue 19

Klaus Regling was appointed chief executive officer of the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) on 1 July. The €440 billion facility is based in Luxembourg and its board comprises representatives from the 16 euro-area governments. From 2001 to 2008 Mr. Regling was the Director-General of ECFIN.

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**Nissen Sylke**

**Kommunikation in der Krise. Entwicklung und Erfolgsbedingungen der EU-Informationspolitik**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 57, Heft 4, 2010





## Summary

The Commission of the EU wants to convince the public of the positive results of the European integration process but is only partly successful in its communication policy attempts in this respect. Public reaction often shows critique and people have little interest in the EU development. In order to identify the causes of this situation the paper analyzes central aspects of the EU information and communication policy and looks at the main actors in the European communication process. In addition to policy deficits the conflict between member states' pursuit of national interests and EU rhetoric of common goods is discussed as an explanation for EU communication in crisis.

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Beck Ulrich

#### **Kooperieren oder scheitern. Die Existenzkrise der Europäischen Union**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2011, 41-53

Wenn eine Weltordnung zusammenbricht, beginnt das Nachdenken darüber. Doch offenbar gilt das nicht für den heute vorherrschenden Typus der Gesellschaftstheorie, der in universalistischer Erhabenheit und schlafwandlerischer Sicherheit über den Niederungen des epochalen Wandels – Klimawandel, Finanzkrise, Krise der Demokratie und der nationalstaatlichen Institutionen – hinwegschwebt. Diese Art universalistischer Gesellschaftstheorie, sei es nun eine strukturalistische, interaktionistische, marxistische, Kritische oder Systemtheorie, ist heute antiquiert und provinziell. Antiquiert ist sie, weil sie ausschließt, was zu beobachten ist: ein Paradigmenwechsel von Gesellschaft und Politik in der Moderne.

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Smits R.

#### **L'Euro(pe) à l'épreuve**

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, Vol. 46, n. 1-2, 7-15

No abstract available

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Droit Yohan

#### **L'European Fighter Aircraft : le rendez-vous manqué de la coopération aéronautique européenne 1978-1985**

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 4, Décembre, 103-116

Le 1er août 1985, la France décide de se retirer des négociations sur l'European Fighter Aircraft. L'échec de la coopération dans une configuration à 5 partenaires (Allemagne, Espagne, France, Italie, Royaume-Uni) conduit au lancement de deux programmes distincts, et aujourd'hui concurrents : l'Eurofighter et le Rafale. En revenant sur le déroulement des négociations, ce papier propose d'explorer les raisons de cet échec, dont les conséquences sont



encore d'actualité. Les négociations sur l'EFA, longues et complexes, illustrent parfaitement les difficultés inhérentes à la coopération aéronautique européenne. Le manque d'harmonisation des besoins opérationnels et le difficile équilibre entre souveraineté nationale et coopération européenne constituent les principaux facteurs d'échec.

The 1st of August 1985, France decides to withdraw from the negotiations on the European Fighter Aircraft. The failure of the cooperation bringing together France, Germany, Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom leads to the launch of two separates programmes: the Eurofighter and the Rafale. Going back over the negotiations, this paper proposes to explore the reasons of this failure. The long and complex process of the negotiations perfectly shows the inherent difficulties of the European aeronautic cooperation. The lack of harmonization of the operational requirements and the balance between national sovereignty and European cooperation can be described as the main factors of the failure.

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Ómarsdóttir Silja Bára, Elínardóttir Jóna Sólveig

**L'Islande et l'Union européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 542, octobre-novembre , 589-597

Iceland's integration in Europe is and has always been a difficult issue for the Icelanders. Witness, the changes in Iceland's partnership with the European Union (EU), though the country has always chosen to observe its development from far, without interfering more than necessary. After a total collapse of the Icelandic banking system in 2008 and in the current context, this story is becoming even more interesting since, based on opinion surveys conducted tight after the "fall" in Iceland, there was a significant change in feelings towards the country's EU membership, but that was soon reversed. Various groups manipulate the public opinion, the situation is complex, made up of both political and affective elements. Hence, from a historical point of view, one wonders what in the end prompted Iceland to initiate membership negotiations with the great partner? Certainly the economic situation plays the biggest role. However, the likeliness of the membership is disputed by various interest groups, especially that of fishing and farming, using nationalistic views to support their anti-membership arguments. The clearest example is certainly the Icesave case, which opposed Iceland with the United Kingdom and The Netherlands, or, according to membership opponents, to the European Union as a whole.

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Bonvicini Gianni

**L'Ue fra ambizioni globali e responsabilità regionali**

in *Mulino (il)*, n. 6, novembre-dicembre, 2010 , 957-964

Dopo numerosi rinvii, con l'anno prossimo sarà finalmente attivo il Servizio europeo per l'azione esterna (Seae): una denominazione criptica per segnalare quello che dovrebbe essere a tutti gli effetti un servizio diplomatico per la politica estera e di sicurezza della UE. A guidarlo, come è noto, sarà almeno formalmente l'Alto Rappresentante, incarico oggi ricoperto dalla baronessa inglese Catherine Ashton. [...]



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Cyterman Laurent

**L'Union européenne condamne-t-elle l'intervention publique dans l'économie?**

in *Esprit*, Décembre 2010 , 164-176

La responsabilité de la libéralisation de l'économie est souvent reportée sur « Bruxelles ». Mais que dit exactement la doctrine de l'Union européenne sur les interventions publiques ? Avec des principes très libéraux mais de nombreuses exceptions, on voit transparaître une doctrine de l'action publique qui n'est pas si éloignée de l'idée française de politique publique.

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Doutriaux Yves

**L'Union européenne et la Turquie d'ici 2020: convergences ou divergences?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 542, octobre-novembre , 582-588

Engaged in 1979 in the membership negotiation with Turkey, a source of frustration for that country, and now leading to controversy dividing governments and public opinions in Europe, the European Union will have to ask its Turkish partner the question of confidence of European Turkish relationships, in due time. One of the keys liable to solve this difficult issue lies in a an unbiased and unprejudiced comparison of the convergences and differences between the respective visions of the Union, which hardly find a meaning, and of Turkey, which tends to consider itself as an emerging country, as to their roles in tomorrow's world's affairs and governance.

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Lombardo Emanuela, Verloo Mieke

**La "interseccionalidad" del género con otras desigualdades en la política de la Unión Europea**

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, n. 23 , 11-30

No abstract available

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Fernández Soriano Víctor

**La CEE face à l'Espagne franquiste De la mémoire de la guerre civile à la construction politique de l'Europe**

in *Vingtième Siècle*, n. 108

L'Espagne essaya de se rapprocher de la Communauté économique européenne au début des années 1960. À cette



fin, le gouvernement franquiste de Madrid lui adressa, en février 1962, une demande de négociations en vue d'un accord d'association, voire d'une adhésion. La suite que la CEE devait donner à cette demande ouvra un débat politique d'un grand intérêt. Celui-ci reflétait un clivage forgé dans l'immédiat après-guerre entre partisans d'un rapprochement avec l'Espagne, et ceux qui le repoussaient, considérant qu'il s'agissait du dernier régime fasciste en Europe. En outre, ce débat contribua à la définition d'une politique extérieure de la CEE, en même temps qu'il motiva le premier rassemblement des principales tendances de l'opposition au franquisme, tant à l'intérieur de l'Espagne que dans l'exil, depuis la fin de la guerre.

Spain sought closer ties with the European Economic Community at the beginning of the Sixties. So in February 1962, Madrid's Francoist government sent the EEC a request for negotiations for an association agreement or even membership. EEC's response to this request opened an interesting political debate that reflected a cleavage built up in the aftermath of the War between those who thought that closer ties with Spain were legitimate and those who rejected them as coming from the last fascist regime of Europe. This debate contributed to defining an EEC foreign policy, and at the same time brought about the first gathering since the end of the War of the main trends of the opposition to Francoism, whether coming from inside Spain or from the exiled.

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Shaw Jo

**La Corte europea di giustizia di fronte al diritto di cittadinanza: una sfida alla sovranità nazionale dei Paesi membri?**

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero : 3, settembre , 612-617

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Vallet Guillaume

**La Suisse et la zone euro: une zone mnétaire optimisée?**

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 543, décembre , 624-635

In Europe the specific case of Switzerland calls for questions: though strongly integrated in the EU economically since the start, it refuses full membership in order to protect its political autonomy and some economic characteristics. From an institutional point of view, Switzerland therefore prefers a medium integration approach, i. e. sector by sector bilateral agreements. That non membership integration situation allows the country to be a tolerated EU passenger, since it benefits, with the EU's consent, by such collective property without bearing all the costs related thereto. As a result, Switzerland and the euro zone form an optimised monetary zone: the nearness to the euro zone allows Switzerland to reduce the cost of monetary isolation while maximizing the benefits of monetary autonomy and the non membership integration of Switzerland seems weak, as a result of the Swiss currency's historic tendency to rise against the euro. That is why, considering Switzerland's wish not to adhere, we try and find out whether the implementation of a legal Swiss franc to euro link would not be an interesting and viable option for Switzerland, thus creating a liberating monetary



dependency for the country

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Laura Gómez Urquijo, Beatriz Pérez de las Heras, María Luisa Sánchez Barrueco

**La Unión Europea ante los nuevos retos de la gobernanza regional**

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 43, No. 167 , 89-110

States increasingly lack the capacity to address current challenges, for they demand a coordinated answer on a transnational scale. In Europe, the need to face new scenarios has fostered transnational governance strategies at the European Union level which could possibly be implemented in other regions. This paper explores recent developments in a varying range of fields, from the more traditional area of economic and monetary policy to the postmodern fight against climate degradation, all the way up to security and defence policy.

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Menéndez Agustín José

**La Unión Europea entre el constitucionalismo democrático y la gobernanza**

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , n. 149

Este trabajo considera las razones por las que tanto los efectos jurídicos como la relevancia y la significación política del Tratado de Lisboa serán muy distintos a los que hubiera surtido el Tratado Constitucional de 2005, en caso de que este hubiera entrado en vigor (y ello pese a que el tenor literal de ambos textos es en larga medida muy semejante). Se presta especial atención a la relación entre el proceso de elaboración y la sustancia constitucional de ambos documentos. La tesis que se sostiene es que el proceso de Laeken se fundamentaba en el constitucionalismo sintético, que explica la naturaleza de la Unión Europea de forma alternativa a las visiones internacional y constitucional a las que se ha recurrido tradicionalmente, mientras que el proceso de Lisboa constituye una manifestación de la concepción del proceso de integración como medio para resolver eficazmente problemas concretos recurriendo a una serie de prácticas heterodoxas (que englobo bajo el epígrafe gobernanza). El trabajo apuesta por la primera de estas vías para reconducir el proyecto constitucional europeo

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Vignerot Philippe

**La construction incomplète de la zone euro**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 543, décembre , 636-646

The financial and economic crisis that started in 2008 shook the euro zone, and showed its weak points and inadequacies in terms of economic policy coordination, including in relationship to the single monetary policy sought by the Eurosystem. A general consensus has now been reached on the concept that improved governance is needed. But what it is exactly? What has to be worked on? Who should steer the work? This article tries first to explain how the



coordination currently works, the respective bodies, the procedures applied. It then shows that the euro zone is an incomplete project and that better governance of the euro zone requires working on the economic membership of its members and a better operation of its bodies. Lastly it seeks to show that the Lisbon treaty offers potential to be exploited but that the ever-growing involvement of the European council in the economic governance leads to problems.

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Migliorini Sara

**La continuità degli atti comunitari e del terzo pilastro dopo l'entrata in vigore del Trattato di Lisbona**

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCIII, fascicolo 2 , 421-436

No abstract available

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Balaguer Callejón Francisco

**La contribución de Peter Häberle a la construcción del Derecho Constitucional Europeo**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

Este artículo analiza la contribución de Peter Häberle a la construcción del Derecho Constitucional Europeo. Las teorías de Häberle son muy importantes no sólo para el Derecho Constitucional Europeo sino también para el Derecho constitucional nacional y supranacional en el contexto de la globalización. Las teorías de Häberle han establecido las bases de un nuevo tratamiento metodológico de las cuestiones constitucionales y esta nueva metodología tendrá un gran impacto en el modo en que los juristas trabajen en el futuro.

El «Derecho comparado» como quinto método de interpretación jurídica, la idea de la «evolución gradual» de los textos constitucionales y la consideración de las constituciones de los Estados miembros de la UE como «constituciones parciales» son muy útiles para comprender la estructura del Derecho constitucional del siglo XXI. El concepto de constitución parcial y la relación entre los diferentes niveles constitucionales juega un papel relevante en el Derecho Europeo. A través de estas formulaciones, Häberle ha contribuido a una nueva comprensión del concepto de autonomía del ordenamiento de la UE (una autonomía que ha sido previamente maximizada casi hasta el aislamiento). De acuerdo con los planteamientos de Häberle, hay siempre un proceso abierto de interacción entre los diferentes sistemas jurídicos del espacio europeo, y este proceso genera nuevos desarrollos en cada nivel.

El concepto de Derecho Constitucional Común Europeo fue una noción pionera que introdujo la idea de la influencia del constitucionalismo de los Estados miembros en el nivel europeo. Actualmente podemos decir que el Derecho Constitucional Común Europeo es una parte del Derecho Constitucional Europeo. El Derecho Constitucional Europeo puede ser entendido en dos sentidos: en sentido estricto hace referencia al Derecho Constitucional de la Unión Europea (cualquiera que sea su fuente, incluyendo el Derecho Constitucional Común Europeo que se incorpora a la UE). En un sentido amplio, el Derecho Constitucional Europeo hace referencia al Derecho Constitucional de los diferentes espacios constitucionales en Europa (Unión Europea, Estados miembros y Länder, regiones o Comunidades Autónomas).



Las teorías de Häberle plantean nuevos requerimientos metodológicos para el Derecho constitucional en sus diferentes niveles. Uno de esos requerimientos es que en el espacio nacional no podemos explicar ya el Derecho constitucional como un sistema cerrado y exclusivamente referido al Derecho constitucional estatal. Otro de los requerimientos es que necesario que continuemos analizando la Unión Europea desde una perspectiva constitucional, aunque ese nivel no esté todavía completamente desarrollado desde esa perspectiva. Finalmente, debemos concentrarnos en las relaciones entre los diversos niveles y espacios constitucionales porque el Derecho Constitucional Europeo es una disciplina dinámica en la que la relación dialéctica entre esos espacios juega un papel esencial

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/07FBalaguer.htm>

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Kahn Sylvain

**La crise grecque et les troubles de la mémoire européenne**

in **Esprit**, Décembre 2010 , 114-126

La réaction européenne aux difficultés de la Grèce a-t-elle accentué les pesanteurs institutionnelles ou a-t-elle permis de dépasser des blocages liés à la gouvernance de l'euro ? Avant de trancher, il faut se souvenir que, bien qu'un récit convenu de la convergence européenne tende à l'oublier, les étapes importantes de la construction européenne ont été marquées par des épisodes de divisions et de conflits, y compris au sein de la relation franco-allemande.

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Romano Prodi

**La crisi greca diverrà anche crisi della UEM?**

in **Economia Politica**, 2, agosto , 227-236

No abstract available

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Velarde Juan

**La crisis: una interrogación formidable para Europa**

in **Nueva Revista de Política Cultura y arte (Spagna)**, n. 128

No abstract available

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Bergamini Elisabetta

**La famiglia quale oggetto di tutela nel diritto dell'Unione europea e nella giurisprudenza della Corte di giustizia in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, n. 2 , 457-472

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Quermonne Jean-Louis

**La fédération d'« Etats nations » : concept ou contradiction?**  
in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 84

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Foradori Paolo

**La lotta alla diffusione delle armi nucleari. La politica di non-proliferazione dell'Unione Europea e il difficile negoziato con l'Iran**  
in *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, anno XVII, n. 2, agosto , 331-355

No abstract available

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Loiero Renato

**La nuova governance della politica economica dei Paesi UE**  
in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 22

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Vecchio Fausto

**La partecipazione delle Assemblee parlamentari regionali nella fase ascendente di formazione del diritto comunitario: spunti di riflessione dal modello spagnolo**  
in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 2

No abstract available





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López Garrido Diego

**La responsabilidad actualizada de la nueva Europa**

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 43 , 15-17

No abstract available

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Marongiu Jean-Baptiste

**La société désintégrée**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Janvier

No abstract available

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Rositano Carmelo

**La solidarité "externe" de l'Union européenne à travers l'exemple de l'action humanitaire en Haïti**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 543, décembre , 662-672

The Union's intervention in Haiti was expected because it was a test of its ability to act and react on the international stage, but it was also severely criticised. An expression of the existence in the community's legal system of an external solidarity principle, that charity type action exposed the level of integration of the European Union and the difficulties it still poses. Thus the Union, with help from the Lisbon treaty, asserted itself on that occasion as a vital player in the area of international relations, thus remedying, unexpectedly, a political legitimacy gap that has been growing since the 2005 failure of the treaty instituting an European constitution. But at the same time, it could not ignore the reoccurring challenges that usually come with its external actions. Such institutional difficulties are a reminder that the Union is first and still the creature of the member countries.

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Rakotondrahaso Faneva Tsiadino

**La transparence du budget de l'Union européenne, un préalable à toute idée d'impôt européen?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 542, octobre-novembre , 574-581

The crisis of confidence which feels Europe is not new. The treaty of Maastricht and later Lisbon not having contributed either really to return popular, Europe. For lack of pedagogy, there are many citizens whom, subjected to rigorous



programs of austerity in the name of the "crisis", will not understand the sense of the decisions of the Union and will let know without ambiguity that they are not ready to follow blindly their leaders on the road of a more and more pushed European integration. The interlocutor of the European citizen owes to be audible when he wants to touch his wallet, the transparency of the budget will contribute to dissipate the uncertainties and to reduce the distance which separates Europe of its citizens. Such is one of the major construction sites that Europe owes to pursue above all the idea of European tax, she is on the right track... at least in this subject.

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Verluisse Pierre

**Le "projet pour l'Europe à l'horizon 2030" du groupe de réflexion au Conseil européen**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 542, octobre-novembre , 598-604

Reform or fade out: such is the message from the 12 "wiseman". The EU is in danger: a major economic crisis, countries rescuing banks, an ageing population that jeopardises the competitiveness of our economies and the durability of our social models, downward pressure on costs and salaries... They recommend implementing an ambitious programme. The EU, its member countries and its citizens will need to be brought closer, the European economic and social model will need to be renewed, while internal and external forces threaten its viability, a society of knowledge will need to be created to allow people to make their views known, the best will need to be drawn from the change in demographic structures and immigration, energy shortage issues and climate change issues will need to be converted into opportunities to be seized for society and economy development, a fair balance between freedom and safety will need to be found, and the world will have to be shaped so the values and interests of Europe are duly taken into account.

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Baratta R.

**Le competenze interne dell'Unione tra evoluzione e principio di reversibilità**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 517 ff.

No abstract available

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Roussel Carine

**Le coût caché de la PAC. Les corrections financières infligées aux états membres en cas de mauvais contrôles des dépenses agricoles**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 544, janvier , 36-45

The issue of the financial responsibility of improperly used agricultural expenses is a sensitive issue between the Member States and the Commission. That breakdown between what has to be applied to the community budget and to the domestic budgets is achieved through a clever system: the discharge procedure. That procedure quantifies every



year, at the end of the year and retrospectively, expenses that cannot be financed by the community budget and that have to be borne by Member State. The Commission's rejection of expenses through discharge require Member States to call upon their own budgets to finance them. The means given to the discharge phase are inadequate and require the Commission to carry out fixed discharges, which increase the weight of sanctions. Amounts taken by the Commission from expenses due to Member States constitute both a financial sanction for Member states and a financial gain for the Commission.

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**Fougier Eddy**

**Le journalisme européen, un bien nécessaire**

**in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 357, automne, 2010 , 151-173

Existe-t-il un journalisme européen ? Même si cette question peut paraître un peu étrange, elle mérite d'être posée car vingt ans après la première parution de *The European*, le premier organe de presse paneuropéen, force est de constater que la plupart des tentatives visant à créer un média paneuropéen populaire ont jusqu'ici échoué. Il n'existe pas moins des médias européens, comme Euronews ou Arte, mais ce ne sont pas à proprement parler des médias grand public. Ces échecs récurrents sont liés du côté de la demande médiatique à l'absence d'un « public européen », aux divergences nationales des modes de consommation de l'information, etc., et du côté de l'offre médiatique, à la faible européanisation des pratiques journalistiques, aux contraintes spécifiques du mode de financement d'un média européen, aux différences nationales dans le traitement de l'actualité, à l'enjeu des sources d'information ou aux difficultés organisationnelles des rédactions plurinationales. La solution apportée à ces difficultés par la presse européenne écrite spécialisée est de privilégier depuis Bruxelles un traitement institutionnel de l'actualité européenne, en anglais, cette presse étant d'ailleurs dominée par les organes de presse britanniques, à destination d'un public captif de fonctionnaires et de décideurs européens. À l'évidence, il s'agit d'une solution de facilité qui ne fait que conforter un espace public européen que l'on peut qualifier d'« orléaniste » et la distance existant entre les citoyens et l'Union alors même que l'information européenne concerne le grand public. Même si c'est très loin d'être une tâche aisée, la création d'un média européen populaire semble être néanmoins un bien nécessaire.

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**Hatzopoulos Vassilis**

**Le principe de reconnaissance mutuelle dans la prestation des services**

**in Les Cahiers de droit européen**, Vol. 46, n. 1-2 , 47-93

No abstract available

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**Paye Jean-Claude**



## **Le rôle de l'Allemagne dans la crise de l'euro**

in *Pensée (La)*, n° 364, 2010

L'offensive contre l'euro, menée par les marchés financiers durant les mois d'avril et mai 2010 est le symptôme d'une mutation géopolitique. L'initiative des États-Unis, visant à déstabiliser l'UE, a été conduite avec la participation des institutions européennes elles-mêmes, sous pression de l'Allemagne, qui ont sacrifié l'euro au lieu de restructurer la dette grecque. Cette convergence confirme, de la part des deux protagonistes, le choix déjà effectué d'intégrer l'Union européenne dans un futur grand marché transatlantique.

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Monforte Pierre

## **Le secteur associatif face aux politiques européennes d'immigration et d'asile. Quels acteurs pour quels modes d'eupéanisation ?**

in *Politique européenne*, n. 31, février

Parallèlement à l'intégration des politiques d'immigration et d'asile, les associations mobilisées sur ces enjeux se sont progressivement eupéanisées à travers différents modes : certaines « par le haut » en privilégiant la coopération avec les institutions européennes ; d'autres « par le bas » en privilégiant la contestation transnationale ; certaines, enfin, ont emprunté à ces deux dynamiques. Cet article explique ces différents modes d'eupéanisation en montrant en quoi ils sont déterminés à la fois par les stratégies d'alliances des acteurs associatifs et par les logiques guidant les négociations inter-institutionnelles à l'échelle de l'UE. Dans une perspective comparative, il montre également que les associations venant de deux contextes nationaux différents (France et Allemagne) vont suivre des modes d'eupéanisation similaires. Ce faisant, il montre que la hausse des compétences de l'UE mène à la construction d'un espace européen de mobilisation diversifié qui dépasse les spécificités nationales.

The constellation of non-governmental organizations and European immigration and asylum policies. What actors for what Europeanization paths ?

In the context of integration of immigration and asylum policies, associations mobilizing around these issues have progressively Europeanized through different paths : some « from above », privileging a cooperation with European institutions ; others “from below”, privileging protest ; others, finally, have mixed both dynamics. This article explains these different modes of Europeanization and shows that they are determined by the alliance strategies of associative actors as well as by the logics guiding inter-institutional negotiations at the EU level. Moreover, in a comparative perspective, it shows that associations coming from different national contexts (France and Germany) follow similar paths of Europeanization. In doing so, it shows that the rise of EU competences leads to the construction of a diversified European space of mobilization that goes beyond national specificities.

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Avbelj Matej

**Legislative development: the Treaty of Lisbon: an ongoing search for structural equilibrium**  
in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, Vol. 16, issue 3 , 521 ff.

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Gennart Martin

**Les Parlements nationaux dans le Traité de Lisbonne : évolution ou révolution**  
in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, Vol. 46, n. 1-2 , 17-46

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Gennart Martin

**Les Parlements nationaux dans le Traité de Lisbonne: évolution ou révolution**  
in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, 1-2 , 17 - 46

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Burigana David, Deloge Pascal

**Les coopérations aéronautiques en Europe dans les années 1950-1980 : une opportunité pour relire l'histoire de la construction européenne**  
in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 4, Décembre , 3-18

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Guiraudon Virginie

**Les effets de l'eupéanisation des politiques d'immigration et d'asile**  
in *Politique européenne* , n. 31, février

L'eupéanisation des politiques d'immigration a fait l'objet de plusieurs études insistant à la fois sur des mécanismes d'imitation et de diffusion horizontaux et sur les transferts de compétence progressifs à des forums transgouvernementaux puis européens. Mais quels changements peut-on attribuer à ce processus enclenché il y a un



quart de siècle ? Peut-on mesurer les effets de l'eupéanisation ? Pour répondre à cette question, il faut multiplier les niveaux d'analyse, macro, méso et micro, et construire son objet de recherche en déplaçant le regard pour partir du point de vue de ceux qui doivent s'adapter aux nouveaux cadres et cadrages de l'action publique « eupéanisée » : ministres des nouveaux États membres, pays tiers négociant avec l'Union européenne, organisations de mouvements sociaux et les migrants eux-mêmes. Tout d'abord, l'article retrace rapidement les vingt-cinq premières années de la coopération en matière d'immigration en Europe et les caractéristiques principales de ce domaine d'action publique. Il définit et analyse ensuite les mécanismes d'eupéanisation du domaine de l'immigration et souligne l'intérêt qu'il y a à étudier les effets pervers, induits ou non avenus. Puis il souligne l'importance des niveaux d'analyse et de la multiplication des points de vue et des objets.

The consequences of the Europeanization of immigration policies

The Europeanization of immigration policies through horizontal mechanisms and later transfers of competence to the European Union (EU) has been well documented. Yet, what are the changes brought about by a quarter century of this process ? What difference does Europeanization make ? To answer this question implies multiplying levels of analysis from the macro to the micro and a research design that starts from the point of view of those that have to take into account the new frame and framing of immigration policy : ministers in new member states, third countries negotiating with the EU but also social movement organizations and migrants themselves. This article recaps the first twenty five years of EU cooperation on immigration highlighting the main features of this policy domain. It then discusses the dimensions of Europeanization in the area of immigration policy and the added value that consists in studying its effects. To do so, the article argues implies combining different levels of analysis and shifting the locus of observation and object of study.

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Florian Seiller

#### **Les négociations sur la production sous licence des avions Fouga Magister et Noratlas**

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 4, Décembre , 19-36

La contribution porte sur les négociations entre la France et l'Allemagne de l'Ouest sur la production sous licence de l'avion de transport de taille moyenne Noratlas et de l'avion d'entraînement léger Fouga Magister (1954/55-1959). Elle prend en compte les facteurs politiques, militaires, économiques qui déterminèrent le cadre des premiers projets de coopération en matière d'armement franco-allemands et elle éclaire les intérêts stratégiques ainsi que les marges de manoeuvres des deux pays. Les protagonistes français avaient des intérêts à long terme: éviter la création d'une industrie aéronautique et militaire allemande autonome, éviter un risque potentiel au plan de la sécurité ainsi que l'apparition d'un concurrent futur sur le marché mondial. On souhaitait de plus utiliser à pleine capacité le potentiel industriel national, profiter des ressources allemandes et créer une entente sous leadership français contre la supériorité des entreprises aéronautiques anglo-américaines. À cette fin, Paris a fait des concessions considérables aux Allemands au cours des négociations. Ces projets amorcèrent une période de coopération non seulement pour l'industrie aéronautique mais aussi pour la coopération en matière de la défense entre les deux États. Néanmoins, la France n'est pas parvenue à réaliser ses objectifs stratégiques du fait de la volonté de la RFA d'entretenir des relations équilibrées



tenant compte du rôle de puissance protectrice des États-Unis mais aussi de différences d'approche relatives aux dimensions économiques de ces projets .

The article analyses the negotiations between France and Western Germany on the licensed production of the medium transport aircraft Noratlas and the light training jet Fouga Magister (1954-1955-1959). It illustrates the complex and numerous political, military, economic, financial and industrial problems of these first Franco-German armament cooperation projects and highlights the strategic interests and rooms of manoeuvres of both sides. The French officials had far-reaching interests : preventing an autonomous German aircraft and armament industry and thus avoiding a potential security risk and the rise of a future competitor on the world market. Besides, charging to capacity one's own plants, profiting from the FRG's resources and forming an entente against the superior Anglo-American aircraft companies – under French leadership. Consequently, Paris initiated an intense lobby campaign and made considerable concessions to the Germans during the negotiations. The successful projects, which were part of a comprehensive approach, marked the beginning of a new era not only for the FRG's post-war aircraft industry, but also for the defence cooperation of the two countries in general. However, France did not reach her ultimate strategic goals, mostly due to the FRG's interest in maintaining balanced, multilateral armament relations, her preference for her protecting power USA and differing economic conceptions.

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Delcamp Alain

#### **Les parlements nationaux et l'Union européenne: de la reconnaissance à l'engagement**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 544, janvier , 7-12

After the European parliament election by direct universal suffrage, national parliaments had seemed excluded from the European process. The image of powerless transposers of laws made without them was, to many, one of the symbols of decline. In France, on the eve of the ratification of Maastricht, a small control over governments policy in Brussels had been secured from a reluctant government and president of the constitutional council by a coalition of the senate and part of the national Assembly. Yet the signing of the Lisbon treaty marks the acknowledgement of a democratic need that has gradually imposed itself: a Europe could not be achieved without people, better give an organic possibility of expression to those whose main function is to represent them. It sanctioned the fruits of pragmatic and diversified interparliament cooperation supporting the gradual taking into account of European concerns in the agenda and organization of the meetings. Those new possibilities are as many challenges to national parliaments. They prompt to reinforce and organize existing cooperation structures, or even set up new ones, for instance to control the foreign policies of Europe or the elaboration of a defence Europe. To the vertical relationship of yesterdays is added a horizontal relationship likely to symbolize next to the European parliament, that dual legitimacy that Europe needs to respect its diversity and thus better assert its unity.

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Van Rompuy Herman

#### **Lessons from a crisis: reflections on economic governance for Europe**



in *European View* , vol. 9, n. 2, December , 133-139

Contrary to public perception, the European Union has dealt well with the Greek debt crisis. European institutions and Member States came together to face the crisis and managed to do so, thanks to coordination and resourcefulness. Now the bigger question looms: how to prevent the recurrence of such a crisis of confidence for as long as possible, and in the event of another crisis, how to manage it. The Task Force on Economic Governance is considering measures that will enforce budgetary discipline of Member States, establish effective crisis mechanisms and increase coordination and supervision of macroeconomic imbalances.

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Stephenson Paul

**Let's get physical: the European Commission and cultivated spillover in completing the single market's transport infrastructure**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 7 2010 , Pages 1039 – 1057

The 1994 Essen European Council agreed to prioritize 14 trans-European networks (TENs) transport infrastructure projects, including five in high-speed rail. Within a decade Commission proposals emerged to integrate ports, airports, railways, motorways and satellites within the wider trans-European network (TEN-T). This article draws on revised readings of neofunctionalism to argue for cultivated spillover's role in mediating functional pressures to advance common transport infrastructures. It puts forward a typology for sorting and examining the opportunistic, entrepreneurial and persistent behaviour of the Commission, while recognizing how other supranational agents and epistemic communities have stimulated and created conditions conducive to policy integration. The case analysis distinguishes between task expansion and task consolidation at the stages of policy reformulation and implementation.

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Battistini C.

**Liberalizzazioni e concorrenza nella regolamentazione del trasporto ferroviario europeo**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 571 ff.

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Rosenbaum Eckehard

**Lisbon, Europe 2020, and the case for soft coordination in EU policymaking**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 5 / September 2010 , 287-292

Positive spillovers from structural and other reforms figure among the key reasons for the Lisbon and the Europe 2020 Strategies. This paper investigates the theoretical and empirical evidence for such spillovers and shows that the need for coordination in some policy areas is less evident than commonly assumed, whereas in others a lack of coordination





is at the root of persistent economic imbalances.

European Commission, Directorate General Enterprise and Industry, Brussels, Belgium. The views expressed are purely those of the author and may not in any circumstances be regarded as stating an official position of the European Commission.

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Montani Guido

**Lo stato sovranazionale. Ordine cooperativo e ordine coercitivo nell'esperienza europea in Politico (II)**, n. 224, anno XXXV, maggio-agosto , 27-52

No abstract available

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Kreppel Amie

**Looking 'Up', 'Down' and 'Sideways': Understanding EU Institutions in Context in West European Politics**, vol. 34, n. 1, january , 167-179

ABSTRACT: Research on the EU has expanded considerably in recent years. Studies have moved from examining the power of the various EU institutions across time to focusing on the internal activities and organisation of these institutions. The current piece makes a critical assessment of the existing literature on the EU institutions and considers which future steps need to be taken to move the literature forward. It argues that the articles in this volume move the literature further by examining internal institutional changes in the EU bodies in the light of the broader inter-institutional relationships between them. Moreover, it recommends that future research on the EU institutions expand these insights even further by extending the scope of the studies to embed them in a comprehensive understanding of the broader political system of the EU as a whole.

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Arenas Hidalgo Nuria de la Cinta

**Los acuerdos europeos de readmisión de inmigrantes en situación irregular. Diez años de política europea de readmisión a debate**

in **Cuadernos europeos de Deusto**, n. 43 , 53-90

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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La Malfa Giorgio



### **L'Europa fuori tempo**

in *Aspenia*, n. 50, ottobre, "La Cina post-americana", 223-232

No abstract available

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Dimicoli Yves

### **L'Europe dans l'œil du cyclone**

in *Pensée (La)*, n° 364, 2010

La grave crise de l'euro exprime une crise très profonde de la construction européenne à l'œuvre. Un dispositif exceptionnel a été mis en place pour endiguer la spéculation sur des dettes souveraines. Persistant à soutenir les marchés financiers, renforçant les dominations intra-européennes, celle de l'Allemagne en particulier, au lieu de viser un nouveau développement social partagé, il prépare de futurs épisodes de crise bien plus violents encore. Cela renforce l'exigence et la légitimité de transformations et réorientations radicales.

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Brack Nathalie, Rittelmeyer Yann-Sven, Stanculescu Cristina

### **L'Europe en campagne électorale : une analyse croisée des médias nationaux**

in *Politique européenne*, n. 31, février

À travers une étude de la presse écrite dans dix États, cet article analyse la nature des campagnes électorales pour le scrutin européen de juin 2009. Il évalue le caractère de « second-ordre » de ces campagnes et le degré d'eupéanisation des espaces publics nationaux. Nous démontrons que si ces campagnes restent dominées par des acteurs et thèmes nationaux, l'Europe n'est pas pour autant complètement absente. Toutefois, l'eupéanisation des sphères publiques reste limitée : l'analyse montre un faible dépassement des frontières nationales, une rareté des références au niveau européen, une implication faible des acteurs supranationaux et un manque de substance des campagnes.

Europe in electoral campaign : a cross-national analysis of the media

By means of a analysis of newspapers from ten countries, this article analyzes the nature of electoral campaigns for the June 2009 European Election. It assesses the "second-order" character of these campaigns and the degree of Europeanization of the national public spheres. We demonstrate that, even though these campaigns remained dominated by national actors and themes, 'Europe' was not completely absent. However, the Europeanization of public spheres remains limited : our analysis reveals that few references were made about EU issues and about other Member states, that the supranational actors were hardly involved and that the campaigns lacked substantive debates.



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**Minuto Rizzo Alessandro**

**L'Italia, la Slovacchia e l'Europa. Un percorso storico comune**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 2, aprile-giugno, 259-264

Europe is revisiting itself after the divisions of the cold war and centuries of internal fights. It is an extraordinary result we Europeans should be proud of. It allows us to see currents of history and common features that were not easy to detect when wars and tensions were the focus of attention. The relations between Italy and Slovakia are a good example as we discover that the two peoples have much in common and developed solid bonds along the centuries. We started with Marcus Aurelius, the famous emperor and philosopher who found inspiration and wrote his meditations in this region, then at the borders of the empire. The Saints Cyrillus and Methodius, protectors of Europe, evangelized Slovakia and are buried in Rome, a natural bond. During the 19th century oppressed nationalities fought all along the continent to regain their identities. Italians and Slovaks were at the forefront of those movements and we know that there were frequent contacts and reciprocal sympathy. During the first world war Italy strongly supported the Slovak national movement and the first unit of the new Slovak army was constituted in Rome in spring 1918. The Italian government hosted with sympathy and practical assistance Mr. Štefanik, the father of modern Slovakia. Then came the tormented history of the second world war. More recently, during the cold war Italy did its best to show solidarity to those who were victims of the regime. The university of Bologna was the first to give a laurea honoris causa to Alexander Dubcek in 1988. This brief excursus through history does not take into account direct migrations, culture and arts. Although different from each other, Italy and Slovakia share a natural interest to networking with other peoples, to belonging to a larger space, to working and trading within common rules. The European Union is the natural conclusion of this process. It is in the common interest for the two countries to work together in this framework as best as they can. The first objective is to aim at a good functioning of the European system, while at the same time developing common projects for the mutual benefit.

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**Woll Cornelia**

**L'Union européenne : une machine à libéraliser ?**

in *Politique européenne*, n. 31, février

L'Union européenne (UE) est-elle néolibérale ? Ce titre, initialement prévu par l'éditeur pour l'ouvrage de Nicolas Jabko, rappelle une des questions centrales du débat public et permet de lier ces deux ouvrages parus en 2009. Quelle est la nature de la construction européenne ? Vers où va-t-elle ? S'agit-il d'un projet porté par les élites ou y a-t-il un véritable contrôle...

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**Maddaluno Paola**



**L'e-Government nell'Ue: le conferenze e le best practice**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 239-251

E-Government appears in Public Administration at the end of the Eighties, together with the Internet birth. The European Union, according to the strategy employed in April 2000 also Lisbon has committed itself to provide the citizens with better public services and a better democracy, while the enterprises gained less bureaucracy and more efficiency, therefore promoting e-Government. An Action Plan was adopted with following updates and specific Conferences were organized every two years, from which the best applications of e-Government provided by the administrations were selected and were appointed as best practice. This study is a review of the work of the European Union.

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Amin Samir

**L'impossible gestion de l'euro**

in *Pensée (La)*, n° 364, 2010

L'euro a été créé en l'absence d'un État européen. Cette absurdité devait contraindre l'Europe à inventer son État transnational. La crise de l'euro pourrait permettre la mise en place d'un serpent monétaire en consonance avec les possibilités réelles des pays concernés. Une sortie de la crise ne serait possible que si et dans la mesure où une gauche radicale osait prendre l'initiative politique de la constitution de blocs historiques alternatifs « anti-oligarchiques ».

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Costa Olivier, Dri Clarissa

**Légitimation parlementaire et gouvernement démocratique en France et dans l'Union européenne (anr – 2009-2011).**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 31, février

Dans un contexte de recomposition de la démocratie représentative, aux échelles nationale et européenne, et de promotion des alternatives participatives ou d'expertise sectorielle, le rôle des parlements dans le processus de légitimation du pouvoir reste méconnu. Il s'agit de la question centrale du projet LEGIPAR, qui vise à identifier les mécanismes selon lesquels l'Assemblée nationale...

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Schild Joachim

**Mission Impossible? The Potential for Franco–German Leadership in the Enlarged EU**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 5, November 2010 , 1367–1390

This article examines the potential for Franco–German leadership in the EU-27. Leadership in the sense of shared



leadership to achieve collective European goals can be exercised in different ways: by promoting the deepening and/or widening of European integration, by the active search for European compromises on disputed issues or by means of crisis management in European affairs. The Franco–German potential for performing such a leading role inside the European Union can be seen as being a function of French and German formal and informal power resources, of the shape of the institutional environments in different EU policy fields, of the prevailing preference configurations and issue coalitions in the Council and of the deliberate political strategies of French and German political leaders. The article analyses how far the enlargement of the European Union to 27 Member States has eroded the combined leadership capacities of France and Germany. Under specific conditions and circumstances – which should be less frequent in the EU-27 than before – the two European core countries might still be able to provide the kind of leadership which an enlarged Union needs perhaps more than ever.

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Beichelt Timm, Pytlas Bartek

**Mittelosteuropa und der Euro**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 43, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/HZITIL,0,Mittelosteuropa\\_und\\_der\\_Euro.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/HZITIL,0,Mittelosteuropa_und_der_Euro.html)

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Barrinha André

**Moving towards a European Defence Industry? The Political Discourse on a Changing Reality and its Implications for the Future of the European Union**

in *Global Society*, Volume 24, Issue 4, October , 467-485

Since the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 the European Union has been an increasingly important actor in the field of security and defence. However, the defence industries sector has largely been kept away from Brussels. This has usually been justified by the role that national defence industries have traditionally played as fundamental pillars for the survival of the European nation-states, thus making them reluctant to share this “sovereign tool” with the European Union. Nonetheless, recent steps in both the economic (large number of mergers and acquisitions within the European defence industry sector) and the political (security and defence integration measures within the European Union) arenas have contributed to changes in the political discourse on defence industries within the European space. This article aims to explore how the national discourse on defence industries has become interrelated with a European discourse on the



topic—a European discourse that mixes some of the old national arguments with particular aspects related to the constant evolution of the European Union towards an ever more coherent regional polity and international actorness. Also analysed is the extent to which this political move puts at risk the European Union's ambitions to promote a better world, based on an alternative understanding of international politics.

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Van den Brande Luc

**Multi-level Governance and Intercultural Dialogue: The Prospects for 2020**

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 7, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 15-27

ABSTRACT: The article departs from the recognition that the concepts of intercultural dialogue, human rights and multi-level governance are crucial for the vision of a political union based on common values, in which human dignity and respect for fundamental rights are central for Europe in 2020. It suggests that the trends in current EU policy making are ideal to realise the inclusive political Union by 2020. In a first section it presents the underlying vision of EU 2020 to adapt to the changing environment. Therefore it is argued that the Union should further develop into an open intercultural society. In the next section the major policy goals of the EU 2020 strategy are presented in view of the mutually reinforcing interaction between multi-level governance and intercultural dialogue. It is therefore argued that the EU 2020 Strategy is reinforced by the development of new platforms for intercultural dialogue such as the European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation (EGTC), the emerging «macro-regions» of Europe, and the Assembly for Regional and Local Politicians of the Mediterranean (ARLEM). Finally, the article provides a broad policy assessment of the EU 2020 Strategy in view of the pursuit of a European «multi-actor» unity.

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Delmartino Frank

**Multi-level Governance in Regional Perspective**

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 7, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 117-130

ABSTRACT: In recent years, the paradigm of multi-level governance has received quite some attention in academic literature. In 2009 the EU's Committee of the Regions presented a White Paper on the dynamic role of local and regional authorities and the stakeholders in civil society, referring to MLG as a key concept for positioning all actors – from global to local – as partners in a common endeavour, dealing with the complex societal issues of our time. In this article, firstly the essential features of MLG are discussed, before elaborating on an «actor-centred» approach of policy-making, both in the pre-modern era and nowadays. In a democratic society, citizenship implies rights but also responsibilities vis-à-vis the res publica. Since the EU insists in its recent Treaty revisions on both representative and participatory democracy, the idea of partnership is linked with the novel concept of citizenship on the European level. Focusing on the opportunities for active citizenship and participation on the regional and local level, both the EU development strategies and the new attitudes of «smart» states towards regionalism are highlighted. MLG is not only offering a conceptual framework for the active involvement of sub-national actors, but avoids the less fruitful claims for more competences. In other words, the practice of MLG is the most eloquent plea for a fundamental reassessment of the crucial contribution of



local and regional players in the common endeavour of all levels of governance.

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Sefton-Green Ruth

**Multiculturalism, Europhilia and harmonization: harmony or disharmony?**

in *Utrecht Law Review*, Vol. 6, issue 3 , 50-67

This paper examines the difficulties of reconciling the values promoted by multiculturalism with the objectives of harmonization. In the event of conflict, examples from English and French law show that harmonization of private law rules does not always achieve its aim of approximating national laws but, on the contrary, often backfires. The question of whether and why these divergences produce Europhile or Eurosceptic positions amongst Member States is addressed. It appears that when maximum harmonisation clashes with multiculturalism this can lead to legal nationalism, whereas minimum harmonization has less negative effects and can stimulate legal experimentation. It is suggested that harmonization requires a mutual listening and learning process in order to accommodate the multiculturalism of Member States and enable Europhilia to flourish in the European Union.

Full text available at:

<http://www.utrechtlawreview.org/index.php/ulr/article/viewFile/URN%3ANBN%3ANL%3AUI%3A10-1-101155/136>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Laatikainen Katie Verlin

**Multilateral Leadership at the UN after the Lisbon Treaty**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, volume 15, issue 4 , 475-493

ABSTRACT: The Lisbon Treaty introduces major reforms to European Union (EU) foreign policy coordination, particularly at the United Nations (UN) in New York. These reforms coincide with efforts to take a more strategic approach to the EU's role on the world stage and improve its leadership. This study uses Oran Young's typology of leadership to identify ways in which the EU and its Member States might implement the reforms of the Lisbon Treaty into the UN context more strategically, focusing on the various leadership roles the EU might pursue in the UN's multilateral diplomacy. As the EU seeks to improve its performance in bolstering effective multilateralism, it must define how it wants to lead at the UN, and weigh the difficulties of making the necessary changes to pursue a more strategic approach to multilateral leadership.

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Ackrill Robert, Kay Adrian

**Multiple streams in EU policy-making: the case of the 2005 sugar reform**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 18 Issue 1 2011 , Pages 72 – 89



The multiple streams model, developed by Kingdon in the United States (US), is being adapted increasingly to study European Union (EU) policy-making. This, however, is revealing a theoretical underdevelopment in some of its central components. The present paper considers several concerns. It seeks to develop the idea of policy entrepreneurship as a context-specific activity that gives substance to the claim that 'ideas have their time'; it interprets the key notion of ambiguity, in the EU context, to mean institutional ambiguity; and it allows for spillovers between policy areas to be endogenous as well as exogenous. This affects the nature of the policy windows wherein policy entrepreneurship occurs. The adapted multiple streams model is used to analyse the 2005 EU sugar policy reform. Institutional ambiguity and endogenous spillovers are shown to create the conditions that enabled active policy entrepreneurship to lead, ultimately, to reform of this most resilient of policies.

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**Balestrini Pierre, Flood Christopher, Flockton Christopher**

**National Public Opinion and the EU in the Post-Maastricht Era: Is the Socialisation Theory Actually Dead?**  
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 18, n. 3, september , 377-400

ABSTRACT: Previous research has found that the socialisation process accounts for cross-national and cross-temporal variation in the level of public support for European integration—an effect explained as the socialisation theory. However, the theory has been tested only for the period up to the early 1990s, which coincided with the alleged permissive consensus. With the constraining dissensus, the related theory has been de facto assumed to be missing in action. In this paper, using Eurobarometer data from 1992 to 2001, we argue that the socialisation process as an explanation of public levels of support for the EU has indeed lost substance following the deep changes undergone by the EU during that period but still retains a role. The socialisation theory becomes less persuasive than explanations in terms of people's economic and social assessments of how the EU is affecting nation states and individuals, and national publics' different preferences for particular models of the EU. The article concludes with the implications of these findings.

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**Besselink Leonard F.M.**

**National and constitutional identity before and after Lisbon**  
in *Utrecht Law Review* , Vol. 6, issue 3 , 36-49

This essay seeks to reflect on how the conscious political effort to overcome the divisiveness caused by Member States' idiosyncracies has matured into the constitutional recognition of Member State identities as essential to the European project. Central findings concern the particular twist from 'national identity' to 'constitutional identity' in the Lisbon Treaty. This can be considered a codification of the case law of some of the Member State constitutional courts. This implies that, whereas the Lisbon Treaty failed to incorporate a 'supremacy clause' on the priority of EU law over conflicting Member State law, it has indeed formulated a legally binding rule on the priority of certain Member State constitutional law over EU law. The more precise contours of this priority have already become the object of controversial ECJ case law. This essay explains why this European controversy must necessarily remain open-ended, based as it is on tolerance, the acceptance of otherness and trust.





Full text available at:

<http://www.utrechtlawreview.org/index.php/ulr/article/viewFile/URN%3ANBN%3ANL%3AUI%3A10-1-101153/135>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Gawrich Andrea, Melnykovska Inna, Schweickert Rainer

**Neighbourhood Europeanization through ENP: The Case of Ukraine**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 5, November 2010 , 1209–1235

This article contributes to the integration of Neighbourhood Europeanization in the literature on Europeanization. Based on insights from Membership and Enlargement Europeanization, we reveal important inconsistencies of Neighbourhood Europeanization through ENP as well as a lack of robust empirical support for its effectiveness. We define core dimensions and determinants of Neighbourhood Europeanization and implement this analytical framework for the case of Ukraine. The analysis clearly demonstrates substantial asymmetries in ENP policy across the three dimensions we chose – democracy promotion, economic co-operation and JHA, which clearly reflect the inconsistency of the ENP concept: top-down formulation of EU interests combined with weak conditionality. ENP inconsistencies could however be overcome through widening linkages and improving financial support to mobilize and strengthen positive local support of EU demands and rewards.

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Lavranos Nikos

**New Developments in the Interaction between International Investment Law and EU Law**

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 9, n. 3 , 409-441

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes new developments in the interaction between international investment law and EU law. The analysis focuses on the consequences resulting from the recent changes that have been introduced by the Lisbon Treaty and the jurisprudence of the ECJ. The author argues that the new exclusive competence of the EU regarding foreign direct investment (FDI) will have major implications for the existing Member States' BITs as well as for the interaction with international investment law. While it is too early for a full assessment of this new situation, it has already become clear that the European institutions and the supremacy of EU law will significantly reduce the powers of the Member States, thereby fundamentally changing the current situation. Throughout this process, ensuring legal security for investors and Contracting Parties will become of utmost importance.

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Naurin Daniel, Rasmussen Anne

**New External Rules, New Internal Games: How the EU Institutions Respond when Inter-institutional Rules Change**

in *West European Politics*, vol. 34, n. 1, January , 1-17



ABSTRACT: Agreements concerning inter-institutional rules in the treaties of the European Union often give rise to reactions and processes of adaptation within the EU institutions. Recent literature on EU legislative politics has increasingly examined decision-making within the EU institutions, but has largely overlooked how these internal processes react and adapt to changes in relations between the EU bodies. To fill this gap the authors present a series of empirical studies that examine how shifts in inter-institutional rules and procedures affect intra-institutional politics. They show that the resulting intra-institutional adaptations may in turn both have distributive consequences and affect the efficiency of the initial inter-institutional reforms. In addition, they provide some stepping stones for theory-building on how treaty reforms affect organisational structure and decision-making within the EU institutions by outlining a series of mediating variables that link these two types of change processes.

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Crespy Amandine, Gajewska Katarzyna

**New Parliament, New Cleavages after the Eastern Enlargement? The Conflict over the Services Directive as an Opposition between the Liberals and the Regulators**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue 5, November 2010 , 1185–1208

This article analyses the parliamentary debates and decision-making related to the highly contentious EU directive on services. It is intended as a contribution to the academic debate on political conflict lines in the European Parliament. Our argument is that neither the left–right cleavage nor a territorial one (old versus new Member States) can fully explain conflict at stake on socio-economic issues. Rather, what we can observe is cross-cutting opposition between ‘regulators’ and ‘liberals’.

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Kandyla Anna-Angela, de Vreese Claes

**News media representations of a common EU foreign and security policy. A cross-national content analysis of CFSP coverage in national quality newspapers**

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 9, n. 1, february , 52-75

ABSTRACT: This study is a cross-national comparative content analysis of the broadsheet press coverage of EU Common Foreign and Security issues (n=1453) focusing on the presence of indicators of a European Public Sphere. Specifically, we investigated the visibility of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) stories, featuring actors, the tone of coverage and the presence of ‘risk’ and ‘opportunity’ frames. We found that CFSP was more visible in broadsheets during key events. In terms of actors in the news, coverage was primarily Europeanized. When evaluative, CFSP news had a distinctive, positive dimension, especially with reference to the European Union (EU) as an entity. CFSP issues were more frequently framed in terms of ‘opportunity’ rather than in terms of ‘risk’. Our findings suggest that the news coverage of CFSP is truly different from the coverage of EU affairs in general. Implications for the formation of public opinion and the legitimacy of CFSP are discussed.

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Giannellis Nikolaos, Papadopoulos Athanasios P.

**Nonlinear Exchange Rate Adjustment in the Enlarged Euro Zone: Evidence and Implications for Candidate Countries**

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 18, Issue 4, September 2010

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Börzel Tanja A, Hofmann Tobias, Panke Diana, Sprungk Carina**

**Obstinate and Inefficient: Why Member States Do Not Comply With European Law**

in *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 43 n. 10, 1363-1390

This article seeks to explain cross-country variation in noncompliance with European law. Although noncompliance has not significantly increased over time, some European Union member states violate European law more frequently than others. To account for the observed variance, the authors draw on three prominent approaches widely used in the compliance literature— enforcement, management, and legitimacy. They develop hypotheses for each of these approaches before combining them in theoretically consistent ways. They empirically test their hypotheses using a comprehensive data set of more than 6,300 violations of European law. The findings highlight the importance of combining the enforcement and management approaches. Powerful member states are most likely to violate European law, whereas the best compliers are small countries with efficient bureaucracies. Yet administrative capacity also matters for powerful member states. The United Kingdom is much more compliant than Italy, which commands similar political power but whose bureaucracy is far less efficient.

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**De Bonis Valeria, Della Posta Pompeo**

**On the Coordination of National Fiscal Policies in a Monetary Union**

in *Economia internazionale*, 2010, Volume 63, Issue 3, 273-296

In this paper we analyze the issue of cooperation among national fiscal authorities in a monetary union within the framework of their strategic interactions with the common monetary authority. We find that: a) in the lack of cooperation with the central bank, cooperation among fiscal authorities is not desirable; b) if the authorities have different targets, both fiscal leadership and monetary leadership result in a Pareto improvement with respect to the Nash outcome; however, the central bank is better off acting as a follower rather than as a leader; c) harmonization of targets makes policy coordination unnecessary, unless countries are hit by asymmetric shocks: in this case, either cooperation among national fiscal authorities or state-contingency of targets are necessary to obtain an efficient outcome. These findings are applied to the EMU case.

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Holmes Mark J., Otero Jesús, Panagiotidis Theodore

**On the Stationarity of Current Account Deficits in the European Union  
in Review of International Economics**, Volume 18, Issue 4, September 2010

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Thomson Robert

**Opposition through the back door in the transposition of EU directives  
in European Union Politics**, Vol. 11, n. 4, December, 577-596

Are member states less likely to transpose a European Union directive correctly if they disagreed with the directive at the decision-making stage? Existing research provides mixed answers to this question. Most of this research does not consider the role of the enforcement agent, the European Commission, and uses aggregate measures. By contrast, this study considers the impact of the Commission, and focuses on specific provisions in directives. It combines detailed information on states' disagreement with each provision at the decision-making stage and the quality of national transposition of each provision. The descriptive analysis shows that protracted non-compliance in national transposition is a rare event. The explanatory analysis indicates that states' policy preferences significantly affect the likelihood of transposition problems, and that this is conditioned by the behaviour of the Commission.

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Naurin Daniel, Lindahl Rutger

**Out in the cold? Flexible integration and the political status of Euro opt-outs  
in European Union Politics**, Vol. 11, n. 4, December, 485-509

A common argument against flexible integration as a solution to increased preference heterogeneity is that a likely consequence for those member states opting out of the enhanced cooperation is a loss of status and influence generally in the European Union (EU). It has been argued, for example, that the decisions by Denmark, Sweden and the UK not to join the Euro is considered to be free-riding, which leads to a bad reputation and exclusion from informal networks. We test this proposed free-rider effect by comparing the network capital of Euro-outsiders with insiders in the Council of the EU, using survey data of more than 600 member state representatives. The findings speak strongly against the free-rider hypothesis, as the Euro-outsiders are highly ranked in terms of network capital.

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Proksch Sven-Oliver; Slapin Jonathan B.

**Parliamentary questions and oversight in the European Union**

in *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 50, issue 1, January, 53-79

ABSTRACT: Delegation in the European Union (EU) involves a series of principal-agent problems, and the various chains of delegation involve voters, parties, parliaments, governments, the European Commission and the European Parliament. While the literature has focused on how government parties attempt to monitor EU affairs through committees in national parliaments and through Council committees at the EU level, much less is known about the strategies opposition parties use to reduce informational deficits regarding European issues. This article argues that the European Parliament (EP) offers opposition parties an arena to pursue executive oversight through the use of written parliamentary questions. Using a novel dataset on parliamentary questions in the EP, this article examines why Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) ask questions of specific Commissioners. It transpires that MEPs from national opposition parties are more likely to ask questions of Commissioners. Questions provide these parties with inexpensive access to executive scrutiny. This finding has implications for the study of parliamentary delegation and party politics inside federal legislatures such as the EP.

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Charle Christophe

**Peut-on écrire une histoire de la culture européenne à l'époque contemporaine ?**

in *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, année 65, n. 5, septembre-octobre, 1207-1221

Depuis quelques années, nombre d'historiens tentent d'écrire une histoire de la culture européenne à l'époque contemporaine. Le dernier en date est Donald Sassoon avec son ambitieuse synthèse, *The culture of the Europeans*. Au terme d'une lecture critique de ce livre, la note essaie de définir les thèmes, les méthodes et les démarches qui permettraient d'écrire une véritable histoire culturelle de l'Europe. Une telle histoire devra s'attacher à construire des indicateurs transnationaux qualitatifs, quantitatifs, cartographiques et si possible dynamiques. Elle devra varier les échelles d'analyse et de synthèse, articuler les questions propres à l'histoire culturelle aux problématiques des autres approches, sans s'y subordonner ni pour autant afficher une indépendance illusoire à l'égard des autres processus historiques. Il lui faudra aussi définir des lieux d'observation stratégiques (on pense ici aux capitales culturelles) permettant d'échapper à l'enfermement local ou national, sans se noyer dans une globalisation insipide où la spécificité du moment historique, de l'œuvre, du genre ou du public concerné disparaît.

Is a cultural history of modern Europe possible ?

In the last few years, several historians have tried to write a history of the modern European culture. Prominent among the last attempts is Donald Sassoon's ambitious *The Culture of the Europeans*. Through the review of the book, this article aims at defining the themes, the methods and the approaches that would lead to a successful cultural history of Europe. It identifies several prerequisites : to build a set of qualitative, quantitative, cartographic and—if possible—dynamic indicators ; to use several scales of analysis and synthesis ; to articulate the questions explored by cultural history to the historical processes studied by other approaches (without either deferring to them nor ignoring



them) ; and finally to clearly define some strategic points of observation (such as cultural capitals) to escape both from local or national parochialism and from excessive generalisation that would obscure the specificity of any historical moment or cultural object.

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Itzcovich Giulio

**Più vicino ai cittadini? Processi costituzionali europei, politica della comunicazione e pubblicità**

in *Filosofia Politica*, numero 3, dicembre 2010 , 467-488

Abstract

The essay proposes that the emergence and failure of the debate on the EU constitutional reform depends, amongst other things, on the rise of what is called «publicity» intended as public policy and governance function: the public management of communication aimed at creating public sphere, improving political communication, participation and trust, building consensus and legitimacy for a governance agency. The EU appeared to be trying to present an "octroyée" constitution, as its quest for legitimacy has been met by publicity. Therefore, the idea of a democracy based on public discussion of institutional competences and procedures must be replaced by the project of a political community which, in order to be democratic, accepts the risk of conflict on the substantive issues of its policy-making.

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Servent Ariadna Ripoll

**Point of no return? The European Parliament after Lisbon and Stockholm**

in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 2, June , 191-207

The entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon has raised new expectations in the area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ). The extension of co-decision increases the capacity of the European Parliament (EP) to have an influence on decision-making. This article engages with securitisation theories in order to analyse the evolution of the AFSJ as well as the role of its main actors in the securitisation process. It evaluates the past role of the EP as well as the recent changes introduced by the extension of co-decision in order to establish whether it will become a new securitising actor or will have the potential for de-securitisation of the agenda. The macro-institutional changes in the Treaty of Lisbon indicate that the EP will have opportunities to de-securitise, although the emphasis on EU citizens' rights introduced in the Stockholm programme offers it a chance to appeal to domestic audiences at the expense of more diffuse issues such as immigration and asylum.

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Klein Ina

**Political Leadership als Partizipationsprozess im Blickfeld eines supranationalen Akteurs - das Aufspüren von Leadership-Qualität der Europäischen Kommission im Konzeptionsprozess des lebenslangen Lernens auf**



## **europäischer Ebene**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2010/3 , 337-350

Political Leadership as Participation Process by a Supranational Actor - The European Commission's Leadership Features Demonstrated by Conceptualizing Lifelong Learning on European Level

This paper aims to extend the leadership-discussion by setting the focus on the European Commission as a supranational actor and taking into consideration the complexity of the European system. The EU is a multilevel governance system with a variety of actors on different political and social levels who all participate in the political processes. By considering political leadership as a participatory process it is possible to better understand the mechanisms, contexts and processes which help identify the way in which the European Commission exercises leadership. In a first step it is both described and analysed in how far the European Commission contributes in a distinctive manner to a discourse about lifelong learning. Furthermore the paper examines the mechanisms, contexts and processes whereby the European Commission is able to assume competence over an issue through strategic and conceptual influence as well as knowledge-management. It does so in a participatory process about the topic in question.

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Häge Frank

**Politicising Council Decision-making: The Effect of European Parliament Empowerment**  
in *West European Politics*, vol. 34, n. 1, january , 18-47

ABSTRACT: Research on the intra-institutional consequences of differences in the EU's inter-institutional rule configurations is rare. This study investigates the effect of the empowerment of the European Parliament (EP) on the active involvement of ministers in Council decision-making. The empowerment of the EP is likely to increase the incentives for bureaucrats in the Council's preparatory bodies to refer decisions on legislative dossiers to ministers. The empirical analysis examines this claim with data on about 6,000 legislative decision-making processes that were concluded between 1980 and the end of 2007. The analysis demonstrates a strong and robust association between the type of legislative procedure and different decision-making levels in the Council: a more powerful EP makes Council decision-making more politicised.

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Chaltiel Florence

**Pour l'Euro, pour l'Europe, pour les Européens**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 544, janvier , 5-6

No abstract available

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Menon Anand

**Power, Institutions and the CSDP: The Promise of Institutional Theory**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2011, 83–100

The common security and defence policy (CSDP) represents an institutionalized attempt on the part of European Union Member States to respond to the security challenges they confront. As such, it is perhaps self-evident that theoretical approaches that focus on the role of institutions in shaping social life should have something to say about its nature, role and impact. This article argues that not only can institutionalist approaches enhance our understanding of CSDP, but using it as a case study can illustrate some of the strengths and weaknesses of institutionalism. In particular, it can indicate the importance of combining insights into the importance of institutional structures in shaping politics and policy with the crucial role power plays in mitigating some institutional effects. This argument is pursued via consideration of the evolution and workings of CSDP.

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Gherghina Sergiu, Chiru Mihail

**Practice and payment: Determinants of candidate list position in European Parliament elections**

in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 11, n. 4, December, 533-552

This article fills a gap in the literature by explaining list composition and placement of candidates in closed PR (proportional representation) settings. Focusing on the case of Romania in the European elections of June 2009, we rely on an original data set including the sociodemographics, career history and wealth of all 215 candidates from the Romanian parties' parliamentary lists. The results of our rank-ordered logistic regression indicate that at both the national and the party level the political competitors favour previous political experience and wealth of the candidates in establishing their final list order. Marginal effects of support from successful local branches, gender, age and education are also visible for various political parties.

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Möller Almut

**Pralinen für Europa. Ein Jahr Vertrag von Lissabon**

in *Internationale Politik*, 65. Jahrgang, n. 11-12, November-Dezember

No abstract available

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Francisco Balaguer Callejón





## **Presentación**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 13

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE13/articulos/00presentacion.htm>

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Anzon Demmig Adele

#### **Principio democratico e controllo di costituzionalità sull'integrazione europea nella "sentenza Lissabon" del Tribunale costituzionale Federale Tedesco**

in *Giurisprudenza Costituzionale*, fasc. 6 , 5213-5250

No abstract available

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Høyland Bjørn

#### **Procedural and party effects in European Parliament roll-call votes**

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 11, n. 4, December , 597-613

extend the standard spatial model of legislative voting to account for vote-specific party inducements and procedural differences. Focusing on voting in the 1999—2004 European Parliament, I find evidence of vote-specific party inducements in a large share of the roll call votes. Furthermore, MEPs position themselves differently across procedures. As most roll call votes are taken on non-legislative votes, these estimates may overemphasize voting pattern on these votes and downplay voting pattern on legislative votes. As such, these estimates may be a poorly suited for studying within party heterogeneity on legislative votes.

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Bredt Stephan

#### **Prospects and Limits of Democratic Governance in the EU**

in *European law journal*, Volume 17, Issue 1, January 2011 , 35–65

The EU Treaty contains for the first time a title on democratic principles. These provisions emphasise the importance of national parliaments and the EU parliament for the democratic legitimacy of the EU. The new chapter on democratic principles does not address the central challenge of the EU polity to the traditional understanding of democratic legitimacy, the disjunction of political and economic governance as expressed by the important role of independent institutions like the Commission, the European Central Bank and agencies in EU governance . This is a consequence of the fact that the status of independent regulatory institutions in a democratic polity has not been clarified—neither in the



EU nor in the Member States. However, such independent institutions exist in diverse forms in several Member States and could hence be understood as a principle of democratic governance common to the Member States. Such an understanding has not yet evolved. The central theoretical problem is that regulatory theories which explain the legitimacy of independent institutions as an alternative to traditional representation remain outside the methodology of traditional democratic theory. Economic constitutional theory, based on social contract theory and widely neglected in the legal constitutional debate, offers a methodological approach to understanding independent regulatory institutions as part of representative democratic governance

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Rijken Conny

**Re-Balancing Security and Justice: Protection of Fundamental Rights in Police and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters**

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 47, issue 5 , 1455-1492

ABSTRACT: In police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters within the EU, security seems to take precedence over justice. This article addresses the question of whether recent developments in the EU, and especially the adoption of the Roadmap to procedural safeguards and the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, will lead to a re-balancing of security and justice. The conclusion is that the scope of the Roadmap is too limited and more a duplication of what is covered by the ECHR. It therefore does not fill the procedural rights gap in police and judicial cooperation in the EU that currently exists. If the EU legislature does not fill this gap, it is to be hoped that the European Court of Justice will continue to play its role as the guardian of fundamental rights.

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Rynning Sten

**Realism and the Common Security and Defence Policy**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2011 , 23–42

The European Union has ventured into the business of power politics with its common security and defence policy (CSDP). Realism can explain both why the EU is being pulled into this business and why it is failing to be powerful. Although realism has much to offer, it is not the dominant approach to the study of the EU and its foreign affairs because the EU is commonly perceived as capable of transcending power politics as we used to know it. The first purpose of this article is therefore to question the stereotyping of realism as a framework that only applies to great power confrontations. The second is to introduce the complexity of realist thought because realism is a house divided. The analysis first examines structural realism, then the classical realist tradition. The third and final purpose of the article is to evaluate the contributions these approaches can make to the study of the CSDP. The most powerful realist interpretation of the CSDP is found to be the classical one, according to which the CSDP is partly a response to international power trends but notably also the institutionalization of the weakness of European nation-states. The article defines this perspective in relation to contending realist and constructivist perspectives. It highlights classical realism as a dynamic framework of interpretation that does not provide an image of a CSDP end-state, but rather a framework for understanding an evolving reality and for speaking truth to power.



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Masciandaro Donato

**Reforming regulation and supervision in Europe: Five missing lessons from the financial crisis**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 5 / September 2010 , 293-296

There is general agreement that financial regulation and supervision must be improved. But are the proposed reforms adequate to the task? What criteria should they fulfil in order to be effective?

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Thielemann Eiko, El-Enany Nadine

**Refugee protection as a collective action problem: is the EU shirking its responsibilities?**

in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 2, June , 209-229

Refugee protection efforts have been shown to suffer from substantial collective action problems due to the capacity of restrictive policy measures adopted by one region as a means of shifting refugee responsibilities to other regions. Such responsibility-shifting dynamics have been identified between north and south as well as within these regions. European Union (EU) cooperation on asylum and refugee policies has been criticised for facilitating the adoption of restrictive policy measures and the creation of a 'Fortress Europe'. Fears about the hollowing out of refugee standards have been coupled with concerns about the EU's free-riding on the refugee protection efforts of countries outside the EU. This paper shows that overcoming collective action problems between the Member States has indeed been a key motivation for EU cooperation in this area. However, a comparative analysis of EU asylum laws and refugee protection efforts with those of similar developed countries outside the EU leads to the rejection of some of the assumptions and implications of the 'Fortress Europe' thesis. While there is evidence of north/south burden-shirking and substantial room for improvement in the EU's asylum and refugee regimes, comparative legal research and the analysis of available UNHCR data on other OECD countries suggests that there is no evidence to support the claim that European cooperation has led to uniquely restrictive refugee policies and protection outcomes.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Amit M. Sachdeva

**Regulatory competition in European company law**

in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, Volume 30, Number 2,

States have customarily tended to compete with one another. Not always, however, is this tendency, or the underlying methods put to use, obvious. That states (provincial divisions in the US) were competing to attract incorporations by relaxing their regulatory standards, couldn't be seriously observed and highlighted until mid-1970s. Today, a few would doubt the existence of regulatory competition in corporate law in the US. In this paper, the author examines the issue whether the EU is (likely to be) engaged in regulatory competition in the area of company law. Answering the question in affirmative, the author proceeds to examine the strength of the race to the bottom and the race to the top theories, as



developed and argued in the US, for the European setting. Since the legal systems of Member States of the EU have certain very disparate “core values” along which those systems have historically developed, relaxation of standards in the EU would take place against different variables. Because of the multitude of variables, comparable variables are unlikely to yield comparable results; either of the race theories is unlikely to satisfactorily predict the regulatory behaviour of EU Member States. Instead, since “laxation” in respect of one variable would be met by “optimisation” in respect of the other, there is likely to be simultaneous races to the top and to the bottom among the EU Member States.

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Groenleer Martijn, Kaeding Michael, Versluis Esther

**Regulatory governance through agencies of the European Union? The role of the European agencies for maritime and aviation safety in the implementation of European transport legislation**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 8 2010 , Pages 1212 – 1230

In line with the trend of 'agencification' in Western countries, European Union (EU) agencies have been put forward as an instrument expected to improve the way rules are applied in the EU. So far, evidence confirming this expectation is lacking. By assessing the implementation of European transport legislation, this article provides an empirical insight into the role played by two EU agencies - the European Maritime Safety Agency (EMSA) and the European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA). The analysis shows that these EU-level agencies, although created as independent entities to enhance uniform implementation, remain highly dependent on the member states and the Commission. In terms of (legislative) enforcement their contribution has thus been limited. EU agencies such as EMSA and EASA currently seem to add more value by stimulating mutual learning processes among national regulatory authorities.

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Mandrino Claudio

**Rilfessioni sul Gect "Euroregione Alpi-Mediterraneo": in particolare la disciplina europea e i rapporti tra Stato italiano e regioni coinvolte**

in *Diritto dell'economia (il)*, n. 2-3 , 469-488

No abstract available

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Palayret Jean-Marie

**Robert Schuman: memory and topicality of a great European**

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 43 , 19-41

No abstract available

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Europe's World

**SPECIAL SECTION - How to stop Balkans enlargement from turning sour  
in Europe's World**, Issue 16, Autumn

Doubts about the European Union's commitment to extending membership to the western Balkans are being reinforced by the slow pace of reform in many of the candidate countries.

Europe's World asks a cross-section of decisionmakers and opinion-formers for their ideas on how to get the accession process firmly back on track.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21768/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21768/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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Bickerton Chris J., Irodelle Bastien, Menon Anand

**Security Co-operation beyond the Nation-State: The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy**  
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2011 , 1–21

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Lindstrom Nicole

**Service Liberalization in the Enlarged EU: A Race to the Bottom or the Emergence of Transnational Political Conflict?**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue 5, November 2010 , 1307–1327

Concerns that eastward enlargement will spur a race to the bottom in wages and social protection figured prominently in two cases before the ECJ: Laval and Viking. Each case considered whether industrial action to uphold collective bargaining agreements violate single market laws. Government observations divided between old and new Member States, with the former supporting the unions' position and the latter the employers'. With the ECJ ultimately ruling with the employers and against the expressed preferences of most old Member States and unions, the rulings furthered the cause of liberalization in the enlarged EU, but also mobilized political opposition.

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Berkhout Joost, Lowery David

**Short-term volatility in the EU interest community**

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 18 Issue 1 2011 , Pages 1 – 16



We know remarkably little about the volatility of vital rates of organizations lobbying the European Union (EU), in large part because of the limited and problematic nature of data on the EU interest community. After discussing these problems, we try to develop a better assessment of the short term - 2003 to 2009 - volatility of birth and death rates of the EU interest community using data from the Consultation, the European Commission and Civil Society (CONECCS) lobby registration system of the European Commission and the door pass system for lobbyists of the European Parliament. We find that the EU interest system is surprisingly volatile even over the short term.

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**Smith Mitchell P.**

**Single market, global competition: regulating the European market in a global economy**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 7 2010 , Pages 936 – 953

Development of Europe's single market induces a range of regulatory measures to help the market function effectively and meet policy goals. However, the European market is nested inside a global economy; some rules designed to perfect the single market may generate competitive disadvantages as producers interact outside the European market. How does the EU address this tension? Examining cases of chemicals regulation, the single market in public procurement, and regulation of end-of-life vehicles recycling, this contribution identifies three mechanisms: regulatory accommodation; compliance deficits; and international uploading of EU regulation. The first involves revisions of proposed regulation following objections from organized business interests; the second entails temporary European Commission toleration of non-compliance; and the third consists of efforts to establish global regulation coinciding with single market rules. The distribution of these mechanisms varies across sectors and over time, but reconciliation measures are politically essential to the continued construction of the single market in a global economy.

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**Pastor Ridruejo José Antonio**

**Sobre la adhesión de la Unión Europea a la Convención de Roma**  
in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 43 , 43-51

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Meyer Christoph O., Strickmann Eva**

**Solidifying Constructivism: How Material and Ideational Factors Interact in European Defence**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2011 , 61–81

Constructivist approaches have made a substantial contribution to our understanding of the European Union's security and defence policy, but their ability to explain and forecast change has suffered from neglecting the link between material structures and ideas. This article attempts to 'solidify' constructivism by drawing on realist thought to elaborate a theoretical argument about how material and ideational factors are interrelated and offers four propositions about how



changes in material conditions affect the ideational dimension of defence co-operation.

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Fontanelli Filippo

**Some reflections on the choices of the European Court of Justice in the Küçükdeveci preliminary ruling in Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 2, issue 2 , N 15-23

In Küçükdeveci judgment, the European Court of Justice declared that national judges must set aside national norms that are at variance with the general principle of non discrimination on grounds of age, by virtue of its direct applicability (even in disputes between private parties). This principle is also codified in the Charter of Fundamental Rights and in the EC Directive 2000/78, therefore it is worth analyzing these three sources in turn (general principles, Charter, directives) to understand which of them can have horizontal direct effects, and upon which conditions. In addition to that, the author focuses on the validity of an "incidental direct effects" doctrine, and on the repercussions that this decision might have on the social cohesion of the European Union.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/72-some-reflections-on-the-choices-of-the-european-court-of-justice-in-the-kuecukdeveci-preliminary-ruling>

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Della Sala Vincent

**Stakes and states: gambling and the single market**

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 17 Issue 7 2010 , Pages 1024 – 1038

The paper argues that institutional accounts are useful but incomplete in providing an understanding the dynamics of the completion of the internal market. This is because they do not leave enough room for ideas and norms, which have been central to the gambling story. The paper argues that prevailing norms about gambling, which have associated it with inter alia charities, criminal activity, public health and public order, have worked to mitigate the desire for a single market and arguments about the efficiency of market liberalization. Gambling is a useful case to illustrate that there is ambivalence about market building that tries to reconcile possible efficiency gains that come with enhanced competition with an aversion to promoting risk.

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Poli Maria Daniela

**Stato nazionale versus Stato europeo. La 'mitizzazione' della sovranità nazionale e il 'disconoscimento' implicito della Verfassungsentwicklung tedesca**



in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 1 , 31-42

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Fleischer Holger

**Supranational corporate forms in the European Union: Prolegomena to a theory on supranational forms of association**

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 47, issue 6 , 1671-1717

ABSTRACT: With the European Economic Interest Grouping, the European Company, the European Cooperative and the nascent European Private Company, the series of supranational corporate forms has now attained a scope which invites critical-comparative stock-taking. This article examines the foundations, the development and the architecture of the European Union's own legal creations. Taking a comprehensive approach, it attempts to synthesize existent legal material and thus provide impetus for the elaboration of a theory on supranational corporate forms in Europe. The article looks at the regulatory instruments which the European legislature has used to overcome resistance by the Member States with regard to the development of supranational corporate statutes. It also assesses the EU-wide exchange of ideas and models in the context of the development of supranational corporate forms. Finally, attention is paid to the key characteristics and elements of supranational corporate forms, including: legal personality; corporate purpose and company object; cross-border involvement; registered and head offices and company members from third countries.

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Kennedy Ryan

**Supranational identity, democratic attitudes, and political participation: The EU and Moldova**

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 11, n. 4, December , 511-532

Individuals self-categorize within an international context, and this supranational identity shapes expectations for their own political system. Those individuals in postCommunist countries who believe that their country's primary international orientation should be towards the European Union have a more participatory view of politics and are more politically active. This study develops a social identity explanation of political behavior, and tests the explanation utilizing maximum likelihood and non-parametric matching methods in a 2004 survey of political attitudes in Moldova. Moldova's patchwork of identities, mixed historical legacy, and salience of supranational association make it an excellent case for study. The analysis finds strong support for the effect of supranational identity across a wide range of attitudes and activities.

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Starup Peter, Elsmore Matthew J





**Taking a Logical or Giant Step Forward? Comment on Ibrahim and Teixeira**  
in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 4 , 571 ff.

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Shúilleabháin Máire Ní

**Ten years of European family law: retrospective reflections from a common law perspective**  
in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 59, issue 4 , 1021-1053

Council Regulation 1347/2000 (the 'Brussels II Regulation') marked the beginning of the 'Europeanization' of family law. This article analyses the development of EU family law policy over the last decade, with particular focus on the common law perspective. It is argued that the Brussels II Regulation and the ensuing EU family law measures have had (and will have) a significant negative impact in English and Irish law, clashing with internal legal policy and sitting uneasily alongside existing legal structures

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Karlsson Christer

**The Convention Method Revisited: Does It Have a Future and Does It Matter?**  
in *European law journal*, Volume 16, Issue 6, November 2010 , 717–735

Scholars have argued that the convention method has democratised the process of treaty reform and increased the legitimacy of EU constitutionalisation. This article finds that the convention method has contributed to a slightly more democratic process, but has not, in any fundamental way, improved the democratic status of the EU's treaty reform process. We should accordingly not be too concerned over the future fate of the convention method. From a democratic perspective, we should be more worried over the possible scenario that future changes to the EU's institutional structure will come about through implicit constitutional change without any formal changes being made to the treaties. The often cumbersome ratification process could thereby be bypassed, but this would also deprive EU citizens of the only real opportunity they have of influencing decisions on the overall design of the integration project.

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Messer Anne, Berkhout Joost, Lowery David

**The Density of the EU Interest System: A Test of the ESA Model**  
in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 41, issue 1, january , 161-190

ABSTRACT: To evaluate calls for a more theoretically generalizable, large-N study of EU interest representation, we adapt the ESA model of interest system density, originally developed to study the interest communities of the American



states, to the EU case. We necessarily modify both model and measures in order to account for the unique features of the EU policy process. We test the model with OLS regression using data on the density of different types or guilds (economic and social sectors) of organized interests in the European Union. We use the findings to discuss the viability of inter-system transfers of theories about the politics of interest representation.

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McGuire Stevan M., Lindeque Johan P.

**The Diminishing Returns to Trade Policy in the European Union**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 5, November 2010 , 1329–1349

The notion that the EU is a trade power is central to studies of the Union's international presence. Credible threats to withhold access to Europe's markets are said to provide the Union with leverage in respect of other trade partners. This article queries the continuing ability of the European Union to act effectively this way. The current Doha malaise is a symptom of deeper changes in the international trade system. As emerging markets become more affluent and participate in foreign direct investment, their interest in market access per se become less important relative to other areas of regulation.

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WTE and TWB

**The EU and constitutional change: a research proposal**

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 6 - Issue 03 , 335-338

The first punctual question arising is how, in its (single) constitutional being, a body such as the Union combines its constituent roots in the original founding authorities (the states) with those, autonomous, in its own institutions. These are the ECJ for interpretation; the political institutions for practice and convention. In other words, what is the actual relationship, under the urge of change, between the states as treaty masters and the European Council, the Council, the Parliament and the Court? Secondly, there is the question as to how these shared constituent roots reflect not on constitutional change but on the day-to-day legislative and executive functioning of the Union's body politic. The coming constitutional settlement on the euro's financial support mechanism will not only consist of a new treaty. It will also take the form of secondary legislation and case-law. A third, most fundamental, question is how this ever-unfinished constitutional situation, imperfect by definition, will ultimately allow the development of a sound relationship between the authorities and the people, a relationship which is at the heart of any constitutional settlement. The last question (for now) sends us back to the one put in a previous editorial (in issue 1 of this year). It is: how to account for this incomplete and urged situation in a single and coherent constitutional reading?

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Bendiek Annegret, Kramer Heinz

**The EU as a 'Strategic' International Actor: Substantial and Analytical Ambiguities**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, volume 15, issue 4 , 453-474



ABSTRACT: The analysis attempts to evaluate the current 'strategic' political substance of European Union (EU) global policies and to answer the question of what kind of international actor the EU is. The study is based on the reading of comprehensive analyses of the respective 'strategies' embedded in inter-regional relations with Latin America, Africa, the Mediterranean, East Asia, and Central Asia as well as 'strategic partnerships' with India, Japan, China, Canada and Brazil – the partners that, according to the European Security Strategy (ESS) of 2003, reaffirmed in 2008, are gaining increasing clout in shaping global governance.

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**Bosse Giselle**

**The EU's Relations with Moldova: Governance, Partnership or Ignorance?**

**in Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 62, n. 8, October , 1291-1309

This article examines recent EU-Moldova relations under the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and the Eastern Partnership (EaP) in order to assess the EU's policies and their (limited) effectiveness over the past decade. I draw on the 'external governance approach' and develop the 'partnership as cooperation perspective' to examine which approach prevails in the theory and in the political practice of EU-Moldova relations. Whereas the external governance approach focuses on the expansion of EU rules to assess the effectiveness of the EU's external relations, the partnership perspective draws attention to effective cooperation based on mutual concessions in areas of converging preferences.

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**Barnutz Sebastian**

**The EU's logic of security: politics through institutionalised discourses**

**in European Security**, Volume 19, Number 3, September , 377-394

This article develops a methodological approach to analyse the logic of security in the European Union (EU) as an inter-subjective construction. Security is established when discursive practices take place at the interplay of three different fields: (1) EU identity constructions; (2) the perception of challenges as security relevant; and (3) constructions of security practices and hence discourses on governance and governmentality. When discursive practices make cross-references between these fields they construct the logic of security. The empirical section applies this method in order to analyse the EU's logic of security at the turn of the twenty-first century. Understanding the dynamic effects at play between situations of under-development and conflict led not only to the construction of the need to implement civilian as well as military capabilities at the EU level, but this dynamic is also central to understanding the EU's way of approaching international terrorism.

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**Matthias Kaelberer**

**The Euro and the European Demos: Money and Community beyond the Nation-state**

**in Global Society**, Volume 24, Issue 4, October , 487-505



Money represents a form of trust among the members of a community. They share a belief that certain symbolic tokens constitute real value. Sceptics frequently point out that the euro area does not have the characteristics of a community. In particular they view the euro as money without a demos. According to this sceptical view, then, the euro is backed by an insufficient level of solidarity and suffers from a deficit of legitimacy. This article identifies the main flaws and contradictions of the no-demos theory. Most importantly, no-demos theory suffers from the fundamental misconception that political community and democracy are possible only in the nation-state. This conceptualisation of community represents a zero-sum understanding of community that cannot capture the dynamic interaction of multiple communities as well as complex and overlapping identities. In addition, no-demos theory is trapped in an internal contradiction. In order for democracy to be possible among the members of a community, that membership in the community is given and rests on pre-democratic criteria. I argue in this article that we need to accept the notion of disaggregated communities and should drop the concept of a unified and fully sovereign demos altogether. Moreover, under conditions in which the gap between sovereignty and authority continues to grow, European Monetary Union is actually a more democratic form of governance than the pre-Maastricht monetary regime in Europe.

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Bailey Christian

#### **The European Discourse in Germany, 1939–1950: Three Case Studies, in European unification in German History**, vol. 28, n. 4, December , 453-478

This article seeks to contextualize support after the Second World War for European integration in Germany, analysing continuities between interwar, wartime and postwar debates about unifying Europe both within and beyond Germany. Using such a temporal framing serves to highlight that many groups advocating European integration in the post-1945 period emerged out of more long-standing internationalist communities, not all of whom had supported international political frameworks and cooperation from a pro-democratic standpoint. Rather, a significant number of groups on the Left and Right sought to construct international bodies as a means of restraining what they saw as the harmful potential of majoritarian democratic nation-states. The article is therefore a contribution to recent research initiatives that have more critically assessed the growth in support for a united Europe after the Second World War and which have enriched the study of European integration from an earlier focus on primarily diplomatic processes and institutional histories. A case is made for an intellectual history of European integration, and the article highlights the importance of intellectual and political communities that argued for a Third Way Europe. The groups featured are not simply German organizations, but are communities whose membership, connections and impact were transnational. The article therefore seeks to challenge the approach typified by Alan Milward's important text, *The European Rescue of the Nation State*, which saw nation states as the major players in the history of integration, and their leaders as largely uninfluenced by the activities of civil society organisations.

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Hughes Edel

#### **The European Union Accession Process: Ensuring the Protection of Turkey's Minorities?** in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 17, Number 4 , 561-577

The potential accession of Turkey to the European Union is an issue that has provoked widespread debate both within



and without the Union and indeed Turkey. Opinions as to whether Turkey is 'ready' for membership or if in fact the Union can 'absorb' the addition of Turkey vary but what is uncontested is the fact that the accession process has prompted wide ranging reforms in Turkey, particularly in relation to the protection of fundamental human rights. This article outlines the prevailing legislation pertaining to minority rights in Turkey and assesses the extent to which the reform process on the path to EU accession has impacted on those rights.

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Toje Asle

**The European Union as a Small Power**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2011 , 43-60

With the creation of a common foreign and security policy (CFSP), the EU has entered the realm of power politics. Although the ambition to become a great power has been frequently reiterated, the EU has often failed to deliver stated policy objectives. This article has two broad goals. One is to outline the strategic behavioural patterns of small powers. The lack of scholarly attention to these states – the largest group in the international system – is a major omission from the International Relations canon. The other is to see how EU patterns of behaviour, exemplified in attempts to build up capacities for military intervention, overlap with those of a small power. The article argues that the concept of a small power best captures the reality of the EU as a strategic actor. Consequently, the EU is more comparable to other small powers such as Sweden or Argentina rather than to great powers such as China or Russia.

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Semmelmann Constanze

**The European Union's Economic Constitution under the Lisbon Treaty: Soul-Searching Shifts the Focus to Procedure**

in **European Law Review**, Vol. 35, issue 4 , 516-541

No abstract available

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Rasmussen Poul Nyrup

**The European economy isn't dying but it is being put to sleep**

in **Europe's World**, Issue 16, Autumn

Former Danish Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, who as an MEP is now President of the Party of European Socialists, warns that conservative policymakers' dogma risks putting the EU economy to sleep for years. He prescribes the antidote.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21729/language/e](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21729/language/e)



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**Bilancia Paola, Palermo Francesco, Porchia Ornella**

**The European fitness of Italian Regions**

**in Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 2, issue 2 , E 1-174

What impact did Europeanization have on the governmental capacity of Italian regions? Are the regions successful in addressing the challenges and the opportunities of European integration? Is the participation in the EU a driving factor for decentralization in Italy? The paper, which reproduces a study commissioned by the Bertelsmann Foundation and the Compagnia di San Paolo, provides some answers to these questions. It is argued that the "European fitness" of Italian regions is highly asymmetric and so is their responsiveness to the challenges of multilevel governance. Moreover, while Italian regions have overall benefitted from the opportunities of European integration, there is still much to do in terms of institutional capacity, especially due to the overly complex system of intergovernmental relations

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/63-the-european-fitness-of-italian-regions>

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**Kjeldgaard-Pedersen Astrid**

**The Evolution of the Right of Individuals to Seise the European Court of Human Rights**

**in Journal of the History of International Law**, Volume 12, Issue 2 , 267-306

No abstract available

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**Rasmussen Anne, Toshkov Dimiter**

**The Inter-institutional Division of Power and Time Allocation in the European Parliament**

**in West European Politics**, vol. 34, n. 1, january , 71-96

This paper examines whether the European Parliament strategically adapts to the inter-institutional balance of power by allocating its resources so that it spends more time in those areas of competence where it has the greatest power. Focusing on the legislative area, the authors examine whether differences in the inter-institutional division of power between different legislative procedures affect how long the EP spends on reaching its first reading position. They conduct a large-N analysis of over 3,000 legislative acts and a complementary analysis of treaty articles where the required decision procedure changed. In all analyses, the inter-institutional balance of power has the expected effect. The authors show that the EP spends more time reaching its first reading opinion in co-decision than it does in the consultation procedure where it has less power, even when they control for the characteristics of the files debated and



the level of disagreement on the files.

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Harpaz Guy, Rubinson Eyal

**The Interface between Trade, Law and Politics and the Erosion of Normative Power Europe: Comment on Britain in European Law Review**, Vol. 35, issue 4 , 551-570

No abstract available

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Dufour Pascale

**The Mobilization Against the 2005 Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe: A French Mobilization for Another Europe**

in **Social Movement Studies**, Volume 9, Issue 4, November 2010 , 425 - 441

Abstract

Why did a majority of French voters reject the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe in the 2005 referendum? We argue here that the collective mobilization of the left-wing 'No' camp made the decisive difference through its formation of 'Collectifs pour le non', a coalition which facilitated the public expression of an anti-liberal and pro-European position capable of bringing together the Green and Socialist electorates, along with other parts of the left. Using a comprehensive analysis of the multi-organizational field of protest constituted by the mobilization of the left-wing 'No' camp, we show first that the mobilization was a 'European affair', in the sense that it developed a pro-European position in the context of struggles against liberal forces. Second, we show that the mobilization was also a 'French' affair because it relied on the high valuation of the 'national' mode of belonging, through the defence of the French state model.

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Missiroli Antonio

**The New EU 'Foreign Policy' System after Lisbon: A Work in Progress**

in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, volume 15, issue 4 , 427-452

ABSTRACT: This article starts with an overview of the main changes that the Lisbon Treaty brings to the domain of foreign affairs and external relations. The main focus of the analysis, however, lies in the actual implementation of the key provisions related to the role of the High Representative (HR)/Vice-President (VP) and, in particular, the set-up and functioning of the fledgling European External Action Service (EEAS). Finally, this article raises a number of questions about the way in which this new 'architecture' might and/or should contribute to improving on the position and action of the EU on the international scene.



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Cullen Pauline

**The Platform of European Social NGOs: ideology, division and coalition**  
in **Journal of Political Ideologies** , Volume 15, Number 3 / October , 317-331

This paper explores the role of ideological division in complicating collaboration between third sector organizations working to influence European Union (EU) policy processes. The Social Platform, the largest alliance of social justice groups working at EU level, is studied to illustrate how a coalition of ideologically disparate organizations cope with internal tensions that are often exacerbated by external shifts in the political opportunities available for mobilization. The alliance is successful at mediating the most significant sources of ideologically based division. However, the external political context for mobilization requires coalition members to compete for recognition and resources available at EU level. The reordering of EU equality legislation and initiatives has most recently exacerbated a series of competitive dynamics in play across the EU third sector and has stretched the ability of the coalition to maintain unity among member organizations.

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Mahlmann Matthias

**The Politics of Constitutional Identity and its Legal Frame—the Ultra Vires Decision of the German Federal Constitutional Court**  
in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 11, n. 12 , 1407-1420

Full text available at:

[http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No12/PDF\\_Vol\\_11\\_No\\_12\\_1407-1420\\_Developments\\_Mahlmann%20FURNAL.pdf](http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No12/PDF_Vol_11_No_12_1407-1420_Developments_Mahlmann%20FURNAL.pdf)

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Breyne Paul

**The Practice of Territorial Dialogue in Europe: The View of a Practitioner**  
in **Pace Diritti Umani**, anno 7, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 29-43

**ABSTRACT:** The article presents the view, testimony and experience of a practitioner in managing cross-border dialogue from a local governance level. It is divided in three main parts. In the first section the paper describes the institutional and historical context of territorial cooperation between the province of West Flanders (Belgium) and France. The second section of the article assesses the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and treats of the cross-border cooperation between France and Flanders, and West Flanders in particular. And finally the last section offers a critical assessment of the practical experience by the Flemish coordinator of the cross-border cooperation with the North of France, i.e. the first European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation, i.e. the European metropolis of Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai.





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Castaldi Roberto

**The Spinelli Group: an engine of the initiatives that Europe needs?**

**in Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 2, issue 2 , I- XIV

This paper analyses the importance of the creation of the Spinelli Group in the current context of the European unification process. If the Spinelli Group manages to take initiatives to advance the ability of the EU to cope with the many challenges it faces, it will provide a great service to the interests of the European Union's citizens.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/editorial>

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Rayroux Antoine

**The State of European Integration Seen from an External Relations Perspective**

**in Global Society**, Volume 24, Issue 4, October , 553-560

No abstract available

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Schmidt Vivien

**The Unfinished Architecture of Europe's Economic Union**

**in Governance**, Vol. 23, n. 4, October , 555-559

No abstract available

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Kaunert Christian

**The area of freedom, security and justice in the Lisbon Treaty: commission policy entrepreneurship?**

**in European Security**, Volume 19, Number 2, June , 169-189

Scholars may rightly claim the European Union's (EU) area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ) has become one of the most significant developments in the European integration process. The Lisbon Treaty (LT) has the potential to push the AFSJ towards tremendous growth, and has provided the policy area with instruments that were unthinkable after the third pillar was created during the Maastricht Treaty negotiations. This article investigates the role of the European



Commission in the process of constructing an 'AFSJ'. It argues that the Commission (through alliances with other institutional actors) managed to incrementally contribute to this shift in political norms. This shift derived from the policy-making level from 1999 onwards. It manifested itself specifically during the negotiations of the Constitutional Treaty (CT) and the subsequent re-negotiation of the LT. Here, the Commission acted with the support and the use of other supranational actors during the Convention, without which this result would have been difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. Firstly, the article will deal with the main advances of the CT which resulted in the LT. Subsequently, the role of the Commission and other EU institutional actors will be examined, resulting in an overall evaluation.

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Gutiérrez-Fons Jose, Lenaerts Koen

**The constitutional allocation of powers and general principles of EU law**

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 47, issue 6 , 1629-1669

ABSTRACT: The present contribution supports the contention that general principles of EU law do not operate as an unstoppable centripetal force at the service of an activist judiciary. Quite the contrary, when having recourse to general principles, the ECJ strives to preserve the vertical and horizontal allocation of powers sought by the authors of the Treaties. Horizontally, the ECJ distinguishes between matters pertaining to the province of constitutional law and those which are subject to legislative discretion. Stated differently, general principles of EU law are applied without encroaching upon the competence of the EU legislature. Vertically, the ECJ is respectful of the constitutional traditions of the Member States but not to the extent of foregoing the basic constitutional tenets of the Union. General principles seek to create a "common constitutional space" where EU and national law engage in a dynamic dialogue which gives rise to a mutual influence between the two levels of governance. Hence, as instruments of constitutional dialogue, general principles facilitate the constant renewal of the EU legal order, epitomising the 'EU's living constitution'. The article examines the horizontal direct effect of general principles, paying attention to the gap-filling function of general principles, and their role in consistent interpretation and as grounds for review, in a situation of constitutional pluralism.

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Mendez Mario

**The enforcement of EU agreements: Bolstering the effectiveness of treaty law?**

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 47, issue 6 , 1719-1756

ABSTRACT: Many of the recent Court of Justice rulings concerning the relationship between the international legal order and the EU legal order have been on the receiving end of considerable criticism, with the EU level judicial commitment to international law being called into question. One dimension of that critique has concerned the treatment of EU concluded Agreements. An assessment of the extant EU level judicial enforcement practice provides evidence of the emergence of a twin-track approach. Member State level activity challenged for non-compliance with EU Agreements is generally subjected to the full force of those Agreements, whilst in contrast the tendency where EU level activity has been challenged before the Court of Justice appears to have become one of shielding such activity from meaningful review. Even if this trajectory were to be maintained, which remains to be seen, it can be argued that the medium of EU law nevertheless serves to bolster the effectiveness of this increasingly expanding body of Treaty law.



For EU law has placed at the disposal of litigants, including the Commission via infringement proceedings, the most powerful of tools for policing the compliance of currently twenty-seven Member States with this growing number of agreements.

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Howarth David, Sadeh Tal

**The ever incomplete single market: differentiation and the evolving frontier of integration**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 7 2010 , Pages 922 – 935

Progress in market integration over the past two decades has come at the expense of growing flexibility in the laws that govern the single market (SM) as well as the way that these laws are implemented. This differentiated integration comes in four forms: soft; informal; multi-speed; and opt-out differentiation. We examine how the completion of the SM has been held back in the varied implementation of EU competition policy and variation in national corporate law, energy markets, services and taxation. These sectors and issue areas form the frontier in which the main political struggles over the future shape of the SM take place, and in which differentiation is most clearly manifested. The SM notion supposedly entails a concrete set of substantive policy commitments that form the basis of the 'ever closer union'. However, increasing differentiation undermines the identification of the EU's core constitutional commitments.

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Karas Othmar

**The future of Europe: ongoing work on an effective counter-crisis strategy in the European Parliament**  
in *European View* , vol. 9, n. 2, December , 181-187

Although the initial economic crisis has passed, its effects are still being felt in Europe. The European Parliament must take a more active role in constructing, negotiating and implementing strategies to lift the European Union (EU) out of the crisis, especially in the decisions made by the Basel Committee. This article also makes further suggestions on what can be done to aid this process, including the introduction of a bank levy, the creation of EU credit market agencies, the strengthening of Eurostat and reformation in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Finally, the author seeks to explain the magnitude and scope of the economic crisis and what measures can be implemented to prevent a similar situation from happening in the future.

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Neshkova Milena I.

**The impact of subnational interests on supranational regulation**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 8 2010 , Pages 1193 – 1211

The article assesses the influence of subnational interests on supranational regulation within the broader effort of the European Union (EU) to include diffuse interests in the policy process. I track 60 legislative proposals initiated by the European Commission between 1996 and 2007 and estimate the change made in response to the requests of the body



representing decentralized interests - the Committee of the Regions. I find that the Commission responds favorably to requests more than a third of the time and that substate politicians are more influential on proposals dealing with regional cohesion. The data also show that the policy importance of the amendments is the main predictor of the Commission's willingness to accept the advice of subnational governments. Furthermore, the Commission, being a non-elected and technocratic body, is more likely to hear the policy preferences of local and regional stakeholders when the public expresses dissatisfaction with EU democracy.

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Rogge Karoline S., Schneider Malte, Hoffmann Volker H.

**The innovation impact of the EU Emission Trading System — Findings of company case studies in the German power sector**

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 70, Issue 3, 15 January , 513-523

This paper provides a detailed analysis of how the European Emission Trading System (EU ETS) as the core climate policy instrument of the European Union has impacted innovation. Towards this end, we investigate the impact of the EU ETS on research, development and demonstration (RD&D), adoption, and organizational change. In doing so, we pay particular attention to the relative influences of context factors (policy mix, market factors and public acceptance) and firm characteristics (value chain position, technology portfolio, size and vision). Empirically, our qualitative analysis is based on multiple case studies with 19 power generators, technology providers and project developers in the German power sector which were conducted in 2008/09. We find that the innovation impact of the EU ETS has remained limited so far because of the scheme's initial lack of stringency and predictability and the relatively greater importance of context factors. Additionally, the impact varies significantly across technologies, firms, and innovation dimensions and is most pronounced for RD&D on carbon capture technologies and organizational changes. Our analysis suggests that the EU ETS on its own may not provide sufficient incentives for fundamental changes in corporate innovation activities at a level which ensures political long-term targets can be achieved.

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Schwell Alexandra

**The iron curtain revisited: the 'Austrian way' of policing the internal Schengen border**

in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 2, June , 317-336

Since 1990 draftees of the Austrian army have been stationed at the border to Hungary, and later to Slovakia, as a reaction to both the system change in Eastern Europe as well as the expected increase in cross-border crime. This so-called 'support deployment' was initially planned to last no longer than 10 weeks, but soon it became apparent that the military's border security deployment could also serve other ends than mere security goals. Since then it has been prolonged numerous times. In scrutinising the strategies of the various actors involved, the paper shows that the support deployment can be considered an act of securitisation and is as such almost entirely decoupled from the actual policing of the Schengen internal border. Furthermore, it argues to 'bring the audience back in' and to recognise the audience's agency in the analysis of securitisation processes.

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**Wasserfallen Fabio**

**The judiciary as legislator? How the European Court of Justice shapes policy-making in the European Union**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 8 2010 , Pages 1128 – 1146

The question of whether, and if so, how the European Court of Justice influences European integration has been a matter of long-standing academic dispute. Several more recent empirical studies have shown that the Court influences the integration path, but scholars have also documented that member states can successfully limit the practical relevance of activist Court decisions. Drawing on this literature, this paper argues that the Court eventually impacts integration in salient policy fields effectively when the legislator incorporates judicial considerations in the policy-making process. The theoretical section conceptualizes the leverage of the Court in the legislation process and the empirical section elucidates how the judiciary shaped legislation in the development of exchange students' social rights. Findings show that the Court can successfully promote distinct legislative outcomes.

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**Vincent Olsen Tore**

**The political constitution of the EU citizen rights regime**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 18 Issue 1 2011 , Pages 35 – 52

Reactions to decisions by the European Court of Justice (ECJ) demonstrate that the political institutions in the Union should take responsibility for the development of the structure of the European Union's (EU) citizen rights regime. This article analyses different political views on the EU citizen rights regime. It argues that the disagreement between them is largely a disagreement between 'reasonable views'. The disagreement is mainly based on different views about the levels (European, national) at which individuals are to be seen as equals and about the contribution of different communities and institutions to the good life of citizens, both individually and collectively. Taking the contestation between the different views seriously, the article argues in favour of political constitutionalism, according to which the development of the EU citizen rights regime is the responsibility of political rather than judicial institutions.

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**Clifton Judith, Díaz-Fuentes Daniel, Revuelta Julio**

**The political economy of telecoms and electricity internationalization in the single market**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 7 2010 , Pages 988 – 1006

As a consequence of liberalization policies in the European Union (EU), a number of formerly inward-looking incumbents in telecommunications and electricity transformed themselves into some of the world's leading multinationals. The relationship between liberalization and incumbent internationalization, however, is contested. Three political economy arguments on this relationship are tested. The first claims that incumbents most exposed to domestic liberalization would internationalize most. The second asserts that incumbents operating where liberalization was restricted could exploit monopolistic rents to finance internationalization. The third argument claims that a diversity of paths will be adopted by countries and incumbents vis- -vis liberalization and internationalization. Using correlation and cluster



analysis of EU telecoms and electricity incumbent multinationals, evidence is found in favour of the third hypothesis. Internationalization as a response to liberalization took diverse forms in terms of timing and extent and this is best explained using a country, sector and firm logic.

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**Quaglia Lucia**

**The politics of insurance regulation and supervision reform in the European Union**  
in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 9, n. 1, february , 100-122

ABSTRACT: In the late 2000s, the European Union (EU) undertook a significant reform of the framework for insurance regulation and supervision through the Solvency II directive, which substantially updated prudential rules and supervisory practices. This article addresses the question of what has driven the reform of the framework for insurance regulation and supervision in the EU. It is argued that the politics of the Solvency II directive was characterised by a strong alliance between the Commission and the United Kingdom, backed up by the large member states, some old member states and industry, particularly large companies and transnational groups. The United Kingdom was, however, the pace setter, whose influence was underpinned by the size of its insurance market; the expertise and effective coordination of national policymakers, and a state-of-the-art domestic regulatory model.

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**Shuibhne Niamh Nic**

**The resilience of EU market citizenship**  
in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 47, issue 6 , 1597-1628

ABSTRACT: This article argues that EU citizenship has not (yet?) evolved beyond a construction of market citizenship. The argument does not make a normative claim that EU citizenship is “destined”, to paraphrase the Court of Justice, only and ever to remain a form of market citizenship. But drawing from both the nature of the EU as a polity and the material impact of its citizenship thus far, it suggests that market citizenship endures as at least one valid and credible way of capturing how EU citizenship has developed in reality. The particular qualities of the EU transnational market are explored so that the possibilities afforded by market citizenship are strongly contextualized. The intricate links between the EU and its Member States and the persisting significance of free movement rights are also discussed as defining characteristics of EU market citizenship. The growing impact of developments beyond free movement law is recognized to a certain extent, but this is not construed as an equally paced alchemic reaction in legal, social or political terms. The overall argument presented does not seek to dismiss or displace the wealth of normative thinking that conceptualizes EU citizenship (contested as it is) in both creative and challenging ways. Rather, the article reflects on the extent to which we are actually “there yet” in empirical terms.

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**Grant Charles**



### **The strategic consequences of the Euro crisis**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn

The malaise afflicting Europe's single currency is damaging the EU's global standing and its ability to act, writes Charles Grant. And it's a crisis that will be with us for years to come.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21728/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21728/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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Schulz Michael, Soderbaum Fredrik

#### **Theorising the EU's role in regional conflict management**

in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 3, September, 361-376

This article seeks to contribute to the underdeveloped discussion about the way we theorise and conceptualise externally induced peace and security operations in regional conflict, with a particular focus on the EU's role. The framework draws on three theoretical components emphasised in this special issue: the construction of conflict, security governance and the impact of EU security practices. The EU's construction of the conflict is tightly linked to decisions about the mode of security governance and here we need to pay more attention to the often-neglected relationship between the external intervening party and the parties in conflict that are subject to the intervention. Furthermore, the impact of peace operations are usually analysed in terms of implementation and coordination failures, and in our view it is necessary to step back and address the construction of the criteria by which interventions are assessed - in particular, the way intervening actors construct and define 'success and failure'.

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MacMillan Catherine

**This paper argues that Turkey's accession to the EU has been securitised by the French and German right, according to the Copenhagen School's constructivist explanation of securitisation as a 'speech act'. Moreover, like other critical security schools, the Copenhagen School argues that security is not limited to the state or the military, but that securitisation may take place in other sectors, with the political, economic, environmental and societal spheres as its referent object.**

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol. 18, n. 4, december, 447-462

ABSTRACT: This paper argues that Turkey's accession to the EU has been securitised by the French and German right, according to the Copenhagen School's constructivist explanation of securitisation as a 'speech act'. Moreover, like other critical security schools, the Copenhagen School argues that security is not limited to the state or the military, but that securitisation may take place in other sectors, with the political, economic, environmental and societal spheres as its referent object.

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**Bickerton Chris J.**

**Towards a Social Theory of EU Foreign and Security Policy**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2011 , 171–190

This article argues that the study of EU foreign and security policy has been hampered by its conceptualization of the sovereign state. Realist and constructivist scholars share Stanley Hoffmann's formulation of states as either 'obstinate or obsolete'. EU foreign and security policy is puzzling in this respect as it corresponds to neither. Drawing on two examples – the EC's role in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in 1973–75 and the contemporary workings of the Political and Security Committee (PSC) – this article suggests that we think of EU foreign and security policy as driven not by the obstinacy or the obsolescence of the nation-state but rather by its transformation. In line with this claim, the article proposes a social theory of EU foreign and security policy with democracy and bureaucracy as two competing political forms within the framework of the modern state. It is the changing balance between these two political forms that drives forward closer foreign and security co-operation in Europe.

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**Georgiev Vihar**

**Towards a common European border security policy**

in **European Security**, Volume 19, Number 2, June , 255-274

The internal abolition of borders in the European Union (EU) has created a security deficit that is supposed to be compensated by inventing a new border - the 'external frontier' - which is to protect the combined territory of the Member States. This article argues that the security deficit has not been fully compensated for due to uneven policy implementation. The overview of impending threats to the EU border security system stemming from climate change impacts and demographic pressures shows that the future holds even greater challenges to the implementation of the Schengen acquis. A new approach to border security is urgently needed. The introduction of a common European border security policy can become an adequate response to many of the otherwise imminent threats.

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**Payne Donald M.**

**Turkey's Path to Europe: Defense of Human Rights and Respect for International Obligations**

in **Mediterranean Quarterly**, Volume 21, Number 3, Summer , 8-15

The author, a US representative (Dem., N.J.), outlines the obstacles to Turkey's path to membership in the European Union. They are of Turkey's creation, centered around human rights and freedoms of ethnic and religious minorities

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Ueberecken Raoul

**Un feuilleton à rebondissements: l'affaire Swift**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 542, octobre-novembre , 566-573

The Swift case, named by the financial message company, helps shed light on the operation of European institutions in a transition period. The massive private data transfer to the United States for the purpose of fighting terrorism is brought to the public in 2006. After a rather awift solving by the european Union, the case was believed to be closed. Yet a change dictated by a private operator forces Europeans and Americans to find new solutions to allow continuous information flow. Due to a change in the schedule, the search for those solutions coincides with the implementation of the Lisbon treaty. Institutions, one more than others, see an opportunity for a power game. This article describes the timing and stresses the most meaningful episodes.

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Cassen Bertrand

**Un « consensus de Berlin » imposé à l'Europe**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Décembre

Sommé par ses partenaires de solliciter l'« aide » du Fonds européen de stabilité financière, le gouvernement irlandais s'est exécuté. La Commission, la Banque centrale européenne et le Fonds monétaire international orchestrent désormais un plan de sauvetage des banques dont les Irlandais paieront la facture. C'est ce dispositif, dans une version encore plus draconienne, que l'Allemagne entend pérenniser par une révision du traité de Lisbonne.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2010/12/CASSEN/19932>

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Epstein Rachela A., Johnson Juliet

**Uneven Integration: Economic and Monetary Union in Central and Eastern Europe**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 5, November 2010 , 1237–1260

Although central and eastern European states widely adopted central bank independence in the 1990s, many later balked at meeting the Maastricht criteria and adopting the euro. We employ two key variables – regime and institutional discontinuity at the domestic level and the credibility of international institutions' policies – to explain these different responses to the requirements of economic and monetary union.

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Moro Domenico

**Union bonds o Union assets? Riflessioni su una politica del debito pubblico e sul ruolo della politica di bilancio a livello europeo**



in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LII, n. 2 , 94-115

La politica del debito pubblico è parte della più ampia politica di bilancio e questo vale già oggi anche per l'Unione europea,[1] malgrado quest'ultima non sia ancora dotata di un vero e proprio bilancio federale. Il punto qui in discussione non è quindi se l'Unione debba ricorrere o meno ad una politica di indebitamento per finanziare una spesa pubblica europea, quanto quello della gestione del debito, ed in particolare della sua gestione nel contesto di un sistema federale in costruzione. Occorre pertanto provare a vedere se vi può essere una posizione originale dei federalisti sul tema del debito pubblico, in generale ed europeo.

Perché i federalisti dovrebbero preoccuparsi di questo problema? Le ragioni sono tre. La prima è dovuta al fatto che da qualche tempo a questa parte essi, in diversi loro documenti, hanno ripreso l'indicazione di Delors di promuovere l'emissione di Union bonds.[2] In secondo luogo, perché la recente crisi finanziaria che ha coinvolto i paesi più avanzati è, sostanzialmente, una crisi da debito: anche se essa si è manifestata negli USA come una crisi da debito privato, non si può non collegare quest'ultimo ad un debito pubblico crescente. Quest'ultimo, di fatto, ha contribuito a sostenere un livello di domanda privata che, in presenza di un finanziamento della spesa pubblica con imposte, sarebbe stato più contenuto. Limitarsi a sostenere l'emissione di debito pubblico europeo, quando l'attuale crisi è una crisi da debito potrebbe quindi sembrare improponibile ed esporre i federalisti a facili obiezioni. È indubbio, infatti, che la preoccupazione principale dei prossimi anni, come dimostrano le difficoltà finanziarie che dall'inizio del 2010 hanno coinvolto la Grecia, riguarda proprio la dimensione che sta assumendo l'indebitamento pubblico in buona parte del mondo industrializzato. La terza ragione è dovuta al fatto che una diffusa corrente di pensiero sostiene che il finanziamento della spesa pubblica attraverso l'emissione di debito equivale a trasferire l'onere del suo rimborso alle future generazioni. La tesi, se espressa in questi termini, connota a priori negativamente questa politica, mettendo in ombra gli aspetti di equità intergenerazionale che, a certe condizioni, essa contiene.[3] Quest'ultima obiezione non è comunque di poco conto, soprattutto se si tiene conto del contesto in cui si dovrebbe collocare il dibattito su questo punto, vale a dire quello della ricerca di una via europea ad uno sviluppo che sia sostenibile anche dal punto di vista finanziario. Si tratta quindi di vedere che linea si può avere, dal punto di vista istituzionale, nei confronti del debito pubblico ed in particolare che cosa si potrebbe suggerire nel caso europeo. Questa nota si propone di analizzare sinteticamente gli aspetti economici del problema; le soluzioni politico-istituzionali alla gestione del debito pubblico nell'esperienza di alcuni Stati federali; e, infine, il caso dell'Unione europea, cioè dell'area in cui è in corso il dibattito sull'emissione di debito pubblico europeo (Union bonds) come strumento per il finanziamento di un programma di opere pubbliche.[4]

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=477](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=477)

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Gherghina Sergiu

#### **Unraveling romance: An assessment of candidate countries' support for the EU**

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 8, n. 4, december , 444-467

ABSTRACT: This study addresses the decrease of support for the EU at individual level in 3 recent years (including the accession year) among the Bulgarian and Romanian citizens. On the basis of citizens' economic evaluation, confidence in national political institutions and the knowledge about the EU conventional explanations for cross-national and longitudinal variations of support for the EU are tested. Results indicate that the attitudes of late joiners' citizens towards



the EU positively correlate with prospective economic evaluations, whereas neither trust in national institutions nor levels of knowledge explain the support for the EU in these countries.

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Xuereb Peter

**Values, Intercultural Dialogue and Making It Pay to Be Good: More than a Research Agenda, but also a Policy Approach for the European Union to Promote in the World**

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 7, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 69-94

ABSTRACT: This paper sets out that which the author sees as the key challenges for us all at this point in history, and his view of a vital contribution that academics can make, in the context of projects such as the Padua Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence Project, to the evolution of the Union and its policies in a global context. It argues that we begin to answer the question: «How should we in Europe evolve?» by first asking «What kind of a world do we want?». For this purpose, two premises are posited. First, there can be no real useful answer without real intercultural dialogue – not least about values and virtues in specific contexts – that feeds consensus at global level. Secondly, that Europe has a degree of «experience» with intergovernmental and then deeper co-operation between sovereign states and peoples that can surely be brought to the forum of dialogue about the future institutional and decision-making shape of our world order. It argues above all that we all together need to make a genuine commitment to the clarification of the philosophy of the «common good» in global, and then European, terms, seeing this as the key question to be addressed by us all at this point in our shared history. It argues that focusing on the common good means focusing on values to be observed at global, European and national level, with institutions and policies inspired by those values and directed towards the perceived common good. Taking the example of the «short-termism» that fuelled the global financial crisis and that of the ever increasing number of persons fleeing from persecution, oppression and poverty, the paper encourages us all to take stock of how our Union works and can work in the world. The really big question posed is: What does Europe stand for? And then, another: What should Europe stand for? To answer these questions, we can draw on the wisdom acquired through the experience of the «European Project» over the last sixty years, while seeking to draw in equal measure on that of other cultures and experiences. In academic terms, theories across all relevant disciplines that have been proven right or wrong, or partially or conditionally right (and therefore partially or conditionally wrong), need to be reassessed and drawn together to produce new insights and paradigms that can be more easily embraced and shared across all borders. Yet, it is argued, none of this intellectual effort makes sense, nor can it lead to the desired objectives, without the parallel global dialogue as to What is good (or bad), and What is right (or wrong)? This may itself point to the reshaping of international institutions, or the devising of new ones, that are capable of this dialogue and of making decisions on this basis. It may lead to new international law. The paper argues that academics have, as they have had throughout the ages, a continuing vital role in the construction of a new world order, European order and national orders based more firmly on the ideal of the global common good. Principle, conscience and enlightened self-interest can all be the reasons for a policy approach that also asks: How can we make it pay to be good?

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Kauffmann Pascal, Uterwedde Henrik

**Verlorene Konvergenz? Deutschland, Frankreich und die Euro-Krise**



in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 43, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/PYKKNP,0,Verlorene\\_Konvergenz\\_Deutschland\\_Frankreich\\_und\\_die\\_EuroKrise.html](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/PYKKNP,0,Verlorene_Konvergenz_Deutschland_Frankreich_und_die_EuroKrise.html)

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Sibille Bastien

**Voir l'Europe pour la faire. Un Système d'informations géographiques dans la « gouvernance » européenne**  
in *Politique européenne*, n. 31, février

Cet article analyse le déploiement d'un instrument d'objectivation par l'Union européenne à travers l'étude de la mise réseau des Systèmes d'informations géographiques (SIG) européens modélisant l'environnement. Il montre d'une part le rôle particulier des instruments d'objectivation dans la construction de la légitimité de la « gouvernance » européenne. Il montre d'autre part en quoi la forme de ce réseau de SIG confirme les théories sur la « gouvernance » européenne qui concernent les rapports entre les différents échelons de gouvernement.

Seeing like the European Union. A Geographic Information System in the European "Governance"

This article examines the deployment of a specific knowledge tool by the European Union (EU) through the study of environmental European Geographic Information Systems'networking. It first shows the role of knowledge tools in EU legitimacy building process. It then discusses EU multi-level governance theories.

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Herlin-Karnell Ester

**What Principles Drive (or Should Drive) European Criminal Law?**  
in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 10, 1115-1130



Full text available at:

[http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No10/PDF\\_Vol\\_11\\_No\\_10\\_1115-1130\\_Articles\\_Herlin-Karnell%20FINAL.pdf](http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No10/PDF_Vol_11_No_10_1115-1130_Articles_Herlin-Karnell%20FINAL.pdf)

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Bhatti Yosef

**What would happen if we were better informed? Simulating increased knowledge in European Parliament (EP) Elections**

*in Representation*, Volume 46, Issue 4, November

What would happen if the public in a multiparty system became better or worse informed? This article examines the consequences of political knowledge on turnout and vote choices in three recent Nordic European Parliament (EP) elections. Only a moderate increase in political knowledge would result in more than 3 percentage point higher turnout. The relative support for the parties would also be affected if knowledge increased significantly, though less so than for turnout. Social democratic parties would be the big losers and among the winners would in particular be conservative parties. Though the party level changes appear larger than in two-party systems, the predicted changes in relative power between the political blocs are at best moderate.

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Crespy Amandine

**When 'Bolkestein' is trapped by the French anti-liberal discourse: a discursive-institutionalist account of preference formation in the realm of European Union multi-level politics**

*in Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 17 Issue 8 2010, Pages 1253 – 1270

This paper investigates the bottom-up preference formation over the draft Directive over services liberalization and its impact on co-decision at the European Union (EU) level from the theoretical perspective of discursive institutionalism. Firstly, it is demonstrated that the anti-liberal discourse framed by the French left led President Chirac to reconfigure his strategic interests and embrace a strongly anti-liberal stance against the proposed Directive. Secondly, evidence that the anti-liberal discourse framed by the radical left was very efficient in politicizing the Directive proposal is provided. This forced the governments to act responsively towards public opinions while using communicative discourse in the intergovernmental realm. Since the French position overlapped some of the key actors' preferences, it played a crucial role in altering the initial balance of power. The quest for a compromise securing a super-qualified majority within the European Parliament implied both the use of communicative discourse against the Bolkestein proposal and the relative neutralization of its anti-liberal aspects.

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Startin Nicholas

**Where to for the Radical Right in the European Parliament? The Rise and Fall of Transnational Political**



## **Cooperation**

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 11, n. 4, December, Special Issue: Tenth Anniversary Issue , 429-449

Amidst all the academic and media discussion in recent years of the causes and consequences of the rise in support for Radical Right parties (RRPs) in Europe, a related, but equally significant development, has generated less debate; namely the rise and fall in the European Parliament in 2007 of the trans-national Radical Right political group, Identity, Tradition and Sovereignty (ITS). Drawing on interviews with and a qualitative survey of former ITS members, as well as EP archival evidence, the paper begins by discussing why the notion of trans-national cooperation for Radical-Right political parties has proved difficult, and thus far has been doomed to failure, before analyzing the internal and external dynamics behind the rise and fall of the ITS group. Finally, the paper focuses on current collaboration among Radical Right parties post the June 2009 European elections and on the chances of a new trans-national far-right group emerging in the current parliament.

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Robert Cécile

**Who are the European experts? Profiles, trajectories and expert 'careers' of the European Commission in French Politics**, Volume 8, Issue 3, September, 2010 , 248–274

Focused on the experts groups of the European Commission, this article aims to understand not only who the European experts are, but also on what grounds. It adopts a sociological perspective, paying attention to the social properties of those actors, in order to better grasp which type of actors can gain access to the European policy-making process by this way, but also how the experts' authority can get the upper hand in the European arena, and under what conditions it may be exerted. The article begins with an overview of the space of European expertise: highlighting the political uses of the groups to explain the privileged recruitment of experts in certain categories of practitioners ('academics', members of interest groups, national civil servants and so on). These political uses of expertise also contribute to promoting particular resources and practices, leading to analysis of the properties shared by the experts, in spite of their apparent heterogeneity. A number of these properties are moreover acquired in the European space, inviting to take a closer look at the way these expertise functions are fulfilled in professional trajectories associated with EU institutions.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Marshall David

**Who to lobby and when: Institutional determinants of interest group strategies in European Parliament committees**  
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 11, n. 4, December , 553-575

This paper explains how institutional conditions in the European Parliament's committees shape lobbyists' strategic behaviour. Committees' informal organization and formal procedures structure both the distribution of legislative influence and the opportunity to obtain advocacy. It is demonstrated how influence and, by implication, lobbying activity



are skewed in favour of a committee elite. Here new evidence is provided to highlight the significant impact that open amendments play in a committee's final report. The theory also emphasizes the role that message quality plays in the decision about who to lobby, and defines the limits to lobbyists' preference to obtain advocacy from friendly legislators. Analysis is carried out on data obtained from 94 structured interviews combined with a unique data set of committee-stage voting outcomes.

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Hofmann Stephanie C.

**Why Institutional Overlap Matters: CSDP in the European Security Architecture**  
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2011 , 101–120

The creation and continued existence of CSDP cannot be understood without reference to the institutional environment within which it is located. To explain its emergence and design, one needs to study the institutional architecture into which this additional institution emerged. Once institutional overlap exists, it becomes a crucial independent variable explaining not only the strategies that member states have at their disposal, but also the development of international institutions occupying the same policy domain as well as the impact on the policy field at large.

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Pech Laurent

**'A Union Founded on the Rule of Law': Meaning and Reality of the Rule of Law as a Constitutional Principle of EU Law**  
in **European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 6 - Issue 03 , 359 -396

Rule of law – Constitutional principle – Meaning – Scope of Application – Justiciability – Audit of the European Union's Constitutional Framework – Lisbon Treaty

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Ferreira-Pereira Laura, Groom A. J. R.

**'Mutual solidarity' within the EU common foreign and security policy: What is the name of the game?**  
in **International Politics** , Volume 47, Issue 6, November , 596–616

This article assesses the effective meaning, scope and implications of intra-Community solidarity in the security and defence area. It touches on the genealogy of the conception of solidarity and its various interpretations as well as both the tensions this entails and impediments this creates for development of a common security and defence policy. It



concludes that political solidarity has been gradually taking root on the basis of a common shared *modus vivendi*, although not without embarrassing setbacks. Military solidarity is more than a mirage but not yet a firmly based reality given the existence in the European Union of distinct foreign and security policy identities shaped by traditionally defined national interests that still dominate intergovernmental cooperation in the area.

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Auer Stefan

**'New Europe': Between Cosmopolitan Dreams and Nationalist Nightmares**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 5, November 2010 , 1163–1184

This article seeks to expose some limitations of dominant discourses about European integration. It argues that the attempt to move towards a more federalist Europe underpinned by the ideal of 'post-national citizenship' (Habermas) is both unrealistic and undesirable. The populism and ethno-centric nationalism endangering the European project emerged in Europe not despite the cosmopolitan agendas of its elites, but arguably, in response to their ambitious agendas. A more realistic view on nationalism is imperative for a better understanding of European integration; one capable of addressing the appeal of populist politics.

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Aronstein Irene

**'The Union shall respect cultural diversity and national identities' Lisbon's concessions to Euroscepticism – true promises or a booby-trap?**

in *Utrecht Law Review*, Vol. 6, issue 3 , 89-111

Taking Euroscepticism that mainly concentrates on the tension between European integration and the preservation of cultural diversity and national identity as a point of departure, this contribution serves as a normative observation of the Lisbon Treaties' competences and procedures in relation to the statement that the EU will respect cultural diversity and national identity. The question is whether the Lisbon Treaties are giving in to Euroscepticism by respecting and protecting diversity or whether the statements are only a window-dressing formality which, in reality, is not effectuated by the Union. When one looks at some Union developments and initiatives over the last few years, the EU's eventual ideal of becoming a more centralised political entity becomes clear. If, when looking at the new provisions in the Lisbon Treaties, this ideal is taken into account, the Treaties seem to reflect this progressive approach. Overall, it seems that 'Lisbon' has indeed considered the Eurosceptic arguments concerning a lack of democratic control and the tension concerning diversity and national identity. Nonetheless, the general signal expressed by the innovations seems to be that progressive integration by increased effectiveness is more important than the satisfaction of the Member States' wishes with regard to respect for cultural diversity and national identity. It may well be that this effectiveness results in a counter-effect: an intensification of Euroscepticism that may negatively reflect on the Union's progressive integration.

Full text available at:

<http://www.utrechtlawreview.org/index.php/ulr/article/viewFile/URN%3ANBN%3ANL%3AUI%3A10-1-101154/139>





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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Kaina Viktoria

**»Wir« und »die Anderen« – Europäische Identitätsbildung als Konstruktion von Gemeinsamkeit und Differenz**  
in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 57, Heft 4, 2010

Summary

Despite a surge of publications on »European identity«, there is a great empirical void concerning the way of »othering« and demarcation. In particular, we still know far too little about Europeans' psychological processes of delineation against out-groups. Based on the bi-annual Eurobarometer, the article offers empirical findings on this topic. The empirical evidence suggests that it is still difficult for EU citizens to find an agreement on how the delineation against out-groups can be justified and who precisely the relevant other, the out-group is.

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Gosalbo Bono Ricardo

**État de droit et droit de l'Union européenne - Première partie**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 544, janvier , 13-35

Though the Rule of law is a basic value recognised in the world, it does not have the same meaning nor the same implications in the various legal systems. The purpose of this article is to offer a universal definition of the Rule of law taking into account the historical development of the concept, its meaning in the various legal systems (European, American, socialist, Islamic and Asian) as well as in international law, in relationship to European Union law and its projection in the outside world. It also offers a comparison between the external legal practice of the European Union and that of the United States in the area of the Rule of law. The article will be published in three parts, two of which will appear in later issues. The first part concerns the historical development, the various national concepts in Europe and the United States, the European Union's and the Europe Council's concept. The second part deals with the concept of the Rule of law in Asia, in the Islamic world, in South America and in Africa, as well as in the socialist countries. The third part reviews the issue of the Rule of law in the framework of international law and the European Union's international legal practice and with other subjects of international law, including in the United States.

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Frendo Michael

**Building the Mosaic of Mediterranean Integration**

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 21, Number 3, Summer , 1-7

Drawing on his personal experience as Malta's foreign minister from 2004 to 2008, the author argues that the process of Mediterranean integration should be viewed as the building of a mosaic block by block, with each tile as important to the



whole as to itself. The original idea for a Union of the Mediterranean is depicted as being superior to its successor, the Union for the Mediterranean. The aim should have been to establish a council of the Mediterranean along the lines of the Council of the Baltic States. The political architecture of the Mediterranean is composed of a variable geometry and concentric circles, in which the Olive Group is a "soft" landing place for informal dialogue among the group members and other non-EU states on the Mediterranean littoral.

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Steinbock Dan

**China's Next Stage of Growth: Reassessing U.S. Policy toward China  
in American Foreign Policy Interests**, Vol. 32, Issue 6 , 347-362

After three decades of economic reforms and opening-up policies, China is entering a new stage of development. As a result of the third wave of globalization and the ongoing global crisis, the large emerging economies are catching up. China is now moving from industrial take-off to technological maturity. This transition has been the fastest in China's more prosperous coastal regions. It is driven by an investment-led national strategy reinforced by industrialization, urbanization, and the emergence of a new middle class. Because of extraordinarily rapid growth, China is set to overtake the United States in terms of total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by the 2020s. In the most prosperous urban regions, prosperity levels will catch up with those of some European nations in the course of the 2010s. The basic framework of U.S. policy toward China was created amid the peak of the cold war. There is a case to be made that basic elements should be reassessed in light of China's next stage of growth and structural shifts in the global economy. That reassessment is vital especially in U.S.-Chinese economic relations because they hold the potential to facilitate global recovery—or constrain it.

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Pham J. Peter

**China's Strategic Penetration of Latin America: What It Means for U.S. Interests  
in American Foreign Policy Interests**, Vol. 32, Issue 6 , 363-381

The emergence in recent years of the People's Republic of China as a significant force in Latin America and the Caribbean has clearly altered the traditional dynamic in a way that affects how the United States relates both to the region as a whole and to its individual countries. A close examination of the growing links that China has forged shows that while it is driven by the need to acquire access to stable supplies of energy and natural resources required to facilitate the country's economic development as well as to open new markets for its manufactured goods, geopolitical considerations are also at play. Among those are the desire to reduce the number of states in the region that still maintain diplomatic relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan and the promotion of a multipolar world order. It is within that context that conclusions can be drawn about both the economic impact of China's increasing presence on Latin America's development and its political and security implications for the United States. Finally, several elements are suggested for a more engaged U.S. policy going forward vis--vis its neighbors in Central and South America and the Caribbean.

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Casarini Nicola

**Cina ed Europa: le ragioni dell'intesa perduta**

in *Aspenia*, n. 50, ottobre, "La Cina post-americana" , 177-184

No abstract available

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Monteagudo Valdez Manuel

**Construcción europea y liberalización económica en América Latina: desafíos comunes en la evolución del Derecho internacional económico**

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 43 , 91-114

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Sangeeta Khorana, Nicholas Perdikis

**EU-India Free Trade Agreement Deal or No Deal?**

in *South Asia Economic Journal*, 11 (2) , 181-206

The European Union (EU) and India are currently negotiating a bilateral free trade agreement (FTA) and investment framework. There is an ongoing debate as to whether the EU-India FTA will act as a building block for the trading partners. This article addresses the broader concerns about compatibility; prospects of and the challenges to the proposed EU-India FTA; identifies the building and stumbling blocks in the ongoing negotiations; and suggests a way forward from a policy perspective. The findings suggest that to maximize the potential benefits of this FTA, trade barriers (tariff and non-tariff) in goods and services sectors should be addressed. This must be complemented by a mutually agreeable time frame to conclude negotiations in areas where interests of the partners vary.

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Potemkina Olga

**EU-Russia cooperation on the common space of freedom, security and justice - a challenge or an opportunity?**

in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 4, December , 551-568

With criminal networks active in both Russia and the European Union (EU) Member States, the common space of internal security is a key component in building a partnership. Boosting personal contacts, counteracting illegal migration and the visa facilitation are steps forward; while the prospect of a visa-free regime appears unclear. Work on the road map should obviously be continued. Russia's and the EU interests do not just coincide, these are strategic interests. Still, detailed analysis of the road map demonstrates that one can still speak rather about intensification of cooperation



than about a common space. To arrive at a new stage of partnership and start building a common space a certain change in approach and mentality must be achieved. It would seem logical to include the main principles of the common internal space in the framework part of the EU-Russia new treaty and supplement it with specific agreements in every field of cooperation.

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Bozhilova Diana, Hashimoto Tom

#### **EU-Russia energy negotiations: a choice between rational self-interest and collective action in European Security**, Volume 19, Number 4, December , 627-642

The ongoing disputes between Russia and its neighbouring states vis--vis the critical transmission of primary energy resources to the remainder of the European continent has led Brussels to place the matter squarely within the scope of European Union (EU) energy security policy. EU-Russia energy negotiations have more often than not displayed patterns of rationalism with an ingrained cost-benefit orientation. Notwithstanding, this incidence has been complicated by the reality of changing geo-political constellations in Central and Eastern Europe in the course of the past two decades. This has influenced the political landscape of EU-Russia negotiations concerning projects under construction, as well as proposed others on the continent, such as Nord Stream (bypassing Belarus and Poland) and South Stream (bypassing Ukraine). Given such considerations, we observe that the Czech Presidency of the Council of the EU in the first half of 2009 has shown greater leniency towards Ukraine, Belarus and Poland than the general consensus in EU-Russia energy talks maintained in Brussels would have otherwise provided for. We also observe that France and Germany are driven by a greater rational self-interest in their conduct of EU energy security policy. In consequence, Russia's awareness of the divergent dispositions amongst the EU Member States becomes the dependent variable in our analysis. Thus, the primary question that this paper poses is whether rational cost-benefit orientations in individual EU Member States can lead to collective bargaining outcomes in EU-Russia energy negotiations.

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Neuman Marek

#### **EU-Russian Energy Relations after the 2004/2007 EU Enlargement: An EU Perspective in Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 18, n. 3, september , 341-360

ABSTRACT: While voices for a more unified EU approach towards Russia to guarantee the Union's energy security grow stronger, the internal dichotomy between the energy interests of the old and the new (Central and Eastern European) member states hampers the possibility of joint action. Although an analytical thick distinction between old and new EU members often represents extensive simplification, in terms of energy policy, it is made possible by the discrepancies in their respective energy sectors, particularly over three categories. First, their energy mixes are diverse. Second, the degree to which national grids are interconnected differs greatly. Third, these two camps hold opposing perceptions of Russia as a reliable energy partner. With these differences in mind, this article proposes four possible scenarios that could develop within the European Union in terms of energy policy; the establishment of a common European Energy Policy with an external dimension; the lack of such a policy, effectively maintaining the current status quo situation; the EU expanding its energy community; and the EU becoming a nuclear energy powerhouse. Each of these potential developments is assessed for its implications on EU-Russian energy relations.



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Stubb Alexander

**EU–US–Russia relations: moving from a solid foundation into the challenges of the 2010s in European View**, vol. 9, n. 2, December, 211-217

Changes in the structure of international politics only continue in the 2010s. The EU and US are vital partners for Russia's modernisation, and we must view Russia's aim to modernise its economy as a good starting point for increased economic cooperation. In strengthening this partnership, we do not have to start from scratch. Our societies have become more similar, thanks to the progress in Russia's economy. The existing ties between our countries and societies are a strong foundation for working together. Building on this momentum, we need to take concrete action to promote the movement of people and lower the barriers between our economies.

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Francesco Cristiano

**European Union and Russia: A Difficult Balance in Equilibri**, anno XIV, n. 2, agosto, 312-324

Ever since the 1990s the relationship between Russia and the EU has not been simple, especially in the strategic energy sector. A new agreement between these two actors has often been debated in recent years, but no concrete result has been reached. The article attempts to define if and at what level a balance in this bilateral relationship can be found and the steps that Europe and Russia have to take to achieve it.

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Christou George

**European Union security logics to the east: the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership in European Security**, Volume 19, Number 3, September, 413-430

This article argues that the broad security discourse built into the European Union's (EU's) initiatives to the east, and specifically the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and Eastern Partnership (EaP) have in practice not yielded the stability, prosperity and security sought after by the EU. Whilst the EU has pursued bilateral and multilateral processes of engagement through the ENP and EaP, the paradox has remained within its double security narrative and has often resulted in minimal change to the east, as well as contestation from eastern partners and regional actors such as Russia. The conclusion suggests that the EU must provide a more pragmatic, differentiated and balanced narrative, and thus process of engagement with the east if it is serious about creating a zone of peace, stability and prosperity.

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Ling Jin

**Gemeinsam mehr. Wege für eine chinesisch-europäische Zusammenarbeit in Afrika?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 39, 2010

The full text is free:

[www.bpb.de/publikationen/I001I8,4,0,Gemeinsam\\_mehr\\_Wege\\_f%FCr\\_eine\\_chinesischeurop%E4ische\\_Zusammenarbeit\\_in\\_Afrika.html#art4](http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/I001I8,4,0,Gemeinsam_mehr_Wege_f%FCr_eine_chinesischeurop%E4ische_Zusammenarbeit_in_Afrika.html#art4)

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Campanella Raffaele

**I rapporti Ue/America Latina fra desideri e realtà**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 2, aprile-giugno, 253-257

The Sixth EU-Latin America and Caribbean Summit (Madrid, 18 May 2010) acknowledged the incomplete realization of the ambitious project launched in 1999 in Rio (Brazil) whose goal was to create a 'Bi-regional Strategic Partnership'. In fact, despite long bilateral and multilateral negotiations, the Eu/Mercosur Association Agreement has not been signed yet. Such an agreement, aiming at creating a broad market of near 750 million people, would have been a significant improvement in the relations between the two regions. Meanwhile, specific agreements are being reached (Eu/Central America, Eu/Peru, Eu/Colombia), adding up to the already existing ones (Eu/Mexico, Eu/Chile). New sectors of cooperation are appearing (investments, infrastructures, energy, Smes, cultural heritage, environment, climate change, fight on terrorism, drugs and trans-national organized crime): knowledge as a whole becomes relevant (science, research, innovation and technology). A Eu-Latin America Foundation will be created. In the meantime, a new Oas excluding the US and Canada is emerging through the creation of a Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (Calc), adding itself to the existing Unasur and Alba. A new model of regional integration is emerging in L.A. different from the European one.

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Burigana David

**L'accord SNECMA/ General Electric et les origines de CFM International. Succès « global » franco-... ou euro-américain ?**

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 4, Décembre

L'accord SNECMA/GE négocié en 1969-1974 au plus haut niveau, tout particulièrement par les présidents américain et français, Richard Nixon et Georges Pompidou, est aux origines du producteur de moteurs le plus important au monde aujourd'hui, CFM International, leader dans les moteurs d'une poussée de 18 500-34 000 lb. L'étude que nous proposons vise à dégager les facteurs clés qui ont été l'origine du développement et du succès de cette coopération. L'histoire de l'accord SNECMA/GE et des interconnexions qu'elle révèle entre les niveaux technique et diplomatique de sa négociation pose les bases d'une analyse plus globale des coopérations engageant la technologie comme instrument de puissance d'un État, ou mieux de la survie d'une industrie de haute technologie au niveau national. Enfin l'accord SNECMA/GE n'est pas un tournant mais seulement une des étapes conduisant les membres les plus engagés de la CEE à se décider pour une coopération intergouvernementale et euro-américaine dans le secteur aéronautique. Elle se poursuit jusqu'à nos jours.

The SNECMA/GE agreement negotiated in 1969-1974 at top level, and particularly by US and French Presidents too, Richard Nixon and Georges Pompidou, and at the origins of the most important engines producer in the world today, CFM International, the leader in 18.500-34.000 lb power plants, could suggest some strong points on the birth and the successful development of a aircraft cooperation. More generally, the story of the SNECMA/GE agreement, and particularly its interconnections between the technical level and the high diplomatic one of the negotiations should indicate some coordinates to analyse any technological cooperation involving technology as a mean for State power, or better for the survival of an high technological industry at the national level. Moreover the SNECMA/GE agreement was not a turning point but only one of the stages in the mid-1970s conducting the more engaged EEC members to decide on an intergovernmental and Euro-American cooperation in aeronautical field, and up today.

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*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Jazra Bandarra Nelly

**Les relations extérieures des pays de la Méditerranée face au conflit israélo-palestinien**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 543, décembre , 673-676

The external relations of Mediterranean countries are affected by the lack or weakness of a joint EU foreign policy. This lack reduces the impact of the answers that it can provide to solve conflicts arising in the area marked out by the European neighbourhood policy. To reboost the peace process in the Middle East, Europe and the United States have to get involved. The Union for the Mediterranean is going through difficult times with the worsening of the Near East conflict. In spite of that, the project is bending but not breaking. Institutional aspects are making process. Cooperation is being set up in various areas and though from a political point of view, the process is slowing down, cooperation is being woven in various action areas that are now clearly defined.



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Domínguez Jorge I.

**President Barack Obama's Foreign Policy toward Latin America**

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN L - NÚMERO 2

During Ronald Reagan's, George H. W. Bush's and William Clinton's terms of office a particular policy of State toward Latin America took shape in the United States. It was interrupted under George W. Bush and reappears with Barack Obama. Bearing in mind that the concept of policy of State is empirical, we can see the duration and reappearance of the fundamental traits of the United States government's behavior toward Latin America under different presidents from both political parties. Eight topics are studied: protection of human rights and defense of democracy; promotion of free trade; benevolent policy toward legal immigration; strengthening multilateral agencies; pacification in Central America; readiness to resort to the use of military force and other coercive measures; simultaneous cooperation and conflict with Cuba; and militarization of drug trafficking policy

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Velo Dario

**Relations between the United States and Europe in the 21st Century**

in *European Union Review*, Vol. 15, n. 1

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Bilgic Ali

**Security through trust-building in the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation: two perspectives for the partnership**

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 10, n. 4, December , 457-473

Trust-building creates puzzles for analysts in relation to what kind of trust is built in world politics, between whom, and to what end. This article studies two types of trust in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: rationalist trust which characterizes inter-state cooperation to protect order and cosmopolitan trust which reveals the emancipatory potential of political structures that aim to achieve more security for individuals. In this study, two types of trust will be illustrated in the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation by analyzing the link between security and trust. It is argued that while rationalist trust between states with 'security as order' rationality reconstructs the status quo in North African countries, cosmopolitan trust with 'security as emancipation' rationality toward North African individuals has the potential to transform these countries' political structures.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**





*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Escribano Gonzalo

**Southern Europe's Economic Crisis and its Impact on Euro-Mediterranean Relations in Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 3, November , 453-459

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Ferrer-Gallardo Xavier

**Territorial (dis)continuity dynamics between Ceuta and Morocco: conflictual fortification vis-à-vis co-operative interaction at the EU border in Africa**

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 102, Issue 1, February , 24-38

This contribution examines the development of territorial dynamics on the Ceuta-Morocco border region in the context of the structural Spanish-Moroccan rebordering that followed Spain's EU entry. The evolution of border practice is canvassed through the confronting notions of territorial discontinuity and territorial continuity. Clearly, current territorial dynamics between Ceuta and Morocco are characterised by both the existence of conflictive geopolitical cross-border dialectics and the implementation of fortifying securitisation measures. However, simultaneously, the border region is also marked by intensifying patterns of cross-border interaction which are sourced in the rising potentialities of economic and urban cross-border co-operation. In this light, the paper seeks to map the present intertwining of these apparently disagreeing territorial trends. To conclude, the paper underlines the ongoing modification of relational power between Ceuta and Morocco. It depicts the strengthening of local cross-border co-operative practices as a potential tool to cope with persistent sovereignty disputes in the border region.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Sagrera Ral Hernandez i

**The EU-Russia readmission-visa facilitation nexus: an exportable migration model for Eastern Europe?**

in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 4, December , 569-584

Despite the lack of cooperation in other issue areas, EU-Russia migration cooperation has been fruitful to the present. The internal security driven EU migration policy towards third countries has so far led to the conclusion of readmission and visa facilitation agreements as policy outputs in Russia. This article looks at the patterns of policy convergence between the EU and Russia in light of the Common Space of Freedom, Security and Justice in the fields of irregular and regular migration. It claims that Russia's leverage vis-à-vis the Union shaped the migration policy output, in which the visa facilitation regime was introduced as an incentive to readmission. Finally, it stresses the role of Russia in shaping the EU external dimension towards Eastern European countries, once the readmission-visa facilitation nexus has been institutionalised to all the countries in the area.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Pollio Emanuele

**The Indian and Chinese policies towards Africa: a veritable challenge to EU-led interregionalism?**  
in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 2, issue 2 , E 221-238

This paper aims to analyze comparatively EU's, China's and India's diverging designs for the governance of Africa. The paper addresses one fundamental research question: to what extent do the Chinese and Indian competing African policies constrain the European interregional strategy towards Africa? Building on Heiner Haenggi's categorization, the paper investigates the extent to which the emergence of new paradigms of interregionalism (promoted by India and China) might impact on the re-defined EU-Africa interregional development partnerships. The paper submits that the EU's, India's and China's respective regional and interregional policies are generating a competitive "politics of interregionalism" in the African context, where the EU is seeking to perform as a credible "normative power". In a systemic perspective, the EU is undoubtedly called to face the challenge rising from alternative models of interregional cooperation.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/75-the-indian-and-chinese-policies-towards-africa-a-veritable-challenge-to-eu-led-interregionalism>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Cossa Ralph A.

**The Sino-U.S. Relationship: Respecting Each Other's Core Interests**  
in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Vol. 32, Issue 5 , 269-275

This article analyzes the deterioration that has occurred in the relationship between China and the United States and explains the author's conclusion that the situation is not likely to improve soon.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Kaveshnikov Nikolay

**The issue of energy security in relations between Russia and the European Union**  
in *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 4, December , 585-605

This article provides a comprehensive analysis of EU-Russia energy relations in the light of the concept of energy security. It gives a brief overview of various views on the concept of energy security. Further, the article compares developments in EU and Russian internal energy markets and their influence on the external energy policy of both actors. It concludes that predictability might be achieved only in a regulatory framework that aggregates the interests of all stakeholders and ensures a fair distribution of risks, obligations and revenues.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Tkachenko Stanislav

**The project of a European Security Treaty in contemporary Russian foreign policy**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 515-524

The 'New European Security Strategy' proposal by Pres. Medvedev represents a means to establish a more balanced and cooperative relationship between Russia and the West, creating a favorable climate for the modernisation of Russia's political and economic system. It should essentially consist in a declaration of principles of international law, for the entire continent to adhere to, replacing the containment policy reminiscent of the Cold War period and reducing the American hegemony. Apart from easing the connection between the Western 'comprehensive security' approach and Russia's 'intergovernmental' approach, it would also improve Russia's contribution to other world fora.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Lenzi Guido

**The two-headed Russian eagle, European partner or outsider?**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 525-529

In order to recover its world role, Russia should diversify its foreign policy, accepting a strategic partnership with the Eu additional to the 'reset' of its bilateral relations with the Usa. A more meaningful partnership between Brussels and Moscow would be conducive to the stabilization of the 'common contiguity belt' and contribute to a pan-European 'common law', that could also constitute a model for the reintegration of the international system. To this end, information and consultation mechanisms would prove more effective than the legally binding new security architecture put forth by Pres. Medvedev. An endeavor more akin to organic gardening than to solid stone constructions.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Christoffersen, G.

**US-China Energy Relations and Energy Institution Building in the Asia-Pacific**

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 19 Issue 67 , 871 - 889

Although China and the US are starting their fourth decade of energy cooperation, it is only recently that there has been a concerted US effort to create a framework for US-China bilateral energy relations. The past 30 years have witnessed many successful energy projects that have lacked follow through and institutionalization, often becoming 'one-off' exercises that duplicated previous projects. Recent initiatives intend to establish long-term linkages between US and Chinese energy bureaucracies, linking energy efficiency, energy security, and environmental issues. The US is nesting the bilateral relationship in global and Asia-Pacific multilateral energy and environmental regimes, and is also using bilateral agreements as mechanisms to promote domestic energy and environmental reform. This paper will examine US-China relations in the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate and the Five-Country Energy Ministerial.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Beurdeley Laurent

**Un renforcement inédit des relations bilatérales Maroc/UE: l'octroi du statut de partenaire avancé**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 544, janvier, 57-70

The claim for a particular relationship with the EU is an ongoing claim in Morocco's foreign policy, and has been so for several decades. In October 2008, the Kingdom secured the advanced partner status. That reinforced anchoring to the EU, with an indisputable gain in value, leads to complex implications for the country. Though the political dialogue between the partners will be irreversibly reinforced, since the Moroccans can be more closely involved in security and defence issues and comply with some declarations of the European foreign policy, it is more the negotiations on the global free trade agreement that are the main stake to Rabat. Agricultural product liberalisation, which has been scheduled over several years, is in that respect, a significant challenge; it will not be without consequences on small farmers and the rural world. Free trade of goods and services will require an ample and long effort of regulatory convergence and structural adjustments. Simultaneously, Morocco will need to increase the background work initiated towards a democratic transition (the reform of justice and increased corruption prevention are particularly awaited); the Human Right aspect, which is sometimes overseen, will also be conditional of a peaceful relationship with Europe. In the future, the country, could also access some community programmes and join some of the Union's agencies. That unprecedented bilateral movement towards the Europeans should not however minimise the significance of the united Maghreb, which is the great project for the future in the development of the South.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Borrell Fontelles Josep

**Yes the Barcelona Process was “mission impossible”, but the EU can learn from that**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 16, Autumn

The lessons of Europe's ill-fated attempt to forge a Mediterranean political and economic grouping need to be studied carefully, says Josep Borrell. He points to a more modest strategy for the latest plan, the Union for the Mediterranean.

[http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home\\_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21714/language/en-US/Default.aspx](http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21714/language/en-US/Default.aspx)

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Eichwede Wolfgang

**„Entspannung mit menschlichem Antlitz“. KSZE, Menschenrechte, Samizdat**

in *Osteuropa*, 60. Jahrgang, Heft 11, November

ABSTRACT: In den kommunistischen Diktaturen Osteuropas entwickelten sich durch die Selbstverlage, den Samizdat, Räume für unabhängiges Handeln. In der KSZE-Schlussakte von 1975 wurden die Menschenrechte verankert und völkerrechtlich legitimiert. Die Konflikte, die über die Geltung der Menschenrechte in den sozialistischen Ländern und auf internationalem Parkett entstanden, waren ein neues Kapitel in der europäischen Politik. Die Bürgerrechtler



erwiesen sich in der historischen Perspektive als vorausschauender und realistischer als die sogenannten Realpolitiker. In diesem Sinne bleiben die Welten des Samizdat aktuell.

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### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

#### *Subsection 1. Federalism*

Cooter Robert D., Siegel Neil S.

### **Collective Action Federalism: A General Theory of Article I, Section 8**

in **Stanford Law Review**, Vol. 63, issue 1 , 115-186

The Framers of the United States Constitution wrote Article I, Section 8 in order to address some daunting collective action problems facing the young nation. They especially wanted to protect the states from military warfare by foreigners and from commercial warfare against one another. The states acted individually when they needed to act collectively, and Congress lacked power under the Articles of Confederation to address these problems. Section 8 thus authorized Congress to promote the “general Welfare” of the United States by tackling many collective action problems that the states could not solve on their own.

Subsequent interpretations of Section 8, both outside and inside the courts, often have focused on the presence or absence of collective action problems involving multiple states—but not always. For example, the Supreme Court of the United States, in trying to distinguish the “truly national” from the “truly local” in the context of the Commerce Clause, *United States v. Morrison*, 529 U.S. 598, 617-18 (2000), has differentiated “economic” activity, which Congress may regulate, from “noneconomic” activity, which Congress may not regulate.

A federal constitution ideally gives the central and state governments the power to do what each does best. But economic activity does not generally cause collective action problems among the states, and noneconomic activity is not generally free from collective action problems. Consequently, Congress is not generally better at regulating economic activity, and the states are not generally better at regulating noneconomic activity. The distinction between economic and noneconomic activity seems mostly irrelevant to the problems of federalism.

We propose a better foundation for American federalism in Section 8. Our theory distinguishes activities that pose collective action problems from those that do not. This approach flows directly from the relative advantages of the federal government and the states. We show that Section 8 mostly concerns collective action problems created by interstate externalities and national markets. We conclude that Section 8 authorizes Congress to tax, spend, and regulate to solve these collective action problems.

Collective action federalism finds that the limits and expanse of congressional power in Section 8 turn on the difference between individual and collective action by the states. The theory uses this distinction to differentiate interstate commerce from intrastate commerce, not the economic/noneconomic distinction. Our distinction best explains why Congress may not ordinarily use its commerce power to regulate such crimes as assault or gun possession in schools. Collective action federalism also identifies a constitutional “hook” for Congress to regulate multi-state problems of collective action that may not involve commerce: Clause 1 of Section 8 authorizes some forms of regulation of noneconomic harms that spill over state boundaries, such as contagious diseases and certain kinds of environmental pollution.

Full text available at:



<http://www.stanfordlawreview.org/content/article/collective-action-federalism-general-theory-article-i-section-8>

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### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

#### *Subsection 1. Federalism*

Rokosky Seth

#### **Denied and Disparaged: Apply the "Federalist" Ninth Amendment in *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, Vol. 159, issue 1 , 275-334**

In 1987, Robert Bork testified before the Senate as a nominee for the Supreme Court. Time and again, he defended his views about the Constitution by invoking its original meaning. When asked about the Ninth Amendment, however, Bork was at a loss:

I do not think you can use the [N]inth [A]mendment unless you know...what it means. For example, if you had an amendment that says "Congress shall make no" and then there is an ink blot and you cannot read the rest of it and that is the only copy you have, I do not think the court can make up what might be under the ink blot....

After the Bork hearings, Randy Barnett began a study of the Ninth Amendment. He concluded that it protected individual rights not listed in the Constitution. According to Barnett, the Ninth Amendment created a "presumption of liberty," which placed the burden on the government to justify its infringements on individual liberties.

One scholar, however, recently challenged Barnett's work as anachronistic and incomplete. In 2004, Kurt Lash claimed to have uncovered "lost history" of the Ninth Amendment. He produced historical evidence that the Ninth and Tenth Amendments were intended to work together to protect state powers, rather than individual rights. Whereas the Tenth Amendment reserved powers to the states, the Ninth prohibited interpretations of enumerated power that disparaged those states' rights. The debate between Lash and Barnett is ongoing, yet it has attracted little attention until now. Lash's "federalism model" could have far-reaching consequences for federalism jurisprudence; its potential lies in linking the Ninth and Tenth Amendments. Indeed, the Supreme Court often has been criticized for invoking the Tenth Amendment to protect state sovereignty. The Tenth Amendment, critics say, is just a "truism," declaring that states retain all powers not ceded to the federal government. Therefore, the argument goes, the Tenth Amendment cannot limit the power that was delegated to the federal government.

Despite that criticism, the Court has invoked the Tenth Amendment's "spirit" on a number of occasions. In the 1970s and 1980s, it struck down statutes that interfered with "traditional" state functions. In the 1980s and 1990s, it protected state sovereign immunity in cases where the Eleventh Amendment's text seemed not to apply. Finally, in 1995, the Court limited the commerce power for the first time in sixty years. In citing the Tenth Amendment, however, the Court consistently came under fire, from both academics and some of its own members, for protecting state sovereignty without textual or historical support.

In this Comment, I explore how Lash's "federalism model" of the Ninth Amendment might be applied to the Supreme Court's federalism jurisprudence. My aims are twofold: first, to provide an objective summary of Barnett and Lash's recent debate to discern exactly what their two "models" of the Ninth Amendment entail; and second, to demonstrate how the lack of a federalist Ninth Amendment might have forced the Court to stretch the scope of the Tenth and Eleventh Amendments beyond their text, inviting charges of judicial activism.



In Part I, I trace the Ninth Amendment's history by focusing on Lash's and Barnett's developing scholarship. In Part II, I explain how Barnett's "individual rights model" already has been applied, albeit unsuccessfully, over the last fifty years. Finally, in Part III, I apply the "federalism model" to Commerce Clause, Tenth Amendment, and Eleventh Amendment jurisprudence. I argue that the Court struggled in each instance to protect states from expanding federal power partly because the Ninth Amendment's federalist history had not yet been uncovered. To prevent broad interpretations of federal power as it did, the Court needed a rule of construction that the Tenth Amendment's text could not supply. Under the "federalism model," however, the Ninth Amendment would provide such a rule. Therefore, the Court could have answered charges of judicial activism by citing the Ninth Amendment in addition to the Tenth. Ultimately, I conclude that, if Lash's historical analysis proves correct, then the Ninth Amendment could provide a check on federal power that is more rooted in constitutional text than are existing protections of federalism

Full text available at.

<http://www.pennumbra.com/issues/article.php?aid=292>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Schmitt Nicolas

**Fédéralisme et modifications territoriales en Suisse: ouvrir la boîte de Pandore**  
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1107-1127

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Mastromarino Anna

**Il diritto comparato alle prese con il multiculturalismo: una sfida aperta. Il federalismo disaggregativo nella teoria dei tipi di Stato**  
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 964-1004

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Gargano Rodolfo

**Il federalismo a tutti i livelli**  
in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIII, n. 2 , 149-160

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=481](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=481)



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1.Federalism*

Berger Bethany R.

**Reconciling Equal Protection and Federal Indian Law**

in *California Law Review*, Vol. 98, n. 4 , 1165-1198

Federal Indian law and policy, which largely concern the distinct status of Indian individuals and tribes defined in part by descent, increasingly face challenges that they violate equal protection law. This Article argues that such challenges stem from what Professor Philip Frickey has criticized as the seduction of artificial coherence, and ignore the congruence of federal Indian policy and equal protection as matters of constitutional norms, history, and text. At their best, federal Indian policies undo the results of defining indigenous peoples as inferior racial groups rather than sovereigns entitled to political and property rights. This consistency between civil rights and tribal rights, moreover, is affirmed by the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment, judicial precedent, and historical practice. Basic constitutional values and interpretive principles support both equal protection and tribal rights, and militate against any false dichotomy that would undermine the principles of equality and respect on which both are based.

Full text available at:

<http://www.californialawreview.org/assets/pdfs/98-4/Berger.FINAL.pdf>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1.Federalism*

Tremblay Luc

**The Bouchard-Taylor Report on Cultural and Religious Accommodation: Multiculturalism by Any Other Name?**

in *Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles*, Vol. 15, n. 1

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1.Federalism*

Laforest Guy

**The Meaning of Canadian Federalism in Québec: Critical Reflections**

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, n. 11 , 10-55

Full text available at:

[http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/\\_reaf11\\_Laforest\\_tcm112-132308.pdf](http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf11_Laforest_tcm112-132308.pdf)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1.Federalism*





Bickerton Christopher J.

**Une Europe néo-madisonienne ?**

in *Revue française de science politique*, vol. 60, n. 6, décembre

Une question centrale pour la théorie politique est de savoir comment réconcilier l'idéal démocratique – selon lequel le pouvoir est détenu par le peuple – avec la réalité d'un pouvoir restreint et limité. Cette question est apparue dans le débat autour du « déficit démocratique » de l'Union européenne. Selon le discours néo-madisonien, où la « gouvernance multi-niveaux » de l'UE est présentée comme version moderne du système de séparation et diffusion de pouvoir élaboré par Madison dans le *Fédéraliste*, l'UE apparaît comme une solution aux problèmes du majoritarisme à l'échelle nationale. Cet article développe une critique de ce discours en proposant une lecture « républicaine » du système politique madisonien qui souligne le lien entre institutions et normes et entre limitations juridiques et souveraineté populaire.

A central question of political theory has long been how to reconcile the democratic ideal – where the people rule – with the reality of political power that is restrained and limited in various ways. This question has recently been raised in the debate on the European Union's "democratic deficit". A neo-Madisonian discourse has emerged that identifies in the EU's multi-level governance a contemporary version of Madison's separation of powers and checks and balances. This article develops a critique of this discourse by revisiting Madison's writings and highlighting his republican vision of democratic legitimacy whereby institutional limitations to power are legitimized through their relationship with the principle of popular sovereignty.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

**Albertini Mario**



**Unire l'Europa per unire il mondo**

in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIII, n. 2 , 161-170

[http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=482](http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=482)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Laforest Guy

**What Canadian Federalism Means in Québec**

in *Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles*, Vol. 15, n. 1

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Patten

**"The most natural State": Herder and Nationalism**

in *History of Political Thought*, Vol. 31, Issue 4 , 657-689

Herder is often considered a cultural nationalist rather than a political nationalist. Although there is a measure of truth in this assessment, it overlooks the important passages in Herder's writings where he did make political claims about the nation. The article explores the basis of these claims, and tries to articulate what is theoretically interesting and plausible in Herder's account. Herder defended the nationally bounded state (as opposed to the nation-state) with an argument that rests on an individuality principle and a nationality principle. Together these principles inform a variant of nationalism that is liberal and democratic in orientation and that remains relevant for contemporary normative theorists working on a range of problems.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Mosselson Aidan

**'There is no difference between citizens and non-citizens anymore': Violent Xenophobia, Citizenship and the Politics of Belonging in Post-Apartheid South Africa**

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 36, Issue 3, September , 641-655

The xenophobic violence of May 2008 is symptomatic of the politics of belonging and contestation for citizenship that has taken root in post-apartheid South Africa. The violent exclusion of foreigners is one of the central ways in which the new South African political community is being fashioned. This practice has been established first and foremost by the state, through the entrenchment of extra-legal and, in some cases, overtly illegal ways of dealing with foreign nationals. The establishment of an extra-legal order as a way of governing societies is what Agamben terms 'the state of exception'. The state of exception, it is argued, has emerged as the dominant paradigm through which non-nationals are dealt with by the South African state. This practice has been central in defining the South African political community



and establishing the grounds for inclusion and exclusion in the nation. It is thus a central mechanism through which the politics of belonging is mediated in post-apartheid South Africa. At the same time, because this extra-legal order has established non-nationals as being outside the political community, they have emerged as targets upon which segments of the citizenry are able to act in order to assert their own political rights to belong. The xenophobic attacks are symptomatic of this process and need to be understood as manifestations of the state of exception in South Africa and the type of politics of belonging that this has given rise to. This article thus attempts to contribute to the understanding of the attacks as well as the broader socio-political context by which they have been shaped.

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### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

#### *Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Bianco Giuseppe**

#### **And nothing else matters. The ICJ's judicial restraint in its Opinion on Kosovo's Independence in Perspectives on federalism, Vol. 2, issue 2 , N 24-34**

The International Court of Justice gave its Advisory Opinion on the "Accordance with international law of the unilateral declaration of independence in respect of Kosovo" few months ago. It found no prohibition in general international law, including state practice, the principle of territorial integrity, Security Council resolutions, the principle of self-determination and the right to remedial secession. Neither Resolution 1244 (1999) nor the Constitutional Framework prevented the authors from declaring independence. The author analyses the Court's approach, its conclusions and the issues which remain open.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/73-and-nothing-else-matters-the-icjs-judicial-restraint-in-its-opinion-on-kosovos-independence>

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### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

#### *Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Dubnov Arie M.**

#### **Anti-cosmopolitan liberalism: Isaiah Berlin, Jacob Talmon and the dilemma of national identity in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 16, Issue 4, October 2010 , 559-578**

ABSTRACT. The debate between contemporary cosmopolitans and advocates of nationalism is hardly new. Nevertheless, much of it is based on the erroneous assumption that cosmopolitanism should be seen as an outgrowth of liberalism, and that both should be considered as the complete conceptual opposites of nationalism. In this article I focus on two of the post-war Jewish anglophile intellectuals who took part in this debate during the Cold War years: the Oxonian liberal philosopher Sir Isaiah Berlin (1909–97) and the Israeli historian Jacob L. Talmon (1916–80). I use their examples to argue that the dividing line between cosmopolitans and advocates of nationalism should not be regarded as signifying the distinction between liberals and anti-liberals; in fact, this debate also took place within the camp of the liberal thinkers themselves. I divide my discussion into three parts. Firstly, I examine Berlin's and Talmon's positions within the post-war anti-totalitarian discourse, which came to be known as 'liberalism of fear'. Secondly, I show how a sense of Jewish identity, combined with deep Zionist convictions, induced both thinkers to divorce anti-nationalist cosmopolitanism – which they regarded as a hollow, illusionary ideal associated with impossible assimilationist



yearnings – from the liberal idea. I conclude by suggesting that, although neither man had ever developed a systematic theoretical framework to deal with the complex interactions between ethno-nationalism, liberal individualism and multiculturalism, Berlin's vision of pluralism provides the foundations for building such a theory, in which liberalism and nationalism become complementary rather than conflicting notions.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Salzborn Samuel

**Antisemitismus und Nation. Zur historischen Genese der sozialwissenschaftlichen Theoriebildung  
in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 2010/4 , 393-407**

Antisemitism and Nation. Historical Genesis and Theory Building in the Social Sciences

This article looks at how the relationship between antisemitism and nation(alism) has been conceptually formulated in social scientific research on antisemitism. In considering relevant theoretical contributions from the fields of political science, sociology and psychology, particular attention is given to reconstructing the general elements that underlie the development of these theories. Beyond looking at this historical genesis, a systematic analysis will also consider the controversy between two poles of argumentation: antisemitism as anti-nationalist ideology and/or as "nationalist antisemitism".

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Schmidinger Thomas, Stögner Karin

**Antisemitismus und die Transformation des Nationalen. Eine Einleitung.  
in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 2010/4 , 387-392**

Die hier versammelten Artikel nähern sich diesen Fragen aus sehr unterschiedlichen Perspektiven an und geben damit wichtige Einblicke in aktuelle Forschungsansätze und Debatten. Zunächst diskutiert Samuel Salzborn verschiedene theoretische Ansätze der sozialwissenschaftlichen Antisemitismusforschung zum Verhältnis von Antisemitismus und Nation. Robert Fine beschäftigt sich mit Jürgen Habermas' Konzeption der "postnationalen Konstellation" und fragt nach deren spezifischen Implikationen für die Analyse des Antisemitismus im Post-Holocaust Europa. Natan Sznaider setzt in seiner Auseinandersetzung mit den antisemitismustheoretischen Ansätzen Hannah Arendts diese mit Georg Simmel, Karl Marx, Werner Sombart und Juri Slezkine in Beziehung. Der Beitrag von Eva Kreisky und Saskia Stachowitsch beschäftigt sich mit jüdischen Staatsperspektiven am Ende der Habsburgermonarchie. Matthias Falter und Elisabeth Kübler analysieren schließlich mit einer Dokumentenanalyse der UN-Weltkonferenz gegen Rassismus 2009 (Durban II) das Singling-out Israels als Form eines "postnationalen" Antisemitismus. Schließlich geht Andreas Peham auf Wandel und Kontinuität des Antisemitismus in der FPÖ ein.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Fox Jon E., Vermeersch Peter

**Backdoor Nationalism**

in *European Journal of Sociology*, Volume 51, Issue 02, August 2010 , 325-357

Abstract

Contrary to expectations, the EU's eastward expansion in 2004 did not sound the death knoll of nationalism in the region; rather, it signalled its reinvention and, in some respects, reinvigoration. In this paper, we examine three ways in which nationalism has been redefined in Hungary and Poland in the context of EU enlargement. First, consensus on the desirability of European unification has lessened the importance of left/right party divisions; in its place, the "nation" has provided a fulcrum for inter-party contestation. Second, EU integration has provided nationalists in the region with a backdoor for realising old nationalist ambitions of national reunification across the porous borders of the EU. Third, we examine the way radical nationalist organisations in Hungary and Poland increasingly define themselves in opposition to the EU.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Sokolowski Jeanne

**Between Dangerous Extremes: Victimization, Ultrnationalism, and Identity Performance in Gerald Vizenor's Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57**

in *American Quarterly*, vol 62, n. 3, September , 717-738

This essay discusses Gerald Vizenor's novel *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* within the context of identity construction, foregrounding parallels between nationalist movements in post-World War II Japan and in Native American communities. Through an analysis of Vizenor's characterization of these nationalist movements, the author argues for a reading of the novel as critiquing the potential for these movements to devolve into the extremes of victimization or excessive cultural pride. The essay concludes with a focus on how Vizenor employs a musical metaphor to suggest an alternative to the dangerous extremes of nationalism, and as an exemplar of how cultural exchanges and interracial alliances can function to support efforts for survival in a postnational, racially hybridized and hybridizing world.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Jarausch Konrad H.

**Beyond the National Narrative: Implications of Reunification for Recent German History**

in *German History*, vol. 28, n. 4, December , 498-514

This essay addresses the interpretative implications of German unification. It first suggests that the explanatory challenge is to trace the precise interaction between the international framework of détente and the internal dynamics of



the democratic awakening. It then posits that part of the history of the years 1990–2010 in Germany, sometimes referred to as the 'Berlin Republic', can be understood as working out the consequences of unification; but a growing part is also composed of other issues such as globalization, immigration and educational reform. And it finally argues that the resumption of the national narrative is a backward-looking perspective that blocks the recognition of more recent problem areas that cannot be dealt with by telling a success story about the Federal Republic, but require an engagement with issues of postmodern modernity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Hroch Miroslav**

**Comments**

**in Nationalities Papers**, Volume 38, Issue 6, November 2010 , 881-890

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Savage Mike, Wright David, Gayo-Cal Modesto**

**Cosmopolitan nationalism and the cultural reach of the white British**

**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 16, Issue 4, October 2010 , 598-615

ABSTRACT. In recent years, strong claims have been made for the breakdown of national boundaries and the reformation of national identities in an increasingly interconnected global world – driven in large part by the possibilities and limitations that emerge from an increasingly global media world. It has been argued that new postnational, cosmopolitan subjectivities accompany, enable and feed off globally oriented forms of cultural consumption. This article examines these claims in the light of unusually comprehensive data on the tastes of the white British population collected in a large national sample survey, in-depth interviews and focus groups. By identifying and analysing the geographical spread of the cultural referents of the tastes of the white British we make an empirical assessment of the claims for cosmopolitan identities. We argue that if white British identities are being reformed by processes of globalisation it is, paradoxically, in an increasingly Anglophone direction.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Brett Judith, Moran Anthony**

**Cosmopolitan nationalism: ordinary people making sense of diversity**

**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 17, Issue 1, January 2011 , 188-206

ABSTRACT. This article challenges the theoretical opposition between nationalism and cosmopolitanism with empirical research on the ways in which a group of ordinary Australians talked about multiculturalism in the 1980s and again in the 2000s. It shifts attention from identity work to the understanding of day-to-day social relations: it finds that they are



strongly nationalist and yet also display a cosmopolitan embrace of the benefits of cultural diversity. They draw on the inclusionary resources of Australian nationalism and its history to strengthen their cosmopolitanism and calm their anxieties about living with diversity. Their commonsense conceptualising of Australia's contemporary multicultural society in terms of a mix of individuals rather than an ensemble of groups is crucial to understanding why cultural diversity has been embraced within the framework of the nation.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Huyseune Michel

**Defending National Identity and Interests: The Lega Nord 's Asymmetric Model of Globalisation in Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism** , vol. 10, n. 2, October , 221-233

As a movement defending the interests of the wealthier northern regions of Italy, the Lega Nord proposes a nation-building discourse emphasising the successful insertion of Padania (i.e. northern Italy) in the global economy. While its rhetoric exalts the virtues of a liberal economic model, in recent years, the party has also defended the exclusive right of Padania to economic protection. This economic protectionism finds a parallel in the party's defense of cultural identity, although this identity equally expresses the capacity of Padanians to participate in the global economy. This defence intends to assign Padanians a privileged position in their territory and hence proposes discriminatory practices towards outsiders, especially immigrants. The party thus solves the tension between its legitimisation of and resistance against globalisation by proposing an asymmetric model of globalisation that envisions an internal and international political order based on unequal rights and obligations – and thus privileges for Padania.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Shaikh Juned

**Democracy and the Recasting of Caste in India (Review Essay) in India Review**, Volume 9, Issue 4, October , 450-461

The three books under review offer a fascinating account of how the processes of democracy and the practices of the modern Indian state have refashioned caste as an important feature of social stratification and self-definition. But the implication of the recasting of caste varies in the three accounts. According to Zoya Hasan, caste is an important marker of socio-economic backwardness and the policies of affirmative action that are based on this disadvantage should be extended to minorities. For Lucia Michelutti, electoral politics has refashioned caste into ethnic groups. The ethnicization of caste is premised on the horizontal solidarities of fictive kin groups. For Anupama Rao, the politics of dalit emancipation from caste atrocities has paradoxically exposed dalits to further acts of violence. Together, these books offer a compelling account of the formation of political subjects in modern India.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Trajano Julius Cesar I.



## **Ethnic Nationalism and Separatism in West Papua, Indonesia**

**in Peace, Conflict and Development**, Volume 16, Issue 6, November , 12-34

This paper examines the political and socioeconomic causes of ethnic secessionism and conflicts in West Papua. It argues that a number of political and socioeconomic factors compelled the West Papuans to launch their armed struggles for self-determination and strengthened their ethnic nationalist sentiment. It attempts to analyze and explicate the relationship between the political and socioeconomic problems besetting West Papua and ethnic secessionism in that province. Lack of basic and social services, exploitation of their natural resources, weakening of local institutions, erosion of traditional culture and norms, uneven distribution of wealth, military atrocities, and discrimination, among others, have compelled the West Papuans to conduct anti-Indonesia, separatist activities and have reinforced their ethnic nationalist claims. Political and socioeconomic problems are among the sources of discontent and distrust that gave birth to the current rebellion in West Papua. Despite its abundant natural resources, West Papua is among the poorest provinces in the country. Widespread poverty and starvation in West Papua have been caused by the exploitative activities of transnational corporations as well as by the Indonesian central government. The policies of the Indonesian government give rise to appalling socioeconomic realities in that region. Horrendous political and socioeconomic realities in their homeland have compelled the West Papuans to secede from the Indonesian unitary state. Ethnic nationalism has prompted them to defend their political and socioeconomic rights. In some multiethnic states such as Indonesia, ethnic nationalism is the response of ethnic groups to situations of ethnic-structural inequality and uneven development. The common feeling among the West Papuans is that instead of getting a fair share from the enormous revenues earned by TNCs and by the central government, they suffer starvation, marginalization, and military atrocities. Consequently, the West Papuans perceive that their communities are being plundered, exploited, and treated unjustly by the Indonesians. In conclusion, the resistance and armed struggle of the West Papuans have been induced by the political and socioeconomic impact of Indonesian rule over their communities.

Full text available online: [http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/iss\\_16\\_art\\_2.pdf](http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/iss_16_art_2.pdf)

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### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

#### *Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Dandoy Régis

### **Ethno-regionalist parties in Europe: a typology**

**in Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 2, issue 2 , E 194-220

There is barely any agreement in the literature on the way one should compare the political parties defending the interest of a specific community on a particular territory – the ethno-regionalist parties – and classify them. Based on the analysis of the ideological positions of ethno-regionalist parties in Western Europe, this article suggests a identification of these parties, partially relying on previous attempts of building typologies. Focusing on the essential dimension of the strength of the demands regarding the preferred state structure and the future of their region, we will suggest a renewed typology and we will demonstrate the neglected importance of the protectionist parties (soft demands) and of the secessionist parties (strong or radical demands) in such typology. This article will also clarify the terminology used when dealing with independentist, irredentist and rattachist parties by complementing the traditional approach with studies from international relations.

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/74-ethno-regionalist-parties-in-europe-a-typology>





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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Light Nathan

**Genealogy, history, nation**

in **Nationalities Papers**, Volume 39, Issue 1, January 2011 , 33 - 53

Abstract

This article uses Central Asian examples to challenge theories of ethnic nationalism that locate its origins in intellectual activism (Hroch), state modernization processes (Gellner), or the rise of mass media (Anderson). Modern Uyghur cultural politics and traditional Central Asian dynastic genealogies reveal related processes used in constructing modern nationalist symbols and pre-modern ideologies of descent. Modern territorial states with ideals of social unification and bureaucratic organization rely upon nationalist discourses to elaborate and rework cultural forms into evidence for the ethnic nation. The state links citizens to institutions through nationalist content used in political discourse, schooling, and public performances. Because such content is presented as authentic but used instrumentally, its contingency and fabrication have to be concealed from view: the culturally intimate spaces of bureaucratic production of culture and narratives are separated from public performances. The creation of genealogies used to legitimate pre-modern states are similar: compositional processes and goals are kept offstage, and little is disclosed in the public historical narratives and performances.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Shetler Jan Bender

**Historical memory as a foundation for peace: Network formation and ethnic identity in North Mara, Tanzania**

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 47, Number 5, September , 639-650

While ethnic identity formulated by historical memory is often understood as the cause of violent conflict in Africa, this qualitative historical study of interethnic relations between Luo and Bantu-speaking communities on the borderlands of Tanzania and western Kenya demonstrates just the opposite. In fact, migration and violent conflicts over land in the late 19th century were the basis for oral traditions that established new microethnic identities. It was only in the colonial era that the modern macroethnicities of Luo and Suba (Bantu), as rigid oppositional identities, began to solidify around land disputes. Historical memory constructs these dynamic microethnic identities around interethnic reciprocal networks that were necessary for gaining security and access to land in the past. During these late 19th-century conflicts, interethnic alliances and marriages were the norm, resulting in many Bantu-speaking communities becoming Luo, to one degree or another. Historical memory, as the central tool for constructing ethnicity, can be used to promote either violence or peace, depending on how it is deployed. In western Kenya, an oppositional Luo identity resulted from the colonial construction of macroethnicity, while in North Mara, Tanzania, a different national narrative has resulted in relative peace. In his collection of oral traditions from North Mara, Zedekia Oloo Siso makes a case for these still salient microethnicities, based on regional networks that cross-cut ethnic boundaries, as the indigenous networks necessary for peace.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Edwards Paul N., Hecht Gabrielle

**History and the Technopolitics of Identity: The Case of Apartheid South Africa**

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 36, Issue 3, September , 619-639

This article explores the history of nuclear systems and computers in apartheid South Africa, considering these systems - and apartheid more generally - as forms of 'technopolitics', hybrids of technical systems and political practices that produced new forms of power and agency. Both systems were exceptionally important to the apartheid state, not only as tools but also as symbols. Equally significant, both came to serve as focal points for Western governments and international anti-apartheid activists, who fought to limit South Africa's access to these systems. We argue that nuclear systems enacted the technopolitics of national identity, while computers expressed a technopolitics of social identity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Jullien François

**Il nazionalismo economico**

in *Aspenia*, n. 50, ottobre, "La Cina post-americana" , 69-100

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Chong Natividad Gutiérrez

**Indigenous Political Organizations and the Nation-State: Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico**

in *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Volume 35, n. 3, July-Sept. , 259-268

The growing visibility of indigenous political organizations and activism in Latin America has a variety of claims and methods to interrelate with the state and organized civil society. These claims are framed within the logic of development and state construction; thus, these political projects fueled by ethnic actors do not have a secessionist outlook. This article addresses the different types of ethnic conflict current in Latin America. It also discusses the practical experience of implementing rights of autonomy. By highlighting the frequent types of ethnic conflict and their prevalence, the author looks forward to proposing a comparative model to explain the different routes taken by the construction of an inclusive, plurinational state led by ethnic actors. The article derives its analysis from the data bank of indigenous organizations, ORINDAL.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Indelicato Alberto

**Internazionalismo e nazione: un duello durato due secoli**

in *Clio - Rivista trimestrale di studi storici*, a. 46, n. 3 , 349-362



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Beck Ulrich, Grande Edgar

**Jenseits des methodologischen Nationalismus. Außereuropäische und europäische Variationen der Zweiten Moderne**

in *Soziale Welt*, Jahrgang 61, Heft 3-4, 2010 , 187-216

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Kreisky Eva, Stachowitsch Saskia

**Jüdische Staatsperspektiven: Kosmopolitismus, Assimilationismus und Zionismus**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2010/4 , 435-449

Jewish Perspectives on the State: Cosmopolitanism, Assimilationism, and Zionism

Jewish political thought and practice are only of marginal importance within historical and social science oriented Jewish Studies. Research has thereby contributed to the de-politicization of Jewish history. Beginning in the 18th century, struggles for emancipation and establishment of the modern nation-state have politicized European Jewry and put forward new perspectives on the state and the nation. This article investigates the connections between state formation, nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and Jewish visions of the state. For this purpose, the Jewish relationship to contemporary discourses on nation and "Volk" are clarified and the spectrum of Jewish perspectives on the state exemplified on the political concepts of cosmopolitanism, assimilationism, and Zionism. The focus lies on Central and Eastern Europe as well as on German-language discourses.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Simatei Peter

**Kalenjin popular music and the contestation of national space in Kenya**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 4, Issue 3, November , 425-434

This paper addresses how Kalenjin popular music, played mainly on the Kalenjin language KASS FM Radio based in Nairobi and also broadcasting on the Internet, participates in the consolidation of Kalenjin identities by recasting the collective national space - as governed by the nation-state - as a sphere of influence potentially injurious to imagined Kalenjin cultural and economic interests. It becomes a music of identity that deploys history, mythology and narration as a means of reshaping Kalenjin self-definition and culture. But while paying attention to these forms of ethnic



self-definition, and how they are used to counter the homogenizing and hegemonizing logic of the national space, this paper also addresses the contradictions that circumscribe the music's gesture towards the pure ethnic while operating from a space that is already hybrid and multicultural, shaped by a confluence of non-Kalenjin ways of life, values and ideas. The conclusion shows how the emergence of new sites of power brokering has challenged the nation-state's governance of the public domain.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Bréville Benoît**

**La Révolution tranquille n'a pas eu lieu  
in Monde Diplomatique (Le), Novembre**

Les quatre cents ans de la ville de Québec, en 2008, ont été célébrés dans une évocation triomphale de l'unité nationale canadienne. Grâce aux 150 millions de dollars débloqués par les différents gouvernements, une flottille de voiliers quitta La Rochelle afin de reconstituer la traversée de l'Atlantique, des concerts gratuits furent organisés (Céline Dion, Paul McCartney...), un film retraçant l'histoire du Québec fut projeté chaque soir sur un écran monumental, etc. Un autre anniversaire, en revanche, est passé inaperçu : le cinquantenaire de la Révolution tranquille, début de l'essor d'un souverainisme progressiste qui parvint à doter le Québec d'un système social avancé. Depuis, pourtant, l'abandon par le nationalisme québécois de ses visées progressistes a causé sa perte. L'histoire aurait-elle pu suivre une autre voie ?

En 1960, Jean Lesage, chef du Parti libéral du Québec (PLQ), succède comme premier ministre à Maurice Duplessis, le fondateur de la très conservatrice Union nationale. Dans cette province francophone où le capital étranger domine, la stagnation économique a provoqué un fort chômage (9,2 % en 1960) et, en absence d'intervention publique, c'est l'Eglise catholique qui règne sur l'éducation, la santé et les services sociaux. Autour du slogan « Maîtres chez nous », le nouveau gouvernement entreprend de « moderniser » le Québec — terme qui, à l'époque, ne signifiait pas couper dans les services publics.

Le keynésianisme mâtiné de nationalisme économique des architectes de la Révolution tranquille accouche d'un Etat-providence d'inspiration... britannique. Les dépenses de santé sont prises en charge par la Régie de l'assurance-maladie, et celle des rentes du Québec remplace l'insuffisant système de retraites de l'Etat fédéral canadien. Instaurant la gratuité de l'enseignement, le gouvernement libéral démocratise l'éducation. Et, pour accroître la part du public dans l'économie, il crée des sociétés d'Etat (Caisses de dépôt et de placement, Société générale de financement, etc.). La nationalisation totale des entreprises

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Cohen Paul**

**Lessons from the Nationalization Nation: State-Owned Enterprises in France  
in Dissent, Winter, 2010**

With a steep recession in full swing, it's French-bashing time again on the editorial pages and in the business sections of American newspapers. As the Obama administration frantically weighed policy options, pundits agonized over the



prospect of the U.S. government's taking stakes in banks, and automakers contemplated France with a mix of horror and resignation. When, last February, the Washington Post dared a tentative endorsement of government takeovers, it did so apologetically, reassuring its readers that it shared their distaste for Gallic planning: "We can understand why talk of bank nationalization freaks out the stock market: The very notion is so, well, French." The New York Times's economics columnist David Leonhardt called for temporary nationalizations, but he took pains to distinguish them from the nefarious takeovers inflicted by leftist ideologues. Atop Leonhardt's ash heap of history lay a triptych of state-engineered dystopias: Lenin's totalitarian [...]

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

P&#259;ltineanu Oana Sînziana

**Miroslav Hroch's model of small nation-formation and Begriffsgeschichte in Nationalities Papers**, Volume 38, Issue 6, November 2010 , 813 - 827

Abstract

This article focuses on Miroslav Hroch's book titled *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* and it tries to build on Hroch's model of small nation-formation mainly on a methodological level. The aim is to incorporate the "subjective" dimension in Hroch's analysis of the "objective" factors that lead to nation-formation, by opening up the discursive level to investigation. I suggest that the comparative study of nation-formation needs to remain connected to the study of nationalism as a phenomenon, including the investigation of the discursive plane, of the political languages, and histories of concepts. In this sense, the article seeks to link Hroch's work to *Begriffsgeschichte* and to present a range of interpretations on how these two could work together, on a methodological level. The answers come mainly from Reinhart Koselleck's theorizing on the relation between social history and the history of concepts. This article also addresses compatibility problems that aim to encourage a more integrative type of analysis that would entail an in-depth and critical revisiting of Hroch's model. At the same time, Hroch's model proves to be flexible enough to be situated at the intersection of more types of history writing.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Cutolo Armando

**Modernity, autochthony and the Ivorian nation: the end of a century in Côte d'Ivoire in Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute**, Volume 80, Number 4 , 527-552

In the mid-1990s, Côte d'Ivoire witnessed the rise of the ideology of *ivoirité*, a conception of citizenship based on autochthonous origins. *Ivoirité* was elaborated by a group of Ivorian intellectuals in the context of the political struggle opposing Henry Konan Bédié to Alassane Ouattara in the succession to the late President Houphouët-Boigny. Through the tactical use of the rhetoric of *ivoirité*, Ouattara was depicted by his adversaries as a 'Burkinabé' trying to rule the country. Going beyond this tactical aspect, the article addresses the ideological relations linking *ivoirité* to the 'project of an Ivorian liberal society' explicitly constructed by the same intellectuals. These relations contributed to the emergence, in the Ivorian public space, of a discourse establishing self-evident, hegemonic connections between notions like autochthony, modernity and nationality, on the one hand, and biopolitical concepts like population, immigration, security and resources on the other. The article uses two complementary perspectives to frame this emergent discourse. One focuses on the historical continuity of the political-economic strategies and population policies implemented by colonial



governments and post-colonial elites. The other uses Giorgio Agamben's critical enquiry into citizenship and nationality to bring to light the implication of the *ivoirité* intellectuals in the construction of a national bios, and thus in the singling out of a paradigmatic form of bare life.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

McGahern Una

**Multicultural Norms and Strategies: Minority Policy in an Ethnocratic State in Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 3, November , 415-433

It is widely assumed that a fundamental contradiction exists between multiculturalism and ethnocracy. As a result, there has been a distinct lack of research investigating the strategic relationship which can and does exist between both theories in practice. This article sets out to overcome this gap through an examination of state policy towards the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel. It identifies certain limits to the conceptual frameworks typically used to investigate multiculturalism and suggests that the range of policy options open to ethnocratic regimes is, in fact, far more malleable, selective and flexible than has hitherto been described.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Ioannis N. Grigoriadis and Irmak Özer

**Mutations of Turkish Nationalism: From Neo-Nationalism to the Ergenekon Affair in Middle East Policy**, Volume 17, Issue 4, Winter , 101-113

First page and preview online: <http://www.mepc.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/mutations-turkish-nationalism>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Greer Allan

**National, Transnational, and Hypernational Historiographies: New France Meets Early American History in Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 56, Issue 4, December , 695-724

Have transnational currents (Atlantic, borderlands, continentalist) in the history of colonial North America overcome the distortions long associated with a national framing of research on the early modern period? Have we left behind the tendency to read the political geography of the nineteenth century back into the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Taking the example of writings on New France, a colonial formation that sprawled across large parts of what was to become Canada and the United States, this article argues that national historiographic traditions continue to exert a powerful influence. Even as they pursue their subject across modern borders, Canadian, Quebec and United States historians frequently view New France through the lens of their own respective national traditions. The recent upsurge of interest in New France on the part of Early Americanists is a welcome development, but its impact is somewhat vitiated by a tendency to retain a United States-centric intellectual agenda while annexing new territories and cultures to what remains a national intellectual enterprise. The article concludes with the suggestion that New France specialists situate their work more in a wider hemispheric context, one that includes comparative perspectives on Latin



America and the Caribbean.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Gelvin James L.

**Nationalism, Anarchism, Reform: Political Islam from the Inside Out  
in Middle East Policy**, Volume 17, Issue 3, Fall , 118-133

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Fine Robert

**Nationalism, Postnationalism, Antisemitism: Thoughts on the Politics of Jürgen Habermas  
in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , 2010/4 , 409-420

Nationalism, Postnationalism, Antisemitism: Thoughts on the Politics of Jürgen Habermas

This paper explores some of the ways the question of antisemitism figures in the political writings of Jürgen Habermas. It pays tribute to Habermas' determination to confront the legacy of European antisemitism in his reconstructive politics, especially in relation to his vision of the postnational constellation. It also addresses the limitations of an approach to antisemitism which grants key analytical status to a national-postnational dichotomy. The last part of the paper concerns the transmutation of the content of postnational theory: from offering a critical engagement with the legacy of European antisemitism into a standard of judgment that contrasts an idealized image of Europe as a postnational political community with a particularised image of Israel as the incarnation of the defects of nationalism. I argue that this is an uncritical turn. It is not the product of any change in Habermas' own work but of a misappropriation of his theory that nonetheless has roots in what it misappropriates. The paper calls for more attention to be given to the symbolic universe through which antisemitism functions.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Mavroudi Elizabeth

**Nationalism, the Nation and Migration: Searching for Purity and Diversity  
in Space and Polity**, Volume 14, Number 3 / December , 219 - 233

This paper adds to debates on the double-edged and contested nature of nationalism and its relationships with migration and diaspora. It does this by focusing on the notion of purity and highlights the ways in which national identities can be based on homogenising constructions of the nation. In an age where the nation-state system and migration are both important and in which there are recurring politicised uses of nationalism in potentially extreme ways, the paper discusses how nationalism can be problematic. It calls for contextualised and grounded research on the everyday



meanings of nationalism in order to emphasise the messy and often ambivalent nature of national identities. In this way, it argues that there is potential for 'rescuing nationalism' as a more inclusive, diverse notion.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Ansel Darío

**Nazionalismo basco e classe operaia durante la Seconda Repubblica  
in Spagna Contemporanea**, Anno XIX, n. 37 , 51-72

This article explores the complex link between the Basque nationalist movement and the local working class during the republican period, from April 1931 to July 1936. The analysis takes into account the various approaches to the worker question developed within nationalists, focusing on the two major nationalist mass organizations, Partido Nacionalista Vasco and trade union Solidaridad de Trabajadores Vascos.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Pani Narendar

**Reservations, Exclusion, and Conflict: Some Insights From Mandal and Mysore  
in India Review**, Volume 9, Issue 4, October , 397-424

Caste-based reservations (quotas) in government jobs and admissions to educational institutions in India have been associated with bouts of sometimes intense social conflict. The debate about this conflict has focused primarily on the case for and against reservations per se. Even when variations have been noticed in the degree of conflict generated by reservations across regions, the tendency has been to attribute the differences to local social conditions. Very little attention has been paid to the question of whether the type of reservations implemented in each region influences the nature and extent of conflict. This article attempts to answer this question by comparing the Mandal Commission Report with the experience of princely Mysore, and later Karnataka. Abstracting from these experiences, the article develops two concepts: reservations with exclusion and reservations without exclusion. It goes on to argue that reservations with exclusion create greater conflict.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Weber Bodo

**Rethinking Modern Ethnic Nationalism: Paramilitary Groups, Collective Violence and the Ethnicisation of the  
Balkan societies in the 1990s  
in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 357, automne, 2010 , 75-90

The violent breakdown of Yugoslavia and the Balkan wars of the 1990s signalled the beginning of a new era marked by the global rise of collective (ethnic, religious) ideologies and of new forms of violent conflicts. With his article, Bodo Weber aims to contribute to an understanding of this development. He analyzes the violent ethnicisation processes in the post-Yugoslav societies, approaching them from a distinct form of violent actors – paramilitary groups. Weber discusses studies that analyze paramilitary groups in the Balkans from a rational-choice perspective. Moreover, he





strives to explore that a policy purposefully using criminal elements as a means to realize the aim of creating 'ethnically pure territory/states' led to the criminalisation of these (newly) established state structures and their institutions. The use of these specific means unleashed dynamics that, as a consequence, threatened the political goals. On the basis of these observations, Weber identifies the violent ethnicisation processes that took place in the Balkans in the 1990s as a parallel, regressive dynamic of social integration (via ethnic homogenisation) and of deep social (self-) destruction

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Brunsmann Denver

**Subjects vs. Citizens: Impressment and Identity in the Anglo-American Atlantic**

in *Journal of the Early Republic*, Volume 30, Number 4, Winter , 557-586

This article employs the frame of forced migration to understand the impact of British naval impressment, or forced service, on the early American republic. British press gangs not only posed severe risks to the lives and livelihoods of early American seafarers but led Americans of all backgrounds to define the differences between citizenship in a republic and subjecthood in a monarchy. Subjects held nearly unlimited obligations to their monarch, as in the case of compulsory naval service. Citizens, by contrast, shared a relationship with their state based on consent and choice. The British Royal Navy blurred the distinction between its subjects and U.S. citizens because of a severe manning crisis, and clear evidence that British sailors carried American citizenship protections fraudulently. Still, early national Americans did not accept the capture of their fellow citizens as innocent mistakes; impressment signified a return to British colonial status. The rhetorical power of impressment helps to explain how the issue helped to sustain support for the War of 1812, even after Britain satisfied other U.S. diplomatic demands. Print capitalism made the forced migration of impressed American seamen a collective national experience

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Natsios Andrew S., Abramowitz Michael

**Sudan's Secession Crisis**

in *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2011, Volume 90, Number 1

Depending on how locals and outsiders react to events in Sudan, the secession referendum scheduled for January could trigger either the country's partition or a new explosion of violence.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Rolandson Øystein H.

**Sudán 2011: la independencia del sur a un paso**

in *Política Exterior*, 139 - Enero / Febrero 2011

Después de 22 años de guerra civil en Sudán, el sur debe votar en enero el referéndum sobre su posible secesión. Más allá de diferencias de religión, etnia o las disputas por el petróleo, lo sucedido es una muestra de la incapacidad del débil y autoritario Estado sudanés. Los habitantes de Sudán del Sur están llamados a votar este mes de enero el



referéndum sobre la independencia de esta región del país

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Ryngaert Cedric

**The ICJ's advisory opinion on Kosovo's declaration of independence: a missed opportunity?: International Court of Justice, Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo, Advisory Opinion of 22 July 2010**

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Vol. 57, Issue 3 , 481-494

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Roshwald Aviel

**The Nation State as Domesticator of the Alien**

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 9, Issue 3&4, September , 415 - 418

Michael Hechter's stimulating and provocative essay forces us to consider how modern nationalism and the nation state shape our conception of the familiar and the alien. As Hechter points out, there was a time just some centuries ago when ruling dynasties in many parts of the world exercised—theoretically at least—patrimonial authority over their domains and seemed free to conquer, marry into, or trade entire countries like so much personal real estate. A ruler's ethnic or territorial origin appeared immaterial to the legitimacy of his or her authority so long as it was exercised with some modicum of effectiveness from the point of view of a given territory's social, political and/or clerical elites. Lest we lapse too readily into nostalgia for what may start to sound like the proto-Weberian rational functionalism of the early modern state, however, let us remind ourselves that the ruler's conformity to the established religion of his/her realm was a vitally important criterion of political legitimacy. 'Paris is worth a mass' may have been a profoundly cynical (and perhaps apocryphal) throw-away line, but whether sincere or not, Henry IV's formal conversion to Catholicism was a sine qua non of his accession to the French throne. Throughout the Christian and Islamic worlds, a ruler's confessional identity was at least as important a criterion of his/her legitimacy as a head of state's national identity is today.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Abuhakema Ghazi, Carmichael Tim

**The Somali Youth League constitution: a handwritten Arabic copy (c. 1947?) from the Ethiopian Security Forces Archives in Harär**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 4, Issue 3, November , 450-466

The group founded in 1943 as the Somali Youth Club (SYC) and reorganized in 1947 as the Somali Youth League (SYL) dominated Somali politics for decades, yet has been subjected to little focused scholarship. This article briefly summarizes the SYL's history; reproduces and translates an Arabic copy of the party's constitution which is housed in



the Harrg branch of the Security Forces Archives in neighboring Ethiopia; and comments on the problematic nature of the document's Arabic. This version of the SYL constitution is part of the SYL's history in Ethiopia, as well as the group's changing and poorly understood relationships with the Addis Abba government and Ethiopia's security forces headquarters in Jijjiga and Harar. The group founded in 1943 as the Somali Youth Club (SYC) and reorganized in 1947 as the Somali Youth League (SYL) dominated Somali politics for decades, yet has been subjected to little focused scholarship. This article briefly summarizes the SYL's history; reproduces and translates an Arabic copy of the party's constitution which is housed in the Harrg branch of the Security Forces Archives in neighboring Ethiopia; and comments on the problematic nature of the document's Arabic. This version of the SYL constitution is part of the SYL's history in Ethiopia, as well as the group's changing and poorly understood relationships with the Addis Abba government and Ethiopia's security forces headquarters in Jijjiga and Harar. The group founded in 1943 as the Somali Youth Club (SYC) and reorganized in 1947 as the Somali Youth League (SYL) dominated Somali politics for decades, yet has been subjected to little focused scholarship. This article briefly summarizes the SYL's history; reproduces and translates an Arabic copy of the party's constitution which is housed in the Harrg branch of the Security Forces Archives in neighboring Ethiopia; and comments on the problematic nature of the document's Arabic. This version of the SYL constitution is part of the SYL's history in Ethiopia, as well as the group's changing and poorly understood relationships with the Addis Abäba government and Ethiopia's security forces headquarters in Jijjiga and Harär.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

- Romero Francisco Cobo, Del Arco Blanco Miguel Ángel, Ortega López Teresa María

**The Stability and Consolidation of the Francoist Regime. The Case of Eastern Andalusia, 1936-1950, pp. 37-59**  
**in Contemporary European History** , vol. 20, n. 1, February , 37-59

The stabilisation and longevity of Franco's regime can be explained by the interpenetration of society and the institutions of the 'New State' in three overlapping areas: firstly, in the sphere of the shared culture of the community of civil war victors; secondly, through repression, based on the decisive collaboration of those supporting Francoism, which cut short any possible opposition; thirdly, in the socio-economic sphere, where those making up the groups supporting the 'New State' would see their personal interests fulfilled. At the same time, the defeated would be ensnared in a maze of misery and silence, abandoning any political concerns and concentrating instead on survival. Accordingly, the regime proved able to win support from a broad range of social groups while also eliminating any signs of opposition.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Jin Wen

**Toward a U.S.-China Comparative Critique: Indigenous Rights and National Expansion in Alex Kuo's Panda Diaries**

**in American Quarterly** , vol 62, n. 3, September , 739-761

In his novel *Panda Diaries* (2006), Chinese American author Alex Kuo juxtaposes the Indian policies of the nineteenth-century U.S. with the Chinese government's efforts to integrate ethnic minorities into the project of socialist modernization during the Cultural Revolution. This comparison highlights the colonization of minority space that has occurred in the process of national expansion in both countries, thus constituting a form of double critique. The novel brings Native Americans and ethnic minorities in China into a virtual dialogue, laying a theoretical foundation for



comparative studies of their experiences and possible strategies to build political alliances between them. It also intervenes in an emerging discourse in China that parallels the Chinese government's ongoing campaign to develop its western regions, which have a high concentration of minorities, with the American westward expansion, a parallel that largely serves as a justification for prioritizing the state's conception of economic and social development over minority interests.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Maxwell Alexander

**Twenty-five years of A-B-C: Miroslav Hroch's impact on nationalism studies**

in **Nationalities Papers**, Volume 38, Issue 6, November 2010 , 773 – 776

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Maxwell Alexander

**Typologies and phases in nationalism studies: Hroch's A-B-C schema as a basis for comparative terminology**

in **Nationalities Papers**, Volume 38, Issue 6, November 2010 , 865 - 880

Abstract

The study of nationalism encompasses so many themes that scholarly communication between different subfields has become difficult. Scholars might facilitate comparison by acknowledging different types of nationalism, but an overview of various taxonomies of nationalism shows that binary taxonomies have a problematic normative subtext, while most non-binary taxonomies have failed to reach a broad audience. Miroslav Hroch, who intended his A-B-C phases to schematize non-state national awakening, also devised a taxonomy of nationalism. Hroch's work has influenced nationalism scholars mostly through its phase theory of how individual national movements develop over time. While other phase theorists have proposed similar schema, Hroch's work has attracted such a wide audience that it provides scholars with a solution to the problem of inter-disciplinary communication: it offers a useful terminology for classifying and describing various sorts of nationalism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Lægaard Sune

**What is the Right to Exclude Immigrants?**

in **Res Publica**, Volume 16, Number 3, October , 245-262

It is normally taken for granted that states have a right to control immigration into their territory. When immigration is raised as a normative issue two questions become salient, one about what the right to exclude is, and one about whether and how it might be justified. This paper considers the first question. The paper starts by noting that standard debates about immigration have not addressed what the right to exclude is. Standard debates about immigration furthermore tend to result either in fairly strong cases for open borders or in denials that considerations of justice apply



to immigration at all, which results in state discretion positions. This state of debate is both theoretically unsatisfactory and normatively implausible. The paper therefore explores an alternative approach to the right to exclude immigrants from the perspective of recent debates about the territorial rights of states. The right to exclude claimed by states is analysed and it is shown to differ both conceptually and normatively from rights to impose political authority within a territory. The paper finally indicates how this analysis might broaden the focus of debates about immigration and suggest alternative regimes of migration regulation the possibility of which is obscured by traditional justice approaches.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Tezcür Güneş; Murat

**When democratization radicalizes: The Kurdish nationalist movement in Turkey**  
in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 47, Number 6, November , 775-789

This article addresses a historical puzzle: Why did the insurgent PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan), which was militarily defeated, which renounced the goal of secession, and whose leader was under the custody of the Turkish state, remobilize its armed forces in a time when opportunities for the peaceful solution of the Kurdish question were unprecedented in Turkey? The PKK's radicalization at a period of EU-induced democratization in Turkey counters the conventional argument that fostering democracy would reduce the problems of ethnic conflict. Explanations based on resource mobilization, political opportunity structures, and cognitive framing fail to provide a satisfactory answer. The article argues that democratization will not necessarily facilitate the end of violent conflict as long as it introduces competition that challenges the political hegemony of the insurgent organization over its ethnic constituency. Under the dynamics of competition, the survival of the organization necessitates radicalization rather than moderation. As long as the insurgent organization successfully recruits new militants, democratization is not a panacea to violent conflict. The findings indicate that research on the micro-level dynamics of insurgency recruitment will contribute to a better understanding of ethnic conflict management. Data come from multiple sources including ethnographic fieldwork, statistical analyses of quantitative data (i.e. spatial clustering and ecological inference), and systematic reading of original documents.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Geidel Molly

**“Sowing Death in Our Women’s Wombs”: Modernization and Indigenous Nationalism in the 1960s Peace Corps and Jorge Sanjinés’ Yawar Mallku**  
in *American Quarterly*, vol 62, n. 3, September , 763-786

This paper explores the centrality of gender and sexual politics to both 1960s modernization discourses and anti-imperialist cultural nationalist ideologies through an analysis of Jorge Sanjinés' 1969 radical neorealist film *Yawar Mallku*, the text that led to the Peace Corps' expulsion from Bolivia. After outlining the development discourse that explicitly guided both the Peace Corps and the Revolutionary Nationalist (MNR) government of Bolivia and exploring the relationship of this discourse to the Bolivian radical and indigenous movements of the late 1960s, this paper reads *Yawar Mallku* in the context of these movements to arrive at an understanding how cultural nationalism in Bolivia became directed towards the developmentalist ideal of a masculine utopia whose construction would entail controlling women's bodies. Finally, the paper attempts to understand how indigenous women in Bolivia have articulated radical



political visions within and in response to U.S. modernizing forces and indigenous cultural nationalism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Golove David M., Hulsebosch Daniel J.

**A Civilized Nation: The Early American Constitution, the Law of Nations, and the Pursuit of International Recognition**

in *New York University Law Review* , Vol. 85, n. 4 , 932-1065

This Article argues, contrary to conventional accounts, that the animating purpose of the American Constitution was to facilitate the admission of the new nation into the European-centered community of “civilized states.” Achieving international recognition—which entailed legal and practical acceptance on an equal footing—was a major aspiration of the founding generation from 1776 through at least the Washington administration in the 1790s, and constitution-making was a key means of realizing that goal. Their experience under the Articles of Confederation led many Americans to conclude that adherence to treaties and the law of nations was a prerequisite to full recognition but that popular sovereignty, at least as it had been exercised at the state level, threatened to derail the nation’s prospects. When designing the Federal Constitution, the framers therefore innovated upon republicanism in a way that balanced their dual commitments to popular sovereignty and earning international respect. The result was a novel and systematic set of constitutional devices designed to ensure that the nation would comply with treaties and the law of nations. These devices, which generally sought to insulate officials responsible for ensuring compliance with the law of nations from popular politics, also signaled to foreign governments the seriousness of the nation’s commitment. At the same time, however, the framers recognized that the participation of the most popular branch in some contexts—most importantly, with respect to the question of war or peace—would be the most effective mechanism for both safeguarding the interests of the people and achieving the Enlightenment aims of the law of nations. After ratification, the founding generation continued to construct the Constitution with an eye toward earning and retaining international recognition, while avoiding the ever-present prospect of war. This anxious and cosmopolitan context is absent from modern understandings of American constitution-making.

Full text available at:

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Federalist Debate The

**A New Initiative: the Spinelli Group**

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



On September 15, at the European Parliament, Guy Verhofstadt, President of the ALDE Group, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Co-Chairman of the Greens, Isabelle Durant, Vice-President of the European Parliament and Sylvie Goulard, member of the ALDE Group, launched an initiative called Spinelli Group to gather MEPs, intellectuals and citizens in favor of a Communitarian Europe, ready to place the interests of Europe ahead of narrower interests.

To promote a truly European approach, they have drawn up the following manifesto, which summarizes their beliefs: the need to encourage post-national approaches to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century, and to tell the truth about the limits of political power as it is organized today.

The Group will notably work in the form of a "Shadow Council" on the eve of important European Council meetings. It will meet to advance concrete proposals based on the Community method, in a federal perspective, and to denounce the nationalism of some governments which feeds a growing collective impotence and slows the emergence of Europe in the world.

Its members would like to push ideas like, for example, a European army, a more integrated economic policy, an independent European budget, funded by own resources, an energy-saving community, a Europe based on closer cultural and human links.

The Group plans acting on three levels: 1) at the European Parliament, bringing together members of all colors, ready to engage in their legislative and political actions to influence developments. 2) Via a steering committee which brings together European personalities from different backgrounds, political or academic officials and intellectuals, experienced and more junior. Among these, Jacques Delors, former President of the European Commission, Ulrich Beck, a sociologist, Amartya Sen, Nobel Laureate, Mario Monti, former European Commissioner and President of the Bocconi University, Joschka Fischer, former German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Elie Barnavi, historian and diplomat and also Andrew Duff, Danuta Hubner, Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa and others. 3) Through the internet-based Spinelli network, open to everyone, which will allow a convergence of ideas and proposals from civil society, experts and elected officials.

To sign the manifesto and read more about the Spinelli Group, visit <http://www.spinelligroup.eu>.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Graglia Piero**

**Altiero Spinelli**

**in Mulino (il)**, n. 6, novembre-dicembre, 2010 , 994-1000

A tre anni dall'avvio delle celebrazioni per il centenario della nascita di Altiero Spinelli (nato a Roma il 31 agosto 1907), si può provare a fare un bilancio non tanto delle manifestazioni, quanto piuttosto dell'impatto che queste hanno avuto sull'insieme della pubblica opinione e dei media. [...]

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Benedetta Barbisan

**Il mito di "Marbury v. Madison" e le origini della giustizia costituzionale negli Stati Uniti**

in *Amministrare*, 1, supplemento , 33-152

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Varden Helga

**Kant's Non-Absolutist Conception of Political Legitimacy – How Public Right ‘Concludes’ Private Right in the “Doctrine of Right” Helga Varden1**

in *Kant-Studien*, Jahrgang 101, Heft 3, 2010 , 331–351

Abstract

Contrary to the received view, I argue that Kant, in the “Doctrine of Right”, outlines a third, republican alternative to absolutist and voluntarist conceptions of political legitimacy. According to this republican alternative, a state must meet certain institutional requirements before political obligations arise. An important result of this interpretation is not only that there are institutional restraints on a legitimate state's use of coercion, but also that the rights of the state (‘public right’) are not in principle reducible to the rights of individuals (‘private right’). Thus, for Kant, political obligations are intimately linked to the existence of a certain kind of republican institutional framework.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Hunter, Ian

**Kant's Regional Cosmopolitanism**

in *Journal of the History of International Law*, Volume 12, Issue 2 , 165-188

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Flikschuh Katrin

**Kant's Sovereignty Dilemma: A Contemporary Analysis**

in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol. 18, Issue 4, December , 469-493

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9760.2010.00361.x/abstract>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**





*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Ceva Emanuela

**L'utopia realista di Adriano Olivetti: la fioritura della persona tra rispetto e innovazione**

in **Politico (II)**, n. 224, anno XXXV, maggio-agosto , 179-186

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Oberer Hariolf

**Noch einmal zu Kants Rechtsbegründung**

in **Kant-Studien**, Jahrgang 101, Heft 3, 2010 , 380–393

Abstract

The thesis that Kant's 'Rechtslehre' is entirely independent of his transcendental idealism is simply not correct. In fact: the material contents of the 'Rechtslehre' follow analytically from the logical explication of the empirical concept of external freedom, whereas the absolute practical validity ("Verbindlichkeit") of the imperative and of the imperatives of right is based exclusively on the categorical imperative and therefore ultimately on transcendental idealism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

May Alex

**The Round Table and Imperial Federation, 1910-17**

in **Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 99, Issue 410, October

The Round Table was founded in 1910 with the aim that it should eventually campaign for some form of imperial federation. Most historians have argued that it was doomed from the start, in particular because it was bound to run up against the rising tide of Dominion nationalism. This paper argues instead that the Round Table was divided internally over federation; that Dominion nationalism was but one of a number of problems confronting the organisation; but also that the key turning point, when federation became no longer a matter of 'practical politics', was World War I.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Cipriani Franco

**Una nuova interpretazione di Calamandrei**

in **Clio - Rivista trimestrale di studi storici**, a. 46 n. 2. , 253-263

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Brändli Sebastian**

**Helvetischer Föderalismus, vaterländische Wissenschaft. Die historischen Kantonsvereine im 19. Jahrhundert in Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte**, Band 60, Heft 3, 2010 , 302-318

From 1830 onwards historical societies were created in many Swiss cantons. They were an expression of regional (cantonal) historical consciousness and of political identity and many of them have survived to the present day. Earlier foundations were societies of enlightenment, and their ambivalent character between the goal of Helvetic unification and the mounting interest in history allowed a specific research orientation of history under special conditions only. Initially archaeological societies were created beside the historic societies, but both forms amalgamated in the course of the 19th century. From a political point of view it is highly interesting to note that cantonal historical societies – as well before as after the foundation of the Swiss Confederation in 1848 – contributed to cantonal identity, but were also engaged in the genesis of national historical consciousness as part of a national identity. Beside academic explanation and communicating these societies were also engaged in historical research, in particular in the collecting and cataloguing of traditional cultural objects. After WW II the state took over specific aspects of conservation of material culture by means of creating museums and services for the preservation of historical monuments and by instituting archaeological services. Today, historical societies form part of the minimal standard of culture management of Swiss Cantons and, thus, are pillars of cantonal identity. In view of the current internationalization of historical sciences at university level the question arises whether the historical societies might not – again – have to shoulder the task of regional and local history.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Akbulut Olgun**

**A Critical Analysis of Current Legal Developments on the Political Participation of Minorities in Turkey in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights**, Volume 17, Number 4 , 551-560

This is a follow-up article to the one published in the IJMGR half a decade ago (Vol. 12, 2005). Although there have been domestic and international legal cases that are directly concerned with the political participation of minorities in Turkey, few improvements have been made in law covering the subject. This encouraged this author to analyse and criticise the judgements of the European Court of Human Rights and the legal and political actors at domestic level. The aim of this article is to reflect upon how international human rights monitoring affects national laws in certain thorny issues such as the rights of minorities. Since the current and previous articles have a common theme and complement each other, I strongly recommend reading both articles.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Hess Peter**

**A sustainable development metric based on youth**

**in International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology**, Volume 17, Issue 6, December , 542-551

Nearly two decades ago, the World Bank declared achieving sustained and equitable development to be the greatest challenge facing the human race. In this article, an index of youth investment (IYI) is proposed to highlight children and



the intergenerational dimension of sustainable development. The index incorporates quality-adjusted measures for child health and education. Comparisons with two complementary indicators of sustainable development, the human development index (HDI) and the adjusted net saving rate (AS), are made. A cross-section of 34 nations for 2006 is used as an illustration. A discussion of policies for promoting sustainable development through investing in children concludes the article.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sassatelli Monica**

**An interview with Jack Goody: Europe, identity thefts and missed renaissances**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 13, No. 4, November 2010 , 539-548

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Maifreda Germano**

**Autonomia, autonomie funzionali, autonomie locali**

in *Impresa & Stato*, Primavera N. 88/2010 , 98-101

Nel quadro generale degli studi recenti sulle istituzioni e sul lavoro, l'autonomia funzionale è la possibilità di un soggetto di organizzare la propria azione in completa discrezionalità, nel rispetto dei tempi concordati. È evidente che la richiesta di autonomia delle istituzioni politiche e di rappresentanza, nonché dei lavoratori, possa considerarsi soddisfatta solo se questi possono partecipare alla formulazione generale degli obiettivi dell'entità da cui si trae autonomia, e se se ne possono formulare dei propri. Essere autonomi significa decidere tra alternative diverse e sulle alternative stesse, nonché assumere iniziative proprie sui problemi emersi nell'azione istituzionale o nell'esecuzione del lavoro.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Cronin Bruce**

**Be careful what you wish for: War aims and the construction of postwar political orders**

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 47, Number 6, November , 791-801

Most theories that seek to explain the relationship between major war and the creation of new political orders posit a direct link between the interests of the winning states and the type of order that emerges. We tend to assume that since most wars are fought for specific purposes and a defined goal, the aftermath of the conflict will reflect the interests and preferences of the winning parties. This article challenges this approach, arguing that the necessity of securing public support and winning allies forces states to make public commitments for a postwar reconstruction that they might otherwise avoid. During the course of the war, states unintentionally limit their options for the postwar reconstruction by publicly articulating a set of 'war aims' that are designed to rally public support and win over potential allies. Since war



aims are as much statements of propaganda as of policy they often do not reflect the state interest per se. However, once articulated, they become the official policy of the coalition, and political leaders are forced to implement their principles as the foundation for the new order.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Calamia Pietro

**Cesidio Guazzaroni, il sorriso della pazienza**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 431-433

Starting in the Forties, the diplomatic career of Cesidio Guazzaroni went on through the second part of the XXth Century. As young diplomat, after September 8th 1943, he left the Italian Embassy in Berlin, to be interned in Austria. Back to Italy, he was attached for several years to the Cabinets of the then Foreign Ministers, namely De Gasperi and Sforza. He followed the first steps of Italian foreign policy after the war and, subsequently, the Italian European integration policy with growing responsibilities. He was Director general at the Farnesina and European Commissioner. For him, his professional activity was an engagement, a mission for the construction of Europe.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Anshelm Jonas, Hansson Anders

**Climate Change and the Convergence between ENGOs and Business: On the Loss of Utopian Energies**

in *Environmental Values*, Volume 20, Number 1, February , 75-94

The conflicts permeating the environmental debate since the 1960s have mainly involved two actors: multinational companies and international environmental organizations (ENGOs). Today, there are signs that the antagonism is ending with regards to co-operation and strategy. We argue that this convergence is no longer limited to specific joint projects, but is also prevalent at the idea and policy levels. Both actors have begun describing problems in similar terms, articulating the same goals and recommending the same solutions. Such convergence offers advantages in efforts to counteract climate change but also some problems: declining citizen trust in ENGOs, risk of intellectually impoverished environmental and energy debates, and loss of alternate visions and values.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kumssa Asfaw, Jones John F.

**Climate change and human security in Africa**

in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 17, Issue 6, December , 453-461

Climate change poses a major threat to human security and poverty in Africa. In Africa, where livelihoods are mainly based on climate-dependent resources and environment, the effect of climate change will be disproportionate and severe. Moreover, Africa's capacity to adapt to and cope with the adverse effects of climate variability is generally weak. This article discusses how climate change affects human security in Africa. It also assesses the policy options available to policymakers in terms of mitigation and adaptation to climate change to reduce vulnerability and human insecurity in



Africa.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ogbaharya Daniel, Tecele Aregai

**Community-based natural resources management in Eritrea and Ethiopia: toward a comparative institutional analysis**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 4, Issue 3, November , 490-509

Community-based natural resources management (CNRM), which emphasizes community empowerment, participation and enhanced use of indigenous knowledge in resources and environmental management, is an increasingly popular discourse for sustainable development in sub-Saharan Africa. Despite its popularity, CNRM faces various discursive and institutional challenges in countries with a recent history of top-down development. This paper provides a comparative examination of the specific historical, ideological and political contexts behind discourses, policies and institutions for and against community-based resources and environmental management in Ethiopia and Eritrea. There is a need for greater emphasis on communal rights to pastoral, agricultural and forest resources, in contrast to the continued support for a neo-Malthusian dispensation of environmental rehabilitation or reclamation which still reigns supreme in both Eritrea and Ethiopia.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Bader Veit

**Constitutionalizing secularism, alternative secularisms or liberal-democratic constitutionalism? A critical reading of some Turkish, ECtHR and Indian Supreme Court cases on 'secularism'**

in *Utrecht Law Review*, Vol. 6, issue 3 , 8-35

In recent debates on the constitutional status of 'secularism' we can discern three positions. The first tries to overcome the absence of 'secularism' in most liberal-democratic constitutions by developing a more robust theory of constitutional secularism. The second develops theories of 'alternative secularisms'. The third, defended in this article, argues that we should drop secularism as a 'cacophonous' concept from our constitutional and legal language and replace it by liberal-democratic constitutionalism. I develop an analytical taxonomy of twelve different meanings of 'secularism' based on a comparative study of Turkish and Indian Supreme Court cases on secularism, and demonstrate that they are incompatible with each other and with the hard core of liberal-democratic constitutions. Next, I criticize the respective rulings in the Turkish and Indian context. Particularly in 'militant democracies', the appeal to a principle of 'secularism' turns out to be inimical to the liberal and to the democratic 'constitutional essentials'. I end with some normative recommendations on the role of constitutional review and judicial activism.

Full text available at:

<http://www.utrechtlawreview.org/index.php/ulr/article/viewFile/138/134>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

O'Flynn Ian

**Deliberating About the Public Interest**

in *Res Publica*, Volume 16, Number 3, October , 299-315

Although the idea of the public interest features prominently in many accounts of deliberative democracy, the relationship between deliberative democracy and the public interest is rarely spelt out with any degree of precision. In this article, I identify and defend one particular way of framing this relationship. I begin by arguing that people can deliberate about the public interest only if the public interest is, in principle, identifiable independently of their deliberations. Of course, some pluralists claim that the public interest is an implausible idea, which casts doubt on the idea that there might be something for people to deliberate about. Yet while, following Brian Barry, we can get around this problem by defining the public interest as an interest in which everyone shares qua member of the public, what still needs to be explained is why people should be prepared to privilege this particular capacity. I argue that the account of political equality with which deliberative democracy is bound up offers a compelling explanation of this sort, even if it also gives rise to some difficult questions of feasibility. I conclude by considering the charge that any political scheme that framed the relationship between deliberative democracy and the public interest in this way would be undesirable.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Reichhold Clemens

**Der Imperialismus als Regierung der Masse. Zur Geschichte der Gouvernementalität bei Foucault**

in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2010/36,3 , 437–461

The full text is free:

[www.v-r.de/de/Reichhold-Diskussionsforum-Der-Imperialismus-als-Regierung-der-Masse/t/2000003873/](http://www.v-r.de/de/Reichhold-Diskussionsforum-Der-Imperialismus-als-Regierung-der-Masse/t/2000003873/)

Abstract:

The article presents an explorative account of Foucault's history of governmentality in the age of imperialism. Primarily it discusses Foucault's lectures on classical 18th- and newer 20th-century forms of liberalism. Thereby the historic transformation of a self-regulating population into new forms of interventionist government is outlined. Beyond Foucault this transformation is traced back to the need for regulation of socially disintegrated masses in the writings of Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, founder of the German Volkskunde (folklife studies). What Foucault holds to be the liberal paradigm of free circulation of interests is transformed during the imperialistic epoch by Riehl's concept of state-conducted integration through corporate and national customs.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Buitenzorgy Meilanie, Mol Arthur P. J.

**Does Democracy Lead to a Better Environment? Deforestation and the Democratic Transition Peak**

in *Environmental & Resource Economics*, Volume 48, Number 1, January , 59-70



The relationship between democracy and environment is subject to controversy. Some scientists find that democracy has a positive impact in reducing environmental disruption. Other scholars claim that democracy tends to accelerate environmental degradation. By using deforestation rates as a proxy for environmental disruption, we suggest that both sides might be right. Our quantitative analysis has three important outcomes. First, there is evidence of an inverted U-shaped relationship between deforestation and democracy. Second, countries in democratic transition experience the highest deforestation rates, compared to non-democracies and mature democracies. Third, in explaining deforestation rates democracy has larger explanatory power than income. This last result implies that in reducing deforestation rates the emphasis should not only be on economic development but even more on democratization.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Morrow James D.**

**Eight questions for A Cultural Theory of International Relations**

in **International Theory**, Volume 2, Issue 03, November , 475-480

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=7907057&jid=INT&volumeId=2&issueId=03&aid=7907055&bodyId=&membershipNumber=&societyETOCSession=>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Weismann Steve, Browning Frank**

**Europe in Crisis: What Lessons to Learn?**

in **Dissent**, Fall, 2010

Nothing feeds jolly bankers and dyspeptic pundits more than a tasty crisis, and this year's turmoil over the Euro has provided an especially rich diet to critics of state-owned enterprises and public sector social programs. "What we're seeing in Greece is the death spiral of the welfare state," wrote the columnist Robert J. Samuelson. "Virtually every advanced nation, including the United States, faces the same prospect. Aging populations have been promised huge health and retirement benefits, which countries haven't fully covered with taxes. The reckoning has arrived in Greece, but it awaits most wealthy societies." Harvard economist Jeffrey A. Miron honed the knife even sharper. "Tax increases will not fix things," he wrote. "Only major cutbacks in entitlements can avoid fiscal collapse." Deficit hawks and lenders on both sides of the Atlantic gleefully bash "the European social model," with demands for "Austerity Now" and calls for privatizing everything from British highways [...]

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Nuno Garoupa; Veronica Grembi; Shirley Ching-Ping Lin**

**Explaining constitutional review in new democracies: the case of Taiwan**

in **Pacific Rim Law & Policy Journal (The)**, Vol. 20, No. 1, January

This paper extends the empirical analysis of the determinants of judicial behavior by considering the Taiwanese case. Taiwan is a particularly interesting case because the establishment and development of constitutional review



corresponds to a political transition from an authoritarian regime dominated by one party to an emerging democracy. We test the attitudinal hypothesis by making use of a new dataset of ninety- seven decisions issued by the Taiwanese constitutional court in the period between 1988 and 2008. The attitudinal hypothesis is that the Taiwanese constitutional judges respond to party interests, either because their preferences coincide with the appointer or because they want to exhibit loyalty to the appointer. Our econometric analysis does not provide strong evidence for the attitudinal hypothesis. However, we provide an explanation. Faced with a transition from a one-party political regime to a democracy, the Taiwanese Grand Justices needed to assert their independence from the other branches of government and gain credibility, thus dissenting more often, periodically and individually voting against the interests of the dominant party.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Molloy Seán**

**From The Twenty Years' Crisis to Theory of International Politics: a rhizomatic reading of realism**  
in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 13, Number 4, December , 378-404

The idea behind this article is to employ a series of Deleuzo-Guattarian principles, primarily the concept of the rhizome, to the articulation and development of Realism as a theory of IR. The article makes the claim that using rhizomatics allows those interested in Realism to reconceptualise the relationship between Realism and Neorealism. The article argues that the publication of *The Twenty Years' Crisis* by E.H. Carr and *Theory of International Politics* by Ken Waltz represent two 'intense' moments in the descent of Realism. The article argues that despite the attempted 'territorialisation' of Realism into the static, paradigmatic Neorealism, Realism remains a heterogeneous set of concepts. The territorialisation process has met with some resistance; for example, just as Waltz was trying to territorialise Realism, his theory was being deterritorialised by Richard Ashley. The article also examines James Der Derian's attempt to save realism by deconstructing it, advocating an 'affirmative leap into the imaginary'. The article concludes that despite the Neorealist moment, attempts to splice together constructivism and realism provide evidence that Realism remains mutative, heterogeneous, open and vital.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Berger Mark, Reesec Justin**

**From nation-states in conflict to conflict in nation-states: The United States of America and nation building from South Vietnam to Afghanistan**  
in *International Politics* , Volume 47, Issue 5, October , 451-471

This article engages with the latest (post-Cold War) debate about the theory and practice of nation building (state building). This is linked to a discussion of the shift in US foreign policy towards Afghanistan relative to Iraq between late 2008 and late 2009. Afghanistan is currently a major focus of nation building efforts and counter-insurgency programs led by the United States of America. Meanwhile, the discussion here ranges from South Vietnam to Colombia, Iraq and Afghanistan, and explores some of the ghosts that now haunt the US presence in Afghanistan 9 years on from the start Operation Enduring Freedom at the end of 2001. We argue that the possibility of successful nation building in Afghanistan is both far-fetched and far-off. In fact, what is required is the reorientation and reduction (even termination)





of Washington and its allies' direct commitment to Kabul. Washington and its allies should focus on a grand strategy for the Middle East and Asia that attaches far less importance to Afghanistan. This should occur in the context of understanding the history of the emergence, universalization and contemporary crisis of the nation-state system. Nowhere are the limits of the nation-state system and the failure of nation building more apparent today than in Afghanistan. In this context a whole new approach to questions of war, peace and progress is in order. The comprehensive elaboration of a new security-development framework is beyond the scope of this article, but we conclude by elaborating some of the main elements of a new framework: this will include a point of departure for research and policy to move beyond the current crisis of the nation-state system and nation building.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sterr Albert**

**Global Player Brasilien: Wie weiter nach Lula?**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Dezember, 2010 , 66-74

Mit dem klaren Wahlsieg von Dilma Rousseff, die Präsident Luiz Inácio „Lula“ da Silva nach dem Ende seiner zweiten Amtszeit am 1. Januar als Staatschefin ablösen wird, stimmte Brasilien für politische Kontinuität. Darauf hatten die regierende Arbeiterpartei (PT) und der scheidende Amtsinhaber gesetzt, der für seinen sozialliberalen Kurs in Umfragen zuletzt Zustimmungsraten von 80 Prozent erzielte ...

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sussmann Naomi**

**How many Commonwealths can Leviathan Swallow? Covenant, Sovereign and People in Hobbes's Political Theory?**

in *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, Volume 18, Issue 4, September 2010 , 575-596

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Nolte Detlef**

**How to compare regional powers: analytical concepts and research topics**

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, November , 881-901

Although the concept of regional power is frequently used in International Relations (IR) literature, there is no consensus regarding the defining characteristics of a regional power. The article discusses different theoretical approaches that address the topic of power hierarchies in international politics and make reference to the concept of regional power. Marking differences as well as common ground with the more traditional concept of 'middle powers', the article outlines an analytical concept of regional powers adequate for contemporary IR research. The analytical dimensions of the



framework may be employed to differentiate regional powers from other states and to compare regional powers with regard to their power status or relative power. Furthermore, the article investigates the possible repercussions of the rise of regional powers for international politics and discusses the probable importance and functions of regional governance structures for regional powers.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Veneruso Danilo

**Il fantasma dello spirito di dominazione. Riflessioni in margine alla storia della politica internazionale**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 329-350

The following reflections on contemporary history as universal history are based on the book of Alessandro Duce, *Storia della politica internazionale (1917-1957): dalla rivoluzione d'ottobre ai trattati di Roma*. This important book starts from the First World War, which disrupted the European concert as the international system planned and administered by the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck from 1870 to 1890 and then directed by William II with more difficulties. The only countries standing up after this war were Usa and Urss, representing the democratic revolution and the social revolution respectively. These revolutions, after destroying together the international fascism, clashed into each other with a Cold War, a soft method of 'containment' implying the respect of the adversary.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Nicolini Matteo

**Il principio costituzionale del consent nella decisione delle variazioni territoriali degli enti intermedi**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1070-1106

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Italia Vittorio

**Il principio di non contraddizione nel diritto e nel diritto regionale e locale**

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 2

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Hamati-Ataya Inanna

**Knowing and judging in International Relations theory: realism and the reflexive challenge**

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, November , 1079-1101



This article addresses the notion of reflexivity in international theory through an attempt to transcend the dichotomy between knowledge and judgement. It intends to demonstrate that neither 'philosophical' nor 'scientific' approaches to world politics can reconcile cognitive and evaluative claims, but that such an endeavour may be envisaged within a certain conception of knowledge, science and facts. A comparison of Morton Kaplan's approach with Hans Morgenthau's and Kenneth Waltz's suggests what kind of theoretical alternatives can bring together these two seemingly incommensurable orders of discourse under a unified, foundationally reflexive epistemology.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Carini Carlo

**La "Democrazia in Europa" da Tocqueville a Bruniati**

in **Pensiero Politico (II)**, Anno XLIII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile 2010 , 20-33

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

López Murphy Ricardo

**La crisis del sur de Europa y la experiencia argentina**

in **Cuadernos de pensamiento político**, Nr 28, Octubre-Diciembre

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kalmanovitz Salomón, López R. Edwin

**Las finanzas públicas de la Confederación Granadina y los Estados Unidos de Colombia 1850-1886**

in **Revista de economía institucional**, VOLUMEN 12, NÚMERO 23, SEGUNDO SEMESTRE DE 2010

En este ensayo se analizan los ingresos fiscales del gobierno central y de los Estados federales entre 1850 y 1882 para determinar si la descentralización política y de rentas y la ejecución del gasto favorecieron y mejoraron la sostenibilidad de las finanzas colombianas del período en cuestión. Se contrasta la estructura federalista con la organización centralista y se intenta evaluar cuál fue más favorable para la consecución de equilibrios macroeconómicos en los ámbitos central y descentralizado.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Gheller Frantz

**Le contexte sociopolitique du Projet de paix perpétuelle d'Emmanuel Kant**

in **Etudes Internationales**, 3, Septembre 2010



No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Savigny Heather

**Looking Back to Move Forward: Historicising the Construction of Disciplinary Narratives in European Political Science and International Relations**

**in European Political Science**, Volume 9, Issue 4, November - Special Issue: Forty Years of European Political Science, 99-110

Politics and International Relations (IR) tend to be discussed as separate disciplines. Rather than emphasising their shared divisions and methodological differences, dominant narratives separate the two, but these narratives also serve to reinforce and legitimate (to slightly differing degrees) the dominance of American positivism. As such, it is argued that if we are to understand the contemporary state of both disciplines, it is useful to reflect on their historical development. The aim of this article is (briefly) to map critically the development of Politics and IR as disciplines that, while having differing historical beginnings, have developed as parallel rather than integrated disciplines facing similar internal epistemological, methodological and cultural divisions. It is noted, however, that their parallel development is uneven, with challenges to the mainstream coming far earlier in IR than Politics, and as such opening the way for much greater acceptance of the notion of methodological pluralism in contemporary IR (outside the US) than in the study of Politics. Further, it is argued that the writing of histories of the disciplines thus far have served to legitimate and reinforce dominant Western conceptions of IR and Politics both descriptively and normatively.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ahmed Shafiqul Huque

**Managing the Public Sector in Hong Kong: Trends and Adjustments**

**in Asian Journal of Political Science**, Volume 18 Issue 3, 269 - 288

Public sector management in Hong Kong was initially designed to rule the territory as a British colony. A number of changes took place in the last quarter century before Hong Kong's reintegration with China and the nature of public sector management has transformed over this period. An overview of administrative principles and practices and an analysis of changes reveal trends that were influenced by both local and international factors. The framework of traditional public administration in the territory adapted effectively to embrace the principles of new public management without much difficulty. The global economic crisis compelled the government to revise its strategies to expand public spending and adopt a further reduced role in the provision of public services. New social, economic and political challenges are driving Hong Kong to adjust to the changing circumstances and trends, and four noticeable shifts can be identified. They include shifts from an administrative to a political executive, from job cuts to job creation, from financial restraint to increased spending, and from public to private sector provision of public services. The trends are driven by local and international forces as well as the progress of democratization and political awareness in Hong Kong.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Falter Matthias, Kübler Elisabeth

**Manifestationen des Antisemitismus im kosmopolitischen Umfeld: Eine Analyse zu Durban II**  
in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2010/4 , 451-465

Manifestations of Antisemitism in a Cosmopolitan Environment: Analysing Durban II

The shifting of single elements of antisemitism in the light of societal and political transformations indicates the dialectics of persistence and change of antisemitic ideology. This paper scrutinises the transformation of antisemitism in a cosmopolitan environment such as the United Nations. The exclusion of Israel from the global community, which is wrongly perceived as homogenous, constitutes its core ideologeme. In our analysis the documents of the 2009 UN World Conference Against Racism (Durban II) and the pertaining preparatory meetings, five topics of cosmopolitanised antisemitism stand out - the obsession with Israel as the sole bearer of blame for the Middle East conflict, the delegitimation of Jewish statehood, the equation of Israel with National Socialism, the Jewish world conspiracy myth, and the hijacking of Jewish Holocaust remembrance.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Woods Joshua

**Medieval Security in the Modern State**

in *Space and Polity*, Volume 14, Number 3 / December , 251-269

The size of the private security industry has increased substantially in recent decades. While previous research has focused on the industry's growth trajectory, less emphasis has been placed on explaining the nature and diversity of private security services. This article investigates the possibility of studying private security with the feudal model. Feudalism is introduced as an ideal type and the paper explains why it is necessary for understanding the independent control of violent force—termed here as 'private coercion'—in contemporary society. The feudal model provides a unique historical lens through which to re-examine previous studies on this subject. In many ways, private coercion is incongruent with the traditional vision of liberal, capitalist society. The feudal model reveals these inconsistencies as it identifies private coercion as a means of creating wealth that violates the state's monopoly on violence, challenges the public sphere of governance and redefines the boundaries between public and private space. This article suggests that any explanation of modern modes of securing life and property is incomplete without the feudal model.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ojeda Gómez Mario

**Mexico and the Countries together Known as BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China)**

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN L - NÚMERO 2

The name bric has been used to classify the set of emerging economies made up of Brazil, Russia, India and China, even though they do not represent an institutionalized political association. These countries have nonetheless shown



signs of wanting to act as a group. Faced with the question of whether Mexico should be included in this group, this article makes a comparative study considering territory, population, development levels, historical trajectory and political will of these actors, as well as their capacities on the international scenario

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sanchez Salgado Rosa**

**NGO Structural Adaptation to Funding Requirements and Prospects for Democracy: The Case of the European Union**

in *Global Society*, Volume 24, Issue 4, October , 507-527

Most studies on voluntary organisations and advocacy groups focus on their contribution to democracy through participation in the policy-making process. The uniqueness of this study consists in shifting the emphasis to participatory democracy at the implementation stage of the policy process. We argue that public donors may affect the democratic potential of voluntary organisations at this stage. To this purpose, we explore the European Union's structuring effects. Firstly, the European Union manufactures a non-governmental organisation (NGO) landscape through a top-down process of redistribution of resources. Secondly, our attention is drawn to NGOs' adaptations of EU requirements, which entails a transformation process often at odds with participatory practices. In order to grasp the European Union's differential impact, we include in our analysis two sectors (humanitarian NGOs and social voluntary organisations) and two Member States (France and Spain).

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Müller-Doohm Stefan**

**Nation state, capitalism, democracy: Philosophical and political motives in the thought of Jürgen Habermas**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 13, No. 4, November 2010 , 443-457

Abstract

This article attempts, for the first time, to link some central motives in the thought of Jürgen Habermas with the biographical experiences of the philosopher and social theorist. What are the relations which Habermas himself thematizes in his life story by means of discursive analysis? Three elements are central: the change in significance of the nation state against the backdrop of the process of European integration, the concept of a deliberative democracy, and the timely and controversial issue of the taming of world capitalism. Finally, the article discusses the question of how plausible it is that there is no alternative to capitalism and to what extent democracy can tame capitalism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**De Zutter Elisabeth**

**Normative power spotting: an ontological and methodological appraisal**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 8 2010 , Pages 1106 – 1127



This article presents a renewed critical engagement with normative power. It overcomes the conceptual vagueness and force-for-good connotation inherent in much of the scholarship on normative power by privileging the ontological question and concentrates on what is a normative power. It offers a characterization of normative power and argues that neither universal norms nor a particular set of instruments can be considered as ontological necessities. They do determine the forms of normative power: cosmopolitan; soft imperialist; and despotic.

The four-step methodology, presented in this article, to 'spot' a normative power and the forms of normative power rely on a clear distinction between the ethical and the ontological question on normative power. It does not ignore ethical considerations; rather the comparison of different forms of normative power offers the intellectual tools to recognize deviations from the ethical ideal-type of cosmopolitan normative power.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Gammon Earl**

**Oedipal authority and capitalist sovereignty: a Deleuzoguattarian reading of IR theory**

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 13, Number 4, December , 354-377

Despite advancements in the theorisation of political sovereignty brought about by the engagements of critical international relations theory, there remain significant lacunae in our understanding of the reproduction of this peculiar configuration of social life. This article, drawing on the collaborative work of Deleuze and Guattari, seeks to provide a more robust theorisation of the subjectivities underpinning modern political sovereignty — here understood as capitalist sovereignty. It looks to their programme of 'schizoanalysis', which interrogates the unconscious libidinal investments of capitalist reproduction. Specifically, Deleuze and Guattari argue that a factitious Oedipal configuration of desire allows the sovereign flow of capital. This article gathers insights from schizoanalysis in elucidating a dynamic affective relationship between sovereignty and the territorial state. It also suggests the potential of schizoanalysis for reconceptualising world politics and contributing to emancipatory IR scholarship.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Reid Julian**

**Of nomadic unities: Gilles Deleuze on the nature of sovereignty**

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 13, Number 4, December , 405-428

This paper develops Deleuze's critique of the political ideal of sovereignty by examining his philosophy of nature. In their exultation of the ideal of sovereignty, traditional forms of political theory reflect only one aspect of nature. That is, its tendency toward unity. As such, they obscure what is most 'true' of nature, and what is most 'true' of peoples and individuals, which is their tendency toward multiplicity. While Deleuze's work has received significant attention in IR, the value of his philosophy of nature for the more concretely political problem of sovereignty is still to be fully realised. Beyond its under-representation in debates concerning political problems, Deleuze's work also suffers from misrepresentation. There is an abiding misconception of Deleuze as a theorist of the possibility of a 'world without sovereignty'. This paper dispels that particular misconception by demonstrating Deleuze's attention to the necessity of



the recurrence of the problem of sovereignty as a condition for an understanding of political agency.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Nijman Janne E.

**On Faith in the Moral Force of International Law. Martin Wight and Hugo de Groot: Four Seminal Thinkers in International Theory. Machiavelli, Grotius, Kant, and Mazzini, Martin Wight**

in *Journal of the History of International Law*, Volume 12, Issue 2 , 329-346

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Jan Farah

**Pakistan: A Struggling Nation-State**

in *Democracy and Security*, Volume 6, Issue 3 September , 237 - 255

In the course of Pakistan's sixty-three years of existence it has been called "a failed state," occasionally "a failing state," and even at times "a rogue state." Perhaps this is a trend in contemporary comparative politics to label and characterize third world countries with such epithets. This article argues against these assertions, and I contend that Pakistan is a "struggling nation-state." This article aims to outline a concise definition of a struggling state. My primary objective in this article is to emphasize the temporal and directional aspects of a struggling state, particularly in the case of Pakistan—which is a nation still in transition. It is a state still in its infancy (in some measures), effectively striving to attain stability in the face of aggression from within the confines of its borders, as well as outside its perimeters.

Historically Pakistan's democratic trajectory has been inefficacious, but more recently political institutions are gaining a strong foothold, specifically the unwavering judicial branch of the country with its self-assertive chief justice and, most importantly, public awareness and support in regards to political matters. Independent judiciaries that can uphold the constitution against any form of coercion are positive indicators for a state that is in its developmental phase and striving to democratize. In Larry Diamond's analysis, constitutional government and the rule of law are foundational factors before democracy is instituted. Moreover, he contends that England and other European states had constitutional government and the rule of law prior to democratization.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Quirico Stefano

**Paura, terrore, ordine: note sul pensiero politico di Thomas Hobbes**

in *Pensiero Politico (II)*, Anno XLIII, n. 2, maggio-agosto 2010 , 253-264

No abstract available





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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Maebuta Jack

**Peace Research in Pacific Islands: Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice**

in **Peace, Conflict and Development**, Volume 16, Issue 6, November , 1-11

Conflict is one of the major obstacles to the achievement of both the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and national development goals in any war-torn country. As conflicts are increasingly recurring in the Pacific region, many are seeking answers to deal with the underlying causes. Turning to peace research is one alternative to address problems that gave rise to conflict. However, this paper argues that a peace research that ignores indigenous knowledge and practices is likely to be resisted. Therefore, a practice-based inquiry as opposed to disciplinary and interpretive inquiry can fill existing or potential paradigmatic gaps in peace research. A practice-based peace research in the context of this paper refers to peace research that harnesses the indigenous concept of peace as portrayed in the example of nowe – the Temotu Nendo concept of peace. Theorizing peace as nowe signifies the worldview of Pacific Island people. As such, peacebuilding initiatives that are not culturally grounded would not contribute to sustainable peace. The aim of this paper is to inform readers about the practical issues relating to peace research in Pacific Islands' context. Full text available online: [http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/iss\\_16\\_art\\_1.pdf](http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/iss_16_art_1.pdf).

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Bayer Re&#351;at

**Peaceful transitions and democracy**

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 47, Number 5, September , 535-546

While there has been extensive interest in the role of democracy in reducing interstate violence, the role of democracy in reaching higher levels of peace has received much less attention. Since many countries have less than amicable relations, it is necessary to consider how the quality of peace can be improved. The quality of peace becomes particularly relevant when assessing relations of countries with a bellicose past. In order to capture improvement in relations, this article relies upon a framework that captures the various levels of peace that countries experience. The study maintains that democracy contributes to former belligerents reaching the highest levels of peace but that it is not helpful at the lower levels especially if only one side is a democracy. The article tests arguments on a dataset that captures the transitions from one level of peace to another for all former belligerents since 1816 and relies upon event history analysis. The results for peace are not the opposite of what is found for war. The findings demonstrate that democracy plays a substantial role in peaceful transitions at all levels. However, while joint democracy is important for reaching the highest levels of peace, democracy can hamper the progress of relations at the lowest levels of peace.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Salzani Carlo

**Purity (Benjamin with Kant)**

in **History of European Ideas**, Volume 36, Issue 4, December , 438-447



The essay analyses the notion of 'purity' in the early writings of Walter Benjamin, focusing more specifically on three essays written around the crucial year 1921: 'Critique of Violence', 'The Task of the Translator', and 'Goethe's Elective Affinities'. In these essays, 'purity' appears in the notions of 'pure means', 'pure violence', 'pure language', and, indirectly, the 'expressionless'. The essay argues, on the one hand, that the 'purity' of these concepts is one and the same notion, and, on the other, that it is strongly indebted to, if not a by-product of, Kant's theorisation of the moral act. In order to make this claim, the essay analyses Benjamin's intense engagement with Kant's writings in the 1910s and early 1920s: 'purity' is a category strongly connoted within the philosophical tradition in which the young Benjamin moved his first steps, namely Kantian transcendental criticism. The essay argues that the notion of 'purity' in Benjamin, though deployed outside and often against Kant's theorisation and that of his followers, and moreover influenced by different and diverse philosophical suggestions, retains a strong Kantian tone, especially in reference to its moral and ethical aspects. Whereas Benjamin rejects Kant's model of cognition based on the 'purity' of the universal laws of reason, and thus also Kant's theorisation of purity as simply non empirical and a priori, he models nonetheless his politics and aesthetics around suggestions that arise directly from Kant's theorisation of the moral act and of the sublime, and uses a very Kantian vocabulary of negative determinations construed with the privatives-los and -frei (motiv-frei, zweck-los, gewalt-los, ausdrucks-los, intention-frei, etc). The essay explores thus the connections that link 'pure means', 'pure language' and 'pure violence' to one another and to the Kantian tradition.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Lebel Louis, Xu Jianchu, Bastakoti Ram C., Lamba Amrita**

#### **Pursuits of adaptiveness in the shared rivers of Monsoon Asia**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 10, Number 4 - Special Issue: "Earth System Governance", December , 355-375

How water should be managed in Monsoon Asia is emerging as one of the core earth system governance challenges. In this article, we explore the politics around pursuits of adaptiveness in water management, emphasizing the major transboundary river basins draining the south and eastern Himalayas. We look at two main functions: storing, diverting and sharing water for periods of scarcity; protecting people and places from destructive floods. We find that the pursuit of adaptiveness will take place partly outside the range of human experience in a context of large differences in exposure and vulnerabilities, disparate interests and unequal power. Anticipatory policies and actions to adapt and improve adaptive capacity to the transboundary impacts of changes in water-use, land-use and climate on water resources and services are still in their infancy; but several problem-framing discourses are emerging that have longer-term implications for water governance. It is not yet clear how these competing policy-frames will evolve in Asia. Much will depend on how systems of water governance develop. Public scrutiny of how governments in Asia plan to adapt to climate change in the water sector—on how risks of not enough and too much water are dealt with—will need to continue to help sort out those projects and strategies which are driven primarily by political benefits from those which actually contribute to building adaptive capacities and maintaining social-ecological resilience.

Full text available online: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/e24u1416u174g7ul/fulltext.pdf>.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sylvest Casper**

#### **Realism and international law: the challenge of John H. Herz**



in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLV, n. 4, December , 410-445

The proliferation, globalization, and fragmentation of law in world politics have fostered an attempt to re-integrate International Law (IL) and International Relations (IR) scholarship, but so far the contribution of realist theory to this interdisciplinary perspective has been meagre. Combining intellectual history, the jurisprudence of IL and IR theory, this article provides an analysis of John H. Herz's classical realism and its perspective on international law. In retrieving this vision, the article emphasizes the political and intellectual context from which Herz's realism developed: the study of public law in Germany during the interwar period and in particular the contribution of Hans Kelsen and the pure theory of law to the study of international law. Herz was deeply inspired by Kelsen but he criticized the pure theory for ignoring the sociological foundations of law. Following his emigration to the United States, Herz embraced realism but without disregarding international law. Indeed, his mature, globally oriented realism offers a balanced, fruitful perspective for thinking about the relationship between politics and law that is deeply relevant for contemporary theory: it challenges modern, law-blind variants of realism and holds considerable potential for contributing to the approaches that have most successfully studied the law–politics nexus.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Nel Philip**

**Redistribution and recognition: what emerging regional powers want**

in **Review of International Studies (The)**, Vol. 36, Issue 4, November , 951-974

Regional powers of the Global South are perceived to be agents of change. But what exactly is the nature of the change that they want? This article argues that there is some continuity between the goals of the current generation of regional leaders and that of their predecessors. The current generation tend to have more confidence in their ability to effect the redistribution of wealth, prestige, and power in the global political economy, though, and tend therefore to be more integrationist than the first generation of post-colonial leaders. The goal of redistribution is premised on a more fundamental unfinished struggle of developing countries, one that Brazil, India, and South Africa in particular have taken up. This is the struggle for recognition of developing countries as full and equal partners in the society of states, but also as states with specific development needs that are too easily ploughed-under in the spurious universality promoted by the developed North. The struggle for recognition focuses on inclusive multilateralism and 'non-indifference' towards the development needs of the Global South. Using recent contributions to the theory of recognition, the article interprets these two goals as linked to the unfinished struggle against disrespect and humiliation.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Basso Luca**

**Regeln einer effektiven Außenpolitik – Leibniz' Bemühen um eine Balance widerstreitender Machtinteressen in Europa**

in **Studia Leibnitiana**, Band 40 - Heft 2/2008

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Destradi Sandra

**Regional powers and their strategies: empire, hegemony, and leadership**

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, November , 903-930

Regional powers are often conceived of as 'regional leading powers', states which adopt a cooperative and benevolent attitude in their international relations with their neighbours. The article argues that regional powers can follow a much wider range of foreign policy strategies in their region. Three ideal-typical regional strategies are identified: empire, hegemony, and leadership. The article is devoted to a theory-led distinction and clarification of these three terms, which are often used interchangeably in the field of International Relations. According to the goals pursued, to the means employed, and to other discriminating features such as the degree of legitimation and the type of self-representation by the dominant state, the article outlines the essential traits of imperial, hegemonic, and leading strategies and identifies sub-types for better classifying hegemony and leadership.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ayers Jessica

**Resolving the Adaptation Paradox: Exploring the Potential for Deliberative Adaptation Policy-Making in Bangladesh**

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 11, Issue 1, February , 62-88

Climate change adaptation presents a paradox: climate change is a global risk, yet vulnerability is locally experienced. Effective adaptation therefore depends on understanding the local context of vulnerability, which requires deliberative and participatory approaches to adaptation policy-making. But, how can local inclusiveness be achieved in the context of global environmental risk, and what sorts of institutions are needed? This article examines one avenue for the participation of vulnerable groups in adaptation policy-making: National Adaptation Programmes of Actions (NAPAs). Drawing on the case study of Bangladesh, this article shows that the "adaptation paradox" creates a tension between local and global definitions of climate change risk, affecting the legitimacy of participatory processes under the NAPA. I propose that early analysis and engagement of existing local institutional frameworks as a starting point for national adaptation planning is one possible entry point for meaningful local deliberation in global climate change policy-making processes.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Bevir Mark

**Rethinking governmentality: Towards genealogies of governance**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 13, No. 4, November 2010 , 423-441

Abstract

Foucault introduced the concept 'governmentality' to refer to the conduct of conduct, and especially the technologies that govern individuals. He adopted the concept after his shift from structuralist archaeology to historicist genealogy. But



some commentators suggest governmentality remains entangled with structuralist themes. This article offers a resolutely genealogical theory of governmentality that: echoes Foucault on genealogy, critique, and technologies of power; suggests resolutions to problems in Foucault's work; introduces concepts that are clearly historicist, not structuralist; and opens new areas of empirical research. The resulting genealogical theory of governmentality emphasizes nominalism, contingency, situated agency, and historicist explanations referring to traditions and dilemmas. It decenters governance by highlighting diverse elite narratives, technologies of power, and traditions of popular resistance.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Hounshell Blake

**Robert Kaplan's New Global Geography**

**in Foreign Policy**, Issue 183, October

In Monsoon, our latter-day Kipling makes the case that America can't rule the whole world alone.

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/27/robert\\_kaplans\\_new\\_global\\_geography](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/27/robert_kaplans_new_global_geography)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Patomäki Heikki , Steger Manfred B

**Social imaginaries and Big History: Towards a new planetary consciousness?**

**in Futures**, Volume 42, Issue 10, December - Special Issue: Global Mindset Change , 1056-1063

A sustainable global future depends on a fundamental shift from the currently dominant national imaginary to a global imaginary. Most of human reasoning is based on prototypes, framings and metaphors that are seldom explicit; although they can be forged, usually they are merely presupposed in everyday reasoning and debates. The background social imaginary offers explanations of how 'we' fit together, how things go on between us, the expectations we have of each other and outsiders, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie those expectations. We argue that although the 17th and 18th century scientific and social revolutions generated prototypes, metaphors, framings and related conceptions of time and space that pointed towards a global imaginary, there were deep-seated structural reasons for the 'nation' to become, at least temporarily, the central category of human existence and belonging. By the early 21st century, there are already widespread metaphors that envisage the human world as a whole—from the 'global shopping mall' or 'global village' to the 'spaceship Earth'. Yet, compared to the rich poetics of national imaginaries, the proposed prototypes, metaphors and framings are often thin. Evoking innovative myths about shared human existence and destiny, Big History helps to articulate the rising global imaginary in terms that motivate transformative and progressive politics in the 21st century.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Oshana Maria, Aken Jan van

**Sudan: Eskalation mit deutscher Hilfe**



in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Oktober, 2010 , 21-24

Im Januar 2011 soll die südsudanesische Bevölkerung in einem Referendum darüber entscheiden, ob der Süden Teil eines vereinten Sudan bleibt oder unabhängig wird. Das Referendum geht zurück auf das am 9. Januar 2005 beschlossene „Umfassende Friedensabkommen“ zwischen der Zentralregierung in Khartum und der Rebellenorganisation Sudanesische Volksbefreiungsbewegung(SPLM), das den langjährigen Bürgerkrieg zwischen Nord- und Südsudan beendete. Danach sollte das Land in einer sechsjährigen Übergangsphase demokratisch transformiert und die Einheit „attraktiv“ gemacht werden.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Perthes Volker**

**Südsudan - Afrikas neuer Staat**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Februar, 2011 , 20-22

Auch wenn die endgültigen Ergebnisse erst im Februar veröffentlicht werden: Mit dem Referendum vom 9. Januar d.J. dürfte der Südsudan sich mit überwältigender Mehrheit für die nationale Unabhängigkeit entschieden haben. Die offizielle Staatsgründung ist für Juli zu erwarten. Damit wird der fünfjährige Friedensprozess, mit dem der lang anhaltende Bürgerkrieg zwischen Nord und Süd beendet wurde, auf eine nur als historisch zu bezeichnende Weise besiegelt. Der Sudan verliert ein Drittel seines Territoriums, und im Süden entsteht ein neuer, wenn auch schwacher Staat, der 54. in Afrika...

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Goldsmith Mike, Goldsmith Chris**

**Teaching Political Science in Europe**

in **European Political Science** , Volume 9, Issue 4, November - Special Issue: Forty Years of European Political Science , 61-71

This article first reviews the history of political science teaching in Europe before going on to consider a range of recent developments in the teaching of political science, including cross-national joint programmes; technologically enhanced learning; placement learning and problem-based learning. The last section considers a range of issues facing political science teachers, including financial pressures; EU and national government policies; Bologna and quality assurance. The article concludes by suggesting that particular attention needs to be paid to what is taught at master's and doctoral levels.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Hay Colin**

**The Changing Nature of European Political Science: The Discipline in an Age of Acknowledged Interdependence**



in *European Political Science* , Volume 9, Issue 4, November - Special Issue: Forty Years of European Political Science , 121-131

Reflecting on the current state of political science – and the place of European political science within it – this piece considers the capacity of the discipline to respond to the challenges thrown up by real-world events in an era of acknowledged interdependence. It argues that the European tradition of political science is, if anything, better placed than its more narrowly disciplinary Northern American counterpart to respond effectively to those challenges, dispositionally more inclined as it has always been to acknowledge interdependence.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bilodeau Antoine, White Stephen , Nevitte Neil**

**The Development of Dual Loyalties: Immigrants' Integration to Canadian Regional Dynamics**

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 43 - Issue 03 - September , 515-544

The transformations in recent patterns of immigration have the potential to reshape the trajectory of Canada's regional political dynamics. Drawing on data from the 1993–2006 Canadian Election Studies, this analysis explores how immigrants adjust to the prevailing regional political norms in Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. Do newcomers adopt the political orientations (feelings towards Canada and their province, confidence in provincial and federal governments, perceptions about how the province is treated by the federal government and support for the Liberal party) that resemble those of their native-born provincial counterparts? The results suggest that immigrants, especially newer waves from non-traditional source countries, tend to develop orientations that are more federally oriented than the local populations in their province. This tendency is most pronounced in Quebec where both groups of immigrants from traditional and non-traditional source countries internalize political grievances and norms less efficiently than their counterparts in other provinces.

Résumé. Les transformations récentes des tendances migratoires pourraient avoir un impact sur l'évolution des dynamiques politiques régionales au Canada. Cette enquête s'appuie sur les données de sondage de l'Étude électorale canadienne de 1993 à 2006 et vise à déterminer si les immigrants adoptent les attitudes et les comportements politiques dominants de leur province de résidence (Québec, Ontario, Alberta et Colombie-Britannique). Les immigrants adoptent-ils des attitudes et des comportements politiques (attachement au Canada et à la province de résidence, confiance envers les gouvernements fédéral et provincial, perception du traitement réservé par le gouvernement fédéral à la province de résidence et appui au Parti libéral du Canada) qui ressemblent à ceux des populations locales de leur province? Les résultats de l'enquête suggèrent que les immigrants, surtout ceux d'origines dites non traditionnelles, ont tendance à développer des comportements et des attitudes politiques plus orientés vers le gouvernement fédéral que ceux affichés dans leur province. Cette tendance est particulièrement marquée au Québec où les immigrants, tant d'origines traditionnelles que non traditionnelles, semblent assimiler moins efficacement que les immigrants des autres provinces les griefs et les normes politiques de la population provinciale.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Oviasuyi P. O., Uwadiae Jim

**The Dilemma of Niger-Delta Region as Oil Producing States of Nigeria**

**in Peace, Conflict and Development**, Volume 16, Issue 6, November , 110-126

This paper x-rayed the dilemma of Niger-Delta Region as oil producing states of Nigeria. By extension, the criminal neglect of the entire region was highlighted, and the various approaches to the de-development of the region were stated. The impressionistic efforts made by the Federal Government of Nigeria to ameliorate the problems of the region were identified. Thereafter, the paper posited a 12-stage strategy that could be adopted to solve the problems of the region with these strategies broken down into three phases of implementation. The paper concludes that the implementation of these strategies would bring succour to the people of the region and thereby extricate them from their present extreme poverty level. Full text available online: [http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/iss\\_16\\_art\\_16.pdf](http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/iss_16_art_16.pdf)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Bailey David J.

**The European rescue, recommodification, and/or reterritorialisation of the (becoming-capitalist) state? Marx, Deleuze, Guattari, and the European Union**

**in Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 13, Number 4, December , 325-353

This article argues that in drawing predominantly upon Marxist approaches, existing critical accounts of European integration suffer from the problem of economic determinism. While such accounts have enriched our understanding of European integration through their considerations of capitalism, they have nevertheless been unable to provide a feasible explanation for the relationship between the two processes (capitalism and European integration). The article argues for a turn to the work of Deleuze and Guattari, which provides insights into how we might consider the relationship between capitalism and political institutions while avoiding the depiction of one as determining of the other. In doing so, it argues that European integration can be understood to have overseen the re-centring of what Deleuze and Guattari refer to as the 'capitalist axiomatic', in the attempt by Europe's political elite to enable, represent, and repress the desire that constitutes the contemporary European social assemblage.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Murata Koji

**The Evolution of Japanese Studies of International Relations**

**in Japanese Journal of Political Science**, Volume 11, Issue 3, December , 355-365

This paper aims to examine the evolution of Japanese studies of international relations since the end of World War II. In so doing, in particular, this paper first looks at the dominant trends and characteristics of Japanese scholarship in this field, and, second, the correlations between the scholarship and Japan's experiences in real international relations. In discussing the evolution of Japanese studies of international relations, I shall divide the years since 1945 into three separate periods: (1) 1945–60, (2) 1961–89, and (3) 1990 and after. Then, taking the current US–Japan relationship as





a case study, I will examine the contemporary characteristics of Japanese scholarship in this field.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Krakoff Sarah**

**The Last Indian Raid in Kansas: Context, Colonialism, and Philip P. Frickey's Contributions to American Indian Law**

in *California Law Review*, Vol. 98, n. 4 , 1253-1286

This Article will first describe, in Part I, the trajectory of Phil's Indian law scholarship, tracking in particular the development of the major themes just described—the centrality of the structural relationship between tribes and the federal government, and the importance of context. In Part II, it will delve into the story of Oberlin, Kansas, and the Northern Cheyenne Odyssey, drawing lessons for contemporary Indian law consistent with Phil's observations about the field. Those lessons are, first, that it is key to frame Indian law disputes as structural questions between sovereigns; and, second, that academics can provide crucial, rigorous, contextualized research about the terrain in which these disputes occur.

Finally, in Part III, this Article applies lessons from the Last Indian Raid to a contemporary Indian law issue—the boundaries of tribal control over Indians who are not members of the governing tribe. Telling thicker stories, whether about the Last Indian Raid or this particular Indian law issue, allows us to peek behind the arid judicial formulations of Indian law to see the more complicated and often troubling reality about the life of Indian law. That, at least, is one of the lessons that Phil tried to teach through his scholarship, and it guides this inquiry as it has many others.

Full text available at:

<http://www.californialawreview.org/assets/pdfs/98-4/Krakoff.FINAL.pdf>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Benton Meghan**

**The Tyranny of the Enfranchised Majority? The Accountability of States to their Non-Citizen Population**

in *Res Publica*, Volume 16, Number 4, December , 397-413

The debate between legal constitutionalists and critics of constitutional rights and judicial review is an old and lively one. While the protection of minorities is a pivotal aspect of this debate, the protection of disenfranchised minorities has received little attention. Policy-focused discussion—of the merits of the Human Rights Act in Britain for example—often cites protection of non-citizen migrants, but the philosophical debate does not. Non-citizen residents or 'denizens' therefore provide an interesting test case for the theory of rights as trumps on ordinary representative politics. Are they the ultimate success story of the human rights framework? Or was Michael Walzer correct to describe government of denizens by citizens as a modern form of 'tyranny'? This paper argues that neither liberal rights theorists nor democratic republicans provide a coherent response to the existence of denizens. Liberal rights theorists overstate the extent to which a politically powerless status can secure individual rights, while democratic republicans idealise the political process and wrongly assume that all those affected by laws are eligible for political participation. The paper outlines an



alternative model for assessing the accountability of states to their non-citizen population, informed by the republican ideal of non-domination. It identifies gaps in state accountability to denizens—such as where there is inadequate diplomatic protection—and argues that these gaps are particularly troubling if their exit costs of leaving the state are high.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Sezer Devrim

**The anxiety of cultural authenticity in Turkish communitarian thought: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and Peyami Safa on Europe and modernity**

*in History of European Ideas*, Volume 36, Issue 4, December , 427-437

The uneasy tension between ongoing disputes about Turkey's Europeanisation and an emphasis on cultural authenticity has characterised much of Turkish social and political thought over the last two centuries. This article explores conceptions of Europe, modernity and tradition contained in the writings of two twentieth-century Turkish writers, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901–1962) and Peyami Safa (1899–1961) whose writings express an anxiety of cultural authenticity. Varieties of communitarian thinking, coupled with an emphasis on a 'synthesis' between past and future, tradition and modernity, Turkey and Europe, had been invoked and advocated by many writers and scholars who sought to come to terms with the challenges surrounding Turkey's Europeanisation throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Tanpınar and Safa are widely considered to be among the most influential representatives of this deeply rooted communitarian tradition in modern Turkish social imaginary. By drawing on Tanpınar's and Safa's essays on politics, society, culture and the East–West distinction, this article demonstrates the radical divergences between their perspectives and draws out the political implications of their views of Europe, modernity and tradition. Although he appears to be one of the advocates of Turkey's Europeanisation and the idea of a civilisational synthesis, Safa's conservatism is based on a sketchy theory of radical particularity and cultural essentialism that reflects a repudiation of universalism and cosmopolitanism, and which shows a tendency bordering on a celebration of all collectivist self-assertions and struggles against liberal democracy. Tanpınar's communitarian vision, on the other hand, with its emphasis on 'tradition' and 'continuity', aims to reconcile the political ideals of European modernity with a restored cultural tradition. One of the primary purposes of this article is to fully work out the originality of Tanpınar's thought by highlighting the intimations of a distinctively hermeneutical dimension that figure prominently in his writings, and which have largely gone unnoticed.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Karunanithi Arunprakash T., Garmestani Ahjond S., Eason Tarsha, Cabezas Heriberto

**The characterization of socio-political instability, development and sustainability with Fisher information in Global Environmental Change**, Volume 21, Issue 1, February , 77-84

In an effort to evaluate socio-political instability, we studied the relationship between dynamic order, socio-political upheavals and sustainability in nation states. Estimating the degree of dynamic order inherent in the socio-political regime of various countries throughout the world involved applying Fisher information theory to data from the Political Instability Task Force database. Fisher information is a key method in information theory and affords the ability to characterize the structure and dynamics of complex systems. The results of this work demonstrate that nation states



bifurcate into two distinct regimes, which exhibit a negative correlation between dynamic order, as determined by Fisher information, and the prevalence of upheavals. Countries in the High Incidence of Upheavals regime with low dynamic order (i.e., low Fisher information) experienced sixteen times more upheavals than the countries in the Low Incidence of Upheavals regime with high dynamic order (i.e. high Fisher information). Most importantly, our analysis demonstrates that newly industrializing countries suffer from the most instability, which is manifested in low dynamic order thereby resulting in a high number of upheavals. These results suggest that developing countries endure a period of socio-political instability on their path to the developed world.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bull Richard, Petts Judith, Evans James**

**The importance of context for effective public engagement: learning from the governance of waste**  
in **Journal of Environmental Planning and Management**, Volume 53, Issue 8, December , 991-1009

This paper takes a new look at the importance of context - institutional and political - in effective public engagement processes. It does so through a rare comparative opportunity to examine the effectiveness of processes of public engagement in two UK waste authorities, where the same waste company was involved as both the primary contractor for the delivery of the waste management service (including new energy-from-waste facilities) and, furthermore, the same staff delivered the public engagement. Interrogating these cases affords the opportunity to place flesh on the bones of the sometimes 'abstract' skeleton of context. While engagement processes support effective local governance in an era of partnerships and deliberative democracy, the paper identifies that the methods adopted cannot be played out devoid of detailed understanding and response to local context, including the strength of partnership working between the public and private sector, the degree of political support for engagement, and the extent to which a traditional institutional paternalism still dominates.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Hegre Håvard, Oneal John R, Russett Bruce**

**Trade does promote peace: New simultaneous estimates of the reciprocal effects of trade and conflict**  
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 47, Number 6, November , 763-774

Two studies question whether economic interdependence promotes peace, arguing that previous research has not adequately considered the endogeneity of trade. Using simultaneous equations to capture the reciprocal effects, they report that trade does not reduce conflict, though conflict reduces trade. These results are puzzling on logical grounds. Trade should make conflict less likely, *ceteris paribus*, if interstate violence adversely affects commerce; otherwise, national leaders are acting irrationally. In re-analyzing the authors' data, this article shows that trade does promote peace once the gravity model is incorporated into the analysis of conflict. Both trade and conflict are influenced by nations' sizes and the distance separating them, so these fundamental exogenous factors must be included in models of conflict as well as trade. One study errs in omitting distance when explaining militarized disputes. The other does not adequately control for the effect of size (or power). When these theoretically informed changes are made, the pacific benefit of trade again appears. In new simultaneous analyses, the article confirms that trade promotes peace and conflict contemporaneously reduces commerce, even with extensive controls for traders' rational expectations of violence. Previous studies that address the endogeneity of trade by controlling for the years of peace — as virtually all



have done since 1999 — have not overstated the benefit of interdependence. Commerce promotes peace because violence has substantial costs, whether these are paid prospectively or contemporaneously.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Olsen Tricia D, Payne Leigh A

**Transitional justice in the world, 1970-2007: Insights from a new dataset**

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 47, Number 6, November , 803-809

This article presents a new dataset of transitional justice mechanisms utilized worldwide from 1970—2007. These data complement the growing body of quantitative and comparative analyses of transitional justice. This article summarizes three important contributions made by the dataset. First, it includes five transitional justice mechanisms (trials, truth commissions, amnesties, reparations, and lustration policies), allowing scholars to avoid many of the methodological errors committed by performing single-mechanism studies. Second, it provides an expanded sample, both temporally and geographically, to facilitate greater comparative and policy impact. Third, the dataset enables scholars to analyze transitional justice across a variety of political contexts, including democratic transitions and civil wars. These data illuminate a new set of general trends and patterns in the implementation of transitional justice worldwide. The findings show that countries adopt amnesties more often than other mechanisms. They predominantly grant them in the context of civil war and to opponents of the state, rather than state agents. Courts rarely prosecute those currently in power for human rights violations. In civil war settings, rebels, rather than state actors, face trials. In post-authoritarian settings, courts try former authoritarian actors, but do not address crimes committed by the opposition to authoritarian rule. The dataset also reveals regional patterns of mechanism usage. Trials, lustration policies, and reparations occur most often in Europe. Non-European countries more frequently adopt truth commissions and amnesties than do their European counterparts, with a particularly high number of amnesties granted in Latin America.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Glasbergen Pieter

**Understanding partnerships for sustainable development analytically: the ladder of partnership activity as a methodological tool**

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 21, Issue 1, January-February , 1-13

This paper studies the development of partnerships for sustainable development as a process in which actors from various sectors of society (state, market and civil) restructure and build new social relationships to create a more sustainable management practice. In the relevant literature we recognize three perspectives on this issue. From the first, partnerships are studied as single collaborative arrangements. From the second perspective, attention is turned to the external effects of partnerships. Partnership arrangements are seen as tools for deliberate societal change. The third perspective takes a broader view on the governance system. Attention is focused on the changes that partnerships make in the configuration of public decision-making structures. These perspectives will be connected in a Ladder of Partnership Activity, a conceptual device that allows us to better understand and analyse partnerships. The Ladder consists of five core levels, set in a time frame. Each level is represented by a core activity. The Ladder is further encapsulated in three dimensions. Taking examples from recent empirical studies, the paper discusses each of the levels and their relationships. The final section reflects on the applicability of the Ladder concept and its strengths and



weaknesses.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Boncourt Thibaud**

**Why European Political Science Organisations? A Diachronic, Comparative and Fairly Short Explanation**

**in European Political Science** , Volume 9, Issue 4, November - Special Issue: Forty Years of European Political Science , 38-49

The early 1950s and the late 1960s saw the setting up of many European political science organisations. The first wave was that of the foundation of an International Political Science Association and several national associations. The second was that of the creation of a Pan-European organisation: the European Consortium for Political Research. The rationale behind these two waves was different: it was very political in the 1950s and based on more properly scientific considerations in the 1960s.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Lempert David**

**Why We Need a Cultural Red Book for Endangered Cultures, NOW: How Social Scientists and Lawyers/Rights Activists Need to Join Forces**

**in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights**, Volume 17, Number 4 , 511-550

Social scientists and biologists/environmentalists have taken two very different legal and political strategies to deal with the parallel concerns of disappearance of cultural and biological diversity, with the environmentalists having greater success in drawing attention and funding. The difference is not due to the legal basis for actions. In terms of international legal protections, the laws and mechanisms for protecting human diversity are probably stronger than those for species. The reason for the greater comparative success of the environmentalists is not due to anything inherent in the areas of concern, but more to the effectiveness of organization of the biologists and ecologists, their ability to present their concerns in a scientific way, and their use of a tool - the Red Book for Endangered Species - that offers an accessible way for non-specialists to understand the threats. This article describes the emerging legal mechanisms in the international community through which human cultures could be more effectively protected, both by legal enforcement and by awareness, through the use of a new policy and screening tool. It describes some of the efforts that have taken place in anthropology, among linguists and others, to begin such systematization. It begins the process of creating a format and standard for such work by offering ideas on a systematic framework. And, it suggests the processes of organizing a united effort among the community of anthropologists, linguists, sociologists and other social scientists, lawyers and human rights professionals to offer this professional and tangible measure of the threats to cultures.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Alvin Y. Soa**



**“One Country, Two Systems” and Hong Kong-China National Integration: A Crisis-Transformation Perspective**  
in *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Volume 41 Issue 1 , 99 - 116

This paper examines the historical process of Hong Kong-China national unification through a crisis-transformation framework. This paper argues that the Chinese unification process between Hong Kong and mainland China is not a smooth process. Instead, it has gone through at least four crises during the 1980s and the 1990s. The institution framework for unification - the so-called “One Country, Two Systems” policy - emerged out of the first crisis of negotiation in the early 1980s, and this policy has been hotly contested and transformed during the various crises over the past three decades. Previous studies on Hong Kong-China unification tends to focus solely on the political and legal aspects. However, this paper shows that unification needs to be symmetrical on all aspects (legal, political, economic and socio-cultural) in order to make it work.

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***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

in *Journal of North African Studies* , Volume 15, Issue 3, September

The Western Sahara conflict, now in its 35th year, is a conflict that challenges concepts of territorial sovereignty and self-determination and of the alleged linkage between them. It is also a manifestation of the struggle for regional hegemony between Algeria and Morocco and, by extension, a struggle by both regional powers to capture the attention and support of Europe and the United States. Amidst these major concerns, the interests of the Western Saharans themselves are being increasingly ignored, a situation that raises further questions about popular legitimisation of sovereignty in the contemporary world order.