



Bulletin n. 1/2013 - June 2013

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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

Benz Arthur

Balancing Rigidity and Flexibility: Constitutional Dynamics in Federal Systems in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 4 , 726-749

ABSTRACT: Federal systems need stable constitutions protecting the division of power, but they also need constitutional flexibility to adjust to changing social and political conditions. This article explains how this dilemma is dealt with in different federations. Whereas the number of veto players is often assumed to cause the mentioned dilemma, this study shows that complex structures and processes of constitutional policy are conducive to balancing continuity and change in federal constitutions. Successful amendments can be expected if constitutional policy is dissociated from normal policy-making, if amendment proposals are negotiated in various connected arenas and in sequences, and if negotiations and ratification are loosely coupled. In contrast, a concentration of powers in intergovernmental bargaining or negotiations of party elites followed by parliamentary ratification is conducive to incremental change and can cause destabilising dynamics. Focused case studies illustrate the variety of patterns of constitutional change and their different consequences.

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

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Hooghe Liesbet, Marks Gary

Beyond Federalism: Estimating and Explaining the Territorial Structure of Government in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 43, n. 2, Spring , 179-204

This article suggests that the basic distinction between federal and unitary government has limited as well as served our understanding of government. The notion that variation in the structure of government is a difference of kind rather than degree has straight-jacketed attempts to estimate the authority of intermediate government. One result has been the claim that a country's footprint, not its population, is decisive for government. Analyzing data for thirty-nine countries since 1950, and comparing our own findings with those of alternative measurements, we find evidence for the causal effect of population. This can be theorized in terms of a trade-off between responsiveness to soft information and per-capita economies in public good provision.

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

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Éric Montpetit and Martial Foucault

Canadian Federalism and Change in Policy Attention: A Comparison with the United Kingdom in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique, Volume 45 - Issue 03 , 635 - 656

Federal systems empower multiple policy actors from different levels of governments. For some scholars, the



disagreements arising within such a diverse group of actors create policy stalemates. Others contend instead that new ideas are more likely to arise and diffuse from such a diverse group. This article is a contribution to this scholarly debate, proposing an original contribution on policy agendas. It argues that both perspectives are useful to understanding the dynamic of policy making within federal systems. Looking at change in policy attention in Canadian and British speeches from the throne, the article argues that federalism constrains change immediately following a party turnover in government. In the following years, however, federal arrangements encourage larger changes in policy attention than arrangements where power is centralized.

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Wolff Stefan

Conflict Management in Divided Societies: The Many Uses of Territorial Self-Governance

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 20, Special Issue: Rethinking Territorial Arrangements in Conflict Resolution , 27-50

Conflict over territorial control in divided societies is widespread, frequently violent and difficult to resolve, and thus merits systematic analytical and empirical engagement. Extending the discussion of territorial approaches to conflict management in divided societies beyond the usually narrower focus on federation and autonomy, this article develops the concept of territorial self-governance as a form of state construction and conflict management, arguing that it encompasses five distinct arrangements from confederation and federation to federacy, devolution and decentralisation and illustrates their manifestations with examples from 12 countries across three continents. The article establishes and tests a framework to explain their emergence, examines the conditions under which they are combined with other conflict management strategies, such as power sharing, and reflects on their track record of providing stability in divided societies, finding it more promising than its critics allow.

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Sudarshan R.

Constitutional Conversations

in *India Review*, Volume 12, Issue 1 , 41-50

This is a review essay of Rajeeva Bhargava's *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution* (5th ed., 2012), Sudhir Krishnaswamy's *Democracy and Constitutionalism in India: A Study of the Basic Structure Doctrine* (3rd ed., 2012), and Madhav Khosla's *The Indian Constitution*, Oxford India Short Introductions (2012).

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

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David Ciepley

Dispersed Constituency Democracy Deterritorializing Representation to Reduce Ethnic Conflict

in *Politics & Society*, 41 (1) , 135-162

In multiethnic and multi-religious democracies, the chronic danger is that candidates will engage in "identity politics,"



appealing to one locally preponderant ethnic group against other groups. The usual formulas for composing multiethnic democracies—ethnic federalism and/or proportional representation—often exacerbate the problem, ethnicizing political campaigns and carving up the national legislature into ethnic blocs, each beholden only to its own group. An alternative approach—what I call “dispersed constituency democracy”—is to match each legislative seat with a constituency that reflects the overall ethnic composition of the society in question, so as to encourage candidates to reach across ethnic divisions rather than play to locally preponderant ones. I propose a simple way to do this, and explore the likely consequences for national electoral campaigns and legislative dynamics over a range of demographic circumstances. I also consider supplemental devices for protecting minority rights that would be made possible by the proposed constituency system.

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Sagar Arun

Federal Supremacy and the Occupied Field: A Comparative Critique

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 2, Spring , 251-274

This article undertakes a comparative study of the concept of federal supremacy as it appears in the constitutional texts and judicial doctrine of the United States, Australia, India, Canada, and Germany. It discusses the complex judicial techniques and principles developed in each of these federations, and argues that the approaches based on “conflict” and “field,” respectively, should be distinguished as opposing paradigms of interpretation. The field approach is criticized as being incompatible with a coherent vision of supremacy, and as being itself replete with conceptual problems that are unnecessary to the resolution of cases. It is further suggested that the conflict approach is in itself sufficiently flexible to be adapted to all situations.

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Noor Ahmad Baba

Federalism and the Indian Experience with Nation Building: An Appraisal

in *South Asian Survey* , Vol. 18, n°1 , 109-120

For plural societies like India, the only workable strategy of nation building is to provide all segments of society with an equal sense of belonging, respect and security. The Indian constitutional framework, despite some assimilationist influences, was broadly drawn on accommodationist lines. As a matter of policy, India adopted cultural pluralism rather than an assimilationist brand of cultural nationalism. The Constitution allowed federalism to develop and evolve as a dynamic process, despite certain inbuilt limitations that undermined its functioning in its initial three decades. Nevertheless, there has never been a consensus in India about using special provisions/autonomy as a strategy of nation building or as a mechanism of problem solving. Such an arrangement in the context of Kashmir was seen as an aberration and a potential source of disunity for the country. However, the erosion of Article 370 has undermined rather than promoted the cause of national integration in relation to Kashmir.

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Van der Beken Christophe

Federalism in a Context of Extreme Ethnic Pluralism: The Case of Ethiopia's Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region

in *Verfassung und Recht in Ubersee*, Heft 1, 2013

ABSTRACT: Today, federalism is increasingly suggested and applied as a political/constitutional mechanism to accommodate ethnic pluralism. Used for this purpose, federalism is a device that allows the protection of the rights of ethnic minorities, which in turn promotes societal stability and prevents state disintegration. These two objectives – protection of ethnic minorities and guaranteeing state unity – were the major factors inducing the introduction and development of federalism in Ethiopia since the early 1990 s. The Ethiopian constitution of 1995 constitutes the legal foundation for a multicultural or ethnic federation which is composed of nine ethnic-based regional states or regions. Yet, the presence of more than 80 ethnic groups in Ethiopia has led to the fact that only a few ethnic groups have been empowered by the establishment of these regions; most ethnic groups are still a minority at regional level. This lack of overlap between regional and ethnic boundaries is most dramatically exemplified by the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region. Far from empowering one specific ethnic group, this region is extremely multi-ethnic with dozens of ethnic minorities. The paper aims to investigate how this intra-regional ethnic pluralism is taken care of by the regional state authorities by analysing the pertinent provisions of the regional constitution and their practical operation. The analysis reveals that the regional constitution has included and designed several minority-sensitive provisions and mechanisms, which are modelled upon the provisions and devices included in the federal constitution and which are therefore strongly reminiscent of the basic features of federations. The paper evaluates these mechanisms along the lines of what is the core objective of federalism: the achievement of unity in diversity. By doing so it observes that although the regional constitution has generally found an adequate balance between both potentially conflicting aims, a number of constitutional revisions to clarify administrative interrelationships and to offer a more comprehensive minority protection are in order. The paper furthermore identifies what seems to be an increasing gap between constitutional provisions emphasising territorial autonomy and a prevalent political attitude focusing on unity and concomitant administrative integration.

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Tondi della Mura Vincenzo

Il «tempo» della sussidiarietà. Un'introduzione

in *Federalismi*, Anno XI, n. 4

No abstract available

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

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Barroche Julien

L'État contre lui-même Penser l'État en Europe après le totalitarisme : la contribution du concept de subsidiarité in *Raisons politiques*, n. 49 , 153-171

L'État contre lui-même. Penser l'État en Europe après le totalitarisme : la contribution du concept de subsidiarité mc Notre ambition a consisté à interroger le concept de subsidiarité en procédant à sa contextualisation sémantique. À



rebours des généalogies officielles qui attribuent la notion à Aristote puis restituent imperturbablement les mêmes étapes intermédiaires jusqu'à nos jours (Thomas d'Aquin, Althusius, Tocqueville), ce travail veut démontrer que la subsidiarité s'enracine dans un passé récent et circonscrit. À cette fin, nous avons reconstitué deux configurations principales de la vie discursive du concept : 1) la subsidiarité comme pièce maîtresse de la doctrine sociale de l'Église ; 2) la subsidiarité comme pièce maîtresse de la gouvernance fédérale de l'Europe. Fort de ce repérage, nous avons pu mettre au jour une série d'homologies structurelles qui, une fois stylisées, se sont toutes distinguées par la stigmatisation d'un même objet polémique : l'État. Leur exploitation théorique a ensuite permis de cerner quelques-unes des principales passerelles idéologiques entre les phobies chrétienne et européenne de l'État. Au principe de cette statophobie : un travestissement totalitaire de l'institution étatique, et une expérience traumatique, celle de l'Allemagne hitlérienne, à la fois champ d'adversité et laboratoire historique contre lesquels émergera le fédéralisme européen.

State against itself. Thinking the State in Europe after totalitarianism: The contribution of the concept of subsidiarity
This article's ambition was to question the concept of subsidiarity through its semantic contextualization. Contrary to the official genealogies which attribute the notion to Aristotle and then follow imperturbably the same intermediate stages until the present time (Thomas Aquinas, Althusius, Tocqueville), this work sought to demonstrate that subsidiarity find its roots in a recent past, which can be precisely defined. To this end, we traced back two main contexts in the concept's discursive life: 1) subsidiarity as the major component of the social doctrine of the Church; 2) subsidiarity as the major component of the federal governance of Europe. From these reference points, we were able to enlighten a series of structural homologies which, once stylized, share the stigmatization of the same polemical target: the State. Their theoretical exploitation allowed then to disentangle some of the main ideological bridges between the Christian and European phobias about the State. At the core of this statophobia are a totalitarian disguise of the State institution and a traumatic experience, that of Nazi Germany, both fields of adversity and historic laboratory against which will appear the European federalism.

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Sargent Thomas J., Le Cacheux Jacques

Les États-Unis naguère, l'Europe aujourd'hui. Conférence Nobel prononcée à Stockholm le 8 décembre 2011
in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2012/7 (N° 126) , 5-56

Under the Articles of the Confederation, the central government of the United States had limited power to tax. Therefore, large debts accumulated during the US War for Independence traded at deep discounts. That situation framed a US fiscal crisis in the 1780s. A political revolution –for that was what scuttling the Articles of Confederation in favor of the Constitution of the United States of America was—solved the fiscal crisis by transferring authority to levy tariffs from the states to the federal government. The Constitution and acts of the First Congress of the United States in August 1790 gave Congress authority to raise enough revenue to service a big government debt. In 1790, the Congress carried out a comprehensive bailout of state governments' debts, part of a grand bargain that made creditors of the states become advocates of ample federal taxes. That bailout created expectations about future federal bailouts that a costly episode in the early 1840s proved to be unwarranted.

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Olivetti Marco



Partiti e autonomie negli Stati composti – una mappa dei problemi

in *Federalismi*, Anno XI, n. 9

No abstract available

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

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Félicien Lemaire

Propos sur la notion de « souveraineté partagée » ou sur l'apparence de remise en cause du paradigme de la souveraineté

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 92 , 821-850

No abstract available

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

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Voizard Karl-Henri

Réflexions de la légitimité du Conseil fédéral suisse

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n, 93

No abstract available

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Karlhofer Ferdinand, Pallaver Günther

Strength through Weakness: State Executive Power and Federal Reform in Austria

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 19, Issue 1, March 2013 , 41-59

Abstract

Due to the absence of a strong constitutional veto player, comparative research uses to classify Austria as country with weak federal structures, occasionally even as a "federation without federalism". From an institutional perspective, the assessment is definitely correct, in particular with regard to the nearly insignificant status of the second chamber Bundesrat. Apart from constitutional provisions, however, there are informal forces at work in decision-making processes. Our thesis is that any approach ignoring the fact that the nominal constitution is paralleled by a real one falls short. Instead, we focus on the Conference of State Governors which, though not established by law, is a strong player in Austria's multi-layered system qualifying the picture of "weak" federalism. The paper gives an overview of origin and function of the conference and its ambivalent role in making up for the shortcomings of the federal structures. Taking recent attempts of reorganizing fiscal equalization between states and federation as an example, the need of reforming the allocation of rights and duties between the different levels and, at the same time, the obstacles blocking the reform is outlined and analyzed.



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Franzese Lucio

Sussidiarietà vs decentramento

in **Federalismi**, Anno XI - n. 10

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The Meaning(s) of "The People" in the Constitution

in **Harvard Law Review**, Volume 126 · February 2013 · Number 4

No abstract available

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

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Yu-Bong Lai

The Superiority of Environmental Federalism in the Presence of Lobbying and Prior Tax Distortions

in **Journal of Public Economic Theory**, volume 15 n.2 , 341-61

It is generally believed that environmental federalism tends to generate greater pollution emissions than centralized policymaking. This paper demonstrates that the opposite can occur in the presence of lobbying. Although the decentralized regime gives rise to a tax-interaction effect, which induces policymakers to set lax environmental policies, it may also reduce the political pressure on enlarging allowed emissions. If the latter outweighs the former, then the decentralized regime will generate less pollution than the centralized regime. Moreover, we also show that the decentralized regime can be more efficient than the centralized regime, which provides an alternative theoretical support for the superiority of environmental federalism.

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Hodgson Godfrey

Un système politique en question

in **Debat (Le)**, n° 173, janvier-février , 4-11

No abstract available



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Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Aroney Nicholas

Una società di società. Why Australia is a federation

in *Giornale di storia costituzionale*, n. 24 II sem , 23-34

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Grotz Florian, Poier Klaus

Between joint project, institutional bargaining and symbolic politics: initiatives for federalism reform in Germany, Austria and Switzerland

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 6, Issue 2 Supplement, November 2012 , 77-101

Abstract

In recent years, Germany, Austria and Switzerland have almost simultaneously embarked on a fundamental change of their federal constitutions. These reform attempts have not only varied in their final outcomes; they have also displayed considerable differences from the very outset. This paper argues that an ideal type classification—federalism reform as a ‘joint project’, ‘institutional bargaining’ or as ‘symbolic politics’—proves helpful in capturing the main procedural and policy-related characteristics of these three reform initiatives in a systematic manner. Recognizable differences result from the specific interplay between contextual changes, interest constellations of political decision-makers, and institutional preconditions.

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Mario Kölling

Los límites de la deuda pública según la reforma de la Ley Fundamental alemana de 2009

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, n. 16 , 74-106

Davant el debat a nivell europeu sobre la limitació del deute públic i la reforma de l'article 135 de la Constitució Espanyola, aquest text pretén analitzar-les raons i l'objectiu de la reforma constitucional del federalisme alemany de l'any 2009, amb especial referència als dispositius relacionats amb les restriccions del deute públic, tant de la Federació com dels Länder. Es comença amb una valoració crítica dels resultats d'aquesta reforma per posteriorment analitzar si els nous dispositius constitucionals de la Llei Fonamental estableixen realment una barrera eficaç per limitar l'endeutament públic, o si després que hagin passat a penes uns anys de l'aprovació de la reforma és necessària la seva revisió. D'aquesta anàlisi es pot evidenciar que malgrat les crítiques i els problemes identificats, la reforma del federalisme alemany de 2009 ha donat un impuls positiu al sistema federal, i sens dubte, sempre en cas de compliment, el fre a l'endeutament ofereix una oportunitat per a una major justícia Inter generacional.



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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Hammond Laura

Somalia rising: things are starting to change for the world's longest failed state

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 7, Issue 1 , 183-193

This article examines some of the challenges facing the new Somali National Government in Mogadishu, following the conclusion of the Transitional Federal Charter, and the resulting surprises in the emergence of the post-Transitional leadership. The article also assesses the dynamics which allowed the emergence of relative newcomers into important roles, especially President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud. A sense of optimism surrounds the Mogadishu administration, which is a marked departure from the previous two decades; is it justified? Will it be sustained?

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/17531055.2012.755316>

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

Berdahl Loleen

(Sub)national Economic Union: Institutions, Ideas, and Internal Trade Policy in Canada

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 2, Spring , 275-296

Canadian internal trade policy illustrates the challenges that federalism can pose to economic union goals. Although the federal government played a critical role in bringing internal trade to the policy agenda, provincial and territorial governments have driven policy reform over the past decade. Drawing on both historical institutional and ideational approaches, this article argues that the political development of internal trade policy reflects the interplay between institutional realities and politically influential ideational elements. The decentralized nature of Canadian federalism led subnational governments both to establish policy that limited the role of the federal government and then, in the face of dominant beliefs about economic liberalization, to use the newly formed Council of the Federation to take a more active role on internal trade policy.

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Campbell Wesley J.

Commandeering and Constitutional Change

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Volume 122, Issue 5

Coming in the midst of the Rehnquist Court's federalism revolution, *Printz v. United States* held that federal commandeering of state executive officers is "fundamentally incompatible with our constitutional system of dual sovereignty." The *Printz* majority's discussion of historical evidence, however, inverted Founding-era perspectives. When Federalists such as Alexander Hamilton endorsed commandeering during the ratification debates, they were not seeking to expand federal power. Quite the opposite. The Federalists capitulated to states' rights advocates who had recently rejected a continental impost tax because Hamilton, among others, insisted on hiring federal collectors rather than commandeering state collectors. The commandeering power, it turns out, was an integral aspect of the Anti-Federalist agenda because it facilitated federal use of state and local officers, thus ensuring greater local control over federal law enforcement and averting the need for a bloated federal bureaucracy. These priorities carried over into



the First Congress, where Anti-Federalists were among the most vehement defenders of the federal power to commandeer state executive and judicial officers. Ironically, though understandably when viewed in context, it was Federalists who first planted the seeds of the anticommandeering doctrine. Incorporating recently uncovered sources and new interpretations, this Article aims to significantly revise our understanding of Founding-era attitudes toward federal commandeering of state officers. Moreover, the Article explains why early Congresses generally shunned the use of state officers and how this custom combined with shifting political priorities to quickly erode what once had been a strong consensus favoring commandeering's constitutionality.

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Wesley J. Campbell

Commandeering and Constitutional Change

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, vol. 122, issue 5 , 1104-1181

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Antonio Arroyo Gil

Cualidad estatal, soberanía, autonomía constitucional y competencia en la República Federal de Alemania: las constituciones de los "Länder"

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, n. 16 , 30-73

L'estudi de la naturalesa jurídica, posició en el sistema de fonts, contingut i funcions de les constitucions dels Länder requereix una anàlisi prèvia de les qüestions següents: qualitat estatal dels Länder, sobirania, autonomia constitucional i competència. A això es dedica el gruix d'aquest treball, i acabà conclouent que en el si de l'Estat federal alemany no són



precisament els conceptes de sobirania i autonomia constitucional els que expliquen, correcta i completament, la posició de cada ens estatal (Federació i Länder) en el conjunt del sistema jurídic-polític, de la mateixa manera que tampoc arriben a oferir una idea exacta de la complexitat de l'ordenament jurídic alemany, compost per multiplicitat de normes, tant de rang constitucional com legal. Tot això només es pot comprendre adequadament si es parteix de la premissa que la Constitució federal, la Llei Fonamental de Bonn, no només constitueix la República Federal d'Alemanya, sinó que, alhora, actua també com a norma“(re)constituent” dels Länder, i això amb independència que aquests, alhora, estiguin dotats de les seves pròpies constitucions. És el repartiment de competències que fa la Llei Fonamental allò que permet, per tant, que tota aquesta pluralitat d'ens estatals (la Federació i els 16 Länder) i complexitat de normes constitucionals (la Llei Fonamental i les 16 constitucions dels Länder) convisquin harmònicament.

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Josh Bendor and Miles Farmer

Curing the Blind Spot in Administrative Law: A Federal Common Law Framework for State Agencies Implementing Cooperative Federalism Statutes

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, vol. 122, issue 5 , 1280-1327

This Note examines whether state or federal principles of administrative law should govern suits challenging state agency action pursuant to cooperative federalism statutes. Despite the prevalence of cooperative federalism statutes, courts and scholars alike have given scant attention to this question. That neglect has translated into poorly reasoned and inconsistent judicial decisions. We show that this question is one of federal common law that is properly governed by the framework of *Kimbell Foods*, which holds that federal common law should take state law as its substantive source unless doing so would create a significant conflict with federal policy.

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Bendor Josh. Farmer Miles

Curing the Blind Spot in Administrative Law: A Federal Common Law Framework for State Agencies Implementing Cooperative Federalism Statutes

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Volume 122, Issue 5

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Eduardo Sanz Arcega

El Estado autonómico y sus stakeholders. Pasado, presente y futuro

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 85 , 293-312

No abstract available

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Luis A. Gálvez Muñoz and José Gabriel Ruiz González

Estado autonómico, cooperación intergubernamental y conferencias de presidentes

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 86 , 229-254

No abstract available

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Roderick M. Hills, Jr.

Exorcising McCulloch: The Conflict-Ridden History of American Banking Nationalism and Dodd-Frank Preemption

in *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, vol. 161, issue 5 , 1235-1308

Conventional wisdom holds that federal laws conferring banking powers on national banks presumptively preempt state laws seeking to control the exercise of those powers. This conventional wisdom originates with *McCulloch v. Maryland*, which established that nationally chartered banks are federal instrumentalities entitled to regulate themselves free from state law—even when national law fails to address the risks that state law seeks to regulate. Incorporated into the National Bank Act of 1864 by nineteenth-century precedents but then abandoned by the New Deal Court, *McCulloch*'s theory of preemption is being revived today by the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC) to preempt broad swaths of state law.

This Article maintains that it is time to exorcise *McCulloch*'s theory from our preemption jurisprudence. Far from historically sanctioned, *McCulloch*'s theory that national banks are federal instrumentalities offends a deeply rooted tradition in American political culture and law that I call the "anti-banker nondelegation doctrine." This principle has been manifest in campaigns against national banks' immunities from political oversight, ranging from Andrew Jackson's 1832 veto of the charter of the Second Bank of the United States to Louis Brandeis's 1912 campaign against the "House of Morgan" as a "financial oligarchy." In contrast to *McCulloch*'s view of banks as impartial instruments of the federal government, the American political system and the post-New Deal federal courts have adopted the view that federal law should not delegate unsupervised power to private banks to regulate their own operations. Accordingly, if federal regulators displace state laws regulating banking practices, then those federal regulators must explain how federal law addresses the risks that those state laws were attempting to control.

The most recent effort to eliminate *McCulloch*'s theory of preemption is section 1044(a) of the Dodd-Frank Act. Section 1044(a) provides detailed standards governing the OCC's power to preempt state law. This Article argues that the OCC's 2011 rules mistakenly revive *McCulloch*'s theory of preemption. This revival contradicts not only section 1044(a); it also contravenes the general tradition of distrusting grants to national banks of immunity from state law. Like *McCulloch*, the OCC's rules draw irrational distinctions between states' general common law doctrines and states' rules



specifically directed toward banking practices, and subject the latter to a sort of field preemption. This Article contends that such preemption is unprincipled and mistaken. Instead, it urges courts to follow the ordinary principles of conflict preemption—that is, to find state law preempted only where the OCC has specifically approved the banking practice forbidden by state law.

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

Maximiliano Rey

Federalismo y mecanismos de articulación intergubernamental: el funcionamiento de los consejos federales en Argentina

in Reforma y democracia (Venezuela), n. 55

The federal system of government guarantees constitutionally two levels of government. The central feature of such a political structure is that each level chooses their own rulers, who are in charge of shared or concurrent territorial jurisdiction, namely applying decisions on the same territory.

This situation raises certain dilemmas: How political actors with inconsistent agendas and powers on the same population, can agree? What procedures allow to arrange not coincidental policies and facilitate the convergence in case of policies or common programs?

Based on these considerations, this research explores intergovernmental relations experienced in three policy areas, focusing on the types and causes of the agreements reached in the federal councils (areas of meeting between the provincial governments and the national government) of each sector.

After the presentation of empirical data on each federal council, is stated that these agreements are reached on operational policy, with wide variations in the way they are achieved; that the presence of the national actor has a capital importance, since her voice always hits, but not necessarily is imposed or prevails; and that part of the institutions (“assignment of authority”) of each policy area place a framework within which the type of “leadership” of the national actor and/or the “professional identity” between actors, together determine the degree of variation in the joint achieved. These principal variables are combined in each case with other factors that can strengthen or weaken them, though in this condition they continue being the variables that explain the variation of each council.

These statements show that on theoretical-methodological terms, perspectives that focus on institutional determinants fail to decipher the operation of the federal councils. Similarly, it is noted that the approach that emphasizes on the “factors of agency” does not turn out to be sufficient either.

The combination of both approaches provides analytical elements to study instances of meeting between different jurisdictional levels for public policy decision, which have proved effective in measuring and explaining the nation-provinces relationship.

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

Tama Jordan

From Private Consultation to Public Crusade: Assessing Eisenhower's Legislative Strategies on Foreign Policy in Congress & the Presidency, Volume 40, Issue 1 , 41-60

Existing scholarship describes Congress as deferring to Dwight Eisenhower on foreign policy during the majority of his presidency. In this article, I demonstrate that Congress resisted key elements of Eisenhower's foreign policy agenda



throughout his presidency, and that Eisenhower needed to employ a variety of sophisticated strategies to obtain congressional backing. On foreign aid—one of his top presidential priorities—Eisenhower launched a multifaceted and innovative campaign to build congressional support, which included the establishment of White House-funded private advocacy groups to educate the public about the issue. Eisenhower's approach on foreign aid reveals that he was willing to depart from his “hidden-hand” leadership style when necessary to advance a top priority, but that even when going public, Eisenhower relied in part on others to deliver his message.

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

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Coutant Arnaud

Le XI^e amendement et le fonctionnement de l'Union. La place des États dans la fédération américaine
in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n, 93

No abstract available

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

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

Jeffrey E Cohen, Jon R Bond and Richard Fleisher

Placing Presidential-Congressional Relations in Context: A Comparison of Barack Obama and His Predecessors

in *Polity*, Volume 45, Issue 1 , 105–126

What better accounts for Barack Obama's success with Congress, his political skills, or aspects of the political context, such as party control of Congress and public approval? To address this question, we update the Bond-Fleisher-Wood (BFW) political context model through 2010. The BFW model accounts for Obama's success vis-à-vis the House, and, to some extent, for the Senate as well. This article argues that increasing party polarization affects the relationship between party control and presidential success differently in the House and Senate. In the supermajoritarian Senate, greater partisanship diminishes the effects of party control—in other words, as party polarization increases, presidential success declines for both majority and minority presidents. A comparison of Obama's success with that of previous presidents facing a similar context reveals no evidence that Obama has won significantly more often than should be expected given the context.

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

Eva Sáenz Royo

Relaciones intergubernamentales de carácter vertical en el Estado autonómico: el ser, el deber ser y posibles retos de futuro

in *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 97 , 45-71

This article calls into question some of the stereotypes about our intergovernmental relations. Some of them do not correspond to their daily life and their development since several years ago. On the one hand, against the continuing complaints by the Autonomies and part of the doctrine about whether the intergovernmental relations imply a change in



our system competence, this study justifies why now in Spain are what they should be and work similar to other federal systems. Moreover, we analyze the news that the Dependence Act has led to the use of intergovernmental relations as a way of involving the Autonomies in federal decision. However, it also calls into question their efficiency and their future viability in Spain.

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

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William Baude

Rethinking the Federal Eminent Domain Power

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, vol. 122, issue 7 , 1738-1825

It is black-letter law that the federal government has the power to take land through eminent domain. This modern understanding, however, is a complete departure from the Constitution's historical meaning.

From the Founding until the Civil War, the federal government was thought to have an eminent domain power only within the District of Columbia and the territories—but not within states. Politicians and judges (including in two Supreme Court decisions) repeatedly denied the existence of such a power, and when the federal government did need to take land, it relied on state cooperation to do so. People during this period refused to infer a federal eminent domain power from Congress's enumerated powers or the Necessary and Proper Clause because they viewed it as a "great power"—one that was too important to be left to implication. And they refused to infer it from the Takings Clause either, because the Clause was not intended to expand Congress's power beyond the District and territories.

Eminent domain aside, the notion of great powers is increasingly relevant after *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius*, in which Chief Justice Roberts invoked a theory of great powers to argue that the Necessary and Proper Clause could not justify the individual mandate. While his application of the theory is questionable, there are many other areas of law—such as commandeering, sovereign immunity, conscription, and the freedom of the press—where the great powers idea may rightfully have more bearing.

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

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Baude William

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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

Conleya Richard S.

Signing On and Sounding Off: Presidential Signing Statements in the Eisenhower Administration, 1953–61 in Congress & the Presidency, Volume 40, Issue 1 , 61-83

This article represents an important step in understanding early, modern presidents' strategic use of signing statements by taking a sharp focus on the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower. In contrast to recent presidents who have used the instrument increasingly to challenge legislative provisions, Eisenhower's use of signing statements was rather complex—from political credit-claiming, explaining the provisions of bills to the American public, and reinforcing his views on the federal-state balance of power—to maintaining bipartisan relations on foreign policy, shaping implementation of congressional bills, and selectively criticizing Congress for overspending. The theoretical framework devotes particular attention to the interplay of contexts—electoral, institutional, and economic—on Eisenhower's use of signing statements by policy area across his two terms.

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

Josep Maria Castellà Andreu

Sistema parlamentario y régimen electoral en España: similitudes y diferencias entre la forma de gobierno en el Estado y las Comunidades Autónomas

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 27 , 73-103

This article deals with the main characteristics of the Spanish parliamentary system – which underlines presidential supremacy – and its relationship with the electoral system – proportional with majoritarian results –. Both elements have remained unchangeable since the transition to the democracy and during more than thirty years of constitutional regime. The effects produced are the monopoly of the political parties in the public life and a great political stability, but at the same time a progressive distance between citizens and representative institutions. The same features extend similarly to the government and electoral system of the autonomous communities. However Statutes' amendments of the last decade have introduced timidly some new rules.

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

M. Stephen Weatherford



The President, the Fed, and the Financial Crisis

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 43, Issue 2 , 299–327

The active role of the Federal Reserve (Fed) in responding to the financial crisis has provoked questions not only about its policies' economic wisdom but also about the political significance of the Fed's exercise of expanded power. This article places the Fed's actions into perspective, framing three counterfactuals that yield different vantage points on the key question: Have the Fed's actions in the financial crisis and beyond amounted to a "power play" intended to marginalize elected authorities in the management of the national economy? I begin with an overview of the relationship over the postwar period between the Fed and the presidency, and then employ this historical baseline in analyzing three key episodes: the response to the crisis as it emerged during the final years of the Bush administration, the surprising decision by the Obama administration to continue the policy trajectory set by the actions of the Fed and his Republican predecessor, and the stabilization policies implemented by the Fed since the onset of the financial crisis. I find no strong evidence that the Fed's actions exceeded the rubric expected on the basis of its evolving responsibility to meet emergencies in a financial marketplace where the pace of innovation is high and in the context of political party polarization that has stalemated fiscal policy.

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

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Royce Koop

The Unanticipated Consequences of Fewer Politicians: Bill 81, Federalism, and Constituency Party Organization in Ontario

in *Canadian Public Policy* , volume 38 n.4 , 515-29

The Fewer Politicians Act (FPA), 1999 (Ontario) led to the creation of identical national and provincial electoral constituencies in the province. While the bill was intended by the provincial Conservative government to reduce costs and increase efficiency, the FPA has also had substantial unanticipated consequences for political party organizations in Ontario. I first review the introduction of the FPA and, second, draw on 60 interviews with party constituency association officials, including seven long-term participants with experience prior to the introduction of the FPA, and make a comparison of associations in Ontario and New Brunswick (where boundaries are not identical) to demonstrate that congruent boundaries facilitate integration and cooperation between national and provincial political parties in the constituencies. Congruent riding boundaries do so by merging the geographic and ecological contexts that both national and provincial party organizations structure themselves in response to, and by reducing the number of actors participating in national-provincial cooperation. The FPA can therefore be understood as a case study of legislation containing important unanticipated consequences, and I conclude the article by evaluating the FPA from this perspective.

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

Adebe Adem Kassie

Umpiring Federalism in Africa: Institutional Mosaic and Innovations

in *African Studies Quarterly*, vol. 13, issue 4, winter , 53-79

ABSTRACT: Federalism institutionalizes the division of powers and creates the circumstances that render



inter-governmental disputes almost inevitable. It is therefore necessary that federal constitutions establish mechanisms for the peaceful umpiring of such disputes. This article explores the institutional and normative innovations in relation to the umpiring of federalism disputes - disputes between the federal and state governments—in the three prominent federal states in Africa, namely Nigeria, South Africa and Ethiopia. It argues that the political safeguards theory is unsuitable in the context of federal states in Africa. Federal states in Africa have established both political and judicial or quasi-judicial safeguards of federalism. However, the organs in charge of resolving federalism disputes are different in each of the federal states. Nevertheless, the constitutional review of disputes between the different levels of government is centralized. The jurisdiction of the constitutional adjudicator extends to both state and federal legislative and executive decisions. The level and form of participation of the states in constituting the constitutional adjudicator varies. In terms of access to the constitutional adjudicator, the federal constitutions are not clear on which organ of each level of government may submit inter-governmental disputes to the constitutional adjudicator.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Juan Pablo Micozzi

Does Electoral Accountability Make a Difference? Direct Elections, Career Ambition, and Legislative Performance in the Argentine Senate

in *Journal of Politics (The)*, Volume 75 - Issue 01 , 137-149

Studies analyzing the American Congress demonstrate that senators' attention towards voters substantially increased after the 17th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which replaced their indirect appointment with direct election. Even though this finding seems useful for theoretical generalizations, expectations become unclear as concerns about career perspectives differ. Should politicians with nonstatic ambition shift their attention towards voters if they do not expect reelection? Making use of a quasi-experimental setting, I analyze the impact of the shift from indirect to direct election to select the members of the Argentine Senate. I develop an argument for why, in spite of the lack of systematic pursuit of reelection, elected senators have incentives to be more oriented towards voters. Through the analysis of about 55,000 bills, I evaluate senatorial behavior under both sources of legitimacy. The findings support the idea that audience costs make a difference in behavior, regardless of short-term career expectations.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Josep Maria Castellà Andreu, Eduardo Gianfrancesco and Nicola Lupo (eds.)

Le assemblee legislative regionali italiane e spagnole e le nuove frontiere del parlamentarismo: l'apertura dei procedimenti legislativi

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 3 , 491-655

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Eva Sáenz Royo

Parlamento, partidos y Estado autonómico. Sobre la conveniencia de suprimir el Senado



in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 85 , 171-194

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Carsona Jamie L. , Anthony Madonna Anthony , Owens Mark

Partisan Efficiency in an Open-Rule Setting: The Amending Process in the U.S. Senate, 1865–1945
in *Congress & the Presidency*, Volume 40, Issue 2 , 105-128

Given significant differences between the House and Senate's amending processes, one would anticipate the Senate majority party to be far less successful when voting on the floor. However, recent work has demonstrated that majority party success on the Senate floor is remarkably similar to the House. We argue that an overlooked explanation for majority party success stems from its ability to control intra-party amending activity through coordination between members of the majority party. Utilizing a new data set consisting of all amendments receiving recorded roll call votes in the Senate from 1865–1945, we demonstrate that majority party extremists refrain from offering amendments despite the relative open-floor setting. Nevertheless, chamber majorities cannot restrict minority legislators from offering amendments designed to force them to cast uncomfortable votes and delay the legislative process.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Karl-Henri Voizard

Réflexions autour de la légitimité du Conseil fédéral suisse
in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 93 , 149-174

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Christopher Lord and Dionysia Tamvakia

The politics of justification? Applying the 'Discourse Quality Index' to the study of the European Parliament
in *European Political Science* , Volume 5 - Issue 01 , 27-54

In this paper, we apply a revised version of the Discourse Quality Index (DQI) developed by Steenbergen et al. to European Parliament (EP) debates. This updated measurement instrument, after the inclusion of new indicators, helps us identify not just the principles of European Union (EU) deliberation but most importantly the favourable contextual conditions of supranational deliberation. We illustrate the new DQI coding for selected debates over the last EU parliamentary term and discuss how the data can be employed to assess the overall quality of deliberation in the EP. At the same time we demonstrate that institutional issues matter for the quality of EP discourse, as do Members of the European Parliaments' personal characteristics. Issue attributes on the other hand, influence supranational deliberation but not in the expected direction.



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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Ana M. Carmona Contreras

¿Hacia la europeización de los Parlamentos autonómicos? Reflexiones al hilo del mecanismo de alerta temprana

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, n. 16 , 141-176

Els parlaments regionals han estat tradicionalment absents dels processos decisoris europeus, i han quedat relegats al terreny de la invisibilitat institucional en aquest nivell. Respecte d'això, la introducció pel Tractat de Lisboa del control preventiu del principi de subsidiarietat a través del mecanisme d'alerta anticipada, obrint la possibilitat que les assemblees de les regions amb competències legislatives concorrin juntament amb els parlaments nacional sen el seu desenvolupament, es configura com una via participativa dotada d'una innegable potencialitat europeïtzada a per aquestes assemblees. No obstant això, la configuració del marc normatiu actualment vigent en l'ordenament estatal espanyol, que relega les instàncies parlamentàries autonòmiques a l'exercici d'una funció merament consultiva i testimonial, es perfila com una important rêmora en l'incipient procés d'europeïtzació que aquelles experimenten. Més enllà dels ajustos necessaris (normatius i sistèmics) que caldria escometre tant en el nivell central com en l'autonòmic, la realitat operativa del sistema espanyol permet extreure línies d'actuació i iniciatives que denoten l'existència d'una creixent voluntat participativa per part dels parlaments autonòmics en el control de la subsidiarietat.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Cardenes Agustin

Le régime présidentiel argentin : des discours sur l'atténuation à la présidentialisation définitive

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n, 93

No abstract available

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, Brandon Rottinghaus

Presidential Position Taking and the Puzzle of Representation

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 43, Issue 1 , 1-15

A significant debate rages in the literature. Although going public success is a function of mass public support for a policy, presidents respond to partisan liberalism in their public rhetoric. This presents a puzzle: how do presidents reconcile their need to target policies that are popular with the mass public to go public successfully, when they respond primarily to partisan opinion in their speeches? Our comparison of the president's policy proposals from 1989 through 2008 with both centrist and partisan public opinion reveals that presidents are more partisan than centrist in their policy priorities, which adds weight to the partisan representation side of this debate.



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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Daniel P. Gitterman

The American Presidency and the Power of the Purchaser
in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 43, Issue 2 , 225–251

As the CEO of the administrative state, the president has the procurement power to dictate the terms and conditions on which the federal government will do business with the private sector. By way of delegated statutory authority, executive order, and agency procurement and acquisition rules, the president can call the shots. Anyone wishing to do business with the federal government must meet the president's contract terms and conditions. Presidents use this "power of the purchaser" to exercise political control over procurement rulemaking and to influence public policy in areas unrelated to the federal government's "efficient" purchase of goods and services. Procurement—and the power of the purchaser—must be viewed as a powerful weapon of coercion and redistribution in the president's political and policy-making arsenal.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Laura Young

Unilateral Presidential Policy Making and the Impact of Crises
in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 43, Issue 2 , 328–352

Scholars interested in the power of the presidency often overlook the importance of a crisis. The right kind of event, however, has characteristics that create a window of opportunity for a president to exert or expand his unilateral power. Failure to explore this relationship leaves a gap in our knowledge regarding presidential power, which this article addresses. The results show foreign policy crises provide the largest window for a president to increase his authority. Economic crises and most natural disasters have little to no impact on unilateral power. Epidemic outbreaks are the exception, though compared to a foreign policy crisis, the impact is relatively small. Finally, the findings suggest a president suffering from institutional constraints or lacking in skill and will has the ability to increase his power whenever a foreign policy crisis occurs.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Julio Bustillos

Amparo federal vs. amparo local. La incertidumbre de la protección constitucional local frente a la jurisdicción federal
in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 27 , 3-39

The article describes and analyses the inappropriate relationship in the local level fundamental rights' tutelage between the federal and local judicial constitutional entities. It also analyses the judgments' effectiveness of the local and federal protection in Tlaxcala and Veracruz. The author details the local constitutional justice and the actual vicissitudes in which this means of control is found and its federal treatment.



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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Carlos Martín Gómez Marinero

El juicio de protección de derechos humanos del Estado de Veracruz y el federalismo judicial

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 27 , 105-134

This study analyzes the trial of protection of human rights in the state of Veracruz and its link, as a constitutional process of local order, to the courts of the Judicial Power of the Federation, specifically through the juicio de amparo. This way, first, we'll analyze the way relationship between federal and local courts inside the Mexican federal system have been conceived; secondly, the trial protection of human rights in Veracruz as a mechanism of local constitutional jurisdiction; third, the solutions that have been given to explain the relationships between federal and local courts in local constitutional jurisdiction. And finally, it is proposed – from the inception of this local judgment as a subsidiary and complementary instrument of federal justice – the requirement to explain the relationships between the courts from a model of judicial federalism of local constitutionality in the Mexican State.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Eric J. Hamilton

Federalism and the State Civil Jury Rights

in *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 65, issue 4 , 851-900

Judicial federalism scholarship has concentrated on the interplay between the U.S. Supreme Court and state supreme courts for incorporated rights, where the former sets the floor for rights in the states. But little has been said about judicial federalism and the unincorporated rights, where states are unrestricted in their freedom to define the rights. The Seventh Amendment presents a one-of-a kind experiment in judicial federalism, as the only federal constitutional right that is duplicated in the great majority of state constitutions and has generated an appreciable body of case law. In this Note, I analyze the evolution of state court treatment of the intertwined-issues problem, both before *Beacon Theatres, Inc. v. Westover* announced the federal rule, and today. Surprisingly, I reveal first, a genuine split of authority in the states between the *Beacon Theatres* rule and a narrower rule, and second, that the states had nearly uniformly agreed to the narrower rule before *Beacon Theatres*—a fact not discussed by the *Beacon Theatres* Court or litigants. The *Beacon Theatres* decision has transformed the doctrinal landscape over more than fifty years; many state courts have uprooted their state rules and planted the federal rule in its place. This Note concludes that state supreme courts need a distinct approach for unincorporated rights, such as the Seventh Amendment, to serve judicial federalism norms.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Paolo Iannuccelli

La réforme des règles de procédure de la Cour de justice

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, no. 1 , 107-132

No abstract available



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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Antonina Peri

La selezione dei giudici della corte di giustizia e del Tribunale dell'Unione. I poteri ed i limiti del comitato ex art. 255 TFUE

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 4 , 1472-1493

The appointment of judges to supranational and international courts has long been an unstudied area of sovereign activity. However, the growing role and significance of the European Court of Justice (ECJ), by now one of the most significant players within the European political and constitutional space, demands reforms which also affect its architecture. The creation of the advisory panel under article 255 TFUE, is a way to improve judicial independence and proficiency but also a mean to achieve an adequate level of judicial accountability. Indeed, the existing national nomination processes, missing both transparency and public involvement, risk to shape courts which are far away to reach an adequate degree of legitimacy, especially in a supranational order.

In this paper, we are going to put together all the stages that have led to the ECJ judicial selection reforms, introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. Then, we are going to analyse the composition and the functioning of the new panel under article 255, especially pointing out its limits and strength. In conclusion, together with a far-seeing consideration of all future perspectives, the paper will focus on an interesting comparative datum: judicial appointment panels are not a peculiarity of the ECJ but a "trend" which characterizes several judicial selection reforms both for national and supranational courts.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Lindquist Stefanie A., Corley Pamela C.

National Policy Preferences and Judicial Review of State Statutes at the United States Supreme Court

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 2, Spring , 151-178

This article explores the determinants of U.S. Supreme Court justices' voting behavior in cases involving constitutional challenges to state statutes, with a particular focus on the degree to which majoritarian influences—as reflected in state participation and congressional preferences—affect the justices' votes. We find that the scope of the Court's decision—in terms of its impact on similar state laws and the expressed interest of states as amicus—strongly affects the justices' willingness to vote to invalidate a state statute. Moreover, at least in the Burger Court, the justices were constrained by congressional preferences over the ideological direction of the constitutional challenge. Justices on the Rehnquist Court, however, appear to have been more impervious to congressional preferences when evaluating the constitutionality of state legislation.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Michael Collins

Reconstructing *Murdock v. Memphis*

in *Virginia Law Review*, vol. 98, issue 7 , 1439-1500

In the 1789 Judiciary Act, the first Congress limited the Supreme Court's appellate jurisdiction over state court judgments to questions of federal law that appeared on the face of the record. During Reconstruction, Congress



amended the Act and dropped the earlier limitation, thus suggesting that, in cases within its appellate jurisdiction, the Court could review errors of state law as well as federal law. But in the landmark case of *Murdock v. Memphis* (1875), the Court rejected such a reading—a ruling that continues to govern the Court today. Some scholars charge, however, that *Murdock* failed to give meaning to Congress's changes and urge its reconsideration.

This Article argues that as a historical matter, those critics are likely wrong. *Murdock* gave substantial meaning to the Reconstruction changes to the Court's jurisdiction in ways that scholars have overlooked or minimized. First, *Murdock* read the changes as allowing the Court to look beyond what once constituted the formal "record" on appeal in order to identify more readily state court denials of federal rights. Second, in an even more significant departure from prior practice, *Murdock* read the changes as requiring it to deny jurisdictional status to "adequate state grounds"—state law grounds sufficient to uphold the judgment, independent of the federal grounds. Today, the Court views such grounds as a jurisdictional bar to reviewing errors of federal law, although it scrutinizes such grounds lest state courts subvert the Court's jurisdiction by doubtful rulings on state law. But *Murdock* achieved a somewhat similar result by de-jurisdictionalizing adequate state grounds, thus allowing the Court to review errors of federal law, adequate state grounds notwithstanding.

By focusing on *Murdock*'s conclusion that the Court could not generally review errors of state law, critics have underappreciated the substantial role that *Murdock* gave to Reconstruction reforms to secure the supremacy of federal law. Moreover, it is questionable whether the Reconstruction Congress wanted the Court to review questions of state law generally, as opposed to having it police the adequacy of state law grounds (which, at the time, were largely unreviewable). Although *Murdock*'s particular solution to the problem of adequate state grounds proved short-lived, the decision was an important step in the Supreme Court's expanded review of federal rights denials, and, overall, was responsive to the Reconstruction Congress's likely concerns.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Andreas von Arnould, Klaus W. Zimmermann

Regulating government ('s share): the fifty-percent rule of the federal constitutional court in Germany in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, volume 35 n.1 , 1-19

Some numbers in the political sphere seem to be chosen rather arbitrarily. One example might be the rule set out by the Second Senate of the German Federal Constitutional Court in 1995 that the overall tax load on assets must be limited to 50% of the yield on those assets. This rule was understood by many as a general principle for taxation. The article first sketches the socio-political climate under which the rule originated: a rise of neo-liberal thought met with the inability of the political institutions to reform the German welfare state with its ever-growing expenses. The Constitutional Court's intervention is interpreted as a reaction to this stagnation in politics. An analysis from the perspective of Constitutional Law, however, reveals that the 50% rule cannot be convincingly based on the German Basic Law, and instead must be seen as a political move of the Court. But this move did not follow an economic rationality, either; for an optimal government's share can only be determined in relation to the economic performance of a country and not by fixing it generally at a maximum of 50% of GDP. The demise of the 50% rule already began four years later. In 2006, finally, the Senate moved away from the individual rights-based approach of 1995 to a more general assessment, taking also



into account an increasingly globalized tax competition. The reason for this clear-cut change in the Court's jurisprudence can be found in a change of the socio-political and institutional parameters, thus witnessing to the effect of the political climate on court decisions. The analysis also shows that the rule was created and abandoned only on the basis of an "introverted" legal discussion, economic arguments hardly playing any role in the process. The new line of the Senate, however, might guarantee for a better integration of economic science into tax policy by exchanging fixed limits for a "discursive" model, demanding from the tax legislator better reasons for higher taxes

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Steven Greer and Luzius Wildhaber

Revisiting the Debate about "constitutionalising" the European Court of Human Rights

in *Human Rights Law Review*, vol. 12, issue 4, 655-687

In spite of the implementation of Protocol No 14 to the European Convention on Human Rights on 1 June 2010, the European Court of Human Rights continues to face a case overload crisis with no definitive solution in sight. In this article we reconsider the role 'constitutionalisation' might play in providing a more secure future. Having distinguished the three dominant analytical frameworks—'individual justice', 'constitutional justice' and 'pluralism'—in the 'official' and 'academic/judicial' streams of the debate, we conclude that a fourth, 'constitutional pluralism', now offers a particularly attractive alternative.

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Kneip Sascha

Rolle und Einfluss des Bundesverfassungsgerichts in international vergleichender Perspektive

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 60, Heft 1, 2013

Role and Impact of the German Federal Constitutional Court in Comparative Perspective

In terms of its formal and de facto powers, its institutional independence, and its effective intervention activities, the German Federal Constitutional Court (FCC) is still quite outstanding by international standards, but by no means unique. At least formally, other constitutional courts of the world have caught up to the FCC. But the FCC is still exceptional because of two aspects: its extremely high empirical legitimacy and its selfperception regarding its role in German politics. While the high empirical legitimacy of the court transforms formal into real power, the self description as a 'guardian of the democratic constitution' leads to an exceptional ability to deal with conflicts with the political branches and to deliver a democracy-friendly jurisdiction. The FCC remains an outstanding example of a court that is highly functional to democratic governance.

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Sarah Nason and Maurice Sunkin

The Regionalisation of Judicial Review: Constitutional Authority, Access to Justice and Specialisation of Legal Services in Public Law

in *Modern Law Review (the)*, vol. 76, issue 2 , 223-253

Since April 2009 judicial reviews may be dealt with at regional centres and in Cardiff. This change significantly relaxed the hitherto highly centralised system of judicial review in England and Wales. The main aims were to improve access to public law redress by enabling cases to be listed and heard at the most appropriate regional location. Despite recognition of the need to improve regional access, fears exist that this reform will threaten the standing and authority of judicial review in this jurisdiction; that it will contribute to a fragmentation of judicial review and, in the regions, reduce the quality of public law adjudication, legal advice and representation. Drawing on an empirical study on the regional use of judicial review, this paper assesses these matters and considers the early effects of regionalisation on access to judicial review and the development of regional markets for legal services in public law.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Tom S. Clark and Jonathan P. Kastellec

The Supreme Court and Percolation in the Lower Courts: An Optimal Stopping Model

in *Journal of Politics (The)*, Volume 75 - Issue 01 , 150-168

We examine how the Supreme Court learns from lower court decisions to evaluate new legal issues. We present a theory of optimal stopping in which the Court learns from successive rulings on new issues by lower courts but incurs a cost when lower courts come into conflict with one another. The Court faces a strategic trade-off between allowing conflict to continue while it learns about a new legal issue and intervening to end a costly conflict between the lower courts. We evaluate how factors such as the quality of lower courts, the distribution of judicial preferences, and the timing of the emergence of conflict affect how the Court weighs this trade-off. We provide empirical evidence that supports one of the theory's novel predictions: the Court should be more likely to end a conflict immediately when it emerges after several lower courts have already weighed in on a new legal issue.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Jorge Ibarra Salazar

Entorno político y dependencia financiera de los estados mexicanos

in *Gestion y politica publica*, Volumen XXII, No. 1 , 3-44

No abstract available

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Arnt O. Hopland

Central government control and fiscal adjustment: Norwegian evidence

in *Economics of Governance*, volume 14 n.2 , 185-203



Norwegian local governments that violate the balanced budget rule are placed in a register. The consequence of being in the register is that the budget and resolutions to raise new loans must be approved by the county governor, the central government's representative in the county. Local governments in the register are subject to stronger central government control and must tighten their budgetary policy in order to be removed from the register. The findings suggest that local governments in the register improve their operating surplus, mainly due to cost reductions.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Le Gand Philippe

Crise financière et ressources des collectivités territoriales

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 144

Financial Crisis and Local and Regional Authorities' Resources — The financial crisis has had major repercussions for local and regional authorities, which provide 70% of public investment. It had, first of all, an impact on their resources, which have been stagnant at best, and in some cases, have decreased, for example, the Company Value Added Contribution (CVAE) and certain funds allocated by the State. Moreover, as is the case with all economic stakeholders, they must deal with the credit crisis and are therefore struggling to finance their investments. Therefore, unless a quick recovery solution is found, local and regional authorities will have no choice other than to postpone or even cancel some of their investments. Alternatively, they could use their fiscal leverage and increase the taxes over which they still exercise control.

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Feng Xingyuan, Ljungwall Christer, Guo Sujian, Wu Alfred M.

Fiscal Federalism: a refined theory and its application in the Chinese context

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 22, Issue 82 , 573-593

China's central–local relations have been marked by perpetual changes amidst economic restructuring. Fiscal decentralization on the expenditure side has been paralleled by centralization on the revenue side, accompanied by political centralization. Hence, our understanding of China's fiscal relations is not without controversy. This paper aims to make a theoretical contribution to the ongoing debate on 'fiscal federalism' by addressing crucial questions regarding China's central–local fiscal relations: first, to what extent do Chinese central–local fiscal relations conform to fiscal federalism in the Western literature? Second, are there any problems with existing principles of fiscal federalism and, if so, how to refine them? Third, how are refined principles relevant to the Chinese case and what policies should the Chinese government pursue in the future? Based on an in-depth and critical review of the theories on fiscal federalism, we develop a refined prototype of fiscal federalism. The model shows that quasi-traditional fiscal federalism is a much closer reality in China, while we argue that the refined fiscal federalism should be the direction of future reform in China.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Bradford Neil, A. Wolfe David

Governing regional economic development: innovation challenges and policy learning in Canada
in *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, Volume 6 Issue 2 July , 331-347

Regional development policy offers a fascinating window on the interplay between the spatial distribution of economic activity and the interaction across multiple levels of government. Canada provides a compelling case to examine the theory and practice of regional development due to the diverse nature of its economy, the decentralised nature of its federation and more than five decades of federal policy activism. This article explores Canada's six regional development agencies, adopting an organisational learning lens to explain a paradigm shift in policy from redistribution to innovation. Two prominent traditions in regional studies—'nested scales' of economic innovation and 'multi-level governance' of political intervention—are brought together to interpret Canadian dynamics and draw lessons for scholarly research and policy practice.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Martinengo Stefania

Il federalismo fiscale municipale e il difficile processo di autonomia degli enti locali
in *Studium Iuris*, n. 5 , 544-549

No abstract available

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Stefano Piperno

Implementing fiscal decentralization in Italy between crisis and austerity: Challenges ahead
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 4, issue 3 , 98-124

Since 2010 the Italian central government has embarked on a challenging program of fiscal consolidation, which is hugely affecting sub-central government finances. Sub-national governments are involved in reaching general government fiscal targets through reduction in central government transfers, new fiscal rules, borrowing and expenditures limits. These restrictions risk to put the fiscal federalism reform to a standstill – despite the progress obtained in 2010 and 2011 with the approval of the implementing decrees of Law no. 42/2009. Conversely, carrying out the fiscal federalism reform in order to seek efficiency gains in the provision of public services and smoothing out intergovernmental relations may represent one of the most important structural measures to address consolidation needs.

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Gilles William

Les financements alternatifs des collectivités territoriales



in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 144

Alternative Financing of Local and Regional Authorities — With public resources dwindling, alternative financing provides local and regional authorities with newfound financial leeway. Nevertheless, local elected officials do not take full advantage of these very real potentialities, despite the fact that alternative financing is currently undergoing a process of renewal. In deed, we are seeing both the modernisation of traditional resources and the appearance of new forms of revenue.

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Spahn Paul Bernd

Les partages de ressources entre l'État et les collectivités secondaires : le cas de la République fédérale d'Allemagne

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 144

Sharing Resources between the State and Secondary Authorities: Examples from Germany — In Germany, as in most federal States, the two levels of the state (Federal and states) are to retain their financial and fiscal sovereignty. The question therefore arises of distributing public resources between these two levels, to which the local level must be added, which is autonomous under the supervision of each state. Moreover, this distribution is not only vertical but horizontal as well, with equalisation mechanisms aimed at ensuring a certain level of solidarity among the various parts of the federal territory. The article examines the solutions adopted in Germany regarding both types of distribution.

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MATTIAS VERMEIREN

Monetary power and EMU: macroeconomic adjustment and autonomy in the Eurozone

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 39 - Issue 03 , 729-761

This article examines the impact of the establishment of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the introduction of the euro on the monetary power of its member states. Taking into consideration continuing capitalist variety among national political economies of the Eurozone, I examine the implications of EMU for the macroeconomic autonomy of different national models capitalism. Drawing on a comparative capitalism perspective, it is argued that the Eurozone's coordinated market economies – Germany in particular – have gained much more from the introduction of the euro in



terms of monetary power than the other models. This argument will be based on an analysis of two key dimensions of EMU's macroeconomic governance regime: (1) exchange rate policymaking; and (2) the management of balance-of-payments.

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Carmignani Fabrizio, Laurenceson James S.

Provincial business cycles and fiscal policy in China

in Economics of Transition, Volume 21, Issue 2, April 2013 , 323-340

We characterize the cyclical properties of fiscal policy in China along two related dimensions. First, we estimate the sign and size of the fiscal policy multiplier. Second, we assess whether fiscal policy is conducted pro- or counter-cyclically. To account for the challenges posed by China's vast geography, we use data at the provincial level. We find that (i) fiscal policy generally has 'Keynesian' effects, and (ii) fiscal policy is mostly conducted pro-cyclically. This means that fiscal policy is more an element of destabilization than a tool for stabilization.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Hatfield, John William

Revenue decentralisation, the local income tax deduction and the provision of public goods

in National Tax Journal, volume 66 n.1 , 97-116

We consider a model where local and national governments invest in both productive and consumptive public goods using income tax revenue. Local governments will overprovide the consumptive public good if the local income tax is (fully or partially) deductible. However, without full deductibility, local governments will underprovide local productive public goods. Hence, to reduce the distortions in local governments' decisions, a welfare-maximizing national government will underinvest in both types of public goods, assuming that the level of national public good provision does not directly affect the local governments' decisions. We also consider an alternative fiscal structure where the national government sets one national tax rate and provides matching grants for expenditures on productive public goods; this can result in efficient levels of public good provision at both the local and national levels.

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Grasse Alexander

Sviluppi e tendenze del federalismo in Germania: differenza territoriale e perequazione finanziaria

in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 4 , 789 -828

No abstract available

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism



Benjamin Carton

Tax reform and coordination in a currency union
in *Economie internationale*, n° 132, 2012/4 , 141-158

We propose a two-country DSGE model to analyze short-term and long-term impact of a modification of consumption and labor tax rate in one country in a currency union. The model embodies the fact that firms differ in their pricing behavior after a VAT tax increase. Due to the common monetary policy, national tax policies have large spill-overs on the rest of the currency union. Furthermore, a fiscal devaluation is different from a nominal devaluation due to the common monetary policy. 

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Finlay Lorraine

The Power of Purse: An Examination of Fiscal Federalism in Australia
in *Giornale di storia costituzionale*, n. 24 II sem , 81-94

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Stephen Tapp

The Use and Effectiveness of Fiscal Rules in Canadian Provinces
in *Canadian Public Policy* , volume 39 n.1 , 45-70

This paper studies the fiscal rules used by Canadian provincial governments during 1981–2007, by employing various empirical approaches including panel regressions, instrumental variables, and difference-in-difference estimators. The results suggest that the type of fiscal rule matters, as budget balance and debt rules were effective whereas revenue and spending rules were ineffective on average over this period. Specifically, the preferred point estimates imply that budget balance rules were associated with improved budgetary balances of 0.8 percentage points of GDP, while debt rules were associated with net debt-to-GDP ratios that were 1.5 percentage points better on average.

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Karolina Kaiser, Emmanuelle Taugourdeau

The timing of elections in federations: a disciplining device against soft budget constraints?
in *Public Choice*, volume 154 n.3/4 , 197-215

We introduce political economics into the soft budget constraint problem by asking if the timing of elections has the potential to harden budget constraints. Specifically, we ask under which circumstances the soft budget constraint problem is worse—with synchronized elections, i.e. simultaneous central and regional office terms, or with staggered elections, i.e. terms of office that do not coincide. We find that staggered elections clearly improve fiscal discipline at the local level as well as welfare.



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Xavier Calsamiglia, Teresa Garcia-Milà, Therese J. McGuire

Tobin meets Oates: solidarity and the optimal fiscal federal structure

in *International Tax and Public Finance*, volume 20 n.3 , 450-73

We explore the implications for the optimal degree of fiscal decentralization when people's preferences for goods and services—which classic treatments of fiscal federalism (Oates in *Fiscal federalism*, 1972) place in the purview of local governments—exhibit specific egalitarianism (Tobin in *J. Law Econ.* 13(2): 263–277, 1970), or solidarity. We find that a system in which the central government provides a common minimum level of the publicly provided good, and local governments are allowed to use their own resources to provide an even higher local level, performs better from an efficiency perspective relative to all other systems analyzed for a relevant range of preferences over solidarity.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Schiaffino, Pablo

A comment on the European Central Bank solution vs. the Keynes solution

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, volume 35 n.3 , 457-62

In this paper, I discuss something obvious, and to show something obvious—at least in this case—there is no need to apply sophisticated theoretical models or fancy empirical techniques. I argue that the actual European Central Bank solution for the European countries in crisis is very far from what I call—paraphrasing Davidson—the Keynes solution. This crucial difference between the two solutions does not imply opposite ideological policies, but a severe problem that leads to a more profound crisis based on a deflation-debt problem and long-term unemployment.

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de Melo Modenesi, André - Martins, Norberto - Modenesi, Rui

A modified Taylor rule for the Brazilian economy: convention and conservatism in eleven years of inflation targeting (2000-2010)

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, volume 35 n.3 , 463-82

With the purpose of evaluating Brazilian Central Bank's (BCB) conduct of monetary policy after the adoption of inflation targeting (IT), we estimate a modified version of the Taylor rule for the Brazilian economy in the period 2000-2010. The term modified refers to an important innovation with regard to the reviewed literature: the inclusion of a proxy for the international interest rate in the original equation. This study reinforces and expands results achieved by Modenesi (2011) and also provides a new evidence that the BCB reacts to foreign interest rates when setting its basic rate (Selic). The BCB has reduced autonomy: Selic is endogenous not only to domestic conditions (inflation and output gaps) but also to foreign interest rates (measured by the LIBOR). The evidence provided might support the argument that BCB



policy is ruled by a proconservative convention substantiated in the adoption of a Taylor rule containing three distinctive features: (1) a high degree of interest rate smoothness; (2) a high pure domestic equilibrium interest rate; and (3) high interest rate differential. Items (2) and (3) largely explain the overvaluation of the real, a key element of price stabilization.

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Stephan Fahr, Roberto Motto, Massimo Rostagno, Frank Smets, Oreste Tristani

A monetary policy strategy in good and bad times: lessons from the recent past

in **Economic Policy**, volume 28 n.74 , 243-88

We evaluate the ECB's monetary policy strategy against some of the underlying economic features of the eurozone, in normal times and during the financial crisis. We show that in the years preceding the crisis the ECB's emphasis on monetary indicators and deliberate avoidance of excessive activism were justified by the underlying macroeconomic conditions that the ECB faced in the eurozone and contributed to avoid more volatile patterns of inflation and economic activity. After the collapse of financial intermediation in late 2008, the strategy of the ECB was to adopt several non-standard policy measures. According to our quantitative evaluation of the impact of the main non-standard policies decided in October 2008 and in May 2009, which notably did not include entering commitments regarding the future path of the policy rate, such measures have significantly contributed to preserving price stability and forestalling a more disruptive collapse of the macroeconomy

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Allard Julien, Catenaro Marco, Vidal Jean-Pierre, Wolswijk Guido

Central bank communication on fiscal policy

in **European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 30, June 2013 , 1-14

The issue of central bank communication on fiscal policy has so far received very little attention in the literature. This article aims to shed light on the determinants of central bank communication on fiscal policy by analysing the intensity of central banks' fiscal communication for five central banks (the Federal Reserve, the ECB, the Bank of Japan, the Bank of England and the Swedish Riksbank) over the period 1999–2011. The ECB communicates intensively on fiscal policies, in a normative way. The other central banks emphasise foreign fiscal developments, fiscal policy as input to forecasts, or the use of government debt instruments in monetary policy operations. The empirical analysis indicates that the financial crisis has overall increased the intensity of central bank communication on fiscal policy. The evolution of the government deficit ratio is a driver of the intensity of fiscal communication in the euro area, the US and Japan, and for Sweden since the start of the crisis, while in the UK its intensity is related to government debt developments as of the start of the crisis.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Bernd Hayo

Do Federal Reserve presidents communicate with a regional bias?

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 35 , 62-72

In this paper, we analyze the determinants of US monetary policy stance as expressed in speeches by Federal Reserve (Fed) officials over the period January 1998–September 2009. Econometrically, we use a probit model with regional and national macroeconomic variables to explain the content of these speeches. Our results are, first, that a rise in the inflation rate or the Leading Index makes a hawkish speech more likely. Second, when Fed presidents make a speech in their home district, its content is influenced by both regional and national macroeconomic variables, whereas speeches given outside the home district are influenced solely by national information. Third, the influence of regional variables increases during (i) Ben Bernanke's tenure as Fed Chairman, (ii) recessions, and (iii) the financial crisis. Finally, speeches by nonvoting presidents reflect regional economic development to a greater extent than those by voting presidents.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Dong, Wei

Do central banks respond to exchange rate movements? Some new evidence from structural estimation.

in *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economique*, volume 46 n.2 , 555-86

This paper investigates the impact of exchange rate movements on the conduct of monetary policy in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. We develop and estimate a structural general equilibrium model, in which monetary policy is represented as a simple rule and exchange rate pass-through is incomplete due to the presence of local currency pricing and distribution services. We find that the Bank of Canada, the Reserve Bank of New Zealand, and the Bank of England have not adjusted interest rates in response to exchange rate movements since the adoption of inflation targeting, while our model selection results for Australia are less clear.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Chrisitna Bodea

Independent central banks, regime type, and fiscal performance: the case of post-communist countries

in *Public Choice*, volume 155 n.1/2 , 81-107

This article analyzes the effect of central bank independence on fiscal deficits. Previous literature finds a negative relationship between bank independence and deficits in OECD countries. No such relationship is found for developing countries. We argue that independent and conservative central bankers prefer budget discipline due to the long run connection between deficits and inflation and can enforce their preference through interest rate hikes and refusal to lend to the government. The claim, however, is that the legislated independent status of the central bank is cheap talk in the absence of democratic institutions. We test empirically the conditional effect of central bank independence on a sample of 23 democratic and undemocratic post-communist countries from 1990 to 2002. Results show that independent central banks restrain budget deficits only in democracies. Also, democracies that have not granted independence to their central banks have the worst fiscal discipline.



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Binder Sarah, Spindel Mark

Monetary Politics: Origins of the Federal Reserve

in *Studies in American Political Development* , Volume 27 - Issue 01

Nearly unique amongst the world's monetary bodies, the Federal Reserve defies description as a central bank. A century after its creation, the Fed retains a hybrid structure of a president-appointed, Senate-confirmed Washington board and twelve largely privately directed regional reserve banks—each of which remains moored in the cities originally selected in 1914. In this article we investigate the origins of the Federal Reserve System, focusing on the selection of the twelve reserve bank cities. In contrast to accounts that suggest politics played no role in the selection of the cities, we suggest that a range of political interests shaped Democrats' choices in designing the reserve system. The result was a decentralized institution that initially proved unable to coordinate monetary policy—a key contributor to the onset of the Great Depression less than two decades later.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Z. Darvas

Monetary transmission in three central European economies: evidence from time-varying coefficient vector autoregressions

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, volume 40 n.2 , 363-90

We study the transmission of monetary policy to macroeconomic variables with structural time-varying coefficient vector autoregressions in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, in comparison with that in the euro area. These three countries have experienced changes in monetary policy regimes and went through substantial structural changes, which call for the use of a time-varying parameter analysis. Our results indicate that the impact on output of a monetary shock changed over time. At the point of the last observation of our sample, the fourth quarter of 2011, among the three countries, monetary policy was most powerful in Poland and not much less strong than the transmission in the euro area. We discuss various factors that can contribute to differences in monetary transmission, such as financial structure, labour market rigidities, industry composition, exchange rate regime, credibility of monetary policy and trade openness.

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Charles A. E. Goodhart, Jonathan P. Ashworth

QE: a successful start may be running into diminishing returns

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.4 , 640-70

Existing studies may have underestimated the impact of QE1 on UK GDP because they did not take full account of the beneficial effect on credit risk spreads and on the exchange rate. However, all such effects were also influenced by the



roughly simultaneous introduction of similar easing in the USA, which complicates the analysis. Another area where QE has been positive is in reducing public-sector borrowing costs. Where QE1 (and subsequent rounds) have disappointed is in their inability to stimulate a recovery in credit and monetary growth, amid an increased desire among banks to hold far more of their reserves at the central bank. Moreover, there is growing evidence of significant diminishing returns in QE2 as gilt rates have already fallen to historically low levels and the risk is that, if policy-makers fail to resuscitate the bank lending channel, further rounds of QE could potentially have negative returns

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Peter Sinclair, Colin Ellis

Quantitative easing is not as unconventional as it seems

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.4 , 837-54

Policy interest rates do not have to be short. The means by which monetary authorities influence prices and quantities can differ, but the obstacles to altering one rather than the other are not insuperable. Inflation is sluggish, and expectations of future interest rates—long and short, nominal and real—are diverse and uncertain. These factors determine the limited power that monetary authorities enjoy when they conduct quantitative easing. But this policy is not as unconventional as some have claimed, and indeed can be viewed as broadly similar to conventional monetary measures. The impact of quantitative easing, however, could be very different depending on the underlying structure of the economy and the fiscal authorities' responses. Finally, we note some important caveats that must be borne in mind when trying to evaluate the impact of quantitative easing, particularly given the fact that the world's main financial markets are closely linked.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Christopher Martin, Costas Milas

Quantitative easing: a sceptical survey

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.4 , 837-54

Policy interest rates do not have to be short. The means by which monetary authorities influence prices and quantities can differ, but the obstacles to altering one rather than the other are not insuperable. Inflation is sluggish, and expectations of future interest rates—long and short, nominal and real—are diverse and uncertain. These factors determine the limited power that monetary authorities enjoy when they conduct quantitative easing. But this policy is not as unconventional as some have claimed, and indeed can be viewed as broadly similar to conventional monetary measures. The impact of quantitative easing, however, could be very different depending on the underlying structure of the economy and the fiscal authorities' responses. Finally, we note some important caveats that must be borne in mind when trying to evaluate the impact of quantitative easing, particularly given the fact that the world's main financial markets are closely linked.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Anna Larsson Seim* and Johnny Zetterberg



Testing the impact of inflation targeting and central bank independence on labour market outcomes

in *Oxford Economic Papers*, volume 65 n.2 , 240-67

We investigate the impact of inflation targeting and central bank independence on wage formation and unemployment using a panel of 20 OECD countries from 1982-2003. The results suggest that monetary institutions matter for wage formation. Real wages are on average higher under inflation targeting, in particular in economies with highly coordinated or centralized wage setting. This finding is in line with the strand of literature arguing that a liberal central bank may be more conducive to wage restraint than a conservative central bank if unions are inflation averse. Our results thus lend no support to the popular deterrence hypothesis. While inflation targeting seems to matter for wage formation, we find no evidence of effects on unemployment. Another key finding is that real wages tend to be lower in countries within the EMU.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Victor Shih and David A. Steinberg

The Domestic Politics of the International Dollar Standard: A Statistical Analysis of Support for the Reserve Currency, 2000–2008

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 45 - Issue 04 , 855 - 880

Why did most central banks continue to purchase dollar reserves during the 2000s even though they suffered mounting financial losses as a result of this policy? This paper argues that domestic political considerations determine whether policy makers accumulate or dump the reserve currency. We hypothesize that central bank independence decreases support for the dollar because independent central banks reduce the political clout of exporters and increase the salience of financial performance. This argument is tested using data on countries' holdings of US Treasury securities between 2000 and 2008. The statistical results indicate that countries with independent central banks were more likely to sell and less likely to purchase US treasuries. Our findings suggest that a complete understanding of the international dollar standard requires greater attention to domestic politics and how political institutions influence the balance of power between competing interest groups.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Philippine Cour-Thimann, Bernhard Winkler

The ECB's non-standard monetary policy measures: the role of institutional factors and financial structure

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.4 , 765-803

This paper aims to make two contributions: to review the ECB's non-standard monetary policy measures in response to the financial and sovereign debt crisis against the background of the institutional framework and financial structure of the euro area; and to interpret this response from a flow-of-funds perspective. The paper highlights how the ECB's non-standard measures are motivated differently from quantitative easing policies. As a complement to standard interest rate decisions, rather than a substitute, they aim at supporting their effective transmission to the economy rather than at delivering additional monetary stimulus directly. The flow-of-funds analysis proposes an interpretation of central



banks' crisis response as reflecting their capacity to act as the 'ultimate sector' that can take on leverage when other sectors are under pressure to deleverage. It also provides examples for tracing the impact of non-standard measures across different sectors and markets.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Roger E. A. Farmer

The effect of conventional and unconventional monetary policy rules on inflation expectations: theory and evidence

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.4 , 622-39

This paper has three parts. Part 1 constructs a classical economic model of inflation, augmented by a complete set of financial markets; I call this the core monetary model. Part 2 develops a series of calibrated examples to illustrate how the core monetary model explains the history of inflation after the Second World War, and Part 3 provides evidence to show that the unconventional monetary policy, followed in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, was effective in stabilizing inflation expectations. The core monetary model provides a unified framework to explain how an interest rule can be used to control inflation in normal times, and to explain the purpose of unconventional monetary policy when policy attains the zero lower bound. I argue that management of the variation in the composition of the Fed's balance sheet, is an important tool in a central bank's arsenal that can be used to help prevent deflation in the wake of a financial crisis.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

David Cobham

The past, present, and future of central banking

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.4 , 729-49

The financial crisis, on the one hand, and the recourse to 'unconventional' monetary policy, on the other, have given a sharp jolt to perceptions of the role and status of central banks. In this paper we start with a brief 'contrarian' history of central banks since the Second World War, which presents the Great Moderation and the restricted focus on inflation targeting as a temporary aberration from the norm. We then discuss how recent developments in fiscal and monetary policy have affected the role and status of central banks, notably their relationships with governments, before considering the environment central banks will face in the near and middle future and how they will have to change to address it.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Christopher Bowdler, Amar Radia

Unconventional monetary policy: the assessment

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.4 , 603-21

The unconventional monetary policy measures adopted by the major central banks in the period since 2008 are



discussed in this paper. We highlight some important differences between quantitative easing and conventional monetary policy and then evaluate the mechanisms through which quantitative easing may propagate to financial markets and the real economy, drawing on perspectives from monetarist and New Keynesian theory. Additional measures, intended to supplement or strengthen the effects of pure quantitative easing, often termed unconventional monetary policy, are also assessed. In our discussion we relate the various articles in this issue to some of the key research questions posed in relation to unconventional monetary policy.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Bakonyi Jutta

Authority and administration beyond the state: local governance in southern Somalia, 1995–2006

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 7, Issue 2, Special Issue: Effects of 'statelessness': dynamics of Somali politics, economy and society since 1991 , 272-290

After 1995, southern and central Somalia splintered into a patchwork of weakly institutionalized forms of authority. These localized power-figurations had common characteristics: they were established by clan-based militias, used primary forms of revenue extraction and mobilized followers on the basis of clan affiliation. Their degree of legitimacy varied considerably between the regions, depending on the history of conquest, the organizational structure of domination and the utilized forms of administration. This article will examine the social order established in the south-western regions Bay and Bakool. It was established by the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) and enjoyed a relatively high degree of legitimacy among the local population. However, the RRA faced the same problems as other ruling militias in south-central Somalia. It could not transform its highly personalized power structure into bureaucratic, and hence more stable, forms of authority. Instead, it was challenged by internal competition, which eventually led to fragmentation and decay.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Mariona Tomàs

Autonomies polítiques territorials i governabilitat metropolitana: una comparació Catalunya-Quebec

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, n. 16 , 177-199

Aquest article compara Catalunya i el Quebec pel que fa la dimensió política del fet metropolità, és a dir, analitza les semblances i diferències entre els models de governabilitat metropolitana de les dues ciutats més grans, Barcelona i Montreal. En un primer punt analitzem les perspectives sobre la governabilitat metropolitana segons el seu grau d'institucionalització, inspirades en corrents teòrics diferents (escola de la reforma, escola de l'elecció racional i nou regionalisme). La preferència per una de les perspectives implica plantejar qüestions fonamentals com el grau d'intervenció pública o la naturalesa de la legitimitat democràtica en l'àmbit metropolità (elecció directa, indirecta). Mentre que a Catalunya l'opció de la fusió municipal ha estat rebutjada en nombroses ocasions a favor de la cooperació, el Quebec ha aplicat contínuament la lògica de les reformes municipals com la solució als problemes metropolitans. En un segon punt analitzem el perquè d'aquesta diferència. La nostra hipòtesi estima que l'existència de models de governabilitat metropolitana oposats s'explica principalment pel paper polític dels municipis i el model de govern local. Així ho confirma l'anàlisi dels factors polítics i institucionals d'ambdues àrees metropolitanes, principalment la distribució de competències en l'ordenament jurídic, el sistema electoral i departits i la cultura política. La combinació



d'aquestes variables dóna lloc a un enfocament sobre la governabilitat metropolitana diferent a Catalunya i al Quebec.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Bedsworth Louise W., Hanak Ellen

Climate policy at the local level: Insights from California

in **Global Environmental Change**, Volume 23, Issue 3, June , 664-677

Local governments in the United States have been hotbeds of climate change activity. Recently, states have sought to incorporate these primarily voluntary actions into broader climate change mitigation programs. Using the example of California, a national leader in U.S. climate policy, this article examines the scope for effectiveness of local climate action and assesses factors related to adoption of local climate policies. The analysis draws on two original surveys of city and county governments, designed to learn about adoption of comprehensive policy tools (emission inventories and climate action plans) and programs in specific areas (energy, water, land use, transportation). Adoption rates are fairly high and growing; by mid 2010 roughly 70% of all jurisdictions were already engaged or planning to engage in comprehensive climate actions, up from roughly 50% in 2008. The adoption of specific programs varies with the degree of local government authority in different sectors, and is generally higher for programs targeting municipal facilities and operations than those targeting residents and businesses. Population size, household income, and strong support from local leaders and the public are all associated with higher rates of adoption, particularly for comprehensive actions. Partisan attitudes are more important for comprehensive actions than for programs in specific areas such as energy efficiency and renewable energy, mirroring the findings of state and national public opinion surveys, which find broader support for actions like clean energy than for explicit climate change-oriented actions. Qualitative analysis reveals additional keys to success, including partnering with other local governments and private organizations and leveraging cost savings and other potential co-benefits of action. As states move to incorporate local actions into broader plans, mandates will also play an increasing role in setting a floor for local efforts.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Meenakshisundaram, S.S.

Decentralization, Local Governance, and Social Wellbeing in India: Do Local Governments Matter?

in **Pacific Affairs** , Volume 86, Number 1, March , 167-169

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Mazza Mauro

Federalismo, regionalismo e decentramento nella prospettiva della comparazione tra i sistemi di amministrazione (o governo) locale

in **Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 4 , 829 - 856

No abstract available



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Liisa Häikiö

From Innovation to Convention: Legitimate Citizen Participation in Local Governance

in Local Government Studies, Volume 38, Issue 4 , 415-435

In governance structure legitimacy is required not only of the governing system, local authorities or public organisations but also of other participants, including citizens. The legitimacy cannot be judged either by traditions of representative democracy or by innovative theories of deliberative or participatory democracy. The article analyses scientific publications on citizen participation in local governance. It asks how empirical studies on local sustainable development planning (SDP) and New Public Management (NPM) practices construct legitimate citizen participation. In general, studies on citizen participation have not conceptualised the relations between citizens and power holders as questions of legitimacy. However, the studies approaching citizen participation in the local processes of SDP and NPM include various empirical, theoretical and normative arguments for citizen participation. These arguments recognise, accept and support particular activities, arguments and outcomes of citizen participation, and include and exclude agents and issues. They construct and reflect the definition of legitimacy in the local governance. As constructed by scientific texts, justifications for citizen participation reproduce a discursive structure in which citizen participation becomes marginalised and citizens' views excluded. The results illustrate that discursive structures of legitimate citizen participation support conventional governing practices and hinder innovative practices in local governance.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Nick Clarke, Allan Cochrane

Geographies and politics of localism: The localism of the United Kingdom's coalition government

in Political Geography, volume 34 , 10-23

There has always been a localist element to British politics. But recently, a particular version of localism has been moved to the foreground by the 2011 Localism Act. This paper identifies various uses and meanings of localism, maps their geographical assumptions and effects, and critiques their politics. It does this using the localism of the United Kingdom's Coalition Government as a case study of localism in practice. The rationalities, mentalities, programmes, and technologies of this localism are established from Ministerial speeches and press releases, along with Parliamentary Acts, Bills, White Papers, Green Papers, and Statements – all published between May 2010 when the Coalition Government was formed, and November 2011 when the Localism Act became law. We argue that localism may be conceptualised as spatial liberalism, is never straightforwardly local, and can be anti-political.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Russell M. Smith and John T. Willse

Influences on Municipal Annexation Methodology An Intrastate Analysis of Annexation Activity in North Carolina, 2000–2010

in State and Local Government Review, Vol. 43, n. 3, December , 185-195



Investigations into municipal annexation have been largely conducted at the interstate unit of analysis and have focused on the impact of annexation legislation on overall annexation frequency. Interestingly, little effort has been placed on exploring the differences in intrastate levels of annexation activity by method of annexation available to municipalities. This analysis explores intrastate annexation activity through a multivariate regression examination of municipal annexation activity conducted in North Carolina between 2000 and 2010. Results surprisingly show that the key variables impacting voluntary contiguous, voluntary noncontiguous, and involuntary annexations are similar. Meanwhile, more research is needed to understand the unique factors that influence legislative annexation activity.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Eugénie Dostie-Goulet, André Blais, Patrick Fournier and Elizabeth Gidengil

L'abstention sélective, ou pourquoi certains jeunes qui votent au fédéral boudent les élections municipales
in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 45 - Issue 04 , 909 - 927

Studies of electoral behaviour at the municipal level are rare. Even less frequent are those comparing behaviour in municipal elections and in elections at other levels of government. Our aim is to address this gap in the research, with particular interest paid to people who choose to abstain in a selective way. This study considers those who participate in federal elections but not in municipal elections. Stated alternatively, why might second-order elections be less attractive to voters than first-order elections? To address this question, we use a sample composed of young Montrealers aged 19 to 31. Four determinants were found to be important when explaining selective abstention : partisan identification, local attachment, political interest and use of municipal services.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Patroni Griffi Filippo

La città metropolitana e il riordino delle autonomie territoriali. Un'occasione mancata?
in *Federalismi*, Anno XI, n. 4

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Massimo Allulli and Walter Tortorella

Le Città metropolitane secondo la legge 135/2012
in *Amministrare*, n. 1 , 153-170

The Italian government has recently approved the law 135/2012, that has put metropolitan reform back at the centre of its agenda. According to the law, the reform has to be implemented by January, 1st, 2014. This deadline has later been postponed by one year. The reform path is made impervious by several areas of uncertainty. The article proposes a detailed examination of the legislative production on metropolitan reform, accompanied by an analysis of its problems and by a preliminary analysis of data relating to socio-economic characteristics of the future metropolitan cities.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Deodato Carlo

Le città metropolitane: storia, ordinamento, prospettive

in *Federalismi*, Anno XI, n. 5

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Wang Rui

Leaders, followers, and laggards: adoption of the US Conference of Mayors Climate Protection Agreement in California

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 6, December , 1116-1128

Limited quantitative research has been devoted to voluntary climate actions at the local level. It is unclear why some cities act as leaders in the fight against climate change, some act as followers, while others remain laggards. This study tests hypotheses about local climate proactiveness to mitigate climate change. Applying a survival analysis to California cities' adoption of the US Conference of Mayors Climate Protection Agreement, I examine the association between cities' adoption of the agreement, a range of cities' characteristics, and the behavior of neighboring jurisdictions. The results suggest important roles of the overall capacity of a local jurisdiction, its staff capacity with relevant expertise, average household income level, and voter preferences. Study results also suggest the importance of local traffic conditions and the positive peer effect.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Giorgio Marinuzzi and Walter Tortorella

Lo stato dell'arte dell'associazionismo intercomunale

in *Amministrare*, n. 1 , 133-152

The model of Unions of Municipalities in Italy was created and regulated in 1990 (article 26, law no. 142/1990). The legislation has undergone several changes in more than twenty years, until the latest "Spending Review 2" (article 19, law no. 135/2012), that defines the new fundamental functions of municipalities and alters the obligations of the municipalities up to 5,000 inhabitants (or 3,000 inhabitants in case of present or past membership in Mountain Communities, not including the islands-municipalities and the municipality of Campione d'Italia) in the field of municipalities associate management. The law requires these kind of municipalities (that already are not part of municipal agreements) to carry out at least three fundamental functions by 1st January 2013 and the remaining six basic functions within 1st January 2014, via a Union of Municipalities or a municipal agreement. In September 2012, there were 371 Unions, with 1.868 member Municipalities (i.e. the 23.1% of the Italian municipalities), of which 75% counted up to 5.000 residents.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Yu Jianxing , Zhou Jun

Local Governance and Business Associations in Wenzhou: a model for the road to civil society in China?
in **Journal of Contemporary China**, Volume 22, Issue 81 , 394-408

It is argued in our paper that current studies of civil society in China, which place too much emphasis on its 'independence', are neither practical nor conducive to the sound development of China's civil society, because an adversarial intensification is likely to arise between the state and society. As is shown in our empirical study, despite the fundamental control imposed by the government, Wenzhou Business Association is actively involved in industry governance, constantly empowered by the government, and thus gradually achieves growth and development. This leads to a conclusion that it appears to be a rather more realistic developmental path for China's civil society for associations to make full use of the government's expanding space and to actively participate in public governance.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Rebecca Casson & Paolo Dardanelli

Local Government Paradiplomacy in the UK: The Case of the Kent-Virginia Project
in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 38, Issue 5 , 599-614

This article investigates the Kent-Virginia Project, a recent partnership between Kent County Council (KCC) and the US state of Virginia, as a case study of local government paradiplomacy in the UK. It sets the project in the context of the growing international involvement of local government, which has so far largely been neglected in the literature. It seeks to explain why KCC embarked on this initiative and to identify what opportunities and constraints shaped the latter's development. The evidence shows that KCC was primarily motivated by personal and institutional ambition, that decision-making was rather opaque and that communication was highly selective. As a result of its seizing a series of unforeseen opportunities that changed the nature of the project, KCC found itself performing roles traditionally reserved for central government. It also faced, however, severe constraints in terms of maintaining multiple institutional relations as well as managing media and public attitudes to the project. These findings show that UK local government can successfully engage in ambitious paradiplomacy but that such activities take place within an uncertain legal framework and raise both positive and normative questions. The article concludes by suggesting several avenues for further research and by calling for a redefinition of the legal and institutional framework governing the international activities of UK local government.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

S. Yilmaz, A. Guner

Local government discretion and accountability in Turkey
in **Public Administration and Development**, volume 33 n.2 , 125-42

After ratification of the European Charter of Local Self-Government in 1993, Turkey has witnessed major local



government

reform efforts in 2000s. The policy objectives of these reforms were granting more political, administrative and fiscal discretion to local governments along the principles of democratic decentralization and strengthening accountability linkages between

citizens and local governments. We employ a diagnostic framework to analyse the impact of these reforms. We argue that

reforms have achieved limited success in improving decision-making autonomy and accountability of local governments

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

António F. Tavares and Miguel Rodrigues

Los instrumentos de participación política y administrativa a nivel local: un análisis empírico de las opciones de los municipios portugueses

in Reforma y democracia (Venezuela), n. 55

In the 1948 book *The Administrative State*, Dwight Waldo criticizes the ideal of “Efficient Citizenship” that prevailed in public administration thought during the first half of the twentieth century. According to the author, the attempt to gather democracy and efficiency under a single concept resulted in a much narrower set of democratic values. At the local level, in particular, the excessive preoccupation with efficiency transformed municipal government into “a matter of ‘administration’ and hence largely a preserve for administrative study”. More than sixty years after Waldo’s work, there is an increasing call for citizen participation in local government, not only to improve service delivery, but also to exercise collective choices through the definition of public policies. This trend seems to indicate a resurgence of the efficient citizenship movement, although using many new forms of civic engagement facilitated by technological innovations. What are the preferred arrangements for citizen participation at the local level? Do elected officials trade-off between instruments of democratic and administrative participation or does the evidence support the idea that local elected officials are willing and able to stimulate participation in both realms?

This project identifies a series of participation mechanisms provided by local governments to their citizens and investigates possible tradeoffs between political and administrative participation. The instruments of political participation included in the analysis are public hearings, local referendums, participatory budgets, informal contacts, discussion forums/on-line chats, and the formation of study circles. The mechanisms of administrative participation include one-stop shops, helpline on-line, electronic complaint systems, e-systems for monitoring processes, complaints books, and service quality surveys. This article employs a theoretical model that includes the mayor’s perceptions regarding participation and accountability, the local stakeholders, and socioeconomic contextual factors to explain instrument choices. Its central hypothesis is derived from the Waldo argument and suggests that older, less educated mayors in rural communities are more politically oriented, highlighting democratic values, direct information from citizens, and permanent interaction between citizen policy preferences and executive decision-making; in contrast, younger, more educated mayors in urban jurisdiction fit a service-oriented profile, stressing efficiency as the main goal and the role of local governments in streamlining the provision of local public goods.

During the second semester of 2011, we conducted a survey of all Portuguese cities in order to collect data on the choice of participation mechanisms. Data analysis employs a Seemingly Unrelated Poisson model to test our key hypotheses. Preliminary findings indicate that although different factors explain the choice of political and administrative instruments by local officials, mayors with a stronger sense of responsiveness and accountability towards citizens will adopt both types of instruments, regardless of a more pro-democracy or pro-efficiency orientation. Implications of our findings for the literature on participation and governance are discussed. | Change; Information Society; Internet



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Gary N. Wilson and Christopher Alcantara

Mixing Politics and Business in the Canadian Arctic: Inuit Corporate Governance in Nunavik and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 45 - Issue 04 , 781 - 804

Over the past three decades, Inuit economic development corporations (IEDCs) have played an important role in preparing the Inuit regions of Nunavik in northern Québec and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories for self-government. In addition to building vital capacity through the provision of services, programs and economic opportunities, IEDCs have also represented their respective regions in self-government negotiations with other levels of government. This corporate-led governance approach, which we call Inuit corporate governance, provides Aboriginal groups such as the Inuit with a de facto form of self-government and the opportunity to develop economic and political capacity in advance of adopting a more comprehensive and formal self-government arrangement. It also challenges existing assumptions about the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the liberal-capitalist order that underpins the Canadian state.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Bühlmann Marc

Municipal identity. A multilevel analysis of the determinants of individual attachment to municipalities

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 6, Issue 2 Supplement, November 2012 , 149-175

Abstract

The article focuses on the determinants of municipal identity, itself considered to be an important prerequisite of civic and political engagement. The determinants of attachment to the municipality of residence are derived from four different theoretical approaches. They are tested by means of multi-level analyses to look into the question of the effect of individual and contextual characteristics on the development of municipal identity. The analysis of Swiss municipalities shows that municipal identity is a multi-dimensional concept, consisting of affective attachment and formal as well as informal integration. On the whole, individual as well as aggregate spatial mobility have rather a negative impact on individual municipal identity. By contrast, individual interests in terms of home ownership and parenthood have rather a positive influence on the development of local attachment. The analyses further point to the importance of including contextual conditions: the development of an individual's municipal identity depends on the size of the respective municipality as well as its socio-economic, cultural, institutional and macro-economic attributes.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Jen Nelles, John B. Sutcliffe

On the Boundary: Local Authorities, Intergovernmental Relations and the Governance of Border Infrastructure



in the Detroit–Windsor Region

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.2 , 213-32

A growing and diverse academic literature exists on the functional, cultural and political linkages between border communities. These examinations of borderland communities seek to explain why and how linkages develop and assess the strength and implications of these relationships. In North America, Detroit–Windsor is the quintessential metropolitan border region along the Canada–US border. It is a community that shares many problems and policy concerns as well as strong functional linkages. One of these concerns is the reform of the Detroit River border crossing. This is the busiest land border crossing in North America and it is central to the regional economy as well as the wider North American economy. Over the past decade, the senior governments have debated reform of border infrastructure and the access routes to planned and existing crossings. One of the central considerations in this set of reforms has been the construction of a new crossing to reduce waiting times and increase infrastructural redundancy at this key choke point. Any new crossing will have a major impact on the local communities and various local actors on both sides of the border have sought to participate in the policy debate and influence the decision-making process. This article examines the extent to which local actors in Detroit and Windsor have interacted and sought to co-ordinate their policy positions and strategies within the border reform debate. The article focuses on the extent of the interaction among municipal governments and community groups in an effort to map and understand functional and political relationships between local actors in this dynamic border space.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Giulio Citronia, Andrea Lippi & Stefania Profeti

Remapping the State: Inter-Municipal Cooperation through Corporatisation and Public-Private Governance Structures

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 39, Issue 2 , 208-234

The institutional setting of regional and local government in Italy appears to be characterised by an ongoing process of reform and adjustment ever since Regions were created in 1970. More recently, provinces and Municipalities gained wide autonomy in 1990, and the constitution itself was revised in 2001 to set up what is sometimes referred to as a 'quasi-federal' system of intergovernmental relations. In this context, inter-municipal cooperation also has witnessed several phases and dynamics, ranging from (very rare) fusions, through single-purpose cooperation, to integrated service management (Public-public partnership, and consortia for the management and/or regulation of public utilities). More recently, and most notably over the past decade, inter-municipal cooperation has taken on a new form, consisting in the shared ownership in joint-stock companies. The so-called 'corporatisation' of public bodies, i.e. the creation of public-owned (or mixed public-private), private-law companies and corporations for the fulfilment of public-interest activities, has come to constitute a network of inter-municipal cooperation that appears to represent a shift from an institutional intergovernmental structure of cooperation, to one that is pre-eminently played out in the arenas of public-private forms of governance. The article analyses the literature and overarching trends in inter-municipal cooperation in Italy, and draws on very rich original data on the companies owned by Municipalities in six Italian regions to show how these companies represent the locus of inter-municipal (and multi-level) relations that go well beyond the formal boundaries of local administrations, and are often brokered by powerful private partners.

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



Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Muhammad Sayadur Rahman

Role of the Members of Parliament in the Local Government of Bangladesh: Views and Perceptions of Grassroots in the Case of Upazila Administration

in *Public Organization Review*, volume 13 n.1 , 71-88

This paper intends to present the overall state of the local government and attention has been drowned particularly on the new commence Upazila in Bangladesh. Attempts have been made to address sensitive issue of debate whether the MPs should have the role in the local government or not as a public representative, whether a democratic Upazila Parishad in Bangladesh enhances its responsive role to the people who elected themselves and the consciousness of the mass people about the elected representatives and their functions and also the expectations of the local people to their elected representatives. The study carried out on the selected eight Upazilas from the prevailing seven divisions in Bangladesh.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kaddour Mehriz, Richard Marceau

The Politics of Intergovernmental Grants in Canada The Case of the Canada-Quebec Infrastructure Works 2000 Program

in *State and Local Government Review*, 45 (2) , 73-85

In this article, we present the findings of a study on the electoral use of intergovernmental grants for municipal infrastructure. The study adds to the body of work on redistributive politics by showing that both federal and provincial governments use intergovernmental grants for electoral purposes. The study also shows that grant distribution seems to be skewed toward electoral districts held by governing party and by legislators who are influential in their party because they have more seniority or they fill ministerial positions. Therefore, this finding does not match the predictions of McGillivray's model according to which in a political system like Canada's, grant distribution would benefit to swing districts.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Itai Beerl

Turnaround Management Strategies in Local Authorities: Not Only for Poor Performers

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 38, Issue 4 , 461-483

In the past four decades, UK government policymakers have sought to improve the performance of local government by trying to achieve organisational turnaround and bring laggards up to the standards achieved by the leaders. Both the Conservative Party and New Labour led new public management reforms aimed at modernizing and improving local government authorities by adopting standards from the private sector. Given the pressure to improve, failing local authorities have been pushed to adopt a unique set of strategies known as turnaround management strategies (TMS). However, this paper, based on qualitative data and a survey of 126 senior local leaders, shows that TMS have been implemented to a high extent among both poor and excellent performers. The paper concludes that regardless of their objective performance ranking, English local authorities are characterised by a self-perception of underachievement. As



a result, high performers continuously implement radical changes.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Mangiameli Stelio

La nuova parabola del regionalismo italiano: tra crisi istituzionale e necessità di riforme

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, n. 4 , 711-752

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Barbera Augusto

Da un federalismo "insincero" ad un regionalismo "preso sul serio"? Una riflessione sull'esperienza regionale

in *Studi Parlamentari e di Politica Costituzionale*, 171-172 , 19-50

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Chakrabarti Bhaskar

Decentralisation and the Politics of Water Allocation in West Bengal

in *Journal of South Asian Development (The)*, Volume 8, No 1, April , 1-26

In order to overcome inefficient allocation of natural resources, there is a trend to make government more accountable to local people through decentralisation. Today, when farmers are moving away from the agricultural sector in West Bengal, India, for which water scarcity is one of the main causes, low participation in the local government are a cause for alarm. I search for the causes behind the low level of participation of local people in decision-making processes regarding water management. I analyse the complex process of decentralisation, and show how water allocation at the village level is nested within various levels of hierarchy. These involve politics over access to water and relations of power that include interactions between political parties, government agencies and the local elite. The political interference in the decentralisation process creates problems in local participation and decision-making that lead to a skewed allocation of water.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Patnaik Pratyusna

Does Political Representation Ensure Empowerment? Scheduled Tribes in Decentralised Local Governments of India

in *Journal of South Asian Development (The)*, Volume 8, No 1, April , 27-60



The article examines the process of political inclusion through representation and its promises and potentials for empowerment of Scheduled Tribes in decentralised governance in India. It perceives political representation as a process, and tries to explore the potentials of such political representation to include and empower the Scheduled Tribes in matters of decentralised governance. Based on a theoretical review of the concept of representation, the article examines the substantive and descriptive representation of Scheduled Tribes in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). The article concludes that political representation, manifested through participation of representatives in PRIs may form necessary conditions to bring Scheduled Tribes into institutions of decision-making, but are not sufficient to empower them, especially in the absence of supportive and enabling institutional arrangements.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Tesfaye Fessha Yonatan , Van der Beken Christophe

Ethnic Federalism and Internal Minorities: The Legal Protection of Internal Minorities in Ethiopia
in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 21, Number 1

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Spina Nicholas

Explaining political decentralization in parliamentary democracies
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 11, n. 4, july , 428-457

ABSTRACT: This article explores the determinants of political decentralization in 29 OECD parliamentary democracies. I examine how the decision to enact political decentralization is mediated by the partisan composition of parliamentary governments. Specifically, I hypothesize that four features impact the ability and motive to institute political decentralization: government ideology, policy decentralization platforms, power and stability, and the presence of ethnoregionalist parties in the national legislature and as government members. Empirical results reveal that ideology and policy platforms play little role in the decision to enact political reform. However, there is strong evidence that powerful and stable governments and the rise of ethnoregionalist parties in national politics substantially increase the probability of political decentralization. Government composition plays a significant role in institutional change and should be considered in future models on the determinants of decentralization.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

V. Adefemi Isumonah, Festus O. Egwaikhide

Federal Presence in Higher Institutions in Nigeria and the North/South Dichotomy
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.2 , 169-88

Which region gains more from Nigeria's wealth is a subject of heated debate between northerners and southerners. While the former believe that the southern region gets more because it plays host to most of the economic activities of Nigeria, the latter believe that the northern region has through its many years of control of federal power. Given limited



space, this study uses the regional distribution of the benefits of student enrolments in federal universities to provide some insights. The reason for the choice of university education is that it combines two features of being a benefit and key to certain other benefits the federal government dispenses. The conclusion from the data analysed is that the greater beneficiary of federal expenditures on education is southern Nigeria, which also likely has greater access to other benefits that come with educational qualifications. It follows that the extent of federal government's involvement in the provision of subsidized university education is the extent of advantage the south enjoys over the north.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Luis Moreno, Anastassia Obydenkova

**Federalization in Russia and Spain: The Puzzle of Reversible and Irreversible Outcomes
in Regional and Federal Studies**, volume 23 n.2 , 151-68

The article aims at contributing to the understanding of the dynamics of federalism in Russia and Spain. It traces the dynamics of decentralization in both states and addresses a puzzle on reversible (Russia) and irreversible (Spain) outcomes of territorial reforms and regime transition. Among other explanatory factors, this article argues that the role of the political parties as mediating actors—proactive or reactive—has been crucial in shaping institutional building in both countries. Concluding remarks envisage some scenarios of further territorial developments in comparative perspective.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Caroline Deblander, Nathalie Schiffino

**Fédéralisme belge et venue shopping : le cas de la téléphonie mobile
in Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique**, Volume 31, numéro 1 , 149-175

The institutional change, noticed in 2009 in the Belgian mobile telecommunications' policy, is remarkable. Taking into account that federal states make the achievement of advocacy coalitions' strategies easier, this article is based on the assumption that, in addition to the institutionalist theory, federalization may be explained by strategies of "losing coalitions"—who want a privileged position in public policies—on venues and on framing. Furthermore, leaning on the path opened up by advocacy coalitions, institutions—in this situation Regions—can also be conceived as strategic actors, increasing their autonomy in a centrifugal federal state.

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

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Gulnaz Sharafutdinova

**Gestalt Switch in Russian Federalism? The Decline in Regional Power under Putin
in Comparative Politics**, Volume 45, Number 3, April 2013

Why did Russian governors unexpectedly acquiesce to centralizing reforms undertaken by Vladimir Putin? Interviews with regional and central politicians and an analysis of speeches during 1990–2009 reveal that interests alone cannot account for the presence or absence of governors' political action. Understanding governors' (in)action requires uncovering the grounds for its justification and legitimation. The enabling role of the discourse, fusing the ideas of



democracy and federalism, propelled autonomous behavior on the part of regional elites. The shift in the dominant discursive frame that occurred in Russia under the leadership of Putin brought to prominence the idea of strengthening state power, thus making defiant and autonomy-seeking behavior by regional elites untenable.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Wu Alfred M.

How Does Decentralized Governance Work? Evidence from China
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 22, Issue 81 , 379-393

Decentralized governance is often viewed as an effective way to improve public services and government accountability. Many also document the negative dimensions of fiscal decentralization, especially in transition economies; thus, the combination of decentralization and centralized control has gained currency in some countries in recent years. Based on first-hand data and other documentary sources, and using civil service remuneration as an example, this paper attempts to explore how decentralized governance works in China and what hinders decentralization from performing better. The findings show that Chinese centralized control over expenditure in public sector remuneration primarily serves to enhance ministry control. Local bureaucrats, meanwhile, exploit better remuneration to boost their personal interests. This paper argues that political commitment rather than central transfer is greatly needed for utilizing the benefits of decentralized governance.

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Simonato Alessandro

Il rapporto tra Regioni, Stato ed UE alla luce della crisi economica, dell'attualità istituzionale, del dibattito sul paradigma della multilevel governance
in *Federalismi*, Anno XI, n. 9

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Camp-Pietrain Edwige

Le référendum d'autodétermination en Écosse
in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 94

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Samuel Assembe-Mvondo

Local Communities' and Indigenous Peoples' Rights to Forests in Central Africa: From Hope to Challenges



in *Africa Spectrum*, Vol. 48, n°1

This paper reviews the various rights of local communities and indigenous peoples over forest resources in Central Africa. Indeed, in 2010, the Council of Ministers of the Commission des Forêts d'Afrique Centrale (COMIFAC) adopted the Subregional Guidelines on the Participation of Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples and NGOs in Sustainable Forest Management in Central Africa. A survey of this subregional legal instrument highlights a genuine commitment by states to consolidate the benefits and the emerging rights that can improve the living conditions of vulnerable communities and strengthen the subregional regime of sustainable forest management. However, the effectiveness of the subregional guidelines hinges on the administrative acts and practical measures of member states to incorporate this instrument into their domestic legal systems and to enforce it.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Sonia Alonsoa*, Braulio Gómezb & Laura Cabezab

Measuring Centre–Periphery Preferences: The Regional Manifestos Project

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.2 , 189-211

We propose a methodology for measuring political parties' centre–periphery preferences and positions. The proposal is based on an extension of the Manifesto Project's methodology that allows us to analyse manifestos in multi-level settings (i.e. manifestos written for sub- and supra-state electoral arenas). This adaptation requires extending the Manifesto classification scheme to include territorial preferences together with policy preferences specific to each electoral level. It has two major objectives: on the one hand, it allows us to apply content analysis to manifestos written for all possible electoral levels; on the other, it measures parties' centre–periphery preferences beyond the widely used and uninformative categories of 'centralization/decentralization' and 'nationalism'. We have applied our methodology to Spanish state-level and regional-level manifestos between 2009 and 2012 with encouraging results.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Arjan H. Schakel

Nationalisation of multilevel party systems: A conceptual and empirical analysis

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 52, Issue 2 , 212–236

The concept of 'nationalisation' is vigorously discussed in the literature and three dimensions have been proposed. A first dimension considers the extent to which a party's vote in territorial units varies across time and this is labeled 'dynamic nationalisation'. 'Distributional nationalisation' focuses on the degree to which there is an equal distribution of party votes across territorial units. Finally, 'party-linkage nationalisation' concerns the extent to which candidates link together under common party labels. In addition to a conceptual debate there has been a simultaneous debate on the measurement of the various forms of nationalisation. This article contributes to both debates and argues that most of the literature on nationalisation suffers from a methodological nationalism bias – that is, the tendency of many scholars to choose the statewide level and national election as the natural unit of analysis. This claim is supported by a conceptual and empirical analysis regarding the effects of decentralisation on nationalisation. The conceptual analysis shows that the non-robust findings of many studies concerning the effects of decentralisation on nationalisation can be related to the methodological nationalism bias. An effect of decentralisation is found once nationalisation is conceptualised with



regard to its multilevel dimension and the measurements of nationalisation are differentiated according to parties, regions and type of elections (national or regional). An empirical analysis on the nationalisation of party systems, parties and regions in 18 countries for national and regional elections held between 1945 and 2009 shows that regional authority has a significant and robust effect on regions and regional elections but not on parties, party systems and national vote shares.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Charles Conteh

Navigating Canada's Federal Maze: Regional Development Policy Governance in New Brunswick in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.2 , 129-49

Regional development policy governance in Canada is more than ever intertwined with the successful navigation of institutional boundaries between levels of government as well as with non-state actors and, even, community groups. This article examines these transitions over the past two decades, with a focus on a federal agency's management of regional development policy in the province of New Brunswick. The discussion examines how the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) adapted to the shifts towards collaborative governance while seeking to preserve its organizational mandate and distinct identity as a federal agency. The findings suggest that regional development policy governance could be enhanced by paying attention to three considerations—the strategies of various levels of jurisdiction involved in joint policy action; the ideas and resources of non-governmental agencies; and the various stages of evolving governance arrangements in joint policy actions.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Michael Howlett and Adam M. Wellstead

Policy Work in Multi-Level States: Institutional Autonomy and Task Allocation among Canadian Policy Analysts in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 45 - Issue 04 , 757 - 780

Despite all the attention paid to the topic of policy analysis as a conceptual endeavour, empirically, the actual work of policy analysts is little investigated and little known. This is true generally of most countries and jurisdictions but it is most acute at the subnational level of government in multilevel states. Recent work in Canada, however, based on comprehensive surveys of analysts of provincial and territorial policy, on the one hand, and regionally and Ottawa-based federal policy workers on the other, has found many similarities with national-level work but also significant differences. This work has highlighted differences in the distribution of tasks across jurisdictions—mainly the extent to which policy work involves implementation as well as formulation-related activities—as key distinctions found in policy work across levels of the Canadian multilevel system. This article uses frequency and principal components analysis (PCA) and structural equation modeling (SEM) to probe these dimensions of policy work. It shows provincial and territorial analysts to be similar to regionally based federal workers in task allocation, undermining a straightforward depiction of differences in policy work by level of government. The extent of autonomy enjoyed by policy workers in different jurisdictional venues, both from internal actors and those outside of government, is shown to be the key driver of differences in policy work across levels of government.



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

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Michael Keating

Rethinking Sovereignty. Independence-lite, devolution-max and national accommodation

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, n. 16 , 9-29

L'autodeterminació nacional no implica necessàriament independència. Molts moviments nacionalistes en la història d'Europa han necessitat una contínua associació amb l'Estat amfitrió. D'altra banda, alguns partits no nacionalistes han adoptat ocasionalment diverses formes de descentralització. Això ha obert la porta a propostes a mig camí entre els dos extrems, en forma d' "independència mínima" o "desconcentració màxima", que donarien als països control sobre la política nacional. Les propostes sobre aquestes línies s'han presentat al Quebec, a Catalunya, al País Basc i a Escòcia, propostes que permetrien a les nacions sense estat aconseguir compromisos socials i econòmics, si bé no els donaria control sobre la política macroeconòmica. Es tracta de propostes que impliquen una relació bilateral amb l'Estat. Aquestes propostes no han trobat el favor de les majories estatals, i els debats recents s'han caracteritzat per afirmacions de sobirania en la línia més tradicionalista i en absoluta discordança amb un món cada cop més interdependent.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Fullick Lawrence

Scotland, Possible Independence and the EU

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 1, March

The possible future independence of Scotland is not a simple case of a region of an EU member state gaining independence without any historical rationale.

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/814-scotland-possible-independence-and-the-eu>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

767 -788

The Localism Act 2011: Local Government Encounters the "Big Society"

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 4 , Leyland Peter

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Buera Osama

The New Democratic Transition in Libya and the Aspirations of the Cyrenaican People

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 1, March



Two years have passed since the Libyan Revolution, but living conditions are still very poor and the provision of state services in various sectors has on average become lower even than during the period of Qaddafi's corrupt government. So where is the stream of revolution going to stop? The Libyan federal state was initiated in 1951 under the supervision of the UN. It was based on the union of three independent regional states, each with its own constitution, parliament, and electoral legislation. Cyrenaica (the cradle of the most recent revolution) had strongly resisted both Ottoman and later Italian colonialism. It became totally liberated in 1948, was declared an emirate and as such was then recorded as the eighth Arab state.

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Brian Egan

Toward shared ownership: property, geography and treaty making in British Columbia
in *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography*, volume 95 n.1 , 33-50

In British Columbia, Canada's westernmost province, unresolved Aboriginal claims to land remain highly contentious. Since the early 1990s, a unique treaty negotiation process has sought to resolve questions about land ownership and establish a new relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Crown. After almost two decades, the limitations of this treaty process are increasingly evident and answers to the land question remain elusive. This article examines this treaty-making process through a property lens, focusing on how particular models of property are privileged by and produced through this approach to treaty. I argue that the treaty process, as currently structured, works to entrench dominant Western forms of property across Aboriginal territories in a highly separate and unequal manner, and as such, serves to reinscribe asymmetrical relations of power between Aboriginal peoples and the Crown. To a considerable extent, this asymmetrical approach to property making explains the lack of progress towards treaties. The final part of the article explores alternative approaches to treaty proposed by Aboriginal groups. I argue that these proposals, which reflect Aboriginal understandings of property, offer a new and more promising direction for treaty making. In particular, the emphasis on sharing lands and resources, as well as the wealth generated from these, provides a path to reconcile competing property interests and to build a new and more respectful relationship between the Crown and Aboriginal peoples. I suggest that the difficulties of treaty making in British Columbia reflect broader challenges associated with land restitution and reconciliation in settler colonies.

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Scholler Heinrich

Verfassunggebung in Afrika - dargestellt am Beispiel Äthopiens
in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 61, 2013

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Koelble Thomas A., Siddle Andrew

Why Decentralization in South Africa Has Failed



in **Governance**, Volume 26, Issue 3, July , 343–346

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Amann Diane Marie

A Janus Look at International Criminal Justice

in **Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights**, vol. 11, issue 3, summer , 6-29

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Cooper Matthew C.

A Note to States Defending Humanitarian Intervention: Examining Viable Arguments before the International Court of Justice

in **Denver Journal of international law and policy**, Vol. 40, No. 1-3,

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Freistein Katja

ASEAN und die Vereinten Nationen. Schwache Strukturen und Souveränitätsdenken stehen einer vertieften Kooperation im Weg

in **Vereinte Nationen**, Heft 2, 2013 , 63-68

ABSTRACT: Die Beziehungen der Vereinten Nationen zum Verband Südostasiatischer Staaten (ASEAN) sind bislang noch wenig ausgebaut. Nach institutionellen Veränderungen der ASEAN durch ihre Charta sind nun neue Ansätze und die Absicht zu mehr Zusammenarbeit erkennbar. Hindernisse wie ein schwaches Sekretariat und der fehlende Wille zur Einschränkung staatlicher Souveränitätsrechte stehen einer vertieften Kooperation jedoch bislang im Weg.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Haddad Hidi Nichols

After the Norm Cascade: NGO Mission Expansion and the Coalition for the International Criminal Court

in **Global Governance**, vol. 19, n. 2, april-june



ABSTRACT: The literature on transnational advocacy focuses on the battle for norm adoption, yet little is known about what happens to advocacy organizations after they succeed. Do they disband, take up another cause, or expand their mission? This article explores the organizational response of mission expansion through a case study of the Coalition for the International Criminal Court. The CICC—a prominent global coalition of local and international nongovernmental organizations—was instrumental in advocating for the formation and ratification of the Rome Statute, the treaty that created the International Criminal Court. Following the entry into force of the Rome Statute, the CICC did not disband or shift issues, but instead expanded its advocacy efforts and began service provision on behalf of the ICC.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Dyroff Stefan

Avant-garde or Supplement? Advisory Bodies of Transnational Associations as Alternatives to the League's Minority Protection System, 1919–1939

in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 24, n. 2 , 192-208

ABSTRACT: This exegesis focuses on the work of minority committees of transnational associations in the interwar period. Most of their members considered the League system to be inefficient and supported the establishment of non-state alternatives, which included private investigations on the spot, publicity for specific problems of minorities, and attempts to reconcile representatives of ethnic minorities with those of the majority. Members of non-involved states were pre-destined especially to act as neutral moderators. Only those in close contact with League officials avoided being misused by political forces that did not seek reconciliation but border revision. They learnt that the League rules looked inadequate from the outside but turned out to be useful in coming to applicable solutions once they started their own alternative methods. Their publications and investigative journeys turned out to deepen the problems, whilst their reconciliation work became an appreciated supplement of the League system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Zilia Claudia

Brasilien zehnte Amtszeit. Seinem Streben nach einem ständigen Sitz im UN-Sicherheitsrat fehlt die Unterstützung

in *Vereinte Nationen*, Heft 1, 2013 , 9-14

ABSTRACT: Brasilien ist das am häufigsten gewählte nichtständige Mitglied im Sicherheitsrat der Vereinten Nationen. Es strebt einen ständigen Sitz an – ein Anspruch, der in seinem außenpolitischen Selbstverständnis begründet ist. Im letzten Jahrzehnt engagierte sich Brasilien vermehrt in globalen Sicherheitsdebatten und in UN-Operationen. Doch weder in der eigenen Region noch in den Allianzen mit anderen Mächten bekommt Brasilien die nötige Unterstützung für seine Ambitionen.

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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system



Dreher Axel, Jenesen Nathan M.

Country or leader? Political change and UN General Assembly voting
in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 29, March 2013 , 183-196

We investigate empirically changes in voting in the United Nations General Assembly consequent to leader turnovers over the 1985–2008 period and find evidence that governments with new rulers are more supportive of the United States on important votes. We consider the explanations that might underlie our empirical result, including material gain and ethical motivations. In contrast to our findings on key votes, our results show that voting on non-key votes in the General Assembly does not robustly shift towards the U.S. following leader change. We therefore conclude that material gain is the most likely reason for the observed pattern.

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Brunnengräber Achim, Bedall Philip

Debakel in Doha: NGOs ohne Biss

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2013 , 35-38)

Seit der UN-Konferenz von Kopenhagen im Jahr 2009 steckt der globale Klimaschutz in einer tiefen Krise. Dafür sind längst nicht mehr nur die Regierungen, sondern auch die involvierten NGOs verantwortlich. Den Ursachen des Scheiterns und möglichen Auswegen widmen sich die Politikwissenschaftler Philip Bedall und Achim Brunnengräber.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Buisman Caroline

Delegating Investigations: Lessons to be Learned from the Lubanga Judgment

in *Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights*, vol. 11, issue 3, summer , 30-82

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gowan Richard

Deutschland im UN-Sicherheitsrat: Weder zu stark noch zu schwach

in *Vereinte Nationen*, Heft 1, 2013 , 3-7

ABSTRACT: Bewertungen von Deutschlands Amtszeit im UN-Sicherheitsrat 2011 und 2012 kreisen zumeist um seine umstrittene Libyen-Enthaltung. Doch jenseits dieser Entscheidung blieb Deutschland ein verlässliches Mitglied im westlichen Block. Es zwang den Rat dazu, sich mit neuen Bedrohungen und Menschenrechtsfragen zu beschäftigen. In Bezug auf die Syrien-Krise führte dies zu Differenzen mit einigen nichtwestlichen Staaten. Während ein ständiger Sitz für Deutschland nicht näher gerückt ist, kann es auf eine quasi ›semi-permanente‹ Mitgliedschaft durch regelmäßige Wiederwahl hoffen.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Waechter Matthieu

Due Process Rights at the United Nations: Fairness and Effectiveness in Internal Investigations
in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 9, n. 2 , 339-381

ABSTRACT: International organizations have a duty to combat frauds and other wrongdoings in their midst – with due respect for the rights of their staff members. Internal investigation is a tool for administration of internal justice and oversight. There are currently discussions within the United Nations System regarding who should conduct these investigations, and most importantly how. Discussion topics include discretionary authority to initiate an investigation and to outline its appropriate scope, standard of evidence, legal representation, timing of the disclosure of evidence and other due process considerations. This contribution discusses the cost of some selected due process policies and calls for balancing fairness and effectiveness objectives in investigation, keeping in mind both the rights of staff members and the public good objectives for which donors entrust funds to international organizations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Landolt Laura K.

Externalizing Human Rights: From Commission to Council, the Universal Periodic Review and Egypt
in *Human Rights Review*, vol. 14, number 2 , 107-129

ABSTRACT: Critics of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (CHR) and its successor, the Human Rights Council (HRC), focus on member state efforts to protect themselves and allies from external pressure for human rights implementation. Even though HRC members still shield rights abusers, the new Universal Periodic Review (UPR) subjects all states to regular scrutiny, and provides substantial new space for domestic NGOs to externalize domestic human rights demands. This paper offers an institutional account of the expansion of NGO externalization opportunities from the CHR to the HRC, and during UPR institution building and Egypt's 2010 UPR. It draws on 45 longitudinal, open-ended interviews with Egyptian human rights activists, donors, and other observers conducted in 2007 and 2010.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Robin Thierry

Faut-il reconnaître la Chine rouge ? L'attitude de la France et de ses alliés anglais et américain (janvier 1949-janvier 1950)

in *Histoire@Politique*, n° 19 , 143-159

Dès la fin de 1948, la chute du régime de Chiang Kai-shek apparaît inéluctable. Désormais, la question de la reconnaissance d'un futur régime communiste se pose. Jusqu'à l'annonce de janvier 1950 par le gouvernement anglais de son souhait de reconnaître la RPC, de nombreux débats ont lieu entre alliés anglais, américains et français. Ces discussions, pendant un an, mettent en évidence les hésitations et l'embarras de ces puissances. Trois périodes sont observables : la recherche d'une convergence tripartite, de janvier à juillet 1949 ; puis, devant l'impossibilité d'une



position commune, une tentative d'entente franco-anglaise (d'août à octobre) et enfin franco-américaine (en novembre et décembre). Sans succès final.

“Should Recognition of Red China be considered? The attitude of France and of its English and American Allies (January 1949-January 1950)”

By the end of 1948, the fall of Chiang Kai-shek appears as inevitable. From now, the question of the recognition of a future communist regime arises. Until the announcement in January 1950 by the British government of its desire to recognize the PRC, many discussions took place between the British, American and French Allies. These discussions for a year highlight the hesitation and embarrassment of those States. Three periods are observed: first a search for convergence and tripartite front, from January to July 1949. Then, the impossibility of a common position leads to bipartite agreements : Anglo-French (from August to October) and Franco-American (November and December). Without ultimate success.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Joshi Devin, O'Dell Roni Key

Global Governance and Development Ideology: The United Nations and the World Bank on the Left-Right Spectrum

in **Global Governance**, vol. 19, n. 2, april-june , 249-275

ABSTRACT: This article compares the development ideologies of the United Nations and the World Bank by placing them on the left-right spectrum. It reviews previous ideological assessments of the two organizations and applies qualitative and quantitative content analysis of annual World Development Reports published by the World Bank and Human Development Reports issued by the United Nations Development Programme to examine their development discourse. Analysis of fifty-seven reports from 1978 to 2011 reveals two major findings. First, the World Development Reports have continuously articulated a development discourse to the right of the Human Development Reports. Second, there is clear evidence of convergence in the reports over time toward the political center.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Till Neeff

How many will attend Paris? UNFCCC COP participation patterns 1995–2015

in **Environmental Science & Policy** , Vol. 31 , 157-159

The annual Conferences of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change have developed into enormous events. They attract a diverse range of environmental professionals and attendance figures have multiplied during recent years. We take a close look at the counts of attending delegates and use statistical methods in order to find some interesting patterns of participation growth. Among other things, this allows us to hypothesize that the upcoming 2015 event in Paris could be as large as the Copenhagen event was. After this, participation numbers are likely to either plateau at a high level or collapse altogether, depending on whether or not the international community reaches a new climate change deal.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Zimmermann Andreas

**Human Rights Treaty Bodies and the Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice
in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)**, vol. 12, n. 1 , 5-29

ABSTRACT: Abstract In recent years, the ICJ has had to deal more and more often with alleged violations of major human rights treaties and the respective compromissory clauses contained in such treaties. Yet, the interrelationship between the Court's treaty-based jurisdiction under such clauses and State complaint mechanisms, as provided for in human rights treaties, has not yet been fully considered and analysed. Moreover, there might also be interlinkages between the ICJ's contentious jurisdiction under Article 36 (2) of the ICJ Statute and such State complaint procedures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Warner Koko

**Human migration and displacement in the context of adaptation to climate change: the Cancun Adaptation Framework and potential for future action
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 30, Issue 6, December , 1061-1077

The first-time-ever agreed-upon text on migration, displacement, and planned relocation in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) climate negotiations process was informed by recent empirical research, and will shape how human mobility is dealt with under adaptation. Migration, displacement, and planned relocation feature in the text of the Cancun Adaptation Framework as technical cooperation issues which highlight activities that help to guide adaptation funding. Human mobility in the UNFCCC context is distinct from other policy fora—like international protocols and expanding mandates of existing frameworks such as the 1951 Geneva Convention. Operationally oriented solutions and discussions are moving forward in a UNFCCC process through the Cancun Adaptation Framework [paragraph 14(f)], the Climate Finance and the Adaptation Committee, and the Subsidiary Body on Implementation's Work Program on Loss and Damage. These and other policy processes catalyze nationally and regionally driven work on the topics of migration, displacement, and planned relocation in the context of climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Wagner Christian

**Indien im UN-Sicherheitsrat. Engagiertes Mitglied mit starken nationalen Interessen
in Vereinte Nationen**, Heft 1, 2013 , 15-18

ABSTRACT: Indien ist in seiner Zeit als nichtständiges Mitglied des UN-Sicherheitsrats seinen außenpolitischen Prämissen weitgehend treu geblieben und betonte die Prinzipien der nationalen Souveränität und der Nichteinmischung. Im Bemühen um einen ständigen Sitz hat Indien 2011/2012 kaum Fortschritte erzielt. Neue Staatengruppen wie BRICS oder IBSA, zu denen auch Indien zählt, konnten sich nicht als neuer Machtfaktor in den UN etablieren.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jérôme Élie

Interactions et filiations entre organisations internationales autour de la question des réfugiés (1946-1956)
in *Relations internationales*, n°152 , 39-50

The action of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) was a crucial aspect of the assistance provided to refugees in the post-war period. This action developed particularly in the context of complex interactions with major international organizations such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). However, historians have so far largely neglected the study of interactions between international institutions. This article attempts to partially fill this gap by analyzing the nature, extent and evolution of relations between NGOs, the International Refugee Organization, the UNHCR and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration from 1946 to 1956.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Powell Emilia Justyna

Islamic law states and the International Court of Justice
in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 50, Number 2, March , 203-217

The International Court of Justice (ICJ), as the principal judicial organ of the UN, plays an important role in peaceful resolution of international disputes. Traditionally, relations between Islamic law states, international law, and courts have been relatively tense due to the inherent link between Islamic law and the Islamic faith. Yet, several Islamic law states recognize the ICJ's compulsory and compromissory jurisdiction. This article asks: Why do some Islamic law states extend support to the International Court of Justice, while others turn away from the Court? I argue and empirically demonstrate that specific characteristic of Islamic law can explain variation of Islamic law states' preferences towards the ICJ. After providing original data on the characteristics of Islamic legal structures, I systematically compare pertinent rules of international law and Islamic law, focusing on similarities and differences between the two. Islamic law features such as respect for legal scholarship and peaceful resolution of disputes are compatible with principles embraced by the ICJ. Islamic law states that incorporate these norms are supportive of the Court. In contrast, Islamic law states that directly adopt sharia as the law of the land and incorporate sharia in their education systems are less open to the ICJ's adjudication.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kochanek Joseph

Jan Smuts: Metaphysics and the League of Nations
in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 39, Issue 2 , 267-286

Jan Smuts was one of the key figures in the creation of the League of Nations, the first international organisation with truly global pretensions. However, Holism and Evolution, the most philosophical of his works, and one that illuminates his views on international organisation, has remained in a state of relative academic neglect. This paper turns to that



work for a richer understanding of the background assumptions of those who contributed to the creation of the League. To do so, this paper lays bare the main ideas of Holism and Evolution, emphasising those elements most relevant to Smuts's proposals for international organisation, and situates his thought within broader currents of liberal imperialism. Such an examination of Holism and Evolution aids greatly in our understanding of some of the most contested issues in the debate over the nascent League of Nations: sovereignty, imperialism, self-determination, and the conception of politics in organic terms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Rivier Raphaële

L'utilisation d'autres formes d'organisation internationale

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 116, no. 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Cussó Roser

La défaite de la sdn face aux nationalismes des majorités. La Section des minorités et l'irrecevabilité des pétitions «hors traité»

in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 44, No. 1 , 65-88

In contrast with other divisions of the League of Nations, the Minorities Section tended to limit its missions. The Section did not support treaty extensions nor did it consult non-governmental entities ; it did not alert the public about the rise of fascism. In addition, the Section contributed to identifying non-state national demands to "communitarian claims". In fact, it did not consider conflicts between majorities and minorities as political conflicts between concurrent collective and individual rights. Little studied until now, decisions on non-receivability of petitions, notably those not covered by the treaties, illustrate these hypotheses. Independently of the influence of great powers, the Section supported a political philosophy in favour of majorities' nationalism, compatible with the juridicisation of the field.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Dezallai Amanda

La fonction de dépositaire du secrétaire général des Nations unies à l'heure de l'utilisation des nouvelles technologies continuité dans la modernité

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 117, no. 1

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

de Rivière Nicolas

La question de la Palestine aux Nations Unies et dans les organisations internationales

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 116, no. 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

François Bugnion

Le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge et les Nations Unies de 1945 à nos jours : oppositions, complémentarités et partenariats

in *Relations internationales*, n°152, 3-16

It is with misgivings that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) viewed the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, considering it to be little more than the continuation of a victorious military alliance. However, the ICRC and the United Nations developed their cooperation over the course of different major crises: the first Israeli-Arab conflict (1948-49), the Hungarian revolution (1956), the civil war in Congo (1960) and the Cuban missile crisis (1962). This collaboration led to two important joint operations and to the ICRC being granted permanent observer status by the General Assembly in October 1990. This observer status has formed the cornerstone of the relationship between the ICRC and the United Nations over the last twenty years.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ian Clark and Christian Reus-Smit

Liberal internationalism, the practice of special responsibilities and evolving politics of the security council

in *International Politics*, Volume 50, Issue 1, 38-56

Liberal internationalism represents a package of evolving and contending commitments, and this article traces the development within it of one practice with a longer history, namely the allocation of special responsibilities. Responsibilities are those things for which actors are held accountable and, internationally, these have negotiated between sovereign equality and material inequality, in search of a means of more effectively dealing with global problems. The definition of these responsibilities generates an intense politics and these are reviewed through the remit of the Security Council. The article considers the basis for the allocation of traditional special responsibilities for security to the Council and then tracks their extension in recent years to the issue of humanitarian protection. The vehicle for this has been the transformation of a practice about the use of the veto, towards one that calls for its non-use in humanitarian cases. This analysis of special responsibilities unsettles the separation between order and justice, and points to the challenges currently facing liberal internationalism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system



Eric Wilson Fofack

L'ONU face aux conflits en Afrique centrale post-guerre froide, 1990-2004
in *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, n°248 , 83-96

At the beginning of the 1990s, the end of the ideological conflict between East and West, best known as the Cold War, marks the opening of a new era of African conflict, especially in central Africa. These conflicts are no longer viewed through the prism of extensions and manifestations of the Cold War, now that their true nature has been unveiled. From this time onward, the United Nations Organization, whose principal mission is to maintain peace and security in the world, increased its efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts and to preserve peace in the Central African sub-region. However, UN efforts in this direction ran into a great number of difficulties. These difficulties, though not insurmountable, are inherent in the limits of the United Nations' capabilities, and more particularly in the realities of the Central African states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Anna-Katharina Woebse

L'Unesco et l'Union internationale pour la protection de la nature. Une impossible transmission de valeurs ?
in *Relations internationales*, n°152 , 29-38

Environmental questions did not really turn into a cross-cutting issue of UN's technical organizations until the late 1960s when the "environmental turn" became a matter of public debate. Unesco, however, offered an important forum for international activism. This paper explores how Unesco took the lead in environmental discourse immediately after the war. It also briefly analyses why it acted as an important agency for private organisation and why it failed to establish a strong and influential global environmental authority before the late 1960s. It sketches the environmental issues discussed after WWII and the consequences of the ensuing rivalries among some members of the UN family.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Maurel Chloé

L'action de l'Unesco dans le domaine de la reconstruction
in *Histoire@Politique*, n° 19 , 160-175

Malgré le faible budget qui lui est alloué, l'Unesco a réussi à jouer un rôle notable dans la reconstruction. L'organisation s'est livrée à plusieurs études faisant l'inventaire des besoins en reconstruction, et a coordonné les initiatives de nombreuses ONG américaines en vue de la reconstruction matérielle d'institutions éducatives et culturelles. L'Unesco a aussi fait la promotion de l'action de reconstruction et encouragé le versement de dons. En outre, l'Unesco s'est penchée sur le sort des « personnes déplacées » et notamment parmi elles des intellectuels ; et sur le sort des enfants victimes de la guerre, en soutenant les communautés et villages d'enfants qui se créent alors en Europe pour accueillir les enfants rescapés ou orphelins.

In spite of its modest budget, Unesco succeeded in playing a certain role in post-war rehabilitation. It realized many studies which did the inventory of the needs in this field, and coordinated the initiatives of the many American NGOs in the educative and cultural rehabilitation. It also encouraged peoples and institutions to give money for rehabilitation.



Unesco also studied the problems of “displaced persons” and of the children who were victims of the war, notably by supporting children communities in Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chloé Maurel

L’action de l’Unesco dans le domaine de la reconstruction

in *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, n°19 , 160-175

In spite of its modest budget, Unesco succeeded in playing a certain role in post-war rehabilitation. It realized many studies which did the inventory of the needs in this field, and coordinated the initiatives of the many American NGOs in the educative and cultural rehabilitation. It also encouraged peoples and institutions to give money for rehabilitation. Unesco also studied the problems of “displaced persons” and of the children who were victims of the war, notably by supporting children communities in Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Rodman Kenneth A., Booth Petie

Manipulated Commitments: The International Criminal Court in Uganda

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 35, number 2, may , 271-303

ABSTRACT: Beth Simmons and Allison Danner suggest that low rule of law states join the International Criminal Court (ICC) to commit themselves credibly to refrain from criminal means in fighting insurgents, signaling an interest in negotiations and contributing to progress in peace processes. Contrary to their thesis, Uganda requested ICC involvement as an asset in its military campaign against the rebel Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) without improving the human rights and accountability practices of its security forces. While the ICC arrest warrants did make a contribution to the peace process through further isolating the LRA, their irrevocable nature biased conflict resolution toward a military rather than a negotiated solution. To avoid political manipulation or complicating peace processes in the future, prosecutorial discretion should be seen as part of a political process involving not only the state that refers a case, but also local and international stakeholders.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Elizabeth McNamara Karen, Gibson Chris

Mobilité humaine et changement environnemental : une analyse historique et textuelle de la politique des Nations Unies

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 88, Migrations climatiques, hiver , 43-60

The United Nations plays a leadership role in protecting the environment as well as people dislocated from their homes; however such roles remain mutually exclusive. At present, there is no United Nations framework for human mobility because of environmental change, even if among other factors. This article conducts a historical analysis of policy documents produced by the United Nations and subsidiary agencies. Specifically, this article unpacks different textual



descriptions of people displaced by environmental change in selected United Nations documents over the last 40 years. Based on an assessment of these documents, subject categories of people displaced by environmental change have been constructed in ways that have altered the terms of debate, evaded legal response, or deflected blame away from the perpetrators of environmental change. Historical textual analysis provides one way of explaining how there has been an absence of explicit international policy to protect those dislocated by environmental change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Pividori Claudia

Note a margine della prima sentenza della Corte penale internazionale (Procuratore c. Thomas Lubanga Dyilo)

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 10, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 125-128

ABSTRACT: First judgment of the International Criminal Court, the Lubanga trial has been a test case for the ICC and its institutional and judicial architecture. Throughout the almost 9 years long proceedings, the judges of the Court were not only often confronted with interpreting for the first time the provisions of the Rome Statute but they had also to tackle complex legal issues ranging from both substantive (nature of armed conflict; elements of the crime) and procedural criminal law (participation of victims; investigations). Some of the decisions delivered during the Lubanga proceedings, such as the one concerning the judicial interpretation of Article 17 of the Statute, became milestones for the subsequent judicial orientation of the Court and rest still today as standards to be followed. However, besides the huge amount of litigation produced and the contribution it gave to the articulation and testing of some specific issues of law, the Lubanga trial is likely to be remembered because it sums up the most critical aspects related to the early practice of the ICC in connection to the principle of complementarity, considered in both its legal (admissibility) and policy (prosecutorial policy of case selection and the practice of self-referrals) dimensions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Lusa Bordin Fernando

Procedural Developments at the International Court of Justice

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 12, n. 1 , 81-111

ABSTRACT: Abstract The present column covers procedural developments at the International Court of Justice in the period spanning from 1 April 2012 to 31 January 2013. These include: the consideration by the Court of the critical date to ascertain the existence of a dispute, and of the locus standi of States to bring claims in the collective interest, in the Questions relating to the Obligation to Prosecute or Extradite case; questions arising from the decision that a new claim was admissible but could not be upheld in the Territorial and Maritime Dispute case; and proof and quantification of material and moral damages in the Diallo/Compensation case.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sznajder Raphael



Provisional Release at the ICTY: Rights of the Accused and the Debate that Amended a Rule
in *Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights*, vol. 11, issue 3, summer , 109-145

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chapman Terrence L., Chaudoin Stephen

Ratification Patterns and the International Criminal Court

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 57, issue 2, june , 400-409

ABSTRACT: What types of countries have ratified the Rome Statute establishing the International Criminal Court? Because the court relies on state cooperation, it is a good example of a regime facing a “participation problem.” In order to be effective, the regime requires active members, but states that fear regime effectiveness will therefore find it potentially costly to join. We analyze the extent to which this problem plagues the ICC. We find that countries for whom compliance is likely to be easiest—democracies with little internal violence—are the most likely countries to join the ICC. On the other hand, countries with the most to fear from ICC prosecution, nondemocracies with weak legal systems and a history of domestic political violence, tend to avoid ratification. We contrast our findings with those of a recent article by Simmons and Danner (2010), arguing that ratification patterns show evidence of credible commitments. Our analysis across a breadth of evidence, both descriptive and multivariate, suggests caution toward arguments about the impact of the ICC on global practices and provides support for the notion that states strategically select themselves into supranational judicial agreements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Oertel Janka

Selbstbewusste Macht. Chinas stärkeres Engagement in den Vereinten Nationen kann beiden Seiten nutzen

in *Vereinte Nationen*, Heft 2, 2013 , 51-56

ABSTRACT: Die Volksrepublik China hat in den vergangenen zehn Jahren ihre zuvor geübte Zurückhaltung in den Vereinten Nationen schrittweise aufgegeben. Sie beteiligt sich immer stärker an UN-Friedenseinsätzen, tritt im Sicherheitsrat selbstbewusster auf und nimmt im Bereich der Entwicklungspolitik vermehrt Einfluss. Chinas UN-Politik ist differenzierter und professioneller geworden. Es ist zu erwarten, dass die Volksrepublik diesen Weg fortsetzen und ihr Engagement in den UN verstärkt dazu nutzen wird, ihr Ansehen in der Welt zu verbessern und eigene Präferenzen durchzusetzen.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bishai Christine

Superior Responsibility, Inferior Sentencing: Sentencing Practice at the International Criminal Tribunals

in *Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights*, vol. 11, issue 3, summer , 83-108



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Naidu Sanusha

Südafrikas zweite Amtszeit. Unterschiedliche Identitäten erschweren eine kohärente UN-Politik in Vereinte Nationen, Heft 1, 2013 , 19-23

ABSTRACT: Südafrika hat seine zweite Amtszeit im UN-Sicherheitsrat nur teilweise genutzt, um Fehler aus der ersten Amtszeit wieder gut zu machen und eine afrikanische Agenda voranzubringen. Seine Priorität der wirtschaftsbezogenen Diplomatie und seine wechselnden Haltungen zu den Krisen in Côte d'Ivoire und Libyen haben keine kohärente UN-Politik erkennen lassen. Um seine Chancen auf einen ständigen Sitz zu erhöhen, muss das Land um mehr Unterstützung innerhalb Afrikas und bei den ständigen Mitgliedern werben.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gordon Edward

The ICJ: On Its Own

in **Denver Journal of international law and policy**, Vol. 40, No. 1-3,

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kanetake Mechico

The Interfaces between the National and International Rule of Law: The Case of UN Targeted Sanctions in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 9, n. 2 , 267-338

ABSTRACT: The interfaces between national and international law have significantly evolved due to subject-matter overlap between national and international law. The restriction of governmental authority by the 'rule of law' is no exception in this regard. International scholarship has so far largely examined the national reception of the international rule of law. Much less recognised is the international perspective: namely, as to how the international rule of law understands, accepts, or resists the national rule of law. This paper examines the international reception of national rule of law practices within a specific regulatory context of UN targeted sanctions. Member states' exercise of authority and the UN Security Council's listing decisions bear resemblance to each other, which creates the conditions for the interfaces between the national and international rule of law. A series of judicial contestations formally based on the national rule of law were translated into normative, theoretical, and political forces at the international level, leading to the generation and materialisation of the principles of fairness and transparency as one of the elements of the international rule of law.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ciampi Annalisa

The International Court of Justice between « Reason of State » and Demands for Justice by Victims of Serious International Crimes

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCV, fascicolo 3 , 374-398

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Nasu Hitoshi

The Place of Human Security in Collective Security

in *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 95-129

Human security is a human- or people-centred and multi-sectoral approach to security, emphasizing the empowerment of people to enhance their potential through concerted efforts to develop norms, processes and institutions that systematically address insecurities. Since the UN Development Programme introduced the concept of human security into the policy discourse in 1994, the UN Security Council has indicated its readiness to embrace human security when it refers to, for example, the impact of HIV/AIDS on peace and security in Africa, food security, climate change, children in armed conflict, women and peace and security, and the protection of civilians more generally. Human security has also provided a theoretical foundation for the development of the responsibility to protect concept as a policy agenda, which was officially endorsed in the 2005 World Summit Outcome. However, these developments often involved heated debates over the Security Council's mandate and competence under the UN collective security system. By reviewing those debates, this article examines how the idea of human security has informed the operation of the UN collective security system and to what extent jurisdictional, normative and operational challenges to the Security Council have been addressed in dealing with human security issues within its legal framework.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Vijge Marjanneke J.

The promise of new institutionalism: explaining the absence of a World or United Nations Environment Organisation

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 2, May , 153-176

In the past forty years, numerous proposals to improve the fragmented international environmental governance (IEG) system have been developed, many of which call for the establishment of an international environment organisation. Although governments and scholars agree that the system needs improvement, no such substantial reform has yet been undertaken. Based on the literature study and more than twenty interviews, this article explains the absence of an international environment organisation, using three theories of new institutionalism: historical, rational choice and



discursive institutionalism. Through the notion of path dependency, historical institutionalism explains how the self-reinforcing cycle of a rather diffused development of the IEG system, characterised by incremental changes, has made the system more complicated and prevented substantial institutional change. Historical institutionalism also highlights power inequalities and lack of trust between nation-states, as well as turf wars between international organisations, as key explanatory factors hampering IEG reform. Rational choice institutionalism complements such explanations by showing how incremental institutional changes that do not add up to substantial reform are the result of the fact that neither nation-states nor international organisations are interested in establishing a powerful environment organisation that might encroach upon their sovereignty. Finally, discursive institutionalism suggests that the norm to do at least something to improve the IEG system has prompted nation-states to create “symbolic” institutions. The concept of socialisation helps to explain why incremental institutional developments within the UN system are more likely than substantial reform. The article shows that new institutionalism theories complement rather than contradict one another, resulting in a more holistic explanation of lack of IEG reform.

Full text available at <http://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs10784-012-9183-0.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ventura Manuel J.

The ‘Reasonable Basis to Proceed’ Threshold in the Kenya and Côte d’Ivoire Proprio Motu Investigation Decisions: The International Criminal Court’s Lowest Evidentiary Standard?

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 12, n. 1 , 49-80

ABSTRACT: Abstract Prior to the ICC Pre-Trial Chamber II’s decision authorizing a proprio motu investigation with respect to the situation in Kenya, the jurisprudence of the ICC indicated that there existed three broad evidentiary thresholds pursuant to the Rome Statute: ‘reasonable grounds to believe’ for the issuing of warrants of arrest or summonses to appear, ‘substantial grounds to believe’ for the confirmation of charges, and ‘beyond reasonable doubt’ for a finding of guilt. However, the aforementioned decision held that there existed another: ‘reasonable basis to proceed’ for the authorizing of a proprio motu investigation. It further held that this was the lowest evidentiary threshold provided for in the Rome Statute – lower than that for the issuing of a summons to appear or an arrest warrant. This remained unquestioned in Pre-Trial Chamber III’s subsequent Côte d’Ivoire investigation authorization decision. This result was based primarily on the fact that, at the preliminary examination phase, the Prosecutor cannot engage his/her full investigative powers. This article questions that conclusion on the basis that the standard offered by Pre-Trial Chamber II is, in substance, practically indistinguishable from that governing the issuing of an arrest warrant or a summons to appear and that the former Prosecutor was able to satisfy it without engaging his full preliminary examination powers. It argues that, instead, the standard should be the same for both. However, a distinction is maintained not because one standard is inherently lower than the other, but because of the different contexts in which they are applied. The critical element is evidence that ‘pins’ the crime(s) to an individual(s). Such evidence is not required when requesting authorization to commence a proprio motu investigation, but it is crucial when seeking an arrest warrant or a summons to appear. Thus, applying the same evidentiary standard in both circumstances results in different evidentiary material depending on the absence or inclusion of this element. It is submitted that the Prosecutor’s full investigative powers are reserved to obtain exactly the more specific and narrow evidence that can justify the deprivation of a person’s liberty or to summon him or her to The Hague.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Cousins Stephanie

UN Security Council: playing a role in the international climate change regime?

in *Global Change, Peace & Security*, vol. 25, n. 2 , 191-210

ABSTRACT: In the context of a weakly enforced Kyoto Protocol, sluggish UN climate change negotiations and a closing window of opportunity to prevent the more cataclysmic scenarios of climate change, calls for the UN Security Council to play a role in international climate governance are becoming louder. The Security Council's political clout and wide enforcement powers make it a seemingly ideal antidote to the current negotiation inertia. But how realistic is it for the Security Council to play a role in curbing climate change? This paper examines the ambition and enforcement limitations of the current UN legal regime for climate change and analyses whether the Security Council could help fill the gaps. It argues that climate change can legitimately be seen as a security issue, and that it is legally feasible for the Security Council to act on it, even using its full range of powers. However, politically there are just a few options worth exploring at this stage. These include: monitoring and early warning of climate-related security threats; and helping to resolve disputes peacefully between blocks of states with regards to mitigation and adaptation ambition.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Hultman Lisa

UN peace operations and protection of civilians. Cheap talk or norm implementation?

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 50, Number 1, January , 59-73

Protection of civilians is now at the forefront of the responsibilities of the international community. There is a strong international norm that civilian populations should be protected from violence. But how committed is the United Nations to acting in line with this norm? I argue that the UN Security Council (UNSC) has an interest in demonstrating that it takes violence against civilians seriously. Through a broadened security agenda including human security, the legitimacy and the credibility of the UNSC hinges on its ability to act as a guarantor of civilian protection. As a consequence, the UN is more likely to deploy peace operations in conflicts where the warring parties target the civilian population. The argument is supported by a statistical examination of all internal armed conflicts in 1989–2006. The results show that the likelihood of a UN peace operation is higher in conflicts with high levels of violence against civilians, but this effect is mainly visible after 1999. This year marked a shift in the global security agenda and it was also when the UNSC first issued an explicit mandate to protect civilians. Conflicts with high levels of violence against civilians are also more likely to get operations with robust mandates. This suggests that the UNSC is not just paying lip service to the protection norm, but that it actually acts to implement it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Lloyd Lorna

“(O)n the side of justice and peace”: Canada on the League of Nations Council 1927–1930

in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 24, n. 2 , 171-191

ABSTRACT: Although very much an international novice, Canada secured election to the League Council in September 1927. It did not, on the whole, have a notable impact on its proceedings. Its people, too, were little moved by its



presence at Geneva. And while its Prime minister enjoyed his one visit to the League, his scepticism about it remained undimmed. Nonetheless, its three-year Council term had a number of important consequences. It engineered what was on the face of it a significant amendment to League procedures regarding minorities. The experience and horizons of its Department of External affairs were widened. It became accepted that a Dominion—or India—should always sit on the Council. Its status—and that of the other Dominions—as states equal with Britain was underlined. And by demonstrating that it was not in Britain's pocket, Canada's political standing was greatly enhanced. Internationally, it had arrived.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lee Yong-Shik

Beyond the Doha Round: Towards Development Facilitation in the World Trading System
in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 40, No. 1-3,

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ferdinand Peter, Jue Wang

China and the IMF: from mimicry towards pragmatic international institutional pluralism
in *International Affairs*, vol. 89, issue 4, July, 895-910

ABSTRACT: The International Monetary Fund was the international financial institution that was most alien to the Chinese government when it embarked upon its economic reforms at the end of the 1970s, because financial markets were neglected in China's centralized plan. Therefore, China's increasing cooperation with the IMF illuminates the extent to which China has changed through 'socialization' into the norms of global governance more generally. The article examines the evolution of China's involvement with the IMF and argues that in many respects it has embraced those norms. Even though its political economy still substantially diverges from western prescriptions, many features are compatible with the (original) 'Washington Consensus'. But China remains wary of becoming too dependent on possible IMF assistance; it tries to preserve its freedom of manoeuvre. Although the IMF has attempted to acknowledge China's growing global importance by increasing its voting rights, this has failed to keep pace with change in the global economy. China is thus attracted by the possibility of additional ways of pragmatically increasing its leverage over global decisions, for instance through regional financial cooperation in Asia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Byungwon Woo

Conditional on Conditionality: IMF Program Design and Foreign Direct Investment
in *International Interactions*, vol. 39, issue 3, 292-315

ABSTRACT: The article explores how International Monetary Fund (IMF) program design influences foreign direct investment inflows. The author argues that stricter IMF conditionality signals a program-participating government's commitment to economic reforms, as it incurs larger ex ante political cost and risks greater ex post political cost. Thus,



the catalytic effect of an IMF program is conditional on conditionality: programs with stricter conditions catalyze more foreign direct investment than those with less stringent conditions. Empirical analysis of the IMF conditionality dataset supports the argument and shows that after accounting for IMF program participation, the more structural conditions included in an IMF program, the more foreign direct investment flows into the country.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Zaman Khgrsed

Determining a “Reasonable” Implementation Timeline for Developing Countries in WTO Disputes: An Appraisal of Special Treatment Commitments in DSU Article 21.3 (c) Arbitrations

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 12, n. 1 , 31-47

ABSTRACT: Abstract The Understanding on Rules and Procedures Governing the Settlement of Disputes (DSU) prescribes three different types of arbitration which are ancillary to the Panel and Appellate Body functions of the WTO dispute settlement system (DSS). These are the arbitrations for determining the implementation timeline under Article 21.3 (c) of the DSU and two other types of arbitration under Articles 21.5 and 22.6. This article focuses on some specific approaches and functions of Article 21.3 (c) arbitrations and examines the procedural actions which are related to determining a suitable implementation time for developing countries. It investigates the consistency and coherence of practice in selected arbitral awards in which developing countries claimed “particular attention” either as complainant or as implementing parties. This article points out that the lack of specific guidelines in the DSU is the substantial cause for arbitrators’ noncompliance with Article 21.2 provisions in Article 21.3 (c) arbitrations, which questions the procedural fairness of such arbitrations. This situation, amongst others, reiterates the urgent necessity to amend the relevant DSU rules.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mitchell, Kristina M.W.

Developing Country Success in WTO Disputes

in Journal of World Trade, volume 47 n.1 , 77-104

Developing country participation in the World Trade Organization (WTO) dispute settlement mechanism (DSM) has been studied extensively in the literature, with many scholars concluding that developing countries are underrepresented due to a lack of domestic legal capacity. I expand study of developing countries in the DSM by looking at legal capacity's role in the panel stage of disputes. I consider the impact of newly available legal aid and create a novel measure for legal expertise that draws from domestic Supreme Court literature. I find that legal capacity variables are not the predictors of success; panel decisions are driven by strategic considerations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Goldberg Jörg

Die BRIC-Staaten: Weltkonjunktur am seidenen Faden

in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, April, 2013 , 25-28



Das Jahr 2013 hat gute Chancen, in die Wirtschaftsgeschichte einzugehen. Erstmals seit Beginn der europäischen Industrialisierung Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts übersteigt das Produktionsvolumen der sogenannten Schwellen- und Entwicklungsländer wieder jenes der „Triade“, also Nordamerikas, Westeuropas und Japans. Glaubt man den Berechnungen des Internationalen Währungsfonds (IWF) liegt der Anteil der 35 „entwickelten“ Länder, inklusive der vier asiatischen „Tigerstaaten“, an der weltweiten Bruttoproduktion nur noch bei etwa 49 Prozent.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Muno Wolfgang

Die Vermessung der Welt: Eine Analyse der Worldwide Governance Indicators der Weltbank

in Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft, Volume 6, Issue 1 Supplement, September 2012, 87-113

Abstract

An important step in measuring development are the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) of the World Bank, a meta-index for measuring good governance. The WGI shall measure the quality of governance of a country, in comparison to other countries as well as in comparison over time. In the following, the WGI's quality shall be evaluated in respect to the conceptualization and aggregation of governance-data. A third criteria relates to ethical questions. In sum, the WGI use very elaborated aggregation techniques but fail on very fundamental conceptual issues as well as on ethical issues.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Tania Voon

Discrimination in International Mobile Roaming Regulation: Implications of WTO Law

in Journal of International Economic Law, volume 16 n.1, 91-117

High international mobile roaming charges have created concerns for consumers and regulators around the world, leading to discussion and activity in a range of international organizations as well as national and regional bodies, including in the course of ongoing negotiations. Policy-makers seem inclined to intervene in the market to reduce these charges, but the complexities of international telecommunications and the way in which roaming services are supplied present a barrier to a practicable regulatory solution at the local level. Proposals for bilateral agreements have therefore emerged in some jurisdictions, often involving capping wholesale roaming charges imposed by domestic telecommunications operators on foreign telecommunications operators from particular countries on a reciprocal basis. Before concluding any such agreement, governments must ensure that they fully consider their international trade obligations, including the most-favoured nation obligation in Article II of the World Trade Organization's General Agreement on Trade in Services. A potential violation of this obligation could be avoided if the roaming arrangement is carefully structured to ensure that it falls within the exception for economic integration in Article V of that agreement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Eugene Beaulieu, Debayan Pakrashi

Do WTO members employ less child labour?

in *Indian Growth and Development Review* , Vol. 6, n°1 , 148-159

Purpose – Trade liberalization could either exacerbate or ameliorate the incidence of child labour. This paper aims to examine the effect of trade liberalization through membership in the GATT/WTO on the incidence of child labour across countries and over time. The authors examine child labour force participation data and WTO membership for 94 countries between 1980 and 1999. They find that membership in the WTO is negatively correlated with child labour. However, they do not find a statistically significant relationship between openness and child labour and therefore rule out the trade-expanding channel of WTO membership on child labour.

Design/methodology/approach – The authors' regression equations examine the effect of GATT or WTO membership on the incidence of child labour. They examine data from 94 countries from 1980 and 1999 and employ a fixed-effects regression. They estimate different models taking different variables as control variables. They find a statistically significant effect negative of WTO membership on the incidence of child labour. They do not find a statistically significant effect of openness on child labour.

Findings – The authors find that membership in the WTO did reduce child labour. They do not find a statistically significant effect of openness on child labour.

Research limitations/implications – WTO membership does not increase the incidence of child labour as some critics claim. Membership itself is associated with reduced child labour so it may not be necessary to expand trade through international agreements in order to impact the incidence of child labour.

Practical implications – Contrary to critics of the WTO, membership does not exacerbate the problem of child labour.

Originality/value – This paper presents new data on child labour in a panel across countries over time. It is the first paper to systematically estimate the impact of international agreements on the incidence of child labour.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Adlung Rudolf, Morrison Peter, Roy Martin, Zhang Weiwei

FOG in GATS commitments – why WTO Members should care

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 12 - Issue 01 - gennaio 2013 , 1-27

The entry into force of the General Agreement on Trade in Services in 1995 marked a new stage in the history of the multilateral system. Given the peculiarities of services trade, the Agreement contains a variety of conceptual innovations, including its extension to transactions (modes of supply), beyond conventional cross-border trade, and various types of non-tariff restrictions. In turn, the new concepts needed time to be absorbed by the ministries and agencies involved, many of which might have been surprised by 'their' sectors being covered by a trade agreement and the ensuing government-internal coordination needs. Thus, understandably, the schedules that emerged from the Uruguay Round, which still account for the majority of current commitments, contain a variety of ill-specified entries. Such entries undermine the transparency and predictability of market conditions, thereby affecting trade and investment decisions in services. Poorly specified commitments also give rise to trade disputes. While the scheduling conventions



agreed for the Doha Round provided for technical refinements that would leave the substance of commitments unchanged, this possibility was used far more sparingly than could have been expected. Moreover, additional flaws would have been introduced if some of the (preliminary) offers had entered into effect. The following discussion tries to explain the scope for refinements and develop a clearer picture of the commitments warranting correction – whether in the form of a final Doha Round outcome or through negotiation-independent action by WTO Members.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Perrut Dominique

Global and European financial reforms. Assessment and perspectives

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/1 (N° 127) , 235-273

In response to the severe disruption of the financial system, the agenda defined by the Group of Twenty (G20), in 2008, has led to a new regulatory framework. These ongoing reforms outline a new organization, which could be called the Global and Integrated Prudential Model. Such a model is based on global rules defined by international standard setters and on the integration between the different parts of the prudential organization. In this context, a new prudential organization is being set up in Europe.

Henceforth, international coordination is underway, but questions remain. What could be the effects of the new rules on banking capital requirements, and, consequently, on the funding of the economy, not to mention the very structure of the financial system?

As for the EU, which very swiftly carried out an important recasting of its legal frame, the continent will henceforth have to face three challenges: first, the risk of regulatory competition from large countries, chiefly the USA; second, the need to improve the law-making and the complex supervisory system; and third, the building of the Banking Union aimed at overcoming the current euro area crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Koen J. M. van der Veer, Eelke de Jong

IMF-Supported Programmes: Stimulating Capital to Non-defaulting Countries

in *World Economy*, volume 36 n.4 , 375-95

We are grateful to Martin Admiraal and Henk van Kerkhoff for collecting the data and to Marco Hoerberichts for excellent research advice. We thank Marloes Foudraïne, Poonam Gupta, Pierre Lafourcade, Ashoka Mody, Marc Roovers, seminar participants at the 2010 EEA Annual Congress and De Nederlandsche Bank, and an anonymous referee for useful comments and discussions. The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the institutions with which they are affiliated.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Perišin Tamara

Is The Eu Seal Products Regulation A Sealed Deal? Eu And Wto Challenges

in *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* , Volume 62 - Issue 02



In both the EU and the WTO there are currently pending cases on the legality of EU Regulation 1007/2009 on trade in seal products and its Implementing Regulation 737/2010. While seals seem to be very attractive to the public so that raising arguments against these EU measures are not popular, the Regulations do raise concerns about competences, subsidiarity and proportionality which are relevant for compliance with EU primary law. They also raise concerns about possible protectionism, the use of public morals, coherence and necessity with regard to compatibility with WTO law. This paper seeks to examine all these issues.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Destais Christophe

L'argent du FMI

in **Lettre du CEPII**, n. 330, February - 2013

On parle souvent des crédits accordés par le FMI et des programmes d'ajustement dont ils sont assortis mais beaucoup plus rarement de ses ressources. Ces dernières lui proviennent des États-membres qui s'engagent à le financer de manière permanente dans la limite d'un certain montant, la quote-part, et de crédits que les plus riches d'entre-eux acceptent de lui accorder, notamment en période de crise. La mesure exacte de ces ressources est toutefois rendue difficile par la complexité de concepts comptables spécifiques et des publications financières certes régulières mais d'un accès ardu. Pourtant, cette mesure offre un éclairage sur les débats en cours sur la place des pays émergents dans la gouvernance du Fonds, la taille qu'il doit avoir et le rôle qu'il est susceptible de jouer vis-à-vis de la zone Euro.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Baubeau Patrice

La BIRD, la France et le dollar gap, 1946-1947

in **Histoire@Politique**, n° 19, 66-82

Le prêt accordé par la Banque internationale de reconstruction et de développement à la France en mai 1947, le premier de la jeune institution multilatérale, fut reçu avec déception en France : trop peu, trop cher, trop tard. Pourtant, par son montant comme par sa justification, ce prêt apparaît comme un signal politique positif adressé aux gouvernants français. En fait, cette déception s'explique par la dureté de la négociation avec une BIRD qui change profondément en quelques mois, et par la prise de conscience que la cause et la solution du dollar gap se situent moins du côté américain que français.

The loan extended to France by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in May 1947, the first from the young multilateral institution, was not well received in France: too small, too expensive, too late. However, by its sheer amount as well as by what it was supposed to finance, this loan was indeed a strong positive signal to French leaders. The disappointment must thus be explained by the harsh negotiation with the IBRD, which went through a profound change in a few months time, and by the realisation that the causes and solutions to the dollar gap were on the French side.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Boulangier Renaud

La question du rapprochement financier et bancaire entre la France et les États-Unis à la fin des années 1920. L'entremise de Pierre Quesnay.

in *Histoire@Politique*, n° 19 , 52-65

Homme de l'ombre, Pierre Quesnay (1895-1937) est pourtant un acteur important des relations financières franco-américaines dans la deuxième moitié des années 1920. Ses principales « connexions » américaines lui sont fournies par les réseaux de Jean Monnet, dont il est proche depuis leur passage à la Société des Nations. Une fois entré à la Banque de France en 1926, il les met au service d'une vision proprement transnationale des relations avec les États-Unis. Sa pratique négociatrice, en particulier lors des stabilisations polonaise puis roumaine, correspond à ce projet de coopération accrue entre banques centrales afin de rétablir les équilibres bouleversés par la Première Guerre mondiale, et dans lequel l'Amérique doit jouer un nouveau rôle. Il faut aussi déterminer dans quelle mesure le système bancaire américain lui apparaît comme un modèle transposable ailleurs.

Pierre Quesnay (1895-1937) was a man behind the scenes and yet an important actor in Franco-American relations in the second half of the 1920s. His main American 'connections' were supplied to him through the networks of Jean Monnet, with whom he was close since their time in the League of Nations. As soon as he entered the Bank of France in 1926 he put these connections at the service of a distinctly transnational vision of relations with the United States. His negotiating methods, in particular during the Polish and Romanian stabilizations, correspond to that project, in which America would play a new role, of increasing cooperation between central banks in order to restore the balances upset by the First World War. It must also be determined to what extent the considered the American banking system as a suitable model that can be transposed elsewhere.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Zeng, Ka

Legal Capacity and Developing Country Performance in the Panel Stage of the WTO Dispute Settlement System in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.1 , 187-214

Existing literature has yielded some evidence suggesting that developing countries are less likely to file World Trade Organization (WTO) trade disputes or to secure concessions in the consultation stage instead of the panel stage of the dispute settlement process. Furthermore, this 'bias' in the use of the dispute settlement mechanism against developing countries has often been attributed to developing countries' lack of legal capacity, or the financial, human and institutional resources available to analyse, pursue or litigate a dispute. However, much of this literature focuses on the constraining effect of legal capacity in the pre-panel ruling stage of the process. This article extends previous research and uses various alternative measures of legal capacity to more systematically analyse the effect of legal capacity on developing countries' performance during the panel stage of the dispute settlement process. Empirical analysis of WTO disputes filed by developing countries that have ended with a panel ruling between 1980 and 2010 shows that developing countries with greater government efficiency and regulatory quality are more likely to obtain positive panel rulings, although there is little evidence suggesting that legal capacity as measured by the size of a country's delegation



in Geneva or its past experience in initiating WTO disputes may enhance its prospect of successfully defending its legal claims in the panel stage of the dispute settlement process. This result reinforces prior findings about the disadvantages developing countries face in the dispute settlement system and underscores the need for developing countries to engage in domestic capacity building in order to enhance their chances of successfully litigating at the WTO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Warlouzet Laurent

L'Europe monétaire face au dollar : l'offensive Debré (1966-1968)

in *Histoire@Politique*, n° 19 , 114-127

La France cherche dans les années soixante à réformer un système monétaire international qui avantage trop le dollar américain. Si Paris reste isolé jusqu'en 1966, le ministre de l'Économie et des Finances Michel Debré parvient à constituer un front commun des six pays membres de la CEE en 1967. Les Américains se montrent alors irrités face à cette nouvelle solidarité des Six. Cependant, la crise monétaire britannique de la fin 1967 tend les discussions. Le front commun des Six est brisé avec l'accord sur les droits de tirage spéciaux (DTS) de 1968. Sur le long terme, cette offensive montre la tentation de certains dirigeants français d'utiliser la construction européenne, interprétée à l'aune d'un prisme intergouvernemental, comme outil pour relayer les demandes françaises dans les négociations internationales, en particulier face au dollar.

In the 1960s, France tried to reform the international monetary system, because it gave too much of an advantage to the dollar. While Paris remained isolated until 1966, in 1967 the minister of Finance Michel Debré managed to unite the six EEC member states through international negotiations. This new solidarity irritated the Americans. However, the discussions became strained after the British monetary crisis of late 1967. The agreement to create the Special Drawing Rights (SDR) in 1968 caused the unity of the Six to collapse. In the long term, this episode shows how the French tried to use the European institutions in an intergovernmental way, in order to promote their vision of the international economic system, particularly when it came to the issue of the dollar.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Julien Chaisse, Mitsuo Matsushita

Maintaining the WTO's Supremacy in the International Trade Order: A Proposal to Refine and Revise the Role of the Trade Policy Review Mechanism

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.1 , 9-36

In light of the stagnating World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations, this article argues that WTO should not only focus on the development of new rules or the resolution of disputes, but should also develop 'soft law' on the basis of informal mechanisms as the successful experiences of the International Competition Network or the International Monetary Fund demonstrate. In this respect, WTO should extend and refine the role of its Trade Policy Review Mechanism (TPRM) in order to be able to address essential issues of contemporary economic concerns and, hence, remain at the centre of global governance. This article explains how the TPRM role should be refined and revised with a view to cover key areas of international trade governance, such as harmonization and coordination of preferential trade agreements as well as convergence of measures dealing with greenhouse gas emissions and other environmental



policies which are two key issues questioning the WTO's supremacy in the international trade order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Morrison Kevin M.

Membership no longer has its privileges: The declining informal influence of Board members on IDA lending in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 8, n. 2, june , 291-312

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the ability of Board members of the most important multilateral donor to developing countries, the International Development Association (IDA) of the World Bank, to influence IDA allocations toward their home countries. I show that a system of Bank staff ratings of individual countries' policies, which has become more important in IDA lending over time, has systematically reduced the informal power of Board members. I show that while IDA Board members received more IDA commitments than their counterparts prior to 1989, this influence has disappeared since, as the importance of the policy index has increased. The findings are robust to the inclusion of fixed effects and a variety of relevant controls. In order to further support my argument, I also investigate the influence of Board membership on the Bank's policy index itself. I am unable to establish any positive relationship between Board membership and the index, either during the Cold War or afterwards. The findings not only shed important light on the internal workings of World Bank allocations to poor countries, but also highlight the ways in which institutional designs can affect the balance of informal power in international institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Norpoth, Johannes

Mysteries of the TBT Agreement Resolved? Lessons to Learn for Climate Policies and Developing Country Exporters from Recent TBT Disputes
in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.3 , 575-600

In 2012, the Appellate Body delivered its reports on three disputes dealing with yet unresolved issues of the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade, such as its applicability to non-product related processes and production methods and the interpretation of its non-discrimination clause and its so-called necessity requirement. The reports in US - Clove Cigarettes, US - Tuna II and US - COOL inform future policies pursued to achieve non-trade objectives. On a broader picture, they contribute to the debate on preserving policy space for non-trade concerns. The paper outlines conclusions to be drawn from these reports for climate policy-makers and their consequences to exporting interests of developing countries. Particular focus is put on the interpretation given to the non-discrimination clause.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Moon Don

Neither Reluctant nor Aggressive Legalism: East Asian Countries under the World Trade Organization Dispute Settlement Mechanism
in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 28, Issue 1, April , 62-98



This article explores the distinctive features of East Asian countries' involvement in the World Trade Organization (WTO) dispute-settlement mechanism (DSM). Existing studies are divided into two opposing groups according to what they argue. The "passive legalism" argument emphasizes the reluctant attitude of East Asian countries, and tends to underestimate their involvement in the WTO DSM. On the other hand, the "aggressive legalism" argument highlights the drastic shift in East Asian countries' behavior from passive avoidance to aggressive utilization of the WTO DSM, and tends to overestimate East Asian countries' status in the system. Analyzing WTO dispute data, this article criticizes the limitations of both arguments and suggests responsive legalism or adaptive legalism as a more accurate concept for describing East Asian countries' legal attitude and behavior under the WTO DSM.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Otero-Iglesias Miguel, Steinberg Federico

Reframing the euro vs. dollar debate through the perceptions of financial elites in key dollar-holding countries
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2013 , 180-214

This paper proposes a theoretically-informed and empirically-grounded cognitive approach to analyse how financial elites from China, the Gulf Cooperation Council states and Brazil interpret the euro vs. dollar debate. At the theoretical level, we argue that the debate should be reframed in order to capture not only the material, but also the ideational footprint of the euro, as well as to better conceptualise change in the International Monetary System (IMS). Our empirical work shows that the euro is perceived by financial elites as a useful diversification tool to avoid over-exposure to dollar weaknesses. However, despite its appeal as a valuable investment alternative, the European currency has a series of structural flaws that prevent it from substituting the dollar as the main international currency. Therefore, in purely material terms, the euro-sceptical literature is correct. However, we also find that the hitherto material inroads of the euro, while limited, have been sufficient to ideationally convince these elites that a multicurrency IMS is possible and might be more stable (and therefore preferable) to current dollar unipolarity. Therefore, the euro-optimist literature is far from wrong when it argues that the creation of the euro represents a challenge to the greenback, for it could be a stepping stone towards the formation of a multipolar IMS.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Adlung Rudolf, Soprana Marta

SMEs in services trade — A GATS perspective

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2013 , 41-50

Unlike traditional (goods-only) trade agreements, the scope of the General Agreement on Trade in Services extends beyond the treatment of products (services) to cover that of suppliers as well. The trade interests of particular groups of suppliers, including SMEs, can thus be addressed directly under the Agreement. This paper provides an overview of potentially relevant policies and policy disciplines. It also seeks to identify the scope for further initiatives, from fostering compliance with existing transparency obligations to advancing the Agreement's liberalisation and rule-making mandates from an SME perspective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ban Cornel, Blyth Mark

The BRICs and the Washington Consensus: An introduction

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2013 , 241-255

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

da Conceição-Heldt, Eugénia

The Domestic Sources of Multilateral Trade Negotiations: Explaining Brazil's Negotiating Position in the Doha Round.

in *International Trade Journal*, volume 27 n.2 , 173-94

Under the Cardoso presidency (1995–2002), Brazil adopted a reactive and defensive posture on trade liberalization. However, when Lula da Silva came into power in 2003, Brazil took a more offensive and proactive position on the issue in creating the G-20 and putting forward proposals of its own. How can this shift in the Brazilian negotiating position be explained? The main argument is that under the Lula da Silva administration, Brazil's position in the Doha round primarily reflected domestic political constraints on multilateral trade cooperation. Three domestic dynamics shaped the national preference for Brazil: a heterogeneous governing coalition with a high number of veto players, divisions within the Workers' Party, and the demands of interest groups. This explanation is discussed on the basis of Brazil's negotiating position in WTO negotiations from 2003 to 2006.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lydgate, Emily Barrett

The EU, the WTO and Indirect Land-Use Change

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.1 , 159-86

Efforts to meet the European Union's (EU) alternative energy targets have resulted in increased production of biofuels. This production has resulted in deforestation-related emissions through displacement of agricultural production, a problem known as indirect land-use change. The European Commission (EC) has proposed regulatory options to respond to this problem, but all risk not being in conformity with World Trade Organization (WTO) law. Trade law challenges result from the underlying methodological uncertainty, and the attempt to address a systemic problem on the level of individual producers. Yet, this does not necessarily indicate that the intent of these regulations is to protect EU markets. Thus, this is an instructive case study to examine the relationship between WTO law and complex, emerging environmental problems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kennedy, Matthew

The Integration of Accession Protocols into the WTO Agreement



in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.1 , 45-76

The World Trade Organization (WTO) dispute settlement system has begun to enforce accession commitments without a systematic analysis of the relationship between accession protocols and the WTO agreements. The Appellate Body has twice made recommendations as if a protocol of accession were a separate covered agreement under the Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) when, manifestly, it is not. This approach can affect the interpretation of the accession protocols, notably as regards the availability of general exceptions. Even if it is agreed that an accession protocol is 'an integral part of the WTO Agreement', that statement needs to be analysed and not merely recited. It is a pivotal clause which expressly addresses the relationship between an accession protocol and the WTO Agreement and therefore provides an interpretative framework for the assessment of claims arising under accession commitments. Analysis of that clause in its context reveals that it provides for an accession protocol to be read together with the WTO Agreement as a whole, including the multilateral trade agreements, such as GATT 1994.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Marceau, Gabrielle - Izaguerri, Arnau - Lanovoy, Vladyslav

The WTOs Influence on Other Dispute Settlement Mechanisms: A Lighthouse in the Storm of Fragmentation
in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.3 , 481-574

This article provides a comprehensive overview of the use of World Trade Organization (WTO) rules and case law by other dispute settlement mechanisms (DSMs) in international law. Our findings show that DSMs frequently refer to WTO rules and case law not only on matters of procedure but also on various substantive aspects of trade law and general international law. The 150 identified references vary in their quality and importance for the rationale of the DSM. They range from a footnote en passant to being at the core of the solution for a particular legal problem that the adjudicator or arbitrator faces. We cluster our findings into four major categories of circumstances under which other DSMs deem it appropriate to cite the WTO (factual determinations, procedural aspects, general principles of international law or the rules on treaty interpretation, and substantive rules). A more difficult task has been to draw tentative conclusions as to the reasons that motivate DSMs to look specifically into WTO rules and case law. In most instances, this is due to the fact that the terms or their context in a given applicable law of a regional trade mechanism resemble those of the WTO disciplines. However, the use of the WTO precedent for purposes of procedure and clarification of general principles of international law or the rules on treaty interpretation show a broader influence of the WTO on international dispute settlement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Babb Sarah

The Washington Consensus as transnational policy paradigm: Its origins, trajectory and likely successor
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2013 , 268-297

This paper explores the origins and trajectory of the Washington Consensus – the ideas associated with the developing countries' move to free markets in the 1980s and 1990s. I argue that the Consensus was a transnational policy paradigm, shaped by both scholarly and political forces (Hall, 1993). At the core of the Consensus was the international



financial institutions' practice of conditionality – making loans to governments in exchange for policy reforms. The Consensus was subsequently weakened by its own unintended consequences, by political forces both within Washington and worldwide and by intellectual changes in the field of economics. However, I argue that the Consensus has yet to encounter any serious rivals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bernard Hoekman

The World Bank Group Trade Strategy: Fit for Purpose?

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.3 , 717-26

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Williams-Elegbe Sope

The World Bank's Influence on Procurement Reform in Africa

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 19, Number 2 , 95-119

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Fourcade Marion

The material and symbolic construction of the BRICs: Reflections inspired by the RIPE Special Issue Fourcade Marion

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2013 , 256-267

In this short piece, I return to the articles in this special issue to examine the relationship between the material reality of the concept of BRICs and its symbolic place in the world economy today. Aside from the facts that the BRIC countries have been ready to depart from the Washington consensus on certain key elements (state intervention), while maintaining other aspects (fiscal discipline), there isn't much support for the notion that these countries somehow share specific development strategies. If anything, the papers in this special issue show that these four countries have rather different etiologies of growth. The notion of BRICs, I argue, is thus better apprehended through its symbolic and political dimensions, as an effort by well-placed actors in the financial markets to drum up excitement about investment opportunities, as well as reorient the governance structures of the world economy away from the traditional stronghold of Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Charnovitz Steve, Hoekman Bernard



US–Tyres: Upholding a WTO Accession Contract – Imposing Pain for Little Gain

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 12 - Special Issue 02 - aprile 2013 , 273-296

In 2009, the United States imposed additional tariffs for a three-year period on imports of automotive tires from China under a special-safeguard provision included in China's Protocol of Accession to the WTO. China challenged the measure in the WTO. The case marked the first WTO dispute in which a challenged safeguard was upheld by the Appellate Body; the first in which an accession protocol was used successfully as a defense; and the first that China lost as a complaining party. It also was noteworthy in that the safeguard was sought by a labor union, not the domestic industry. This paper reviews the WTO Appellate Body's findings and discusses a number of the legal and policy implications regarding China's Accession Protocol, the Safeguards Agreement, and WTO accession law, as well as economic aspects of the case.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Monnet Éric

Une coopération à la française. La France, le dollar et le système de Bretton Woods, 1960-1965

in *Histoire@Politique*, n° 19 , 83-100

La position de la France is-à-vis du dollar pendant les années 1960 ne se résume pas à une exploitation politique par le général de Gaulle du déficit de la balance des paiements des États-Unis. Cet article montre comment s'est construite une ision française cohérente des failles du système de Bretton Woods et comment celle-ci a abouti à une série de propositions de réformes isant à définir de nouvelles « règles du jeu » pour la discipline monétaire et la coopération internationale entre banques centrales. En étudiant le fonctionnement du consortium de l'or, la proposition d'unité de réserve collective et la politique de la Banque de France entre 1960 et 1965, nous montrons que trois facteurs principaux expliquent la position française : l'héritage des négociations de l'entre-deux-guerres, l'incapacité des États-Unis à organiser une coopération multilatérale et les nouveaux instruments de la politique monétaire intérieure française.

The French views on the dollar during the 1960s cannot be deemed only as a political exploitation of the US balance of payments deficit by the President de Gaulle. This article highlights the making of a consistent French views on the failures of the Bretton Woods system and explains how it led to reform proposals aimed to define new « rules of the game » for monetary discipline and central bank cooperation. The paper deals with the functioning of the gold pool, the collective reserve unit proposal and Banque de France's policy between 1960 and 1965 and demonstrates that the economic motivations of French political postures have to be found in the interwar international monetary negotiations, in the reactions toward current forms of cooperation led by the USA as well as in the new policy tools used by the Banque de France.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ramphul

WTO Agreement on Agriculture and South Asia's Farm Trade

in *South Asian Survey* , Vol. 18, n°1 , 27-62



This study seeks to examine the impact of the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) of the World Trade Organization (WTO) on the balance of agricultural trade of South Asian countries (SAC). The evidence suggests that AoA has failed to boost the SAC farm trade surplus. SAC, as a whole, are net losers in new trade regime. Further, analysis indicates that under the WTO regime, openness of Indian, Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi agriculture has increased. In sharp contrast, Pakistan's agricultural economy has been gradually closed up. The need of SAC is to designate their food items as special products and to create an effective and proactive special safeguard mechanism for safeguarding their food security base, in order to shield the livelihood of millions of resource poor farmers from frequent farm imports surges.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

James Flett

WTO Space for National Regulation: Requiem for a Diagonal Vector Test

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.1 , 37-90

This article examines the concept of de facto breaches of a national treatment obligation in the context of Articles III:2 (fiscal measures) and III:4 (regulatory measures) of the GATT 1994; and Article 2.1 of the TBT Agreement (technical regulations), particularly following the Appellate Body Reports in the Clove Cigarettes, Tuna, and COOL cases. The same problem of balancing a federal trade interest and local fiscal or regulatory autonomy arises in other tiered jurisdictions. It is not solved by mechanistically comparing the different treatment of one (imported) good and a different (domestic) good, that is, through a diagonal vector of comparison. Rather, it can only be solved by enquiring into what the true objective of the measure is, whether it is legitimate, whether the measure contributes to the objective, and whether there is another equally effective but less trade restrictive measure available. In short, whether the measure is necessary or reasonable. These questions are not part of the analysis of the product (which is competition based) or part of delimiting the like domestic product category (which simply has to be identical), but part of the analysis of less favourable treatment. This has several implications, summarized in the conclusion of this article. In particular, this article identifies the root cause of an earlier drift in WTO jurisprudence away from a balanced approach to regulatory autonomy and towards a diagonal vector of comparison as being a misinterpretation of the Ad Article to Article III:2. This Ad Article does not refer to the relationship between the imported and domestic product categories (which is the true 'like product' issue). Rather, it refers to the question of whether two different goods can be combined as one product on both the import and domestic sides of the comparison (correctly referred to as the 'product' issue) because they are directly competitive or substitutable. This problem only arises in de facto cases, because in de jure cases it is necessary to identify a distinction based exclusively on origin. In the most recent cases the tail (the TBT Agreement) has wagged the dog (the GATT 1994), heralding a further improvement in the previously unsettled balance between the trade interest and national fiscal and regulatory autonomy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Buntaine Mark T., Parks Bradley C.

When Do Environmentally Focused Assistance Projects Achieve their Objectives? Evidence from World Bank Post-Project Evaluations

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 2, May , 65-88

Scholars and practitioners have paid considerable attention to the factors that promote successful outcomes in



environmentally focused assistance projects. Previous studies have identified various potential predictors of successful outcomes, including the political commitment, institutional capacity, and governance quality of the recipient country; the severity of environmental pressures in the recipient country; donor-recipient contracting dynamics; project characteristics; and civic participation in the recipient country environment sector. We test the influence of these variables on project success using a dataset of outcome ratings for all environmentally focused World Bank projects approved since 1994. We find that strong public sector institutions in the recipient country and proactive staff supervision foster project success and that projects seeking to achieve global environmental objectives are less likely to succeed. Future research will be most fruitful if it focuses on how operational and management characteristics of individual projects lead to successful outcomes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gantz David A.

World Trade Law after Doha: Multilateral, Regional, and National Approaches in Denver Journal of international law and policy, Vol. 40, No. 1-3,

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Chwieroth Jeffrey M.

“The silent revolution:” How the staff exercise informal governance over IMF lending in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 8, n. 2, june , 265-290

ABSTRACT: This paper examines how the staff exercise informal governance over lending decisions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF or Fund). The essential component of designing any IMF program, assessing the extent to which a borrowing country is likely to fulfill its policy commitments, is based partly on informal staff judgments subject to informal incentives and normative orientations not dictated by formal rules and procedures. Moreover, when country officials are unable to commit to policy goals of the IMF, the IMF staff may bypass the formal channel of policy dialogue through informal contacts and negotiations with more like-minded actors outside the policymaking process. Exercising informal governance in these ways, the staff are motivated by informal career advancement incentives and normative orientations associated with the organization’s culture to provide favorable treatment to borrowers composed of policy teams sympathetic toward their policy goals. The presence of these sympathetic interlocutors provides the staff both with greater confidence a lending program will achieve success and an opportunity to support officials who share their policy beliefs. I assess these arguments using a new dataset that proxies shared policy beliefs based on the professional characteristics of IMF staff and developing country officials. The evidence supports these arguments: larger loan commitments are extended to countries where government officials and the Fund staff share similar professional training. The analysis implies informal governance operates in IOs not just via state influence but also through the evolving makeup, incentive structure, and normative orientations of their staffs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations



Auroy Patrick

Les investissements capacitaires de l'Alliance atlantique

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 757, Février

En précisant le périmètre des responsabilités de l'Otan en matière capacitaire, on comprend bien que le rôle de l'organisation atlantique est d'abord celui d'un facilitateur des programmes d'armement des pays alliés. En montrant comment la défense intelligente et l'interconnexion des forces permettent de faire face aux tensions budgétaires, on voit que les initiatives de l'Otan et de la PSDC convergent.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kourkouvelas Lykourgos

Denuclearization on NATO's Southern Front: Allied Reactions to Soviet Proposals, 1957–1963

in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 14, Issue 4 - Fall , 197-215

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Soviet Union and its East European allies sought to prevent the installation of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe by embarking on a diplomatic "peace offensive" that included proposals for the creation of denuclearized zones in various geographical areas of Europe. This article considers how the NATO countries responded to these proposals. In the end, the Western allies rejected proposals for the denuclearization of the Balkans and other areas in Europe, but discussions within NATO's councils often proved complicated, especially regarding southern Europe. In the case of the 1957 Stoica proposal for the denuclearization of the Balkans, the leading NATO countries stepped back and let Turkey and Greece reject the proposal, but by 1963, in the aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis, the United States and other key allied countries as well as the NATO bureaucracy assumed a more active role in evaluating and ultimately rejecting the notion of denuclearization in the Mediterranean.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Michael John Williams

Enduring, but irrelevant? Britain, NATO and the future of the Atlantic alliance

in *International Politics* , Volume 50, Issue 3 , 360-386

The continued endurance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) following the end of the Cold War has become a major puzzle for scholars of international relations (IR). Neorealist scholars expected NATO to become irrelevant and dissolve. Institutional, organizational and constructivist approaches to IR, however, argued that a number of various factors provided NATO with a firm foundation for the future. NATO did not disappear, but the past 20 years have been anything but easy for the organization. As the end of NATO's Afghanistan mission approaches, the alliance is once again confronted with the question, 'what next?' Increasingly miniscule European defence budgets and the 2011 military operation against Libya illustrate that NATO is now almost entirely underwritten by US power. Meanwhile, the United States is focused on the security of the Asia-Pacific region and its untenable budget imbalance, meaning that choices must be made. NATO may continue to endure, but is NATO still relevant? Can one still speak of an alliance, or has NATO evolved into something else? Were neorealist predications made in 1989 on the mark after all?



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Patricia Bauer

European–Mediterranean Security and the Arab Spring: Changes and Challenges in Democracy and Security, Volume 9, Issue 1-2 , 1-18

The policy of the European Union (EU) toward the Mediterranean has undergone two main metamorphoses during the last 25 years. In 1995, it started from a collective security idea with the Barcelona Process, but due to the poor success of this collective approach, it underwent a “realist turn” with the creation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2004. The Arab Spring in 2011, by questioning authoritarianism, influenced the perception of what is recognized as a security problem and who can define it. The authoritarian rulers and their supporting security forces are now challenged by their populations, and societal circumstances are so unstable that nearly every domestic problem can be politically given a spin to become a security risk. Aside from this, violent conflicts and civil wars demand an answer from the EU. In this situation, the EU's answer to the Arab Spring does not directly respond to the changing security situation in the Mediterranean. It emphasizes domestic democracy and civil society but does not take up the potential risk discourses. Concerning violent conflicts, the EU as a community is not at all active in the region but leaves this field to its member states, NATO, the Arab League, and the United Nations. Thus, the perceptions, ideas, and needs of Mediterranean security between the EU and the Southern partner states still differ harshly and seem to disregard the risk dimension of the Mediterranean security problems in this period of Arab transition.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Dassù Marta

How Obama II is likely to see Europe in Europe's World, Issue 23, Spring

A more “hands-off” approach to security problems around the Mediterranean and the Middle East may well be a hallmark of Barack Obama's second term, suggests Marta Dassù leaving Europe in the hot seat.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22075/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Claudio Catalano

Iniziativa Europea di Difesa. Piu' Italia in Europa, piu' Europa nell'industria della Difesa in CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly, A. XV n.1 , 65-74

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Claudio Catalano

Iniziative Europee di Difesa. Al via EUTM la missione degli osservatori militari europei in Mali
in **CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly**, A.XV, n.2 , 63-70

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

La France doit quitter l'OTAN - Lettre ouverte à M. Hubert Védrine
in **Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Mars , Debray Régis

Chargé par le président François Hollande de tirer le bilan du retour de la France dans le commandement intégré de l'Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord (OTAN), M. Hubert Védrine a conclu que revenir sur la décision prise par M. Nicolas Sarkozy en 2009 « ne donnerait à la France aucun nouveau levier d'influence ». Régis Debray conteste cette analyse.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/03/DEBRAY/48843>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Pietro Batacchi

La NATO e la difesa intelligente
in **Rivista Italiana Difesa**, n.3 , 36-42

La NATO si sta ormai indirizzando sempre di più verso iniziative di "Smart Defence". Iniziative che portano alla realizzazione e alla messa in comune di capacità e di sistemi.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Vinet Guy

L'OSCE, la grande discrète
in **Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 759, Avril

L'histoire de l'OSCE, son déploiement, ses champs d'action privilégiés, la diplomatie préventive en particulier, expliquent la « furtivité » de cette organisation qui a émergé de la guerre froide pour créer un espace de paix et de coopération de Vancouver à Vladivostok.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Fulvio Attinà

Mediterranean Security Revisited

in *Democracy and Security*, Volume 9, Issue 1-2 , 120-136

At the dawn of the last century, the European and Mediterranean countries failed to reach a consensus on building a cooperative security system. This article is an attempt at revisiting the concept of the Mediterranean security system and assessing the conditions for restarting security dialogue in the region. Upon recognition of the need for taking into account the new dimension of risks along with the traditional dimension of threats, the article reviews the insecurity factors of the Mediterranean region and the lesson learned in the security dialogue of the Barcelona Process. Some proposals about rehearsing that dialogue are advanced in the concluding section.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lucio Martino

NATO e teatri d'intervento. Alcune considerazioni sulla NATO dopo ISAF.

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. XV n.1 , 75-80

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lucio Martino

NATO e teatri d'intervento. Ragioni e prospettive della cancellazione della quarta fase dell'EPAA

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A.XV, n.2 , 71-82

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Spohr Kristina

Precluded or Precedent-Setting? The "NATO Enlargement Question" in the Triangular Bonn-Washington-Moscow Diplomacy of 1990–1991

in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 14, Issue 4 - Fall , 4-54

Controversy arose in the mid-1990s when Russian officials accused Western governments of renegeing on binding pledges made to Moscow in 1990 during German unification diplomacy. According to the allegations, Western leaders had solemnly promised that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) would never expand beyond Germany into Central and Eastern Europe. Were such pledges ever made? Was the Soviet Union betrayed, and if so, by whom, how, and when? Or have various tactical comments been misinterpreted in hindsight? This article seeks to offer new answers to these questions by exploring not simply U.S.-Soviet-West German triangular diplomacy in 1990 but also the evolution



of different approaches, ideas, and visions regarding Germany's security arrangements and the wider European security architecture. These ideas were floated publicly and privately, at home and abroad, by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and other senior West German officials. In showing how ultimately a "unified Germany in NATO" came about after months of intense diplomacy in 1990 to resolve the "German question," this article refutes the recently made claim that the extension of full membership to the whole of Germany was a precedent-setting expansion of NATO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Grall Jean-Olivier

Quel avenir pour la NATO Response Force ?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 759, Avril

Si la NRF n'a pas été à ce jour employée au niveau d'ambition élevé qui a présidé à sa conception, elle a pourtant contribué directement à la transformation de l'Alliance atlantique et à la préparation opérationnelle des forces alliées, avantage qu'il convient d'exploiter au mieux dans un contexte budgétaire contraint.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lorena Di Placido

Russia, Europa Orientale ed Asia Centrale. 2013: questioni aperte per difesa e sicurezza

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, A. XV n.1 , 31-36

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Deiseroth Dieter, Hahnfeld Bernd

Rüstung ohne Recht: Der neue Raketenabwehrschirm der Nato

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, April, 2013 , 34-38

Immer wieder sorgt der von der Nato geplante Raketenabwehrschirm in Osteuropa für Missstimmung zwischen Russland und den Nato-Staaten. So auch auf der diesjährigen Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz im Februar. Seit Jahren verlangt Russland rechtsverbindliche Erklärungen, dass die neuen Systeme nicht gegen die russischen Streitkräfte gerichtet werden. Die Nato ist jedoch bislang nur zu politischen Zusicherungen bereit und lehnt rechtsverbindliche Verpflichtungen strikt ab.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Capie David



Structures, Shocks and Norm Change: Explaining the Late Rise of Asia's Defence Diplomacy

in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs, Volume 35, Number 1, April , 1-26

This article examines why Asia's multilateral defence diplomacy has been a relative laggard when compared to other forms of institutionalized security dialogue, and what explains its recent rise. It argues that explanations that stress the "catalytic role" of external shocks such as the Asian Financial Crisis (AFC) or changes in the distribution of power or threats are underdetermining. Rather, Asia's new multilateral defence diplomacy reflects strategic emulation on the part of ASEAN elites, who localized ideas initially put forward by outsiders in order to maintain ASEAN's central place in the regional security architecture. Its rise has also been helped by the changing role of militaries in some East Asian states and its rapid institutionalization owes much to historical contingency, in particular the interests of two influential ASEAN Chairs in Indonesia and Vietnam. The final part of the article briefly assesses the future prospects and influence of regional multilateral defence diplomacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

W. Robert J. Alexander

THE DEFENCE-DEBT NEXUS: EVIDENCE FROM THE HIGH-INCOME MEMBERS OF NATO

in Defence and Peace Economics, Volume 24, Issue 2 , 133-145

The literature in defence economics has tended to focus on the relationship between defence spending and economic growth. Studies examining the linkage between defence spending and government debt have been relatively rare. Given the recent Global Financial Crisis, originating in the developed economies, and the changed international security picture since 9/11, it is timely to reconsider the defence-debt nexus in the rich economies. This study pays particular attention to developing an empirical strategy which is both soundly based on economic theory concerning the evolution of public debt and which uses econometric methods that are welladapted to the dynamic aspects of the relationship. From the standpoint of economic theory, if a government seeks to minimize the distortionary costs of taxation, then taxation will follow a random walk. Unexpected shocks (war and recession) will cause debt. Other idiosyncratic national-level political considerations that affect the evolution of debt can be factored out by the use of a dynamic panel estimation method. Employing the Arellano–Bond dynamic panel model to the data available from members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and North Atlantic Treaty Organization over the periods 1988–2009 and 1999–2009, this study finds that the defence burden is a statistically significant and economically important determinant of public debt.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Rizzo Aldo

Verso una rifondazione del rapporto transatlantico?

in Affari Esteri, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 304-310

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Taxil Bérangère

Les "différendes internes" des organisations internationales
in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 116, no. 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sur Serge

Les organisations internationales: dynamiques et désenchantements
in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 116, no. 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Paul Stephenson

Twenty years of multi-level governance: 'Where Does It Come From? What Is It? Where Is It Going?'
in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 6 2013, 817-837

In two decades since the Maastricht Treaty, multi-level governance (MLG) has developed as a conceptual framework for profiling the 'arrangement' of policy-making activity performed within and across politico-administrative institutions located at different territorial levels. This contribution examines the ways in which the MLG literature has been employed, effectively taking stock of applied research to date. It identifies five main uses of MLG and the different focus of emerging research over time. Considering the most recent scholarship, the contribution explores possible new directions for research, in light of global governance, culminating in a 'bird's eye view' of MLG over 20 years.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Aaronson Susan Ariel, Higham Ian

"Re-righting Business": John Ruggie and the Struggle to Develop International Human Rights Standards for Transnational Firms
in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 35, number 2, may, 233-264

ABSTRACT: As the major players in globalization, firms often operate in states where human rights may not be respected. Without direct intent, firms may be complicit in human rights violations. In 2008, John Ruggie, the United Nations (UN) Special Representative on business and human rights, developed a framework for policymakers to protect human rights and for executives to respect human rights. On 16 June 2011, the UN Human Rights Council endorsed Ruggie's "Guiding Principles" (GPs) for implementing this framework. This article describes how firms, states, and to a lesser extent nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), have responded to this delineation of the human rights responsibilities of business. This article makes four key points: 1) the GPs are an important advance in global



governance; 2) the process of developing the GPs was a model of transparent, inclusive twenty-first century governance, although the public is generally unaware of the issue or the new policy; 3) the GPs are a creative and broad rethinking of how to evaluate the human rights performance of corporations; and 4) the GPs are unlikely to have much influence unless policymakers educate their national firms and their citizens regarding the human rights responsibilities of business and press these executives to act.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Robinson Darryl

A Cosmopolitan Liberal Account of International Criminal Law

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 26 - Issue 01

In this article, I argue that two prominent frameworks for evaluating and developing international criminal law (ICL) can be reconciled into a new framework that absorbs the best insights of its predecessors. We cannot simply transplant fundamental principles from national legal systems, because they may be inapposite in the unusual contexts faced by ICL. However, this novelty does not mean that we are free to simply abandon culpability, legality, and our basic underlying commitment to the individual. Instead we must explore what that deontic commitment might entail in these new contexts. My primary aim is to show the possibility of bridging the apparent normative impasse. I also briefly sketch out the proposed framework, and suggest that it can generate new questions for current controversies in ICL. As an interesting by-product, the examination of 'abnormal' criminal law can raise new questions for general criminal-law theory, by exposing subtleties and parameters that we might not have noticed in a study of 'normal' contexts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Urpelainen Johannes

A model of dynamic climate governance: dream big, win small

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 1, Special Issue on Institutions and Global Environmental Governance: A Tribute to Oran Young, March , 107-125

In this article, I develop and evaluate a model of dynamic climate governance. The model is based on the premise that global warming is such a complex problem that present political realities do not allow an immediate solution to it. I propose that current mitigation activities should focus on building technological and political transformation potential to enable more ambitious climate cooperation in the future. Successful international climate cooperation could comprise a series of politically feasible "small wins" guided by a "big dream" of a comprehensive future climate regime. The analysis contributes to the emerging literature on the dynamics of climate governance by showing how coherence between multiple independent climate policies can be achieved, both across policymakers and over time. To illustrate how the model can be used, I apply it to technology agreements and North–South climate finance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Carson Thomas

Advancing the Legal Protection of the Environment in Relation to Armed Conflict: Protocol I's Threshold of Impermissible Environmental Damage and Alternatives

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 82, special issue , 83-101

ABSTRACT: This article presents both legal and strategic arguments for increasing the level of environmental protection in wartime within the legal context created by Articles 35 and 55 of Additional Protocol I. These provisions bifurcate the legal protection of the environment in armed conflict. Above the threshold, environmental damage is prohibited. Beneath the threshold, other international humanitarian law instruments and customary principles apply and may offer environmental protection, usually by balancing environmental damage against military necessity. The objective of this article is to propose legal and strategic frameworks to be addressed to military decision-makers considering environmentally harmful actions. It argues that the principle of military necessity, including strategic considerations, can be found compatible with enhanced environmental protections.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sohn Injoo

Between Confrontation and Assimilation: China and the fragmentation of global financial governance

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 22, Issue 82 , 630-648

This article explains China's multilateral approach towards regional and global financial institutions in the early twenty-first century. Challenging the dichotomous views of 'eventual assimilation' and 'systemic conflict', the article argues that China's strategic behavior suggests neither one-way assimilation into an American-centered liberal order nor a collision course with the United States and its Group of Seven (G-7) allies. China seems intent on exploring both global and regional options lest it should limit the range of strategic options available to itself. China has been pursuing a risk-averse counterweight strategy, that is, developing regional financial institutions and thereby avoiding overdependence on G-7-centered global institutions while maintaining collaborative relations with those global institutions. Such behavior will facilitate the emergence of a more fragmented and multilayered form of global financial governance in the post-global crisis world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mizslivetz Ferenc, Jensen Jody

Challenges to Democracy at the National, EU and Global Levels: A Cosmopolitan Way Forward?

in *Politico (II)*, n. 231, 2012 , 49-67

ABSTRACT: Trapped in the logic of the nation state paradigm, political imagination and analysis remain largely restricted. Even if capable of recognizing problems, without adequate cognitive frames, the capacity to provide solutions or identify alternatives is lost. When trying to identify the deeper roots and interconnectedness of different sorts of global financial, economic and debt crisis, the ecological crisis, the crisis of the EU and the Euro-zone, and most recently the crisis of democracy and legitimacy, the relationship between globalization and democracy needs more careful analysis. The crisis and transformation may open the way for de facto cosmopolitanism, but the path will be heavily conflict



ridden.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Andrew F. Cooper

Civil Society Relationships with the G20: An Extension of the G8 Template or Distinctive Pattern of Engagement?

in Global Society, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 179-200

The central question that this work asks is whether the relationship between the G20 summit process and civil society is path dependent on the template built up with respect to the G8. Or, alternatively, does the G20–civil society relationship move towards a distinct autonomous pattern? Through the perspective of the G8 template it is the differences as much as the basic similarities that stand out with respect to the G20. Civil society recognised the significance of the G20 as a site both of delivery and resistance far quicker than they did with the G8—although the process of engagement did not take place as quickly as might have been expected given the scale of the impact of the global financial crisis. In terms of scope, there has not developed the sense of connection with the G20 agenda as occurred previously with the G8. In terms of form, there remains a more nuanced approach to the relationship between civil society and G20 than the two ends of the “Genoa” and “Gleneagles” spectrum established with the G8

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Paolo Perulli

Come se ci fosse lo Stato mondiale

in Equilibri, numero 1, Aprile , 88-97

The present crisis is not just a global financial crunch, but a global institutional crisis. At an institutional level, it needs a solution similar to Roosevelt's reforms of the 1930s (NIRA for national industrial recovery, Glass-Steagall act for finance, TVA for regional policies, labour policies). These economic reforms were imposed by political power. Today we must operate at a supranational scale, «as if» there were a supranational state, like the ECB is doing. This is our immediate future.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Maestri Enrico

Contesti di giustizia e culture nella «società tecnologica globale»

in Ragon Pratica, numero 1, giugno 2013 , 137-148

The encounter of different cultures characterizes liberal-democratic societies in the era of economic and technological globalization. The interference of new technologies and the relationship between them and the diverse cultures could give rise contrasting ways of giving and doing justice. The fundamental thesis (à la Walzer), which I intend to put forward, is that the relation between culture and justice within the «Global Technological Society» is quite profound and requires the adoption of contemporary forms of normativity, both thin and thick, in such way as to allow the recognition



of those cultural and intercultural elements, which are present in the concept of justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Archibugi Daniele, Held David

Cosmopolitan Democracy: Paths And Ways

in *Politico (II)*, n. 231, 2012 , 13-31

ABSTRACT: One of the recurrent criticisms to the cosmopolitan democracy project has been that it has not highlighted which are the political and social forces that will have an interest to pursue this agenda. This criticism is addressed in this paper, showing that there are a variety of actions that, in its own right, will contribute to more democratic global governance. The paper also identifies the political and social agents that may have an interest and contribute to the pursuit of each of these actions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schattle Hans

Cosmopolitanisms in Flux: Lingering Impediments in the 'West,' Rising Interest Among the 'Rest'

in *Politico (II)*, n. 231, 2012 , 147-168

ABSTRACT: For all the continuing scholarly interest in cosmopolitanism and the ever-widening public discourses regarding global citizenship, these ideas continue to face an uphill climb in everyday political and social life. This paper first takes stock of the impediments keeping cosmopolitan ideas in the relative margins, particularly in Europe and North America. I examine resistance to cosmopolitanism among influential segments of the population - especially in a climate of acute economic anxiety - shortcomings within governing institutions, and deficiencies in academic debates that have kept cosmopolitanism, at times, all too detached from issues expressly tied to global governance. Then the paper turns to other parts of the world and points to some of the ways that cosmopolitanism and its related concepts have been gradually gaining currency and credibility across the 'global south', especially in countries recently undergoing democratic transitions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wylser Eric

De quelques problèmes juridiques liés aux contrats des organisations internationales De quelques problèmes juridiques liés aux contrats des organisations internationales

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 116, no. 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Habermas Jürgen

Demokratie oder Kapitalismus? Vom Elend der nationalstaatlichen Fragmentierung in einer kapitalistisch integrierten Weltgesellschaft

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2013 , 59-70

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2013/mai/demokratie-oder-kapitalismus

In der April-Ausgabe der „Blätter“ plädierten Wolfgang Streeck und Thilo Bode für die fiskalische Souveränität der EU-Mitgliedstaaten und die Rückkehr zu nationalen Währungen als einzigem Ausweg aus der Eurokrise. „Blätter“-Mitherausgeber Jürgen Habermas hält einen solchen Schritt für politisch hochgefährlich, da er den globalen Akteur Europa auf den Status einflussloser Nationalstaaten zurückstufen würde. Nur ein legitimes überstaatliches Gemeinwesen könne den anarchisch-autoritären Tendenzen der Weltgesellschaft wirksam begegnen.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Williams Paul R.

Earned Sovereignty: The Future of Sovereignty-Based Conflict Resolution

in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 40, No. 1-3,

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bernauer Thomas, Gampfer Robert

Effects of civil society involvement on popular legitimacy of global environmental governance

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 23, Issue 2, April , 439-449

Global environmental governance is widely regarded as suffering from process- and outcome-related shortcomings, above all problems with transparency, representation, and problem-solving capacity. These problems, whether presumed or real, have negative implications for popular legitimacy of (i.e., public support for) global environmental governance. One of the most frequently proposed remedies, in this context, is greater involvement of civil society. Many academics and policy-makers claim that such involvement can increase transparency, strengthen representation of otherwise marginalized stakeholders, and provide knowledge to enhance problem-solving capacity. Skeptics challenge this claim, noting that civil society organizations are not accountable to voters and often represent narrowly defined interests. Assuming that public support for global environmental governance is ultimately important for its effectiveness, we evaluate the two competing claims by examining how civil society involvement affects public support for global environmental governance. We report on three survey experiments focusing on civil society involvement in global climate policy-making. Overall, the results speak in favor of civil society involvement. Our first survey experiment shows



that individuals favor civil society involvement in global climate policy-making. The second and third experiments show that individuals pay more attention to changes of the status quo than to static conditions: popular legitimacy of global climate governance decreases when civil society is excluded, and increases when civil society is added. The latter finding has implications for current debates on how to address the persistent stalemate in global climate negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Onita Das

Environmental Protection in Armed Conflict: Filling the Gaps with Sustainable Development in Nordic Journal of International Law, vol. 82, special issue , 103-128

ABSTRACT: Recent years have witnessed growing concern over the ever more increasing urgent and pervasive global environmental problems. Environmental problems and challenges in relation to armed conflict are amongst them. Such environmental pressures can cause violent or armed conflict which in turn can cause devastating damage and destruction to the environment. This article explores the possibility of utilising the overarching concept of sustainable development and its relevant substantive principles to fill the gaps of environmental protection provided by international humanitarian law. The concept of sustainable development generally refers to development or the process of improving the quality of life of the present generation without compromising the future generations. This article thus reviews the limits of the protection of the environment during armed conflict within the current legal framework and suggests setting out a new, more comprehensive set of Environmental Rules based on the 'Berlin Rules' approach. It is argued that these proposed Rules, by comprehensively and clearly prescribing rights and duties in respect of the ecological impact of armed conflict including the integration of the concept of sustainable development, could not only mitigate the impact of conflict-related environmental damage on both the environment and the human population, it could further contribute to the development of international law and conflict-related environmental protection specifically.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nicolas Lemay-Hébert

Everyday Legitimacy and International Administration: Global Governance and Local Legitimacy in Kosovo in Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, Volume 7, Issue 1 , 87-104

International administrations are a very specific form of statebuilding. This article examines the limits illustrated by the experience in Kosovo. Here, the international administration faced the same requirements of any legitimate, liberal government, but without the checks and balances normally associated with liberal governance. Thus, the international administration was granted full authority and the power thereby associated, but without the legitimacy upon which the liberal social contract rests. The statebuilding agenda put forth came to be seen as more exogenous, reinforcing the delegitimization process. This article specifically addresses the influence of the Weberian approach to legitimacy on the statebuilding literature, as well as its limits. It then proposes other possible avenues for statebuilding, more in line with a wider understanding of legitimacy and intervention.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Go Julian

Fanon's postcolonial cosmopolitanism

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 16, Number 2, May 2013 , 208-225

While early theory and research on cosmopolitanism have been criticized for their European focus, a number of works have incorporated non-Eurocentric perspectives. This article contributes to this literature by examining the colonial production of cosmopolitan orientations as evidenced in the writings of Frantz Fanon. Colonialism has been treated as a deviation in the historical sociology of cosmopolitanism, but Fanon helps disclose how colonialism has also contributed to a particular form of cosmopolitanism that has been overlooked in existing theory and research: postcolonial cosmopolitanism. This form of cosmopolitanism, forged from the spaces of colonialism's contradictions, emphasizes global citizenship and humanism but strives to remember rather than repress the history of modern empire. It seeks to negate colonialism's contradictions and thus realize the ideals which Europe had initially pronounced but which it failed to institute.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Palmujoki Eero

Fragmentation and diversification of climate change governance in international society

in *International Relations*, vol. 27, n. 2, June , 180-201

ABSTRACT: This article examines the discourses on the fragmentation and diversification of environmental governance through frames offered by the English School (ES) of International Relations (IR) scholars in order to apply their frame to climate change governance. It argues that the ES approach emphasises the pluralist starting-points of international law and governance. This article does not try to analyse pros and cons of fragmentation and diversification; rather, it examines whether the society is 'thin' or 'thick' regarding climate change governance. To what extent can the climate change practices established be spoken of as primary institutions? This is significant in order to weigh the future developments of governance. In the last section of the article, this discussion is realised by examining the developments of climate change governance both within and without the context of the UN Framework Convention for Climate Change (UNFCCC).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dam-de Jong Daniëlla

From Engines for Conflict into Engines for Sustainable Development: The Potential of International Law to Address Predatory Exploitation of Natural Resources in Situations of Internal Armed Conflict

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 82, special issue , 155-177

ABSTRACT: Since the end of the Cold War, natural resources have proven an adequate replacement for external funding of armed conflicts. The prospects for parties to an armed conflict to gain 'easy' profits from resource exploitation encourage these parties to engage in predatory practices that are highly detrimental to environmental conservation. The environmental degradation caused by predatory resource exploitation by parties to an armed conflict also severely hampers efforts towards the post-conflict reconstruction of a State. Environmental degradation of land may spark new tensions in the fragile phase of post-conflict reconstruction. In addition, natural resources are an important engine to



restart the economy of a war-torn State after the conflict has come to an end. If the resources are severely degraded or even exhausted as a consequence of their exploitation during armed conflict, it becomes even more difficult to kick-start the economy of a State emerging from conflict. This article argues that current international law is not sufficiently equipped to deal with these challenges. The existing regulatory framework is fragmented and imprecise. It is only through case specific responses under Security Council sanctions regimes that the challenges are currently addressed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sievänen Riikka, Sumelius John, Islam Zahidul K. M., Sell Mila

From struggle in responsible investment to potential to improve global environmental governance through UN PRI

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 13, Issue 2, May , 197-217

This article introduces an exploratory framework which, on a conceptual level, suggests that the United Nations Principles for Responsible Investment can contribute to the accessibility of responsible investment and encourage institutional investors to undertake it. By co-operating with leaders of global environmental governance and by engaging with investee companies in the field of the environment, responsible investment by institutional investors may help to improve the lack of coherence in global environmental governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Richard Shapcott

From the good international citizen to the cosmopolitan political community: A constitutional path in International Politics , Volume 50, Issue 1 , 138-157

While advocates of liberal internationalism have traditionally identified the state as an agent of progressive transformation of the international realm, they have had less to say about the specific domestic mechanisms that might govern the foreign policies of 'good' states. This article argues that domestic constitutions provide both a legal limit on the actions of governments and other actors, and also the means whereby citizens can pursue legal redress against the state. They therefore play a potentially constraining role that is different from that provided by the embedding of cosmopolitan law in transnational and international legal codes and norms. Transformed in this way, states become powerful agents for achieving cosmopolitan purposes and ultimately transforming world order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lee Taedong

Global Cities and Transnational Climate Change Networks

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 13, Issue 1, February , 108-127

Why do some cities join transnational climate change networks while others do not? This study examines the factors that drive cities' participation in transnational climate change networks, such as the C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group and the Cities for Climate Protection program. Hierarchical analysis of 256 cities in 118 countries suggests that



the degree of cities' globalization, or their level of "global cityness," is positively associated with the cities' membership in the global networks. The level of individual cities' integration into the international economy and transportation grid is crucial for sharing ideas of global environmental responsibility. This tendency is found both in global cities of both developing and developed countries. Hierarchical models also suggest that attributes of cities—not country attributes such as democracy, income level, and being an Annex I country under the Kyoto Protocol—account for cities' memberships in transnational networks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Baccini Leonardo, Lenzi Veronica, Thurner Paul W.

Global Energy Governance: Trade, Infrastructure, and the Diffusion of International Organizations in International Interactions, vol. 39, issue 2 , 192-216

ABSTRACT: Why do states choose to join and form international governmental organizations (IGOs) that regulate energy policy? In this article we make three specific contributions to the literature on international cooperation and diffusion. First, we show that countries form and join energy IGOs in response to memberships previously gained by direct competitors among oil and gas producers and consumers. Moreover, we demonstrate that energy IGOs diffuse among countries that share oil and gas pipelines. Finally, we provide evidence that the institutional design of established energy IGOs impacts the development of their membership network. To test these hypotheses, we rely on original data on oil and gas pipelines and the design of energy IGOs as well as on a newly compiled dataset that includes 152 countries and covers 38 years (1970–2007). We employ both network analysis and spatial econometrics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Duffy Rosaleen

Global environmental governance and North–South dynamics: the case of the CITES in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 31, Issue 2, April , 222-239

This paper addresses a gap in our understanding of how links between states and nonstate actors intersect with North–South dynamics. It draws together the literatures on NGOs with the debates on privatised forms of global governance to provide a deeper understanding of the growing role of nonstate actors in managing transnational environmental issues. I argue that the inclusion of nonstate actors can serve to reinforce and deepen existing global inequalities. I use the example of the Convention on the International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) to shed light on the complex dynamics that surround (apparently) interstate environmental governance mechanisms. The CITES is one of the earliest examples of engagement with nonstate actors as shapers and drivers of environmental governance. As such, it provides us with important lessons about the problems associated with including a wider range of actors in global environmental governance mechanisms, especially engagement with Southern partners.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

David Held and Kevin Young

Global governance in crisis? Fragmentation, risk and world order



in **International Politics** , Volume 50, Issue 3 , 309-332

This paper examines some of the similarities between finance and security from a global governance perspective. We argue that finance and security share a number of similar properties in terms of prevailing arrangements at the level of global governance, and also a number of problems which we conceptualize as problems of governance capacity. Such similarities, we argue, are not unique to these domains but actually tell us something about the character of global governance as a whole. In so doing, we argue that the evolution in thinking about governance challenges and the institutional solutions required to meet them further underscores an already pernicious dynamic at work in global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Foot Rosemary, Walter Andrew

Global norms and major state behaviour: The cases of China and the United States

in **European Journal of International Relations** , vol. 19, n. 2, june , 329 - 352

ABSTRACT: When do major states conform to or diverge from global behavioural norms? We argue that existing theories find it difficult to explain important aspects of this variation in behaviour and we offer instead a framework consisting of three explanatory variables: degree of 'fit' between global norms and dominant domestic-level norms; actor perceptions of procedural and substantive legitimacy; and actor perceptions of consequences for the global power hierarchy. We argue that the relative importance of these variables is contingent on the level of domestic salience of the issue area. When salience is high, the degree of normative fit is the primary driver of behavioural consistency; when salience is low, degree of fit becomes less important and the other two variables play a more powerful role in driving behavioural outcomes. We demonstrate how this framework helps to account for the behaviour of the two most important states in the global system, China and the United States, in five areas of central importance to the contemporary global order: the limited use of force, macroeconomic policy surveillance, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, climate protection and financial regulation. Our argument also explains why globalization may reduce rather than increase levels of behavioural consistency with global norms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

STEFAN A. SCHIRM

Global politics are domestic politics: a societal approach to divergence in the G20

in **Review of International Studies (The)**, Volume 39 - Issue 03 , 685-706

Since 2008, the leaders of industrialised and emerging economies have engaged in steering the global economy through the G20. Divergent national positions were to be expected based upon the different stages of economic development and according to previously existing international groups. The actual controversies in the G20 did not reflect these patterns, however, but showed divergence both between industrialised countries and between emerging economies. In explaining this puzzle, I argue that the driving forces for global economic governance have ceased to be industrialised or emerging countries' alliances and levels of development. Rather, the causes for the positions of G20 members can be found in economic interests and ideas dominant in the domestic politics of countries. These societal influences shape governmental preference formation in both industrialised and emerging countries and consequently



influence their behaviour in global governance. The resulting divergences weaken previously existing groups such as the G7 and the BRICs, and create a new pattern in world politics. This societal approach to explaining governmental positions in global economic governance is exemplified on the core G20 issues of stimulus/public debt and global imbalances/exchange rates.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gabrielsen Jumberta Maria, Lanza David

Globalised rebellion: the Darfur insurgents and the world

in *Journal of Modern African Studies* , Volume 51 - Issue 02 - June , 193-217

This article is concerned with the rebellion in Darfur as a way to illustrate the politics of insurgency in the era of globalisation. We first show how the Darfur rebels have projected their struggle onto the world stage, before examining the effects that this has engendered. On the one hand, Darfur's global profile solidified the rebels' cause and co-opted international actors in support of it. This translated into real leverage for the rebels, and it constrained the Sudanese government by reducing its ability to use brute force. At the same time, internationalisation encouraged the Darfur rebels to make maximalist demands at the expense of articulating a broader political vision addressing the root causes of conflict. Moreover, the substitution of local legitimacy for international connections lowered the barriers of entry for new groups and thus promoted fragmentation. The combination of these effects makes for intractable conflict scenarios, the current situation in Darfur being a case in point.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Judith Resnik

Globalization(s), privatization(s), constitutionalization, and statization: Icons and experiences of sovereignty in the 21st century

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 11, issue 1 , 162-199

What can democratic constitutional states offer that multinational corporations and global governance cannot? One answer, coming from recent decisions by courts in Israel and India, is policing and incarcerating, held to be activities that could not be constitutionally outsourced to third-party providers.

The articulation of an anti-privatization right is novel, but the activities it recognizes as belonging to the state have a long track record of distributing benefits across class lines to both public and private sectors. Police and prisons—along with courts as the conduit—are not often listed as “social rights” but ought to be, for they are government-provided services aiming to make both the citizenry and the state secure. The history of these services is a roadmap to statization, constitutionalization, privatization, and globalization, for the interactions among citizens, government, and third parties gave content to the roles of police, judge, and prison official. These actors in turn came to personify the state. During the twentieth century, constitutions and international conventions imposed new constraints on police, judges, and prisons when those subject to their authority gained recognition as rights holders.

Yet if institutions of surveillance, confinement, and control are the only obligatory relationships that governments have, democratic constitutional states distinguish themselves from corporate and transnational organizations solely through their unique capacity to legitimate the imposition of violence. For constitutional sovereignty to join privatization and globalization as sustaining twenty-first century metanarratives entails offering more than prohibition and punishment. To



do so requires translating the great ambitions of the twentieth century—equality and dignity—into legible institutions with the gravitas associated with police, courts, and prisons. Other infrastructure functions need to be elaborated as state-based activities in which citizen and state partake and through which collective norms develop. Exemplary are postal networks, inscribed in some forty constitutions that allocate government responsibilities for or protect the confidentiality of the post. Yet, postal services are now also at risk of losing their identity as state-supported public platforms offering universal services within and across borders.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Groser Tim

**Governance and multilateralism in the 21st century
in *New Zealand International Review*, January, 2013**

It is a statement of the obvious that political 'governance' exists on sub-national, the nation-state and supra-national levels. It became fashionable in policy circles some ten to fifteen years ago to talk of the 'porous' nature of modern sovereignty. For a variety of reasons it became more noticeable that power was being 'drained' from the nation state in two opposing directions. First, it was becoming more and more practical to deal with problems below the level of central government--technology being a key enabler. Second, there was a growing realisation that the nation state was increasingly incapable of dealing alone with a wider variety of 'cross-border' issues than the traditional suite of policies in trade, international financial and security affairs--trans-national pollution being a classic example. The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change negotiations, which are trying to align climate change policies, are the ultimate expression of this trend. No wonder this is fraught with difficulties.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Montani Guido

**Human Nature, Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism
in *Politico (II)*, n. 231, 2012, 68-90**

ABSTRACT: One key issue bound up with the cultural changes prompted by globalization is the relationship between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. This paper explores the notion of human nature to look at why, though people feel more sympathy for their neighbours, this sympathy does not prevent them from belonging to a wider political community. Scholars of international relations should consider the present experience of European integration carefully. After WWII, thanks to supranational institutions, Europe managed to overcome the main contradictions between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. National sovereignties can – and must – be pooled in common supranational institutions. In a system of sovereign nation states nationalism and cosmopolitanism are necessarily at odds; in a federal system national identity is compatible with a cosmopolitan identity. The essay concludes that national democracy and the nation state are in crisis because more and more problems are now global, and require a global solution. Global supranational institutions are the answer. This new phase of civilization can only be achieved if cosmopolitan federalism and cosmopolitan democracy proceed *pari passu*. Human nature is not an obstacle.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Laden Anthony Simon

Ideals of justice: goals vs. constraints

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 16, Issue 2, 2013 , 205-219

Abstract

Amartya Sen describes John Rawls's 'justice as fairness' as 'transcendental institutionalism' and develops his realization-focused approach in contrast. But Rawls is no transcendental institutionalist, and Sen's construal of their opposition occludes a third, relation-based position and a valuable and practical form of ideal theory. What Sen calls transcendental institutionalism and realization-focused comparative theory each treat justice as something to bring about, a problem for experts. A third position treats justice in terms of how we relate to one another rather than of achievement. This position, called 'justice as reciprocity,' is consistent with Rawls's 'justice as fairness' and Sen's normative aspirations, and might form the basis of new and fruitful dialogue between them. By treating justice as a question of how we relate to one another, and treating relation-based ideals as the basis of respectful behavioral constraints (rather than of ends to pursue), 'justice as reciprocity' grounds an everyday form of just democratic citizenship.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sen Amartya

Ideals of justice: a reply

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 16, Issue 2, 2013 , 305-320

The full text is free:

www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13698230.2012.757919

In his forcefully argued paper 'From primary goods to capabilities to well-being,' Richard Arneson comments on a number of interesting issues – going far beyond those signaled in the title of his paper. The topic highlighted in the title comes towards the end of Arneson's richly diverse essay. This is a subject on which Arneson and I have had earlier arguments, and I should not fall for the temptation to go again through the grounds that divide us. I will, however, try to present to the reader a quick glimpse of one of the things we are arguing about, which is particularly prominent in the present rejoinder by Arneson...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Giuliano Amato

Il costituzionalismo oltre i confini dello Stato

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 1 , 1-8

The article deals with the emergence of powers in the global arena. It aims to illustrate the different paths traced by this phenomenon. A first path consists of bringing national powers beyond their borders, in order to enhance State



sovereignty. A second path is the establishment of new global institutions. A third one – perhaps the most effective to date – is based on the increasing protection of fundamental rights worldwide. But there is also a fourth path, a more ambitious one, which seeks to put together all the previous ones in a single map: it is the idea of a world government based on democratic rules: such a challenge must now be dealt with by any branch of public law, from administrative law to constitutional law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stone Randall W.

Informal governance in international organizations: Introduction to the special issue in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 8, n. 2, june , 121-136

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Alexandra Huneeus

International Criminal Law by Other Means: The Quasi-Criminal Jurisdiction of the Human Rights Courts in American journal of international law, vol. 107, issue 1 , 1-44

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sharman J.C.

International hierarchies and contemporary imperial governance: A tale of three kingdoms in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 19, n. 2, june , 189-207

ABSTRACT: The growing body of literature on hierarchy in international relations has overlooked instances of contemporary imperial governance. These imperial arrangements constitute a strong test of rationalist contractual theories of hierarchy. They support the contention that some polities will eschew sovereign prerogatives, or even renounce sovereignty altogether. Contrary to historical instances of empire, current dependencies receive prominent material benefits from the continuation of their relationship with the metropole. But the failure of the metropolises to obtain equivalent benefits shows why contractual scholarship on hierarchy is incomplete in failing to incorporate logics of appropriateness. Thus the primary theoretical goal of the article is to show that such scholarship is right in claiming that there is more to the international system than just sovereign-like units under anarchy, but also that it is too narrow in seeking to explain all instances of hierarchy as mutually beneficial bargains. Evidence is taken from fieldwork and interviews in dependencies of the Netherlands, Denmark and New Zealand.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Forman Fonna, Mackie Gerry

Introduction: New frontiers in global justice

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 16, Issue 2, 2013 , 151-161

The full text is free:

www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13698230.2012.757905

In the ongoing global economic crisis, the question of global justice has become more urgent than ever. No longer are we faced merely with the problem of articulating what global justice is, who is responsible for denying it, who is responsible for addressing it, and how; but these largely academic questions must now be considered against very urgent practical constraints. The world's most vulnerable populations were hit first and hardest by the fallout of the global economic crisis and the retraction in global aid and investment in emerging markets. There is a palpable sense today that the very principles of distribution that underlie our global political economy have failed miserably for too many people – that the intellectual foundations of the international economy are too in crisis. Indeed, from the perspective of global justice, the moment is urgent...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kevin Gray, Craig N. Murphy

Introduction: rising powers and the future of global governance

in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 34 n.2 , 183-193

There has been much debate over the extent to which the rising powers of the global South are challenging contemporary global political and economic governance. While some observers see an emancipatory potential in the redistribution of power among states, others see the rising powers as firmly located within the Western-centred neoliberal world order. This collection of papers seeks to go beyond the state-centrism of existing approaches by examining how challenges to global governance by rising powers are rooted in specific state–society configurations. Through studies of Brazil, India, China and other important developing countries within their respective regions, such as Turkey and South Africa, the papers examine the way domestic structures, arrangements, actors and dynamics influence the nature of the international interventions and behaviour of rising powers. They ask how their increased political and economic enmeshment in the international system impacts upon their own internal societal cohesion and development. By examining these issues, the papers raise the question of whether the challenge posed by the rising powers to global governance is likely to lead to an increase in democracy and social justice for the majority of the world's peoples.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bernauer Thomas, Böhmelt Tobias, Koubi Vally

Is There a Democracy–Civil Society Paradox in Global Environmental Governance?

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 1, February , 88-107

Civil society is commonly assumed to have a positive effect on international cooperation. This paper sheds light on one



important facet of this assumption: we examine the impact of environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOS) on ratification behavior of countries vis-à-vis international environmental agreements (IEAs). The main argument of the paper focuses on a “democracy-civil society paradox”: although ENGOS have a positive effect on ratification of IEAs on average, this effect decreases with increasing levels of democracy. This argument is counter-intuitive and appears paradoxical because democracy is generally associated both with a more active civil society and more international cooperation. The reasons for this hypothesized effect pertain to public demand for environmental public goods provision, government incentives, and problems of collective action among ENGOS. To test the net effect of ENGOS on countries' ratification behavior, the paper uses a new dataset on ENGOS in the time-period 1973–2006. The results offer strong support for the presumed democracy–civil society paradox.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cahin Gérard

L'admission aux organisations internationales

in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, n. 3, 2012

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

De Bailleneix Jean-Louis , Nouvel Yves

La personnalité des organisations internationales au crible de son énonciation

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 116, no. 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dejammet Alain

Les "G": G7, G8, G20

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 116, no. 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Coleman Katharina P.

Locating norm diplomacy: Venue change in international norm negotiations

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 19, n. 1, march , 163-186

ABSTRACT: Venue — the institutional setting in which actors interact — is a critical but neglected factor in international



norm creation. This article brings together constructivist and rationalist insights to explain both why and how venue affects norm creation and how norm leaders choose among different venues. First, it highlights the importance of negotiation alongside persuasion in norm emergence — the first stage of Finnemore and Sikkink's (1998) norm life cycle — thus opening space for a full consideration of venues within the constructivist paradigm. Second, it details how venue membership, mandate, output status, rules of procedure/operating procedures and legitimacy affect both the content and the level of international support of an emerging norm. Third, it offers a conceptual framework for understanding how norm leaders choose venues. Finally, it illustrates the impact of venue on norm creation and the dynamics of strategic venue choice by examining venue changes during the movement to ban anti-personnel landmines and the effort to promote international consensus on humanitarian intervention.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Milja Kurki

Locating the normative within economic science: towards the analysis of hidden discourses of democracy in international politics

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 16, Issue 1 , 55–81

Economic science has been overwhelmingly perceived as a 'positive' science, both among economists and many scholars in other social sciences. As a result, there has been an estrangement between the 'scientific' study of economics and the study of 'fuzzier' matters of normative nature. Crucially, it is often assumed that economists — whether academics or practitioners — have little to say about democracy, a concept that is famously normative and contested in nature. This article argues that this perception is mistaken and misleading. When several key figures in economic science are examined in detail, we can see that their economic theories are, in fact, deeply intertwined with certain normative visions of democracy, even if implicitly. Recognising the role of hidden normative theories of democracy within economic science perspectives is important theoretically, in re-reading the nature and scope of economic science discourses. It is also, however, important in understanding some key world political trends. It is argued here that we are in a better position to understand the curious 'dabbling' of global financial organisations in matters of 'political nature' when we remain attuned to the role of hidden democratic assumptions. Also, the complex role of these organisations in 'democracy promotion', and the nature of democracy promotion itself, can thus be better appreciated.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Papisca Antonio

L'educazione ai diritti umani per una cittadinanza plurale nello spazio pubblico globale

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 10, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 59-82

ABSTRACT: Starting from the assumption that human rights lie at the heart of any democratic constitution, the author argues that the latter and citizenship constitute an indissociable binomial. International recognition of fundamental rights does enlarge both the concept and the operative space of citizenship. The new concept is that of plural citizenship, combining national anagraphic citizenships with the universal citizenship that coincides with the original legal status of every member of the human family. The advent of international law of human rights has given way to what the author calls plenitudo iuris, the fulness of law in the glocal space of the earth. After surveying the evolution of human rights



international law, that demonstrates its immanent spill-over dynamism – thus its real universalist strength –, the author argues that plenitudo civitatis, the fulness of citizenship, is a consequential result of the fulness of law. States are urged to review their legislations to make their respective citizenships respectful of the *ius humanae dignitatis*, as the benchmark that should prevail on the old discriminatory. Human rights education and training, as a powerful instrument for capacity building, should focus on those concepts by using, in particular, three international legal instruments: the United Nations Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Protect and Promote Universally Recognised Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1998: so-called Charter of Human Rights Defenders), the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (2011), and the Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (2010).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Marcoux Christopher, Urpelainen Johannes

**Non-compliance by design: Moribund hard law in international institutions
in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 8, n. 2, june , 163-191

ABSTRACT: States often create international institutions that impose legally binding rules on member states, and then do not even attempt to enforce these rules. Why? In this article, we present a game-theoretic model of moribund hard law in international institutions. We show that if some states face domestic pressure to negotiate a hard law treaty, their incentive to insist on hard law in the negotiations is maximized when less enthusiastic states expect that the hard law will probably not be enforced. Domestic proponents of hard law reward states for negotiating a hard law treaty, while states that oppose hard law can accept it because they expect no enforcement. As a form of informal governance, moribund hard law allows non-compliance by design.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zähringer Natalie

**Norm evolution within and across the African Union and the United Nations: The Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
as a contested norm**

in **South African Journal of International Affairs** , vol. 20, issue 2 , 187-205

ABSTRACT: This article examines the evolution of the responsibility to protect (R2P) norm through the institutional frameworks of the African Union and the United Nations. The investigation aligns itself with recent constructivist thinking around norm evolution and contestation which holds that diverging interpretations around norms facilitate not only norm contestation, but ultimately norm acceptance. In this case different ‘meanings-in-use’ of R2P within and across both organisations reinforce the contested nature of R2P. This becomes most apparent in the prevailing confusion around the affiliated concept of the protection of civilians, which is not effectively delineated from R2P. Nevertheless R2P is found to be widely acknowledged within both organisations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kukathas Chandran



On Sen on comparative justice

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 16, Issue 2, 2013 , 196-204

Abstract

Against scepticism from thinkers including John Rawls and Thomas Nagel about the appropriateness of justice as the concept through which global ethical concerns should be approached, Amartya Sen argues that the problem lies not with the idea of justice, but with a particular approach to thinking of justice, namely a transcendental approach. In its stead Sen is determined to offer an alternative systematic theory of justice, namely a comparative approach, as a more promising foundation for a theory of 'global justice.' But in the end Sen offers no such thing. He does not develop a theory of justice and this is all to the good; for if values are plural in the way Sen suggests, then justice is not a master idea but one value among many, and it should be neither the first virtue of social institutions, nor the notion that frames all our reflections on ethical and political life.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Von Bogdandy Armin ,Venzke Ingo

On the Functions of International Courts: An Appraisal in Light of Their Burgeoning Public Authority

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 26 - Issue 01

This contribution presents international judicial institutions as multifunctional actors against the background of a traditional understanding, which sees just one function: settling disputes. The traditional, one-dimensional understanding eclipses other important functions that many international courts do actually perform in contexts of global governance and it underrates problems in their legitimation. In order to appreciate international adjudications' manifold contributions to social interaction, the paper first identifies three more functions beyond dispute settlement: the stabilization of normative expectations, law-making, and the control as well as legitimation of authority exercised by others. It then places these functions within broader basic understandings of international courts, which respectively picture them as instruments of the parties in a state-centred world order, as organs of a value-based international community, and as institutions of specific legal regimes. The distinct problems that each of these basic understanding faces lead to the contours of a new paradigm for the study of international courts as actors exercising public authority. The present functional analysis ultimately helps to refine both the phenomenon and normative questions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mitchell Ronald B.

Oran Young and international institutions

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 1, Special Issue on Institutions and Global Environmental Governance: A Tribute to Oran Young, March , 1-14

Current understandings of global environmental governance owe much to the numerous theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions of Oran Young. Over the course of 50 years, Young has created many of the theories and



typologies we use to explain why international environmental institutions form and what types of effects they have and the conditions under which they have them. His contributions have been central to the development of the concepts of institutional dynamics, interplay, and scale. He has made major contributions to environmental policy globally and in the Arctic, both through his own work and by fostering the work of other scholars. This article summarizes the contributions Young has made to the field and introduces the articles in this special issue that honor those contributions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vabulas Felicity, Snidal Duncan

Organization without delegation: Informal intergovernmental organizations (IIGOs) and the spectrum of intergovernmental arrangements

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 8, n. 2, june , 193-220

ABSTRACT: The renaissance in the theoretical analysis of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) has focused on formal IGOs (FIGOs), but many IGOs are subject to no formal treaty and/or have no permanent secretariat. Important examples of informal IGOs (IIGOs) include the G-groups that are the locus of much high-level interaction among states. We develop the spectrum of intergovernmental arrangements to show the wide variation in the formalization of international institutions and theorize when states will choose informal arrangements such as an IIGO over (or in combination with) a FIGO. A paired case comparison illustrates our claims that states use IIGOs when they need flexibility, to protect their sovereignty, to maintain close control of information, to lower short term transaction costs for speed, to minimize bureaucracy and to manage uncertainty during times of crisis. Finally, we examine how institutional choice is influenced by power.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Giugni Marco, Nai Alessandro

Paths towards Consensus: Explaining Decision Making within the Swiss Global Justice Movement

in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique, Volume 19, Issue 1, March 2013 , 26–40

Abstract

We examine the conditions leading social movement organizations to adopt consensus in their internal decision making. To do so, we look at organizations of the Swiss global justice movement, which puts the search for consensus at center stage. Our findings show that the ways in which social movement organizations take decisions and their vision of democracy more generally are not simply a matter of free choice by their leaders and members, but depend on certain organizational characteristics. The most important one is a small organizational size, which is a crucial condition for the adoption of consensus in internal decision making. This condition combines with another one pertaining to the cultural tradition of contention represented by the social movement family to explain consensus. In addition, our findings show that small, transnational organizations following inclusive participatory practices are also more likely to adopt consensus when they make decisions.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schlosberg David

Political Challenges of the Climate-Changed Society

in Political Science and Politics, vol. 46, issue 1, january , 13-17

ABSTRACT: We are at a turning point when it comes to the political implications of climate change. Given the reality of a future in a climate-changed world, it is time for us—broadly as a species, but particularly as academics—to move beyond the foci of the last few decades on the politics of preventing climate change through global agreements. There is a growing literature on the obvious need to slow the impacts of climate change, develop postcarbon energy systems, and design new forms of global environmental governance. Beyond these immediate needs, however, climate change poses a range of new problems and requires a broader research agenda for a climate-challenged politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mario Andrés Arroyave Quintero

Problemas de la legitimidad democrática de la Unión Europea. Lecciones para la UNASUR

in Iberoamericana. America Latina – España – Portugal, Vol. 13, Número 49 , 165-170

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Green Jessica F., Colgan Jeff

Protecting Sovereignty, Protecting the Planet: State Delegation to International Organizations and Private Actors in Environmental Politics

in Governance, Volume 26, Issue 3, July , 473–497

As global interdependence grows, states often use international organizations to achieve both domestic and foreign policy goals. One way states respond to demands for cooperation is to delegate to international organizations and private actors. In this article, we use new data spanning a century of international environmental law to understand when and why states delegate to international organizations to manage environmental problems. We find that delegation is a persistent phenomenon that facilitates the implementation of states' preferences. However, they make this decision with care: States tend to delegate functions with lower sovereignty costs, such as implementation and monitoring, but rarely delegate rule making and enforcement. We also find that heterogeneous preferences among states increases the likelihood of delegation. Overall, our results suggest that states seek to delegate out of a motivation both to reduce transaction costs and to establish credible commitments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Finke Daniel

Reforming International Institutions: The Domestic Origins and Conditional Logic of Governmental Reform Preferences

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 57, issue 2, June, 288-302

ABSTRACT: Governmental preferences are crucial to our understanding of European and international treaty reforms. Nevertheless, current research fails to explain why and under what circumstances governments prefer certain proposals for institutional reform. The present article analyzes the conditional nature of governmental reform preferences over different dimensions of institutional design. In doing so, it integrates endogenous and exogenous explanations for governmental reform preferences into a single theoretical framework. The longitudinal research design enables an explicit empirical analysis of the observed short-term changes in the governments' positions on European treaty reforms. In terms of political integration, these changes not only represent short-term trends in public opinion but also reflect the partisan composition of governments and parliaments. Both causal effects are mediated by the institutional design of the domestic preference aggregation process. With respect to institutional reforms, the governments' changing positions can be explained as a reaction to previous treaty reforms. Given a particular level of political integration, governments optimize the trade-off between decision-making power and efficiency. Hence, I find that preferences on political integration and institutional reform are conditional upon each other, with the direction and strength of this conditionality varying systematically across member states and changing over time.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stokke Olav Schram

Regime interplay in Arctic shipping governance: explaining regional niche selection

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 1, Special Issue on Institutions and Global Environmental Governance: A Tribute to Oran Young, March, 65-85

Distinctive institutional features can make a regime particularly suited for conducting one or more generic tasks of governance: building knowledge, strengthening norms, enhancing problem-solving capacity, or enforcing rule compliance. Each of those governance tasks constitutes a potential "niche" that a regime can specialize in within a larger institutional complex. Applying this niche-oriented approach to the case of Arctic marine transport helps to explain the emerging division of labor between regional and global institutions in an issue area marked by rapid change. Drawing on earlier regime-effectiveness research, the article examines the potential of regional institutions, especially the Arctic Council, to contribute to strengthening the international governance system for shipping, based on the UN International Maritime Organization (IMO). Although the Arctic Council is not well positioned to regulate regional shipping activities, it may facilitate regulatory advances in the IMO, in part by knowledge-building and in part by helping Arctic states to find common ground on matters of controversy. The Council is also well equipped to enhance regional maritime infrastructure, like capacities for responding to oil spills, and search and rescue operations. Should binding region-specific international rules on Arctic shipping be adopted, Arctic institutions could play a role in coordinating port-state enforcement measures—but existing institutions with broader participation are better suited and will probably remain dominant. The larger question of achieving cross-institutional interplay that can promote effectiveness is relevant in any region or issue area, because efforts to solve specific problems usually involve more than one institution.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lyon Antony

Relational representation: an agency-based approach to global justice

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 16, Issue 2, 2013 , 233-248

Abstract

This paper argues that Amartya Sen's comparative approach to justice requires a politics that is attentive to the agency of the other. Rethinking representation as a relational, rather than a sovereign, concept captures the relationship between agency and justice that is emerging in global politics today. It is increasingly common that non-governmental actors engage with communities through practices of trust and responsibility without appeal to political authority. Relational representation helps clarify the dynamics of these relationships and provides a way to think about their purpose. That purpose is to effect changes that ameliorate suffering and injustice, working to re-present the represented persons as more capable persons, more free to use their agency.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Boisson de Chazournes Laurence

Relationships and interfaces between regional and universal organizations: room for new developments

in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 9, n. 2 , 263-265

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pasquale Ferrara

Religion and Democracy: International, Transnational and Global Issues

in **European Political Science** , Volume 12, Issue 2 , 163–170

Growing attention is given in IR theory and diplomatic circles to the ambivalent role of religion in world politics. However, there is a need for more analytical clarity, identifying at least four different domains: religions and inter-state relations; religions and internationalism; religions and trans-nationalism; and religions and globalism. The most promising approach is the one that concentrates on the transnational projection of religions, connecting it to the way religions address global issues to influence international actors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bulkeley Harriet, Betsill Michele M.

Revisiting the urban politics of climate change

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Coming of Age? Environmental Politics at 21, February , 136-154



In our 2005 paper, *Rethinking Sustainable Cities*, we made a case for the increasing significance of climate change in the urban politics of sustainability. Taking a multilevel governance perspective, we argued that the 'urban' governance of climate protection was not confined to a local arena or to the actions of the state, but rather was orchestrated through the interrelations between global, national and local actors across state/non-state boundaries. We revisit these arguments and examine their validity in the light of the rapidly changing landscape of urban responses to climate change and the growing academic literature in this field. We consider in turn: the ways in which climate change is shaping urban agendas; the utility of multilevel governance perspectives for understanding this phenomenon; and the extent to which we can identify a 'new' politics of urban climate change governance and its consequent implications for the development of theory and practice in this field.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kahler Miles

Rising powers and global governance: negotiating change in a resilient status quo

in *International Affairs* , vol. 89, issue 3, may , 711-729

ABSTRACT: Economic convergence of the large emerging economies (Brazil, China and India) on the incumbent industrialized economic powers has produced divergent predictions: rising powers are viewed as challengers of existing global governance or nascent supporters of the status quo. The preferences of rising powers, as revealed in global economic negotiations and international security regimes, indicate that they are moderate reformers that seek greater influence within existing forums and also attempt to safeguard their policy-making autonomy. Even if their preferences change, the translation of growing economic weight into usable capabilities is not automatic. Domestic political constraints often make the mobilization of capabilities difficult in international bargaining. Strategies of collective action, whether South-South or regional, have not yet produced a consistent increase in bargaining power at the global level. The counter-strategies of delay and cooptation implemented by the incumbent powers have maintained incumbent influence and enhanced the legitimacy of existing global governance institutions. Risks of conflict remain along three negotiating divides: system friction, distributional conflict and institutional efficiency. Institutional innovations such as greater transparency, institutional flexibility and construction of informal transnational networks may provide modest insurance against a weakening of global governance and its institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Young Oran R.

Sugaring off: enduring insights from long-term research on environmental governance

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 1, Special Issue on Institutions and Global Environmental Governance: A Tribute to Oran Young, March , 87-105

This article presents the results of an effort to identify the most important contributions I have been able to make in the course of a lifetime of thinking about the roles that social institutions play in governing human–environment relations. Some of the resultant propositions are general in the sense that they apply to environmental governance at all levels of social organization. Others are specific to the international level or to what we generally think of as international environmental governance. The basic message is that institutions are important determinants of human–environment relations but that they typically operate in conjunction with a variety of other drivers in a pattern best described as



complex causation. As we move deeper into the Anthropocene, an era characterized by human domination of biophysical systems, the need to improve our understanding of environmental governance has become increasingly urgent.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wiener Antje

Tackling invisible frontiers of global justice: an extension of Sen's 'Comparison View of Justice' into IR
in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 16, Issue 2, 2013 , 249-265

Abstract

A central challenge of Amartya Sen's comparative view of justice is to bring cultural diversity to bear on conceptualizing global justice, which includes building bridges across cultures that enable effective action, and rendering compatible the most beneficent of Rawlsian (or transcendental) intentions with irreducible cultural diversity. For social scientists meeting this challenge requires, first, taking account of variation of social practices in the social construction of meaning, and second, uncovering invisible frontiers of global justice that remain hidden due to conceptual or empirical oversight. The latter is especially true for contemporary International Relations (IR) theory, which assumes state actors to be the main interlocutors in the global realm, and thus precludes consideration of micro-level forms of inter-national relations (understood as interaction among all types of actors that takes place across country borders and that bears traits of national identity). Alternatively, Sen's micro-perspectival approach offers a welcome support for pluralist approaches that both appreciate non-state access to contestation in the international arena, and account for the meaning-in-use of fundamental norms (democracy, rule of law, human rights) in different cultural and inter-national contexts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kelly Patrick William

The 1973 Chilean coup and the origins of transnational human rights activism
in *Journal of Global History*, Volume 8, Issue 01, March , 165-186

The 1973 Chilean coup gave rise to an unprecedented growth in a global human rights consciousness. In its aftermath, transnational activists from a diverse array of political and ideological backgrounds found common cause – indeed, a common language of human rights – in campaigns to ameliorate the repressive acts of the Chilean military junta. This article focuses on two models of activism in particular: Amnesty International, whose 1973 investigative mission set the terms of the global debate about human rights in Chile; and transnational solidarity activists, especially Chilean exiles from leftist parties, whose vision of social activism narrowed as their interest in human rights surged. These campaigns – while not without tensions over the role of politics in the moral appeal to human rights – both articulated a transnational discourse of human rights and created new activist techniques to foment moral outrage by revealing the prevalence of torture through the power of personal testimony.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Karl-Heinz Ladeur

**The Emergence of Global Administrative Law and Transnational Regulation
in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 3, issue 3 , 243-267**

Discussion of the emergence of global administrative law is centred around the question 'Is it law?' and problems of accountability. This is a narrow perspective which ignores the autonomy of administrative 'internal law' generated by administrative agencies themselves. The extent to which domestic administrative law is a product of courts or legislators is much less significant than has hitherto been taken for granted. For global administrative law the entanglement of administrative practice and normativity is crucial. The creation of administrative law through an experimental network of decisions and public-private cooperation, and as a consequence its ongoing self-transformation, should be considered a necessity. This is why it should not come as a surprise that the instruments and forms of global administrative law are generated by transnational administrative networks of agencies. The evolution of both domestic and transnational administrative law will allow for new heterarchical forms of accountability and legitimation once the focus on a hierarchical concept of delegation is given up. For both domestic and global administrative law the adoption of new approaches to ex post monitoring of administrative action and learning seems to be more promising than the traditional focus on the binding force of legal rules ex ante.

Section B) *Global governance and international organizations*

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

van Leeuwen Judith, Kern Kristine

The External Dimension of European Union Marine Governance: Institutional Interplay between the EU and the International Maritime Organization

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 13, Issue 1, February , 69-87

This article focuses on the emergence of a decentralized institutional complex, interplay management, and the institutional interplay between the International Maritime Organization (IMO) and the EU in the issue area of environmental shipping policies. It shows that the synergistic relationship between both institutions has been driven primarily by commitment and compliance mechanisms. By influencing IMO decision-making and improving the implementation and effectiveness of IMO conventions, the EU has become a driving force in international environmental shipping policies, and its new initiatives may even enhance its leadership role within the IMO in the future. Despite the still-existing lack of cognitive leadership by the EU, the synergies between both institutions provide evidence for the EU's leadership capacities in global environmental politics.

Section B) *Global governance and international organizations*

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jennifer Clapp and Sophia Murphy

The G20 and Food Security: a Mismatch in Global Governance?

in Global Policy, Volume 4, Issue 2 , 129–138

When the G20 took up food security in 2010, many were optimistic that it could bring about positive change by addressing structural problems in commodity markets that were contributing to high and volatile food prices and exacerbating hunger. Its members could tighten the regulation of agricultural commodity futures markets, support multilateral trade rules that would better reflect both importer and exporter needs, end renewable fuel targets that



diverted land to biofuels production, and coordinate food reserves.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bouwhuis Stephen

The International Law Commission's Definition of International Organizations

in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 9, n. 2 , 451-465

ABSTRACT: Whilst the number of international organizations in the world has flourished in recent decades, attempts to analyse them have been hampered by disagreement as to how even to define what is an international organization. The International Law Commission's recent work on the responsibility of international organizations addresses this absence by providing such a definition. This note tests that definition by applying it to one particular organization, the Commonwealth Secretariat, to see how it applies in practice and concludes with general observations on whether the definition might be used more broadly.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bastos Lima Mairon G., Gupta Joyeeta

The Policy Context of Biofuels: A Case of Non-Governance at the Global Level?

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 13, Issue 2, May , 46-64

The large-scale production of crop-based biofuels has been one of the fastest and most controversial global changes of recent years. Global biofuel outputs increased six-fold between 2000 and 2010, and a growing number of countries are adopting biofuel promotion policies. Meanwhile, multilateral bodies have been created, and a patchwork of biofuel policies is emerging. This article investigates the global biofuel policy context and analyzes its nature, its institutional architecture, and issues of access and allocation. Our assessment reveals a density of national policies but a paucity of international consensus on norms and rules. We argue that the global biofuel context remains a non-regime and that it has overlooked serious issues of access even as a risky North-South allocation pattern is created. Although biofuel governance is not completely absent, existing international institutions do not take account of the different voices in the debate and leave a large vacuum of unaddressed social and environmental issues.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Koppe Erik W.

The Principle of Ambiguity and the Prohibition against Excessive Collateral Damage to the Environment during Armed Conflict

in Nordic Journal of International Law, vol. 82, special issue , 53-82

ABSTRACT: This article aims to clarify the legal basis of the protection of the environment during armed conflict in general, and of the prohibition against excessive collateral damage to the environment in particular. It is submitted that the legal basis for the conventional and customary rules which protect the (intrinsic value of the) environment during armed conflict cannot be deduced from the four fundamental principles of the law of armed conflict: the principles of



military necessity, distinction, proportionality and humanity. Rather, the specific obligations relating to environmental protection in times of armed conflict flow from the fundamental principle of humanity. Similar to the principle of humanity, the principle of proportionality, which qualifies as a general principle of law in the sense of Article 38(1)(c) ICJ Statute, provides for an absolute limitation to the necessities of war. As such the principle of proportionality may be used to interpret existing conventional or customary rules of international law during armed conflict, to supplement, or under exceptional circumstances to modify or set aside these rules. With regard to the prohibition against excessive collateral damage to the environment during armed conflict, it is submitted that this prohibition flows from a customary rule which emerged in the 1990s, rather than from Articles 51 and 52 of Additional Protocol I, and which complements Articles 35 and 55 AP I (i.e. for States Parties to AP I). This article argues that any military action which causes collateral damage to the environment must first be assessed under this relatively new customary prohibition; and subsequently, if no breach can be established and if applicable, by reference to Articles 35(3) and 55 AP I. In order to enhance the scope of this prohibition and provide better protection for the environment against collateral damage it is suggested that further investigations should be conducted into the consequences of warfare on the environment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fleck Dieter

The Protection of the Environment in Armed Conflict: Legal Obligations in the Absence of Specific Rules in Nordic Journal of International Law, vol. 82, special issue , 7-20

ABSTRACT: While a general rule of 'eco-protection' in armed conflict may be derived from the basic principles of distinction, proportionality, avoidance of unnecessary suffering and humanity, international humanitarian law provides little by way of more specific rules for the protection of the natural environment except for in extreme situations that can rarely be expected to occur. Nevertheless, *opinio juris* has changed since the adoption of pertinent instruments in 1977. This development needs to be balanced against a still prevailing general reluctance to accept specific ecological obligations and procedures in military operations. Thus a detailed evaluation of planning and decision-making processes appears necessary. Revisiting the San Remo Manual on International Law Applicable to Armed Conflicts at Sea and the ICRC Study on Customary International Humanitarian Law, this article argues that certain qualifications made in these documents relating to requirements of 'imperative military necessity' are to be assessed in the light of their specific implications and should be used with caution. Furthermore, it is suggested that pertinent consequences of the International Law Commission's Draft Articles on the Effects of Armed Conflicts on Treaties deserve further study. To this end, interdisciplinary case studies should be conducted to support fact-oriented evaluations of military requirements, ecological assessments and political effects post-conflict, rather than insisting on thresholds for legal regulation that already appeared to be escapist decades ago and which may prove counter-productive in the years to come. New activities aimed at protecting the natural environment in armed conflict should focus on a reaffirmation of existing rules and their effective implementation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Droege Cordula

The Protection of the Natural Environment in Armed Conflict – Existing Rules and Need for Further Legal Protection



in **Nordic Journal of International Law**, vol. 82, special issue , Tougas Marie-Louise

ABSTRACT: Considerable research has been conducted, particularly since the Iraq-Kuwait war of 1991, on the legal protection of the environment in armed conflicts. Much of this research has focused either on the specific protections provided in international humanitarian law (IHL), or on the applicability of international environmental law to situations of armed conflict. Rather than focusing on these specific provisions, this article seeks to examine the general protections under IHL, in particular the characterisation of the natural environment as a civilian object and the legal protection flowing from this characterisation – namely the general rules on the conduct of hostilities. After addressing these general rules, it briefly recalls some other relevant provisions of IHL before turning to possible avenues to strengthen the legal protection of the environment in armed conflict by clarifying or further developing IHL in this respect, taking into account the protection provided by international human rights law and international environmental law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sjöstedt Britta

The Role of Multilateral Environmental Agreements in Armed Conflict: ‘Green-keeping’ in Virunga Park. Applying the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in the Armed Conflict of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

in **Nordic Journal of International Law**, vol. 82, special issue , 129-153

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the application of the 1972 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Convention (the WHC) in the context of the armed conflicts that have taken place in the Virunga National Park (the Park), a natural world heritage site in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (the DRC). Instead of addressing wartime environmental damage under the law of armed conflict, this article seeks to establish how such damage can be addressed using multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs). MEAs often consist of general principles and vague obligations and their relevance or applicability during situations of armed conflict may be questioned. However, a number of MEAs, including the WHC, authorise their convention bodies to develop detailed and substantive obligations applicable to their parties. Thus, the decisions and recommendations adopted by the World Heritage Committee, a body established under the WHC, provide substantive content to the provisions of the WHC. These decisions and recommendations may, however, run counter to the requirements of military necessity thereby affecting the application of the law of armed conflict. While the position adopted by the World Heritage Committee does not inevitably imply a clash between the obligations in the WHC and the law of armed conflict, it does raise the question of whether the outstanding values of world heritage should trump the rules of military necessity and other pressing concerns during armed conflict. On an informal basis, the World Heritage Committee and the UN peacekeeping forces deployed in the DRC have agreed to perform operations that jointly address the interconnected concerns of security and conservation of natural resources in the region of the Park. This cooperative ‘green-keeping’ operation represents a useful approach to regime interaction and the harmonisation of obligations set out in different legal regimes that are applicable to the same subject matter.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Van Alstine James, Afionis Stavros, Doran Peter

The UN Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20): A sign of the times or ‘ecology as spectacle’?



in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 2, March , 333-338

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Blühdorn Ingolfur

The governance of unsustainability: ecology and democracy after the post-democratic turn

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Coming of Age? *Environmental Politics* at 21, February , 16-36

Starting from the diagnosis of a profound reconfiguration since the second half of the 1980s of the normative foundations of contemporary eco-political discourses, the theory of post-ecologist politics has conceptualised eco-politics in advanced modern consumer societies as the politics of unsustainability. How the politics of unsustainability is organised and executed in practical terms is explored and the theory of post-ecologist politics is extended to suggest that, in the wake of a modernisation-induced post-democratic turn, democratic values and the innovative modes of decentralised, participatory government which, up to the present, are widely hailed as the key towards a genuinely legitimate, effective and efficient environmental policy are metamorphosing into tools for managing the condition of sustained ecological and social unsustainability. Analysis of this governance of unsustainability reveals a new twist in the notoriously difficult relationship between democracy and ecology.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Böhme Tobias, Betzold Carola

The impact of environmental interest groups in international negotiations: Do ENGOs induce stronger environmental commitments?

in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 13, Issue 2, May , 127-151

Although there is a substantial amount of research that studies how environmental interest groups/non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) influence international environmental negotiations, both the theoretical work and the empirical evidence were not yet able to answer comprehensively if this makes it more likely that states, in turn, commit to stronger environmental agreements. This article seeks to contribute to clarifying this. First, the authors argue that a higher degree of ENGO access to official negotiations and a larger number of ENGOs actively participating during bargaining processes can facilitate outcomes of environmental negotiations. The authors then analyze quantitative data on international environmental regimes and their members' commitment levels from 1946 to 1998 and obtain robust support for their claims. However, the rationale on the introduced explanatory factors also implies that the impact of ENGO access on states' commitment levels should vary conditional on the number of ENGOs actively participating. The paper finds evidence for such an interaction, although the results go against our expectations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

STEVEN SLAUGHTER

The prospects of deliberative global governance in the G20: legitimacy, accountability, and public contestation



in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 39 - Issue 01 , 71-90

This article contends that the 'G' system struggles to play a legitimate and effective role in global governance and argues that the G20 could play a important role if the forum was more publically accountable. This article argues that because of increasing forms of public contestation, the broadening agenda of the G8 and G20 and the uncertain status of global cooperation, that the legitimacy of the 'G' system is being questioned. As such, it is appropriate to consider deliberative avenues whereby public views could be considered by the G20 in a systematic way to foster forms of accountability. This consideration is animated by deliberative democracy theory and republican theory which advance a normative agenda which seeks to transform governance structures by enhancing the role of deliberation and public reasoning in political life. The article outlines the development of the 'G' system's legitimacy, considers possible modes of accountability and public involvement with respect to the G20 and examines the implications of more formalised public deliberation with respect to the G20.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Methmann Chris

The sky is the limit:1 Global warming as global governmentality

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 19, n. 1, march , 69-91

ABSTRACT: The concept of governmentality has gained significant influence among scholars of International Relations. Recently, however, there is a growing literature engaging critically with the notion of a global governmentality. This article seeks to inform this debate with insights from global climate change politics as a paradigmatic case for applying governmentality to global politics. Drawing on an analysis of the Clean Development Mechanism, it makes three arguments, which seek to refine the global governmentality concept. First, governmentality does not necessarily centre on the notion of the 'population', but can also function as a governmentality of other 'technological zones'. Second, the seeming failure of a governmentality in its own terms is better understood within a 'post-foundational' framework of depoliticization. Third, governmentality and sovereignty are not mutually exclusive. Instead, the former allows the latter to 'govern at a distance'. The Clean Development Mechanism illustrates these points perfectly. Although it is based on a global 'carbon governmentality', it is able to conduct individual conduct directly. Its apparent failure in terms of carbon emission reductions is in fact a success of depoliticizing climate politics, excluding fundamental social structures. And although it is based on an international treaty, it establishes an advanced liberal government of the climate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sujith Xavier

Theorising Global Governance Inside Out: A Response to Professor Ladeur

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 3, issue 3 , 268-284

Professor Ladeur argues that administrative law's postmodernism (and by extension Global Administrative Law) necessitates that we move beyond relying on ideas of delegation, accountability and legitimacy. Global Governance, particularly Global Administrative Law and Global Constitutionalism, should try to adapt and experiment with the changing nature of the postmodern legality and support the creation of norms that will adapt to the complexities of



globalisation. Ladeur's contestation, similar to GAL's propositions, can be challenged. By taking the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, a significant contributor to the field of international criminal law, as an example, it is suggested that the creation of networks that Ladeur makes visible may not account for 'regulatory capture'. This paper will argue that from the outside, the proliferation of networks may suggest that spontaneous accountability is possible. A closer look, however, drawing on anthropological insights from the ICTR, reveals that international institutions are susceptible to capture by special interests. Furthermore, there are two central themes that animate the response to Professor Ladeur: the political nature of international institutions and the history of international law, and the role of institutions in this history.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Eriksen Stein Sundstøl, Sending Ole Jacob

There is no global public: the idea of the public and the legitimation of governance
in *International Theory*, Volume 5, Issue 02, July , 213-237

Scholars of global governance have made much use of the public–private distinction in their exploration of the power of non-state actors and the constitution of authority beyond the state. But is this distinction analytically adequate? We subject the public–private distinction to analytical scrutiny and argue that it does not hold when analysing phenomena beyond the domestic setting. State actors are universal at the domestic level, but they are particularistic at the global level, being responsible primarily to its territorially defined constituency. The difference between public and private actors qua participants in global governance is thus overstated. We differentiate between public as a category of analysis and a category of practice. As a category of analysis, public denotes a particular configuration of accountability and capacity, which can, in principle, be found at the global level. As a category of practice, public is a claim to universality and responsibility that different types of actors use to legitimize what they do. We illustrate the added value of this conceptualization through a discussion of possibly emerging global public actors, and of how actors' claim to 'publicness' in an incomplete public sphere serves to conceal their particularistic character, thereby undermining 'publicness' at the global level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Moellendorf Darrel

Transcendental institutionalism and global justice
in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 16, Issue 2, 2013 , 162-178

Abstract

In *The Idea of Justice* (2009), Amartya Sen distinguishes between 'transcendental institutional' approaches to justice and 'realization-focused comparisons,' rejecting the former and recommending the latter as a normative approach to global justice. I argue that Sen's project fails for three principal reasons. First, he misdiagnoses the problem with accounts that he refers to as transcendental-institutionalist. The problem is not with these kinds of accounts per se, but with particular features of prominent approaches. Second, Sen's realization-focus does not account well for the value of institutions of global justice. And even Sen agrees that reforms to institutions are urgently needed. And third, the



distinction between transcendentalism and comparative approaches is implausible. I close by suggesting a strategy for an alternative institutionalist approach that can offer the kind of guidance for reforming the global order that Sen rightly takes as urgent.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brand Ulrich

Transformation tut Not: zwölf Jahre Weltsozialforum

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Mai, 2013 , 91-96

Seit es vor zwölf Jahren gegründet wurde, ist es auffällig ruhig geworden um das Weltsozialforum (WSF). Einzelne Kritiker stellen dessen Daseinsberechtigung sogar ganz in Frage. Ulrich Brand, Professor für Internationale Politik in Wien und „Blätter“-Mitherausgeber, fordert dagegen, genauer hinzusehen. Als Debattenforum in einer hoch komplexen, krisenhaften Welt habe das WSF nichts von seiner Bedeutung eingebüßt.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pieck Sonja K.

Transnational Activist Networks: Mobilization between Emotion and Bureaucracy

in **Social Movement Studies**, Volume 12, Issue 2, 2013 , 121-137

Abstract

Over the past 30 years, transnational space has emerged as a key locus of social transformation. Activist networks and movement coalitions span the globe in an attempt to build an alternative politics. Many transnational activist networks (TANs), however, are meeting sites of two very different entities—movements and organizations—and must thus contend with a crucial divide in the political arena. While social movements usually act extra-institutionally and are often bound together by strong emotions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), by virtue of their legally encoded form, often proceed within prescribed channels and must remain accountable to outside stakeholders. What happens when social movements encounter organizations? Can the tensions between social movements and NGOs be harnessed to create a lasting convergence aimed at building a more equitable democratic politics? My aim in this article is to contribute to a further texturing of our ideas of transnational space by raising some questions and concerns regarding the ‘actually existing democracies’ being enacted there. I focus on the tension between the more emotive aspects of mobilization and the inevitable day-to-day bureaucratic procedures meant to ensure transparent and equitable democratic practice. These two forces, though complementary parts of any well-functioning TAN, are also forces of attrition. How close they are, and how they can both focus activists' energy and grind that energy to a halt, is shown by the example of the Amazon Alliance, a network of indigenous activists and conservation, human rights and environmental justice organizations, working to protect indigenous territories and the Amazonian ecosystem.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Major Aaron

Transnational State Formation and the Global Politics of Austerity

in Sociological Theory, Volume 31, Issue 1, March 2013 , 28-48

Abstract

A perennial concern among scholars of globalization is the relationship between global social formations and national and subnational political and economic developments. While sociological understanding of “the global” has become increasingly rich, stressing the complex relationship between material and cultural pressures, an undertheorized nation state often sits on the receiving end of the sociologist’s model of globalization. The goal of this article is to help move the sociology of globalization out of the analytical trap of global-national dualism by developing an account of the transnationalization of political authority. Building on neo-Marxist and Weberian theories of the transnational, or global state, which explicate the macro-structural dynamics that have led to the transnationalization of the state as such, I look at the process of the transnationalization of political authority from an institutional perspective, one that focuses on processes of transnationalization within, and across, specific state agencies. These theoretical points are empirically motivated through an historical investigation of the transnationalization of monetary authority and its relationship to the international diffusion of policies of austerity from the era of the classical gold standard through the economic crisis of 2008.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tully James

Two ways of realizing justice and democracy: linking Amartya Sen and Elinor Ostrom

in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Volume 16, Issue 2, 2013 , 220-232

Abstract

In *The Idea of Justice* (2009), Amartya Sen advocates democracy defined as ‘public reasoning’ and ‘government by discussion’. Sen’s discursive approach facilitates the exercise of political freedom and development of one’s public capacities, and enables victims of injustice to give public voice and discussion to specific injustice. It also responds to the contested nature of ‘universal human rights’ and the need to clarify and defend them via public reasoning. However, Sen’s approach leaves intact the hegemony of a liberal form of democracy that prioritizes political and civil rights over social and economic rights and thus precludes alternative democratic forms, most notably a form of cooperative democracy that politicizes social and economic activities in the pursuit of local and global justice. Sen’s ‘government by discussion’ must combine with cooperative democracy and a global ethos emphasizing cooperation (and action) over privatization in order to address our most serious global injustices, including exploitation, inequality and poverty in the Global South, accelerating destruction of the environment and biodiversity, and global warming and climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Schnurr Matthew A., De Santo Elizabeth, Craig Rachael

Using a Blended Learning Approach to Simulate the Negotiation of a Multilateral Environmental Agreement in International Studies Perspectives, vol. 14, issue 2, may, 109-120

ABSTRACT: This paper presents the case of a role-play simulation that recreates a recent negotiation of the Convention on Biological Diversity. Using a blended learning approach, our simulated negotiation integrates three educational delivery methods—preparatory learning, face-to-face learning, and online collaborative learning—to recreate the complexity of negotiating global environmental issues. Qualitative student feedback is used to analyze the benefits and challenges of this approach. Our results suggest that blending learning methods within a role-play simulation is an effective strategy to help students appreciate the challenge of achieving consensus among competing interests, understand the pervasive power dynamics that shape political outcomes within the realm of global environmental governance, and hone skills relevant to policy analysis, negotiation, and consensus building.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rayfuse Rosemary

War and the Environment: International Law and the Protection of the Environment in Relation to Armed Conflict – Introduction to the Special Issue

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 82, special issue, 1-5

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Heyvaert Veerle

What's in a Name? The Covenant of Mayors as Transnational Environmental Regulation

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Assessing Progress in International Environmental Law, April, 78-90

This article asks whether the Covenant of Mayors – a transnational network that aims to reduce CO2 emissions in European towns and cities – amounts to transnational environmental regulation. It answers in the affirmative. The relevance of treating the Covenant of Mayors as transnational environmental regulation is that this triggers qualitative expectations about how decision-making power will be wielded within the network. The article indicates that the Covenant is likely to clear some of these qualitative hurdles, but may struggle with others. This calls for further deliberation on how to bolster the legitimacy of transnational environmental regulation without forsaking its flexibility and innovative drive. Considering that the outlook for the swift, successful adoption of a global, binding regulatory regime for climate change is bleak, the world will likely remain dependent on alternative, transnational initiatives as drivers for change. The ramifications of this debate therefore considerably exceed the scope of the Covenant of Mayors itself.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Koremenos Barbara



What's left out and why? Informal provisions in formal international law

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 8, n. 2, June , 137-162

ABSTRACT: When states face an international cooperation problem requiring enforcement, when do they decide to make that enforcement formal versus informal? I introduce a research design for investigating how informal mechanisms might be relevant to formal international agreements. I present an overall theory of punishment provisions and a set of hypotheses about whether any needed punishments will be formalized or not. This theory gives rise to a two-part empirical analysis conducted on a large-n dataset. First, the presence of enforcement mechanisms in agreements is predicted, and, second, those cases that are "misclassified"—ones in which the model predicts the presence of such mechanisms, but the agreements lack them—are analyzed. These misclassified agreements, candidates for informal enforcement, are characterized by regime heterogeneity and military asymmetries among parties. Case study evidence supports the results.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dufek Pavel

Why strong moral cosmopolitanism requires a world-state

in *International Theory*, Volume 5, Issue 02, July , 177-212

The article deals with a pivotal conceptual distinction used in philosophical discussions about global justice. Cosmopolitans claim that arguing from the perspective of moral cosmopolitanism does not necessarily entail defending a global coercive political authority, or a 'world-state', and suggest that ambitious political and economic (social) goals implied in moral cosmopolitanism may be achieved via some kind of non-hierarchical, dispersed and/or decentralized institutional arrangements. I argue that insofar as moral cosmopolitans retain 'strong' moral claims, this is an untenable position, and that the goals of cosmopolitan justice, as explicated by its major proponents, require nothing less than a global state-like entity with coercive powers. My background ambition is to supplement some existing works questioning the notion of 'governance without government' with an argument that goes right to the conceptual heart of cosmopolitan thought. To embed my central theoretical argument in real-world developments, I draw on some recent scholarship regarding the nature of international organizations, European Union, or transnational democratization. Finally, I suggest that only after curbing moral aspirations in the first place can a more self-consciously moderate position be constructed, one that will carry practical and feasible implications for institutional design.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Desker Barry

Why the world must listen more carefully to Asia's rising powers

in *Europe's World*, Issue 23, Spring

The shifts in global power that began in the late 20th century have accelerated since the onset of the economic crisis in 2008. Barry Desker reports from Singapore on the lessons Western decision-makers should be drawing.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22077/language/en-US/Default.aspx



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Zorgbibe Charles

Un nouveau système international ?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 758, Mars

C'est du paradoxe que forment un Occident déstabilisateur et un groupe d'émergents conservateurs que traite l'auteur qui nous livre ici une analyse pénétrante des tensions de la scène mondiale.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Koujianou Goldberg Pinelopi, Hellerstein Rebecca

A Structural Approach to Identifying the Sources of Local Currency Price Stability

in *Review of Economic Studies*, Volume 80 Issue 1 January 2013 , 175-210

The inertia of the local currency prices of traded goods in the face of exchange rate changes is a well-documented phenomenon in International Economics. This paper develops a structural model to identify the sources of this local currency price stability and applies it to micro-data from the beer market. The empirical procedure exploits manufacturers' and retailers' first-order conditions in conjunction with detailed information on the frequency of price adjustments following exchange rate changes to quantify the relative importance of local non-traded cost components, markup adjustment by manufacturers and retailers, and nominal price rigidities in the incomplete transmission of such changes to prices. We find that, on average, approximately 60% of the incomplete exchange rate pass-through is due to local non-traded costs; 8% to markup adjustment; 30% to the existence of own brand price adjustment costs; and 1% to the indirect/strategic effect of such costs, though these results vary considerably across individual brands according to their market shares.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Alexander Somek

Accidental Cosmopolitanism

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 3, issue 4 , 371-393

What becomes of us once the focus of our life shifts entirely to the private sphere? Arguably, we are then utterly dependent on the guidance and protection offered by administrative bodies and reviewing courts. But how can such dependence ever be consistent with human autonomy? It will be argued that it is possible to see even administered lives anchored in a particular form of collective self-determination. From the same perspective, however, it also becomes clear that a life of this type is necessarily burdened with cynicism and self-alienation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sami Moisia* & Anssi Paasia

Beyond State-Centricity: Geopolitics of Changing State Spaces

in **Geopolitics**, Volume 18, Issue 2, , 255-266

This paper scrutinizes the challenges which scholars face when examining the interconnections between the state and geopolitics in the purported “transnational world”. By discussing the relational perspective which “opens” the traditional state-as-a-monolith centric view of geopolitics, the paper sets a foundation for the present special section on the changing geopolitics of state spaces. The paper proceeds by first reflecting on the move from geopolitically “closed” to more open state territories, and then considers some of the ways the state has been examined in spatially sensitive research with respect to geopolitical scholarship. Finally, the paper maps out possible horizons for forthcoming studies on the geopolitics of state spaces.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Roemer-Mahler Anne

Business conflict and global politics: The pharmaceutical industry and the global protection of intellectual property rights

in **Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2013 , 121-152

Most existing studies on the role of business in global governance conceive of business as one group acting vis-à-vis the state or NGOs. This article highlights that conflicts within the business community can be an important factor to explain policy outcomes. Drawing on the ‘business conflict school’ literature from International Relations, studies on the politics of markets developed in Economic Sociology, and work on corporate political strategy undertaken in Management Studies, it develops the concept of the governance-competitiveness nexus to theorize how economic competition translates into political competition. The article demonstrates how such an analytical angle can add to our understanding of the global governance of intellectual property rights for pharmaceuticals. It helps explain the motives of different actors to become politically involved at specific points in time and the policy goals they promoted. Thus, the concepts of business conflict and governance-competitiveness nexus help explain the agenda setting process on global pharmaceutical IP governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Roemer-Mahler Anne

Business conflict and global politics: The pharmaceutical industry and the global protection of intellectual property rights

in **Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2013 , 121-152

Most existing studies on the role of business in global governance conceive of business as one group acting vis-à-vis the state or NGOs. This article highlights that conflicts within the business community can be an important factor to explain policy outcomes. Drawing on the ‘business conflict school’ literature from International Relations, studies on the politics of markets developed in Economic Sociology, and work on corporate political strategy undertaken in Management Studies, it develops the concept of the governance-competitiveness nexus to theorize how economic



competition translates into political competition. The article demonstrates how such an analytical angle can add to our understanding of the global governance of intellectual property rights for pharmaceuticals. It helps explain the motives of different actors to become politically involved at specific points in time and the policy goals they promoted. Thus, the concepts of business conflict and governance-competitiveness nexus help explain the agenda setting process on global pharmaceutical IP governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nathan Gardels

Can Asia Revive the World Institutions?

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 30, Issue 2, Spring , 2-7

Editor's Comment

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gossé Jean-Baptiste, Guillaumin Cyriac

Can External Shocks Explain the Asian Side of Global Imbalances? Lessons from a Structural VAR Model with Block Exogeneity

in Review of International Economics, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 85-102

During the 2000s, we observed the accumulation of global imbalances resulting primarily from massive current account imbalances in the USA and in Asia. This paper studies the impact of external shocks on East Asian countries in order to determine if these can account for the Asian side of global imbalances. To this end, we estimate a structural vector autoregression (VAR) model with block exogeneity using Bayesian inference. The three external shocks are an oil shock, a US monetary shock and a US financial shock. Our main findings are as follows: (i) external shocks account for the current account surplus in Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand and, to a lesser extent, in Japan and Indonesia; (ii) the oil shock and the US monetary shock seem to have influenced current account balances through real and monetary channels, and the US financial shock through the financial channel.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Achin Vanaik

Capitalist Globalisation and the Problem of Stability: enter the new quintet and other emerging powers

in Third World Quarterly, volume 34 n.2 , 194-213

Ever-expanding capital accumulation cannot be stable or cumulative without coordination and regulation provided by the state and the system of states, wherein the subset of the most powerful states is vital for establishing stability. There is a hegemonic transition of sorts towards a new quintet of powers in which the USA will remain indispensable as the key coordinator. Pretensions regarding China as the new hegemon are exposed as also are Indian claims. Moreover, it is argued that the brics grouping cannot provide an effective alternative to the quintet. However, the likely failure of the quintet to guarantee future stability raises the issue of the viability of capitalism itself. Transiting towards a post-capitalist



order requires as a necessary if insufficient condition confronting the informal empire project of the USA that underpins capitalist globalisation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Zbigniew Brzezinski

China and America in a Post-Hegemonic Age

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 30, Issue 2, Spring , 9-11

A great historical transition is underway from American-led Globalization 1.0 to Globalization 2.0—the interdependence of plural identities where no one power or alliance of powers dominates.

The G-20 is floundering as the immediate global financial crisis has receded. The United Nations and the old Bretton Woods institutions—the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO—have lost their vigor and are struggling to adjust to the global powershift with the rise of the emerging economies. While Europe is paralyzed as the historic project of integration stalls, the world's two largest economies—the United States and China—are as yet unable to figure out how to share power.

The danger now is that the geopolitical vacuum will invite assertions of national self-interest that will unravel the rules-based order that enabled stability and prosperity over recent decades.

America's leading geopolitical strategist, China's most outspoken strategic thinker and one of Asia's leading global thinkers from Singapore offer their reflections on this state of affairs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ito Hiro, Volz Ulrich

China and Global Imbalances from a View of Sectorial Reforms

in Review of International Economics, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 57-71

This article examines the impact of sectorial reforms on current account imbalances, with a special focus on China. In particular, we investigate to what extent reforms pertaining to the financial sector, social protection, and healthcare may contribute to a rebalancing of China's persistent current account imbalances. Our forecasting results suggest that reforming the financial sector would be a significant contributor to the country's rebalancing with an effect much larger than that of capital account liberalization. Strengthened provisions of social protection and publicly-funded healthcare are also found to contribute to a rebalancing of the Chinese economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Valbona Muzaka

Contradictions, frames and reproductions: The emergence of the WIPO Development Agenda

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2013 , 215-239



This article takes as its starting point the emergence of the so-called Development Agenda at the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) in 2004. It seeks to provide a diachronic view of the origins of the Agenda that goes beyond understanding it simply as an effort by some developing countries and civil society actors to bring about organisational change at WIPO. Building upon insights from sociological institutionalism, it argues that the Development Agenda is the manifestation of a founding contradiction in the institution of intellectual property itself, which has been the source of a great number of conflicts throughout its history. Actors involved in them have often used frames in an effort to legitimise their actions, such as the frame of development in the case of the Agenda. After exploring the development frame, the article concludes by arguing that the Agenda is likely to bring about only incremental changes, rather than transcend the tensions that helped bring it about.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mauz Isabelle, Debarbieux Bernard, Granjou Céline

Cosmopolitanization in action: connecting scales in international environmental organizations
in *Global Networks*, vol. 13, issue 2, april , 164-182

ABSTRACT: In this article we analyse how professionals in two international environmental organizations (IEOs) concerned with biodiversity act as 'entrepreneurs of cosmopolitanization' by establishing connections between the various scales they mobilize in their daily work. Drawing on an empirical survey, we show that these professionals mobilize a range of activities to meet a twofold requirement. The first requirement is for universality, which corresponds to their status, their determination to adopt a scientific approach and to the scale at which they initially defined the problem of biodiversity loss. The second requirement is to embed in specific contexts. Tension between these two types of requirement is inevitable. It is inherent in the cosmopolitan perspective and leads to contextual arrangements between the global approach to environmental problems and the forging of alliances with national, regional or local institutions and actors, according to opportunities and requirements. Connecting the various scales of environmental action unavoidably remains a partially achieved objective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Pearce Fred

Der große Raub. Landnahme im 21. Jahrhundert

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2013 , 49-57

Hungersnöte infolge von Landnahmen gehören zu den größten Problemen der Gegenwart. Die NGO Oxfam schätzt, dass Staaten allein 2011 227 Mio. Hektar Land an Konzerne oder andere Staaten verkauften. Der britische Wissenschaftsjournalist Fred Pearce nimmt diese dramatische Entwicklung in den Blick. Seine Prognose: Die explodierende Landnahme wird in den nächsten Jahrzehnten das Problem des Klimawandels noch in den Schatten stellen und Abermillionen von Menschen ihre Lebensgrundlage entziehen.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Conte Bernard

Die Dritte Welt ist überall

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2013 , 81-90

Im Zuge der Globalisierung erfährt die Welt katastrophale gesellschaftliche Umwälzungen, spitzt sich der Dualismus zwischen Arm und Reich immer mehr zu. Der französische Ökonom Bernard Conte diagnostiziert eine wachsende Polarisierung aller Gesellschaften: Die Eliten bereichern sich, die Mittelschicht schwindet. Was zuvor nur in der Dritten Welt vorherrschte, wird immer mehr global. Diese fatale Entwicklung wird nur durch eines aufzuhalten sein – die demokratische Einhegung und Zivilisierung der Eliten.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Benmelech Efraim, Dvir Eyal

Does Short-Term Debt Increase Vulnerability to Crisis? Evidence from the East Asian Financial Crisis

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 89, Issue 2, March 2013 , 485-494

Does short-term debt increase vulnerability to financial crisis, or does short-term debt reflect – rather than cause – the incipient crisis? We study the role that short-term debt played in the collapse of the East Asian financial sector in 1997–1998. We alleviate concerns about the endogeneity of short-term debt by using long-term debt obligations that matured during the crisis. We find that debt obligations issued at least three years before the crisis had a negative, albeit sometimes insignificant, effect on the probability of failure. Our results are consistent with the view that short-term debt reflects, rather than causes, distress in financial institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Baconnet aLEXIS

Du concept classique de sécurité au concept de sécurité globale

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 760, Mai

Sur la base d'une généalogie détaillée du concept de sécurité dont il montre les développements récents, l'auteur met en garde sur les effets de l'invasion révolutionnaire du phénomène de sécurité globale dans la pensée stratégique, notamment française. Il l'estime versatile et instable et recommande d'en maîtriser les effets pervers afin de ne pas renoncer aux principes d'endiguement de la guerre, mis en forme au fil des siècles et qui découlent moins d'une pulsion humanitaire liée à la modernité que d'une connaissance profonde du phénomène guerre.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bindseil Ulrich, Winkler Adalbert

Dual Liquidity Crises—A Financial Accounts Framework

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 151-163



This paper analyzes dual liquidity crises, i.e. funding crises which encompass the private and the public sector, and the shock absorbing capacity of central banks within a closed system of financial accounts. We find that a central bank that operates under a flexible exchange rate is most effective in containing a dual liquidity crisis. A central bank of a euro area type monetary union has a similar capacity as long as the integrity of the union is beyond doubt. By contrast, within any fixed exchange rate system the availability of inter-central bank credit determines the elasticity of a central bank in providing liquidity. Finally, domestic constraints, i.e. collateral rules, risk taking ability or legal prohibitions, can limit the elasticity of the central bank's response to liquidity shocks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Alicia Cebada Romero

El Derecho internacional global: una retórica útil para una transformación necesaria

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional*, vol. 65, issue 1 , 15-42

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bown, Chad P.

Emerging Economies and the Emergence of South-South Protectionism

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.1 , 1-44

Do exports resume when import-restricting temporary trade barriers (TTBs) such as antidumping are finally removed? First, this paper uses data from the World Bank's Temporary Trade Barriers Database to update through 2011 a number of inter-temporal indicators of import protection. Second, it highlights the economic significance of emerging economy exporters affected by frequently bilateral import restrictions imposed by other emerging economies, that is, South-South protectionism. Third, it finds that China's exporters respond quickly and aggressively to the market access opening embodied in the removal of such import restrictions. This result differs markedly from the slow and tepid export response of other emerging economies, especially when the TTB had been imposed by another emerging economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Elaine Sternberg

Ethical Misconduct and the Global Financial Crisis

in *Economic Affairs*, Volume 33, Issue 1, February 2013 , 18-33

On both sides of the Atlantic, greed, the financial services industry and deregulation have been blamed for the 'Global Financial Crisis'. The genuinely unethical conduct underlying it was actually much more fundamental, pervasive and pernicious; it was positively encouraged by lax fiscal policy and promoted by government-generated moral hazards.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mezzadra Sandro, Neilson Brett

Extraction, logistics, finance. Global crisis and the politics of operations

in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 178, Mar/Apr 2013 , 8-19

Now that the global crisis of capitalism is entering its fifth year, it is possible to discern the contours of its unfolding. No New Deal or world war is emerging to save the day. The ritual purification of austerity has not cleansed the global sewer of finance despite the harsh and unequal punishments it has delivered. From the fall of Lehman Brothers to the protests in Syntagma Square, from the stalled development in Indian 'new towns' to the refusal of migrant workers to return to non-existent jobs in China's production belts or the Gulf states, the elusive temporality of the crisis does not deliver the sense of an ending. In its classical meaning, the notion of crisis sets the stage for a decision.¹ What seems to be at stake at the present time is not decision as such but rather the indefinite prolongation of the time in which any decision might be made. The rhetoric surrounding austerity programmes is an example in this regard. Austerity is never enough. The myriad decisions it involves seem an expansion of micromanagement practices to ever-higher scales of governance, testing the rationality and flexibility of governance to the point that its boundary with sovereignty is blurred. Meanwhile the roots of the current economic and social turbulence remain unaddressed. The defining logics of contemporary capitalism – from the pervasiveness of debt to financialization, from the precarization of work to the penetration of entrepreneurial rationality into the institutional management of welfare and migration – are far from being challenged. On the contrary, they are being intensified and entrenched. In this article we highlight some of the main aspects of these logics, examining the intersection of finance, extraction and logistics. These three sectors of economic activity play a central role in shaping contemporary capitalism and therefore are important sites for the analysis of more general tendencies in its development. [...]

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Benigno Gianluca, Chen Huigang, Otrok Christopher, Rebucci Alessandro, Young Eric R.

Financial crises and macro-prudential policies

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 89, Issue 2, March 2013 , 453-470

In this paper we study a two-sector production small open economy subject to a collateral constraint in which a financial crisis can arise endogenously and alternate with normal time periods. In this class of models, the scope for policy intervention arises because individual agents do not internalize the effects of their action on a key market price that enters the collateral constraint (i.e. there is a pecuniary externality). Our main result is that the interaction between agents' behavior in crisis and normal times is crucial for the normative implications of this class of models. In contrast to the related literature, we find that in our model economy the social planner borrows more than private agents in normal times (i.e., the economy displays "underborrowing" rather than "overborrowing" in normal times) and yet has a lower probability to enter a financial crisis. While our findings call for both ex-ante and ex-post policy interventions relative to the crisis event, our analysis shows that welfare gains of ex-post policies are much larger than those of ex-ante policies. As a result, adopting only ex ante interventions such as macro-prudential policies or capital controls may be costly in welfare terms. For example, a small macro-prudential tax on debt that lowers the probability of a crisis to zero is welfare-reducing in our model because it also lowers average consumption.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Yan Xuetong

For A New Bipolarity: China and Russia vs. America

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 2, Spring , 12-15

A great historical transition is underway from American-led Globalization 1.0 to Globalization 2.0—the interdependence of plural identities where no one power or alliance of powers dominates.

The G-20 is floundering as the immediate global financial crisis has receded. The United Nations and the old Bretton Woods institutions—the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO—have lost their vigor and are struggling to adjust to the global powershift with the rise of the emerging economies. While Europe is paralyzed as the historic project of integration stalls, the world's two largest economies—the United States and China—are as yet unable to figure out how to share power.

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America's leading geopolitical strategist, China's most outspoken strategic thinker and one of Asia's leading global thinkers from Singapore offer their reflections on this state of affairs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Belke Ansgar, Schnabl Gunther

Four Generations of Global Imbalances

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 1-5

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dobusch Leonhard, Quack Sigrid

Framing standards, mobilizing users: Copyright versus fair use in transnational regulation

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2013 , 52-88

Following the agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) intellectual property rights, and more specifically copyright, have become the subject of highly politicized conflicts. In this paper we analyze how these conflicts shifted from the political arena to private standard-setting sites, where two opposing coalitions of actors pursued competing initiatives – an industry coalition which aimed at enforcing copyright protection through Digital Rights Management and an emerging coalition of civil society actors which sought to develop a digital commons based on copyleft licenses. Paradoxically, the industry coalition, which had very successfully lobbied international organizations, ran into trouble developing and enforcing private regulation in the market place, while the civil society coalition proved to be more effective in the market than in the political sphere. The findings of our analysis indicate that the strategic use of organizational forms and collective action frames can be more decisive for the mobilization of users than material



resources, and that the success of collective action frames depends on their compatibility with user practices. Based on the argument that regime shifting from intergovernmental to private governance can open up new and favorable spaces for weak actors to experiment with alternative forms of regulation, the paper contributes to the literature on the politics of regime complexity. The paper furthermore highlights the importance of studying non-elite actors and their day-to-day practices to gain a better understanding of changes within the international political economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dobusch Leonhard, Quack Sigrid

Framing standards, mobilizing users: Copyright versus fair use in transnational regulation

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2013 , 52-88

Following the agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) intellectual property rights, and more specifically copyright, have become the subject of highly politicized conflicts. In this paper we analyze how these conflicts shifted from the political arena to private standard-setting sites, where two opposing coalitions of actors pursued competing initiatives – an industry coalition which aimed at enforcing copyright protection through Digital Rights Management and an emerging coalition of civil society actors which sought to develop a digital commons based on copyleft licenses. Paradoxically, the industry coalition, which had very successfully lobbied international organizations, ran into trouble developing and enforcing private regulation in the market place, while the civil society coalition proved to be more effective in the market than in the political sphere. The findings of our analysis indicate that the strategic use of organizational forms and collective action frames can be more decisive for the mobilization of users than material resources, and that the success of collective action frames depends on their compatibility with user practices. Based on the argument that regime shifting from intergovernmental to private governance can open up new and favorable spaces for weak actors to experiment with alternative forms of regulation, the paper contributes to the literature on the politics of regime complexity. The paper furthermore highlights the importance of studying non-elite actors and their day-to-day practices to gain a better understanding of changes within the international political economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mor Mitrani

Global Civil Society and International Society: Compete or Complete?

in Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, 38 (2) , 172-188

The use of the concept of “global civil society” (GCS) acknowledges the intensifying role of non-state civic actors in world politics and expresses the emergence of a unique social sphere transcending national boundaries. Extensive literatures strive to suggest conceptualizations and assessments of the actual and desired effects of GCS. Nevertheless, relatively little attention has been given to the interplay between the emerging sphere of a GCS and the traditional sphere of international or interstate interactions. This article examines the idea of GCS through an exploration of the conceptual interplay between the notions of GCS and the interstate system. It presents a typology of three possible ideal-type relations: (1) GCS as replacement of statist features of the international system; (2) GCS as opposition to the state system; and (3) GCS as subsidiary organ to the international society. From a perspective informed by the English School of international relations theory, the article argues that the enhanced role of GCS in world politics is a result of international society’s attempts to adapt interstate rules and practices to the context of globalization.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hoyler Michael, Watson Allan

Global Media Cities in Transnational Media Networks

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)*, Volume 104, Issue 1, February, 90-108

This paper considers an alternative dimension of world city network formation, driven by transnational media corporations rather than advanced producer services. Through an empirical analysis of the office networks of leading media corporations, the paper measures the integration of global media cities into the world city network in 2011. An interlocking network model is employed to determine the connectedness of cities within media networks, and a principal components analysis used to identify six media fields that represent the locational strategies of transnational media corporations. The results highlight the regionality of global corporate media strategies, which are firmly anchored in the major home markets of North America, Europe and Japan but reach out to other world regions through strategically positioned media cities.

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2012.00738.x/pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kalemli-Ozcan Sebnem, Papaioannou Elias, Perri Fabrizio

Global banks and crisis transmission

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 89, Issue 2, March 2013, 495-510

We study the effect of financial integration (through banks) on the transmission of international business cycles. In a sample of 18/20 developed countries between 1978 and 2009 we find that, in periods without financial crises, increases in bilateral banking linkages are associated with more divergent output cycles. This relation is significantly weaker during financial turmoil periods, suggesting that financial crises induce co-movement among more financially integrated countries. We also show that countries with stronger, direct and indirect, financial ties to the U.S. experienced more synchronized cycles with the U.S. during the recent 2007–2009 crisis. We then interpret these findings using a simple general equilibrium model of international business cycles with banks and shocks to banking activity. The model suggests that the relation between integration and synchronization depends on the type of shocks hitting the world economy, and that shocks to global banks played an important role in triggering and spreading the 2007–2009 crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dedola Luca, Karadi Peter, Lombardo Giovanni

Global implications of national unconventional policies

in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 60, Issue 1, January 2013, 66-85

Financial integration in the markets for banks' assets and liabilities makes balance sheet constraints highly correlated across countries, resulting in a high degree of financial and macroeconomic interdependence. Likewise, under financial



integration unconventional policies aimed at stabilizing domestic financial and credit conditions could entail large international spillovers. Therefore, stabilization by one country will also benefit other countries, reducing incentives to implement credit policies in a classic free-riding problem, especially when these policies entail domestic costs. We show that this outcome can emerge in an open economy model featuring financial intermediaries that face endogenously determined balance sheet constraints.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Boström Magnus, Hallström Kristina Tamm

Global multi-stakeholder standard setters: how fragile are they?

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 9, Issue 1, 2013 , 93-110

Abstract

Worldwide we see the rise of new non-state, 'multi-stakeholder' organizations setting standards for socially and environmentally responsible practices. A multi-stakeholder organization builds on the idea of assembling actors from diverse societal spheres into one rule-setting process, thereby combining their resources, competences, and experiences. These processes also allow competing interests to negotiate and deliberate about their different concerns in global political and ethical matters. This paper analyzes multi-stakeholder dynamics within three global standard setters: the Forest Stewardship Council, the Marine Stewardship Council, and the work of the International Organization for Standardization on social responsibility (ISO 26000). Although the multi-stakeholder organizational form facilitates the establishment of transnational non-state authority, this very structure could also result in fragility. The key aim of this paper is to elaborate on this fragility with specific focus on how participatory aspects within a multi-stakeholder context both contribute to and destabilize the authority of the multi-stakeholder organization. The paper contributes theoretically to current discussions about transnational governance in the making, and more specifically it adds nuance to the discussion about the fragility of non-state authority as well as a critical perspective to the literature on multi-stakeholder arrangements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ivanov Igor

Globalization and the Quest for a 'Smart' Foreign Policy

in **Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)**, Volume 6 Issue 1 , 49-57

Globalization continues to be a growing trend from the economy, security, and even the individual as ideas are rapidly exchanged between different cultures. State-actors, although still a critical component, are competing for influence with the private sector, transnational movements, international media, and even small NGOs. In this globalized world nations must adopt the concept of 'smart' foreign policy. The basic idea of 'smart' foreign policy is outlined in nine major points: focusing on the long term rather than short term opportunistic gains; separating domestic from foreign policy agendas; credibility; global intellectual leadership; enhancing the bureaucratic decision-making process to include all actors in the new globalized world; working more closely with the academic community; harmonizing public and private instruments of foreign policymaking; better educating societies on the concept and benefits of globalization; and finally, enhancing communication among all nations. These nine components of 'smart' foreign policy will help facilitate a better world



where new opportunities can be discovered and greater progress can be made without the alienation of one group or nation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Zant Wouter

How Is the Liberalization of Food Markets Progressing? Market Integration and Transaction Costs in Subsistence Economies

in *World Bank Economic Review (The)*, Volume 27 Issue 1 2013 , 28-54

We propose a modification of Baulch's parity bounds model to measure the market integration of food markets in developing countries. Instead of extrapolating a single observation of transaction costs, we estimate transaction costs. Predicted transaction costs compare well with survey data of traders. Probabilities of market regimes, computed on the basis of predicted transaction costs, fluctuate significantly and do not support fixed regime probabilities over time. The probability of market integration with trade decreases consistently during food shortages, increasing either the probability of no trade or loss-making trade or the probability of profitable but unexploited trade opportunities. The data further support a negative trend in market integration with trade.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Martin Alberto, Taddei Filippo

International capital flows and credit market imperfections: A tale of two frictions

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 89, Issue 2, March 2013 , 441-452

The financial crisis of 2007–08 has underscored the importance of adverse selection in financial markets. This friction has been mostly neglected by macroeconomic models of financial imperfections, which have focused almost exclusively on the effects of limited pledgeability. In this paper, we fill this gap by developing a standard growth model with adverse selection. Our main results are that, by fostering unproductive investment, adverse selection: (i) leads to an increase in the economy's equilibrium interest rate, and; (ii) it generates a negative wedge between the marginal return to investment and the equilibrium interest rate. Under international financial integration, we show how this translates into excessive capital inflows and endogenous cycles. We also extend our model to the more general case in which adverse selection and limited pledgeability coexist. We conclude that both frictions complement one another and show that limited pledgeability exacerbates the effects of adverse selection.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gourio François, Siemer Michael, Verdelhan Adrien

International risk cycles

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 89, Issue 2, March 2013 , 471-484

Recent work in international finance suggests that exchange rate puzzles can be accounted for if (1) aggregate uncertainty is time-varying, and (2) countries have heterogeneous exposures to a world aggregate shock. We embed



these features in a standard two-country real business cycle framework, and calibrate the model to equity risk premia in low and high interest rates countries. Unlike traditional real business cycle models, our model generates volatile exchange rates, a large currency forward premium, "excess comovement" of asset prices relative to quantities, and an imperfect correlation between relative consumption growth and exchange rates. Our model implies, however, that high interest rate countries have smoother quantities, equity returns and interest rates than low interest rate countries, contrary to the data.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Stolz Stéphanie Marie, Wedow Michael

Keeping banks afloat: public lifelines during the financial crisis

in International Economics and Economic Policy, Volume 10, Issue 1, March 2013 , 81-126

The extensive public support measures for the financial sector were key for the management of the financial crisis. This paper gives a detailed description of the measures taken by governments during the period 2008–2010 and attempts a preliminary assessment of the effectiveness of such measures. The geographical focus of the paper is on the European Union (EU) and the United States. The crisis response in both regions was largely similar in terms of both tools and scope. However, there are important differences, not only between the EU and the United States, but also within the EU (e.g. asset relief schemes).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gills Barry K.

La Théorie du Système Monde (TSM): Analyse de l'histoire mondiale, de la mondialisation et de la crise mondiale

in Actuel Marx, N° 53, avril 2013

The World System Theory: an Analysis of Global History, Globalization and Global Crisis

This article provides a concise summary of the distinctive concepts and historical interpretations provided by the World System theory developed by the author and the late Andre Gunder Frank. A series of contrasts are made between this new approach and that of classical Marxism and neo-Marxist Wallersteinian world-system theory. A critique is presented of the Eurocentric aspects of these other approaches and an alternative non-Eurocentric analysis is offered. The formulations of the Gills and Frank world system analysis are an attempt to preserve many elements of the Historical Materialist tradition and remain true to its critical intent, while providing a framework that responds to the framing of world development in truly world historical context, and encompasses both the past history of several millennia of world development processes and the problematic of "globalization" and global history.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Bidet Jacques

Le marxisme face à l'histoire globale

in *Actuel Marx*, N° 53, avril 2013

Marxism in the Face of Global History

The cyclical standpoint involved in World-System theories – and which climaxes in the question “who will be the next hegemon?” – would appear to neutralize the Marxist perspective directed towards an ultimate goal which is the end of capitalism and class domination. "Global history" offers a profound renewal of our historical knowledge, questioning some of the classical claims of Marxism. In line with the argument in *L'État-monde* (2011), it is however argued here that one cannot be satisfied with a purely systemic conception of the present time. Modernity is the effect not only of (world) system but also of (class) structure, “classes” being understood here in terms of a state institution within a nation-state. As a result of the technological developments which it propels, capitalist modernity possesses a structural tendency leading from nation-state to a World (class) State that is involved in the World System. In this sense, the present time can be defined as that of ultimodernity. In this ecological terminus, the human species forms a (class-structured) political community. The tasks of Marxism thus return and are restated, in what is a more complex and more uncertain mode.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ferrari Vincenzo

Le metamorfosi delle funzioni e della struttura del diritto tra globalizzazione e crisi economica

in *Diritto e società*, n. 4 , 629-644

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cristián Gimenez Corte

Lex Mercatoria, International Arbitration and Independent Guarantees: Transnational Law and How Nation States Lost the Monopoly of Legitimate Enforcement

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 3, issue 4 , 345-370

This article examines the relationship among the new lex mercatoria, international commercial arbitration, and independent contract guarantees. It will try to show that, from a substantive viewpoint, an international contract may be governed solely on the basis of the lex mercatoria, without reference to national law. It will also attempt to demonstrate that, from a jurisdictional point of view, a dispute regarding a contract governed by the lex mercatoria may be resolved by arbitrators, without reference to any national law or court. Finally, the article will attempt to show that parties to a contract may also agree on an independent contract guarantee as a warrant for the execution of the award. Hence, the arbitral award may be enforced without the intervention of a national court, and without reference to national law. In this regard, this study will discuss whether we are in the presence of a new truly transnational legal system that is independent from the national legal order, since not even at the enforcement stage would assistance from the nation-state be required. This study will conclude by considering the impact that this situation produces in the general



theory (and practice) of law and state, particularly regarding the quest for the democratic legitimacy of the transnational law-making process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Erten Bilge

Macroeconomic transmission of Eurozone shocks to emerging economies

in *Economie internationale*, n° 131, 2012/3, 43-70

This paper analyzes the robustness of emerging economies growth performance to a number of external demand shocks using a Bayesian vector autoregressive (BVAR) model with informative priors on the steady state. We show that more than fifty percent of the variation in real GDP growth of Latin American emerging economies is explained by external factors, while it is slightly less than fifty percent for emerging Asia and China. Conditional forecasts of different scenarios indicate that a deepening of the Eurozone recession would create a severe and persistent contraction for emerging economies, depending on the response of the U.S. growth to this shock. Finally, forecasts suggest that a sharp slowdown in China's growth would have a significant negative impact on emerging economies' growth, and that the Latin American countries would be more severely hit than the Asian ones.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Saggi Kamal

Market Power in the Global Economy: The Exhaustion and Protection of Intellectual Property

in *Economic Journal*, Volume 123, Issue 567, March 2013, 131-161

We develop a North–South model in which a Northern monopolist can fully exercise its market power globally only if the North practises national exhaustion of intellectual property rights (IPR) and the South prohibits imitation. The firm's export incentive turns out to be a major determinant of equilibrium policy choices and their welfare effects. The North has a stronger preference for international exhaustion if the South forbids imitation, something the South is actually more willing to do under national exhaustion. Shutting down Southern imitation increases global welfare if and only if it is necessary for inducing the firm to export.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Chris Thornhill

National Sovereignty and the Constitution of Transnational Law: A Sociological Approach to a Classical Antinomy

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 3, issue 4, 394-460

This article outlines a concept of transnational law that is designed to question, or at least to sit alongside, the increasingly established categorisation of transnational law as law that emerges beyond the state, resulting from the fragmentation of the sovereign organs of national states. It argues that the construction of a hybrid transnational legal domain, far from being specific to globalised, postnational society, is in many cases a precondition for the formation of



strong national statehood, and the inner-societal exercise of state sovereignty has typically depended on the existence of a bedrock of transnational law, fusing national and international law in autonomous fashion, in national societies. On this basis, the article employs a series of historical and contemporary examples to show that transnational law and national state building are closely interwoven, and it advances a historical-sociological methodology to support these claims.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Turner Bryan S.

Review Essay: A Capitalist Catastrophe

in *Sociological Review*, Volume 61, Issue 1, February 2013 , 203-208

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-954X.12011/full>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mueller Wolfgang, Oates-Indruchová Libora

Space, Borders, Borderlands: Global and East European Approaches in Historiography

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 1/2013 , 43-45

The full text is free:

www.oezp.at/getEnAbstract.php?id=507

In an international research perspective, an increased interest in questions of migration and in the significance of space has contributed to more attention being dedicated to border regimes. The vast field of border studies crosses several disciplines from political science, through geography and anthropology, to history and literature (see e.g. Wastl-Walter 2010). It subsumes a broad range of subjects including both metaphorical and material borders. The study of material borders, which is our concern here, has been a dynamically developing field in the last two and a half decades. After the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the dismantling of the Iron Curtain, the opening of former communist archives as well as the “spatial turn” in historiography stimulated interest in past border regimes. Karl Schlögel, among others, noted that in the preceding period since the end of World War II, the field was tainted with negative political connotations (Schlögel 2003). The end of the Cold War, the dissolution of the Eastern bloc, and European integration, in particular the Schengen process – research areas highly relevant to Central Europe, including Austria – provided the field with a new impetus (e.g. Andreas/Snyder 2000; DeBardleben 2007). Globalisation and its attendant discourse of borderlessness on the one hand, and new concerns with demarcation on the other also spurred the discussion of the 1990s, with the latter concern dominating the 2000s (Newman 2006; Ambruster/Meinhof 2011)...



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bacchetta Philippe, van Wincoop Eric

Sudden spikes in global risk

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 89, Issue 2, March 2013 , 511-521

Recent episodes (October 2008, May 2010, August 2011) have witnessed huge spikes in equity price risk (implied volatility). Apart from their large size, several features characterize these risk panics. They are global phenomena, shared among a broad set of countries. There is substantial variation though in the extent to which individual countries are impacted, while the impact bears little relation to financial linkages with the epicenter of the crisis. In addition there is usually not a large shock to fundamentals that sets off these panics. We provide an explanation for these risk panic features in the context of a two-country model that allows for self-fulfilling shifts in risk.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Beaujard Philippe

Systèmes-mondes anciens. Processus de domination, de co-évolution et de résistance. L'exemple de la côte est-africaine avant le XVIIe siècle

in **Actuel Marx**, N° 53, avril 2013

Old Worlds-Systems, Processes of Domination, Co-Evolution and Resistance: the Case of the East African Coast before the Seventeenth Century

This article examines the destiny of Swahili east Africa as periphery of a world-system whose center was the Indian Ocean – point of entry of the Europeans into the system. It analyses the relations between the east African coast, with its continental hinterlands, and the Arabian, Persian, and Indian “cores” of a system characterised by exploitation, slavery, ideological and political domination, but also by the exchange and diffusion of knowledge, weaving, writing, Islam. The article thus re-examines the concepts of labour division, exchange value, money, capital, etc. It highlights the reactive and inventive capacity of Africa, hampered only by its remoteness from the great centers and by the lack of agricultural potential which elsewhere rendered possible a demographical leap and an autonomous upward leverage in power.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nam Siho

The Cultural Political Economy of the Korean Wave in East Asia: Implications for Cultural Globalization Theories

in **Asian Perspective**, Volume 37, Issue 2 (April-June 2013) , 209-231

In this article I examine the Korean Wave as an illustrative case of cultural globalization. I examine this new cultural phenomenon in light of the realignment of Korean media and cultural industries. The Korean Wave is a symptom of the discursive formation and practice of Korea's national cultural policy, which aims to advance Korea's global economic



competitiveness by promoting innovation and expansion in the creative industries. I identify implications of the Korean Wave for critical theories of cultural globalization and for the Asian region in fostering or hindering regional cooperation and cultural diversity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bassiouni M. Cherif

The Future of Human Rights in the Age of Globalization

in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 40, No. 1-3,

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kishore Mahbubani

The Great Convergence and the Logic of One World

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 2, Spring , 16-19

A great historical transition is underway from American-led Globalization 1.0 to Globalization 2.0—the interdependence of plural identities where no one power or alliance of powers dominates.

The G-20 is floundering as the immediate global financial crisis has receded. The United Nations and the old Bretton Woods institutions—the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO—have lost their vigor and are struggling to adjust to the global powershift with the rise of the emerging economies. While Europe is paralyzed as the historic project of integration stalls, the world's two largest economies—the United States and China—are as yet unable to figure out how to share power.

The danger now is that the geopolitical vacuum will invite assertions of national self-interest that will unravel the rules-based order that enabled stability and prosperity over recent decades.

America's leading geopolitical strategist, China's most outspoken strategic thinker and one of Asia's leading global thinkers from Singapore offer their reflections on this state of affairs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Vogel Lukas

The Impact of Structural Policies on External Accounts in Infinite-horizon and Finite-horizon Models

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 103–117

The paper uses QUEST III to compare the impact of product market reform, labor market reform, and fiscal devaluation on economic activity and external accounts in infinite-horizon and finite-horizon versions of the model for a small open economy in monetary union with tradable and non-tradable sectors. The impact of structural policies on external



positions tends to be stronger and more persistent, but also more diverse in the finite-horizon specification because of the impact of structural reforms on financial wealth and its transmission to consumption demand in the finite-horizon setting. The improvement in the net foreign asset position tends to be stronger if structural reforms are accompanied by fiscal consolidation and if countries start with high pre-reform levels of net foreign debt.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Oatley Thomas, Winecoff W. Kindred, Pennock Andrew, Bauerle Danzman Sarah

The Political Economy of Global Finance: A Network Model

in *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 11, issue 1, march , 133-153

ABSTRACT: Although the subprime crisis regenerated interest in and stimulated debate about how to study the politics of global finance, it has not sparked the development of new approaches to International Political Economy (IPE), which remains firmly rooted in actor-centered models. We develop an alternative network-based approach that shifts the analytical focus to the relations between actors. We first depict the contemporary global financial system as a network, with a particular focus on its hierarchical structure. We then explore key characteristics of this global financial network, including how the hierarchic network structure shapes the dynamics of financial contagion and the source and persistence of power. Throughout, we strive to relate existing research to our network approach in order to highlight exactly where this approach accommodates, where it extends, and where it challenges existing knowledge generated by actor-centered models. We conclude by suggesting that a network approach enables us to construct a systemic IPE that is theoretically and empirically pluralist.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ma Guonan, McCauley Robert, Lam Lillie

The Roles of Saving, Investment and the Renminbi in Rebalancing the Chinese Economy

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 72-84

China's current account surplus widened from the late 1990s, and its private consumption fell to one third of gross domestic product (GDP). We examine these domestic and external imbalances from two perspectives: the saving-investment balance and the effective renminbi exchange rate. China's large external surplus has arisen neither from anaemic consumption nor from weak investment but rather from the saved windfalls from favorable demographics, market liberalization, robust restructuring and World Trade Organization (WTO) accession. Looking ahead, as these windfalls fade, saving will subside. The exchange rate is already playing a supporting role in rebalancing the Chinese economy, and the real effective exchange rate based on unit labor costs has appreciated very sharply. Prospective savings-investment and exchange-rate developments point to a higher consumption share and a narrowing of China's current account surplus.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

St. John Dan

The Trouble with Westphalia in Space: The State-Centric Liability Regime



in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 40, No. 4,

What happens when a satellite owned by a private company in one state crashes into another state's satellite? International space law has an answer. The solution, however, reflects a bygone, state-centric era created by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. A better system must meet demands of the emerging commercial space sector. The treaty framework governing state activities in outer space reflects Cold War fears. Consequently, the space liability regime favors diplomatic, cooperative dispute resolution between states. States, therefore, must sponsor private entities' claims. If the treaty process is ineffective, state responsibility and international liability fill the gaps left by the space liability regime. Today, space is increasingly crowded as commercial ventures launch into space. For them, a state-centric liability regime is ineffective. I conclude by suggesting that states back commercial ventures by subsidizing liability insurance and encourage the private sector to circumvent the treaty framework through contractual allocation of risk.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Meunier Sophie

The dog that did not bark: Anti-Americanism and the 2008 financial crisis in Europe

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2013 , 1-25

The financial crisis that erupted in September 2008 seemed to confirm all the worst stereotypes about the United States held abroad: that Americans are bold, greedy, and selfish to excess; that they are hypocrites, staunch defenders of the free market ready to bail out their own companies; and that the US has long been the architect and primary beneficiary of the global economic system. So the crisis had an enormous potential for deteriorating further the global image of the United States, already at an all-time high during the George W. Bush era. Yet anti-American sentiments did not surge worldwide as a result of the crisis, neither at the level of public opinion, nor at the level of actions and policy responses by foreign policy-makers. This article explains why the dog did not bark and reawaken anti-Americanism in the process. The central argument is that this potential anti-Americanism has been mitigated by several factors, including the election of Obama, the new face of globalization, and the perception of the relative decline of US power coupled with the rise of China, which suggests that the 'post-American' world may be accompanied by a 'post anti-American' world, at least in Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Meunier Sophie

The dog that did not bark: Anti-Americanism and the 2008 financial crisis in Europe

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2013 , 1-25

The financial crisis that erupted in September 2008 seemed to confirm all the worst stereotypes about the United States held abroad: that Americans are bold, greedy, and selfish to excess; that they are hypocrites, staunch defenders of the free market ready to bail out their own companies; and that the US has long been the architect and primary beneficiary of the global economic system. So the crisis had an enormous potential for deteriorating further the global image of the United States, already at an all-time high during the George W. Bush era. Yet anti-American sentiments did not surge



worldwide as a result of the crisis, neither at the level of public opinion, nor at the level of actions and policy responses by foreign policy-makers. This article explains why the dog did not bark and reawaken anti-Americanism in the process. The central argument is that this potential anti-Americanism has been mitigated by several factors, including the election of Obama, the new face of globalization, and the perception of the relative decline of US power coupled with the rise of China, which suggests that the 'post-American' world may be accompanied by a 'post anti-American' world, at least in Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Antonis Adam, Pantelis Kammas, Athina Lagou

The effect of globalization on capital taxation: What have we learned after 20 years of empirical studies?
in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 35 , 199-209

This paper applies meta-regression analysis to the empirical literature that examines the impact of international market integration on capital taxation. The main objective is to explore whether particular data, model specification and estimation procedures exert systematic impact on the reported findings. Our results provide empirical evidence that differences across studies can be attributed to differences in the measurement of globalization. Moreover, in contrast to the conventional wisdom, study characteristics related to the measurement of the tax burden on capital appear to have an insignificant effect on the above mentioned relationship. Finally the meta-analysis fails to confirm a negative effect of globalization on the taxation of capital.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Selwyn Ben

The global retail revolution, fruiticulture and economic development in north-east Brazil
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2013 , 153-179

Rapidly expanding world fruiticulture markets provide developing country producers with new income opportunities and much development literature and policy is orientated towards facilitating export production in these countries. However, it has been widely observed that the global retail revolution is accelerating the exclusion of small producers from export markets and (increasingly) from many domestic retail chains due to rising entry barriers. Small producers are thus often only able to sell their produce on to relatively low price 'traditional' markets. This paper is based on data collected from a recently emerged fruiticulture sector in north-east Brazil. It shows that (a) export fruiticulture does generate significant economic benefits, (b) that modern domestic retail markets are increasingly demanding and exclusionary, but also, and counter to much of the literature concerned with export promotion, that (c) small-farms producing fruiticulture products for 'traditional' domestic markets do generate positive local economic impacts. Policymakers should, therefore, consider new ways of assisting smaller producers to enter these markets.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Roudometof Victor

The glocalizations of Eastern Orthodox Christianity



in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 16, Number 2, May 2013 , 226-245

This article introduces the notion of multiple glocalizations as a means of analysing Christianity's historical record and argues that multiple glocalizations are constitutive of the intertwining between religion and historical globalization. It proposes that four concrete forms of glocalization can be observed: vernacularization, indigenization, nationalization and transnationalization. Each of these offers different combinations of universal religiosity and local particularism. The salience of this interpretation is demonstrated through a cursory analysis of the historical record of Christianity's fragmentation. It is argued that the very construction of distinct religious traditions (Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Roman Catholicism) is an expression of this broader process. Finally, the historical record of Eastern Orthodox Christianity is examined in order to provide for additional historical instances of these forms of glocalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Devine-Wright Patrick

Think global, act local? The relevance of place attachments and place identities in a climate changed world

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 23, Issue 1, February , 61-69

Two decades ago, an article was published in *Global Environmental Change* proposing the importance of place attachments, at local and global scales, for understanding human responses to climate change (Feitelson, 1991). Despite concluding that 'studies of individual's attachment to place may provide important inputs for strategies to enhance the prospects for sharing the globe' (p. 406, 1991), the article remains overlooked. This article takes up and extends Feitelson's argument for more systematic research on place attachments and climate change. First, the paper critically reviews interdisciplinary literature on place attachment and the related concept of place identity, drawing on scholarship in human geography, environmental and social psychology. The review identifies a lack of cross-disciplinary dialogue, as well as several limitations to the ways that scalar aspects have been researched. Second, climate change research, encompassing adaptation, mitigation and communication that has incorporated place related attachments and identities is critically reviewed; in particular, emerging research on the role of 'psychological distance' is critiqued. The article concludes with five recommendations for future research: to capture place attachments and identities at global as well as local scales; to integrate qualitative and quantitative methods that capture constructions of place as well as intensity of attachments and identifications; to investigate links between attachments, identities and collective actions, particular 'NIMBY' resistance to adaptation and mitigation strategies; to apply greater precision when investigating spatial frames of risk communication; and to investigate links between global attachments and identities, environmental worldviews and climate change engagement. Finally, the implications of such research for evaluating area-based climate interventions are discussed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wallerstein Immanuel

Une crise globale qui attend encore sa résolution. Entretien avec I. Wallerstein

in *Actuel Marx*, N° 53, avril 2013

Dynamics of (Unresolved) Global Crisis: Thirty Years Later



The world-system is in a structural crisis. This is not merely a downturn in some parameters, but a moment when the system as a system has moved too far from equilibrium and bifurcates. There are then two alternatives, and the political struggle is over which of the two alternatives is ultimately "chosen" as a result of an infinity of nano-actions by an infinity of actors at an infinity of nano-moments. The outcome cannot be predicted, but it is certain that one of the two branches of the bifurcation will eventually prevail. The article traces how a capitalist world-economy normally functions and how the processes of permitting the maximum accumulation of capital self-exhaust over time, leading to the structural crisis. It traces the mode of functioning of the two principal cyclical rhythms of the historical system - the Kondratieff curves and the hegemonic curves - and why they have now come close to asymptotes they cannot cross. It also traces the impact of the world-revolution of 1968 on the capacity of the system to sustain its geoculture, and the return to independent operation of both the conservative right and the radical left, now liberated from the constraints of the liberal center.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bergstrand Jeffrey H., Egger Peter

What determines BITs?

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 90, Issue 1, May 2013 , 107-122

Similar to bilateral or regional preferential trade agreements (PTAs), bilateral investment treaties (BITs) have proliferated over the past 50 years. The purpose of this study is to provide the first systematic empirical analysis of the economic determinants of BITs and of the likelihood of BITs between pairs of countries using a qualitative choice model, in a manner consistent with explaining PTAs. We develop the econometric specification for explaining the two based upon a general equilibrium model of world trade and foreign direct investment with three factors, two products, and trade and investment costs among multiple countries in the presence of national and multinational firms. The empirical model for BITs and PTAs is bivariate in nature and supports a set of hypotheses drawn from the general equilibrium model. Using the preferred empirical model for a sample of 12,880 country-pairs in the year 2000, we predict correctly 88% of all pairs with a BIT and a PTA, 81% with a BIT but no PTA, and 84% with a PTA but no BIT.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

McKinnon Ronald, Liu Zhao

Zero Interest Rates in the United States Provoke World Monetary Instability and Constrict the US Economy

in **Review of International Economics**, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 49-56

Under near zero US interest rates, the international dollar standard malfunctions. Emerging markets (EM) with naturally higher interest rates are swamped with hot money inflows. EM central banks intervene to prevent their currencies from rising precipitately. They lose monetary control and begin inflating. Primary commodity prices rise worldwide unless interrupted by an international banking crisis. This inflation on the dollar's periphery only registers in the US core consumer price index (CPI) with a long lag. The zero interest rate policy also fails to stimulate the US economy as domestic financial intermediation by banks and money market mutual funds is undermined.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Drezner Daniel W., McNamara Kathleen R.

**global financial crisis, International Political Economy, global financial orders
in Perspectives on Politics**, vol. 11, issue 1, march , 155-166

ABSTRACT: The 2008 financial crisis triggered the most severe global economic downturn since the Great Depression. The crisis has provoked soul-searching among economists, yet international political economy (IPE) scholars have been relatively sanguine. We argue that IPE has strayed too far away from studying the geopolitical and systemic causes and consequences of the global economy. IPE must explain the generation and transformation of global financial orders. Both the distribution of political power and the content of economic ideas will shape any emergent global financial order. A Kuhnian life-cycle framework of global financial orders permits a systemic approach to global finance that integrates the study of power and social logics into our understanding of markets.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Pennisi di Floristella Angela

**Are non-traditional security challenges leading regional organizations towards greater convergence?
in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 11, n. 1, March , 21-38

How are regional organizations responding to the emergence of non-traditional security (NTS) challenges? Are they engaging in more cooperative efforts to meet new threats? Or, on the contrary, do they react in different manners according to their distinctive values, principles and internal structures? This article attempts to investigate how the threats posed by NTS are compelling different regional organizations to reconsider their security thinking and to find new innovative ways of cooperation. This is done by comparing two diverse regional organizations, the EU and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), whose models of security cooperation have significantly varied reflecting the preference for different security approaches. The EU's security system has been more formalized and institutionalized; conversely, the "ASEAN way" has traditionally been rooted in the principles of informality and consensus. It is argued, however, that the emergence of NTS threats is acting as a catalyst behind a normative and operational shift of the modus operandi of both organizations. In so doing, this empirical analysis will try to shed light on the effects of exogenous factors on the emergence of patterns of convergence within the security sphere of distinctive regional processes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Sebastian Krapohl, Simon Fink

Different Paths of Regional Integration: Trade Networks and Regional Institution-Building in Europe, Southeast Asia and Southern Africa

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 51, Issue 3, May 2013 , 472-488

This article argues that regional integration can follow three different developmental paths, depending on the centrality of external economic actors and economic asymmetries in regional trade networks. The first path causes intra-regional



interdependence, the second path reinforces dependence on extra-regional actors, and the third path reinforces asymmetries in the region. The article illustrates this argument using diachronic network visualization of trade networks in three world regions. The European Union (EU) corresponds to the first path, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to the second and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to the third. The theoretical argument and empirical analysis in the article demonstrate how regional organizations get locked into these developmental paths, and how regional integration reinforces rather than changes existing economic structures.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Prys Miriam

India and South Asia in the world: on the embeddedness of regions in the international system and its consequences for regional powers

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 13 Issue 2 May , 267-299

Regions and the regional powers that characterize them stand in multiple inter-relations with the world system. Yet, theories of International Relations struggle with the conceptualization of this global-regional nexus. This article introduces an analytical tool that allows for the evaluation of the 'embeddedness' of regions into the international system and its consequences for a regional power in 'its' region. The theoretical tool shows in particular that regional powers do not necessarily have an inherent interest in 'their' region and its stabilization or, in general, the provision of public goods. Instead, global interests can prevail. Thus, the decision to engage positively in the region is one that does not automatically follow from relative preponderance as it is assumed by many analysts of regional powerhood in the case study chosen here, South Asia, and across the globe. The applicability of this analytical tool is illustrated with the help of two specific examples – India's conflict management in Sri Lanka and its role in the democratization process in Nepal.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Facchini Giovanni, Silva Peri, Willmann Gerald

The customs union issue: Why do we observe so few of them?

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 90, Issue 1, May 2013 , 136-147

The number of preferential trade agreements has greatly increased over the past two decades, yet most existing arrangements take the form of free trade areas, and less than 10% can be considered to be fully fledged customs unions. This paper develops a political economy model of trade policy under imperfect competition to provide a positive explanation for the prevalence of free trade areas. In a three-country setting, a representative from each prospective member is elected to determine the tariffs to be applied on imported goods. Under a customs union, the necessity to coordinate tariffs leads voters to strategically delegate power to more protectionist representatives. We show that strategic delegation may imply that free trade areas increase the prospective member countries' welfare compared to customs unions. Moreover, the model also indicates conditions under which free trade areas are more likely to be politically viable than customs unions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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



Wadlow René

A Middle East Nuclear-Weapon Free Zone

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 1, March

All we have learned of psychotherapy suggests that it is at the precise time when the individual feels as if his whole life is crashing down around him that he is most likely to achieve an inner reorganization constituting a quantum leap in his growth towards maturity. Our belief is that it is precisely when society's future seems so beleaguered – when its problems seem almost staggering in complexity, when so many individuals seem alienated, and so many values seem to have deteriorated – that is most likely to achieve a metamorphosis in society's growth toward maturity, toward more truly enhancing and fulfilling the human spirit than ever before.

(Willis Harman)

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/820-a-middle-east-nuclear-weapon-free-zone>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Bahgat Gawdat

A WMD-Free Zone in the Middle East?

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 1, Spring , 30-38

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/mepo.12001/pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

de Waal Alex, Ibreck Rachel

Alem Bekagn: The African Union's accidental human rights memorial

in *African Affairs*, Volume 112, Issue 447, April , 191-215

The African Union's new offices in Addis Ababa stand upon the site of the city's former central prison, known as Alem Bekagn, where thousands of people suffered and died. This article traces the history of the prison and examines efforts to create a memorial at the site. These initiatives illustrate the African Union (AU) in transition. They echo AU commitments to act against atrocities and in support of rights and justice and suggest a distinct vision of pan-African community and a corresponding institutional culture. But, much like the AU itself, the meaning of the planned memorial is ambivalent and contested. The fact that the AU bulldozed Ethiopia's most notorious prison in order to establish its new offices and a conference hall is richly symbolic of 'buried memory' – the tendency of post-colonial elites to suppress the memory of victims of state violence while celebrating chosen heroes. The AU still venerates leaders and is quiet about current violations, but the organization's promise and process to remember the ordinary victims of state violence indicate a political opening and may contribute a novel space for the recounting of human rights abuses.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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



Mattar Mohammed Y.

Article 43 of the Arab Charter on Human Rights: Reconciling National, Regional, and International Standards
in *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, vol. 26, issue 1 , 91-147

ABSTRACT: Article 43 of the Arab Charter on Human Rights states, "Nothing in this Charter may be construed or interpreted as impairing the rights and freedoms protected by the domestic laws of the States parties or those set forth in the international and regional human rights instruments which the states parties have adopted or ratified, including the rights of women, the rights of children and the rights of minorities." Article 43 thus addresses the interaction between the Arab Charter on Human Rights and the domestic laws of Arab states. It also addresses the relationship between the Charter and international law. In analyzing these interactions, I argue that interpretation of the rights stipulated in the Charter should not be impaired by domestic laws that may restrict such rights. Instead, I explain that the Charter, as a regional convention, should be read in accordance with the principles of international treaty interpretation. I conclude that the Article 43 mandate requires a review of domestic legislation to ensure compatibility with the Charter as well as the incorporation of international law in domestic courts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Gnanguênon Amandine

Force africaine en attente (FAA)

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 754, novembre

La Force africaine en attente qui structure progressivement la capacité militaire des pays africains est une entreprise à la fois prometteuse et fragile du fait de l'hétérogénéité des brigades qui la composent et de la variété des situations auxquelles elle devra faire face. L'auteure fait le point à mi-parcours de sa constitution.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Okafor Obiora

Have the norms and jurisprudence of the African human rights system been pro-poor?

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Won Joong Kim, Shawkat Hammoudeh

Impacts of global and domestic shocks on inflation and economic growth for actual and potential GCC member countries

in *International Review of Economics and Finance*, volume 27 , 298-317



By using a modern structural VAR with block exogeneity and identifying restrictions, this paper analyzes several global and regional oil and macroeconomic relationships related to the selected incumbent GCC member countries – Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia – and the potential member Jordan. First, it examines the global macroeconomic linkages among the dollar exchange rate, oil price, China's producer price, U.S.'s export price, EU's export price and Japan's export price. Second, it investigates the effects of global and country-specific shocks on the industrial production and consumer price indices of these GCC member countries and the potential member Jordan. It thereby examines which individual global/local shocks command more importance in explaining the variations in the economic growth and inflation of each actual and potential GCC member. Third, it analyzes the similarities in economic growth and inflation among the GCC countries after controlling for different global and country-specific shocks. The results suggest that the overall CPI inflation rates of Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia and Jordan are highly and positively correlated. The economic growth of Jordan shows negative correlations with those of the member countries. If the GCC members are to focus only on stabilizing inflation, there is no harm for them to accept Jordan as a new GCC member. However, if the GCC's objective is not only the stabilization of inflation but also the business cycle synchronization, the GCC members should be more cautious in accepting Jordan as a new member.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Caceres Carlos, Poplawski-Ribeiro Marcos, Tartari Darlena

Inflation Dynamics in the CEMAC Region

in Journal of African Economies, Volume 22 Issue 2 March 2013 , 239-275

This paper analyses inflation dynamics in the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) using a constructed dataset for country-specific commodity price indices and panel cointegrated vector autoregressive models. Imported commodity price shocks are significant in explaining inflation in the region. In most CEMAC countries, the largest effect of global food and fuel prices occurs after four or five quarters in non-core inflation and then decays substantially over time. Second-round effects are significant only in Cameroon and to a lesser extent in the Republic of Congo.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Nubukpo Kako

Le Policy Mix de la Zone UEMOA : leçons d'hier, réflexions pour demain

in Revue Tiers Monde, n. 212 , 137-152

Plus de quinze ans après la création de l'Union économique et monétaire ouest africaine (UEMOA) et à l'occasion du cinquantenaire de l'Union monétaire ouest africaine (UMOA), il convient d'effectuer un bilan de l'articulation entre la politique monétaire commune, dont la mise en oeuvre est du ressort de la Banque centrale des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (BCEAO) en charge de la gestion du franc CFA, et les politiques budgétaires nationales, dont la coordination est confiée à la Commission de l'UEMOA. À l'examen, il apparaît que l'objectif de croissance économique a été sacrifié sur l'autel de la lutte contre l'inflation. À cet égard, il serait utile d'améliorer le Policy Mix de l'UEMOA, dans le sens d'un régime de changes CFA/euro plus flexible et d'un gouvernement économique fondé sur un fédéralisme budgétaire à promouvoir.



More than fifteen years after the creation of the West African Economic and Monetary Union and in the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the West African Monetary Union, it seems advisable to make an assessment of the connection between the common monetary policy, whose implementation is within the competence of the West African States Central Bank (BCEAO) that is responsible for the management of the CFA franc, and the WAEMU Commission which is entrusted with the coordination of national budgetary policies. A close examination shows that the goal of economic growth was sacrificed in the fight against inflation. Finally, it would be useful to improve WAEMU's Policy Mix and move towards a more flexible FCFA/Euro parity and an economic Government established on a fiscal federalism that needs to be promoted.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Sharpe Marina

Organization of African Unity and African Union Engagement with Refugee Protection: 1963–2011
in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 19, Number 2 , 50-94

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Rowland J.V. Cole

Power-sharing, post-electoral contestations and the dismemberment of the right to democracy in Africa
in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 17, issue 2 , 256-274

While Africa has made recent significant democratic gains, the problem of rigged elections tends to persist. Elections in Africa mostly tend to lack transparency and are often skewed in favour of the incumbent. Recent events on the continent have shown the tendency of incumbents to manipulate electoral processes so as to remain in power. This often leads to violent backlash from those who believe that they have been robbed of electoral victory. In some instances, the violence has spiralled out of control, requiring regional intervention. The African Union (AU) tends to resolve these disputes by resorting to power-sharing. However, power-sharing is inconsistent with the right to democracy which has emerged within the normative framework of the AU. This article argues that post-electoral power-sharing is at odds with the right to democracy. Consequently, in the resolution of post-electoral disputes, significant consideration should be given to the right to democracy and the power-sharing option should receive a minimalist consideration. More importantly, the AU should support institutional reforms and strive for more credible and transparent elections. Power-sharing should be a solution of last resort and should be crafted in such a way that it does not form an incentive for rogue leaders who, having lost elections, might tend to exploit the situation so as to force a power-sharing settlement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Maluwa Tiyanjana

Ratification of African Union Treaties by Member States: Law, Policy and Practice
in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, Volume 13, Issue 2 (November 2012) , 1-49



The African Union ('AU') seeks to achieve its policy goals through the adoption of treaties. The realisation of these goals requires that the treaties be signed, ratified and implemented by the member states. As an institution, the AU lacks powers to compel member states to ratify its treaties and comply with their provisions. This article assesses the practice of AU member states in relation to treaty ratification, against the context of competing conceptual theories explaining state behaviour and decision-making with respect to treaty ratification; in particular, rationalism, constructivism and liberalism. The article surveys the constitutional and legislative procedures of AU member states on treaty ratification. By focussing on the basic ratification–signature correlations of these treaties, the article seeks to identify the type of treaty policy areas in which AU members have recorded high, standard and low treaty commitment. The article also examines the major factors that impede expeditious ratification of AU treaties and makes recommendations on how to overcome them. The article suggests that the legal, political and statistical information offered in the discussion can be used as indicators of future treaty success within the AU, and to predict policy areas and the type of treaties that will be maximally or minimally accepted by member states. A general conclusion of this article is that treaties that do not create any tension with the domestic legal regime and structure, and only require minimal changes to existing national law, stand a better chance of getting ratified

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Asongu Simplice A.

Real and monetary policy convergence: EMU crisis to the CFA zone

in Journal of Financial Economic Policy, Volume 5 issue 1 , 20 - 38

A major lesson of the European Monetary Union (EMU) crisis is that serious disequilibria result from regional monetary arrangements not designed to be robust to a variety of shocks. The purpose of this paper is to assess these disequilibria within the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC), West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) and Financial Community of Africa (CFA) zones.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Frey Leo, Volz Ulrich

Regional financial integration in Sub-Saharan Africa – An empirical examination of its effects on financial market development

in South African Journal of Economics (The), Volume 81, Issue 1, March 2013 , 79-117

This article examines the effects of political agreements on regional financial integration (RFI) on financial market development and access to and cost of finance in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Our results suggest that RFI positively affects financial development – measured very broadly as ratio of liquid liabilities to gross domestic product (GDP) – when combined with a sufficient level of institutional quality. If institutional quality is below a threshold level, RFI apparently has negative effects on financial development. However, we cannot find any significant effects of RFI on the ratio of private credit to GDP or on the efficiency of the banking sector. Regarding the effects of RFI on access to and costs of finance of enterprises in SSA, our results are mixed. We can find no significant effect of RFI on access to finance for all firms in the aggregate, but the results indicate that RFI actually impedes small firms' access to finance. Furthermore, there is a significant positive influence of foreign bank involvement on the severity of the credit constraint for small enterprises, while we do not find such an influence for large enterprises. These results provide some support



for the foreign bank barrier hypothesis in the context of RFI.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Carrère Céline

Regional integration and natural resources: Who benefits? Evidence from MENA

in *Economie internationale*, n° 131, 2012/3 , 23-41

This paper is built on Venables (2011) theoretical predictions which show that gains from regional integration are unevenly distributed between resource rich and poor countries. We explore the effects of different integration schemes in Middle East and North Africa. Results suggest that within Pan Arab Free Trade Agreement (PAFTA), there is significant trade creation for resource poor countries associated with regional integration, and no evidence of trade diversion. In resource rich countries, however, there is evidence of pure trade diversion in both resource-rich/labor-abundant countries and resource-rich/labor-importing countries. This underscores the idea that regional integration can help to spread benefits of unevenly distributed resource wealth among the region's economies. 

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Africa Sandy, Pretorius Rentia

South Africa, the African Union and the responsibility to protect: The case of Libya

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 12, n. 2 , 394-416

ABSTRACT: International relations are regulated by a system of norms and laws that has evolved over a long period. The responsibility to protect is an evolving normative framework shared by a significant number of international actors, but it failed to create normative cohesion and unity of action during the Libyan crisis in 2011 due to issues of interpretation and application. The article examines the application of the responsibility to protect framework when violence broke out in Libya. Contradictory strategies by the United Nations and the African Union divided the international community and rekindled old divisions and mistrust, resulting in claims by some within the AU – South Africa particularly – that the African effort was being undermined. The international community must urgently strengthen the common understanding and institutional framework for the responsibility to protect.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Oke Yemi

Substitute for the United Nations? Extending the Frontiers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and Implications for African Unity

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 19, Number 2 , 120-141

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Pacifique Manirakiza

The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights' perspective on power-sharing arrangements in International Journal of Human Rights (The), vol. 17, issue 2 , 238-255

This article analyses the position of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights with regard to power-sharing agreements and how they impact on the exercise of African charter-based human rights. The commission's view cannot be seen in isolation from the general African Union position on power-sharing, which is characterised by a lack of clarity and consistency. The commission's jurisprudence opposes power-sharing agreements that contain arrangements which are incompatible with state parties' obligations to investigate human rights violations and prosecute those responsible. On the other hand, through its state reporting procedure, promotional missions and communications procedure, the commission has shown a tacit approval for certain types of power-sharing agreements. An African human rights perspective vis-à-vis power-sharing must take into account the philosophy of the African Charter and the importance the African system attaches to collective rights. There is an urgent need to conceptualise and provide a proper legal framework for power-sharing within the African Union system.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Naldi Gino J., Magliveras Costantinos D.

The African Court of Justice and Human Rights: A Judicial Curate's Egg in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 9, n. 2 , 383-449

ABSTRACT: The present article analyzes the African Court of Justice and Human Rights, the proposed "main judicial organ of the African Union". The African Court of Justice and Human Rights is meant to replace the African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights and would therefore constitute a unique international judicial body combining the jurisdiction of the judicial organ of an intergovernmental organization with the jurisdiction of a regional human rights court. It shares features of the International Court of Justice and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. In a highly contentious move detrimental to the role of the International Criminal Court, it is currently proposed to extend its jurisdiction over international crimes, the definition of which goes much further than that currently accepted by the international community, raising the prospect of conflicting obligations. The Court's governing instruments are too ambitious and contain some significant flaws and the case for doing away with the now operational African Court of Human Rights and Peoples' Rights seems unconvincing. Even though the Court has not yet been established, its structure and mandate do pose many challenging questions that deserve to be thoroughly investigated by drawing comparisons with the existing similar judicial organs in other international organizations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Apuuli Kasaija Phillip

The African Union (AU), the Libya Crisis and the notion of 'African solutions to African problems' in Journal of Contemporary African Studies, Volume 31, Issue 1 , 117-138



When the crisis in Libya began, it was hoped that the AU would be the one to deal with it under its cherished notion of 'African solutions to African problems'. However, from the very beginning, the organisation took half-hearted measures in its reaction; its members did not speak with one voice on how to resolve the crisis; and Qaddafi ignored the organisation's call to end the crisis peacefully, eventually resulting in the organisation being over-ridden by the western powers through means of the UN Security Council (UN SC). The Libya crisis demonstrated that beyond rhetoric, the AU does not have the capacity to respond effectively to the crises facing Africa. The crisis rendered the notion of 'African solutions to African problems' moot and demonstrated that at the moment the AU lacks the requisite functional tools to actually operationalise the notion.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Stef Vandeginste

The African Union, Constitutionalism and Power-Sharing

in *Journal of African Law*, vol. 57, issue 1 , 1-28

Over the past decade, the African Union has put in place a normative framework to promote constitutional rule and, in particular, orderly constitutional transfers of power in its member states. Its Peace and Security Council opposes unconstitutional changes of government, including through the use of sanctions. The PSC systematically advocates a return to constitutional order, in particular through free and fair elections, as a remedy for unconstitutional changes of government. However, while opposing unconstitutional means of obtaining or transferring power, the AU has been generally supportive of the use of power-sharing agreements as an instrument of negotiated conflict settlement. Most power-sharing agreements do not accord with the prevailing constitutional order. This dual policy, of opposing certain types of unconstitutional change of government while advocating power-sharing agreements, poses an obvious challenge for the consistency of AU policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ademola Abass

The Proposed International Criminal Jurisdiction for the African Court: Some Problematical Aspects

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, vol. 60, issue 1 , 27-50

This article discusses some problems arising from the proposed conferral of international criminal jurisdiction on the African Court of Justice and Human Rights. While it is uncertain whether the AU will ever adopt the Draft Protocol amending the Statute of the Court, it is worthwhile examining certain provisions of the Protocol which, in addition to the myriad political hurdles that will militate against the adoption and/or entry into force of the Protocol, will most likely prevent the Court from exercising that jurisdiction. The article concludes that the future of international criminal justice in Africa lies not in the duplication of international criminal justice systems, but in the AU ensuring that its member states take the prevention and domestic prosecution of international crimes more seriously, and in the ICC improving its modus operandi vis-à-vis its member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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



Abass Ademola

The proposed International Criminal Court jurisdiction for the African Court: some problematical aspects
in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 60, Issue 1 , 27-50

This article discusses some problems arising from the proposed conferral of international criminal jurisdiction on the African Court of Justice and Human Rights. While it is uncertain whether the AU will ever adopt the Draft Protocol amending the Statute of the Court, it is worthwhile examining certain provisions of the Protocol which, in addition to the myriad political hurdles that will militate against the adoption and/or entry into force of the Protocol, will most likely prevent the Court from exercising that jurisdiction. The article concludes that the future of international criminal justice in Africa lies not in the duplication of international criminal justice systems, but in the AU ensuring that its member states take the prevention and domestic prosecution of international crimes more seriously, and in the ICC improving its modus operandi vis-à-vis its member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Hagblade, Steven

Unscrambling Africa: Regional Requirements for Achieving Food Security
in *Development Policy Review* , volume 31 n.2 , 149-75

Africa has inherited highly arbitrary political borders that vastly complicate current efforts to accelerate agricultural growth and reduce hunger. By partitioning agro-ecological zones and natural market sheds, current borders serve as barriers, hampering agricultural technology transfer, hindering agricultural trade and dampening incentives for farmers and agribusinesses to invest in Africa's many regional breadbasket zones. Feasible solutions revolve around neutralising these deleterious effects through regional scientific networks and corridor development programmes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Martha Thomas

The Logic of Dispute Initiation under NAFTA Chapter 19
in *Politics & Policy*, Volume 41, Issue 2 , 155–188

Focusing on the North American Free Trade Agreement Chapter 19's dispute settlement mechanism, this article examines why industries in one country initiate disputes at the regional level appealing trade policy in another country. I argue that industries take into account both external and internal dynamics when deciding on dispute initiation. As it relates to external factors, I posit that industries are more likely to dispute unfavorable rulings when they perceive that political pressure from interest groups and looming elections in the protectionist country influenced that ruling. With respect to internal considerations, I contend that wealthy and more concentrated industries will be more likely to appeal unfavorable rulings. Empirical analysis support these arguments by showing that appeals are more likely the closer a ruling is to an election in the protected market, the larger and more concentrated the protected industry, and the wealthier and more concentrated the plaintiff industry.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Fernández Farid

ALBA-TCP et CELAC: instruments d'une politique indépendante et souveraine

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 116, no. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Curran, Louise, Zignago, Soledad

Regional Integration of Trade in South America: How Far Has It Progressed and in Which Sectors?

in *International Trade Journal*, volume 27 n.1 , 3-35

This article looks at the regionalization of trade in South America by looking at trends in trade during the 1994–2007 period. It finds that the increasing political will to strengthen regional arrangements, like Mercosur and the Andean Community, has not impacted extensively the overall level of regionalization of trade, which is relatively low and has not changed significantly over the period. Intermediates trade also remains relatively low within the region, which implies that regional production networks are under-developed, although high-tech and medium-tech consumer goods markets are relatively integrated. Overall high-tech trade is not notably more global than trade in other types of technology, except in imports.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Santulli Carlo

Retour à la théorie de l'organe commun: réflexions sur la nature juridique de l'ALBA et de la CELAC

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 116, no. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Antônio Sampaio

South America After Chávez

in *Survival*, Volume 55, Issue 3 , 63-70

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Félix Peña

¿Hacia un nuevo diseño de la integración sudamericana? Factores que inciden en su trazado y criterios para apreciar su sustentabilidad

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 45, No. 174 , 103-111

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Davies Mathew

ASEAN and human rights norms: constructivism, rational choice, and the action-identity gap

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 13 Issue 2 May , 207-231

ASEAN's engagement with human rights is characterized by an action-identity gap; member states have created impressive regional commitments while continually violating rights domestically. This gap suggests that member states of ASEAN have used rights for political ends, the enhancement of ASEAN's legitimacy in the eyes of critics, not because they are understood as morally correct. The strategic use of norms indicates that existing recourse to constructivist accounts of norms in ASEAN, currently the dominant explanatory framework, is incorrect. This article argues that an alternative, rational choice, framework for appraising norms within ASEAN offers greater explanatory insight into how and why human rights emerged into ASEAN after 1997. This argument suggests a revised approach to understanding norm violation within ASEAN and through that a more accurate appraisal of the nature of contemporary ASEAN.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kivimäki Timo

ASEAN and the Institutionalization of East Asia

in *Pacific Affairs* , Volume 86, Number 2, June , 375-377

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ghosh Partha S.

An Enigma that is South Asia: India versus the Region

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 100-120

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is now 28 years old, yet its success is nominal. That more important bilateral issues are discussed on the sidelines of SAARC Summits proves the point. Intra-regional trade is still miniscule compared to the region's overall share in the world trade. The biggest defaulter is India, the most prominent member of the group. The purpose of this paper is first to raise the question whether South Asia qualifies to



be called a region, and second to argue that, given the problems it faces with most of its neighbours, India is forced to conclude that SAARC matters the least for it. For economic and strategic reasons, India's interests lie in global networking and in a balanced relationship with China. Since Chinese military, diplomatic, and economic presence in South Asia poaches into India's perceived sphere of influence, India's interest in SAARC is limited to that context for otherwise it neither provides large markets for India nor does it contribute to India's strategic policy. Inversely, such a situation justifies India's neighbours playing the China card to bargain with India though that card its losing its value. To buttress our arguments we have drawn from the region's historical experiences as well as from recent developments in international and South Asian politics, including domestic politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kim Gwi-Ok

Building a Peaceful East Asian Community: Origins of a Regional Concept and Visions for a Global Age in Asian Perspective, Volume 37, Issue 2 (April-June 2013) , 233-254

While the thought of a regional community in East Asia comparable to the European Union is premature, I consider the transforming international relationships among North Korea, South Korea, China, Taiwan, and Japan and examine the possibility of realizing such a community via sociocultural approaches. I trace the conceptual origins of East Asia and its historical place in international relations, investigate East Asia in the post–Cold War era through renewed cultural exchanges among the region's countries, and propose a vision of and tasks for an East Asian cultural community.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Cheng Joseph Y. S.

China-ASEAN Economic Co-operation and the Role of Provinces in Journal of Contemporary Asia, Volume 43, Issue 2 , 314-337

This article attempts to study the rationales and strategies of China's involvement in sub-regional economic co-operation projects with the countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), using the Greater Mekong Basin Sub-region and the Pan-Beibu Gulf Area as examples. It analyses China's diplomatic and economic motivations, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of this involvement. It also examines China's involvement at the provincial level and, in particular, the motivations, strategies, strengths and limitations on the part of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in its participation in the Pan-Beibu Gulf Area project. China considers that its involvement facilitates its articulation of its interests, enhancement of its influence and promotion of multipolarity. Further, it would allow China to maintain a relatively low profile while seeking leadership and reducing external pressures. There are also the considerations of reducing China's aid commitments and accelerating the development of China's central and western provinces.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ravenhill John

Economics and security in the Asia-Pacific region in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 26, Issue 1 , 1-15



The relationship between economics and security remains relatively unexplored, particularly in the Asia-Pacific context. The articles in this special section of the journal seek to broaden our comprehension of various dimensions of this relationship. One focus is to understand the circumstances in which issues have come to be defined as components of national 'security'. A second is to develop a more nuanced approach to conflict, one that recognizes that interstate conflict can take numerous forms short of the outbreak of military confrontation. Our starting point is to emphasize that 'security' is a social construction: issues become 'securitized' when political actors identify them as posing a threat to national security. The redefinition of national understandings of security by state elites is one instance of how economics and security can become intertwined. Economic competition, however, can generate a second dimension to the economics-security nexus, which occurs when it spills over into the traditional security domain, that is, into military rivalries between states. Our studies provide some grounds for optimism on the relationship between economics and security – albeit one that has to be tempered both by the failure of countries in the region to develop deeply institutionalized means for dispute resolution and by the evidence that economic issues can be a significant source of both interstate and intrastate conflict.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Jayanthakumaran Kankesu, Lee Shao-Wei

Evidence on the Convergence of Per Capita Income: A Comparison of Founder Members of the Association of South East Asian Nations and the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation

in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 18, Issue 1, February 2013 , 108-121

This paper investigates the per capita income convergence patterns of a set of Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) countries. We obtained a time-series analysis for stochastic convergence by applying unit-root tests in the presence of two endogenously-determined structural breaks. We then supplemented the results by tests that produced evidence for convergence. The evidence shows that the relative per capita income series of ASEAN-5 countries were consistent with stochastic convergence and convergence, but this was not found for SAARC-5 countries. For the ASEAN-5 countries, the structural breaks associated with the world oil crisis and the Asian crisis impacted heavily on the convergence/divergence process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Hyun-Hoon Lee, Hyeon-Seung Huh, Donghyun Park

Financial Integration in East Asia: An Empirical Investigation

in *World Economy*, volume 36 n.4 , 396-418

The central objective of this paper is to empirically evaluate the degree of linkages among East Asian equity and bond markets. Using data from the IMF's Coordinated Portfolio Investment Survey (CPIS), we find that intra-East Asian financial asset holdings of four East Asian countries – Japan, Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore – are larger than the levels predicted by the financial gravity model. However, our analysis suggests that this result is likely to be driven by intra-regional trade linkages and reflect those linkages. Therefore, the salient implication for regional policymakers is that they should continue to promote intra-regional financial integration. This paper also aims to analyse the impact of three different types of country-specific risks – political, economic and financial risks – on investment from the four countries. This analysis yields a clear positive relationship between destination-country risk, in particular political risk,



and capital inflows.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Tan See Seng

Herding cats: the role of persuasion in political change and continuity in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 13 Issue 2 May , 233-265

The role that peer pressure plays in efforts by member nations of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in socializing a reluctant or recalcitrant member(s) toward a diplomatic posture or policy position has been noted but not systematically addressed in the existing literature. Given that the decision-making in ASEAN has traditionally been a consensus-based, political suasion is therefore the key modality through which ASEAN members develop shared perspectives and, where possible, ensure collective assent to an existing or emerging norm or position. Peer pressure is likely the only means available for ASEAN states to promote 'voluntary compliance' without contravening their institution's non-interference principle. Three historical developments are examined: Indonesia and the formation of ASEAN, the establishment of the ASEAN Charter, and the constructive engagement of Myanmar. In all three instances, force-based coercion did not play a role, but persuasion did.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Narine Shaun

Human Rights Norms and the Evolution of ASEAN: Moving without Moving in a Changing Regional Environment

in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs, Volume 34, Number 3, December , 365-388

In recent years, ASEAN has implemented numerous organizational reforms that are designed to rejuvenate its institutional structures and international reputation. Among these reforms has been the introduction of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR). This body is meant to monitor and promote human rights norms and practices among the ASEAN states. It has been criticized, however, as lacking the power to force state compliance. This paper argues that ASEAN's apparent willingness to entertain a more robust institutional human rights regime is properly understood as part of its effort to rehabilitate the organization's international credibility as opposed to an indication of a substantive normative shift in the outlook of key ASEAN members. The paper examines the circumstances around the creation of the AICHR and considers the ongoing state-building problems faced by most ASEAN states. It argues that the AICHR is the product of an inadequate planning process and that the international human rights environment is changing in ways that will relieve the pressure on ASEAN to reform in a manner that reflects the rhetorical preferences of the Western world on the issue of human rights.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Komori Yasumasa



In Search of Regional Governance in East Asia: Processes and Outcomes

in *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 20, Issue 3 , 221-243

This article employs the concept of 'regional governance' to analyze both the processes and outcomes of the emerging regional institutional arrangements in East Asia. It argues that while ASEAN has played a significant role in creating and sustaining the 'processes' of wider East Asian regional governance efforts, the level of achievement in translating these processes into tangible 'outcomes' remains severely constrained by great power rivalry, especially between Japan and China. By focusing on the areas of trade and finance, this article argues that the varying levels of outcomes between these two issue areas can be explained primarily by the degree of convergence between Japanese and Chinese interests. In particular, while Japan and China have a shared interest in contributing to the promotion of regional financial stability, they strongly disagree over the appropriate form and contours of a trade governance system.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Anwar Dewi Fortuna

Indonesia's wary thinking on foreign policy

in *Europe's World*, Issue 24, Summer

With its 6%-plus growth rate, Indonesia is the ASEAN bloc's bigger tiger and an influential Asian voice. Dewi Fortuna Anwar charts the country's ambitions and difficulties.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22128/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Dent Christopher M.

Paths ahead for East Asia and Asia-Pacific regionalism

in *International Affairs* , vol. 89, issue 4, July , 963-985

ABSTRACT: East Asia and the Asia-Pacific are core components of the global economy, and there have been important recent developments in the regionalism of both regions. After the 1997-1998 financial crisis, East Asian countries initiated more exclusive regional cooperation and integration ventures mainly through ASEAN Plus Three, but lately this process has stumbled. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum has also failed to make substantial progress. Attention has instead increasingly turned to free trade agreements (FTAs), yet these have hitherto been overwhelmingly bilateral in nature. There are still only a few truly regional FTAs in East Asia and the Asia-Pacific—and these are on a sub-regional scale. However, various frustrations over the messy and fractious pattern of heterogeneous bilateral agreements led to the recent initiation of 'grand regional' FTA talks. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) is an Asia-Pacific-based, United States-led project while the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is an East Asia-centred project. Each contains highly diverse memberships and the successful conclusion of TPP and RCEP talks is not assured. It is argued that, if negotiated, the RCEP is more likely to advance meaningful and effective regionalism than the TPP due to the former ascribing more importance to regional community-building. Furthermore, bilateral FTAs already in force may over the long term transform into more



comprehensive economic agreements that address new regional and global challenges such as energy security and climate change.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Park Jinsoo

Political Rivals and Regional Leaders: Dual Identities and Sino-Japanese Relations within East Asian Cooperation

in Chinese Journal of International Politics (The), Volume 6 Issue 1 , 85-107

This article argues that the dual identities of political rivals and regional leaders have been of critical importance in determining China and Japan's regional policies and their bilateral relations within East Asian cooperation. China and Japan, in identifying each other as political rivals rather than cooperative partners, have defined their interests in regional cooperative projects, particularly those led by the other party, in terms of power politics. At the same time, China and Japan's efforts to gain followers' acceptance of their aspired leadership identities have shaped their regional policy options and behaviours. The combination effects of these dual identities have produced variances in China and Japan's regional policies and their bilateral relations within East Asian financial and institutional cooperation. Particularly with regards to regional projects led by the other party and supported by a majority of followers, China and Japan cooperated with the intention of neutralizing the other's dominance in the region and to demonstrate the responsibilities one should assume as aspirant regional leader. China or Japan opposed, in terms of power politics, cooperative projects the other party initiated that did not secure majority support among followers, instead promoting their own initiatives to expand followers' acceptance of their leadership.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Quayle Linda

Promoting "Diplomatic" or "Cosmopolitan" Culture?: Interrogating ASEAN-Focused Communication Initiatives in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs, Volume 35, Number 1, April ,

104-128

Hedley Bull's distinction between diplomatic and cosmopolitan culture, though insufficiently developed, has two applications in the context of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It provides a broader theoretical backdrop to the oft-noted need for a thicker socio-cultural underpinning to counterweigh ASEAN's elite diplomatic culture; and it offers an alternative perspective with which to critique ASEAN-focused efforts in that direction. This article uses the diplomatic/cosmopolitan dyad to examine a range of regional communication initiatives, from cartoons and computer games to Facebook communities and curricula. While some still represent an essentially diplomatic culture that has simply been transferred to a popular environment, others have the potential to promote a more genuinely cosmopolitan vision that better enables citizens to come to terms with both the rough and the smooth of regional cooperation. The article suggests that ASEAN would be well advised to promote hands-off communicative efforts that not only give participants scope to explore, but also accommodate the ineluctability of contention and difference in regional affairs.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Pasha L. Hsieh

Reassessing APEC's role as a Trans-Regional Economic Architecture: Legal and Policy Dimensions
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.1 , 119-58

This article examines the two-decade evolution of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the future prospects for Asian regionalism. It argues that while APEC retains advantages over competing regional structures, it should undergo reforms to accelerate the Bogor Goals and ensure its complementarity with the World Trade Organization (WTO). The article first analyzes the impact of stake-holding countries' trade policies on APEC's structure and development. By assessing APEC's soft-law mechanism, it explores APEC's WTO-plus contributions that reinvigorated the International Technology Agreement negotiations and improved supply chain facilitation. APEC's goal of creating a Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP) can overcome structural limitations and serve as an effective 'Plan B' for the Doha Round impasse. Nonetheless, caution should be given to legal challenges to the pathways to an FTAAP such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership. Finally, the article calls for reforms that will enhance APEC's institution-building and monitoring system. Such reforms will strengthen APEC's role under the multilateral trading system and reenergize the public-private partnership for trans-Pacific integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ravenhill John

Resource insecurity and international institutions in the Asia-Pacific region
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 26, Issue 1 , 39-64

East Asian governments have long recognized that national security must incorporate a reduction of their vulnerability to the disruption of essential imports. The rapid economic growth of China and India has intensified competition for increasingly scarce resources, elevating resource security once again to the top of the international agenda. Issues that were previously regarded as 'technical' have been 'securitized' as state elites perceived possible conflicts over availability and pricing of natural resources as threats to national security.

International institutions have the potential to contribute to the defusing of tensions over the supply of commodities by providing, through various means, assurances regarding the behaviour of partners. Only the global institutions concerned with commodities trade, the International Energy Agency (IEA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), have legally binding arrangements and the authority to impose sanctions on states that fail to comply with their obligations. But both have weaknesses: the IEA's membership is limited; the WTO's rules relating to raw materials trade are far from comprehensive. Most of the regional institutions in this field seldom go beyond information exchange or the setting of aspirational targets. At the bilateral level, government attempts to enhance resource security through minerals chapters in preferential trade agreements have had little success. Bilateral investment treaties are the only instances of cooperation at the sub-global level that incorporate legally-binding provisions.

The cooperation on resources issues in which countries have engaged has reflected the core characteristics of Asia-Pacific bilateral and regional intergovernmental institutions. The shallowness of cooperation reflects perceptions on the part of state elites that their interests in the resources sector are best served by national rather than collective action and that current cooperative arrangements fail to provide sufficient incentives to prevent states from succumbing to opportunistic behaviour in the event of a short-term clash of interests. The potential gains to be made from a cooperative approach to resource security remain largely unrealized.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

SUN XUEFENG

Rethinking East Asian Regional Order and China's Rise

in Japanese Journal of Political Science, Volume 14 - Issue 01 , 9-30

After the end of World War II, East Asia gradually formed what can be referred to as a quasi-anarchical regional order. The quasi-anarchy system is defined by the anarchy system associated with a sub-hierarchical system, so this system possesses the characteristics of both anarchy and hierarchy in terms of security relations among states. The states in a quasi-anarchical order can be differentiated into three types according to the method through which they seek security. They comprise that of self-help states, the state that provides security guarantees to client states (security guarantor), and states that receive security protection from the security guarantor (client states) within the quasi-anarchy. The standard security relationship between states consists of two types: the first is a competitive security relationship; the second is a security-dependent relationship. The quasi-anarchical order in East Asia has restricted the continuance and positive effect of a rising China's reassurance policy through three mechanisms: dependence, reliance on support, and imitation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Hitoshi Nasu

Revisiting the Principle of Non-Intervention: A Structural Principle of International Law or a Political Obstacle to Regional Security in Asia?

in Asian Journal of International Law, vol. 3, issue 1 , 25-50

The principle of non-intervention remains a significant legal issue, particularly in Asia, for regional efforts to address a wide range of transnational security issues in the absence of a regional collective security mechanism. This article revisits the principle of non-intervention with a particular focus on the application and interpretation of the principle by Asian states for the purpose of identifying whether and in what respect an Asian approach or approaches can be found, and considering its implications for regional efforts to address transnational security issues. This article finds that the emerging regional norm of comprehensive security requires clear demarcation between the principle of non-intervention and the norm of comprehensive security, as well as an institutionalized mechanism to ensure that regional efforts to address transnational security issues are not used as a disguised form of intervention and that the fear of intervention does not impede those regional efforts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Tan Seng

Spectres of Leifer: Insights on Regional Order and Security for Southeast Asia Today

in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs, Volume 34, Number 3, December , 309-337



Michael Leifer's passing over a decade ago has done little to diminish the force of his scholarly ideas and their continued relevance to the study of regional order and security of contemporary Southeast Asia. Leifer's intellectual influence is apparent in the way analysts of different theoretical persuasions continue to grapple with and debate over the problem of regional order in Southeast Asia. In so doing, they rely on terms of reference originally defined by Leifer. This article reviews and assesses a number of noteworthy insights from Leifer's oeuvre against the contemporary political-strategic situation of Southeast Asia and its immediate extra-regional context. The insights include the elusiveness of regional order, the primacy of the balance of power, and the emphasis on conservation rather than innovation in the management of regional security in Southeast Asia. While Leifer's ideas are by no means timeless, they continue nonetheless to speak in telling ways to the security challenges facing Southeast Asia today.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

X. Shi

Spillover Effects of Carbon Footprint Labelling on Less Developed Countries: The Example of the East Asia Summit Region

in *Development Policy Review* , volume 31 n.3 , 239-54

The spillover effects of carbon footprint (CFP) labelling are particularly significant in the East Asia Summit (EAS) region which has closely integrated production networks, wide development gaps and predominantly small and medium-sized enterprises. Poor management of the effects would undermine not only the effectiveness of CFP labelling, but also EAS efforts towards economic integration and the narrowing of development gaps. Well-designed labelling schemes, accessible and affordable data and transparent certification processes are essential, as well as capacity-building and engagement of non-labelling countries, in particular LDCs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Philomena Murray, Edward Moxon-Browne

The European Union as a Template for Regional Integration? The Case of ASEAN and Its Committee of Permanent Representatives

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 3, May 2013 , 522-537

This article compares the decision-making structures of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) with those of the European Union (EU). It asks whether the EU is an appropriate template for ASEAN or whether, given the apparently unique circumstances of European integration and Southeast Asian regionalism, analogies between the two are counterproductive. Attempts, for example, to model ASEAN's Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR) on the EU's Committee of Permanent Representatives (Coreper) throw into relief the latter's uniquely consensual modus operandi. Can this consensus be replicated by ASEAN simply by institutional mimesis? First, the EU's evolution is briefly outlined; second, ASEAN's institutional architecture is set in the context of the ASEAN Charter's innovations that most invite comparison with the EU; and third, the two organizations are compared by assessing a 'zone of discretion' between setting ambitious, but realistic, goals for ASEAN's greater integration and adopting structures that might be



inappropriate to ASEAN.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Sahoo, Pravakar

The Growing Dominance of China in South Asia: An Indian Perspective.

in *International Trade Journal*, volume 27 n.2 , 111-41

India's economic relations with its neighbors are important for the stable and peaceful development of the South Asian region and for its own security. In a globalized world, economic relations play a major role in deciding political relations and collaboration at multilateral fora. In the context of China's increasing trade and investment relations with India's neighboring countries, the present study examines where and how China has been improving its presence vis-à-vis India in Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. Further, the study also explores the factors of India's loss of market in its neighboring countries and suggests remedial measures.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Baizakova Kuralai I.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization's Role in Countering Threats and Challenges to Central Asian Regional Security

in *Russian politics and law*, vol. 51, n. 1, January-February , 5-79

In its decade of existence, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization has become a significant regional player promoting military, political, economic, and security cooperation in Central Asia. It has the potential to grow into an institution representing most of Eurasia, including Russia and China.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Hong Zhao

The South China Sea Dispute and China-ASEAN Relations

in *Asian Affairs*, Volume 44, Issue 1 , 27-43

The history of the conflicting maritime claims in the South China Sea, focussing particularly on the recent disputes between China and Vietnam/the Philippines.

The author describes how external actors, principally the US, but also India and Japan, have been drawn in as a counterweight to China. He then goes on to assess the possible impact of this political dispute on the essentially economic relationship between China and ASEAN.

His conclusion is that the economic relationship is likely to prove enduring.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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



Jean-Pierre Allegret

The impact of external shocks in East Asia: Lessons from a structural VAR model with block exogeneity
in *Economie internationale*, n° 132, 2012/4 , 35-89

In this paper, we examine the relative importance of external shocks in domestic fluctuations of East Asian countries and check if these shocks lead to asymmetric or symmetric reactions between the considered economies. To this end, we estimate, over the period 1990Q1-2012Q2, a structural VAR model with block exogeneity (SVARX model) relying on a comprehensive set of external shocks. We document a rising impact of these external shocks on domestic variables since the mid 1990s. We also show that real oil price and U.S. GDP shocks have a significant impact on domestic activity and lead to more symmetric responses, compared to U.S. monetary shock and financial shocks.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Xiea Shihan, Chenga Tianyin, Chia Wai-Mun

Trade, finance, specialization and synchronization in the Asia-Pacific
in *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)*, Volume 18, Issue 2 , 253-270

In this paper, we examine the relationship between trade, finance, specialization and output synchronization of 12 Asia-Pacific economies by studying the direct and indirect effects of increasing trade and financial integration on output synchronization. Using cross-sectional data for the periods of 1984–1996 and 1999–2007, we estimate a system of equations accounting for both endogeneity and simultaneity. Our main findings suggest that: (1) trade and financial integration has direct positive effects, while specialization has direct negative effects on output correlations. An increase in the coefficient of trade intensity and the significance of financial integration is observed in the post-Crisis period. (2) Most estimated coefficients have signs consistent with the existing literature and the results remain robust under different measures of output correlation, but a notable difference is that trade and finance have sizable positive effects on specialization; however, specialization is not a driving force of trade. (3) Countries with more variance in exchange rates have less synchronized cycles.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sprungk Carina

A New Type of Representative Democracy? Reconsidering the Role of National Parliaments in the European Union

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 547-563

As compensation for their disempowerment in the process of European integration, national parliaments have been provided with various new rights and powers since the 1990s, culminating in the current provisions of the Lisbon Treaty. This paper argues, however, that rather than simply re-enhancing traditional powers of national parliaments, these reforms imply ideas of a new type of parliamentary democracy in Europe. It identifies three different roles for national parliaments in the EU: preventing rather than shaping legislation (gatekeeping role), cooperating with other parliaments and supranational institutions (networking role), and adopting a uniform mode control of government across all party groups (unitary scrutiniser role). All these roles require a significant deviation from the standard role legislatures usually play in European parliamentary democracies. The paper briefly explores how national parliaments in two 'old' (France,



Germany) and one 'new' (Poland) member state fulfil these three new roles.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Siegel Thorsten

Europäisierung als Rechtsbegriff

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 61, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Forrest Ludwig

La perspective d'un statut de fondation européenne

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Décembre 2012

La philanthropie est devenue une réalité en Europe. Au cours de ces quinze dernières années, une conscience grandissante de la plus-value que représente la philanthropie s'est développée tant auprès des acteurs politiques et économiques que des citoyens. Aujourd'hui, partout en Europe, chacun peut, dans la mesure de ses moyens, contribuer à l'amélioration du sort de ses semblables, promouvoir une expression culturelle ou sportive, développer l'éducation et la santé, appuyer le développement et apporter du bonheur, peut-être. La philanthropie fait partie intégrante des atouts de notre société....

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Morellato Marion

Les revirements du mouvement léguiste vis-à-vis de l'Union européenne (1979-2010)

in *Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique*, n. 19, juin

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carlos Mendez

The post-2013 reform of EU cohesion policy and the place-based narrative

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 5 2013, 639-660

This article examines the role and use of discourse as a means of affecting EU cohesion policy reform. A discursive shift is traced to a place-based narrative, which sought to re-legitimize and reconnect the policy with its foundational



principles during the post-2013 policy review. It is argued that the impact of the narrative on the Commission's proposals has been only partially effective owing to deep-rooted ideational, interest-driven and organizational resistance and tensions relating to the policy's objectives, governance and relationship with Europe 2020. Implications are drawn for ideational analysis in the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Klaushofer Reinhard, Rainer Palmstorfer

'Austrian Constitutional Court Uses Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union as Standard of Review: Effects on Union Law'

in *European public Law*, Volume 19 - Issue 1 , 1–11

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cygan Adam

'Regional Governance, Subsidiarity and Accountability within the EU's Multi-Level Polity'

in *European public Law*, Volume 19 - Issue 1 , 161–188

The Treaty of Lisbon addressed the status of regional governance and includes several provisions designed to improve its constitutional relevance. Most importantly Protocol 2 TEU formally engages the Committee of the Regions in the task of subsidiarity monitoring within the Community method. In addition, Articles 5 and 6 TFEU seek to involve regional actors in the process of soft law, but this raises questions of competence creep, legitimacy and accountability. This article analyses participation by the Committee of the Regions in subsidiarity monitoring and the extent to which this may improve the accountability of both the Community method and soft law. The article also examines the accountability paradox that has accompanied the growth of regional autonomy in the EU. Though subsidiarity monitoring may improve legislative legitimacy, the expansion of regional autonomy has created a disjuncture between the exercise of political authority by regions and their accountability for the implementation of EU law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dubois Jean-Pierre

50e anniversaire du traité de l'Élysée : entre bilan exemplaire et avenir incertain

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Janvier

Le cinquantième anniversaire du traité de l'Élysée a donné lieu, avant même sa date officielle, à de nombreuses



manifestations communes- de François Hollande et d'Angela Merkel dans des lieux de mémoire de la relation bilatérale;: Reims, où le général de Gaulle et le chancelier Adenauer avaient scellé la réconciliation franco-allemande, Ludwigsburg, où le général de Gaulle avait prononcé son célèbre discours à la jeunesse allemande.

L'empressement des lointains successeurs du général de Gaulle et du chancelier Adenauer à reprendre les mêmes mots, à cultiver les mêmes gestes est assurément un bon signe, puisqu'il illustre la permanence de la relation bilatérale. Il y a aussi dans cette volonté de François Hollande et d'Angela Merkel de coller d'aussi près au passé, peut-être l'inquiétude de ne pas être à la hauteur, sans doute le sentiment de la difficulté à renouveler la geste...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dubois Jean-Pierre

50e anniversaire du traité de l'Élysée : entre bilan exemplaire et avenir incertain

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Janvier

Le cinquantième anniversaire du traité de l'Élysée a donné lieu, avant même sa date officielle, à de nombreuses manifestations communes- de François Hollande et d'Angela Merkel dans des lieux de mémoire de la relation bilatérale;: Reims, où le général de Gaulle et le chancelier Adenauer avaient scellé la réconciliation franco-allemande, Ludwigsburg, où le général de Gaulle avait prononcé son célèbre discours à la jeunesse allemande.

L'empressement des lointains successeurs du général de Gaulle et du chancelier Adenauer à reprendre les mêmes mots, à cultiver les mêmes gestes est assurément un bon signe, puisqu'il illustre la permanence de la relation bilatérale. Il y a aussi dans cette volonté de François Hollande et d'Angela Merkel de coller d'aussi près au passé, peut-être l'inquiétude de ne pas être à la hauteur, sans doute le sentiment de la difficulté à renouveler la geste...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Steven Weldon

A crisis of integration? The development of transnational dyadic trust in the European Union, 1954–2004

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 52, Issue 4 , 457–482

The healthy functioning and long-term viability of the European Union (EU) ultimately depend on its citizens finding common cause and developing a shared sense of political community. However, in recent years, scholars and pundits alike have expressed doubts about whether the EU's growing cultural, religious and economic diversity is undermining the development of citizens' shared sense of political community, especially following eastern expansion. In this article, this question is examined using data on a key aspect of political community: transnational dyadic trust. Drawing on a unique set of opinion surveys from the formative years of the EU to the first wave of eastward expansion (1954–2004), the development and sources of dyadic trust among EU Member States is studied. While recognising the importance of diversity for trust judgments in the short-term, the prevailing viewpoint that it is also a long-term obstacle to integration is challenged. Instead, it is argued that citizens from diverse cultural and economic backgrounds can learn to trust one another and build a sense of political community over time through greater cooperation and interconnectedness. This theory is tested with data on bilateral trade density, which is seen as a proxy and precursor for other forms of cross-national interconnectedness. Employing longitudinal models, the article also goes beyond existing research to test



the theories over time. The study makes a contribution to the research on European integration, suggesting that over time mutual trust and a shared sense of political community can indeed develop in diverse settings.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vicki Birchfield

A normative power Europe framework of transnational policy formation

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 6 2013 , 907-922

Since introduced by Ian Manners in 2002, 'normative power Europe' (NPE), has emerged as one of the most widely debated approaches in European Studies. While critiques persist, NPE continues to be innovatively applied by scholars exploring the role of the European Union as a global actor. This contribution aims to position NPE scholarship away from 'essentialist' theoretical debates and towards its use as an analytical apparatus for examining transnational policy formation. Illustrating why NPE may be recast as a policy framework, it offers an exposition of its key concepts and theoretical underpinnings and presents a set of criteria against which it may be empirically assessed. Turning to how NPE operates as a policy framework, a survey and evaluation of NPE scholarship is provided as well as a comparison with other approaches and an overview of the strengths and limitations of the NPE framework for understanding the EU's policy process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Josifidis Kosta, Allegret Jean-Pierre, Beker Pucar Emilija

Adjustment mechanisms and exchange rate regimes in 2004 new EU members during the financial crisis

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 25, Issue 1, 2013 , 1-17

The global economic crisis confronted emerging European countries with abrupt external shocks, while adjustment mechanisms differed according to exchange rate regimes. 'Fixers' were forced to accept internal devaluation, while 'floaters' used the exchange rate as a shock absorber. Empirical research is based on six emerging European countries in January 2004–December 2010 and the January 2008–December 2010 crisis period. This article explores the real exchange rate as an adjustment mechanism variable, crisis transmission to the real economy, and foreign exchange intervention as a way of exchange rate management/defence. The relations investigated are observed using VAR models in order to distinguish between the groups of 'floaters' and 'fixers'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Patrycja Rozbicka

Advocacy coalitions: influencing the policy process in the EU

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 6 2013 , 838-853

The aim of this contribution is to critically evaluate one of the theoretical approaches used to study the European Union (EU) political system and interest groups activity: the advocacy coalition framework (ACF). ACF considers that the outcome of legislative procedures is influenced by the alignment and role played by advocacy coalitions. This



contribution assesses the impact of ACF on our understanding of the influences on the EU policy processes, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of the approach. The main argument is that the ACF, although very useful in studying the EU political system, shows shortcomings when applied to the study of EU interest groups' performance. The contribution ends with a consideration of future directions for theoretical and empirical ACF research, alone and as part of wider integrated theoretical approaches to understanding the dynamics of influence in the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rose Richard

Aggregation and Representation in European Parliament Party Groups

in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 3 , 474-497

ABSTRACT: While members of the European Parliament are elected in national constituencies, their votes are determined by the aggregation of MEPs in multinational party groups. The uncoordinated aggregation of national party programmes in multinational EP party groups challenges theories of representation based on national parties and parliaments. This article provides a theoretical means of understanding representation by linking the aggregation of dozens of national party programmes in different EP party groups to the aggregation of groups to produce the parliamentary majority needed to enact policies. Drawing on an original data source of national party programmes, the EU Profiler, the article shows that the EP majorities created by aggregating MEP votes in party groups are best explained by cartel theories. These give priority to strengthening the EP's collective capacity to enact policies rather than voting in accord with the programmes they were nationally elected to represent.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lauk Kurt J.

All the options for saving the eurozone have a price tag

in Europe's World, Issue 23, Spring

The EU needs a "paradigm shift" away from inadequate bail-outs, says Kurt Lauk. But first he urges four measures to be incorporated into national legislations.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22081/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Valenza Pierluigi

Alle radici dell'Europa: tra utopie, filosofie della storia e omissioni

in Paradoxa, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Robert Ackrill, Adrian Kay, Nikolaos Zahariadis

Ambiguity, multiple streams, and EU policy

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 6 2013 , 871-887

The multiple streams framework draws insight from interactions between agency and institutions to explore the impact of context, time and meaning on policy change and to assess the institutional and issue complexities permeating the European Union (EU) policy process. The authors specify the assumptions and structure of the framework and review studies that have adapted it to reflect more fully EU decision-making processes. The nature of policy entrepreneurship and policy windows are assessed to identify areas of improvement. Finally, the authors sketch out a research agenda that refines the logic of political manipulation which permeates the lens and the institutional complexity which frames the EU policy process.

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Contartese Cristina

An EU Seat at the Security Council: Reflection on Formal and Informal Methods of EU Participation at the United Nations

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXVIII, n. 1, primo trimestre , 135-160

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ferrera Maurizio

Ancora sostenibile? Dilemmi e prospettive del welfare europeo

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Boubakri Salem

Assessing the financial integration of Central and Eastern European countries with the euro area: Evidence from panel data cointegration tests

in *Economie internationale*, n° 131, 2012/3 , 105-120

The aim of this paper is to assess the financial integration degree of the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs) with the euro area in the prospect of their integration in the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). To this end,



we test the Feldstein-Horioka regression for a non-stationary and heterogeneous panel of 10 CEECs and the euro area. In order to overcome some empirical shortcomings of this approach, we employ the recently developed panel data unit root tests and cointegration techniques. The empirical findings reveal that the financial integration process of the CEECs with the euro area is not yet complete. Another contribution of this paper is to show that this process is linked to the institutional monetary arrangement of these countries. 

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Monastiriotis Vassilis, Hardiman Niamh, Regan Aidan, Goretti Chiara, Landi Lucio, Conde-Ruiz J. Ignacio, Marín Carmen, Cabral Ricardo

Austerity measures in crisis countries - results and impact on mid-term development

in Intereconomics, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2013 , 4-32

Since the onset of the sovereign debt crisis, the crisis-stricken countries in Europe have been pushed to take drastic steps to consolidate their finances and reduce their budget deficits. Despite strong public opposition and largely damaging short-run effects, the countries have undertaken many of the internationally recommended/mandated reforms and spending cuts. In this Forum, authors from Greece, Ireland, Italy, Spain and Portugal report on the fiscal consolidation achieved in their respective countries — and the sacrifices that have made it possible. Furthermore, the authors detail what remains to be done to resolve the crisis.

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Spinelli Barbara

Back to the Dream

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVI, n. 1, March

It was one of those works – the unity between the Europeans built after the war – that men undertake when they approach the brink of the abyss, and decide at this moment to take a look at themselves: when they see the disasters they were capable of, and explore the reasons of a fallibility too callous to be fruitful. And yet, they are not blasé enough, not overwhelmed by the indolence that according to Paul Valéry was the sickness of the European spirit after the 1914-1918 war: the “tedium of rehearsing the past and the folly of always trying to innovate”, the unfitness to recover and learn once again.

http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current_issue/comments/item/808-back-to-the-dream

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Schäfer Dorothea

Banking Supervision in the Eurozone

in Intereconomics, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2013 , 2-3



No abstract available

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Howarth David, Quaglia Lucia

Banking on Stability: The Political Economy of New Capital Requirements in the European Union

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 333-346

The Basel III Accord on a 'Global regulatory framework for more resilient banks and banking systems' was issued in late 2010 as the cornerstone of the international regulatory response to the global financial crisis. Its adoption into European Union (EU) legislation has, however, been met with considerable member state reticence and intra-EU negotiations are ongoing. This paper investigates the political economy of new capital requirements in the EU, arguing that the institutional features of national banking sectors convincingly account for the divergence in EU member state preferences on capital rules.

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Gros Daniel, Maurer Rainer

Banking union with a sovereign virus

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 2, March 2013 , 93-97

Despite the experience of the ongoing sovereign debt crisis, European banks continue to hold large amounts of bonds from their home governments. This ties the fates of the sovereign and the banks together, leading to the disruptive self-reinforcing feedback loops that brought the euro area to the brink of collapse. This article addresses how banks can be weaned off of their massive investments in their home government's bonds.

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Hirschel Dierk, Busch Klaus

Baustelle EU und die Krise der Linken

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, März, 2013 , 25-28

Seit gut drei Jahren steckt Europa nun schon in der Krise. Lange schwebte der Euro in Lebensgefahr; erst Mario Draghis Machtwort beruhigte die Lage. Seitdem wettet in den Londoner und Frankfurter Glaspalästen kaum jemand mehr auf die Pleite Athens oder Madrids.

Allerdings knüpften die Notenbanker ihre Interventionsbereitschaft an die Bedingung eisernen Sparens und an neoliberale Strukturreformen. Dieses Austeritätsdiktat stürzt die südeuropäischen Volkswirtschaften immer tiefer in die Rezession. Von Lissabon bis Athen schrumpft die Wirtschaft und die Arbeitslosigkeit steigt. Die mediterranen Schuldenberge sind heute größer als je zuvor...



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Smith Michael

Beyond the comfort zone: internal crisis and external challenge in the European Union's response to rising powers

in *International Affairs* , vol. 89, issue 3, may , 653-671

ABSTRACT: This article explores the extent to which the European Union (EU) has responded effectively to the rising powers of Asia, Latin America and Africa, and whether the Union has been able to construct an effective diplomacy for dealing with them. It starts from the observation that the EU has significantly developed its diplomatic apparatus since the Lisbon Treaty, and that this apparatus is largely directed towards the establishment of negotiated order at the regional and global levels. The article identifies a number of tensions and contradictions that arise from the EU's status and role in the global arena and that feed into its quest for negotiated order. It goes on to assess the challenges to EU positions and strategies that arise not only from the emergence of new powers in the world arena, but also from the changes in global structures and processes that accompany this development. The article then investigates how these challenges have interacted with the search for negotiated order in a series of issue areas: security, commercial policy, development, environment and energy. It argues that in recent years the EU has, in a variety of ways, been taken outside its comfort zone and that while the European Union can and must seek to re-establish negotiated order in its external relations, the challenge of doing so is severe.

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Paulette Kurzer, Alice Cooper

Biased or not? Organized interests and the case of EU food information labeling

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 5 2013 , 722-740

We address the literature on EU lobbying and the issue of biases in interest representation by examining the fate of the food labeling regulation. NGOs initially succeeded in framing the issue and dominated the process of drafting the Commission's proposal. However, NGOs lost the fight in the Parliament, where industry's preferences largely prevailed. Our explanation centers on opportunity structures and highlights three dimensions that interfered with a successful mobilization of votes in the EP: strength of the frame; size of the lobbying coalition; and the identity of the rapporteur. Once the proposal was in the EP, NGOs found it difficult to rally the public and lost control of framing. The food industry was keen to minimize labeling requirements, constituted the dominant lobby, and enjoyed enormous resources and political connections. Finally, the rapporteur was ideologically opposed to the proposed labeling rules and greatly watered down their requirements.

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Cooper Ian

Bicameral or Tricameral? National Parliaments and Representative Democracy in the European Union

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 531-546

The Treaty of Lisbon defines the European Parliament and the Council as the principal institutional actors of



'representative democracy' in the EU, thus endorsing an essentially 'bicameral' model of EU democracy. In this model, national parliaments focus their scrutiny on their governments' conduct of EU affairs, but are not themselves EU-level actors. However, the Treaty of Lisbon also creates an Early Warning Mechanism which empowers national parliaments to intervene collectively in the EU's legislative process. This suggests a new, 'tricameral' model in which national parliaments constitute the third chamber in a reconfigured representative system for the EU. This reconfiguration moves the EU away from traditional models of representative democracy and more towards a complex 'demoi-crazy,' as it now has three bodies to represent the citizens, governments and peoples of Europe.

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Palazzini Licio

Breve storia del servizio civile

in *Reset*, Numero 141, Marzo

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/breve-storia-del-servizio-civile>

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Leadsom Andrea

Britain's "fresh start" in Europe would be good for the EU too

in *Europe's World*, Issue 24, Summer

The UK's hopes of re-negotiating its EU membership are the object of much scorn in continental Europe. But Tory MPs Andrea Leadsom and Tim Loughton argue that their aims hold many attractions for other member states.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22141/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Rubio Eulalia

Budget de la zone euro : trois fonctions, trois instruments

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 567, avril , 214-217

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Rebeca Jiménez-Rodríguez, Amalia Morales-Zumaquero, and Balázs Égert



Business Cycle Synchronization between Euro Area and Central and Eastern European Countries
in *Review of Development Economics*, volume 17 n.2 , 379-95

We analyze the degree of co-movements in real macroeconomic aggregates across selected euro area and Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries applying a multi-factor model. Our results suggest that the evolution of the global European factor matches well the narrative of main economic events between 1995 and 2011, capturing among others the recession during the recent global financial and economic crisis. This factor plays a central role in explaining real output growth variability in euro area and is negligible in CEE countries. Furthermore, using Markov switching models and concordance indices, we shed light on an increase in business cycle synchronization, with the degree of concordance between country-specific and European business cycles being high

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Basora Adrian A.

Can the Post-Communist Democracies Survive a Continuation of the Euro-Crisis?

in *Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 57, n. 2, spring , 217-231

ABSTRACT: The global financial crisis and its prolonged European aftermath have created a major stress test for democracy in the ten new post-communist members of the European Union. Although a majority of these transitional states have so far withstood the test reasonably well on the economic side, three have lost significant ground on the democracy front. There is also reason for concern that continued Euro-stagnation could lead to additional regression not only in the three countries that have been backsliding but possibly also in others. This could jeopardize the extraordinary progress in post-communist democratization and Western integration achieved with the help of U.S. and EU policy in the 1989-2004 period.

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Hans Kundnani

Carta de Europa: El retorno de la historia

in *Política Exterior*, N.153

¿Qué tipo de integración europea está acelerando la crisis de la mano de Alemania? Esta UE más diferenciada geográficamente y coercitiva entre sus miembros trae a la memoria los años previos a 1945.

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Hurka Steffen

Changing the output: The logic of amendment success in the European Parliament's ENVI Committee

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 14, n. 2, June , 273-296



This study tests three hypotheses on factors driving the success and failure of amendments in the European Parliament's ENVI committee. The hypotheses, which are derived from different theories of legislative organization, are tested with an original dataset containing 550 amendments from 55 ENVI members. Contrary to existing empirical evidence on the structure of political conflict in plenary, the results suggest that a committee member's general ideological orientation on the left-right dimension is not decisive for his prospects to change the committee output. Instead, it seems like ENVI members with ties to green interest groups play a greater role in the formulation of environmental policies than committee members without comparable affiliations. Finally, the empirical evidence indicates that rapporteurs are only rarely challenged successfully by competing amendments. However, they are often willing to accept compromises.

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Cygan Adam

Citizenship Of The European Union

in International & Comparative Law Quarterly , Volume 61 - Issue 03

The relationship between EU law and international law has, again, recently occupied the European Court of Justice with respect to the compatibility of the EU Treaty with international obligations. It will be recalled that in the Kadi judgment¹ the Court examined whether adoption of a UN Resolution in the form of a Council Regulation² which, prima facie, restricted the fundamental rights of Kadi was congruent with principles of EU law. In Kadi, the Court, adopting a constitutionalist position with regard to the protection of fundamental rights, held that protecting the applicant's fundamental rights under the Treaty was a priority which could not be diminished, even when the EU was implementing a UN Resolution into EU law. Thus, in Kadi, the Court concluded that providing clear fundamental rights safeguards through judicial review of the Regulation was a fundamental principle of EU law. To this extent, the Court was only prepared to accept compliance with international obligations if they were harmonious with principles of fundamental rights norms, as understood through the case law of the Court.

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Adelle Camilla, Russel Duncan

Climate Policy Integration: a Case of Déjà Vu?

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 23, Issue 1, January/February , 1-12

Climate change is a complex cross-cutting problem that necessitates a high level of policy coordination. One proposed strategy for dealing with such issues is policy integration or mainstreaming. Environmental Policy Integration (EPI) was heralded as one of the key features of sustainable development. However, in recent years Climate Policy Integration (CPI) has come to the fore. This article argues that CPI is an emerging concept that has received insufficient attention in the literature, despite gathering increasing prominence in policy circles. In particular, the precise nature of the relationship between EPI and CPI is still unclear. This article compares CPI with EPI in order to systemically unpack what CPI means both conceptually and in practice. The article finds that CPI is less about ambitious and expansive integration across all policy sectors and more about engaging a narrower set of sectors to work together in particular



ways to meet specific goals.

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/eet.1601/pdf>

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Häge Frank M.

Coalition Building and Consensus in the Council of the European Union

in **British Journal of Political Science**, vol. 43, issue 3, july , 481-504

ABSTRACT: Although qualified-majority voting is possible, member states in the Council of the European Union (EU) still adopt most policies by consensus. The agent-based model of coalition building in multilateral negotiations presented here addresses this puzzle. The model demonstrates that consensual decisions may emerge as an unintended by-product of government representatives' desire to form blocking coalitions. A qualitative case study demonstrates the plausibility of the model's assumptions and resulting coalition-building dynamics. Moreover, a quantitative test shows that the model's predictions correspond closely to the observed consensus rates. Finally, computational experiments predict a positive effect of the voting threshold but no effect of increases in membership on winning coalition size, which has important practical implications for institutional design and enlargement policy.

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MacMillan Catherine

Competing and Co-Existing Constructions of Europe as Turkey's 'Other(s)' in Turkish Political Discourse

in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 21, issue 1 , 104-121

ABSTRACT: The paper analyses the various ways in which Europe/the EU is represented as Turkey's Other in the discourse of the four main Turkish political parties. The analysis is carried out according to the definition of five forms of Othering in International Relations proposed by Diez (2005) and Manners (2006) as well as the conception of Other as superior proposed, for instance, by Zarakol (2011). In contrast to traditional Kemalist discourse, which tends to view Europe as both threat and civilisational model, AKP discourse in particular tends to frame Europe as inferior and as belonging to a different civilisation, thus revealing a more self-confident, inclusive and Islamist national identity discourse.

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Asya Zhelyazkova

Complying with EU directives' requirements: the link between EU decision-making and the correct transposition of EU provisions

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 20, Issue 5 2013 , 702-721

The implementation of EU policies has hardly been studied from the perspective of the actual performance of national policy-makers. The present study fills the gap of EU policy implementation research by analysing member states' correct transposition of the provisions of different EU directives. Hypotheses are formulated on the relationship between



characteristics of the process and outcome of EU decision-making and the transposition performance of member states. Member states' incentives to deviate, conflict in the Council, as well as characteristics of the adopted EU decisions, such as discretion and complexity, are expected to influence compliance with different EU requirements. Hypotheses are tested on the transposition performance of 15 member states regarding 136 EU provisions. The analyses reveal that member states are likely to act upon their incentives to deviate during the implementation process, and use their freedom of manoeuvre to achieve compliance with the EU requirements.

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Castaldi Roberto

Comprendere l'integrazione europea: le sfide contemporanee alla luce del processo storico
in *Paradoxa*, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

No abstract available

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Haslehner Werner

Consistency" and fundamental freedoms: The case of direct taxation
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 3 , 737-772

ABSTRACT: Consistency, as coherence, is a central requirement of justice, and, consequently, a central requirement for any legal system. The concrete conditions to achieve it, are, however, less evident. The potential reach of the concept as it appears in the case law of the ECJ, is still mostly unexplored in academic literature. This article thus undertakes to analyse and pinpoint its significance, taking direct tax law as an example of a subject matter falling squarely within the competence of the Member States. As such, direct taxation provides a prime example for the conflicting principles of national parliamentary sovereignty and quasi-constitutional supranational limits to this sovereignty and thus an ideal case for such analysis. It is shown how many of the peculiarities of the ECJ decisions on tax discrimination can be reconceptualized and understood in terms of the idea of consistency. Through the discussion of the main justifications unique to direct tax cases the article also reveals the inconsistency of the ECJ in respect of its application of that central idea and advocates a more stringent approach to improve the transparency of the case law and thus, in turn, its consistency. This approach is explained in more detail by reference to different tests for consistency to be employed on each stage of the proportionality analysis, and defended against possible objections to different standards of the concept.

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Chaltiel Florence

Constitution et droit européen : le Conseil constitutionnel, juge européen ? A propos d'un nouveau type de décision : les décisions en "P"

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 568, mai , 261-262



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dawson Mark

Constitutional Dialogue between Courts and Legislatures in the European Union: Prospects and Limits in European public Law, Volume 19 - Issue 2 , 369–396

No abstract available

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Sabine Saurugger

Constructivism and public policy approaches in the EU: from ideas to power games in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 20, Issue 6 2013 , 888-906

The aim of this contribution is to critically analyse the strengths and pitfalls of constructivist public policy approaches in European Union (EU) studies and to develop avenues for further research. Four conceptual frameworks are more specifically discussed: (1) sociological institutionalism; (2) discursive institutionalism; (3) approaches based on socialization and learning; and finally (4) actor-centred constructivism. When the constructivist turn in international relations 'hit' European integration theories, the large epistemological tent under which constructivists gathered centred schematically around two puzzles: how ideas, norms and world views were established; and how and why they mattered. Recently, actor strategies and economic rationality have been reintroduced into constructivist accounts. This actor-centred constructivism is very much based on the idea that in order to understand how actors think and how their ideas count in policy-making, one must take into account the way actors use ideas strategically. This contribution argues that this perspective allows us to reach beyond the dichotomy opposing rational choice and more interpretative approaches and helps us to best understand how ideas influence policy processes.

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Kaliber Alper

Contextual and Contested: Reassessing Europeanization in the Case of Turkey in International Relations, vol. 27, n. 1, march , 52-73

ABSTRACT: This article introduces a novel conceptual/analytical framework to Europeanization studies. Its main aims are twofold: first, it problematizes the mainstream usage of the term Europeanization, and the notion of change that it has embraced, and second, it develops a fuller account of the impact of European integration on societies. An analytical distinction is drawn between EU-ization as a formal process of alignment with the EU's body of law and institutions, and Europeanization as a wider sociopolitical and normative context. The impact of Europeanization in a given society is heavily conditioned by the extent and the ways in which Europe is used as a context by domestic actors. To substantiate its arguments, the article focuses on the Turkish case, where Europeanization as a normative-political context has extensively been implicated in its modernization and nation-building processes as well as in recent domestic debates



concerning the country's identity and future orientation.

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Bongardt Annette, Torres Francisco, Hefeker Carsten, Wunsch Pierre, Hermann Christoph

Convergence in the EU

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 2, March 2013 , 72-92

The EU has long viewed economic and institutional convergence as important goals, but the results thus far have been decidedly mixed, and there remain several open questions: How exactly should convergence be defined? How much convergence is necessary? What steps can be taken to improve convergence in the EU, and how can success be defined? Finally, how much convergence can be achieved by improving the economic performance in underperforming regions, and how can convergence in the form of harmonisation towards lower welfare levels be avoided?

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Viegas Miguel, Antunes Micaela

Convergence in the Spanish and Portuguese NUTS 3 regions: An exploratory spatial approach

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2013 , 59-66

Since their accession to the European Union in 1986, both Portugal and Spain have benefited from strong financial support. Both countries have experienced considerable growth in income per capita, converging towards average European levels. However, several studies suggest a high degree of persistence of regional asymmetries within the countries. This paper empirically analyses convergence among NUTS 3 regions of the Iberian Peninsula between 1995 and 2008. The results reveal divergent national trends and indicate no evidence of catching-up effects among the poorest regions, confirming the existence of economic clusters.

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Feyzi Baban

Cosmopolitan Europe: Border Crossings and Transnationalism in Europe

in *Global Society*, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 217-235

In recent years European politics has witnessed two simultaneous developments, which are indicative of two contradictory trends. The first is an emphasis on the idea of a cosmopolitan Europe, as facilitated by further European integration. This accelerated integration is said to be creating a cosmopolitan Europe in which citizenship is decoupled from its national bearings and supra-national European institutions facilitate the emergence of new identities and belongings that are not necessarily national in origin. The second trend points towards an increasing visibility of right-wing parties and movements expressing hostility towards cultural multiplicity and an official denunciation of multiculturalism, accompanied by a closure of borders and denial of rights to non-European nationals. This article will argue that these seemingly contradictory trends are not necessarily contradictory but instead complimentary in erecting real and imaginary borders around Europe. The article further argues that growing transnational populations within



Europe such as immigrants, refugees, non-residents and non-status individuals act as a corrective to this false perception of a cosmopolitan Europe by bringing the “outside in” and challenging the notions of European borders and established identities.

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Sieg Katrin

Cosmopolitan empire Central and Eastern Europeans at the Eurovision Song Contest

in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 16, No. 2, April 2013 , 244-263

The annual Eurovision Song Contest has provided a venue where participating nations from the former Soviet bloc, whose relation to Europeanness may be tenuous, strive to perform claims to belonging and partnership. Yet the increasing emphasis on ‘diversity’ in the representation of an expanding Europe has created difficulties for Central and Eastern European countries, which historically were positioned as ‘ethnic’, if not racialized vis-à-vis western European powers. Nevertheless, Central and Eastern European participants in the Contest have engaged with cosmopolitanism as the key term through which Europe has come to define itself. Through a close, historically contextualized analysis of two songs, the article argues that Central and Eastern European participants in the Contest have developed alternative discourses of cosmopolitanism that furnish a corrective to the increasingly reductive equation of the concept with cultural diversity.

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Herzog Philippe

Cote d'alerte pour l'industrie européenne

in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 57, 2013/1 , 91-112

L'industrie fait son retour sur le devant de la scène politique nationale et européenne, mais le chemin sera long avant qu'une stratégie soit sur les rails.

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Kröger Sandra

Creating a European Demos? The Representativeness of European Umbrella Organisations

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 583-600

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) have been viewed by many as a means for democratising the EU and for overcoming its widely perceived democratic deficit. At the EU-level, it is mostly European umbrella organisations of CSOs that contribute to EU policy-making. These umbrella organisations ground their legitimacy partly on the claim of being representative of large constituencies. Similarly, the European Commission hopes to increase the legitimacy of its proposals through consultations with European umbrellas and has systematically contributed financially to establishing them in the first place. However, we lack information on how well these umbrellas link to their national members and



who is represented through them in EU policy-making. Arguing that active involvement by their constituencies is crucial for the legitimacy of European umbrellas, this article addresses the degree to which national organisations link to their respective European umbrellas. Three types of political representation by CSOs are identified, which are exemplified respectively by organisations active in the fields of agricultural, environmental and anti-poverty policy. The analysis explores the ways CSOs contribute to political representation across different governance levels in the EU, and the various types of representation the related practices embody. Findings show that the umbrella of agricultural groups is much more representative of its constituencies than those of environmental and anti-poverty groups, casting a doubt on the latter's capacity to forcefully contribute to the construction of a European polity.

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Pinon Stéphane

Crise économique européenne et crise institutionnelle à tous les étages

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 567, avril , 218-230

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Belke Ansgar, Dreger Christian  

Current Account Imbalances in the Euro Area: Does Catching up Explain the Development?

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 6-17

In the debate on global imbalances, the euro area countries received increasing attention since the outbreak of the financial crisis. While the current account is on balance for the entire area, divergences between individual member states have increased since the introduction of the common currency and are part of the excessive imbalances procedure. This paper explores the determinants of the imbalances by using paneconometric techniques. The analysis shows that a lack in competitiveness is the main explanation for the external deficits of the countries that are at the heart of the euro area debt crisis. As a deterioration of competitiveness is not feasible for the surplus countries, an asymmetric response is required to reduce the imbalances.

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Bosetti Giancarlo

Da Ernesto Rossi alla naja, storia di una buona idea

in *Reset*, Numero 141, Marzo

<http://www.reset.it/dossier/europa-in-crisi-il-servizio-civile-ci-salvera>

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Mazzonis Martino

Dai Peacecorps di Kennedy agli Americorps di Clinton e Obama

in *Reset*, Numero 141, Marzo

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/dai-peacecorps-di-kennedy-agli-amicorps-di-clinton-e-obama>

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Beaufort Viviane, Simon Édouard

De la capacité de l'UE à prendre efficacement la parole à échelle mondiale-Application à la question des marchés publics internationaux

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 565, février , 73-82

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bouillaud Christophe

De l'europanisation en trompe-l'œil des partis politiques en Europe

in *Politique européenne* , n. 38, 2012/3 , 196-207

No abstract available

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Van Nieuwenhuyze Christophe

Debt, assets and imbalances in the euro area. An aggregate view

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/1 (N° 127) , 123-152

The recent developments in the euro area have shown how important it is that the various economic sectors pay attention to their financial positions. In the literature, the approach to analyse these positions is often partial, focusing on the government sector or just on the gross debt, as in the case of Reinhart and Rogoff (2010) and Cecchetti et al. (2011). This paper conducts an aggregate analysis of the debt positions of the euro area countries, taking account not only of the public debt but also of private sector debt and the financial assets of the various sectors (net debt). On the basis of this analysis, it emerges that euro area countries differ extensively in terms of their total net debt. In a context of hampered financial integration, the euro area might benefit from a reduction of these differences.

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Jan-Werner Müller



Defending Democracy within the EU

in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 24, Number 2, 138-149

Recent illiberal turns in Hungary and Romania have prompted the question what, if anything, the EU could and should do to protect liberal democracy within Member States. The article discusses four principled concerns about democracy-saving EU interventions in Member States: that an institution which is itself largely undemocratic cannot credibly protect democracy; that there are in fact no common European standards which could be used to determine whether a Member State is departing from a shared European understanding of democracy; that interventions are per se illiberal; and, finally, that only small States will be subject to intervention, a form of EU hypocrisy which delegitimizes Brussels both in the States concerned and possibly across the EU as a whole. The article counters all these concerns and argues that the problem with intervention is not to be found at a theoretical level, but on a practical plane: as of now, the EU lacks a tool kit to intervene effectively in Member States; whatever it has recently used by way of sticks and carrots seems arbitrary or opportunistic. The article concludes by proposing a number of remedies for this situation.

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Vivien A. Schmidt

Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output and 'Throughput'

in *Political Studies*, Volume 61, Issue 1, 2–22

Scholars of the European Union have analyzed the EU's legitimacy mainly in terms of two normative criteria: output effectiveness for the people and input participation by the people. This article argues that missing from this theorization is what goes on in the 'black box' of governance between input and output, or 'throughput'. Throughput consists of governance processes with the people, analyzed in terms of their efficacy, accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and openness to interest consultation. This article defines and discusses this third normative criterion as well as the interaction effects of all three normative criteria. It does so by considering EU scholars' institutional and constructivist analyses of EU legitimacy as well as empirical cases of and proposed solutions to the EU's democracy problems. The article also suggests that unlike input and output, which affect public perceptions of legitimacy both when they are increased or decreased, throughput tends to be most salient when negative, because oppressive, incompetent, corrupt or biased practices throw not just throughput but also input and output into question.

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Grimmel Andreas

Der Kontext als Schlüssel für ein angemessenes Verständnis der Integration durch Recht in Europa – am Beispiel der aktuellen Grundrechtsrechtsprechung des EuGH

in *Europarecht*, Heft 2, 2013

No abstract available

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Altvater Elmar

Der politische Euro

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2013 , 71-79

Die ökonomisch umstrittene und zudem politisch dilettantische „Rettung“ Zyperns gab all jenen Aufwind, die für die Rückkehr zu nationalen Währungen plädierten. Elmar Altvater, Professor em. für Politische Ökonomie an der FU Berlin, nennt sechs entscheidende ökonomische Gründe dagegen. Sein Fazit: Der entfesselte globale Kapitalismus ist, wenn überhaupt, nur durch eine sozial und politisch geeinte Europäische Union zu bändigen.

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Sante Cruciani, Massimo Piermattei

Destre e sinistre in Europa: crisi e ridefinizione delle famiglie politiche

in *Memoria e ricerca* , Fascicolo 41

The aim of the paper is to retrace the evolution of "Right" and "Left", and the political cultures linked to them within the European integration process, after the "Fall of the Wall" in Berlin. The paper started with an overview about the milestones of political struggle between Left and Right from the first Community to the direct elections of EP, showing origin and development of parties' role within the EEC/EU, and the building - with its peculiarities - of a supranational level even in the field of political competition. The main part of the paper is focused about the impact - and the central role - of Maastricht Treaty and the developments of European integration process over Left and Right political cultures emphasizing their attempts to search new, original and modern strategies to deal with challenges such Economic and Monetary Union, Eastern and Central Europe enlargement, and the framework of international relations following the attack of 9/11.

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Potacs Michael

Die Europäische Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion und das Solidaritätsprinzip

in *Europarecht*, Heft 2, 2013 , 133-145

ABSTRACT: Die Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion ist durch die Einhaltung fiskalischer Vorgaben und staatliche Eigenverantwortlichkeit geprägt. Elemente der Solidarität finden sich im Unionsrecht nur ausnahmsweise und stellen die staatliche Eigenverantwortung als Prinzip nicht in Frage. Dieser Befund ändert sich auch nicht wesentlich durch den neuen Art. 136 Abs. 3 AEUV und wird überdies durch das jüngst ergangene Urteil des EuGH zum ESM bestätigt. Eine weitgehende Aufgabe der staatlichen Eigenverantwortung zugunsten europäischer Solidarität würde eine Strukturänderung der EU mit einer staatsrechtlichen Dimension von bisher nicht gekanntem Ausmaß bedeuten.



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Bayer József

Die Herausbildung von Anti-Pluralismus in neuen Demokratien - der Fall Ungarns

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 1/2013 , 95-110

The full text is free:

www.oezp.at/getMagazine.php?id=74

Emerging Anti-pluralism in New Democracies - the Case of Hungary

The signs of a definite anti-pluralist turn in the politics of some newly democratized countries in Europe are growing. The paper describes the present Hungarian political situation since the 2010 election. Due to a landslide electoral victory of the Hungarian Civic Union - Fidesz, the new government felt free to rearrange the whole constitutional and political system. Earlier institutions of control over the government have been restrained. The declared need for a "strong state" in a crisis situation seemed to justify a resort to some authoritarian tendencies of the Hungarian past. The paper analyzes the political and ideological features that endanger the guaranties of rights and the achieved political pluralism. It deals with changes of the constitution and the role of the Constitutional Court, the much debated new media law, the constrained autonomy of interest organizations and local self-governments, and the decisive change of the electoral system. The paper analyses also presumable reasons for this anti-pluralist turn, weighing simple path-dependency in the political culture against the impact of the contemporary economic crisis. It stands in for the pluralist democratic engagement of 1989 that should be saved under the new challenges of the contemporary crisis.

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Roode Sven de

Die Wahrnehmung der europäischen Integration in der britischen, deutschen und niederländischen Presse vor dem Hintergrund nationaler Selbstbilder 1951–1957

in *Historische Zeitschrift*, Volume 296, Issue 2, April 2013 , 380-407

Seeing Europe through the Nation: the Role of National Self-Images in the Perception of European Integration in the English, German, and Dutch Press in the 1950s

Abstract

This article compares perceptions of European integration in the English, German, and Dutch liberal press against the backdrop of national self-images. The survey is based on a source sample of more than 700 newspaper editorials about the founding treaties of the European Communities in the 1950s. The term 'image' is used for stereotyped perceptual patterns of nations about themselves and other nations. Images are systems of convictions, attitudes, values, and opinions that structure and control human perception. The genesis of images is significantly influenced by



country-specific public remembrance, traditions, and normative moral concepts. The representation of European integration in Dutch, English, and German newspapers shows that both, the perception of Europe and national self-images, are essentially controversial. The survey shows how national self-images impacted on the perception of European integration and that the view of Europe was a national one. Europe was not a counter-project to the nation, but images of the nation shaped and developed imaginings and ideas of Europe. The perception of Europe was tinted and judged by national self-images. Besides, European integration could cause the emergence of new self-images and impacted on the transformation of older perceptual patterns. The discourse on European integration was inseparably intertwined with the discourse on the nation. Europe was essentially thought 'through' the nation.

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Peuker Enrico

Die demokratische Auslegung des Völkerrechts – Das Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgerichts zu ESM-Vertrag und Fiskal-Pakt vom 12. September 2012

in *Europarecht*, Heft 1, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Isik Ozel

Differential Europe within a nation: Europeanization of regulation across policy areas

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 5 2013, 741-759

This study examines varying levels of Europeanization of regulation across policy areas in the same national setting, drawing on the case of Turkey. It analyses institutional adaptation at both de jure and de facto levels regarding regulatory institutions and practices, focusing on two distinct policy areas: competition and telecommunications in Turkey. Suggesting that the interactions between the forms of conditionality at the EU level and the institutional capacity at the agency level will shape outcomes, it argues that higher levels of Europeanization will be achieved when firm conditionality meets with strong institutional capacity. It puts forward that Europeanization is less likely in policy areas where conditionality is not firm and where coalitions between the losers of reform and strong institutional veto players undermine institutional capacity building. The study, then, explores both the process of Europeanization beyond Europe and its limits when it is obstructed by domestic politics, interests and institutions.

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Vihar Georgiev

Discourse analysis, legitimation, news media, politicization, treaty reform

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 4 2013, 535-551

The post-Lisbon Treaty institutional mechanism of the European Union has been significantly altered by the introduction



of a formal hierarchy of legal acts. This article outlines some very important, unanswered questions for the future institutional setting of the Union and the distribution of powers. It is argued that the European Commission is likely to enjoy substantial discretion in delegated law-making. This loss of control by member states over the adoption of delegated acts is not compensated for by other adequate mechanisms for ensuring accountability. In addition, the European Commission has been successfully positioning itself to diminish the influence of comitology committees on the adoption of implementing acts. The possible outcomes of this new institutional shift are analysed in the context of the new challenges to the Community method. Some important implications of this institutional shift for the debate on the democratic deficit in the European Union are also drawn up.

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Mathieu Catherine, Sterdyniak Henri

Do we need fiscal rules?

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/1 (N° 127) , 189-233

The public finances crisis has brought binding fiscal rules proposals back to the forefront. The paper analyses their justifications and specifications, either in a classical or in a Keynesian framework. In the recent period there is no evidence that public deficits were caused by fiscal indiscipline and induced too high interest rates; there is no evidence that economically relevant rules can be designed. The paper provides an analysis of fiscal rules implemented either at country level (like the UK golden rule), or at the EU level (the Stability and Growth Pact). The paper shows that fiscal rules did not work before and during the crisis. The paper discusses the EU project, the "Fiscal Pact", which risks to paralyse fiscal policies and to prevent economic stabilisation. The priority today is not to strengthen public finance discipline but to question economic developments which make public deficits necessary to support output.

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Anja Jetschke, Tobias Lenz

Does regionalism diffuse? A new research agenda for the study of regional organizations

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 4 2013 , 626-637

In the post-World War Two era, regional organizations have proliferated. The accompanying literature focuses on analysing the drivers and effects of regionalism, but has, to date, largely neglected a series of puzzling macro-phenomena: the marked spatial and temporal clustering of regional organizations, as well as similarities in their institutional design. This contribution argues that the existing approaches analyse regional organizations primarily as independent phenomena, whose genesis and design are seen as being determined either by dynamics internal to the region itself or by external forces such as powerful hegemony and globalizing pressures. Against this background, this research note argues for the broadening of existing analytical perspectives and sketches a diffusion-oriented research agenda that instead conceives of regional organizations as being interdependent.

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Pasini Nicola



Domanda e (nuova?) offerta politica in un'Europa sospesa

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

No abstract available

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Von Randow Gero

Dragons hier, insectes aujourd'hui : où va le couple franco-allemand ?

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Janvier

Le 3 juillet 1963, le général de Gaulle offrit aux parlementaires un dîner à l'Élysée. Alain Peyrefitte, qui était alors conseiller du président de la République, relate la scène en ces termes :

« Quelques députés et sénateurs, devant lui, se montrent sceptiques envers la solidité du traité franco-allemand. Le Général répond sur le même ton, dans une parabole mélancolique : "Les traités sont comme les jeunes filles et les roses : ça dure ce que ça dure. Si le traité allemand n'était pas appliqué, ce ne serait pas le premier dans l'Histoire." Et il cite le vers des Orientales : "Hélas ! Que j'en ai vu mourir, des jeunes filles !" (1) » ...

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Buzelay Alain

Droits fondamentaux, croissance et rigueur budgétaire dans l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 566, mars , 135-139

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bastien Nivet

Du laboratoire au miroir: quand l'Afrique subsaharienne construit l'Europe stratégique

in *Politique africaine*, n. 127 , 135-154

L'Afrique subsaharienne a émergé depuis dix ans comme terrain d'expérimentation et espace de légitimation des politiques européennes naissantes dans les domaines des affaires étrangères, de la sécurité et de la défense. Construire l'autre en se construisant soi-même est ainsi le pari osé de l'Union européenne (UE) en Afrique. Des formes de résistances africaines inattendues aux ambitions de l'Europe, à ses agendas et hypothèses d'action, font que le laboratoire a finalement joué son rôle par l'absurde, révélant des erreurs de conceptualisation, de processus ou de mise en œuvre de l'action internationale de l'UE. L'Afrique devient le miroir de l'UE.



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Guerrieri Paolo

Due scenari per l'area euro

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 2

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MacLean, Robert M.

Duty as a Cost in EU Anti-Dumping Refunds: The Triple Jump and Other Obstacles to Success

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 47 n.3 , 601-32

The issue of duty as a cost in European Union (EU) anti-dumping refunds has been dormant for some time now. However, there are many reasons why this issue has resurfaced in recent times as a bone of contention between the European Commission and refund applicants. This article examines one of the main obstacles for EU related importers obtaining full entitlement to refund payments, namely the deduction of EU anti-dumping duties from constructed export prices to reach revised dumping margins for the purposes of awarding refunds. It also examines and questions some of the Commission's current practices and interpretations of this concept.

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Duwicquet Vincent

Désajustements de change, fédéralisme budgétaire et redistribution Comment s'ajuster en union monétaire

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/1 (N° 127) , 57-96

The euro zone crisis illustrates the insufficiency of adjustment mechanisms in a monetary union characterized by a large heterogeneity. Firstly, the paper gives an evaluation of exchange rate misalignments inside the euro zone, using a FEER approach (Jeong et al., 2010). Using panel econometric techniques over the period 1994-2010, we confirm that the exchange rate misalignments in the euro zone have diverged, reflecting unsustainable evolutions. Secondly, we use a "stock-flow consistent" model of a monetary union with two countries along the lines of Godley and Lavoie (2007) and Duwicquet and Mazier (2010). A federal budget is introduced with federal expenditures and social transfers financed by federal taxes and euro-bonds issuing. The stabilizing role of such a federal budget is confirmed facing asymmetric shock or the negative impact of exchange rate misalignments inside the monetary union. Similarly, the stabilizing role of euro-bonds used to finance European investment projects is illustrated.

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Christina Eckes

EU Accession to the ECHR: Between Autonomy and Adaptation
in *Modern Law Review (the)*, vol. 76, issue 2 , 254-285

After the European Union's accession to the European Convention on Human Rights the EU will become subject to legally binding judicial decisions of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) and participate in statutory bodies of the Council of Europe (Parliamentary Assembly; Committee of Ministers) when they act under the Convention. Convention rights and their interpretation by the ECtHR will be directly enforceable against the EU institutions and against Member States when acting within the scope of EU law. This will vest the ECHR with additional force in a number of Member States, including Germany and the UK. All Member States will further be subject to additional constraints when acting under the Convention system. The article considers the reasons for, and consequences of the EU's primus inter pares position under the Convention and within the Council of Europe, and the likely practical effect of the EU's accession for its Member States.

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Misteli Valentin

EU Associates: Third-State Involvement in EU Foreign Policy Decision-Making
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 18, issue 2 , 255-272

ABSTRACT: The European Union (EU) invites neighbouring states to contribute to the implementation of its foreign and security policy, but it does not offer involvement in relevant EU decision-making. This article makes the case for an associate status in the framework of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). It examines how third states can be involved in both CFSP decision-shaping and decision-taking and discusses the political implications and legal requirements of such arrangements.

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Helwig Niklas

EU Foreign Policy and the High Representative's Capability-Expectations Gap: A question of Political Will
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 18, issue 2 , 235-253

ABSTRACT: Once again the European Union (EU) foreign policy is characterized by a capability-expectations gap: the expectations towards the redesigned High Representative of the Union (HR) are high, with the hope of a single voice representative being able to shape and align the positions of the Member States and EU institutions. By contrast, the actual capabilities of the new post are limited, as it is confronted with the prerogatives of the European Commission in the field of integrated aspects of external action, while the framework of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) remains intergovernmental. Hence, reducing the capability-expectations gap is now mainly a matter of Member States' political will to use the potential of institutional innovation. To that end, co-leadership of the HR with Member States, the European Commission and the European Parliament is needed to provide new momentum to the common foreign policy project. This argument is developed using three cases that exemplify the dynamics in the new EU foreign policy architecture: the setup of the European External Action Service (EEAS), the immediate reaction to the crisis in Libya and



strategic thinking. Based on the findings, conditions and measures to overcome the capability-expectations gap are discussed.

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Thym Daniel

EU migration policy and its constitutional rationale: A cosmopolitan outlook

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 3 , 709-736

ABSTRACT: There is much confusion among EU experts about the legal status of third-country nationals. This is hardly surprising, since this uncertainty reflects conceptual tensions at the heart of the European project. Europe's mission of promoting transnational freedom for citizens of the Member States within the single market is not replicated for third-country nationals in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. Instead of dismantling borders, EU activities re-confirm the relevance of borders towards third States - both physically through external border controls and legally under the emerging EU immigration and asylum acquis. This article identifies underlying motives and resolves the puzzle by proposing a positive constitutional rationale for the substantive rules of European migration policy. It takes seriously two major reforms brought about by the Lisbon Treaty: the emancipation of migration within the area of freedom, security and justice; and the binding character of the Charter of Fundamental Rights. Both changes help us to understand that EU primary law represents a noteworthy accommodation of countervailing theoretical arguments about the normative foundations of international migration. EU migration law is committed to a "cosmopolitan outlook", which rejects the traditional notion of unfettered sovereign State control without mandating open borders.

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Guinaudeau Isabelle, Persico Simon

EU politicization through the lens of salience: How the EU enters the French, British and German electoral agenda (1986–2009)

in *French Politics*, Volume 11, Issue 2, June 2013 , 143-168

Contestation over European integration, pauses and crises, as well as growing evidence of its political and social implications, has drawn scholars' attention to the question of the politicization of the European Union (EU) at the domestic level. This article argues in favour of complementing the existing literature on the spatial competition over EU-related issues with a study of the salience and diversity of these issues. We illustrate the potentialities of such an approach, drawing on the examples of French, British and German parliamentary parties between 1986 and 2009. Our study of electoral manifestos generates two main conclusions. First, as patterns of attention to Europe fluctuate considerably over time and tend to follow systemic dynamics, the resonance and political consequences of party discourses over integration will depend on the presence of political parties able and willing to push the EU onto the electoral agenda. Second, the EU gives rise to distinct issue emphases in each country and in each party, resulting from the 'domestication' of European debates by parties. This observation suggests that we should be cautious with regard to the location of domestic parties along a single, transnational dimension that opposes Europhiles and Eurosceptics, as the EU does not enter domestic agendas in the same form everywhere.



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Walker, G.A.

EU structural regulation of banking

in **Law and Financial Markets Review**, volume 7 n.1 , 36-47

The European High-Level Expert Group under Erkki Liikanen has produced a well-researched and informed report on the financial crisis within Europe which contains important recommendations for reform. This builds on the work of Paul Volcker in the US and the Independent Commission on Banking in the UK under Sir John Vickers and provides an intelligent intermediate, compromise position on ring-fencing. Liikanen has concluded that European banks should be required to ring-fence their proprietary and high-risk activities having considered that the other reforms currently being developed will be inadequate to deal with the perceived additional systemic threats present in the markets. The report also contains a number of further recommendations on supplemental separation, bail-in instruments, capital adequacy, governance, institutional architecture, competition and competitiveness. This adds further weight to the emerging official regulatory consensus on ring-fencing although a number of difficult issues still remain to be fully resolved especially on market efficiency, resolution and crisis management.

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Federico Lupo Pasini

Economic Stability and Economic Governance in the Euro Area: What the European Crisis can Teach on the Limits of Economic Integration

in **Journal of International Economic Law**, volume 16 n.1 , 211-56

The recent European economic crisis has dramatically exposed the failures of the various institutional mechanisms in place to maintain economic stability in Europe, and has unveiled the difficulty in achieving international coordination on fiscal and financial stability policies. Drawing on the European experience, this article analyzes the concept of economic stability¹ in international law and highlights the peculiar problems connected to its maintenance or promotion. First, we demonstrate that policies that safeguard and protect economic stability are largely regulated and managed at the national level, due to their inextricable relationship with the exercise of national political power. Until recently, more limited levels of pan-European integration did not make the coordination of economic stability policies seem necessary. However, a much deeper level of economic integration makes it very difficult to tackle an international economic crisis through national responses. If EU Member states wish to maintain and deepen economic integration, they must accept an erosion of sovereignty over their economic stability policies. This will not only deprive states of a fundamental anchor of political power, but also create a challenge for the maintenance of democratic control over economic policies. Second, this article argues that soft law approaches are likely ineffective in enforcing the regulatory disciplines required to ensure economic stability.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Federico Lupo Pasini



Economic Stability and Economic Governance in the Euro Area: What the European Crisis can Teach on the Limits of Economic Integration

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 16 n.1 , 211-56

The recent European economic crisis has dramatically exposed the failures of the various institutional mechanisms in place to maintain economic stability in Europe, and has unveiled the difficulty in achieving international coordination on fiscal and financial stability policies. Drawing on the European experience, this article analyzes the concept of economic stability¹ in international law and highlights the peculiar problems connected to its maintenance or promotion. First, we demonstrate that policies that safeguard and protect economic stability are largely regulated and managed at the national level, due to their inextricable relationship with the exercise of national political power. Until recently, more limited levels of pan-European integration did not make the coordination of economic stability policies seem necessary. However, a much deeper level of economic integration makes it very difficult to tackle an international economic crisis through national responses. If EU Member states wish to maintain and deepen economic integration, they must accept an erosion of sovereignty over their economic stability policies. This will not only deprive states of a fundamental anchor of political power, but also create a challenge for the maintenance of democratic control over economic policies. Second, this article argues that soft law approaches are likely ineffective in enforcing the regulatory disciplines required to ensure economic stability.

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Pozzi Cesare

Editoriale: Competitività e moneta unica

in *Industria (L')*, 4, ottobre-dicembre, 2012 , 567-576

The paper focuses on the introduction of Euro as one of the most relevant change in the institutional framework Italian firms have to face. The introduction of a common currency is based on a theoretical background that would not be taken for granted. The paper shows how current approaches to economic policies risk to keep generating new drawbacks like so the European experiments is highlighting. If the Euro crisis is analyzed from a different theoretical perspective, for Italy and the other European countries there are only two remedies: build a single State or recognize the Euro collapse.

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Gulara Guliyeva

Education, Languages and Linguistic Minorities in the EU: Challenges and Perspectives

in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 219–236

Although, with the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty, two provisions of EU primary law now refer to ‘minorities,’ there are no explicit EU competences and policies to promote the rights of minority groups in education. Nevertheless, EU law has a strong potential to impact the educational rights of linguistic minorities in Member States. To evaluate the right to access education, with an emphasis on the needs of minorities to preserve their identity, this paper first discusses the EU's relevant competences in education (Part II) and then in languages (Part III). Based on the analysis of relevant EU provisions, the paper concludes that EU law is unlikely to offer meaningful protection to linguistic minorities without explicitly endorsing their educational rights. However, to do so, the EU needs a stronger competence in



education and minority rights.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jaeger Marc, Jarass Hans D., Repasi René

Eilverfahren vor dem Gericht der Europäischen Union

in *Europarecht*, Heft 1, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ferber Markus

Eine gemeinsame Migrationspolitik der EU. Hürden und Chancen

in *Politische Studien*, 64. Jahrgang, Heft 448, März-April, 30-37

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Danjean Arnaud

Entre tentation du repli et fatalisme du déclin : l'Europe face à ses responsabilités

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 756, Janvier

C'est après avoir fait l'inventaire des raisons pour lesquelles l'Europe a brouillé les pistes de sa sécurité, tentée par le repli, déstabilisée par une crise financière qui l'a divisée, embarrassée par la coordination entre l'UE et l'Otan, que l'auteur invite à un sursaut de défense des Européens pour prendre mieux en charge leur environnement de sécurité.

<http://www.calameo.com/read/000558115baf393604837>

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bosco Giorgio

Esiste una diplomazia europea?

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre, 624-626

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Hebous Shafik, Zimmermann Tom

Estimating the effects of coordinated fiscal actions in the euro area
in *European Economic Review*, Volume 58, February 2013 , 110-121

We estimate spillover effects of a fiscal shock in one member country in the euro area on outputs of the rest of the members, using a global vector autoregression (GVAR) model. We compare the effects of a domestic fiscal shock with those of a similar size area-wide shock expressed as a weighted average of the fiscal shocks across all member countries. According to our estimates, the impact of an area-wide fiscal shock on output of a member country tends to be positive and larger than that of a domestic shock. Since the cost of participating in the area-wide shock is lower than the cost of a similar size domestic shock, our finding indicates the importance of coordinated fiscal actions in the euro area.

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Werts Han, Scheepers Peer, Lubbers Marcel

Euro-scepticism and radical right-wing voting in Europe, 2002–2008: Social cleavages, socio-political attitudes and contextual characteristics determining voting for the radical right
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 14, n. 2, June , 183-205

In this contribution, we focus on the role of euro-scepticism on radical right-wing voting in national elections in 18 European countries between 2002 and 2008. We do so with multilevel modelling taking advantage of high-quality cross-national European data. First, we focus on social cleavages related to voting, e.g. social class and religiosity. Second, we examine the effects of several contextual characteristics, of which some are classical and others new. Third, we take diverse socio-political attitudes into account. We test whether euro-scepticism affects voting for the radical right, over and beyond other determinants that have previously been proposed to determine radical right-wing voting. We find evidence that euro-scepticism indeed contributes to the explanation of voting for the radical right beyond perceived ethnic threat and political distrust. At the same time euro-scepticism is much less relevant than perceived ethnic threat in explaining why particular social categories, i.e. lower educated people, manual workers, unemployed people and non-churchgoers are more likely to vote for the radical right.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Domenico Fisichella

Europa e tecnocrazia: radici e problemi
in *Paradoxa*, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Link Werner

Europa in der Welt: Ansätze, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer gemeinsamen Außenpolitik



in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 6-7, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/154382/moeglichkeiten-und-grenzen-einer-gemeinsamen-aussenpolitik

In der Medienberichterstattung über die Finanz- und Staatsschuldenkrise im Euro-Raum und die Entwicklung der Europäischen Union wird die Außendimension dieser Problematik häufig ausgeblendet oder nur am Rande berücksichtigt. Das ist ein gravierendes Manko. Denn ob und wie die Europäische Währungsunion stabilisiert und erhalten werden kann, ist von eminenter Bedeutung für Europas Stellung und Einfluss in der Welt. Es handelt sich eben nicht nur um eine binneneuropäische, sondern auch um eine außenpolitisch-internationale Machtproblematik. Sie betrifft die Beziehungen sowohl der einzelnen EU-Staaten als auch der gesamten EU zu ihrer Umwelt. Doch gibt es überhaupt eine gemeinsame europäische Außenpolitik? Diese Frage wird oft verneint. Herausragende negative Fälle – wie der Dissens im Irak- und im Libyen-Krieg – werden verallgemeinert und dienen als Belege für den angeblichen "Abschied" oder gar den "Tod" der Gemeinsamen Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik (GASP)...

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Bode Thilo

Europa und die mutlose Linke

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, April, 2013 , 39-42

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2013/april/europa-und-die-mutlose-linke

Seit Beginn der Eurokrise führen die „Blätter“ eine intensive Debatte über die europäische Rettungspolitik. Auf den jüngsten Beitrag „Baustelle EU und die Krise der Linken“ („Blätter“, 3/2013) von den Gewerkschaftern Klaus Busch und Dierk Hirschel antwortet nun der Volkswirt und Foodwatch-Gründer Thilo Bode.

Klaus Busch und Dierk Hirschel haben völlig recht: Die allesamt „linken“ Oppositionsparteien im Deutschen Parlament – SPD, Grüne und Die Linke – versagen in der Europapolitik, und zwar auf der ganzen Linie. Aber keineswegs aus den skizzierten Gründen, im Gegenteil: Die linken Parteien, aber auch Busch und Hirschel, erklären bis heute nicht, warum die Bürger der Währungsunion – im Norden wie im Süden – diesen gewaltigen Preis für die Rettung der Gemeinschaftswährung zahlen müssen. Bis heute legen sie keine überzeugenden Rezepte gegen die zunehmende Verarmung der Bevölkerung speziell im Süden Europas vor. Stattdessen heißt es immer wieder vermeintlich generös, wie unlängst in „der tageszeitung“: „Europa kann sich Griechenland leisten“. Vielmehr muss jedoch gefragt werden: „Kann Griechenland sich Europa und den Euro noch leisten?“

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De Giovanni Biagio

Europa: due legittimazioni in contrasto



in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 2

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Aglietta Michel

Europe and the world economy at the tipping point

in *Economie internationale*, n° 130, 2012/2 , 5-31

In late 2011 the twin sovereign and bank crises worsened substantially. The very existence of the euro was getting jeopardized by both a creeping fragmentation of the European financial system and by a recession in Southern Europe dragging down the whole EMU. In this paper, we show why there was such urgency to act for the sake of the euro, and that the impact of an eventual Euro zone recession might be significant above all if the US is affected. Putting the financial rescue decisions taken in the June summit in a broader perspective, we show that three brands of reform must be compounded: cap interest rates on public debts at level compatible with reasonable fiscal adjustment, design an insurance-linked Eurobond scheme, and initiate banking union with centralized prudential regulation.

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McCormik John

Europe as a Cosmopolitan Global Actor

in *Politico (II)*, n. 231, 2012 , 32-48

ABSTRACT: Cosmopolitanism offers considerable possibilities in terms of tying down and better understanding the European experience. But the bulk of the academic discussion to date has been theoretical, with few attempts to move out of the ivory tower into the practical realities of life on the ground for ordinary Europeans or European policy. This paper will attempt to explore cosmopolitan ideas as they relate to Europe's place in the world, and particularly as they relate to three concepts widely associated with Europe's foreign policy efforts: civilian power, soft influence, and multilateralism. These examples will be reviewed in terms of the new light that cosmopolitanism might shed on European ideas about the dynamics of international relations.

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Ryan Phillips

Europe as a Cultural Project: Turkey and the European Union in the British Press

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Volume 15, Issue 2 , 280–298

An interpretive approach to foreign policy explains the beliefs of actors and the meanings of their actions by locating them in their respective historical traditions and in response to particular dilemmas. This article explains how the British Press constructs 'secularism' as a requirement for Turkey's potential future membership in the European Union (EU) as



a response to the rise of the Islamically-identified Justice and Development Party (AKP). By emphasizing Turkey's secularism as a precondition for entry into the EU, the press effects a significant departure from the dominant British foreign policy traditions with respect to Turkey and the EU, which have highlighted considerations of material benefits. These arguments are pursued through a close analysis of how the British Press covered the attempted election of the country's next president in 2007 and the resulting conflict.

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Henkel Hans-Olaf

**Europe must drop the “one-size-fits-all” euro to remain competitiv
in Europe’s World**, Issue 23, Spring

Once an avowed advocate of the euro, German industrialist Hans-Olaf Henkel now believes it's time to look at alternative solutions, and puts forward his suggestion for creating a “northern-euro” for economically stronger countries.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22078/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Ferrer-Gallardo Xavier, Van Houtum Henk

Europe without an Endpoint. Period

in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography) , Volume 104, Issue 2, Special Issue: New insights in industrial location, April , 243-249

This contribution focuses on the borderscape of a flat area situated at the southernmost tip of Gibraltar, at the edge of the European Continent, which is illustratively and interestingly named Europa Point. We will argue that, as an evoking geographical belvedere of cultural and continental interrelationships, Europa Point directs attention to the inherent sociospatial ambiguities of EUrope. Embodying a crucial topo within the European sociospatial b/ordering process, this borderscape stimulates to observe Europe's limits through a non-binary lens. The text aims at providing an unfrozen alternative visualisation of the symbolic and territorial margins of the EU. Echoing De Rougemont's conceptualisation of Europe's existence through its search for the infinite, it depicts Europa Point as a springboard and platform to the perpetual commencement of the European adventure.

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Logemann Jan

**Europe – Migration – Identity: Connections between migration experiences and Europeanness
in National Identities**, vol. 15, n. 1, Special Issue: Europe – Migration – Identity , 1-8

This introductory essay places the articles of the special issue within the context of current scholarship on Europeanness and European identities as well as on transatlantic and inner-European migration. It probes the



relationship between various migration experiences and identifications with Europe and the possible emergence of a European self-understanding among migrants. This exploratory collection of papers puts the two bodies of scholarship in dialogue and several case studies offer a wide variety of vantage points on the themes of Europe, identity, and migration. Much can be learned, they suggest, by careful historical and sociological investigations of the connections between migration experiences and Europeanization.

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Mueller Patrick

Europe's Foreign Policy and the Middle East Peace Process: The Construction of EU Actorness in Conflict Resolution

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 14, n. 1 , 20-35

Relying on the 'EU actorness' framework, this article examines the relationship between the EU's evolving institutional capacity as an international actor and its performance as an external mediator in the Arab–Israeli conflict. It shows that the EU's actorness has progressed in terms of diplomatic 'cohesion', enhanced 'horizontal coordination' between CFSP and the EU's external economic relations, and the 'surpanationalisation' of EU foreign policy-making. On the whole, the strengthening of its actor capacity also allowed the EU to progressively expand its activities in conflict resolution, conflict prevention and conflict management. Still, important shortcomings in Europe's conflict resolution policy have remained and the EU finds it difficult to realize its full potential as an external mediator.

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Guillén Arturo

Europe: The Crisis Within a Crisis

in International Journal of Political Economy, Volume 41, Number 3 / Fall 2012 , 41-68

The European crisis is not a new crisis but an extension of the global crisis that started in 2007. It represents the third stage of the global crisis and is characterized by a combination of signs of productive recovery in some countries with recession in others, by the reproduction of the neoliberal orthodoxy in the economic policy of the major countries, and the formation of new areas of speculative bubbles and financial fragility. There are many institutional weaknesses in the European Union following the crisis: the lack of a lender of last resort; the neoliberal configuration of the institutional framework; the absence of mechanisms that would permit governments to reduce budget deficits other than through deflationary methods; and the lack of fiscal coordination. However, the problems of the European Union go beyond these institutional deficiencies: there are contradictions and difficulties on the structural level that go back to the beginning of the integration process. The main problem is that the euro, in contrast to the currencies of the developed countries (dollar, pound, yen), has no regional productive system, and much less a state, behind it.

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Dyevre Arthur

European Integration and National Courts: Defending Sovereignty under Institutional Constraints?



in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 9 - Issue 01

Response of national highest courts to the ECJ's integrationist agenda – Logic behind qualified acceptance of EU law supremacy and direct effect – Several possible explanations for the observed inter-court variation: the courts' type and organisation; their power to review legislative acts under domestic law; the rules governing access to the judicial forum; the monistic tradition of the legal system and the level of public support for European integration – Assessment of empirical validity of these hypotheses using a new dataset coding the doctrinal positions and institutional constraints of 34 domestic highest courts – Most correlations small – Only one variable – the power to review statutory legislation under national law – appears to have a significant influence on the courts' doctrinal response to legal integration – Some support for the argument that the varying institutional constraints and incentives under which highest court judges operate shape the way they accommodate and reconcile two conflicting goals

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Gerhards Jürgen, Lengfeld Holger

European Integration, Equality Rights and People's Beliefs: Evidence from Germany

in *European Sociological Review*, Volume 29, Issue 1, February 2013 , 19-31

Abstract

At the outset, this article describes in detail how the European Union has replaced the nation-state concept of equality with a transnational idea of equality for all European citizens. It then investigates the extent to which German respondents support the idea of non-discrimination between German nationals and other Europeans. The existing literature argues that the process of opening up the borders of the nation-states will challenge the traditional symbolic code of equality held by citizens, and impact negatively on the existing distribution of resources. In particular, those people who lack economic resources and hold more traditional or right wing political orientations are likely to oppose the notion of Europe-wide equality. However, the empirical results show that the majority of the German population supports the idea that citizens from other European countries should enjoy the same rights as nationals. Most of this paper's hypotheses are either falsified or correlations are rather weak, and these findings bring us to the conclusion that, at least as far as the German population is concerned, there is no evidence for a strong socio-structural or value-orientated cleavage with regard to equal rights for all Europeans.

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Glyn Morgan

European Solidarity and the Constraints of Global Fairness

in *Politico (II)*, n. 231, 2012 , 91-107

ABSTRACT: The recent Eurozone Crisis has led to a focus on the idea of European solidarity. Many people argue that if



Europeans acted in a more solidaristic way, the gap between wealthier and poorer European nations could be bridged. The paper argues that European solidarity is more problematic than it appears, because it stands in tension with the idea of global fairness. The paper seeks to resolve this tension by arguing that European integration can be construed as a form of liberal political incorporation that can be justified as a cosmopolitan project.

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Bakar Ayhan, Rees Wyn

European Union Accession, Turkey and Organized Crime

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 18, issue 2 , 181-197

ABSTRACT: The European Union (EU) has required accession states to adopt its *acquis communautaire* in internal security. Turkey has presented an important case because it has been seen both as a source of threat to the EU, in terms of the spread of organized crime and illegal drugs, and as a problematical candidate for accession. This article looks at the impact of the EU's accession process upon the internal security policies of Turkey, from its application for membership in 1987 to the present. It argues that the EU has exerted a substantial influence on Turkish policy, especially during the period when the prospect of accession was strongest. In spite of the paralysis in its accession negotiations, Turkey remains aligned with EU internal security policy because it has come to internalize the EU's security standards and share its fears of the domestic threats associated with organized crime and drug trafficking.

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Eva G. Heidbreder

European Union governance in the shadow of contradicting ideas: the decoupling of policy ideas and policy instruments

in *European Political Science* , Volume 5 - Issue 01 , 133-150

The institutional architecture of the European Union is based on two fundamentally competing ideas: supranational rule and national sovereignty. These two underlying ideas are not reconcilable and work at different levels in the background of the policy debate. While on the normative level public sentiments remain strongly linked to the idea of state autonomy, on the cognitive level the paradigm of a functional necessity to cooperate is decisive for actual policy making. Only in some policy domains, such as the single market program, have policy-makers attempted to re-couple normative and cognitive ideas. In contrast to this, the central argument is that policy-makers mostly adhere to an alternative strategy: the systematic decoupling of normative and cognitive ideas. Focusing on public administration, it is shown how deft policy instrumentation allows actors to realize program ideas that satisfy demands for increased supranational governance. At the same time, however, these instruments are in dissonance with how policies are framed against the background of public sentiments that assume domestic bureaucratic independence.

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Randell, Charles

European banking union and bank resolution



in **Law and Financial Markets Review**, volume 7 n.1 , 30-35

Policymakers agree that bank resolution is an essential part of any system of bank regulation, and cross-border banks may require cross-border resolution. However, because cross-border resolution may impinge on the fiscal responsibilities of Member States, the Commission's roadmap for banking union does not include any proposals to further bank resolution beyond its existing proposal for a Recovery and Resolution Directive. Although this Directive would represent a major step towards making European banks resolvable, it is unlikely to deliver the mechanisms and funding framework to ensure that large financial groups can be resolved through co-ordinated cross-border action. This means that, for the foreseeable future, group-level bail-in of debt will be the default option for resolving such groups and there is, therefore, a case for reinforcing and accelerating the Directive's bail-in provisions. The structural separation of banking groups, as envisaged by the UK's Independent Commission on Banking and the Commission's Liikanen Group, would also give the authorities more resolution options than currently exist. Finally, the EBA's powers and resources in the area of resolution should be significantly strengthened.

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Ian Manners

European communion: political theory of European union

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 20, Issue 4 2013 , 473-494

Political theory of European union, through an engagement between political concepts and theoretical understandings, provides a means of identifying the EU as a political object. It is argued that understanding the projects, processes and products of European union, based on 'sharing' or 'communion', provides a better means of perceiving the EU as a political object rather than terms such as 'integration' or 'co-operation'. The concept of 'European communion' is defined as the 'subjective sharing of relationships', understood as the extent to which individuals or groups believe themselves to be sharing relations (or not), and the consequences of these beliefs for European political projects, processes and products. By exploring European communion through an engagement with contemporary political theory, using very brief illustrations from the Treaty of Lisbon, the article also suggests that European communion embraces three different readings of the EU as a political object – the EU as a constellation of communities; as a cosmopolitan space; and as an example of cosmopolitical co-existence. In other words, the political object of European union may be identified as sharing 'European communion'.

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Winzen Thomas

European integration and national parliamentary oversight institutions

in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 14, n. 2, June , 297-323

This article analyses to what extent and why national parliaments have created oversight institutions to adapt to European integration. Employing data from 22 member states from 1984–2006, the analysis suggests that government-supporting parliamentary groups create oversight institutions to enhance policy participation as integration becomes more important. Moreover, parliamentarians improve their access to information about government policy if governing parties are internally divided over European integration. Finally, oversight institutions that constrain the



government's discretion to act in European Union affairs exist in Eurosceptic countries, where they help parliamentarians to enhance electoral security.

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F. Weber

European integration assessed in the light of the 'rules vs. standards debate
in European Journal of Law and Economics, volume 35 n.2 , 187-210

The interplay of various legal systems in the European Union (EU) has long triggered a debate on the tension between uniformity and diversity of Member States' (MS) laws. This debate takes place among European legal scholars and is also paralleled by economic scholars, e.g. in the ambit of the 'theory of federalism'. This paper takes an innovative perspective on the discrepancy between 'centralized' and 'decentralized' law-making in the EU by assessing it with the help of the rules versus standards debate. When should the EU legislator grant the national legislator leeway in the formulation of new laws and when should all be fixed ex ante at European level? The literature on the 'optimal shape of legal norms' shall be revisited in the light of law-making in the EU, centrally dealing with the question how much discretion shall be given to the national legislator; and under which circumstances. This paper enhances the established decisive factors for the choice of a rule or a standard in a national setting (complexity, volatility, judges' specialization and frequency of application) by two new crucial factors (switching costs and the benefit of uniformity in terms of information costs) in order to assess law-making policies at EU level

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Ugur Mehmet

Europeanization, EU Conditionality, and Governance Quality: Empirical Evidence on Central and Eastern European Countries

in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 57, issue 1, march , 41-51

ABSTRACT: A large body of work within the Europeanization and conditionality literature has examined the European Union's effect on governance quality in Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs). This article aims to contribute to existing work by addressing two questions. First, was the European Union's accession conditionality conducive to better governance in CEECs or was it designed to pick up already committed reformers? Secondly, during which period was the European Union more influential on governance quality in CEECs: accession or membership? To address these questions, we propose a simple model of moral hazard and adverse selection, and draw on survey-based governance quality data to test its predictions. We report that the European Union has offered candidate status to countries that already had better governance quality relative to their peers before 1997. Nonetheless, EU conditionality also had some positive effects on CEEC governance during the accession period, but this effect tended to disappear during the membership period. On the basis of these findings, we argue that the European Union's impact on governance quality in



CEECs has to be examined in conjunction with path dependence, and therefore, the perceived risk of “backsliding” requires more detailed analysis.

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Luther Jörg

Europäische Verfassungsreformen: Einsichten und Aussichten der Türkei
in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 61, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vilpišauskas Ramas

Eurozone Crisis and European Integration: Functional Spillover, Political Spillback?
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 361-373

This paper analyzes the decisions taken since the start of the financial and economic crisis in the European Union and assesses them in the light of the traditional debates of integration theories. It discusses the key characteristics of the process of responding to the crisis since 2008–2009 when the problems of Greece have been increasingly publicized, the main actors involved, and provides an interpretation of the key decisions dealing with the crisis and their implications in terms of further European integration. First assessing these events in the light of the neofunctionalist and liberal intergovernmentalist debate, it then presents a framework linking the accounts of the integration process with a domestic politics approach. In this respect it contributes to the literature on European integration as well as the changing nature of EU polity, policy-specific effects of politics and how politics in member states constrains decisions on the further deepening of the Economic and Monetary Union and efforts to move towards transfer union. The incremental process of centralizing redistributive policies accompanied by the debates about financial transfers from some EMU countries to the others have altered popular ‘permissive consensus’ about the process of European integration and exposed territorial cleavages which became a key constraint in responding to the crisis and pressures for further integration.

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Verhofstadt Guy

Everything that’s wrong with the EU budget...and how to fix it
in *Europe’s World*, Issue 24, Summer

The exceptions, exemptions, ring-fenced funding and rebates to the 2014-20 budget are ample evidence of behind-the-scenes “horse trading” between EU leaders, says Guy Verhofstadt. He sets out how it should be re-structured to foster innovation, growth and jobs.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22143/language/e



n-US/Default.aspx

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Crespy Amandine

Expliquer l'impuissance partisane dans le policy making européen. Social-démocratie et régulation des services publics

in *Politique européenne* , n. 38, 2012/3 , 154-181

This article aims deals with the weakness of political parties in the formulation of public policy at European level. It explains why the Party of European Socialists (PES) failed in promoting a regulatory policy that preserves public services from the negative effects of the EU competition policy. The salience of national cleavages and the preservation of national arrangements have been strongly established in the literature. This paper puts forward two complementary explanations rooted in a – both historical and discursive – institutionalist approach. The structuring effect of the sectorization of the EU policy making, on one hand, and the absence of an efficient and shared discursive framing, on the other hand, have been insurmountable obstacles.

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Franz Sinabell, Erwin Schmid, Markus F. Hofreither

Exploring the distribution of direct payments of the Common Agricultural Policy

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, volume 40 n.2 , 325-41

Direct payments are the most important expenditure of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). They are mostly spent on decoupled direct payments which are intended to be allocatively neutral. Increasing volumes of such transfers imply that distributive aspects of CAP expenditures become more important. This article looks at this issue by calculating various measures of concentration based on statistics on recipients of direct payments in EU27 in the period from 2000 to 2010. The findings are evaluated in the context of the objectives of the CAP and the reform proposals of the EU Commission from October 2011. It seems that country specific factors determine the concentration of direct payments and its change over time.

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Mathieu Catherine, Sterdyniak Henri

Faut-il des règles de politique budgétaire?

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2012/7 (N° 126) , 299-346

The public finances crisis has brought binding fiscal rules proposals back to the forefront. The paper analyses their justifications and specifications, either in a classical or in a Keynesian framework. There is no evidence that public deficits were caused by fiscal indiscipline in recent years and induced excessive interest rates; there is no evidence that



economically relevant rules can be designed. The paper provides an analysis of fiscal rules implemented either at country level (like the UK golden rule), or at the EU level (the Stability and Growth Pact). The paper shows that fiscal rules did not work before and during the crisis. The paper discusses the EU “Fiscal Pact”, which risks to paralyse fiscal policies and to prevent economic stabilisation. The priority today is not to strengthen public finance discipline but to question economic developments which make public deficits necessary to support output.

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FitzGerald John

Financial crisis, economic adjustment and a return to growth in the EU

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/1 (N° 127) , 275-302

This paper considers how a range of economies are adjusting to the external imbalances that they faced at the beginning of the current crisis. It also considers how the real economy may adjust when recovery eventually takes hold. Finally it considers how the adjustments under way will contribute to a return to long-term growth.

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Friedrich Christian, Schnabel Isabel, Zettelmeyer Jeromin

Financial integration and growth — Why is Emerging Europe different?

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 89, Issue 2, March 2013 , 522-538

Using industry-level data, this paper tries to explain why financial integration raised growth differentials between externally dependent and less dependent industries in European transition countries, but not in other developing or advanced countries in the years preceding the current crisis. We argue that political integration with countries that have stronger political and economic institutions leads to growth-enhancing foreign investments because investors expect an improvement of institutions in the future. The empirical evidence supports the importance of political integration: within the group of developing countries, the effect of financial integration is larger in countries that are more strongly politically integrated. Such an effect is not found for advanced countries. Our results suggest that political integration can considerably increase the benefits of financial integration in developing countries, even when institutions are still weak.

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Islami Mevlud, Welfens Paul J. J.

Financial market integration, stock markets and exchange rate dynamics in Eastern Europe

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 10, Issue 1, March 2013 , 47-79

No abstract available

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Chang Michele

Fiscal Policy Coordination and the Future of the Community Method

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 255-269

The global financial and sovereign debt crises led to the creation of numerous new agreements and institutions to contain the current crisis and prevent future ones. These measures reinforce the historical trend towards the predominance of intergovernmental decision-making in economic and monetary union (EMU), going so far as to re-intergovernmentalize cooperation that had previously been decided upon by the Community method. Using principal-agent analysis, this contribution looks at fiscal policy cooperation since the outbreak of the sovereign debt crisis and considers how the impact of re-intergovernmentalization is manifested largely in the policy process rather than the policy outcome. However, this is still cause for concern given the precarious nature of EMU's legitimacy and the loss of efficiency that delegation typically provides.

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Herz Bernhard, Hohberger Stefan

Fiscal Policy, Monetary Regimes and Current Account Dynamics

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 118–136

For the individual European Monetary Union (EMU) members fiscal policy has gained in importance owing to the loss of monetary policy as an autonomous policy instrument. Based on a small open economy dynamic stochastic general equilibrium (DSGE) model with fiscal feedback rules, we analyze the dynamic macroeconomic response in particular of the current account under alternative exchange rate regimes. Our results indicate that entry into monetary union makes the economy more vulnerable to a productivity shock and leads to higher variability of the current account. For a risk premium shock, an entry into EMU implies lower variability of most macroeconomic variables, but a higher persistence in the adjustment process of the current account. For both shocks, a countercyclical fiscal response to the current account is more stabilizing for most macroeconomic variables than a conventional countercyclical response to output. Stabilizing the current account comes at the price of higher variability of output in the short-run, however.

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Masson Paul R.

Fiscal asymmetries and the survival of the euro zone

in *Economie internationale*, n° 129, 2012/1 , 5-29

A model of a dependent central bank that internalizes the government's budget constraint is used to examine the optimal composition of the euro zone. The model embodies the desire to stimulate output and to provide monetary financing to governments. Unable to pre-commit to first-best policies, the central bank produces excess inflation — a tendency partially reduced in a monetary union. On the basis of this framework, calibrated to euro zone data, the current membership is shown not to be optimal: other members would benefit from the expulsion of several countries, notably Greece, Italy, and France. A narrow monetary union centered around Germany might be able to guarantee central bank independence, but simulation results suggest that such a narrow monetary union would not be in Germany's interest relative to a return to the deutsche mark.



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Abad José, Löffler Axel, Schnabl Gunther, Zemanek Holger

Fiscal divergence, current account divergence and TARGET2 imbalances in the EMU

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2013 , 51-58

Diverging fiscal policy paths, housing booms and diverging unit labour costs were driving forces of rising intra-European current account imbalances, which were underpinned by low interest rates. Since the outbreak of the crisis, the adjustment of intra-EMU current account imbalances has been postponed by a rising divergence of TARGET2 balances, as the repatriation of private international credit and deposit flight from the crisis economies is intermediated by central bank credit. Given that this process has brought the Deutsche Bundesbank into a debtor position to the domestic financial system, the article discusses options for liquidity absorption by the Bundesbank to forestall asset price bubbles in Germany.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Botta, Alberto

Fiscal policy, Eurobonds, and economic recovery: heterodox policy recipes against financial instability and sovereign debt crisis

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, volume 35 n.3 , 417-42

This paper proposes a simple post-Keynesian model on the linkages between the financial and real side of an economy. It shows how financial variables may interact with each other and affect economic activity, possibly giving rise to intrinsically unstable economic processes. These destabilizing mechanisms explain why governments' intervention in the aftermath of the 2007 financial meltdown has been largely useless to restore financial tranquility, and has transformed a private debt crisis into a sovereign debt one. The paper concludes by looking at the long run and the interaction between long-term growth potential and public debt sustainability. The European economic context and the macroeconomic difficulties currently faced by several European Union (EU) members are discussed. The paper emphasizes that: (1) financial turbulence may trigger permanent reductions in long-term growth potential and unsustainable public debt dynamics; and (2) strong institutional discontinuity such as EU financial assistance to member countries is probably the only way to restore growth and ensure long-run public debt sustainability.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Leinen Jo

For a European Social Pact

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 1, March

Compared to former years, 2013 seems to be a better year for the European Union. More and more signs point towards an easing of the sovereign debt crisis: the interest rates for bonds of the troubled European economies are decreasing and the competitive gap between northern and southern European countries is narrowing. Ireland successfully borrowed



money from the capital markets and even in Greece there are signs of substantial improvement as well, which brought the rating agency Standard and Poor's to upgrade Greece's credit rating by six notches at once in December 2012. The relatively good news, however, must not bring us to the conclusion that the work is done. Another crisis is still ravaging in Europe without losing any of its severity: the ongoing social crisis.

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/812-for-a-european-social-pact>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marshall Peter

Forty Years On: Britain in the EU

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 102, Issue 1 , 15-28

This article traces the evolution of the European Economic Community and its successor, the European Union, and explores the United Kingdom's involvement with this project of continent-wide integration. It argues, inter alia, that the drive towards an 'ever-closer union' has had profound implications that go well beyond what the original architects of the European project had envisaged, including raising fundamental questions about the relationship between direct and representative democracy at the national level, and a fortiori at the supranational level. The author believes that the British government should, in addition to giving its electorate a voice in shaping its future relations with the EU, also act with a 'clear mind and warm heart'.

http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00358533.2013.764091#.UbHg_pzT9pE

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nieder Babette

France-Europe-Allemagne, un plaidoyer pour moins d'agitation et plus d'action commune

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 366, 2012/4 , 37-43

Chaque anniversaire franco-allemand donne lieu à des commentaires sur l'état de santé du couple et son rôle en Europe, et tous les dix ans les gouvernements annoncent une relance du traité de l'Élysée. Je crois que les relations franco-allemandes sont objectivement devenues difficiles et que nous ne pouvons agir efficacement au niveau européen que si nous améliorons notre compréhension...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brüderle Rainer



Für ein liberales Europa im 21. Jahrhundert: Kernelemente der Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik der FDP-Fraktion im Deutschen Bundestag

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, vol. 6, n. 2, april, 167-175

ABSTRACT: With the Bundestag elections of September 2013 in mind, this issue assembles the foreign policy guidelines of the Bundestag factions. The parties lay out in which areas they distinguish challenges to German foreign policy. The editors intended to put a focus on these policy areas: solutions to the Euro crisis and strategies for the future of Europe, relations to the United States, Russia and China, Germany's membership in international organizations, German interests in current conflicts, and the need for reforming structures of German foreign politics. The following analysis is by Rainer Brüderle, faction leader of the Free Democratic Party.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Cervellione Laura

Giovani dell'Unione, non solo Erasmus

in *Reset*, Numero 141, Marzo

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/giovani-dellunione-non-solo-erasmus>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Diotallevi Luca

Gli Stati Uniti d'Europa. Una penosa e pericolosa ambiguità

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Anna Margherita Russo

Globalization and Cross-border Cooperation in EU Law: A Transnational Research Agenda

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 4, issue 3, 1-25

This paper aims to analyse a specific dimension of the progressive transformation of the territorial/nation-state law by using the particular lens of cross-border cooperation as regulated under EU law.

In order to do so, I have structured the article into two parts: the first part recalls the main features of the so-called transnational law (polycentrism, non-exclusivity of state actors in the law-making process and in the implementation of legal rules, openness, emergence of hybrid legal phenomena which do not belong – exclusively at least – to the domain of hard or soft law), while the second part analyses the legal framework of cross-border cooperation, trying to locate in this ambit those characteristics of transnational law identified in the first part.



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Schneider Christina J.

Globalizing Electoral Politics: Political Competence and Distributional Bargaining in the European Union in World Politics, vol. 65, n. 3, July, 452-490

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes electoral cycles in distributional bargaining in the European Union. The author argues that governments attempt to increase their EU membership benefits above average levels in the preelection period, hoping to appear politically competent to voters. The theory discusses when and how EU members can increase these gains before elections through negotiations in the Council of Ministers. A time-series cross-sectional analysis of EU member states' annual budget negotiations from 1977 to 2006 supports the existence of conditional electoral cycles in distributional bargaining and generally points to the importance of accounting for such cycles when analyzing patterns of international cooperation.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Skjærseth Jon Birger

Governance by EU emissions trading: resistance or innovation in the oil industry?

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 13, Issue 1, Special Issue on Institutions and Global Environmental Governance: A Tribute to Oran Young, March, 31-48

Studies of the EU Emissions Trading System (ETS) abound. Much is known about the economic incentives they contain to promote abatement and innovation, and studies are focusing on the short-term aggregate effects at sector and system levels. Less, however, is known about how the EU ETS affects companies, including their strategies, long-term innovation plans, and deployment of low-carbon solutions. This article presents an analytical framework of how companies are likely respond to regulation like the EU ETS, subsequently applied to companies in the oil industry, represented by the major multinationals ExxonMobil and Shell. The analysis finds that these companies had quite different initial responses to the ETS, whereas their long-term strategic responses to carbon pricing show signs of convergence.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

eorges Hübner, Robert Joliet

Government Debt Denomination Policies Before and After the EMU Advent

in Open Economies Review, volume 24 n.2

Through a cost-minimizing approach, this paper derives joint indicators to assess the efficiency of the mix of sovereign debt currencies between the countries belonging to the European Monetary Union (EMU). This theoretical insight enables us to explain why and how the introduction of the euro and the adoption of a common monetary policy may have led to significant changes in debt structure among EMU members, notably in favor of further euro-denominated debt. The interplay of intrinsic and strategic variables yields stylized facts that are consistent with country-specific



empirical evidence. Following the sovereign debt crisis, we further emphasize the value-added of a coordinated debt issuance policy among EMU countries.

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201–218

Granting the Right to Vote for the European Parliament to Resident Third-Country Nationals: Civic Citizenship Revisited

in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 2, Schrauwen Annette

The EU grants rights to third-country nationals (TCNs) and strives to approximate their rights to those of Union citizens. Up to now, the approximation has extended to social and economic matters. This article investigates whether political rights, notably voting rights for the European Parliament (EP), should also be approximated. To this end, the analysis applies Dahl's democratic principles of 'coercion' and 'all affected interests' as well as Bauböck's principle of 'stakeholding' to the position of TCNs in the EU. Against that background, it explores the relevance of arguments for and against granting TCNs the right to vote in European elections and submits that voting rights should be granted to long-term resident TCNs. The author then proposes including TCN voting rights in the legal framework for EP elections and concludes by suggesting the use of the concept of civic citizenship to express political approximation of TCNs to EU citizens

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Catsiapis Jean

Grece: contre l'austerite

in *Politique internationale*, n. 138 - hiver, 2013

Alexis Tsipras, leader of the Greek radical leftist party Syriza, which made a spectacular breakthrough in the country's legislative elections of June 2012, does not exactly admire the triad of the IMF, the European Commission and the European Central Bank. In fact, he can't find words strong enough to denounce what he considers the "absurd, catastrophic and hopeless" policy that was forced on Greece. In this explosive interview, Mr. Tsipras, who could be named Prime Minister of Greece, fiercely denounces international financial authorities, European institutions, and the succeeding administrations running his country. He deems them all guilty of having blindly applied the neo-liberal precepts that are leading Greece - and even all of Europe - to disaster. At least one thing is sure: there will be a total break if the head of Syriza, a fan of a strong State that firmly controls financial matters, becomes the head of State!

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Dokos Thanos

Greece can still be a geopolitical asset for the EU

in *Europe's World*, Issue 24, Summer

For all its economic woes, Greece's geography places it in a crucially important position. Thanos Dokos looks at the



geopolitical role Athens must continue to play.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22136/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Elekes Andrea, Halmai Péter

Growth model of the new member states: Challenges and prospects

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 2, March 2013 , 124-130

This paper reviews the strong pre-crisis economic growth in the new EU member states and assesses whether the growth model can continue to be successful after the crisis. The analysis shows that a new growth model for the region will be needed, ideally one that focuses on raising domestic savings, implementing structural reforms to increase potential growth and rebalancing growth towards tradable sectors.

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Buruma Ian

Großbritannien und Europa: Der Sand im Getriebe

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, März, 2013 , 37-38

Viele Menschen im Vereinigten Königreich glauben, dass ihr Land außerhalb der Europäischen Union wunderbar zurechtkäme. Mitglieder der UK Independence Party glauben sogar, Großbritannien ginge es dann besser, ebenso wie eine beachtliche Anzahl von konservativen „Euroskeptikern“. Sie träumen von Großbritannien als einer Art Singapur des Westens, einem wirtschaftlichen Zugpferd, das von der City of London regiert wird.

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Geppert Dominik

Halbe Hegemonie: Das deutsche Dilemma

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 6-7, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/154378/halbe-hegemonie-das-deutsche-dilemma

Die Europäische Währungsunion ist von ihrer Entstehungsgeschichte und ihrer Zielsetzung her von Anfang an ein politisches Projekt gewesen, das mit historischen Notwendigkeiten begründet wurde. Wirtschaftliche Überlegungen waren demgegenüber zweitrangig. Dennoch beschränkt sich die öffentliche Diskussion bislang weitgehend auf die ökonomischen Konstruktionsmängel des Euro. Es ist daher wichtig, auch die politischen Fehlannahmen und die historischen Trugschlüsse, die ihm zugrunde liegen, schärfer in den Blick zu nehmen ...



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Oliver Holtemöller, Götz Zeddes

Has the Euro increased international price elasticities?

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, volume 40 n.1 , 197-214

The introduction of the Euro has been accompanied by the hope that international competition between EMU member states would increase due to higher price transparency. This paper contributes to the literature by analyzing price elasticities in international trade flows between Germany and France and between Germany and the United Kingdom before and after the introduction of the Euro. Using disaggregated Eurostat trade statistics, we adopt a heterogeneous dynamic panel framework for the estimation of price elasticities. We suggest a Kalman-filter approach to control for unobservable quality changes which otherwise would bias estimates of price elasticities. We divide the complete sample, which ranges from 1995 to 2008, into two sub-samples and show that price elasticities in trade between EMU members did not change substantially after the introduction of the Euro. Hence, we do not find evidence for an increase in international price competition resulting from EMU.

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Höreth Marcus

Hemmungslos, aber ungefährlich? Der Gerichtshof der Europäischen Union als Verfassungsgericht im System der EU-Gewaltenteilung

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 60, Heft 1, 2013

Unrestrained, but unperilous? The European Court of Justice in the EU system of checks and balances

The fact that the ECJ is a powerful institution may be uncontested, but how it is to be explained? Of course, general functional requirements Highest and Constitutional Courts have to fulfill do not explain the whole success story of the enormous authority the supranational court enjoys. In this article I will therefore present a rather unorthodox historical-institutionalist explanation: I argue that the power of the ECJ is a non-intended consequence of a very unique system of checks and balances for which the founding fathers of the Union set the course at the outset of the integration project. This institutional set-up regarding the way the powers are separated within the Union not only developed in a path-dependant way, it basically still exists today and is difficult to change. Therefore, the institutional arrangement of the European Union still provides favorable conditions for an ambitious Court with a consistent preference for promoting deeper European integration. Like no other highest court in the world of western democracies, the ECJ is able to benefit from these special conditions that are singularly characteristic, at least in degree, of the European Union. In developing my argument, I will first revisit the two competing standard explanations for the Court's power – neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism. As I will show, the core question that divides these two approaches is whether the Court acts under the credible threat of non-compliance and override. Secondly, I will discuss the relation between the balances of power doctrine and the role of highest and constitutional courts in national constitutional democracies before I analyze this relationship within the supranational political system of the European Union. Finally, I will show that this ›checks and balances approach‹, in combination with some of the premises of both intergovernmentalism and neofunctionalism, can best explain why the European Court is such a powerful one.



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Gysi Gregor

Herausforderung Außenpolitik: Zur Formulierung linker Positionen als Antwort auf Kriege, Krisen und Kapitalismus

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 6, n. 2, april , 177-186

ABSTRACT: With the Bundestag elections of September 2013 in mind, this issue assembles the foreign policy guidelines of the Bundestag factions. The parties lay out in which areas they distinguish challenges to German foreign policy. The editors intended to put a focus on these policy areas: solutions to the Euro crisis and strategies for the future of Europe, relations to the United States, Russia and China, Germany's membership in international organizations, German interests in current conflicts, and the need for reforming structures of German foreign politics. The following analysis is by Gregor Gysi, faction leader of The Left Party.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Neuss Beate

Herausforderung für die EU. Reformprozesse und Krisen im europäischen Grenzbereich

in *Politische Studien*, 64. Jahrgang, Heft 448, März-April , 46-51

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Borger Vestert

How the Debt Crisis Exposes the Development of Solidarity in the Euro Area

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 9 - Issue 01

Concept of solidarity – Factual vs. normative solidarity – Development of solidarity in the euro area – Transition from negative to positive solidarity – Solidarity as a legal concept – European Stability Mechanism – European Financial Stabilisation Mechanism – European Financial Stability Facility – Pringle judgement of the Court of Justice of the European Union – ECB bond-buying programmes

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Alho Kari E.O.

How to restore sustainability of the euro?



in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/1 (N° 127) , 303-340

We specify an open-economy version of a two-region New Keynesian model for EMU and demonstrate that the result on the unsustainability of the euro with ever-mounting inflation differentials by Wickens (2007) does not hold in general. Strong fiscal consolidation and far-reaching successful structural reforms are needed to reach sustainability in terms of competitiveness and reduced public debt over the medium run. However, the current deflationary adjustment involves a major polarisation within the euro area. Debt relief within the union and internal devaluation in the debtor country may essentially alleviate the adjustment burden and shift it from the problem countries to the strong countries. An internal revaluation in the strong countries can markedly help the situation in the weak countries in the short run if the interest rate remains unchanged.

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Dupré Catherine

Human Dignity in Europe: A Foundational Constitutional Principle

in *European public Law*, Volume 19 - Issue 2 , 319–339

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Vittorio Emanuele Parsi

I paradossi europei

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ciancio A.

I partiti politici europei e il processo di democratizzazione dell'Unione

in *Jus*, n. 3

The study moves from the consideration of the significant role of political parties in the implementation of democracy and under these premises it focalizes on the problem of the European Union traditional democratic deficit reduction, monitoring the stage achieved in the process of consolidation of an European structured party system, stable and autonomous from the national parties. In this perspective it emphasizes the centrality of the parliamentary groups within the European Parliament in the process of formation of real European parties, which can fulfill the role envisaged for them by the Treaties, since the Maastricht one up to the most recent Treaty of Lisbon, to constitute key factors for community integration, for formation of European political awareness and expression of European citizen political will. Finally, the study reveals the boots given to the «institutionalization» of European political line-ups by the approval of the



regulations regarding the European political parties statute and financing, approved in 2003 and amended in 2007, even though it realistically points out how the elections of the European Parliament, in the short to medium term, will continue in essence to be run by national parties, with all the inevitable and intuitable consequences which will be adverse to the development of the European Union as a political community (and not just economic) as it has been long desired by many parts.

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Morviducci Claudia

Il Servizio europeo per l'azione esterna: un inizio problematico

in Studi sull'integrazione europea, Anno VIII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 19-46

One of the main provisions introduced by the Lisbon Treaty consists in having gathered, within the concept of external action, the activity done by the Union at international level. The European Council shall – on the basis of the principles and objectives set out in Article 21 of the TEU – identify the strategic interests and objectives of the Union. Furthermore it was decided to

entrust the coordination between the actions carried out with the intergovernmental method and actions which were part of the so-called EC external relations, to a single body, the High Representative for the CFSP / Vice President of Commission. To that purpose, the High

Representative shall be assisted by the European External Action Service (EEAS) which, as already established in the Treaty, was set up by Council Decision. no. 427 of 26 July 2010. The EEAS is made of permanent officials drawn from the European Commission and the Secretariat General of the Council of the European Union and from national diplomats.

This article deals with the legal nature of the EEAS and the doubts, nowadays still existing, concerning the attribution of its powers with regard to those of the Commission, especially in the field of development cooperation. A further problem concerns the procedure of

democratic control that the European Parliament intends to exercise on the activity of the EEAS.

In conclusion, an evaluation on the effectiveness of the EEAS is premature, since it has effectively entered into force only in 2011. However, in the same year it was presented a first report on this topic which demonstrated the persistence of serious problems and the search for a more proactive role in the development of the external action able to ensure its consistency.

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Mengozi Pieralberto

Il Trattato sul Meccanismo di stabilità (MES) e la pronuncia della Corte di giustizia nel caso Pringle

in Studi sull'integrazione europea, Anno VIII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 129-152

The ESM Treaty was adopted by the EU Member States of the euro area when the financial crisis showed the limits of the EU in preventing them to have an excessive public deficit. This essay examines the link of ESM Treaty with the Fiscal Compact and focuses on the ECJ's Pringle judgment. The analysis evaluates the ECJ's arguments in deeming as



legitimate the Council decision 2011/199/UE amending Art. 136 TFEU in order to enable the euro area Member States to conclude the ESM Treaty. The author also assesses the ECJ's arguments in considering the ESM financial assistance consistent with a) the exclusive competence of the Union on monetary internal and international issues, b) the no bail-out rule of Art. 125 TFEU and the special type of solidarity provided by Art. 122 TFEU and c) the exercise by the Commission of the powers conferred by Art. 126 TFEU. According to the author the ECJ's Pringle judgment demonstrates that the rules of the ESM Treaty constitute a legitimate improvement of the cooperation imposed upon the Member States in the field of economic and financial policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Nones Michele

Il futuro della difesa europea

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 290-303

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Scotto di Luzio Adolfo

Il popolo europeo

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Natalia Chaban, Ole Elgström, Serena Kelly, Lai Suet Yi

Images of the EU beyond its Borders: Issue-Specific and Regional Perceptions of European Union Power and Leadership

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 3, May 2013 , 433-451

This article systematically investigates both regional and issue-specific variation in external perceptions of the European Union (EU) as a global power and an international leader. While most studies on EU external perceptions focus on a one-dimensional vision of EU leadership and/or great-powerness, it is argued here that these perceptions are highly issue-specific, multilayered and differentiating. This study draws on data collected through elite interviews in three regions: the Pacific, Southeast Asia and Africa. The findings make a contribution to the debate on the perception of third states on the international role of the EU.

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Ingeborg Tömmel and Amy Verdon



Innovative Governance in EU Regional and Monetary Policy-Making

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 14, issue 2 , 380-404

This article offers an analysis of EU governance based on the innovative governance concept of Tömmel and Verdun (2009) and applies it to two policy areas. We first set out our conceptual framework to analyze European governance as innovative governance. We identify four ideal type categories of modes of governance – hierarchy, negotiation, competition and cooperation – and discuss their impact in light of the institutional structure of the EU and the corresponding actor constellations. Second, we analyze the EU's cohesion policy and economic and monetary policy. The findings suggest that (1) in the European Union, hierarchy as a mode of governance is frequently watered-down, (2), non-hierarchical and soft modes of governance are at the core of the evolution of EU policy-making, (3) European modes of governance emerge as a result of multiple and often conflicting interactions between institutional actors, (4), the use of non-hierarchical modes of governance is accompanied by institution-building within the EU in both vertical and horizontal directions.

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Barbato Mariano

Integration als Revolution: Souveränität und Legitimität der EU im Ausnahmezustand der Eurokrise

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 6, n. 2, april , 249-267

ABSTRACT: The decisions taken by the European institutions in the euro crisis are highly contested in legal terms. This paper claims that they can be read as implicit decisions for the state of emergency. If the state of emergency can be imposed on the European level, sovereignty resides on that level. The “quiet revolution” of European integration continues under the current state of emergency at a drastically increased noise level. Against the usual Eurosceptic stance the paper seeks to establish the legitimacy of Europe's revolutionary sovereignty for as long as there is at least a permissive dissent among the European peoples.

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Kiran Klaus Patel

Integration by Interpellation: The European Capitals of Culture and the Role of Experts in European Union Cultural Policies

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 3, May 2013 , 538-554

In analyzing the European Capitals of Culture programme, this article argues that transnational experts have had a large impact on this flagship of European Union (EU) cultural policy by forming a close-knit advocacy coalition with official EU actors. Most recent developments, however, have added a new dimension. The Commission has now developed a subtle technique of governmentality focusing the programme more on its ‘European dimension’. The article discusses this evolution and the role of transnational actors, the limits to integration intrinsic to culture as a policy domain, and the attempts of both official actors and experts to work around such constraints.

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Howell David

Interpreting the Cameron speech

in *Europe's World*, Issue 24, Summer

The UK prime minister's milestone speech on Europe did not throw down the gauntlet that some imagine, says veteran Tory politician David Howell. He argues that it was instead an invitation to update Europe for the 21st century.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22138/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Chaltiel Florence

Interview de M. Barnard Cazeneuve

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 567, avril , 199-201

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Joannon Pierre

Irlande: un exemple pour l'Europe?

in *Politique internationale*, n. 138 - hiver, 2013

When he was named head of the government, or Taoiseach, in March 2011, Enda Kenny had few illusions: Ireland was on the precipice. A combination of factors - the explosion of the real estate bubble, the credit crisis, the sudden collapse of the financial sector, ballooning public debt, the loss of competitiveness, skyrocketing unemployment and the recession - had delivered a fatal blow to the proud, yet fragile Celtic Tiger. A rescue plan had been deployed a few months earlier under the auspices of the IMF, the European Commission and the European Central Bank. Two years later, after an unprecedented austerity cure, supported by the entire country with courage and determination, Ireland is finally seeing the light at the end of the tunnel. It is also about to take over the revolving presidency of the EU for the next six months. In this interview with Pierre Joannon, Mr. Kenny explains what has been done and what still needs to be done. The stabilization of public finances and structural reforms have borne fruit: for the first time since 2007, the economy is growing once again. Could Ireland be setting an example for Europe?

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Adriana Bunea

Issues, preferences and ties: determinants of interest groups' preference attainment in the EU environmental policy

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 4 2013 , 552-570



Some interest groups are more successful than others in translating their policy preferences into policy outputs at the EU level. This study investigates why this is the case by testing an explanatory framework emphasizing the impact of the policy environment on interest groups' preference attainment during the policy formulation stage of EU legislation in the environmental policy. The findings show that preferences having a median positioning on the policy space and demands for no regulation are more likely to be translated into policy outcomes. The type of interest a group represents, as well as its organizational form, are also found to be strong predictors of preference attainment.

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Kranenpohl Uwe

Ist Karlsruhe ›Europa‹ ausgeliefert? Die Gestaltungsmacht des Bundesverfassungsgerichts und die europäischen Gerichtsbarkeiten

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 60, Heft 1, 2013

A Hostage of Europe? The German Federal Constitutional Court an European Courts

Increasingly, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) in Luxembourg and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in Strasbourg are gaining importance for the German legal system. This is not only a threat for the executive and the parliament but also for the Federal Constitutional Court (FCC) and its authority of constitutional review. As far as the European Union is concerned the FCC follows a two-tiered strategy: On the one hand it insists on the primacy of national sovereignty (and also of its own competence of judicial review also in the topic of European integration), on the other hand it asserts the rights of the parliament in European Affairs that are assured by the Basic Law. Overall, the relationship between the FCC and the ECJ is significantly competitive. Despite that the FCC recognizes de facto a superior role of the ECHR in the interpretation of Human Rights and therefore of the civil liberties of the Basic Law. Since the EU ratified the European Convention of Human Rights the importance of the European jurisprudence will increase.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Labbate

Italy and the development of European energy policy: from the dawn of the integration process to the 1973 oil crisis

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 67-93

This article analyses the history of Italian energy policy as well as that of Europe from the beginnings of co-operation until the bust of the first oil crisis. The difficulties in realising a united policy as well as the energy status of Italy and Europe until the eve of the 1973 oil shock are underlined. Then, the answers to the crisis as well as the attempts to address the energy difficulties in a united way are analysed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Telò Mario



Italy's interaction with the European project, from the First to the Second Republic: Continuity and change in Comparative European Politics, vol. 11, n. 3, may , 296-316

ABSTRACT: The chapter addresses the question of the discontinuity and continuity in Italian discourse about European integration after WW2. On the one hand, discontinuity is shown by the changing approach to EU by Mr S. Berlusconi (three times Prime Minister from 1994 to 2011) and the leaders of the ruling centre-right coalitions of the 2nd Italian Republic starting in 1992 as well as by the effects of the economic crisis in underpinning populism. On the other hand, by a historical institutionalist approach, the author stresses that the weight of the anti-fascist origins of the Europeanist streams, the rich cultural heritage and the lack of any practical nationalist alternative explain the comparatively high rate of continuity in Italian support for EU integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Langer Lorenz, Müller Andreas Th.

Ius cogens und die Werte der Union

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 61, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Janvier 1963-janvier 2013, 50 ans d'amitié franco-allemande

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 564, janvier , 3-4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Urdze Sigita, Knodt Michèle

Jenseits von Zuckerbrot und Peitsche: Zur Messung der externen Demokratieförderung der Europäischen Union am Beispiel Zentralasiens

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 7, Issue 1, March 2013 , 49-74

Abstract

Over the past 20 years external democracy promotion has become increasingly important in the EU. Since the early 2000's it has also received growing attention by researchers in the field of Political Science. Scientists have developed various models to conceptualize and measure external democracy promotion. However, upon closer examination, existing models are only partly suitable for comprehensive systematic comparative analyses. The aim of this paper is to develop a new analytical model that facilitates (1) a comparison of all instruments of EU democracy promotion; (2) a precise distinction between as well as an exclusive categorization of the various instruments of EU democracy



promotion and their application in order to be able to take account of the specific content of each of these instruments; and (3) the consideration of the context of the respective third state when assessing the character of the instruments employed. In a second step, the model is applied to the exemplary case of EU external democracy promotion in Central Asia. The final section summarizes the results of this application and concludes with an evaluation of the practicability of the analytical model.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Rommerskirchen Charlotte

Keeping the Agents Leashed: The EU's External Economic Governance in the G20
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 347-360

The functioning of the external economic governance of the European Union (EU) hinges on the functioning of the internal economic governance structure to ensure cohesion between the EU's external voice and its internal actions. Consequently the debate has focused almost in its entirety on the internal aspect of economic governance reform. This article, swimming against this current of economic governance analyses, examines the EU's external economic governance in the G20 during the Great Recession using a principal-agent framework. More specifically, it argues that although the terms of delegation in the G20 are incomplete and open to the agents' interpretation, two important sources of agency control limit the discretion of the EU delegation. The system of multiple agents with its inherent inter-institutional rivalry and the presence of the G20/EU members ultimately increase the control of the collective principal at the cost of presenting a unified EU position. At the same time the current design of the EU's external economic governance has fuelled tensions between the EU and underrepresented developing countries. Along similar lines, looking at the possibilities of interest representation, the terms of delegation, with an unequal collective principal, are biased towards large and powerful EU/G20 member states. On the basis of probit analyses it is argued that these states are likely to oppose the increased delegation that would enable the establishment of an external economic governance.

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Menz Georg, Smith Mitchell P.

Kicking the Can Down the Road to More Europe? Salvaging the Euro and the Future of European Economic Governance

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 195-206

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/07036337.2013.774783#.UfhNEdLwISM>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kleine Mareike

Knowing your limits: Informal governance and judgment in the EU

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 8, n. 2, june , 245-264



ABSTRACT: The burgeoning literature on informal governance has shed new light on the workings of international organizations and the hidden rules of the game. The common thrust of these studies is that informal governance is the result of an implicit agreement among states that, in order to sustain cooperation, it can be necessary to accommodate important interests even if this seemingly goes against the organization's purpose. Struck under conditions of uncertainty, however, implicit agreements such as this are necessarily vague, and their implementation is bound to generate conflicts that threaten to undermine the organization's legitimacy. How, then, do states decide whether formal rules or informal governance apply? This article uses the case of the EU to propose a solution to this dilemma. The central argument is that member states have delegated the authority to adjudicate on demands for informal governance to the office of the Council Presidency. They mold the legislative agenda such that the government in office can be trusted in its judgment. The plausibility of this argument is illustrated with a description of the Presidency's historical development and a case study on the negotiation of the EU's controversial Working Time Directive. Apart from pointing to a missing piece in the literature on informal governance, the study holds more general lessons for the interaction of formal and informal rules as well as the information-providing role of international institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schlacke Sabine

Komitologie nach dem Vertrag von Lissabon

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 61, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gaitanides Charlotte

Kontrolle unabhängiger Institutionen der Europäischen Union

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 61, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calic Marie-Janine

Kroatien und seine Nachbarn

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 17, 2013

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/158168/kroatien-und-seine-nachbarn>

Von allen Staaten des sogenannten westlichen Balkans hat Kroatien die größten Fortschritte gemacht. Binnen weniger Jahre wurde aus einer Postkonfliktgesellschaft ein EU-Beitrittsstaat. Aber kann Kroatien auch einen Schlusstrich unter



seine jugoslawische Vergangenheit ziehen? Kroatien wird auch in Zukunft noch in starkem Maße von der Stabilität seiner Nachbarn abhängen. Viele konkrete Probleme, die sich aus dem Zerfall Jugoslawiens ergaben, sind noch nicht abschließend geklärt. Dazu kommen die noch nicht aufgearbeitete Geschichte des Vielvölkerstaats und die Nachwirkungen des Zerfallskrieges. Aus ureigenem Interesse wünschen sich die Kroaten gute Beziehungen zu den Nachbarn, allerdings keine zu engen, und schon gar keine erneuten politisch-institutionellen Verbindungen. Jahrelang standen Befürchtungen im Raum, es könne zu einer irgendwie gearteten Neuauflage des jugoslawischen oder eines neuen südosteuropäischen Staatsverbandes kommen – und das womöglich als Alternative zur EU-Mitgliedschaft. Kroatien bemühte sich daher um ein konstruktives, jedoch distanzierendes Verhältnis zu den Ländern der Region. Nicht zuletzt galten gute nachbarschaftliche Beziehungen als eine wichtige Bedingung im EU-Beitrittsprozess. Weil aber auch die anderen Westbalkan-Staaten auf die Mitgliedschaft in der Europäischen Union hinarbeiten und die Vergangenheit baldmöglichst hinter sich lassen wollen, haben sich die zwischenstaatlichen Verhältnisse normalisiert. Lediglich das Verhältnis von Serbien und Kosovo bleibt gespannt. Die regionale Zusammenarbeit hat gute Fortschritte gemacht, zum Beispiel durch Freihandelsabkommen und gemeinsame Infrastrukturprojekte. Nichtsdestoweniger bleiben auch für Kroatien noch bilaterale Probleme zu lösen. Sie betreffen vor allem die Nachbarn Slowenien, Bosnien-Herzegowina und Serbien...

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Kušić; Siniša

Kroatiens Weg in die EU

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 17, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/158164/kroatiens-weg-in-die-eu

Der Zerfall des ehemaligen Jugoslawiens zeichnete sich bereits in den 1980er Jahren mit der Verschiebung der Machtstrukturen innerhalb des Bundespräsidiums der Sozialistischen Föderativen Republik Jugoslawien (SFRJ) und der Entlegitimierung des politischen Systems ab. In den beiden Teilrepubliken Slowenien und Kroatien kam es im Herbst 1989 als Reaktion auf die politische und wirtschaftliche Krise in Jugoslawien erstmals seit Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs zur Gründung bürgerlicher Parteien, die 1990 bei den ersten freien Wahlen als Sieger hervorgingen. In Kroatien gewann die HDZ (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica, Kroatische Demokratische Gemeinschaft) unter der Führung von Franjo Tuđman. Am 30. Mai 1990 wurde Tuđman zunächst zum Vorsitzenden des siebenköpfigen Staatspräsidiums, zwei Monate später zum Staatspräsidenten der formal noch zu Jugoslawien gehörenden Teilrepublik gewählt. Im Dezember 1990 wurde die neue Verfassung verabschiedet, die das politische und rechtliche System Kroatiens neu ordnete. Das Machtmonopol und der Führungsanspruch des Bundes der Kommunisten (SKH) wurden gestrichen und ein Parteienpluralismus garantiert. Somit war die Zeit der Sozialistischen Republik Kroatien formal beendet. Gleichzeitig schuf die neue Verfassung die Voraussetzung für den Aufbau einer demokratischen Gesellschaftsordnung mit einer marktwirtschaftlichen Wettbewerbsordnung...



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carlucci Francesco

L'Europa monetaria

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 80, n. 1, gennaio-marzo

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jean-Paul Picaper

L'Europe vue d'Allemagne

in *Politique internationale*, n. 138 - hiver, 2013

Named German minister of European affairs in 2012, the free-market proponent Michael Link has a lot on his plate. In this exclusive interview with *Politique Internationale*, he explains Berlin's position on today's most burning issues, starting with Greece. Mr. Link, whose views reflect those of Germany, strongly encourages Greece to carry out radical reforms, refuses to grant the country debt relief until significant progress has been made, and reaffirms support for Athens remaining in the euro zone. The German minister also says that he doesn't want a European Union that's nothing but a vast free trade area. He explains that Europe needs to build a real political union - and he details the concrete measures that would help meet this lofty objective, provided there is a real political commitment as well. A confirmed Francophile and Francophone, Mr. Link also underscores the very special bonds between France and Germany. In this thought-provoking interview, he even takes the liberty of predicting the results of the legislative elections scheduled for autumn 2013.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bollaert Baudouin

L'Europe vue de France

in *Politique internationale*, n. 138 - hiver, 2013

With the EU now in the midst of one of the most serious crises in its history, the French Minister of European Affairs, appointed in June 2012, chose *Politique Internationale* to present his agenda. In this interview with Baudouin Bollaert, Bernard Cazeneuve explains that the Union needs an institutional reform to achieve greater political integration - and he describes this reform in detail. He adds that the process must significantly improve solidarity to address the urgent requirements generated by the crisis: an approach that France calls "integration in solidarity". These reforms will enable Europe to play a full-fledged role both within its borders, to ensure the well-being of citizens, and on the outside, where it has to make itself heard and respected more than is now the case. In fact, one of the aims of France's European policy is to strengthen a common European defense structure.



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Soldatos Panyotis

L'Union politique de l'Europe : une finalité en voie d'actualisation étagée ou un rêve mouvant ?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 568, mai , 266-274

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Onado Marco

L'unione bancaria e i mali finanziari dell'Europa

in *ItalianiEuropei*, 5-6

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Weerts John

L'évolution du droit de retrait de l'Union européenne et sa résonance sur l'intégration européenne

in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 2 , 345-407

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bouchier Caroline

La Charte des droits sociaux fondamentaux, 1988-1989 Les conseillers de François Mitterrand et l'Europe sociale

in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 37, Printemps , 109-120

La vision européenne des conseillers européens de Mitterrand : entre identité et conscience européenne

Les conseillers face à la critique : gérer la contestation de la Grande-Bretagne

Préparer la Charte ou préparer Maastricht ?

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-bulletin-de-l-institut-pierre-renouvin-2013-1-page-109.htm>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calamia Pietro



La Conferenza intergovernativa del 1985 e l'Atto unico

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 80, n. 1, gennaio-marzo

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Feiertag Olivier

La France, le dollar et l'Europe (1981-1989). Aux origines globales de l'euro

in *Histoire@Politique*, n° 19, 128-142

La France, comme la plupart des autres pays dans le monde, est confrontée au cours des années 1980 aux très fortes fluctuations du cours du dollar. Cette instabilité pénalise doublement le franc français : la hausse du billet vert, en augmentant la facture énergétique, dégrade la balance extérieure de la France et donc affaiblit le franc ; mais la baisse du dollar, en favorisant un reflux de capitaux vers le deutsche mark, fragilise aussi la position relative du franc au sein du système monétaire européen.

France, as many other countries around the world in the 1980's, is facing the very high instability of the US dollar exchange rates. This volatility hampers in two respects the french currency : on the one hand, it increases the oil bill and the deficit of the french trade balance ; on the other hand, it triggers a reflux of capital to the DM and weakens the position of the french franc within the EMS. The history of the relation between France and the US dollar in the 1980s is not only a purely political conflict opposing socialist France and Reaganomics. It could be analysed as a critical phase for France coping with globalisation, and especially with the globalisation of financial markets. This is one of the global causes explaining the french conversion to european monetary unification.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Olivier Feiertag

La France, le dollar et l'Europe (1981-1989). Aux origines globales de l'euro

in *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, n°19, 128-142

France, as many other countries around the world in the 1980's, is facing the very high instability of the US dollar exchange rates. This volatility hampers in two respects the french currency : on the one hand, it increases the oil bill and the deficit of the french trade balance ; on the other hand, it triggers a reflux of capital to the DM and weakens the position of the french franc within the EMS. The history of the relation between France and the US dollar in the 1980s is not only a purely political conflict opposing socialist France and Reaganomics. It could be analysed as a critical phase for France coping with globalisation, and especially with the globalisation of financial markets. This is one of the global causes explaining the french conversion to european monetary unification.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Wilga Maciej

**La Pologne et le traité de Lisbonne : Préhistorie, négociation et application
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 365, 2012/3 , 195-215**

This article studies the position and action of Poland in the framework of the achievement of the Lisbon Treaty. It outlines the existence of key issues for the Polish government, technical as well as in ethic. It concludes that the Polish government aimed mainly to reinforce its position in the power sharing architecture within the Council, and to foster references to christianity. On other issues, Poland kept a low profile.

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Parisi Nicoletta

**La Procura europea: un tassello per lo spazio europeo di giustizia penale
in Studi sull'integrazione europea, Anno VIII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 47-70**

Since the Eighties of the last century, the European Union's financial interests have been protected by the Member States authorities, through the principle of assimilation, the implementation of the EC regulations stating administrative sanctions, and a first attempt of conventional approximation of Member States' legal orders. The Lisbon Treaty states that the EU financial interests have to be protected mainly through measures adopted by the European Parliament and the Council (in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure) in the fields of the prevention of and fight against fraud affecting them, in the view to affording effective and equivalent protection in the Member States and in all of the Union's institutions, bodies, offices, and agencies (Art. 325.4 TFEU). It also provides for the institution of a European Public Prosecutor's Office (EPPO), responsible for investigating, prosecuting and bringing in judgment the perpetrators of (and their accomplices in) offences against the Union's financial interests (Art. 86 TFEU). The European Treaties do not provide for many topics, as: the definition of "EU financial interests", the identification of criminal acts affecting these interests, the modalities through which the EPPO will exercise its competences, the conditions governing the performance of its functions, the rules of procedure applicable to its activities, as well as those governing the admissibility of evidence, and the rules applicable to the judicial review of procedural measures taken by it in the performance of its functions. These issues will be established by means of the Council's regulations.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nascimbene Bruno

**La centralità della persona e la tutela dei suoi diritti
in Studi sull'integrazione europea, Anno VIII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 9-18**

The centrality of the person, particularly with respect to the protection of their rights, is examined in the context of immigration rules, as more recently interpreted by the Constitutional Court. The social motivation, in a broad sense, of such an interpretation in favour of the alien, is underlined by using the criteria of reasonableness and proportionality. The protection of social rights of foreigners is a common element to the case law of the



Constitutional Court and the Court of Justice. Some opinions of Advocate General Tesauro are also recalled (the text herein below has been prepared on the occasion of the "Study Day" in his honour) on the prohibition of discrimination and the importance of residence, rather than citizenship, in the cases in which the European arrest warrant apply. The aim to protect the rights of the person and, in general, fundamental rights, is in fact shared by the Constitutional Court and supranational Courts (Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights).

Some comments are dedicated, in this context, to the Charter of fundamental rights and the principle of equal treatment, stressing the modernity of the thought of a well-known scholar of international law, Pasquale Stanislao Mancini (to whom Tesauro has recently devoted a study).

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Montaldo Stefano

La competenza dell'Unione europea ad adottare norme di diritto penale ex art. 83, par. 2, TFUE e sue possibili applicazioni

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VIII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 101-128

Stemming from the European Court of Justice judgments on Environmental crime and Shippersource pollution cases, the article focuses on the width and extent of EU competence in the domain of substantive criminal law, under Article 83, para. 2, TFEU. It analyses the wording of the new Treaty provision, suggesting a strict interpretation of the conditions set out by Article 83, para. 2, TFEU for the exercise of EU criminal law competence: the previous adoption of harmonization measures and the necessity to opt for criminal provisions in order to ensure the effective implementation of a Union policy. Finally, the analysis moves to the possible domains of application of such Treaty provision and is centered on the case-study of high quality food geographical indications counterfeiting. In fact, the subject allows for an attempt to select the general criteria through which the concepts of necessity and effective implementation provided by Article 83, para. 2, TFEU can be read.

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Runavot Marie-Clotilde

La construction européenne à travers le prisme des avis de la Cour de justice – Polyvalence et ambivalence de la fonction consultative

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 567, avril , 231-238

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bellouard Patrick

La coopération européenne en matière de défense, voie d'avenir

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 757, Février



La seule réponse convaincante aux pressions sur les budgets de défense est la coopération européenne d'armements. L'OCCAR possède dans ce domaine une expertise ancienne et reconnue et un important potentiel de croissance qu'expose l'auteur.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Porchia Ornella

La dinamica dei rapporti tra norme interne e dell'Unione nel dialogo tra giudici nazionali e Corte di giustizia in Studi sull'integrazione europea, Anno VIII, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 71-100

This paper explores the relation between EU and national law, as sketched in the European and national case-law. In this context, as a major premise, it particularly stresses the importance of the preliminary ruling procedure provided by Article 267 TFEU: a powerful tool for a fruitful dialogue between the ECJ and national jurisdictions and the main means through which the EU legal order has evolved. The key role played by judicial dialogue is highlighted by the most relevant outcome of judicial cooperation under Article 267 TFEU: the gradual development of fundamental principles of the EU legal order, namely the primacy of EU law, the direct effect doctrine and the duty of consistent interpretation. The second part of the article is more specifically focused on the relationship between the Italian Constitutional Court and the European Court of Justice. The intersections between these Courts stem first of all from the constitutional scrutiny the former is in charge of. Indeed, national rules incompatible with EU law should be declared illegal with respect to Articles 11 and 117 of the Italian Constitution, read in conjunction with EU law itself. Another relevant aspect is the increasing use of the European case-law by the Constitutional Court in its daily interpretative activity. A third meaningful tool is once again the preliminary ruling procedure, which the Italian Constitutional Court directly experienced for the first time in 2008. Also, this paper explores one of the most debated contemporary issues regarding the relationship between EU law and constitutional rules, that is, the extent to which a Member State can derogate from the obligations arising from EU law, by invoking the respect of the material core of its constitutional identity, under Article 4, paragraph 2, TEU. With this aim, a first glance at the most recent case-law of the Court of Justice on the topic is taken. Such complex set of issues suggests a final note on the architecture of the relations between the European Court of Justice and the national judiciaries (especially, the supreme or constitutional courts): this paper rejects the idea of a hierarchical system and supports the growth of an increasingly resilient network of judicial dialogue and cooperation, for the benefit of the coherent and effective application of EU law at the national level.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jean-Claude Trichet

La governance economica europea in Mulino (il), n.2 marzo-aprile , 273-280

No abstract available



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Allemand Frédéric, Martucci Francesco

La nouvelle gouvernance économique européenne

in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 2 , 409-457

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Frédéric Allemand and Francesco Martucci

La nouvelle gouvernance économique européenne (II)

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, vol. 48, issue 2 , 407-456

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bellais Renaud, Droff Josselin

La nécessaire réorganisation de l'industrie de défense en Europe

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 757, Février

Si le statu quo semble intenable au plan industriel, si une nouvelle phase de consolidation transeuropéenne des industries d'armement semble inéluctable, les différentes options possibles pour la réaliser semblent encore difficiles à conduire aujourd'hui. Tel est le constat que font les auteurs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Simone Benvenuti

La riforma del sistema giudiziario ungherese tra recrudescenze autoritarie e governance europea

in *Nomos*, n. 3/2012

Sommario: 1. Premessa – 2. Considerazioni generali sulla riforma delle norme costituzionali relative alle corti – 3. La Kúria: un nuovo nome o una nuova corte suprema? – 4. Centralizzazione e burocratizzazione della gestione del sistema giudiziario – 5. L'abbassamento dell'età pensionabile: un'epurazione dissimulata – 6. Conclusioni

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Picheral Caroline



La réforme sous tension de la « gouvernance Schengen » ou la libre circulation à l'épreuve

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 565, février , 95-101

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saoudi Messaoud

La régulation européenne des finances publiques nationales

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 567, avril , 202-213

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferrara Maria

La sentenza Di Sarno e altri c. Italia: un ulteriore passo della corte di strasburgo nell'affermazione di obblighi di protezione dell'ambiente

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXVIII, n. 1, primo trimestre , 161-178

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vitale Grazia

La sussidiarietà nella politica di coesione economica, sociale e territoriale. Il Regolamento (Ce) n. 1083/06

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, n. 4 , 1001-1030

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Frank Mols, Martin Weber

Laying Sound Foundations for Social Identity Theory-Inspired European Union Attitude Research: Beyond Attachment and Deeply Rooted Identities

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 3, May 2013 , 505-521

There is a growing body of literature examining the influence of social identification on European Union (EU) attitudes. Broadly speaking, this literature can be divided into two strands. One strand examines the way social identity affects support for EU integration quantitatively, using opinion poll data. The other draws (often loosely) on social



constructivism, using qualitative research methods. Social Identity Theory (SIT) is increasingly invoked in both these literatures and this development is to be welcomed. However, so far engagement with SIT has been rather tentative, drawing largely on theoretically impoverished versions of SIT. It is argued in this article that this practice has resulted in SIT's theoretical potential being underutilized. At other times, this has resulted in theoretical confusion because SIT explanations are being used alongside other theories whose premises clash with core SIT assumptions. We conclude that more in-depth engagement with SIT's basic and core tenets will enable quantitative EU identity researchers to move beyond 'attachment' to territorial identities, and allow qualitative EU identity researchers to move beyond 'shared history', 'deeply rooted identities' and 'resonance'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Constantinesco Vlad

Le financement de l'Union européenne : contributions nationales ou impôt européen
in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 144

Financing the European Union: National Contributions or a European Tax? — Financing the EU budget with the Union's inappropriately named "own resources," is unsatisfactory for two reasons: first, it leaves it to the contributing States to manage these resources and second, there is a ceiling which prohibits strong action in times of crisis. The scope for reform seems limited. While there are a number of projects in the pipeline on European taxation, they are far from being unanimously accepted. Overhauling the institutional system, which has glaring deficiencies in its financial regime, would be the only solution which would make it possible to tackle today's challenges.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Reynaud Pierre M.

Le recours précontractuel au sein des marchés publics des organisations internationales: le cas de l'agence spatiale européenne

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 116, no. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vacca Giuseppe

Le risorse della politica costituente

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 2



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gosselin Tania

Le soutien à l'intégration européenne dans les nouveaux États membres : L'Union européenne à travers le prisme de la transition

in *Politique européenne* , n. 38, 2012/3 , 9-41

L'Union européenne est aujourd'hui en crise, crise économique certes mais aussi crise de légitimité mise en lumière par le rejet du Traité constitutionnel par référendum en France et aux Pays-Bas. L'intégration européenne et la globalisation génèrent des tensions qui favorisent la politisation de questions européennes au cours des années 1990, marquant ainsi la fin...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marhold Hartmut

Le traité de l'Élysée, d'un point de vue européen

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 366, 2012/4 , 17-25

Remarques préalables Il n'y a aucun doute que le traité de l'Élysée était, et est toujours, un phénomène magnifique, très positif pour la France, l'Allemagne, et l'Europe – nous avons toutes les raisons de nous en réjouir. Ce constat est aussi vrai sur le plan institutionnel et politique, que sur le plan de la société civile, des Français et Allemands individuellement et collectivement....

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Claudio M. Radaelli, Claire A. Dunlop

Learning in the European Union: theoretical lenses and meta-theory

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 6 2013 , 923-940

The European Union may well be a learning organization, yet there is still confusion about the nature of learning, its causal structure and the normative implications. In this contribution we select four perspectives that address complexity, governance, the agency–structure nexus, and how learning occurs or may be blocked by institutional features. They are transactional theory, purposeful opportunism, experimental governance and the joint decision trap. We use the four cases to investigate how history and disciplinary traditions inform theory; the core causal arguments about learning; the normative implications of the analysis; the types of learning that are theoretically predicted; the meta-theoretical aspects and the lessons for better theories of the policy process and political scientists more generally.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Roberto Baratta

Legal issues of the Fiscal Compact – Searching for a mature democratic governance of the euro

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, no. 4 , 647-681

While complementing the EMU with the necessary rules mandating budget discipline at domestic level, the fiscal compact inevitably affects the autonomy both of national parliaments and executive powers, as well as the life of millions of European citizens. A culture of financial stability protects democracy from inter-generational conflicts and it is positive per se. Arguably, however, some provisions of the fiscal compact risk widening the democratic deficiency of the economic governance. Thus, the legal analysis is carried out with the main purpose of assessing the coherence of the fiscal compact with the principle of democracy. As tentatively showed, an issue of democratic legitimacy is indeed raised. The policy-making of the euro zone needs to be improved so as to rely less on national legitimacy inputs and more on its own direct source of democratic accountability – the European Parliament. Moreover, the paper addresses some issues raised by the choice of a 17 plus treaty stepping outside the EU legal framework, since a revision process under Art. 48 TEU could not be pursued. Indeed, an international instrument poses some issues of inconsistencies with the law and principles of the EU, which were examined throughout the paper, whilst suggesting interpretative solutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Eppler Annegret

Legitimation durch interparlamentarische Zusammenarbeit?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 6-7, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/154384/legitimation-durch-interparlamentarische-zusammenarbeit

Als der Deutsche Bundestag und die französische Assemblée nationale anlässlich des 50-jährigen Bestehens des Élysée-Vertrags im Januar 2013 eine gemeinsame Sitzung abhielten, war das ein besonderes Beispiel für bilaterale Kooperation zweier nationaler Parlamente. Beziehungen zwischen Parlamenten können jedoch auch multilateral sein, etwa wenn die Landtagspräsidentenkonferenzen von Deutschland und Österreich im Juni 2013 eine gemeinsame Sitzung in Niederösterreich abhalten. Parlamente sind komplexe Akteure mit vielen Untergruppen. Fraktionen, Ausschüsse, territoriale und andere Gruppen, verschiedene Verwaltungsgremien, das Plenum und einzelne Abgeordnete können jeweils interparlamentarische Beziehungen unterhalten...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chatzistavrou Filippa

Les Etats de l'Union européenne, moteurs d'une forme de gouvernance inédite : le Trio de présidences

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 568, mai , 275-286

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ponomareva Olena

**Les expériences migratoires des nouveaux États membres de l'Union européenne
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 366, 2012/4 , 117-134**

It is symptomatic that in most Central and Eastern European countries the transition from a totalitarian system to other forms of economic and societal organization has been accompanied by an extensive phenomenon of migration, mostly to Western European countries. What impact did EU accession have on migration process in recent member states ? How do the new European citizens perceive the recent liberalisation of the labour market within the EU ? An indicative case is Polish and Romanian migration into Italy, two communities that together represent almost 80 % of immigrant population. A comparative analysis points out the very different social dynamics in different post-communist countries and explains in which way do they influence transformation processes and social integration of recent EU member states and, consequently, the creation of a 'social Europe,' a relevant matter in the construction of the European Union.

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Coudert Virginie

**Les mésalignements de taux de change réels à l'intérieur de la zone euro
in Revue de l'OFCE, 2013/1 (N° 127) , 35-56**

In spite of completely pegged parities inside the euro area, real effective exchange rates have continued to evolve differently across member countries due to inflation discrepancies. In this paper, we assess real exchange rate misalignments for the euro area countries over the period 1980-2010 by adopting a Behavioral Equilibrium Exchange Rate (BEER) approach. The results show that real exchange rates have been overvalued in peripheral countries since the mid-2000s, because their real appreciation has not matched an improvement in their economic fundamentals. Moreover, currency misalignments have widened for all member countries on average since the monetary union, while becoming more persistent. We also highlight that misalignments have been larger and more persistent in the peripheral countries than in the core countries.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Coman Ramona

**Les nouveaux États membres et «les vieux malentendus» de l'intégration européenne
in Politique européenne , n. 38, 2012/3 , 70-92**

New Members States and the "old misunderstandings" of the European integration

This article examines the discourse about the European Union (EU) of political elites in Slovenia, Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, while their governments were holding the rotating presidency of the EU. It analyses how the core issues of European integration are discussed in the new Member States and focuses more particularly on the normative



content of the elite vision for the EU. The analysis uncovers a clash between two main discourses : a traditional “national civic” discourse – sustained by the Hungarian Prime Minister, Viktor Orban and the President of the Czech Republic, Vaclav Klaus, on the one hand, and a new republican federalist discourse animated by the Prime Minister of Poland, Donal Tusk, in the context of the Polish rotating presidency, on the other hand.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aloupi Niki

Les rapports entre droit international et droit de l'Union européenne. A propos du statut du chef d'Etat membre au regard de l'arrêt Hongrie c. République slovaque du 16 octobre 2012 (aff. C-364/10)

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 117, no. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sergeant Jean-Claude

Les rodomontades antieuropéennes de David Cameron

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Mai

Hostile à la réforme bancaire européenne, le premier ministre britannique ranime la rhétorique du repli insulaire.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/05/SERGEANT/49057>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Page Moch Leslie

Lessons and cautionary tales from the past: Building bridges from migration history to Europeanness

in *National Identities*, vol. 15, n. 1, Special Issue: Europe – Migration – Identity , 9-19

This essay articulates the connections between historical migrations in Europe and the Europeanness – in practice, if not in self-identity – of its mobile inhabitants. The volume of migration has fluctuated dramatically since the seventeenth century; some migrants have stayed at destination among almost every group, but their welcome has been diminished by war, political change, and economic downturns. History has three lessons to offer: it shows that cities are the most certain, but not the only, sites of integration; it demonstrates that current configurations of migration and constructions of immigrants can change significantly; and it reveals great diversity in the migrant experience.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bálazs Péter

Leçons et perspectives de l'élargissement de l'Union européenne



in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 489-502

In parallel with major but half-finished integration projects (the Lisbon Strategy about the worldwide competitiveness of the Europe, the Constitution or the Euro itself) enlargement is one of those which succeeded. The number of States has more than quadrupled and important further reserves open the way to reach one day the real final borders of "all European States". However the multiplication of the number of States in the eastern part of the continent and their subsequent accessions have overloaded first the diplomacy of EU member States and, in the next step, the institutions and the common budget of the EU. In the EU-27 new Group dynamics have taken form and the number of potential coalitions has reached astrological figures. As its new external borders the EU has become direct neighbour with the rest of the potential candidate countries in accordance with article 49 TEU. However, in the zones of the Western Balkans and the "Eastern Partnership" other poles of attraction like Turkey and Russia exert their influence as well.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hartlapp Miriam, Metz Julia, Rauh Christian

Linking Agenda Setting to Coordination Structures: Bureaucratic Politics inside the European Commission

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 4 , 425-441

This article provides a detailed study of how bureaucratic politics in the European Commission can systematically affect the substance of the legislative agenda that makes up European integration. Based on an encompassing description of the bureaucratic policy-formulation process within the Commission, it shows how the Commission's different elements play off against each other and thereby systematically advantage the lead department and the Secretariat-General. Empirical case studies from a sample of 48 policy formulation processes in the Commission during 1999–2008 illustrate how these structural advantages actually change the political substance of policy proposals. Against additional evidence on an uneven distribution of procedural advantages across the Commission departments, it concludes that bureaucratic politics in the Commission may account for systematic biases on the European Union's legislative agenda.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Monika Mühlböck

Linking Council and European Parliament? Voting unity of national parties in bicameral EU decision-making

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 4 2013 , 571-588

The two institutions forming the bicameral EU legislature, Council and European Parliament, are composed of representatives who belong to national political parties. In traditional European bicameral systems, parties are the main factor linking the different chambers. Do national parties similarly provide a linkage mechanism between chambers in the EU, by co-ordinating voting behaviour of ministers and MEPs? For example, do MEPs unite with 'their' minister against a proposal if sincere national or party-political interests are touched? Based on a dataset combining Council votes with EP roll-calls, the analysis reveals that voting behaviour might differ considerably between institutions. While ministers are subject to the logic of Council consensus, MEPs are influenced by their transnational EP groups. Internal party co-ordination across institutions is thus rare. Ministers and MEPs hardly ever vote united against a proposal.



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Cornelia Woll

Lobbying under Pressure: The Effect of Salience on European Union Hedge Fund Regulation

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 3, May 2013 , 555-572

The virulent European Union hedge fund debate led many observers to suspect a paradigmatic battle between liberal market economies and countries in favour of tighter regulation. By contrast, this article points to the economic interests that drove government agendas. However, national preferences were not defined by the aggregate of a country's economic interests, but by very specific stakeholders only, despite the existence of opponents with considerable resources. This article argues that the unequal success of financial lobbyists depended on how their demands fitted into the government's overarching negotiation strategy. The primacy of government objectives, in turn, resulted from the high saliency of financial regulation and hedge funds in particular.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baratta, Roberto

Logoramento e frammentazione della sovranità nazionale nel processo di integrazione europea

in *Archivio giuridico*, fasc. 4 , 489 - 539

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Berti Lapo

L'Europa costa, ma conviene

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calculli Marina

L'Europa nel Mediterraneo: storia di una vocazione perduta

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beck Ulrich, Cohn-Bendit Daniel



L'Europa siamo noi, è il momento di ricostruirla

in *Reset*, Numero 141, Marzo

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/beck-e-cohn-bendit-leuropa-siamo-noi-e-il-momento-di-ricostruirla>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cangelosi Rocco

L'Europa tra solidarietà ed egoismi nazionali

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 247-253

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mariuzzo Marcello

L'Europa è fatta, 15 miliardi per fare gli europei

in *Reset*, Numero 141, Marzo

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/leuropa-e-fatta-15-miliardi-per-fare-gli-europei>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anderson Perry

L'Europe face à l'hégémonie allemande

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Décembre

Menaces, propos aigres-doux : la négociation du budget 2014-2020 de l'Union européenne divise les Vingt-Sept. Si la volonté britannique d'obtenir un « rabais » focalise l'attention, c'est en réalité l'ensemble du projet européen qui vacille. Crispés sur l'objectif de réduire un budget déjà restreint à 1 % du produit intérieur brut de l'Union, les pays du Nord affrontent ceux du Sud, qui, au nom de la solidarité, réclament plus de moyens. Une fois de plus, Berlin mène la danse.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2012/12/ANDERSON/48468>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laurent Warlouzet

L'Europe monétaire face au dollar : l'offensive Debré (1966-1968)

in *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, n°19 , 114-127

In the 1960s, France tried to reform the international monetary system, because it gave too much of an advantage to the



dollar. While Paris remained isolated until 1966, in 1967 the minister of Finance Michel Debré managed to unite the six EEC member states through international negotiations. This new solidarity irritated the Americans. However, the discussions became strained after the British monetary crisis of late 1967. The agreement to create the Special Drawing Rights (SDR) in 1968 caused the unity of the Six to collapse. In the long term, this episode shows how the French tried to use the European institutions in an intergovernmental way, in order to promote their vision of the international economic system, particularly when it came to the issue of the dollar.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bros Valérie, Khour Ziad

L'Europe, vues de l'intérieur

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 173, janvier-février , 135-148

L'Union européenne est devenue l'ONU. C'est l'impression que l'on peut physiquement ressentir en pénétrant dans des salles de réunion si vastes qu'elles sont désormais pourvues d'écrans pour que l'on puisse apercevoir l'orateur, cernées par vingt-deux cabines de traduction. En déambulant dans de larges couloirs d'immeubles aussi imposants (...)

Plan de l'article

L'euro-jargon

Le millefeuille européen

La novlangue européenne

Les pesanteurs européennes

L'art de la négociation

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grjebine André

L'Eurosystème: un mécanisme de transferts en faveur des pays déficitaires? Le débat

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2012/7 (N° 126) , 269-298

A number of economists, following Professor Hans-Werner SINN, President of the Munich Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (Ifo), have opened a debate on the true significance and the risks entailed by the system of compensation operating within the Eurozone, TARGET2 (Trans-European Automated Real-Time Gross Settlement Express Transfer). They criticize it under three major counts. Firstly, they contend that the Eurosystem tends to utilize Target2 as a means to provide unavowed assistance to some European States in trouble against the interests of other States - chiefly Germany. The next point is in their opinion, that a credit granted through TARGET2 to a deficit country necessarily goes against the interests of the other Eurozone countries, thereby putting deficit countries in a prominent position in terms of money creation within the Eurozone. And lastly, they warn that the debtors' problems will sooner or later contaminate the creditors of TARGET2 and in turn, send them into trouble.

Several authors have challenged these criticisms, stressing that a drastic limitation of the system of compensation



provided by TARGET2 could definitely jam the whole system. Although there is no discussion that TARGET2 has thoroughly contributed to allow the Eurozone to surmount the financial and commercial imbalances that threatened to destroy it, yet, its very survival depends on the capacity of the member countries to deal with the structural imbalances between them.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aoun Elena

L'Union européenne en Méditerranée. Puissance en repli, normes en déshérence ?

in *Politique européenne* , n. 39, 2013/1 , 76-104

The dramatic events that started unfolding in the Mediterranean region since 2011 have revealed how volatile it remains in spite of a 40-year long European "structural foreign policy". Though it is much too early to fully grasp the mid-and long-term consequences of the "Arab Spring", it is almost certain that this chain of events will have a deep impact on the socio-political reconfigurations of North African and Middle Eastern countries and on regional power equations, therefore creating the need for external actors to adapt. This is all the more true for the European Union because of geographical proximity, migration realities, economic, political and social stakes as well as the dense relationships that emerged out of Euromediterranean policies. In line with the concept of "normative power", this article attempts to identify some of the factors that might substantially contribute to the future reconfiguration of Euromediterranean relations. After having surveyed the various dimensions of European foreign policy since the 1970s, the article focuses on post-"Arab Spring" reorientations, trying to substantiate the claim that, limited by both an institutional and conceptual path dependency that perpetuates the contradictions of the EU's normative power posture, these reorientations seem to portend a weakening of the Union's performative potential and a diminution of its standing in the future balance of power in the Mediterranean.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mégie Antoine, Mérand Frédéric

L'Union européenne et le nouvel équilibre des puissances

in *Politique européenne* , n. 39, 2013/1 , 9-21

Depuis quelques années, l'Union européenne (UE) n'est pas ménagée. En moins d'une décennie, elle est passée d'une zone exemplaire de prospérité et de paix ayant abouti à l'un des plus grand succès de l'histoire en matière de coopération régionale, à un continent en déclin affligé d'institutions incapables de juguler la crise économique ou d'apaiser la défiance...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Verderame G. Battista

L'Unione Europea, percezioni e realtà

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 271-278

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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11-16

L'amitié franco-allemande

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 366, 2012/4 , Grosser Alfred

Quand on célèbre « l'amitié franco-allemande », il faudrait savoir que la qualité exceptionnelle des relations entre les deux pays, au niveau des « officiels » et à celui de la société civile, découle de deux sources. La première est présente dans le Préambule de la Constitution française de 1946, préambule repris dans notre constitution actuelle. Il commence...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Weigand Gabriele

L'amitié se fait entre des personnes, pas entre des nations

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 366, 2012/4 , 101-115

The idea of the article came as a part of a study conducted between 2008 and 2013 on the topic of "Intercultural moments in biographies", supported by the Franco-German Youth Office (OFAJ). The work itself is based on narrative interviews conducted with people issued from a Franco-German context. The paper, as such, does not aim to present a scientific analysis of the intercultural friendship relations, but it represents rather an exploratory study that shows, through some individual examples, the importance of the culture of Franco-German meetings and the benefit that a thorough research on friendship in this area could provide. The interviews highlight the fact that positive emotions are able to open a transcultural space which gradually minimizes the signification of the borders as perceived within the national logics. It turns out that Politics, at the macro level of societies, can help in creating the institutional framework appropriate for meetings, but it does not replace the creation of the relationships based on confidence that can only arise through emotional ties and personal relationships deriving from everyday encountering.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Attinà Fulvio

L'assenza della politica estera europea

in Paradoxa, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dussart Vincent

L'impossible création d'un impôt européen

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, n. 144

Is the Introduction of a European Tax Impossible? — Introducing a tax directly governed by EU law and institutions in closely keeping with the system of “own resources” which was established progressively and has undergone changes since 1970. But it is very difficult to define its economic characteristics (base, rate) and the management arrangements, in spite of a number of proposals, some of which have been more specific than others. A European tax can only be conceived within the context of indirect taxation or possibly through the taxation of financial transactions. In any event, there are many hurdles to its implementation, the foremost of these is that it must go hand in hand with stepped up coordination or harmonisation of mandatory levies.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sbolci Luigi

L'invalidità degli atti dell'Unione Europea per violazione del diritto internazionale

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCV, fascicolo 4 , 988-1011

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Palano Damiano

L'inverno dello sconto europeo

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO VI - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

John Weerts

L'évolution du droit de retrait de l'Union européenne et sa résonance sur l'intégration européenne

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, vol. 48, issue 2 , 345-406



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Monaghan Elizabeth

Making the Environment Present: Political Representation, Democracy and Civil Society Organisations in EU Climate Change Politics

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 601-618

The climate change issue has attracted the attention of civil society organisations in the European Union but standard theories of groups as interest aggregators fail to offer a convincing explanation of their characteristics and contribution. However as the concept of representation has been transformed – from a static view pertaining mostly to legislatures, to a dynamic view of a creative act involving all political actors – it has opened up the possibility of a new explanatory framework for understanding how groups make environmental issues present. This is in direct contrast to the idea of representation and the role of groups outlined in the Lisbon Treaty.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sofia Vasilopoulou, Katjana Gattermann

Matching policy preferences: the linkage between voters and MEPs

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 4 2013 , 606-625

The European Parliament has often been accused of its inability to link to European citizens. This article employs quantitative measures to investigate levels of congruence between individual MEPs and their voters on core policy issues following the 2009 EP elections. Operationalizing congruence as a 'many-to-one' relationship, it suggests that on socio-economic issues, the correspondence of policy preferences tends to be higher between voters and MEPs belonging to right-wing and liberal parties than for leftist MEPs. On socio-cultural issues, MEPs generally tend to have more liberal views than their representatives. Tobit models show that, depending on the issue, the strength of voter–MEP opinion congruence can be linked to the frequency of contacts and MEP seniority in office. Eurosceptic MEPs tend to be worse at representing their electorate, while voter–MEP agreement also tends to be affected by the electoral system and length of EU membership. The findings have implications for the legitimacy of European politics in current affairs.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Trittin Jürgen

Mehr Europa als Antwort auf die globalen Krisen: Grüne Leitlinien für eine zukunftsfähige Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 6, n. 2, april , 187-197

ABSTRACT: With the Bundestag elections of September 2013 in mind, this issue assembles the foreign policy guidelines of the Bundestag factions. The parties lay out in which areas they distinguish challenges to German foreign



policy. The editors intended to put a focus on these policy areas: solutions to the Euro crisis and strategies for the future of Europe, relations to the United States, Russia and China, Germany's membership in international organizations, German interests in current conflicts, and the need for reforming structures of German foreign politics. The following analysis is by Jürgen Trittin, faction leader of Alliance 90/The Greens.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andrews David

Merged Into One: Keystones of European Economic Governance, 1962–2012

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 315-331

In this article I assess the views of the European Commission on key subjects related to Europe's economic governance. My examination is framed by a close reading of two documents, one issued in 1962 ('the Action Programme for the Second Stage') and the other in 2008 ('EMU@10: successes and challenges after ten years of Economic and Monetary Union'). The resulting comparison reveals a pattern of intellectual flexibility on certain policy issues combined with almost dogmatic commitments on others. For example, the views expressed by the Commission regarding financial liberalization have changed significantly over the past half century; at the same time the Commission has insisted tenaciously on the necessity of moving towards (or later consolidating) a European monetary union. The nature of this pattern, and especially the defense of the same policy prescription under radically different circumstances, suggests a deeply-felt commitment rather than a reasoned analysis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bailleux Julie

Michel Gaudet, a law entrepreneur: The role of the legal service of the European executives in the invention of EC Law and the birth of the Common Market Law Review

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 2 , 359-367

ABSTRACT: The article presents correspondence from December 1957 between the head of the Legal Service of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the French member of the Conseil d'Etat, Michel Gaudet, and his friend, the American lawyer Donald Swatland, which sheds new light on what is considered to be "the birth of EEC law": the landmark decisions of the Court of Justice in *Van Gend & Loos* (5 February 1963) and *Costa v. ENEL* (15 July 1964), in which the Court laid the basis of two areas of its "constitutional doctrine", the direct effect of Treaty provisions and the primacy of EU law (to give it its current name) over all conflicting national rules including constitutional ones. The correspondence shows that the Court's decisions should be seen as the result of a mobilization strategy led by the Legal Service of the European Executives to secure the advent of the future United States of Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peter Huber, Gabriele Tondl

Migration and regional convergence in the European Union

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, volume 39 n.4 , 439-60



We offer an empirical, econometric analysis of the impact of migration on the EU27's NUTS2 regions in the period 2000–2007. We find that migration had no significant impact on regional unemployment in the EU, but affected both GDP per capita and productivity. A 1 percentage point increase in immigration to immigration regions increased GDP per capita by about 0.02 % and productivity by about 0.03 % on impact and by 0.44 % for GDP per capita and 0.20 % for productivity in the long run. For emigration regions an increase in the emigration rate leads to similar reductions of GDP per capita and productivity both on impact and in the long run. Since immigration regions are often regions with above average GDP, while emigration regions in Europe practically all have below average GDP, migration does not seem to promote convergence.

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Geddes Andrew, Jordan Andrew

Migration as adaptation? Exploring the scope for coordinating environmental and migration policies in the European Union

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 30, Issue 6, December , 1029-1044

We explore the links between environmental change, human migration, and adaptation in the relatively mature governance system of the European Union (EU). It is shown that these connections are limited and, when made, tend to be security focused. This situation inhibits scope for migration (both internally within states and internationally between states) to be understood as a form of adaptation to economic, social, political, demographic, and environmental change. We assess the underlying dynamics of EU environmental policy, note the main modes and instruments used, and identify some of the chief dynamics in this policy field. Finally, conclusions are drawn with respect to how, in future, the EU might interact with nonmember states on environment and migration-related issues.

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Canor Iris

My brother's keeper? Horizontal solange: "An ever closer distrust among the peoples of Europe"

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 2 , 383-421

ABSTRACT: It is suggested in this paper that the Court of Justice has made a modest, although by no means a trivial, move towards becoming the Constitutional Court of Europe, particularly in the N.S. case, where it rejected the Union's guiding rule of automatic reliance on the principle of mutual confidence. The paper proposes that this represents a test, labelled the "horizontal Solange" test and which is composed of two tiers. The first, substantive, tier forms the Solange component. Cooperation between Member States will be maintained as long as all the Member States systematically adhere to core European fundamental rights. If the evidence shows that a systemic violation of core European fundamental rights took place in a Member State, other Member States should suspend their cooperation. The second, institutional, tier forms the "horizontal" component. The national courts are entrusted with the task of reviewing whether the other Member States abide by the European standard of protection of fundamental rights. The exact substantive contours of the test are examined alongside the test's possible implications for related fields of law of the European legal order. The test also allows the ECJ to interweave the different European fundamental rights systems into a fully integrated judicial dialogical network, and to steer the exact direction in which European legislation should advance.



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Petya Alexandrova, Arco Timmermans

National interest versus the common good: The Presidency in European Council agenda setting
in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 52, Issue 3 , 316–338

The European Council is an institution which brings together the Heads of State, or Governments of the European Union (EU) Member States. For the Presidency, preparing the agenda of European Council meetings involves a tension between loyalties. Existing research is divided over the question whether the Presidency pushes its domestic policy agenda on the EU level. Using empirical data on the Conclusions of European Council meetings, and national executive speeches presented annually in five Member States, this article investigates the relationship between the policy agendas of the EU and its constituent countries. It tests whether national issue attention of the Presidency holder dominates the European Council agenda. The findings suggest that having the Presidency does not provide a de facto institutional advantage for agenda setting power for any of the countries in the sample. The analysis points out that normative and political constraints limit the leeway of presiding Member States to push for domestic agenda preferences in the European Council.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Björn Fleischer

Negotiating the European Defence Community
in *European Political Science* , Volume 12, Issue 1 , 64–74

This article argues that process tracing is a viable and suitable methodological alternative to probe the implications of formal models specifying how the dynamics of belief formation may systematically cause bargaining failures under uncertainty. I illustrate the argument with a brief case study of the failure of the European Defence Community in postwar Europe.

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Parker Owen

Nobel Ambitions: Cosmopolitan Europe in/as Crisis?
in *Politico (II)*, n. 231, 2012 , 108-128

ABSTRACT: The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the EU was met with both celebration and incredulity. For the triumphant the award served to reiterate a connection between peace and the European project, which has not featured in much recent commentary of a Europe in economic and social crisis. For many of the incredulous, it was this very crisis – accompanied by widespread social and economic hardship, a rise in ethno-nationalism and concomitant increase in opposition to the EU project – which prompted their opposition to the award. Whatever one thinks of the prize, it can be regarded as an attempt to (re)-assert the EU's cosmopolitan mission. But it is not entirely clear of what such a mission consists or of what it should consist. What I term a 'legal cosmopolitan' government -- associated with,



among others, Jurgen Habermas -- seeks to reassert the social and liberal features of the European nation-state in the face of both a parochial nationalism and the extremes of the market, but risks reproducing the closures of a European nationalism. At the same time, what I term a 'market cosmopolitan' government seeks to overcome such nationalism through the privileging of a 'non-discriminatory' transnational marketplace but, as the current crisis demonstrates, a dogmatic version of such government can undermine the (social) democracy that legal cosmopolitans cherish. This paper elucidates these two cosmopolitan rationalities in theory and practice; their ethical openings and closures and, in particular, the ambiguous relationship between them. Contrary to many cosmopolitan perspectives, it argues that such an ambiguity -- which could be characterised as an existential crisis -- might be that which is of most ethical value in contemporary cosmopolitan government in Europe.

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Curtin Deirdre

Official secrets and the negotiation of international agreements: Is the EU executive unbound?

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 2 , 423-457

ABSTRACT: Supranational executive power is mutating at the level of the EU political system through a growing array of institutions, (new) agencies and other actors who exercise in one way or another executive powers. One of the less visible though no less crucial executive powers is the management of access to official information. At the supranational level we have seen a growth in specific secrecy arrangements. An important way for building those secrecy arrangements is through the establishment of systems of classification of documents. These security rules have received little academic attention, both in terms of the legal framework and in terms of the empirical practice. This article aims to fill that gap in the existing literature by examining the intersection of internal institutional "security" rulemaking by the plural EU executive with legislative and Treaty requirements and in particular with parliamentary and public oversight mechanisms applied specifically to recent practice of negotiations on international agreements. Do the existing legal and political responses in the area of the negotiation of international agreements in particular indicate the existence of robust checks and balances by the EP to counteract the internal rulemaking power of the executive in the context of the EU? Is the EU executive "unbound" in a more general sense or adequately held in check by the EP in collaboration with other oversight institutions and the public?

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Coudert Virginie, Couharde Cécile, Mignon Valérie

On Currency Misalignments within the Euro Area

in **Review of International Economics**, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 35-48

Although nominal parities have been completely pegged within the euro area since the launch of the single currency, real effective exchange rates have continued to vary under the effect of inflation disparities, exhibiting a strong appreciation in the peripheral countries. In this paper, we assess real exchange rate misalignments for euro area countries by using a behavioral equilibrium exchange rate (BEER) approach on the period 1980–2010. The results show that the peripheral member countries have been suffering from increasingly overvalued exchange rates since the mid-2000s, as their real appreciation has not stemmed from improving fundamentals in terms of productivity or external position. In addition, currency misalignments have increased on average for all euro area countries since the monetary



union, while becoming more persistent. More worryingly, our findings highlight different patterns across members, as misalignments have been larger and more persistent in peripheral countries than in core countries.

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Marten Körner Finn, Zemanek Holger

On the Brink? Intra-euro Area Imbalances and the Sustainability of Foreign Debt
in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 18-34

This paper analyses the role of financial market credibility shocks from the European Monetary Union accession and the European sovereign debt crisis for diverging current account balances and net foreign debt positions in the euro area. Based on a dynamic general equilibrium model foreign debt positions of European crisis countries are shown to have significantly diverged from a sustainable path. Today, high foreign debt positions prove difficult to reverse given appreciated real exchange rates and high real interest rates. Real depreciations in European crisis countries, while necessary for long-term crisis resolution, further worsen foreign debt sustainability by raising the real value of debt in the short-term. To prevent a debt–deflation spiral the real interest burden should be reduced and the real value of debt should be capped.

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Jeffrey Frankel, Jesse Schreger

Over-optimistic official forecasts and fiscal rules in the eurozone
in *Review of World Economics (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv)*, volume 149 n.2 , 247-72

Eurozone members are supposedly constrained by the fiscal caps of the Stability and Growth Pact. Yet ever since the birth of the euro, members have postponed painful adjustment. Wishful thinking has played an important role in this failure. We find that governments' forecasts are biased in the optimistic direction, especially during booms. Eurozone governments are especially over-optimistic when the budget deficit is over the 3 % of GDP ceiling at the time the forecasts are made. Those exceeding this cap systematically but falsely forecast a rapid future improvement. The new fiscal compact among the euro countries is supposed to make budget rules more binding by putting them into laws and constitutions at the national level. But biased forecasts can defeat budget rules. What is the record in Europe with national rules? The bias is less among eurozone countries that have adopted certain rules at the national level, particularly creating an independent fiscal institution that provides independent forecasts.

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Morten Egeberg, Åse Gornitzka, Jarle Trondal, Mathias Johannessen

Parliament staff: unpacking the behaviour of officials in the European Parliament



in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 4 2013 , 495-514

Officials within parliaments have received marginal scholarly attention. This also holds for the European Parliament (EP) which contains a considerable administration. This study, based on an online survey (N=118), shows that political group staff are primarily committed to the concerns of their respective political groups, but also to the arguments of those external actors which have similar party affiliation. Since most group officials are, in addition, affiliated to a particular committee, they also emphasize sectoral interests, including the concerns of affected interest groups. EP secretariat officials, on the other hand, give priority to sectoral and expert concerns. Both groups of staff rank European concerns above national ones, and pay more attention to the arguments of the European Commission than to the arguments of any other institution. This study thus suggests that officials in the EP contribute to the spanning of ideological and sectoral cleavages across European Union institutions. These observations may be seen as deviating from a basically intergovernmental portrayal of the Union.

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Hickel Rudolf

Pathologisches Lernen: Zypern als Exempel

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2013 , 5-8

Das dilettantische Vorgehen der europäischen Eliten bei der „Rettung“ Zyperns hätte um Haaresbreite zu einer weiteren, dramatischen Zuspitzung der Eurokrise geführt. Sieht man davon – vorerst – einmal ab, kennzeichnen die neue Etappe jedoch auch mutige Tabubrüche. Insofern kann man durchaus von einem Lernprozess sprechen, wenn auch von einem pathologischen.

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Luigi Guidobono Cavalchini Garofoli

Per una più forte integrazione dell'Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 254-270

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Blome Kerstin, Friedrich Dawid, Nanz Patrizia

Personenfreizügigkeit und die Herausbildung europäischer sozialer Bürgerschaft

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 4/2012 , 383-398

The full text is free:



www.oezp.at/getMagazine.php?id=73

Free movement and the emergence of European social citizenship

Can we observe the emergence of an independent European social citizenship, or does (still) the economic logic of EU integration prevail as well as the national anchorage of the concept? This article offers a well-founded empirical investigation into this topical issue. It characterizes personal free movement as central to EU citizenship and analyzes the complete jurisdiction of the EU on Freedom of Movement of social assistance, carving out firstly to what extent social citizenship elements are dissolved from their national basis and redeployed at EU-level, and secondly whether social citizenship elements are detached of the economic basis rooted in the founding treaties of EU integration. It argues that, in the individual dimension of social citizenship partial denationalizing effects are observable that do not give way, however, to a clear post-national construction of a true social citizenship and which come at the cost of the collective dimension of social citizenship.

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Huc Arnaud

Plaidoyer pour de vrais partis européens

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 566, mars , 189-196

No abstract available

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Negt Oskar

Plädoyer für ein gerechtes Gemeinwesen Europa

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 6-7, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/154380/plaedoyer-fuer-ein-gerechtes-gemeinwesen-europa

Willy Brandt prägte, in Hinblick auf die deutsche Wiedervereinigung, die Formel: "Hier wächst zusammen, was zusammen gehört." Von solchen organischen Verbindungen und Wahlverwandtschaften kann im europäischen Kontext keine Rede sein. Die nationalen Eigentümlichkeiten und der kulturelle Eigensinn der einzelnen Länder haben harte Prägungen hinterlassen, die durch Geld und institutionelle Vereinbarungen nur schwer aufzubrechen sind. Deshalb ist die Entwicklung politischer Urteilskraft ein entscheidender Pfeiler im europäischen Gebäude der 27 Nationen. Ohne soziale Bewusstseinsbildung entsteht keine solidarische Ökonomie, die Ausgleichsbewegungen zwischen Schwachen und Starken ermöglicht, ohne in die Mottenkiste vorurteilsbeladener Abgrenzungen zurückgreifen zu müssen. Hunderte von Milliarden Euro werden verteilt, um das Bankensystem vor dem Zusammenbruch zu bewahren; Bürgschaftsschutzschirme, die der Entwicklung politischer Bildung dienen, sucht man dagegen vergeblich – dabei würden sie die vernünftigsten und nachhaltigsten Investitionen in einem Europa der erodierenden Gesellschaftsordnungen ausmachen...



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Michael A. Wilkinson

**Political Constitutionalism and the European Union
in *Modern Law Review (the)*, vol. 76, issue 2 , 191-222**

What kind of constitutionalism is emerging in Europe? There are two approaches to answering this question. The first, a “foundational” approach, rejects the premise: there can be no real constitution in the absence of a “demos”, a foundation which exists only nationally. The second, “freestanding” approach, depicts it as paradigmatic of a broader phenomenon of cosmopolitan constitutionalism, based on individual rights guaranteed through a transnational rule of law. Rejecting both for their failure to account for European constitutionalism as a historical process of polity-building, a third approach, “political constitutionalism”, is proposed, capturing the dynamic quality of constitutionalisation in the EU. From this perspective, what is emerging in Europe is a constitution that reflects a common good (predominantly conceived in economic terms), albeit one which is legally, political and socially contested. It is by capturing this complex picture of the political formation of Europe that the constitutional question will be most fruitfully pursued.

Since April 2009 judicial reviews may be dealt with at regional centres and in Cardiff. This change significantly relaxed the hitherto highly centralised system of judicial review in England and Wales. The main aims were to improve access to public law redress by enabling cases to be listed and heard at the most appropriate regional location. Despite recognition of the need to improve regional access, fears exist that this reform will threaten the standing and authority of judicial review in this jurisdiction; that it will contribute to a fragmentation of judicial review and, in the regions, reduce the quality of public law adjudication, legal advice and representation. Drawing on an empirical study on the regional use of judicial review, this paper assesses these matters and considers the early effects of regionalisation on access to judicial review and the development of regional markets for legal services in public law.

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Nourry Chrystelle

**Political Legitimation of the Union: the Core of Franco-German Relationship
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 366, 2012/4 , 85-100**

Bilateral and European topics at stake are changing, Presidents and Chancellors are succeeding at the head of State, but Franco-German particular cooperation is unquestionably strengthened through times and brought to date in the framing of the Elysée Treaty. This contribution aims at elucidating why Franco-German friendship establishes a legitimating component to the EU institutions and political system.

The research question underpinning this study has drawn upon a Nation-State Representatives/Citizens standpoint, which provides salient insights. Within bilateral summits ordering, distinct compounds qualify Heads of State meetings regarding European process. Franco-German deliberations contents have through times been focused on European debates.

This precise analytical interpretations lead to apprehend Franco-German ability to give sense to European process, which rightly reminds observers and European leaders: why making for Europe?



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Henryk Gurgul, Łukasz Lach

**Political instability and economic growth: Evidence from two decades of transition in CEE
in Communist and post-communist studies**, Volume 46, Issue 2 , 189-202

This paper examines the nexus between political instability and economic growth in 10 CEE countries in transition in the period 1990–2009. Our results support the contention that political instability defined as a propensity for government change had a negative impact on growth. On the other hand, there was no causality in the opposite direction. A sensitivity analysis based on the application of a few hundred different variants of the initial econometric model confirmed the abovementioned findings only in the case where major government changes were applied to the definition of political instability.

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Labondance Fabien, Blot Christophe

**Politique monétaire unique, taux bancaires et prix immobiliers dans la zone euro
in Revue de l'OFCE**, 2013/2 (N° 128) , 189-215

L'objectif de notre contribution est d'analyser empiriquement les mécanismes de transmission de la politique monétaire vers les prix immobiliers dans les principales économies de la zone euro. Nous tenons compte explicitement du rôle des banques, via le canal du taux d'intérêt. Notre approche est en deux étapes : la première permet d'illustrer la répercussion des taux contrôlés par la BCE sur les taux pratiqués par les banques pour les crédits immobiliers, tandis que la deuxième fait le lien entre les taux bancaires et les prix immobiliers. Cette analyse permet de comprendre les différentes sources de l'hétérogénéité de la transmission de la politique monétaire. Il apparaît en effet que le canal du taux d'intérêt est de plus en plus homogène dans la zone euro. Mais ce résultat masque le rôle des effets d'offre de crédit qui ont pu induire une hétérogénéité de la transmission de la politique monétaire. La transmission des taux bancaires aux prix immobiliers et à l'ensemble de l'économie demeure dépendante des structures propres à chaque État membre.

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Cagiati Andrea

**Possibili conseguenze del referendum britannico
in Affari Esteri**, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 285-289

No abstract available

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Ganev Venelin I.

Post-Accession Hooliganism. Democratic Governance in Bulgaria and Romania after 2007
in *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 27, n. 1, February , 26-44

The manuscript analyzes negative developments in Bulgarian and Romanian politics in the aftermath of the two countries' accession to the European Union, with a special focus on the worsening corruption problem, the destabilization of previously coherent normative frameworks, and the reversal of processes of state building. It also explores the main characteristics of a novel form of elite behavior, post-accession hooliganism, which began to emerge as soon as Bulgarian and Romanian political leaders felt strong and confident enough to disregard the demands of their West European counterparts.

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Tonkissa Katherine E.

Post-national citizenship without post-national identity? A case study of UK immigration policy and intra-EU migration

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 9, Issue 1, 2013 , 35-48

Abstract

A key dividing line in the literature on post-national citizenship concerns the role of collective identity. While some hold that a post-national form of identity is desirable in developing citizenship in contexts such as the European Union (EU), others question the defensibility of a collective identity at this supra-national level. The aim of this article is to intervene in this debate, drawing on qualitative research to consider the extent to which post-national citizenship should be accompanied by a form of post-national identity. The article takes the UK as a case study, and explores tensions between the immigration policies and rhetoric of the Coalition Government since 2010 and the post-national citizenship rights of EU citizens migrating into British local communities. It draws on independently collected qualitative data from the county of Herefordshire, UK, to argue that the persistent reinforcement of national identity reproduces national lines of difference which further problematise the full realisation of European citizenship. At a theoretical level, this highlights the need for the development of post-national citizenship rights to be accompanied by a paradigmatic shift in the way that collective identity is constituted in post-national contexts.

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Klär Erik

Potential economic variables and actual economic policies in Europe

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 1, January 2013 , 33-40

Ignoring for a moment the debate on whether balanced budget rules are a sensible idea from a macroeconomic point of view, there remains a major problem with tying one's fiscal policy to econometric estimates of potential variables: their notorious unreliability. With every one of its biannual economic forecasts, the EC provides revised estimates of structural



parameters that are crucial components of its macroeconomic models and, by extension, its economic policy advice. This article shows that the EC's econometric estimates of potential growth variables in Europe have been subject to massive revisions since the financial crisis.

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Kegelart J.J.

Pour une meilleure articulation de l'union européenne et de l'état national
in *Revue administrative (la)*, n. 392, 118-120

No abstract available

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Delors Jacques

Pour une nouvelle relance du marché unique

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 565, février, 71-72

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baumgartner Frank R.

Public Budgeting in the EU Commission. A Test of the Punctuated Equilibrium Thesis

in *Politique européenne*, n. 38, 2012/3, 124-153

We test a punctuated equilibrium model of budgeting in the context of the European Union. Compared either to the US or to the national systems of its member states, we know little about the impact of the institutional design of the EU on its internal budgeting processes. For one, we do not know whether the heterogeneous preferences of each member-state are likely to create friction or venue-shopping towards the EU Commission. This paper first describes European budgeting processes since the inception of the EU, taking into consideration the enlargement process. In a second section, we present European budgeting data to test models of friction, incrementalism, and punctuated equilibrium, drawing from a developing literature with US and European applications. The findings make clear that EU budgeting processes correspond to a punctuated equilibrium model of budgetary choice, as previous studies have recently shown for the US and many European member states.

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Sebastian Princen

Punctuated equilibrium theory and the European Union

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 6 2013, 854-870



This contribution discusses punctuated equilibrium theory (PET) and its application to European Union (EU) policy processes. It argues that PET includes two approaches, one that relies on case studies of individual issues and one that analyses overall distributions of policy change. Whereas the former approach has gained a strong foothold in studies of EU policy-making, application of the latter to the EU is still in its infancy. Because of its focus on the allocation of attention and the interplay of institutional and ideational factors, PET is well-suited to deal with the institutional and issue complexity inherent in EU policy-making. However, for this potential to be realized, PET needs to be applied to EU policy-making in a more systematic way than has so far been the case. This, in turn, has the potential to contribute to the further development of PET, as the EU offers a fertile testing ground for several outstanding issues in the theory.

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Calamia Pietro

Qualche riflessione sul futuro istituzionale dell'Unione Europea

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 279-284

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Král Richard

Questioning the Recent Challenge of the Czech Constitutional Court to the ECJ

in *European public Law*, Volume 19 - Issue 2 , 271–280

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Chacha Mwita

Regional attachment and support for European integration

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 14, n. 2, June , 206-227

The European Union has evolved into a system of multilevel governance. EU actions have facilitated the involvement of regional/subnational authorities in EU policy formulation and implementation, thus enabling a downward shift in competencies toward subnational authorities. In this article, I argue that regional attachment facilitates support for European integration. Specifically, I show that individuals holding inclusive regional attachment sentiments perceive EU policies that result in the empowerment of subnational authorities in a positive light. In the process, these individuals are more likely to be supportive of European integration. This article's findings contribute to the literature on public opinion and European integration by exploring regionalist sources of support for European integration. Moreover, these findings contribute to the growing research on the emergence of a 'Europe of the regions.'

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Bellamy Richard, Kröger Sandra

Representation Deficits and Surpluses in EU Policy-making

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 477-497

Representation and democracy are not always complementary. Sometimes the one undermines the other. Too much democracy can create a representation deficit, as occurs when majorities oppress or neglect minorities. However, the opposite can also arise. The over representation of different groups can undermine the processes whereby representatives are authorised by and accountable to those they are supposed to serve. The EU offers multiple channels of representation. In some respects, this multiplicity reflects the diversity of the peoples, individuals and interests represented within the EU. Yet in overcoming a potential representation deficit in EU policy-making, this arrangement leads to a representation surplus and creates a democratic deficit.

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Riekmann Sonja Puntscher, Wydra Doris

Representation in the European State of Emergency: Parliaments against Governments?

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 565-582

'If governments allow themselves to be entirely bound to the decisions of their parliament, without protecting their own freedom to act, a break up of Europe would be a more probable outcome than deeper integration.' The statement of the Italian Prime Minister and head of the so-called 'governo tecnico words have to be separated' is one remarkable instance for colliding visions of representation in EU member states affected by the financial crisis. It exposes an old problem of representation: that is, representation of the whole versus representation of the parts. National parliaments are called to endorse the European decisions of their governments and simultaneously to sell the sacrifices to their constituencies. This development is conducive to clashes between parliaments and governments. The collision occurs between governments representing the Euro and Europe and national parliaments representing national voters' interests.

Nevertheless in the period of analysis (2010–2012) the governments generally succeeded in commanding the majority needed to pass relevant legislation, whereby most intriguingly majorities were repeatedly formed by government and opposition parties. We are interested in the analysis of how this came about, how MPs argued over and negotiated the outcome. The hypothesis is twofold: First, we expect that despite reservations the majority consents because entrapped in a European discourse, building on arguments of how the rescue mechanisms are in the best European as well as national interests. Second, budget competence being the 'crown jewel' of parliaments these are anxious to keep control of decisions taken at the European level and have to be satisfied through side-payments or constitutional concessions strengthening their control function. To test our hypothesis we analysed parliamentary debates and negotiations of national parliaments in three member states: Germany, Italy and Austria.

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Herzog Bodo, Hengstermann Katja

Restoring Credible Economic Governance to the Eurozone



in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 33, Issue 1, February 2013 , 2-17

This paper discusses new institutional rules for a stable and lasting European Monetary Union (EMU). We propose a return to a strict and sustainable economic governance framework, which is mainly driven by market forces within a smart rule-based environment. Our recommendations are: (a) ex ante conditionalities with a tough monitoring process to avoid moral hazard in the future; (b) further enhancement of the Stability and Growth Pact; and (c) ultimo ratio punishment to be able to respond to the unique constellation of fiscal–monetary interaction and new rescue facilities. Countries violating fiscal rules for more than four years in a row will thus lose their fiscal sovereignty or will have to resign from the Eurozone. After fulfilling the ex ante conditionalities as well as all required criteria, the country either will recover its fiscal sovereignty, or, in case of exclusion, will be given the option to rejoin EMU under certain conditions.

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Barnier Michel

Restoring growth in the EU

in **Europe's World**, Issue 23, Spring

The eurozone crisis may be receding with long-term solutions coming into sight, but Europe's competitiveness and innovation weaknesses are still the major challenges. Michel Barnier, the EU's Single Market Commissioner looks at the steps being taken at EU level.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22071/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Firat Cengiz, Lars Hoffmann

Rethinking Conditionality: Turkey's European Union Accession and the Kurdish Question

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue 3, May 2013 , 416-432

This article assesses the recent developments in the Turkish democratic reform processes, particularly those affecting the Kurdish minority, induced by Turkey's ambition to accede to the European Union (EU). The analysis is rooted in the Europeanization literature, specifically the external incentives model. In addition to providing a systematic review of recent political developments in this area, the analysis leads us to question some of the model's basic premises. Most notably, it is found that credible EU commitment, rather than low adoption costs and weak veto players, has constituted a necessary and sufficient condition for the reform process. Likewise, there is a dynamic relationship between EU-induced democratic reforms and adoption costs that is largely overlooked in the existing literature.

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Leustean Lucian N.

Roman Catholicism, Diplomacy, and the European Communities, 1958–1964



in **Journal of Cold War Studies**, Volume 15, Issue 1 - Winter , 53-77

This article investigates the Roman Catholic Church's role in the process of European integration from the first Hallstein Commission in 1958 to the failure of the Holy See's application to establish a diplomatic representation at the European Economic Community in 1964. The article focuses on the Church's response toward emerging European institutions and shows that local mobilization in Luxembourg, Strasbourg, and Brussels was instrumental in shaping relations between the Catholic Church and the European Communities (EC). The Church's position toward the EC, placing local communities as prime actors in dialogue with European institutions, reflected the sensitive nature of religion during the Cold War

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Mihai Silviu

Rumänien und Bulgarien: Hoffen auf Europa

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 6-7, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/154388/rumaenien-und-bulgarien-hoffen-auf-europa

Kurz nach dem Beitritt Ihrer Länder zur Europäischen Union zum 1. Januar 2007 glaubten viele Rumänen und Bulgaren, dass sich ihre Hoffnungen auf blühende Landschaften schon bald erfüllen würden: Westeuropäische Investoren überfluteten die Wirtschaft mit Kapital, der Zugang zu Geldern aus EU-Fonds versprach eine rasche Lösung alter Infrastrukturprobleme. Moderne Autobahnen und Flughäfen konnten endlich gebaut werden, Eisenbahnstrecken, Schulen und Krankenhäuser wurden modernisiert, eine groß angelegte Aktion zur energetischen Sanierung alter Plattenbauten startete. Zahlreiche Windenergieprojekte wurden entwickelt, den größten Windpark auf europäischem Boden baute ein tschechisches Unternehmen in der Dobrudscha, an der rumänischen Schwarzmeerküste...

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Blot Christophe, Labondance Fabien

Réformer la zone euro: un retour d'expériences

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 566, mars , 140-147

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Giuseppe Guarino

Salvare l'Euro. Salvare l'Unione Europea

in **Nomos**, n. 3/2012



Note e Commenti Nomos 3-2012

SALVARE L'EURO. SALVARE L'UNIONE EUROPEA

di Giuseppe Guarino¹⁴⁸²;

Il valore di una moneta avente corso legale dipende dalla sua affidabilità. La gestione delle monete spetta normalmente a due autorità indipendenti, il Governo dello Stato e la Banca Centrale, dotate di poteri per governare l'economia del Paese in tutti i suoi aspetti e che operano in modo coordinato. L'affidabilità poggia sulla capacità delle due autorità di esercitare le loro congiunte attribuzioni, politiche e di lata discrezionalità, con saggezza e competenza tecnica. Devono garantire che della moneta non si faccia uso arbitrario e curare, a mezzo di un monitoraggio continuo, che la gestione della moneta si adegui agli interessi e ai bisogni della collettività e, pur soggiacendo alle inevitabili pressioni esterne, si contraddistingua per una consolidata caratterizzazione di stabilità. Modello di moneta affidabile e stabile è stato negli anni dal 1950 al 1991 il marco tedesco. Lo era e lo è tuttora il dollaro statunitense.

Con i due Trattati, l'Atto Unico europeo ed il Trattato sull'Unione europea, tra il 1992 ed il 1993 si creò un grande mercato unificato e si disciplinò una nuova moneta, l'euro. Si esclude la formazione di un unico governo, con autorità estesa all'intero mercato. Si optò per una soluzione di nuovo tipo.

L'analisi delle norme e degli atti dimostra conclusivamente che l'euro è stato gestito applicando principi privi di base giuridica certa.

Quanto ai risultati, i dati relativi ai tre maggiori Stati continentali dell'euro, Francia, Germania, Italia, che rappresentano i 2/5 della popolazione e i 3/5 del PIL, sono impietosi. Se alle incontestabili risultanze statistiche si aggiunge la constatazione che l'euro è privo di una chiara e solida base giuridica, si è costretti a prendere atto che si è in presenza di un pericolo grave che riguarda non più singoli Stati, ma l'euro come moneta e l'Unione nel suo complesso. A parte le responsabilità personali, diviene indispensabile che dai Governi nazionali si esiga, ed autonomamente dagli organi dell'Unione si disponga, perché in modo immediato e fattivo venga eliminata ogni incertezza. A questo effetto deve essere chiarito, in forma ufficiale, che la norma in vigore per la disciplina dei bilanci dei Paesi dell'Unione e della zona euro è unicamente quella dell'art. 126 del TFUE (Trattato di Lisbona) e che al dettato tassativo di tale norma d'ora in poi ci si atterrà con rigoroso scrupolo.

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Gröpl Christoph

Schritte zur Europäisierung des Haushaltsrechts

in Staat, vol. 52, issue 1, 1-25

ABSTRACT: Der Aufsatz analysiert zunächst die Asymmetrie der Kompetenzen von Europäischer Union und Mitgliedstaaten im Bereich von Wirtschafts- und Haushaltspolitik. Die im Stabilitäts- und Wachstumspakt aus dem Jahr 1997 durch die Definition von strikten Verschuldungsgrenzen auferlegten Beschränkungen wurden allerdings in der Vergangenheit regelmäßig verletzt. Mit der 2009 akut werdenden Eurokrise wurden für die notleidenden Staaten bilaterale und multilaterale Rettungsmaßnahmen eingeleitet, welche im Hinblick auf den im vertraglich festgelegten Haftungsausschluss von EU und Mitgliedstaaten für andere Staaten als europarechtlich zumindest zweifelhaft angesehen werden müssen. Durch die Änderung von Art. 136 des Vertrags über die Arbeitsweise der EU soll eine vertragsrechtliche Grundlage geschaffen werden für Instrumente, die allerdings im Wesentlichen außerhalb der EU angesiedelt sind. Der Aufsatz untersucht die verfassungsrechtlichen Implikationen unter Heranziehung der Rechtsprechung des Bundesverfassungsgerichts und kommt zur Feststellung, dass eine Fiskalunion sich auch nicht über eine Verfassungsänderung herbeiführen lässt, vielmehr bedarf es dazu einer neuen Verfassung, weil Deutschland einen Teil seiner Staatlichkeit verlöre.



Es werden die flankierenden Maßnahmen der Europäischen Union bzw. ihrer Mitgliedstaaten zur Stabilisierung der Wahrung und der Haushalte dargestellt wie „Six-Pack“, Euro-Plus und Fiskalpakt, letzterer ein völkerrechtlicher Vertrag, der innerhalb der deutschen Rechtsordnung auf der Stufe einfachen Gesetzesrechts steht, allerdings ähnlich wie die EMRK zur Verfassungsauslegung herangezogen werden kann.

Im Ergebnis wird festgehalten, dass die genannten Maßnahmen die Gefahr einer Entparlamentarisierung verstärken, was in Deutschland durch die Rechtsprechung des Bundesverfassungsgerichts teilweise aufgefangen wird.

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Tabau Anne-Sophie

Shared Accountability of the European Union and its Member States in the Climate Change Regime

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Assessing Progress in International Environmental Law, April , 91-102

This article addresses the distribution of accountability between the European Union (EU) and its Member States under the current and future climate regime. Belonging to a field of shared competence between the EU and its Member States, the climate regime is characterized by ‘mixed agreements’, not distinguishing between the obligations of the EU and its Member States. This raises the question of how to determine who is accountable in case of non-compliance. Under the current regime, there is a joint and proportional accountability rule regarding the European common emission reduction target. This rule is well suited to the nature of the EU, and should therefore be maintained in the next climate agreement. For other commitments, third parties, the Secretariat of the Climate Change Convention and the Kyoto Protocol Compliance Committee enjoy a margin of discretion to evaluate whether it is pragmatic to address non-compliance with regard to only the Member State concerned or to involve the EU in the process. This approach, favouring a return to compliance, also appears adapted to the EU. Indeed, an ad hoc intra-European mechanism allows for the identification of the actor actually accountable. To avoid holding the EU as a whole accountable while the entity actually accountable is a Member State or the EU, some intra-European actions for recovery are available to the EU, its Member States and even private persons.

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Kočenda Evžen, Maurel Mathilde, Schnabl Gunther

Short- and Long-term Growth Effects of Exchange Rate Adjustment

in Review of International Economics, Volume 21, Issue 1, February 2013 , 137-150

The European sovereign debt crisis revived the discussion concerning pros and cons of exchange rate adjustment in the face of asymmetric shocks. In the spirit of Keynes, exit from the euro area is to regain rapidly international competitiveness. In the spirit of Schumpeter, exchange rate stability with structural reforms would be beneficial towards the long-run growth performance. Previous literature has estimated the average growth of countries with different degrees of exchange rate flexibility. This literature is augmented by analyzing short- and long-term growth effects of exchange rate flexibility in a panel-cointegration framework for a sample of 60 countries clustered in five country groups. The estimations show that countries with a high degree of exchange rate stability exhibit a higher long-term growth performance. It is shown that the degree of business cycle synchronization with the anchor country matters for the impact of exchange rate flexibility on growth.



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De Bernardin Sandro

Sicurezza e cooperazione in Europa: prospettive e criticità dal Baltico al Caucaso

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 80, n. 1, gennaio-marzo

No abstract available

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Mappes-Niediek Norbert

Slowenien am Ende des Sonderwegs

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2013 , 17-20

Während die Schuldenkrise in Zypern mehr schlecht als recht bewältigt wurde, geriet als nächster Kandidat für den Euro-Rettungsschirm Slowenien in den Blickpunkt. Um dem Land das Diktat einer Troika zu ersparen, hat Sloweniens neue Premierministerin Alenka Bratušek bereits angekündigt, rasch große Unternehmen und eine der großen Banken privatisieren zu wollen. Was immer daraus wird in einer Zeit, die für derlei Vorhaben schlechter nicht sein könnte: Der slowenische Sonderweg ist damit am Ende, wenigstens der bewusst gewählte.

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Münichsdorfer Olaf

Sozialausstieg auf Europäisch

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2013 , 21-23

In den Medien war es allenfalls eine Randnotiz: Kurz vor Weihnachten ist ein weiterer Versuch, die dringend erforderliche EU-Arbeitszeitrichtlinie zu reformieren, kläglich gescheitert. Während die Staats- und Regierungschefs wieder einmal über die Eurokrise debattierten, konnten die europäischen Sozialpartner, Kapitalbesitzer und Arbeitnehmer, sich auch nach einem Jahr Verhandlungen nicht darüber verständigen, den weitreichenden Ausnahmebestimmungen der bestehenden Richtlinie ein Ende zu setzen. Damit steht es den europäischen Unternehmen auch weiterhin frei, ihre bereits zehnjährige Praxis fortzusetzen, durch individuelle Vertragsverhandlungen und Tarifvereinbarungen EU-Regeln konsequent zu unterwandern.

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Vasileiadou Eleftheria, Tuinstra Willemijn

Stakeholder consultations: mainstreaming climate policy in the Energy Directorate?



in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 3, Special Issue: Climate Change: Ethics, Rights and Policies, May , 475-495

Investigation of the conditions under which formal stakeholder consultations of the Directorate General Energy of the European Commission can help integrate climate change policy in energy policy in the European Union suggests that stakeholder consultations that aim at producing soft law and binding recommendations are rather insular, have low diversity of participants, and do not integrate climate change issues. Forums that aim at providing a discussion platform have higher diversity and integrate climate change issues to a certain extent. Stakeholder consultations can facilitate climate policy integration in European Union energy policy, as they take place early in the policy process. However, integration requires political commitment, and a concrete structure and format of the consultations that would facilitate integration.

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Uhl Susanne

Steuern und Handlungsfähigkeit in Deutschland und Europa

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 10-11, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/155717/steuern-und-handlungsfahigkeit-in-deutschland-und-europa

Dieser Beitrag hatte im Laufe seiner Entstehungsgeschichte mindestens drei verschiedene Einleitungen. Sie alle sind meinem Unbehagen angesichts aktueller Schlagzeilen, die Europa betreffen, zum Opfer gefallen. Denn keinesfalls möchte dieser Beitrag Europaskeptikern Vorschub leisten, nach dem Motto "Man muss die Entscheidungsmacht unseres Landes stärken, selbst wenn dies jene von Europa begrenzt". Auch möchte ich keine Position bestärken, die Europas "Weg in die Depression" forciert. Wie aber könnte eine Einleitung, die sich mit Steuern befasst, Europaskepsis verstärken? Zum Beispiel so: "Steuern: Kommission verklagt Deutschland beim Europäischen Gerichtshof wegen diskriminierender Steuervorschriften für stille Reserven" oder auch "Steuern: Kommission verklagt Deutschland wegen diskriminierender Erbschaftsteuerbestimmungen". Wahrscheinlich würde man denken: "Was macht die da, die Kommission? Steuern gehören zum Kernbestand nationaler staatlicher Souveränität." Unter Umständen würden die folgenden Absätze kaum mehr Beachtung finden: In denen ich zu erläutern versuche, dass die EU-Kommission das sehr wohl darf, dass dies angesichts des europäischen Binnenmarktes auch folgerichtig ist, dass es aber durchaus realpolitische Alternativen zur konkreten Form gibt, wie sich Europa steuerpolitisch entwickelt – und dass die Bürgerinnen und Bürger Europas sich darum kümmern und die "Egal-Stimmung" überwinden sollten...

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James P. Cross

Striking a pose: Transparency and position taking in the Council of the European Union

in **European Journal of Political Research**, Volume 52, Issue 3 , 291–315



In recent years, transparency (or the lack thereof) has become a central concern of the European Union and its attempts to increase the democratic legitimacy of the legislative decision-making process. The claim regularly made is that increasing transparency increases the potential for holding decision makers to account. This study investigates the manner in which transparency in the decision-making process affects the policy positions taken by negotiators at the outset of negotiations. The findings presented suggest that increasing transparency tends to lead to polarisation of negotiations, with negotiators taking more extreme positions when they know that their positions can be observed by outside parties. The implication of this result is that advocates of transparency should be aware that there is an inherent trade-off between increasing transparency, on the one hand, and increasing the incentives to grandstand during negotiations, on the other.

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Schlenker Andrea

Support for the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe before and after Accession. Comparing Different Reasons

in *Politique européenne*, n. 38, 2012/3, 94-121

This article analyses the importance of different attitudinal sources of generalized support for the European Union in eight member states in Central and Eastern Europe before and after accession. Instrumental calculations, normative evaluations as well as expressive feelings are key explanatory factors. The results of multiple regression analyses using Eurobarometer data from 2003 to 2006 reveal that the importance of instrumental reasons as predictors for generalized support decreases after accession, while the explanatory power of normative and expressive considerations is constant. The importance of norms and feelings should thus not be underestimated in the new member states.

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Collowald Paul

Sur les chemins d'une Europe encore inachevée...

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 366, 2012/4, 31-35

Tout se joue dans les commencements. Paul Valéry C'est avec une certaine émotion que j'ai pris ma plume pour répondre à l'invitation de L'Europe en formation qui souhaitait mon « témoignage sur l'évolution des relations franco-allemandes » à l'occasion du 50 anniversaire du traité de l'Élysée. Sur un parcours européen de...

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Switzerland and the EU: the puzzling effects of Europeanisation without institutionalisation

in *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 19, Issue 2, 190-202

Switzerland is not a member of the EU and in 1992 refused to join the European Economic Area (EEA) treaty in a



popular vote. A conservative majority preferred to keep utmost national autonomy, and consequently, relations between the EU and Switzerland are regulated by a series of bilateral treaties. This process of Europeanisation without institutionalisation has led to profound changes of Swiss politics over the last two decades. While many effects of economic liberalisation and internationalisation are similar to those found in EU countries, some specific problems like the acceleration of immigration present rising social conflict. Social cleavages between urban and rural regions, and between capital and labour are deepening. The continuous rise of the conservative nationalist Swiss People's Party and the growing polarisation between the political Right and Left have put the traditional political culture of accommodation and power sharing at risk. Twenty years after the No-vote on the EEA-treaty, Switzerland is a divided country. Why do Swiss politicians still practice consensus democracy, and what does the divide mean for the future relations between the EU and Switzerland?

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Dyson Kenneth

Sworn to Grim Necessity? Imperfections of European Economic Governance, Normative Political Theory, and Supreme Emergency

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 207-222

This contribution examines the Euro Area crisis and European economic governance reforms through a less technocratic lens. It argues for the need to reframe debate around foundation issues in normative legal and political theory. The defining issue is supreme emergency. The credibility of its capacity to act in supreme emergency is of existential significance for the Euro Area. At the same time this capacity poses is bound up with basic legitimacy issues. In particular, it involves ultimately contentious requirements for supranational executive discretion, including credible contingent commitments to take exceptional measures. Meeting these requirements exposed a power vacuum within the Euro Area, consequent on domestic political constraints. This vacuum was filled—if reluctantly—by the European Central Bank. However, difficult legitimacy issues remain. They leave open the credibility of the ECB contingent commitment to act in supreme emergency.

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Russell Foster

Tabula Imperii Europae: A Cartographic Approach to the Current Debate on the European Union as Empire in Geopolitics, Volume 18, Issue 2 , 371-402

Maps are much more than geographic tools. They are powerful visual icons of statehood and identity. Created by agents tainted by their own historical subjectivity, maps are saturated with multiple levels of meaning, while their perceived status as accurate scientific tools lends them an authority which the map-reader is not meant to question. This paper examines maps from a Gadamerian hermeneutic perspective to investigate the layers of meaning embedded into these unquestioned, hypnotic emblems, and proposes that the maps produced and displayed by the European Union on its websites and in its continental currency are texts imbued with powerful imperial imaginations which reify a sense of collective identity and apparent superiority. This imagination is entwined with the territory of Europe and ultimately defines what it is to be European through the exclusion of 'the Other' – those Europeans deemed unworthy of inclusion in the European imperium. Ultimately, the paper argues that maps of the Union reflect a subconscious – yet gradually



emerging – imagination of Empire.

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Christoph Hönnige, Diana Panke

The Committee of the Regions and the European Economic and Social Committee: How Influential are Consultative Committees in the European Union?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 3, May 2013 , 452-471

The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) and the Committee of the Regions (CoR) are two advisory bodies of the European Union involved in a broad array of policy areas. However, little is known about the effects of the two committees on the positions of the other institutions or final policy outcomes. This article investigates to what extent and under what conditions the CoR and the EESC can exert influence. Based on a comprehensive survey conducted in 2010, a series of hypotheses derived from a neo-institutionalism framework are tested. It is found that consultative committees are not very influential overall. Nevertheless, they can exert influence under certain scope conditions, including the speed with which they produce recommendations, the quality of the recommendations and the resonance with the addressees' prior beliefs.

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Patomäki Heikki

The Cosmopolitan Future of the European Union?

in *Politico (II)*, n. 231, 2012 , 129-146

ABSTRACT: What kind of EU will take shape after the euro crisis of the early 2010s and its possible (and likely) partial fragmentation? In this paper, I develop three scenarios, based on economic theories and theories of legitimation that seems to provide the most plausible explanation for the past developments. According to the first scenario, the neoliberal European project will continue and deepen. In the second scenario, the EU will develop into a social democratic federation of states and a world power. In the third scenario the EU will pursue transformations of global governance and promote democratic and social goals, understanding itself as part of a much wider dynamic whole. The first scenario is about continuity to the prevailing developments, but its prognosis is not good. A social democratic federal European Union would prevent a simple repeat of the current EU euro crisis, and would also solve a few other contradictions in the European political economy. The EU is, however, only a relatively small part of the world economy as a whole. Moreover, generalized principles of justification point in the direction of world citizenship and a global political community. A cosmopolitan European Union would act foremost as a builder of worldwide institutions, its immediate goal being the establishment of global Keynesianism.

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Torres Francisco

The EMU's Legitimacy and the ECB as a Strategic Political Player in the Crisis Context

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 287-300



The sovereign debt crisis made it clear that, to be sustainable and serve its initial purpose (notably price stability), EMU would require enhanced policy coordination, increased sovereignty- and risk-sharing and further centralisation at the EU level of various competencies. In the crisis context, the ECB has emerged as an anchor of stability and confidence within a highly fragmented political system. It started to focus on the sustainability of EMU as its foremost objective, engaging in more active (and non-standard) policies and wider economic policy debates than otherwise required from a traditional central bank. This article departs from a gap in the literature with respect to the legitimacy of delegations to a supranational and independent institution like the ECB. It adopts an interdisciplinary view, bringing together various concepts (broad categories) of legitimacy and various types constraints that the common monetary authorities face. The framework is applied to examine the ECB's rationale to act strategically and its quest to legitimate its strategic political role through a renewed monetary dialogue with the EP.

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Bachmann Veit

The EU's civilian/power dilemma

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 11, n. 4, July, 458-480

ABSTRACT: This article exposes the dilemma between the EU's civilian geopolitical model and its role as a dominant geoeconomic power. While the success of the European model for political-economic organisation and for overcoming war is appealing, the EU's external relations frequently fail to avoid the traps of Europe's imperial past (and present), thus undermining the EU's credibility and legitimacy in international development policy. This article therefore argues for a critical engagement with views on the EU from the outside. It draws on qualitative fieldwork on EU development policy in East Africa and illustrates how such external perceptions sometimes differ considerably from dominant European ones articulated in official EU geopolitical discourse.

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ANDREAS BIELER

The EU, Global Europe, and processes of uneven and combined development: the problem of transnational labour solidarity

in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 39 - Issue 01, 161-183

In 2006, the European Union launched its new free trade strategy Global Europe with the explicit goal of increasing European competitiveness. This article explores the positions of trade unions and other social movements on Global Europe. Importantly, while Northern social movements and trade unions from the Global South reject Global Europe due to its impact of deindustrialisation on developing countries, European trade unions support it in so far as it opens up new markets for the export of European manufactured goods. It will be argued that this has to be understood against the background of the dynamics underlying the global economy and here in particular uneven and combined development. Due to the uneven integration of different parts of the world into the global economy, workers in developed countries may actually benefit from free trade, while workers in the Global South are more likely to lose out. It will, however, also be argued that while these different positions within the social relations of production are shaping the position of trade unions, they do not determine them. Over time, through direct engagement, trade unions in the North and South may be able to establish relations of transnational solidarity.



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Finel-Honigman Irene

**The EU's banking union is far from cut and dried
in *Europe's World*, Issue 24, Summer**

With less than a year in which to agree on the divisive elements that will make up its banking union, Irene Finel-Honigman sets out the obstacle course that EU governments will have to complete by the end of 2013.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22137/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Bekemans Léonce

**The Educational-Cultural Dimension of Renewing European Citizenship
in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 10, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 83-110**

ABSTRACT: L'Europa è oggi caratterizzata da un apparente processo contraddittorio di aumento della diversità, unificazione della governance e indebolimento della credibilità in un contesto in via di globalizzazione. Non è comunque completamente attrezzata con la corretta architettura istituzionale per far fronte alle sfide economiche, politiche, sociali e culturali dell'attuale crisi sistemica e per ispirare una spinta motivazionale per il suo futuro. Considerevoli trasformazioni socio-culturali stanno mettendo alla prova il posto e il ruolo dell'educazione nell'attuale contesto europeo e globale. Per rispondere alle sfide delle società frammentate, è necessaria una nuova cultura per l'educazione e la cittadinanza, allo scopo di rafforzare le fondamenta spirituali dell'Europa e di dare al cittadino il suo giusto posto all'interno dell'UE. L'educazione ai vari livelli di apprendimento formale, informale e non formale, promuove una cultura di pace, comprensione e dialogo che dovrebbe condurre a una cittadinanza attiva e responsabile nell'UE, radicata in un futuro europeo guidato dai valori.

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Heather Elko McKibben

**The Effects of Structures and Power on State Bargaining Strategies
in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 57, Issue 2 , 411-427**

When and why will states adopt more (or less) cooperative bargaining strategies? Standard answers to this question focus on the role of state power. Other scholars highlight socialization effects. I argue that in most international negotiations, the institutional bargaining structure will mitigate the effects of power and socialization, and drive state bargaining behavior. Factors highlighted by formal models of international bargaining should therefore best explain the variation in the strategies states adopt. I introduce empirical measures of these abstract concepts, and test their effects against those of power and socialization using an original dataset of state bargaining strategies in the European Union



(EU). The results show that structural factors best explain variation in the EU states' bargaining strategies. I conclude by highlighting the conditions under which these effects should explain state bargaining behavior in other international negotiations, and discuss the implications of this argument for the study of international bargaining.

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Darvas Zsolt

The Euro Crisis: Mission Accomplished?

in *World Policy Journal*, vol. 30, n. 1, march , 87-94

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Erik Jones

The Euro Crisis: No Plan B

in *Survival*, Volume 55, Issue 3 , 81-94

No abstract available

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Schulmeister Stephan

The European Monetary Fund. A systemic problem needs a systemic solution

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/1 (N° 127) , 389-424

The deepening of the debt crisis in the euro area is due to three systemic causes which national governments are not able to overcome on their own. First, being members of a monetary union euro states cannot dampen or even reverse the rise in public debt through devaluations. At the same time, they have no access to funds from a national central bank. Second, under "finance-capitalistic" framework conditions, speculators systematically exploit and strengthen the fiscal troubles in the weakest countries by driving up CDS premia and interest rates to unsustainable levels. This development might transform a liquidity crisis into a solvency crisis. Third, these speculative activities widen the interest rate differentials within the euro area drastically thereby endangering the economic and political cohesion of the EMU and even of the EU.

A systemic solution which restores the primacy of politics over speculation needs to stabilize interest rates for all euro countries. It is proposed to transform the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) into an agency for financing euro states, the European Monetary Fund (EMF). It would provide governments with financial means by selling Eurobonds. These bonds are guaranteed by all euro countries to an unlimited extent. The EMF would stabilize Eurobond interest rates at a level slightly below the level of medium-term economic growth (in nominal terms). The Eurobonds are held by investors with the EMF, they are not tradable but can be liquidated at any time. The EMF helps to restore sound public finances in euro countries in close cooperation with the ECB, the European Commission and national governments. To this end, the EMF provides funds for the euro states according to clear criteria ("conditionality") which are not exclusively restrictive.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kaeding Michael , Hardacre Alan

The European Parliament and the Future of Comitology after Lisbon
in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 382–403

The history of comitology—the system of implementation committees that control the Commission in the execution of delegated powers—has been characterised by institutional tensions. The crux of these tensions has often been the role of the European Parliament and its quest to be granted powers equal to those of the Council. This process came to a head with the 2006 Comitology reform and the introduction of the regulatory procedure with scrutiny (RPS). After just over three years of experience with the RPS procedure, the Treaty of Lisbon has made it redundant through the creation of Delegated Acts (Article 290 TFEU). This article aims to evaluate the practical implications that Delegated Acts will entail for the Parliament, principally by using the experience with the RPS to better understand the challenges ahead. This analysis will be of interest to those following the study of comitology, formal and informal inter-institutional relations and also to practitioners who will have to work with Delegated Acts in the future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Doluca Hasan

The European Redemption Pact. An illustrative guide
in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/1 (N° 127) , 341-367

The European Redemption Pact (ERP), a proposal of the German Council of Economic Experts, describes an exit strategy from the debt crisis which currently plagues the euro area. The pact includes a binding commitment of all participating countries to bring public debt ratios below the reference value of 60% within the next 20 to 25 years. To ensure that this objective can be reached with realistic primary balances, participating countries can transfer their excessive debt exceeding the 60% threshold at a certain date, into a redemption fund for which participating member countries are jointly and severally liable. In this technical paper, we describe in detail one possible way of implementing the ERP and the primary balances each country would need to achieve under the proposal.

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Dimiter Toshkov, Laura de Haan

The Europeanization of asylum policy: an assessment of the EU impact on asylum applications and recognitions rates
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 5 2013 , 661-683

Asylum policy in the European nation-states has been a subject of increasing influence from the European Union over the last 12 years since the call for the establishment of a Common European Asylum System. This article presents an assessment of the EU impact on the asylum policy outcomes in the 27 member states, Norway and Switzerland. The



article focuses on three central hypotheses about the effects of Europeanization – a race to the bottom, convergence and burden sharing. Using aggregate and origin-specific asylum data for the period 1999–2010 provided by the UNHCR, we show that the increasing Europeanization of asylum policy has not resulted in a race to the bottom in which asylum recognition rates and the numbers of admitted refugees have eroded. Contrary to existing literature, we find some evidence for convergence of the overall asylum recognition rates but important national differences in the recognition of applicants from the same country of origin persist. Europeanization has not led to more equal distribution of the applications and recognitions of asylum status in Europe. Overall, the EU has had only a limited impact on the changes in asylum policy outcomes.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Agnantopoulos Apostolos

The Europeanization of national foreign policy: explaining Greek support for Turkey's EU accession in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 13, n. 1, April , 67-87

Europeanization has been a fashionable term over the last decade. However, when it comes to foreign policy, extant work has produced inconsistent findings and few theoretical insights. This paper aims to fill this gap by constructing a synthetic theory which integrates into a 'thick rationalist' approach four mechanisms of Europeanization identified in the literature (policy adaptation, normative framing, differential empowerment, diplomatic coordination), and specifies a set of mediating conditions that can explain variations in the scope and direction of Europeanization. This theory is used in order to explain why Greece has become, since 1999, an active and solid supporter of Turkey's European Union (EU) membership prospect.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Federico Fabbrini

The Fiscal Compact, the "Golden Rule" and the Paradox of European Federalism in Boston College International and Comparative Law Review, vol. 36, issue 1 , 1-38

This Article analyzes the central provision of the recently en-acted Fiscal Compact, which directs member states of the European Union (EU) to incorporate into their constitutions a "golden rule"—that is, a requirement that yearly budgets be balanced. The purpose of the Article is to examine—by surveying the introduction of these pervasive budgetary constraints in four selected EU member states (Germany, France, Italy and Spain)—the institutional implications that the "golden rule" has on the role of the political and judicial branches, both in the states and in the EU as a whole. The Article argues that, while the domestic effects of the "golden rule" are likely to vary from one state to another, the Fiscal Compact systematically enhances the powers of the EU institutions to direct and police the budgetary policies of EU member states, thus increasing centralization in the EU architecture of economic governance. The Article then contrasts this development with the federal experience of the United States. A comparative perspective sheds light on the fact that, while most U.S. states are also endowed with constitutional "golden rules," the federal government never played a role in their adoption and is barred from interfering with the budgetary processes of the states. In conclusion, the Article suggests that an unexpected paradox emerges in the new constitutional architecture of the EU: Although in crafting the institutional response to the Euro-zone crisis state governments have repeatedly discarded a U.S.-like federal model as being too centralized and centripetal for the EU, they have ended up establishing a regime that is much less respectful



of state sovereignty than the U.S. federal system.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Jančić Davor

The French Parliament: A European Scrutineer or National Actor?

in *European public Law*, Volume 19 - Issue 1 , 129–159

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sidjanski Dusan

The Functioning of the Eurozone within the Framework of the European Union

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 1, March

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/borderless-debate/item/822-the-functioning-of-the-eurozone-within-the-framework-of-the-european-union>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Truger Achim, Will Henner

The German “debt brake”: a shining example for European fiscal policy?

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/1 (N° 127) , 153-188

Many observers consider the German “debt brake” beyond criticism. In the current crisis, many European countries have difficulties refinancing their budgets, while the German Treasury’s funding conditions are most favourable. The “fiscal compact’s” call for the introduction of German-style “debt brakes” in the constitutions of other countries in order to rebuild their credibility on financial markets therefore might seem reasonable. However, there are several reasons to doubt the underlying (macro-) economic reasoning. Two specific problems of the German debt brake are analysed in greater detail: Firstly, the German rule is neither simple nor transparent. The calculation of structural deficits is a complex matter highly sensitive to specification and therefore open to political manipulation. Secondly, the debt brake will ultimately have a pro-cyclical effect because of the way the commonly used cyclical adjustment method works. This will, as a result, destabilise the economy. The German debt brake can therefore hardly serve as a good example for other countries.

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Panagiotou Ritsa

The Greek crisis as a crisis of EU enlargement: how will the Western Balkans be affected?

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 13, n. 1, April , 89-104



The European Union's enlargement towards the Western Balkans may be facing its most difficult challenge since its launch in Zagreb in 2000. The prospect of Balkan enlargement has been hard-hit by the deterioration of the European economy, and particularly the Greek sovereign debt crisis, as the countries of the region have been deeply affected by the shock waves emanating from Greece. The negative repercussions include a deterioration of their economies, their prospects for growth, their capacity for reform, their social, political and institutional structures, and their ability to fulfil the accession criteria. Crucially, the EU's hitherto undisputable symbolic role as an 'anchor' of stability, as a one-way path to prosperity and as a goal to be aspired to, may be losing its credibility and appeal for some of these countries.

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Tabarelli Marco

The Influence of the EU and the ECHR on 'Parliamentary Sovereignty Regimes': Assessing the Impact of European Integration on the British and Swedish Judiciaries

in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 340–363

the paper analyses the consequences of European integration processes upon the judicial systems of the so-called 'parliamentary sovereignty regimes', focusing on the British and Swedish judiciaries. The aim is to understand if the influences coming from European integration, favouring the expansion of domestic judicial power, have prevailed, or the traditional distrust of such countries in judicial power has prevented the empowerment of the domestic courts. The influences on the judicial systems are evaluated distinguishing judicial capacity, judicial attitudes and judicial independence. The paper argues that the political relevance of judges has strongly increased. However, while European integration has deeply transformed the formal means at disposal of judges, because of political and judicial culture the changes in actual judges' behaviour have been much more limited. Moreover, the paper highlights some unexpected ways in which European integration can affect the domestic political systems (eg favouring certain legislative reforms or legal principles).

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Hodson Dermot

The Little Engine that Wouldn't: Supranational Entrepreneurship and the Barroso Commission

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 301-314

This paper seeks to evaluate and explain the degree of supranational entrepreneurship shown by the European Commission following the global financial crisis. Focusing on the period 2007–2011, it finds that the Commission used its right of initiative and/or mobilised ideas and information to pursue a supranational European Union (EU) economic policy in few cases. These findings are explained with reference to strategic entrepreneurship, that is the Commission's reluctance to support integrationist initiatives unless they stand a chance of success, and by the fact that partisanship took precedence for the EU executive over the pursuit of integration in some cases. The Commission could yet capitalise on the crisis but its actions in this period call for greater attention by scholars to preference formation by supranational actors as well as a reconsideration of what it means for the EU executive to lead.

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Mario Kölling

The Multiannual Financial Framework 2014-20 – Best European value for less money?
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 4, issue 3 , 26-49

The eurozone crisis has made budgetary issues the focal point of political and public debates about the European Union. Besides the pessimistic context and conflictive nature of the ongoing negotiation of the multiannual financial framework 2014-20, there seems to be a common ground to work towards an EU Budget that contributes to growth and employment in line with the Europe 2020 strategy. If this common understanding materialises, then this would not only be a major step to convert the budget into an instrument to overcome the crisis but also change the nature of the communitarian budget. In this article, I analyse the principal conflictive topics as well as the negotiation positions and proposals of the main actors in order to present the current state of the negotiation of the MFF 2014–20. I will specifically analyse the preferences of the main actors.

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Levi Lucio

The Nobel Peace Prize to the European Union
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 1, March

The Nobel Peace Prize award to the EU, in a moment in which one of the most serious crises of its history is in progress, has a double meaning. On the one hand, it represents the recognition that the most important achievement of European unification is peace. On the other, it underlines that, owing to the unaccomplished character of the construction of the European Union, that precious good can be lost, and therefore the time has come to bring the project to conclusion. The implicit warning in the prize communiqué is that it is necessary to give to the European institutions the powers that would allow them to defeat the disintegration forces and overcome the democratic deficit.

<http://www.federalistdebate.org/index.php/editorial/item/807-the-nobel-peace-prize-to-the-european-union>

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Langford Lillian M.

The Other Euro Crisis: Rights Violations Under the Common European Asylum System and the Unraveling of EU Solidarity
in *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, vol. 26, issue 1 , 217-264

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Lord Christopher, Pollak Johannes

The Pitfalls of Representation as Claims-Making in the European Union



in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 517-530

Standard accounts assume that representatives are authorised and held accountable through elections in territorially defined constituencies. In contrast, claims-making approaches hold that representation does not always depend on an electoral connection. This paper argues that the claims-making approach addresses some of the difficulties in the standard account, but remains itself theoretically underspecified. This becomes especially clear when applied to systems with exceptional institutional complexity like the EU. As an alternative to both those other approaches, the paper proposes a revised claims-making approach in which rights claims are used to specify representative claims. It then shows how rights claims do, indeed, play an important role in the representative claims that are made in the European Union arena, and how that, in turn, allows the Union to deal with some of the problems of applying standard forms of representation to its decision-making.

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Zahariadis Nikolaos

The Politics of Risk-sharing: Fiscal Federalism and the Greek Debt Crisis

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 271-285

Focusing on the ability of financial markets to discipline state economic performance, EU fiscal federalism specifies three conditions that need to be met for it to work effectively: clear market signals, no bailout, and corrective action driven by central rules and implemented by domestic populations. While some conditions have obviously not been met in the European response to the Greek sovereign debt crisis (2009–2012), evidence suggests the explanatory power of fiscal federalism is surprisingly robust. The study raises concerns with risk-sharing in EU economic governance and has implications for theories of EU institution-building.

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Gómez-Reino Margarita, Llamazares Iván

The Populist Radical Right and European Integration: A Comparative Analysis of Party–Voter Links

in *West European Politics*, vol. 36, n. 4 , 789-816

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the links between populist radical right parties and their voters regarding European integration in 11 European countries. It does so by using data from the 2008 European Social Survey and the 2006 UNC-Chapel Hill Expert Data Base on political parties and European integration. In addition to mapping the Eurosceptic orientations of political parties and their voters, the article examines the degree to which attitudes towards the EU and voting for populist radical parties are connected to each other. The results lend support to the hypothesis that most populist radical right parties have managed to establish links with their voters regarding European integration. The analysis also shows that links between populist radical right parties and their voters tend to be stronger for those parties that adopt more extreme negative positions towards European integration.

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Lenaerts Koen

The Principle Of Democracy In The Case Law Of The European Court Of Justice
in *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* , Volume 62 - Issue 02

This article seeks to explore the way in which the Court of Justice of the European Union ('CJEU') has interpreted and applied the principle of democracy. It examines first the democratization process upon which the EU has embarked since the adoption of the Treaty of Maastricht and how that transformation was a positive reaction to those voices arguing that the EU suffers from a 'democratic deficit'. Next, it is argued that the CJEU has understood the principle of democracy in a way which is respectful of the two sources of democratic legitimacy at EU level, namely the Member States and the peoples of Europe. Accordingly, that understanding of the principle of democracy is illustrated by some relevant examples taken from the case law of the CJEU and the European General Court ('EGC'). Those examples show that the CJEU has strived to protect the prerogatives of the European Parliament, the only political institution of the EU whose members have, since 1979, been elected for a term of five years by direct universal suffrage in a free and secret ballot. Yet, they also show that the principle of democracy is not limited to protecting parliamentary prerogatives. That principle, like all EU constitutional principles, pervades the whole of EU law and, as such, must be read in light of societal changes. As democracy within the EU is not limited to the participation by the European Parliament in the legislative process but also encompasses other forms of governance, in particular rule-making by administrative agencies and the achievement of consensus by social partners, it is for the EU judiciary to make sure that those other forms of governance remain as democratic as possible. This can be achieved, inter alia, by making sure that they enjoy sufficient representation or are subject to parliamentary control. Furthermore, the CJEU and the EGC also take into account new mechanisms which seek to strengthen the principle of democracy, such as the principle of transparency. In so doing, they aim to enhance the democratic legitimacy of the EU by providing sufficient means for EU citizens to hold their representatives accountable. Finally, it is contended that the principle of democracy, as interpreted by the CJEU, draws inspiration from national democracies. In so doing, the CJEU strives to place national and supranational democracies in a mutually reinforcing relationship.

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Domurath Irina

The Three Dimensions of Solidarity in the EU Legal Order: Limits of the Judicial and Legal Approach
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 4 , 459-475

Solidarity is an important idea behind European integration. The Lisbon Treaty advanced the understanding of the concept by establishing three dimensions: solidarity between member states, member states and individuals, and between generations. However, the knowledge about solidarity is incomplete and its conceptualization in the EU legal order needs to be further developed. This article aims at deepening the knowledge about solidarity in the EU by eliciting its rationales and scope of application. It will be concluded that solidarity is developed to different extent in different fields of law. It is most advanced in socio-economic law, but underdeveloped in areas of law that are new to the EU legal order: solidarity in the event of environmental disasters and solidarity with future generations. Reasons for the different



depths of solidarity will be elicited, as well as possible means to overcome inhibitors to transnational solidarity.

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Issing Otmar

**The case for political union isn't convincing
in Europe's World**, Issue 24, Summer

Although one of the architects of EMU, Otmar Issing explains why he is sceptical about the practicalities and benefits of the centralisation that the EU's political union would imply.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22139/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brack Nathalie, Costa Olivier

**The challenges of territorial representation at the supranational level: The case of French MEPs
in French Politics**, Volume 11, Issue 1, April 2013 , 1-23

Even though the territorial dimension of the European representative mandate may be a key element for European Union's legitimization, it remains overlooked in academic literature. This article explores this statement by analysing the EP's French delegation, which includes several interesting features with regard to territorial representation. The article is structured around three research questions: how do French Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) deal with the territorial dimension of their mandate? Why are there some variations regarding focus of representation? To what extent does their focus of representation affect their role orientation? Relying on the results of 37 interviews with French MEPs using both closed and open-ended questions, we demonstrate that the MEPs develop a composite view of representation and display some variations in terms of focus of representation. Those variations are explained mostly through the actor's political orientations and socio-biographic characteristics. We also understand that the focus of representation has some effect on how French MEPs conceive their mandate.

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Chiti Edoardo, Teixeira Pedro Gustavo

**The constitutional implications of the European responses to the financial and public debt crisis
in Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 3 , 683-708



ABSTRACT: The wide-ranging debate on the responses to the crisis increasingly calls into question the future of the EU as a polity. This article contributes to such discussion in legal scholarship by arguing that the European responses to the crisis since autumn 2008 have already set in motion a number of processes which are reshaping the EU polity. Three important but often misrepresented processes are identified. The first is the emergence of a new EU method of action, which breaks with the historically rooted balance of voices within the EU, while directing it towards a distinct form of reinforced intergovernmentalism. The second process corresponds to the trend to have recourse to arrangements both partly internal and partly external to the EU framework. Such a process opens the way to the autonomization of the EMU, and of the eurozone within the EMU, which endangers the legal and institutional unity of the EU. The third is the transformation of the EMU from a "community of benefits" to a "community of benefits and risk-sharing", which reshapes the traditional construction of the EMU and might prefigure a federal transformation of the EU, but it also raises functional and legitimacy issues. These developments have the potential to undermine prerequisites of the EU as a project oriented towards democratic constitutionalism: they may ultimately lead to a de-institutionalization of the EU; they exhaust the main democratic legitimacy sources of the EU polity; and they undermine the already fragile social embeddedness of EU institutions.

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Blume Lorenz, Voigt Stefan

The economic effects of constitutional budget institutions

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 29, March 2013 , 236-251

There is a well-established literature analyzing the effects of fiscal institutions on fiscal policy variables such as budget deficits or accumulated government debt. We combine this literature with the emerging field of positive constitutional economics, which deals with the economic effects of constitutional rules. The paper addresses three questions: (1) Do budget provisions that are explicitly spelled out in a country's constitution have any significant effect on fiscal policy? (2) Does the transparency, or lack thereof, of the budget process have any significant effect on fiscal policy? and (3) Do these two variables have an impact on other variables such as government effectiveness and productivity? We find that constitutionally entrenched spending limits are correlated with lower total government expenditure and that the transparency of a nation's budget is correlated with higher government effectiveness as well as lower corruption. If anything, the deficit limits entrenched in the Maastricht Treaty are correlated with higher, rather than lower, overall government expenditure.

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Nicolaides Phedon

The economics of subsidies for R&D: Implications for reform of EU state aid rules

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 48, Issue 2, March 2013 , 99-105

The primary aim of the reform of EU rules on research, development and innovation for the period 2014–20 is to ensure that aid stimulates more research and that it is kept to the minimum necessary. This paper develops a simple model that identifies a number of problems in the public funding of private research and demonstrates that the determination of the optimum subsidy for research is a complex task. The results suggest that research subsidies should be allocated in a way that reduces the amount of subsidy per recipient firm and ensures that the subsidies go to more efficient firms.



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Stephan Brunow, Hanna Brenzel

The effect of a culturally diverse labour supply on regional income in the EU

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 37, Number 4, 461-485

Because of an inflow of people into the EU but also because of the freedom of workplace choice within the EU, European regions are becoming more diverse in cultural terms. Despite the redistribution of labour and changes in regional labour supply, the ultimate question raised is whether there are additional gains or losses as a result of immigration flows. This paper therefore focuses on the impact of migrants on regional Gross Domestic Product per capita for European regions. Does the proportion of foreigners in the labour force increase or lower regional income? Does the composition of non-natives with respect to their countries of origin matter? We provide evidence that immigration and a higher degree of cultural diversity raise regional income, while controlling for endogeneity. We show that cultural diversity promotes income gains for destination countries. Whereas the presence of dominant groups reduces the costs of interaction and integration, diversity among foreign-born people increases the supply of different skills, knowledge and tasks. Thus, in general immigration has a positive net effect on regional performance and the costs of immigration in destination regions are balanced out. The regions of origin within the EU face a rise or a decline in income, depending on the labour market status of movers.

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Mathieu Catherine, Sterdyniak Henri

The euro area in crisis

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/1 (N° 127), 9-20

The 9 EUROFRAME Conference on economic policy issues in the European Union was held in Kiel on 8 June 2012. The Conference topic was: "The euro area in crisis: challenges for monetary and fiscal policies and prospects for monetary union". Twelve of the papers given at the Conference are released in this issue of the *Revue de l'OFCE/Debates and Policies*....

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Bruton John

The issue: How real is the danger of an EU collapse? My verdict: It's receding, but the UK is the wild card

in *Europe's World*, Issue 23, Spring

Popular nationalism and inter-governmental brinkmanship still threaten the EU's future, says former Irish Prime Minister John Bruton. And although its existential crisis is abating, it could yet be severely damaged if the British "re-negotiation" goes wrong.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22074/language/e



n-US/Default.aspx

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Achim Hurrelmann, Anna Gora, Andrea Wagner

The legitimation of the European Union in the news media: three treaty reform debates
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 4 2013 , 515-534

The news media is a major forum for the discursive legitimation of the EU. This article analyses media debates in the context of three attempts at reforming EU primary law in the past decade: the Nice Treaty; the Constitutional Treaty; and the Lisbon Treaty. Focusing on four member states – the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany and Austria – our study shows that the EU's legitimacy is discursively constructed according to distinct patterns, most of which are remarkably similar across countries and stable over time. In the context of the EU Constitution, legitimation debates became more intensive and more critical; however, these developments were largely reversed when the Lisbon Treaty was debated. This suggests that, in the media arena, the much-discussed politicization of European integration is an episodic occurrence, rather than a unidirectional trend.

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Yannis Karagiannis

The origins of European competition policy: redistributive versus ideational explanations
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 5 2013 , 777-794

This article examines the origins of European competition policy. Whereas a new and influential view holds that German ordoliberal ideas were the driving force behind the emergence of that policy, I argue that such ideational explanations are theoretically unconvincing, methodologically biased and substantively wrong. Based on a careful observation of the most relevant actors' preferences, the terms of their interaction during the Paris negotiations of 1950–51, and the institutional context of their operations, I conclude that French planners' preferences, German reactions and US policy must all be examined together to produce a more convincing account of the emergence of the most supranational of all European policies. The finding that European competition policy emerged out of an acrimonious bargaining episode between pro-competition French bureaucrats and anti-competition German politicians points to the redistributive nature of European competition rules, and thereby severely challenges ideational theories, liberal-intergovernmentalism and delegation-for-credibility theories alike.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Osterloh Steffen, Heinemann Friedrich

The political economy of corporate tax harmonization — Why do European politicians (dis)like minimum tax rates?
in *European Journal of Political Economy* , Volume 29, March 2013 , 18-37



Setting minimum tax rates is a well discussed way of mitigating pressure from tax competition. This paper investigates which motives shape the support for a minimum corporate tax among politicians. We make use of a unique data base: a survey among members of the European parliament. Our results confirm that the politicians' ideology as well as individual characteristics such as educational background exert a major influence. Moreover, several predictions regarding national interests are derived from various standard tax competition models. These hypotheses are partly supported by the data; in particular, different national preferences towards social equality shape the support. A comparison with survey results from the German Bundestag reveals that German politicians on the national level do not show different attitudes towards tax rate harmonization.

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André Broome

The politics of IMF–EU co-operation: institutional change from the Maastricht Treaty to the launch of the euro
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 4 2013 , 589-605

How do regional changes affect the process of global governance? This article addresses this question by examining how the International Monetary Fund (IMF) responded to the challenges presented by Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) between the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 and the launch of the euro in 1999. Based on primary research from the IMF archives, the article illustrates how the IMF's efforts to reconfigure its relationship with European institutions evolved gradually through a logic of incremental change, despite initial opposition from member states. The article concludes that bureaucratic actors within international organizations will take advantage of informal avenues for promoting a new agenda when this fits with shared conceptions of an organization's mandate. The exercise of informal influence by advocates for change within an international organization can limit the options available to states in formal decision-making processes, even when these options cut across state preferences.

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Kai Oppermann

The politics of discretionary government commitments to European integration referendums
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 5 2013 , 684-701

The article develops a two-dimensional typology of political reasons for governments to pledge referendums on European integration when they are not obliged to do so: the first dimension is about the political level at which the strategic use of referendum pledges is targeted and it distinguishes between domestic and European reasons; the second dimension attends to the strategic mode of governments when pledging EU referendums which can either be about avoiding political losses (the defensive mode) or about realizing political gains (the offensive mode). In combination, the typology yields four ideal types of reasons for governments to commit to EU referendums: the depoliticizing; plebiscitary; red-line; and internationalist EU referendum pledges. In the empirical analysis, the article applies this typology to classify 28 cases of discretionary government commitments to EU referendums and it presents the findings of an expert survey that has been conducted for this purpose.

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Forsberg Tuomas

The power of the European Union. What explains the EU's (lack of) influence on Russia?
in *Politique européenne* , n. 39, 2013/1 , 22-42

There is much disagreement and confusion as to how much power the European Union actually has in international politics, whether it is increasing or on the wane, and how the EU can best use what power it has. Although no single analytical framework suffices for understanding power in international politics, it is important to be able to understand what difference alternative theories of power make. First, power can be seen in terms of its sources: military, economic and normative. Second, it can be conceived in terms of resources, perceptions, and intersubjective understandings. Third, in addition to resources, effective power also depends on strategy and will to use power. Fourth, the assumption that the more powerful party is always able to impose its will might be mistaken. Because power depends on context, there are many instances where it is unreasonable to expect that the EU could influence Russia, regardless of the former's resources or strategic skill. This article compares these four basic ways to understand power and applies them to EU – Russia relations. I argue that explaining the success or failure of the EU to advance its interests concerning Russia has little to do with the traditional understanding of power as military capability. On the contrary, much more attention should be paid to the other dimensions of power.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Böhmelt Tobias, Freyburg Tina

The temporal dimension of the credibility of EU conditionality and candidate states' compliance with the *acquis communautaire*, 1998–2009
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 14, n. 2, June , 250-272

Existing research seems to agree that European Union (EU) accession conditionality facilitated processes of political and economic transformation for the recent enlargement rounds. However, despite its importance, systematic research beyond small-N qualitative studies that produces generalizable insights is scarce. Most strikingly, it remains unclear at which stage of the enlargement process and to what extent candidate countries complied with EU law in the context of accession conditionality. Building upon previous theoretical accounts, the authors argue that candidates' compliance behaviour can be examined more thoroughly when focusing on the credibility of EU conditionality at different phases over the process of accession negotiations, which are characterized by varying degrees of membership probability. The article's main contribution stems from the empirical analysis, which employs generalized additive models on new data of candidate countries' compliance with EU law under accession conditionality from 1998 to 2009.

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Brinkhorst Laurens Jan

The unintended consequences of David Cameron's *démarche*
in *Europe's World*, Issue 23, Spring

The UK prime minister's long-delayed speech on his country's future relationship with the EU was originally to be given in Amsterdam, possibly because he expected a sympathetic reaction from the Netherlands' present government. But



former Dutch economy minister Laurens Jan Brinkhorst presents a less supportive appreciation.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22073/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gocaj Ledina, Meunier Sophie

Time Will Tell: The EFSF, the ESM, and the Euro Crisis

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 239-253

The European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF), a slim and temporary bailout fund created by the European Union in May 2010 to quell a growing sovereign debt crisis in Europe, became the foundation for a permanent, more powerful institution, the European Stability Mechanism (ESM), adopted in March 2011. Did the creation of the EFSF constrain policy-makers and narrow down the path of options subsequently available to them? This paper assesses whether the euro crisis of 2010–2012 provides an instance of historical institutionalism in action, whereby the institutional creation decided at the critical juncture of the initial reaction to the crisis transformed the path of options available at later attempts to tackle the crisis, sometimes with unintended consequences. Through careful process tracing, we analyze the temporal sequences of reactions to the crisis and argue that the creation of the EFSF and ESM created path dependency in the subsequent management of an unrelenting crisis, enshrined intergovernmentalism as the *modus operandi*, and led to suboptimal solutions.

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Rainer Palmstorfer

To Bail Out or Not to Bail Out? The Current Framework of Financial Assistance for Euro Area Member States Measured against the Requirements of EU Primary Law

in *European Law Review*, vol. 37, issue 6 , 771-784

May 2010 saw a turning point in the European response to combat the sovereign debt crisis that has befallen a series of Member States of the euro area. Through bilateral loans to Greece, the European Financial Stabilisation Mechanism, the European Financial Stability Facility and the European Stability Mechanism, “Europe” decided to provide for financial assistance. This contribution addresses the question of whether these rescue schemes are compatible with the requirements of EU primary law, in particular the bail-out clause as enshrined in art.125(1) TFEU. The contribution will show that some of these measures are in violation of these requirements.

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Peers Steve

Towards a New Form of EU Law?: The Use of EU Institutions outside the EU Legal Framework

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 9 - Issue 01 , 37-72



Economic governance – Financial assistance – Economic and monetary union – Patent litigation – Treaties between member states – Jurisdiction of the Court of Justice – powers of the EU institutions – Enhanced cooperation

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dudek Carolyn M.

Transmitting Environmentalism? The Unintended Global Consequences of European Union Environmental Policies

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 2, May , 109-127

Will European companies investing abroad be transmitters of EU environmental policies or environmental dumpers? This article utilizes a most-different cases approach to analyze transnational corporation (TNC) behavior in countries with less stringent environmental standards. Drawing on rational institutionalism, the article examines two significant European business investments in Mercosur countries: paper pulp mills in Uruguay and fishing off the coast of Argentina. These cases demonstrate that EU environmental standards will be diffused beyond Europe's borders if significant fixed assets are involved, high levels of public awareness and action in response to environmental degradation are possible, and if the environmental policy of an industry is successfully implemented in Europe. Paper pulp milling in Uruguay fulfilled these conditions and TNCs, in this case applied EU standards. This was not so with TNC fishing practices in Argentina. Also, with high citizen attention, local companies will adopt similar environmental practices to those of their European counterparts, improving environmental practices even without domestic government regulations.

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Berka, Martin - Devereux, Michael B.

Trends in European real exchange rates

in *Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.74 , 193-242

We study a newly created panel data set of relative prices for a large number of consumer goods among 31 European countries over a 15-year period. The data set includes eurozone members both before and after the inception of the euro, floating exchange rate countries of Western Europe, and emerging market economies of Eastern and Southern Europe. We find that there is a substantial and continuing deviation from purchasing power parity (PPP) at all levels of aggregation, both for traded and non-traded goods, even among eurozone members. Real exchange rates (RER) exhibit two clear properties in the sample (a) they are closely tied to gross domestic product (GDP) per capita relative to the European average, at all levels of aggregation and for both cross country time series variation; (b) they are highly positively correlated with variation in the relative price of non-traded goods. We then construct a simple two-sector endowment economy model of real exchange



rate determination which exhibits these two properties, calibrated to match the data. Simulating the model using the historical relative GDP per capita for each country, we find that for most countries, there is a close fit between the actual and simulated real exchange rate. In terms of policy relevance, the model can offer suggestions of the degree to which real exchange rates in Europe (both in and out of the eurozone) have been overvalued (by approximately 15% in Greece and Portugal and 6% in Italy and Spain)

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Giscard d'Estaing Valéry

Témoignage : Hommage à Helmut Schmidt

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 366, 2012/4 , 3-9

Helmut Schmidt est un Européen convaincu. C'est au domicile de Jean Monnet, Avenue Foch, où celui-ci réunissait les membres de son « Comité pour les États-Unis d'Europe » que je l'ai aperçu pour la première fois. Il avait succédé, au ministère de l'Économie, au flamboyant Karl Schiller, apôtre du flottement des monnaies et d'une large ouverture des frontières...

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Chetaille Agnès

Une « autre Europe » homophobe ? L'Union européenne, le nationalisme polonais et la sexualisation de la « division Est/Ouest »

in Raisons politiques, n. 49 , 119-140

Vous consultez Une « autre Europe » homophobe ?

L'Union européenne, le nationalisme polonais et la sexualisation de la « division Est/Ouest »

Auteur Agnès Chetaille du même auteur

Agnès Chetaille (agnes.chetaille@gmail.com) est doctorante en sociologie à l'EHESS et membre de l'IRIS (Institut de recherche interdisciplinaire sur les enjeux sociaux, CNRS/EHESS/Inserm/Université Paris 13). Depuis 2011, elle est ATER à l'Université Rennes 2. Ses recherches portent sur les mobilisations gays et lesbiennes en Pologne et sur la transnationalisation des politiques sexuelles en Europe. Elle a publié entre autres « Émergence et stratégies du mouvement gay et lesbien en Pologne : le rôle des opportunités politiques » (Transitions, vol. 49, no 1, 2009) et « Poland : Sovereignty and Sexuality in Post-Socialist Times » (in Carol Johnson, David Paternotte, Manon Tremblay (dir.), The Lesbian and Gay Movement and the State : Comparative Insights into a Transformed Relationship, Burlington, Ashgate, 2011).

Résumé

Cet article interroge les recompositions du rapport entre nationalisme et (homo)sexualité en Europe à partir de l'exemple



de la Pologne. L'analyse des processus de circulation de normes juridiques et militantes au cours de la période de pré-adhésion à l'Union européenne permet de comprendre comment la Pologne, et plus largement l'Europe centrale et orientale, ont été constituées discursivement comme un « Autre » sexuel de l'Europe de l'Ouest, caractérisé par son homophobie soi-disant « traditionnelle ». Ce phénomène a contribué à reproduire, en termes sexuels, la « division Est/Ouest » en Europe. Les militants gays et lesbiennes polonaises se trouvent ainsi dans une position spécifique, prise dans l'alternative entre une définition de la nation qui les exclut et l'injonction modernisatrice de « l'Ouest ».

A Homophobic “Other Europe”? European Union, Polish nationalism and the sexualization of the “East/West divide”

Analyzing the case of Poland, this article questions recent transformations of the relation between nationalism and (homo)sexuality in Europe. Studying processes of norm circulation (in both fields of law and advocacy) during the EU pre-accession period helps understand how both Poland, and more broadly Eastern and Central Europe, have been discursively defined as Western Europe's sexual “Other”, characterized by its supposedly “traditional” homophobia. This phenomena has contributed to the reproduction, in sexual terms, of the historical “East/West divide” in Europe. Polish gay and lesbian activists are thus in a specific position, between an excluding definition of the Polish nation and Western injunction to modernity.

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C.M.A. McCauliff

Union in Europe: Constitutional Philosophy and the Schuman Declaration, May 9, 1950 in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 18, issue 3 , 441-472

The economic impulses for a united Europe play a familiar part in the discussion of the origins of European integration; however, the importance of the Christian Democratic philosophical framework underlying the actions of several of the politicians who served as impetuses for the formation of the European Union is little examined in scholarly literature. For a time, a democratic approach to Aristotelian philosophy as Jacques Maritain formulated it provided some of the consensus that held the Union together. While this is no longer the case, nothing else has replaced this focused commitment. The Union faces much disunity now and has been subject to many ups and downs since beginning its expansion to include more diverse member states, starting with the northern members on January, 1973, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark. Interest in this philosophical framework is increasing in part because of the incorporation of human rights into the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. The political philosophy of Jacques Maritain, developed during the 1930s and 1940s, provided this grounding in democracy and human rights for several of the politicians trying to envision a new society after the Second World War. Maritainian philosophy, embraced by Robert Schuman, was powerfully capable of combating the materialistic and totalitarian stance of Soviet communism, which at the time, threatened to subsume Europe under its aegis. This story, part of the air people breathed as Europe rebuilt itself with a new foundation, bears recounting today when few post-War actors are here to remind us of it themselves. The end of the Second World War presented Christian politicians with a short-term vacuum of power in Europe, a political situation that has not been repeated on such a large scale since that time. The construction of the idea of Europe as a political entity “represents the most significant undertaking of the twentieth century”. The disastrous setbacks and devastation Europe suffered from totalitarianism opened European public opinion to a revived role, at least temporarily, for Christian politicians to participate in the reconstruction of Europe. Both the pressure from the United States to rebuild Europe quickly in the face of the Soviet desire to expand its territory, and European Christian Democratic values of reconciliation and peace, played strong roles in the earliest integration of Europe.



The value of religious conscience, except in extreme versions of laïcité, along with respect for human rights and election of politicians to government positions, is now well incorporated into European societies. The confluence of these philosophies form a critical foundation for the Europe of today, despite the fact that we often take for granted what the post-war generation of European forged in stability, prosperity and recognition of human rights. After the long history of wars from the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 to the end of the Second World War in 1945, modern Europe may rightly take pride in the history of peace and relative brotherhood. In order to keep and deepen these gains, each generation must exercise “eternal vigilance” (in the iconic expression of Thomas Jefferson) to ward off even small threats to peace and liberty. Familiarity with the hard-won struggle to put Europe together after the Second World War will contribute to that vigilance.

Knowledge of the underlying philosophical values of brotherhood and democracy as the cornerstone of human rights in the construction of European unity and integration, on the one hand, and the threat of totalitarianism from Soviet Russia, on the other hand, give us a sense of the uniqueness of that moment when a unified Europe was struggling to be born. It also underlines for us what is timeless and universal in human inspiration, still relevant to our times, as we face a different calibration of challenges in a global society and economy.

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Bilkic N., Carreras Painter B., Gries T.

Unsustainable sovereign debt—is the Euro crisis only the tip of the iceberg?

in International Economics and Economic Policy, Volume 10, Issue 1, March 2013 , 1-45

As a direct effect of the financial crisis in 2008, public debt began to accumulate rapidly, eventually leading to the European sovereign debt crisis. However, the dramatic increase in government debt is not only happening in European countries. All major G7 countries are experiencing similar developments. What are the implications of this kind of massive deficit and debt policy for the long term stability of these economies? Are there limits in debt-ratios that qualitatively change policy options? While theory can easily illustrate these limits, where are these limits in real economies? This paper examines the relationship between sovereign debt dynamics and capital formation, and accounts for the effects of the 2008 financial crisis on debt sustainability for the four largest advanced economies. We contribute to the literature on fiscal sustainability by framing the problem in an OLG model with government debt, physical capital, endogenous interest rates, and exogenous growth. For the calibration exercise we extract data from the OECD for Germany as a stabilization anchor in Europe, the US, the UK, and Japan for almost two decades before the 2008 crisis. Except for intertemporal preferences, all parameters are drawn or directly derived from the OECD database, or endogenously determined within the model. The results of the calibration exercise are alarming for all four countries under consideration. We identify debt ceilings that indicate a sustainable and unsustainable regime. For 2011 all four economies are either close to, or have already passed the ceiling. The results call for a dramatic readjustment in budget policies for a consolidation period and long-term fiscal rules that make it possible to sustain sufficient capital intensity so that these economies can maintain their high income levels. Current conditions are already starting to restrict policy choices. However, the results also make it very clear that none of these economies would survive a second financial crisis such as the one in 2008.

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-Baldocci Pasquale



Un'Europa in cerca di identità

in *Nuova Antologia*, fasc. 2264, ottobre-dicembre

No abstract available

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Kaulder Volker

Verantwortung für Deutschland und Europa: Kernelemente der Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik der CDU/CSU-Fraktion im Deutschen Bundestag

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, vol. 6, n. 2, april, 145-154

ABSTRACT: With the Bundestag elections of September 2013 in mind, this issue assembles the foreign policy guidelines of the Bundestag factions. The parties lay out in which areas they distinguish challenges to German foreign policy. The editors intended to put a focus on these policy areas: solutions to the Euro crisis and strategies for the future of Europe, relations to the United States, Russia and China, Germany's membership in international organizations, German interests in current conflicts, and the need for reforming structures of German foreign politics. The following analysis is by Volker Kaulder, faction leader of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian-Social Union.

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Louis Jean Victor

Vers l'Union bancaire

in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 2, 285-304

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Yakemtchouk Romain

Vers un contrôle politique de la subsidiarité?

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre, 517-526

The article describes the origins and developments of the subsidiarity principle within the European integration process until it became a fundamental principle in the Maastricht Treaty. It focuses on some events which are particularly important to understand the different point of view of governments thereon and the ambiguities in the enforcement of the principle relating to the partition of competencies between the European Union and the member States.

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Durand Cédric, Keucheyan Razmig

Vers un césarisme européen

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Novembre

Ironie grinçante, encouragement ou épitaphe ? L'attribution du prix Nobel de la paix à l'Union européenne, le 12 octobre dernier, peut susciter la perplexité quand, au même moment, la Banque centrale européenne et la Commission de Bruxelles mènent une guerre budgétaire contre plusieurs pays membres. Ce choix appelle en tout cas une réflexion sur la nature du régime politique de l'Union.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2012/11/DURAND/48383>

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Napolitano Giorgio

Verso l'unione politica dell'Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 226-239

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Geslin Laurent, Gobert Laurent

Voyage aux marges de Schengen

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Avril

L'intégration de pays de l'Est à l'Union européenne, en 2004, et le gommage progressif des barrières frontalières devaient atténuer la résurgence des identités nationales observée au début des années 1990. Pourtant, en Hongrie et en Slovaquie, comme de l'autre côté de la « muraille Schengen », en Ukraine, les populations restent prisonnières de stratégies politiques qui instrumentalisent les questions identitaires.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/04/GESLIN/49006>

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Straubhaar Thomas

Wachsen, aber wie?: Das Wachsen können wir uns nicht sparen. Eine Doppelstrategie für Europas

Wirtschaftsaufschwung

in *Internationale Politik* , 67. Jahrgang, n. 7-8, Juli-August

ABSTRACT: Der makroökonomische Zustand des Euro-Raums außerhalb Deutschlands ist und bleibt miserabel. Die OECD geht in ihrem aktuellen Ausblick von Ende Mai davon aus, dass das Bruttoinlandsprodukt (BIP) weiter schrumpft (um 0,6 Prozent im Jahr 2013) und die Arbeitslosigkeit weiter steigt (um 0,9 Prozent von



11,2 Prozent für 2012 auf 12,1 Prozent für 2013). Vor allem in Südeuropa ist die Beschäftigungssituation verheerend.

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Papantoniou Yannis

Wachsen, aber wie?: Der Glaube schwindet. Rezession und Stagnation gefährden das europäische Projekt in Internationale Politik, 67. Jahrgang, n. 7-8, Juli-August

ABSTRACT: Sparen oder wachsen? Die Debatte um diese Frage nimmt Fahrt auf – insbesondere seit kürzlich die These der Austeritätsbefürworter widerlegt wurde, es gebe eine negative Korrelation zwischen öffentlicher Verschuldung und Wirtschaftswachstum. Hauptimpulse der Debatte sind die Ergebnisse der Spar- und Reformagenda, mit der man in den vergangenen Jahren versucht hat, die Euro-Zonen-Krise zu überwinden.

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Wolff Guntram B.

Wachsen, aber wie?: Die fatalen Vier. Europas Strukturprobleme und wie man sie lösen könnte in Internationale Politik, 67. Jahrgang, n. 7-8, Juli-August

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Blyth Mark

Wachsen, aber wie?: Du sollst nicht schaden. Wie Europa den hippokratischen Eid der Ökonomie verletzt in Internationale Politik, 67. Jahrgang, n. 7-8, Juli-August

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Davies Howard

Wachsen, aber wie?: Europas verlorenes Jahrzehnt in Internationale Politik, 67. Jahrgang, n. 7-8, Juli-August, 8-10

ABSTRACT: Europas Wachstum stagniert. Wie ließe es sich wieder ankurbeln? Wer hat Recht im Streit „austerity versus growth“? Gibt es ein Rezept für alle, oder müssen wir Lösungen finden, die auf einzelne Länder zugeschnitten sind? Acht führende Wirtschaftsexperten aus Großbritannien, Frankreich, Griechenland, Portugal und Deutschland



erklären, was jetzt zu tun ist.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Lallement Rémi

Wachsen, aber wie?: Notwendige Lockerungsübungen. Europa steuert finanzpolitisch um – richtig so in Internationale Politik , 67. Jahrgang, n. 7-8, Juli-August

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ziesemer Bernd

Wachsen, aber wie?: Schröder-Effekt und Merkel-Mythos. Als Kronzeuge für Sparpolitik taugt Deutschland nur bedingt

in Internationale Politik , 67. Jahrgang, n. 7-8, Juli-August

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Rodrigues Maria João

Wachsen, aber wie?: Stoppt die EU-Jobvernichtungsmaschine! Rezepte gegen das europäische Auseinanderdriften

in Internationale Politik , 67. Jahrgang, n. 7-8, Juli-August

No abstract available

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Streeck Wolfgang

Was nun, Europa? Kapitalismus ohne Demokratie oder Demokratie ohne Kapitalismus

in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, April, 2013 , 57-68

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2013/april/die-explosion-der-ungleichheit

Fünf Jahre nach Ausbruch der globalen Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise kennt die EU immer noch nur ein Gegenmittel: den Kauf von Zeit. Zu diesem Zweck schöpft die Europäische Zentralbank täglich neues, virtuelles Geld. Für den Soziologen



Wolfgang Streeck, Direktor am Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung in Köln, ist dies nur der finale Ausdruck der tiefen Legitimationskrise des Gegenwartskapitalismus. Streeck sieht Europa vor der Wahl – zwischen Kapitalismus oder Demokratie. Ohne eine grundlegende Wende werde jeder Aufschub der Krise nur von kurzer Dauer sein.

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Aloisio Araujo, Marcia Leon, Rafael Santos

Welfare analysis of currency regimes with defaultable debts

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 89, Issue 1, January 2013 , Pages 143-153

We modify the Cole and Kehoe model by including domestic debt. According to the original model, a speculative attack on a high debt level issued abroad triggers external debt default. Here, it is possible to inflate away the domestic debt to avoid the external debt default. We consider two possibilities for domestic debt denomination: (i) local currency and (ii) common currency. In the second case, inflation depends on a monetary union decision. Our numerical results show that to have a debt share denominated in a common currency is optimal when the refinancing risks are highly correlated across union members. Otherwise, the best is to keep the domestic debt denominated in local currency. Finally, the extreme case of having all debt issued abroad and denominated in a foreign currency is suitable when, under alternative regimes, suboptimal inflation motivated by political factors is likely. Although the paper was originally developed for emerging market economies, it sheds some light on the recent Eurozone crisis.

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Rose Richard, Borz Gabriela

What Determines Demand for European Union Referendums?

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 619-633

Notwithstanding elite opposition to referendums as inconsistent with theories of representative democracy, the 27-nation European Election Study finds that 63 per cent of EU citizens want a vote on EU treaties. One explanation is that the majority want more popular participation in politics; another is that referendums are demanded by those negative about the performance of their governors at national and EU levels; a third is that demand is higher where referendums are part of the national context. Multi-level statistical analysis shows greater support for the hypotheses that citizens dissatisfied with government performance are more likely to want referendums to check their governors and that national context matters. However, dissatisfied EU citizens are a minority; most who endorse EU referendums are actually pro-EU. This lowers the risk of defeat if the EU consulted its citizens in a pan-European referendum.

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Lascalles David

What a eurozone break-up might look like

in *Europe's World*, Issue 23, Spring

The collapse of Europe's single currency is something few of the eurozone's political leaders care to contemplate. But



David Lascelles says that although less likely than in mid-2012 it's still not unimaginable.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22080/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Fouskas Vassilis K.

Whatever Happened to Greece?

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 84, Issue 1, January-March 2013 , 132-138

Abstract

The sovereign debt crisis in Greece and other periphery countries is a yardstick for the viability of the European project: if Greece defaults and exits the Euro-zone, then the entire European architecture will be questioned. This article examines the origins of the Greek debt crisis and argues that the key sources of the debt are the economic and political factions that have dominated Greek politics since the fall of the Colonels in summer 1974 amidst the Cyprus calamity. These factions (political parties, comprador economic interests etc.), whose policy actions and preferences are amalgamated with the interests of Euro-Atlantic elites, are now being severely undermined, both politically and economically, as the prosperity of the Greek middle classes is eroded following two years of harsh austerity measures imposed on the Greek ruling factions by those Euro-Atlantic elites. Furthermore, this article outlines ways out of the Greek debt crisis, putting into test some reasonable policy proposals that are being widely discussed in Greece and abroad.

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Patel Kiran Klaus

Where and when was Europe? Europeanness and its relationship to migration

in *National Identities*, vol. 15, n. 1, Special Issue: Europe – Migration – Identity , 21-32

The article discusses the concepts of Europeanness and of European identity. In analyzing these phenomena, it makes the case for adopting a social constructivist approach. It stresses the fact that for a long time, Europeanness has remained a rather rare form of identification. Because of its hybrid and polysemic meanings, Europe should not be too readily identified with the European Union. Migration is a particularly insightful lens for the study of Europeanness in its historical and contemporary dimensions, highlighting intercultural encounters that have played a crucial role in turning Europe into a relevant point of reference.

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Leuffen Dirk

Which Mechanics Drive the 'Franco-German Engine'? An Analysis of How and Why France and Germany Have



Managed to Shape Much of Today's EU

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 366, 2012/4 , 45-83

In this article, we theorize and empirically test the mechanisms often assumed to lie behind the 'Franco-German engine'. We thereby try to answer the question of what the 'Franco-German engine' actually is and how it works in theory and practice. We start our analysis by discussing the 'Franco-German engine' in theoretical terms. Our stylized model is then applied to a selection of empirical cases relating to different decision categories as well as policy areas. Our results show that there is little evidence for an important 'Franco-German engine' in 'day-to-day' policy-making in Brussels, but that there is indeed a causal effect of a 'Franco-German engine' on 'history-making decisions' in the realms of the Single Market, Schengen, EMU, and CFSP. Scope conditions—in particular the preference spectrum amongst all EU member states—strongly determine the functioning but also the chances of success of common Franco-German integration initiatives.

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Seikel Daniel

Wie die Europäische Kommission supranationales Recht durchsetzt – Der Konflikt um die Liberalisierung des öffentlich-rechtlichen Bankenwesens in Deutschland

in Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Heft 2, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gabrisch Hubert

Währung ohne Souverän: Zur Ursache und Überwindung der Euro-Krise

in Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft , Heft 1, 2013

Ich argumentiere, dass eine Währung einen Souverän braucht, um Stabilität auf den Finanzmärkten und in der Realwirtschaft zu sichern. Andernfalls würde eine Währungsunion über kurz oder lang zerfallen. Insofern ist die aktuelle Krise des Euro-Raums auf das Fehlen eines Souveräns zurückzuführen. Die Theorie des optimalen Währungsraums bringt keine Erkenntnisse zur Überwindung der Krise, weil sie die Separierung von Geld und Staat als Grundlage hat. Auch deshalb liefert sie eher eine Begründung für Reformen wie den Fiskalpakt, dem zufolge fiskalische Operationen von der Einschätzung der Finanzmärkte abhängen sollen. Ich zeige, wie der Fiskalpakt im Gegenteil zu einer tiefen Rezession und zu einer dauerhaften Kluft zwischen Gläubiger- und Schuldnerländern führen wird. Notwendig ist vielmehr eine Transformation der Währungsunion in einen souveränen Währungsraum, in dem eine effektive Koordination von Geld- und Fiskalpolitik zwischen einer EU-Finanzbehörde und der Zentralbank im Sinne einer funktionalen Fiskalpolitik möglich wird.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nolte Hans-Heinrich

Zentrum und Peripherie in Europa aus historischer Perspektive
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 6-7, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/154386/zentrum-und-peripherie-in-europa-aus-historischer-perspektive

Zu keiner Zeit waren die Lebensbedingungen in Europa überall gleich, aber in der Moderne stiegen die Differenzen zwischen den Regionen: Um das Jahr 1000 waren alle Länder Europas noch ziemlich gleich arm; um 1500 betrug das Verhältnis zwischen Italien und Finnland, dem damals ärmsten Land, zweieinhalb zu eins.[1] 500 Jahre später, im Jahr 2007, lag die größte Differenz zwischen den Regionen der Europäischen Union (nach Kaufkraftstandards berechnet) dagegen bei zwölf zu eins (London im Vergleich zur bulgarischen Region Severozapaden).[2] Doch nicht nur die Einkommensunterschiede sind gewachsen, sondern auch die Unterschiede hinsichtlich der persönlichen Freiheit, der medizinischen Versorgung oder der Zugänge zu Bildung. Schon am Beginn der Moderne entwickelten sich dabei innerhalb von Staaten die Zentren oft rascher als die Randgebiete. Erstere profitierten unter anderem von Verkehrssystem, Attraktivität für arbeitswillige Zuwanderer sowie höherer Effektivität der Verwaltungen. Zudem akkumulierten sie Kompetenzen – zum Beispiel in sozialer Disziplin oder in der Entwicklung angemessener Konzepte. In den Randlagen sammelten sich dagegen leicht Schwächen an – eingefahrener Habitus, wenig politische Aktivität und manchmal Rentenmentalität in den regionalen Verwaltungen. Die großen Märkte waren nur selten Räume, in denen alle gleiche Möglichkeiten hatten, sondern häufig schiefe Ebenen, in denen für die Zentren mehr Chancen anfielen als für die Peripherien...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zone euro: l'austérité pour tous, tous pour l'austérité? Perspectives 2012-2013 pour l'économie européenne
in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2012/6 (N° 125) - 2012, 43-65

Quatre ans après le début de la Grande Récession, le PIB de la zone euro est toujours inférieur à son niveau d'avant-crise. La reprise observée depuis la fin de l'année 2009 aura été insuffisante pour compenser les pertes subies. Surtout, la zone euro plonge de nouveau en récession depuis la fin de l'année 2011. La principale explication de cette situation tient à la stratégie...

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Guérot Ulrike

Zwischen Haushalts- und Legitimationsdefizit: Zur Zukunft der europäischen Demokratie - Essay
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 6-7, 2013

The full text is free:



www.bpb.de/apuz/154376/zur-zukunft-der-europaeischen-demokratie

Europa ist seit nunmehr drei Jahren in der Krise, aber noch gibt es keine Übereinstimmung darüber, in welcher Krise eigentlich: Einer Euro-Krise? Einer Überschuldungs- und Staatsschuldenkrise? Einer Banken- und Finanzmarktkrise? Einer Demokratie-, Legitimitäts- und Souveränitätskrise? Oder gar in der tiefen Systemkrise eines kapitalistischen Systems, das sich als Ganzes erschöpft hat und das im globalen Kontext in einem zunehmenden Systemwettbewerb steht, in dem diktatorische (China) oder autoritäre (Russland) Staaten mit den demokratischen Systemen des alten Westens auf einer Effizienz-versus-Demokratie-Skala um Nachhaltigkeit, Ressourcen und politisches Überleben miteinander konkurrieren, und in der eine normative Vormachtstellung Europas in der Welt des 21. Jahrhunderts nicht unbedingt gesichert ist? Wer hier wie beim Häuten einer Zwiebel die verschiedenen Schichten der Krisenproblematik abtrennen möchte, muss – bevor er zu dem eigentlich europäischen Kern der Krise vordringt – auch in Rechnung stellen, dass der Vorgang einer möglichen europäischen Neukonstituierung in einem historischen Moment passiert. Peter Sloterdijk bezeichnet ihn mit dem Begriff "Weltformbruch", der unter anderem durch das Internet ausgelöst wird, das, so Sloterdijk, wohl ähnliche Auswirkungen auf die Entwicklung der Menschheitsgeschichte haben dürfte wie Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts die Erfindung des Buchdrucks, die durch die Verbreitung der Bibeltexte zur Reformation führte und damit zur Stärkung der Nationalstaaten und zum Untergang des einheitlichen universalistischen Europa, aber am Ende auch Beihilfe leistete zur Französischen Revolution. Anders formuliert: Die Auswirkungen des Internets auf die moderne Demokratie und damit die weitere demokratische Entwicklung, zum Beispiel der Druck auf plebiszitäre Elemente, in Europa und weltweit, sind noch nicht ausgemacht ...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bellamy Richard

'An Ever Closer Union Among the Peoples of Europe': Republican Intergovernmentalism and Democratic Representation within the EU

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 5, 499-516

EU institutions are best conceived as representing the peoples of Europe – a contention set out in the first, introductory, section and developed over the next five sections. The second section establishes how democratic legitimacy involves governments being representative of a people and specifies the characteristics a people need to possess for such representation to be possible. Though no EU demos exists with these features, the third section shows how in an increasingly interconnected world, governments have incentives to form associations of democratic peoples via a process of republican intergovernmentalism. Such associations guard against the domination of one people by another by preserving the capacity of the associated peoples for representative democracy. They constitute a form of demoi-cracy. The fourth section describes how the EU's system of representation corresponds to such an association and facilitates mutual respect and fair terms of cooperation between the peoples of Europe. However, as the fifth section indicates, moves away from such a union of peoples towards greater political unity involve an inevitable loss of representativeness and democratic legitimacy. The sixth and concluding section argues the euro crisis results from attempting such a move. Current efforts to resolve the crisis through yet further integration compound economic with political failure by circumventing the EU's associational decision-making mechanisms. The only democratically legitimate and non-dominating solutions will be those that respect the EU's fundamentally demoi-cratic character.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Berner Katharina

'Sovereignty of Parliament' under the Grundgesetz: How the German Constitutional Court Discovers Parliamentary Participation as a Means of Controlling European Integration

in *European public Law*, Volume 19 - Issue 2 , 249–262

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Yiangou Jonathan, O'keeffe Mícheál, Glöckler Gabriel

'Tough Love': How the ECB's Monetary Financing Prohibition Pushes Deeper Euro Area Integration

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 3 , 223-237

This paper analyses the underlying dynamics of institutional change in economic governance in EMU. We show that the crisis revealed significant gaps between the intentions of the designers of EMU and the observed outcome. Building on the path dependence literature we use the framework of historical institutionalism to understand how policy-makers were constrained in their options for the containment and resolution of the sovereign debt crisis. We argue that the principle which prohibits the central bank from financing governments as enshrined in the Maastricht Treaty was a causal factor in fostering reform and deeper integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

À la recherche du budget de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 566, mars , 133-134

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

À la recherche d'un budget pour l'Union européenne, deuxième épisode

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 567, avril , 197-198

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



François Abel

Économie politique du soutien à l'UE dans les PECO. Y a-t-il un «avant» et un «après» intégration?

in *Politique européenne*, n. 38, 2012/3, 42-69

Cet article propose une analyse en termes d'économie politique de l'adhésion des populations des Pays d'Europe centrale et orientale (PECO) à l'intégration européenne. En particulier, il se concentre sur les effets économiques de l'adhésion, qui ont été plusieurs fois observés dans la littérature. Les modèles économiques supposent que la raison pour laquelle la conjoncture économique affecte le soutien à l'Union européenne (UE) est que les citoyens pensent que l'UE est responsable de cette conjoncture. En utilisant les enquêtes Eurobaromètres avant et après l'entrée des PECO dans l'UE, nous testons une idée simple : si les citoyens des PECO considèrent l'UE comme responsable de la conjoncture économique, alors une mauvaise situation macroéconomique produit un rejet de l'Europe uniquement après leur entrée en 2004. Cette hypothèse n'est vérifiée que pour le taux de chômage, et infirmée pour le taux de croissance et d'inflation.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Louis Michel

A 10-point plan for a closer EU-Africa partnership

in *Europe's World*, Issue 23, Spring

A deeper relationship with Europe based on economic development is needed to unlock Africa's potential, argues Louis Michel. He puts forward 10 concrete proposals.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22083/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pagliari Stefano

A Wall Around Europe? The European Regulatory Response to the Global Financial Crisis and the Turn in Transatlantic Relations

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 4, 391-408

This article explores the impact of the European regulatory response to the global financial crisis in the governance of transatlantic financial markets. The main argument is that European regulatory initiatives have sought to expand European regulatory clout over market actors domiciled in third countries but operating in European markets, thus departing from the authority-sharing arrangements that had informed the construction of an integrated transatlantic market for financial services in the period preceding the crisis. The article will explain this shift in the European approach towards the regulation of transatlantic markets by exploring the reconfiguration of EU financial regulatory politics triggered by the financial crisis. This argument will be developed by analysing the regulatory frameworks introduced in the EU to regulate OTC derivatives, rating agencies, and hedge funds.



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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Winkler Sigrid

A question of sovereignty?

in *American Quarterly*, vol. 65, n. 1, March , 1-20

Taiwan's efforts to take part in international organisations (IOs) have received little backing from the international community owing to Taiwan's contested sovereignty. This article investigates under what circumstances and how the European Union (EU) supported Taiwan's participation in IOs and agreements by examining the role of the EU in three success stories: the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Government Procurement Agreement (GPA) and the World Health Organization (WHO). The analysis of six factors that shaped the EU's approach shows that a strong EU interest in Taiwan's IO participation was a precondition for its support and that once this precondition was met, applicable membership/participation criteria and opportunities for circumventing or neutralising China's opposition then gained in importance. A supportive United States (US) stance could function as a trigger for EU support. Two counterintuitive findings are that the radicalisation of Taiwan's own strategy fostered increased EU activity in brokering compromises between Taiwan and China and that the EU's decision-making mechanisms did not play a decisive role in the formulation of its support policies.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Darnton Christopher

Asymmetry and Agenda-Setting in U.S.-Latin American Relations: Rethinking the Origins of the Alliance for Progress

in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 14, Issue 4 - Fall , 55-92

The Alliance for Progress anchored U.S. Cold War strategy in Latin America in the early 1960s, and policymakers nowadays still cite it as a model of success. Even so, the origins of the Alliance remain contested. Some scholars have attributed it mainly to the Kennedy administration, others to the Eisenhower administration, and still others to Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek, whose Operation Pan-America led to the 1960 Treaty of Bogotá. This article outlines the terms and stakes of the ongoing debate among scholars and U.S. decision-makers; it also emphasizes agenda-setting rather than regional power asymmetries to explain how Brazil influenced U.S. policy. Finally, drawing on archival research in the Brazilian and Argentine Foreign Ministries and the Organization of American States (OAS), as well as on published Latin American policy documents and U.S. congressional records, the article shows that Kubitschek created partnerships with Argentina and Colombia and built a Latin American consensus within the OAS, thereby establishing the range of U.S. foreign policy options and setting the inter-American agenda.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Alves Ana Cristina

China's 'win-win' cooperation: Unpacking the impact of infrastructure-for-resources deals in Africa

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 20, issue 2 , 207-226

ABSTRACT: This paper discusses China's use of infrastructure-for-resources loans in Africa as a win-win economic



cooperation tool. This formula, offering generous loans for infrastructure in exchange for resource access, came into being largely as a default cooperation tool, inspired by China's own domestic experience, its competitive advantages and Africa's receptivity to this kind of barter deal. Embodying the principle of mutual benefit, China has consistently combined the extension of financial assistance for infrastructure construction in Africa with the expansion of Chinese business interests and the pursuit of resource security goals. The analysis focuses on whether this instrument is actually promoting African development or fuelling instead China's economic growth at the expense of African economies. The author argues that the impact has been mixed. Although there are some meaningful positive signs, many challenges persist, and as such the long-term developmental impact of this particular tool remains uncertain. The responsibility to ensure a positive outcome rests, however, on the African side as much as on China.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Nivet Bastien

Du laboratoire au miroir: quand l'Afrique subsaharienne construit l'Europe stratégique
in *Politique africaine*, n. 127, octobre , 135-154

L'Afrique subsaharienne a émergé depuis dix ans comme terrain d'expérimentation et espace de légitimation des politiques européennes naissantes dans les domaines des affaires étrangères, de la sécurité et de la défense. Construire l'autre en se construisant soi-même est ainsi le pari osé de l'Union européenne (UE) en Afrique. Des formes de résistances africaines inattendues aux ambitions de l'Europe, à ses agendas et hypothèses d'action, font que le laboratoire a finalement joué son rôle par l'absurde, révélant des erreurs de conceptualisation, de processus ou de mise en œuvre de l'action internationale de l'UE. L'Afrique devient le miroir de l'UE.

Sub-Saharan Africa has emerged over the last ten years as a field of experimentation and a space to legitimate new European policies in the field of foreign, security and defence policies. Building the other while building oneself is the challenging game of the European Union (EU) in Africa. Unexpected forms of African resistances to Europe's ambitions, its agenda and hypothesis of action, have led to absurd results, revealing mistakes in conceptualization, processing and implementation of the EU's international action. Africa becomes the mirror of the EU.

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Movkebaeva Galiia A.

Energy Cooperation Among Kazakhstan, Russia, and China Within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization
in *Russian politics and law*, vol. 51, n. 1, January-February , 80-87

China, Kazakhstan, and Russia are making progress in energy cooperation, but so far largely on the basis of bilateral agreements. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization Energy Club offers opportunities to expand that cooperation in a way that benefits all the organization's members and observer states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Xuereb Peter G.



EuroMed and Fundamental Human Rights Protection through the European Convention of 1950. An Idea to Be Pursued?

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 10, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 111-124

ABSTRACT: L'articolo sostiene che l'esperienza dell'Unione Europea in materia di protezione dei diritti umani tra i Paesi membri – in un contesto di leale cooperazione verso obiettivi definiti – ha molto da offrire per portare avanti l'agenda diritti umani (ma anche la più ampia agenda democratica, economica e sociale) nella regione EuroMed, un'agenda condivisa o da condividere dai popoli dell'Unione e dai popoli del Mediterraneo. In particolare, l'articolo si basa sull'ipotesi che la chiave per rendere effettiva la protezione dei diritti umani è la tutela giuridica a livello individuale. Pertanto, gli individui devono poter accedere ai tribunali a livello nazionale, ma successivamente avere anche la possibilità di presentare un ricorso finale a un tribunale «esterno» che applichi norme universali in modo indipendente e attraverso un dialogo pratico, controllando, in questo modo, tutte le istituzioni «interne». Questa ulteriore dimensione è quindi cruciale: in Europa essa può essere individuata nella Corte di giustizia dell'Unione Europea e anche nella Corte europea dei diritti umani a Strasburgo, entrambe operanti in ultima analisi con riferimento alla Convenzione europea per la protezione dei diritti umani e delle libertà fondamentali del 1950.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kaiser Karl, Muniz Manuel

Europe, too, needs an Asian 'pivot'

in *Europe's World*, Issue 24, Summer

The Obama administration's "rebalancing" of U.S. relations towards Asia doesn't mean a turning away from Europe, say Karl Kaiser and Manuel Muniz. But it does highlight the EU's need to add security to its concerns in the region.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22140/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Newton Julie M.

Gorbachev, Mitterrand, and the Emergence of the Post-Cold War Order in Europe

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, n. 2, Special Issue: Perestroika: A Reassessment , 290-320

More than two decades since the Cold War's end, the new 'united' Europe resembles the old divided one, without the ideological cleavage. Transferred farther east, the continent's re-division condemned Russia to Europe's fringes where it remains today. Some scholars trace the origins of this fault line to 1989–1990, blaming the United States, Germany and the USSR for failing to erect pan-European security foundations. Few, however, focus on the not insubstantial role of France in this story. Mikhail Gorbachev's close ties with his intellectual mentor François Mitterrand contributed to the failure in unexpected ways. This essay explains this element in the history of the pan-European idea while also shedding light on the politics behind the birth of the EU.



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Barder Owen

**How Europe should raise its game on development aid
in Europe's World**, Issue 24, Summer

EU countries have much to be proud of as the world's No. 1 aid givers. But Owen Barder points out that there's still a good deal more that Europe could do to help poorer countries.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22129/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Libman Alexander, Obydenkova Anastassia

**Informal governance and participation in non-democratic international organizations
in Review of International Organizations (The)**, vol. 8, n. 2, June, 221-243

ABSTRACT: This article uses the informal governance framework to elucidate the connection between regime transition and participation in regional international organizations (IOs). In particular, this study focuses on non-democratic regional IOs and examines the empirical case of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). We investigate how the level of regime transition of each CIS member state affects its participation in the CIS. The paper utilizes an original dataset that contains information regarding the number of CIS-related agreements that have been signed by each CIS member state during the 1991–2010 time period, which can be used to measure the level of participation of each state in the CIS. We find that states with a lower level of democratization and a higher level of marketization are more likely to participate in agreements within the CIS. The paper contributes to the wider application of informal governance framework by demonstrating the usefulness of these theories for understanding the nature and dynamics of regional IOs, such as the CIS.

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Editorial - Política Exterior 153

**La nueva geopolítica regional del comercio
in Política Exterior**, N.153

Una red de acuerdos comerciales bilaterales y regionales va envolviendo el mundo. Mientras, la Ronda de Doha de la Organización Mundial del Comercio (OMC) aparece como el recuerdo de lo que el multilateralismo pudo ser y no fue. En Europa, destacan los acuerdos, en negociación o ya firmados, con Canadá, Corea del Sur, India, Japón, Singapur, Malaisia, así como diversos con América Latina. En el Pacífico se negocian, entre muchos otros, los acuerdos Canadá-India, Canadá-Japón, China-Australia, o la alianza de México, Colombia, Perú y Chile...



Pero la agenda comercial de 2013 viene marcada por dos ambiciosos procesos: la Asociación Transatlántica de Comercio e Inversión (TTIP) y la Asociación Transpacífica (TPP).

Este verano deben comenzar las negociaciones del TTIP entre Estados Unidos y la Unión Europea, anunciado como el acuerdo económico más ambicioso jamás intentado. Barack Obama lo presentó en el discurso del Estado de la Unión del pasado febrero como una prioridad para recuperar el crecimiento y crear empleo. La ambición del TTIP no está tanto en la reducción de unos aranceles que son ya muy bajos entre las partes, como en la eliminación de medidas no arancelarias, regulación, propiedad intelectual y la apertura a la contratación pública. Se espera que las negociaciones concluyan a finales de 2014. En estas páginas, el comisario europeo de Comercio, Karel De Gucht, sostiene que el acuerdo, que reúne al 50 por cien del PIB mundial, puede cambiar definitivamente las reglas del comercio global.

La Asociación Trans-pacífica, cuyas negociaciones comenzaron en 2010 y está previsto que concluyan a finales de este año, implica a 11 economías del Pacífico (13 si finalmente se incorporan Japón y Corea del Sur), que suponen el 40 por cien del PIB mundial. Además del completo acceso al mercado, incluye el comercio por Internet, el papel de las empresas de propiedad estatal, la coherencia normativa y otras cuestiones más allá de las comerciales, como el fomento de la competitividad y el apoyo a las pymes.

Pero la TTIP y la TPP son mucho más que acuerdos de libre comercio: abren un nuevo juego geopolítico. Para Europa, la Asociación Transatlántica reforzaría la alianza entre dos bloques que comparten intereses en seguridad, ayuda al desarrollo y fomento de la democracia. Peter Sparding afirma en este número de POLÍTICA EXTERIOR que la política comercial es uno de los pocos instrumentos que le quedan a la UE para actuar como actor geopolítico clave. Es además un símbolo de la fuerza europea y puede servir de recordatorio de la promesa de integración.

Para EE UU, el comercio se ha convertido en uno de los ejes del anunciado “giro hacia el Pacífico”. Uri Dadush sostiene que el TPP está “motivado por un interés económico y, en no menor medida, por preocupaciones en materia de seguridad y de geopolítica en el espacio asiático”; en concreto, por la percepción de la necesidad de contener la creciente influencia de China en Asia y América Latina. No obstante, advierte, al excluir a China se corre el riesgo de que el mayor exportador mundial y la economía de más rápido crecimiento establezca alianzas comerciales con prioridades propias.

Las negociaciones serán tan ambiciosas como difíciles y, si se concluyen, tendrán efectos en la relación con China, con los países en desarrollo y en el papel de la OMC, que corre el riesgo de ser marginada definitivamente. Marcel Fratzscher, presidente del Instituto Alemán para la Investigación Económica (DIW), advertía en el Financial Times, “el acuerdo de libre comercio entre EE UU y la UE podría eliminar la esperanza que sobrevive de alcanzar un verdadero acuerdo multilateral (...) la mejor respuesta al declive de la UE y EE UU es precisamente el compromiso multilateral, no el aislamiento”.

Respecto al papel de la OMC, Pascal Lamy, que deja la dirección general de la organización en mayo, escribe en POLÍTICA EXTERIOR: “El multilateralismo se contrapone al proteccionismo, no al regionalismo. (...) La aparición de nuevos protagonistas, la proliferación de acuerdos preferenciales, la expansión de las cadenas de producción globales y el aumento de medidas no arancelarias muestran la necesidad de buscar un nuevo multilateralismo comercial”.

El comercio no solo se está planteando como un camino de salida de la crisis, sino como un instrumento para mantener los equilibrios de poder que la globalización ha trastocado. Habrá que tener cuidado para que el nuevo regionalismo comercial no termine acelerando los cambios del sistema internacional y la división Norte-Sur.



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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Sicault Jean-Didier

La procédure devant le Tribunal administratif de la Banque interaméricaine de développement
in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 116, no. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Vannuccini Sabrina

La protezione dei minori di età nella prassi della Corte Interamericana dei diritti dell'uomo
in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXVIII, n. 1, primo trimestre , 109-134

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Timofeï V. Bordachev

Les relations UE-Russie à l'ère du jeu à somme nulle
in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 78, n°1 printemps

L'Union européenne et la Russie entretiennent des relations d'apparence cordiale mais les cadres de leur coopération ne les satisfont ni l'une ni l'autre. Dans les espaces hier contrôlés par l'URSS, elles ont des intérêts de fait concurrents qui menacent de se cristalliser en blocs politico-économiques rivaux. UE et Russie ne pourraient sortir leur coopération de son impasse qu'en redéfinissant radicalement les objectifs communs de cette coopération, au service du développement du continent.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Lelong Gilles

Libre-échange transatlantique et équipements militaires: quel enjeu?
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 761, Juin

La perspective d'un ambitieux accord de libre-échange entre États-Unis et Union européenne concerne les marchés publics de défense. Cette novation suggérée par la Commission Barroso devrait aiguiser sur l'asymétrie des marchés américains et européens ; elle relance le débat sur les contrats d'armement intraeuropéens.



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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Santander Sebastian

L'Union européenne, l'interrégionalisme et les puissances émergentes. Le cas du «partenariat» euro-brésilien
in *Politique européenne*, n. 39, 2013/1, 106-135

The European Union (EU) now seeks to bind “rising” powers through “strategic” partnerships. Yet it has long privileged relations with regional blocs rather than individual relations with countries, as has been the case in its relations with Latin America. The EU has paid special attention to relations with Mercosur. But it has recently established a direct and regular channel with Brazil through the so-called “strategic” partnership. The paper analyses the reasons for this partnership, the interests at stakes, the way the relations between the EU and Mercosur are articulated with this “new” association agreement, as well as the obstacles that it is facing. Our results show that the European approach to “rising” powers is not only aimed at conquering new markets for European business, but also at increasing the visibility and recognition of the EU as an international actor and demonstrating its ability to play in a state-centric world. In so doing, the EU is reversing its strategic logic. It is moving from a strategy based on the idea of normative actor that promotes international regionalism and interregional relations to a Realpolitik approach which, rather than taming and multilateralising the international action of BRICS, enhances the power of these states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Thomann Pierre-Emmanuel

L'impératif continental : oser l'Europe de Lisbonne à Vladivostok
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 754, novembre

L'analyse de l'instrumentalisation du continent européen dans la stratégie euroatlantique de contention des crises le long des axes méditerranéen et caucasien permet de promouvoir une autre posture stratégique européenne fondée sur la redéfinition d'un partenariat continental eurasiatique, véritable pôle d'équilibre géostratégique du XXIe siècle.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Yiwei Wang

Making China-EU relations genuinely strategic
in *Europe's World*, Issue 24, Summer

For all the upbeat talk of a “strategic partnership”, says Wang Yiwei, China and the European Union have very different understandings of the term. But that doesn't mean there isn't much to be gained from developing one.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22144/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation



Baizakova Kuralai I.

**Regional Security Cooperation Between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the European Union
in Russian politics and law**, vol. 51, n. 1, January-February , 88-95

Kazakhstan has much to gain in terms of economic development and improved security from its partnership with the European Union and can benefit even more from positioning itself within the transatlantic relationship between the European Union and the United States.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Lachmann Niels

**Rivalry, Community, or Strained Partnership? Relations between the European Union and the United States
in Politique européenne** , n. 39, 2013/1 , 136-156

With the United States now considering the Asia-Pacific region as the future strategic zone of interest, the European Union appears liable to vanish from the picture. This slide into irrelevance, however, presupposes that the EU will not become a significant rival to the US in a multipolar world. It also assumes that the EU is no longer an indispensable partner for the US in dealing with international issues. Yet rivalry and partnership, which more or less correspond to the conceptual approaches of “soft balancing” and “security community”, are still widely used to describe the EU-US relationship. This contribution asks whether and to what extent these two opposing approaches are relevant. While the security community approach corresponds to current EU-US relations more than the idea of the EU acting as a soft balancing rival to the US, important tensions and contradictions are apparent in the partnership. This leads to the conclusion that the EU and the US being partners does not prevent a challenge to the former’s ties with the latter.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Petrov Kristian

**Russia in the European Home? Convergence, Cosmopolitanism and Cosmism in Late Soviet Europeanisation
in Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 65, n. 2, Special Issue: Perestroika: A Reassessment , 321-346

The aim is to present a conceptual and historical reconstruction of Gorbachev’s notion of a ‘European home’, its underlying philosophy of history as well as its relation to Russian cosmism. The concept is contextualised within the convergence debate of the post-war period, in which a rapprochement between communism and capitalism was posited. The essay concludes with reflections on what the conceptualisation can tell us about the fall of communism and what impact the concept has had on today’s search for a common European identity. An argument is advanced that the notion contained paradoxes that contributed to the dislocation of post-Soviet Russia from Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

May Alex

The Commonwealth and Britain’s Turn to Europe, 1945–73



in **Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 102, Issue 1 , 29-39

British policy-makers in the decades after the Second World War sought to frame British foreign policy in terms of three 'circles', the Commonwealth, the US and western Europe . Moves towards European integration threatened to shut Britain out of one circle and severely diminish its influence in the other two. The pull of the Commonwealth was fading, but it remained the single most important issue in Britain's first negotiations to join the European Communities, in 1961–63. By the time of the second application in 1966–67 Commonwealth countries had made alternative dispositions and the Commonwealth was itself becoming increasingly fractured; hence, the Commonwealth was less of an issue then or in the subsequent successful negotiations in 1970–71. Britain's applications nevertheless represent a watershed in British–Commonwealth as well as British–European relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kostanyan Hrant, Orbie Jan

The EEAS' discretionary power within the Eastern Partnership: in search of the highest possible denominator in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 13, n. 1, April , 47-65

This paper investigates the role of the newly established 'EU foreign ministry,' the EEAS, in the Eastern Partnership. It focuses on the distribution of competences between the MS, the EU institutions and the Civil Society Forum. More specifically, starting from the principal–agent framework, the study examines the discretionary power of the EEAS agent with regard to the MS principals in the Eastern Partnership multilateral framework. First, the analysis points to close monitoring and tight control of the EEAS by the MS. Second, the study finds that to varying degrees, the European Commission and the European Parliament function as 'institutional checks' vis-à-vis the EEAS. Third, the Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum is the primary platform for 'third party monitoring'. By and large, the discretionary power of the EEAS vis-à-vis the MS in the Eastern Partnership multilateral track amount to the agenda setter and for the rest decreases to the level of the highest probable denominator.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Helly Damien

The EU and Africa since the Lisbon summit of 2007: Continental drift or widening cracks?
in **South African Journal of International Affairs** , vol. 20, issue 1 , 137-157

ABSTRACT: This article, by providing an overall assessment of the relations between Africa and the EU since the adoption of the Joint Africa Europe Strategy in Lisbon in 2007, tests the hypothesis of a 'continental drift'. It looks in particular at four key variables in the relationship: economy, development, governance and politics, and multilateralism. A continental drift is in the making, associated with widening cracks in economic blocks: most of the trade between the two continents is concentrated on a dozen countries on each side. Although the EU has lost some of its leadership in development policies, its funding capacities are still attractive for countries in need: the donor–recipient relation is largely maintained. Both sides have agreed to disagree or to remain quiet about their reciprocal political inconsistencies: the management of governance and political dialogue is thus carried out in a pragmatic manner. The continent-to-continent relationship remains largely a vision.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dennison Susi

The EU and North Africa after the Revolutions: A New Start or 'plus ça change'?
in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 18, Issue 1 , 119-124

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Zakariah Hasrul Muhamad

The Euro-Arab Dialogue 1973–1978: Britain Reinsurance Policy In The Middle East Conflict
in *European Review of History - Revue Européene d'Histoire*, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 95-115

The Euro-Arab Dialogue (EAD) was launched in the aftermath the Arab Israeli Yom Kippur War of 1973 by Nine European countries and the Arabs. The main objective was to create a stable, long-term relationship between the two regions. Despite its political intent, the framework of the Dialogue was restricted to multilateral economic co-operation in selected areas for reciprocal benefits. Due to inevitable obstacles, after almost five years of engagements, the Dialogue seemed to be progressing slowly with the development of only a few practical projects. Nevertheless, the British remained committed to the initiative, which they viewed as supplementary to their successful existing bilateral relationships, as well as an inexpensive but effective way to maintain their political and economic interests in the Arab world. Through historical analysis, this paper examines the British attitude and perspective towards the Dialogue from 1973 to 1978, mainly using archival documents available at the National Archive in England.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Olsen Gorm Rye

The European Union's Africa Policy: The Result of Nordicization or Europeanization?
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 4 , 409-424

For a number of years, there has been an international debate on whether and to what extent small member states can influence the common external policies of the European Union. Recent research on the role of small EU states concludes that these states are neither per se political dwarfs nor power-brokers. The paper puts forward the hypothesis that the Nordic countries as small states have had a considerable influence on the EU's policies towards Africa in the current century. The 'Nordicization' is the result of the fact that the Nordics traditionally have had a high moral profile in international affairs including North–South and specifically Africa policies. Five separate analyses are carried out addressing the question of Nordicization and Europeanization. Based on the empirical analyses, it is not possible to confirm the hypothesis that a Nordicization of the European Union's Africa policy has taken place. Rather, it appears adequate to talk about convergence of policies between the Nordics and the EU and therefore, the Africa policies of both actors are basically the result of Europeanization.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Suzuki Shogo

**The exceptional state in Africa: Image management in Sino-African relations
in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 20, issue 1 , 99-115**

ABSTRACT: China's relations with African states have undergone significant changes in recent years. China has projected its relationship with Africa as one of equality and 'mutual help'. Such perceptions of foreign policy stem from the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the shared experience of imperialist domination and economic underdevelopment. Moreover, various public statements by China's elites suggest that China is expected to play a much more prominent, even exceptional role in Africa. This purportedly entails moving beyond the hegemonic West's interventionist aid or security policies, and is also implicitly designed to highlight the West's shortcomings in promoting African economic growth or peace. Yet where does this perception of exceptionalism come from? Why does Beijing feel that it has to play a leading role in Africa's development? How can Beijing distinguish itself from the nations of the West, who are regularly criticised for being paternalistic?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Wong Reuben

**The issue of Identity in the EU-China relationship
in *Politique européenne* , n. 39, 2013/1 , 158-185**

This paper argues that rather than trade competition, ideology, civilizational differences, or changes in the international balance of power, the root of frequent swings between cooperation and conflict in the EU-China relationship lies in their ever-changing identities. As its role expands in the international system, China is forced to re-evaluate its identity and preferences, choosing to selectively remember or forget symbols and representations of the past and present. Transitioning from a developing country to an important member of the international system, its self-image has undergone a dramatic revolution. The EU meanwhile, has expanded from an EC-9 of similar Western democracies in 1973 to an EU-27 of diverse countries by 2007. Its attempt to develop a distinctive European presence in world affairs – that of 'normative power' Europe; set it on a course of collision with China. These changes in identity have important consequences for actions and foreign policy interactions. We can thus expect China-EU relations to develop in the context of the ongoing redefinition of their identities and roles in the evolving international order. Both China and the EU will likely continue to respond to each other according to the needs and demands of their respective populations, and to the external expectations placed on them as important players in global politics, diplomacy, economics, trade, finance and security.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ki-Joon Hong

**The unintended consequences of the Helsinki Final Act: A path emergence theory perspective
in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 34, n. 3, June , 310-325**



ABSTRACT: This article examines the unintended consequences of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act − a political agreement among the 35 participating states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The primary objective of this article is to explain the unintended consequences of the CSCE security regime in terms of path emergence. 'Path emergence' is presented as a conceptual apparatus to explain the emergent properties exhibited within a complex adaptive system. The path emergence theory highlights four explanatory metaphors: morphogenetic fields, self-organized criticality, social resonance, and co-evolution. These metaphors serve as conceptual linchpins for the case analysis of the unintended consequences of the CSCE security regime. This article suggests that the CSCE embedded within it the properties of path emergence, which in turn contributed to the end of the Cold War in Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Quinlan Joseph P.

Why this U.S.-EU trade deal could prove a global game-changer in Europe's World, Issue 24, Summer

The WTO's Doha Round is dead if not yet formally buried, and instead Brussels and Washington are negotiating an ambitious transatlantic trade and investment pact. Joseph P. Quinlan reports on the advantages its supporters are claiming for both sides.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22142/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Brown A.J.

From Intuition to Reality: Measuring Federal Political Culture in Australia in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 43, n. 2, Spring , 297-314

Federalism is associated with a range of political values, but their institutionalization in practice varies significantly. This article uses a new empirical approach to measuring "federal political culture" through the Australian Constitutional Values Survey, to explore the gap between theory and reality. It presents analysis by gender to demonstrate the approach, highlighting the importance of resolving the mix of theory and practice needed to understand contemporary preferences in institutional design. Overall, Australians were shown to be predominantly federalist in their values. However, women were on average somewhat stronger federalists than men, being stronger supporters of decentralism and legal diversity, while also being somewhat less likely than men to consider that Australia's present system delivers adequately on these values. The findings contribute to federal reform debates.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Jessica A. J. Rich

Grassroots Bureaucracy: Intergovernmental Relations and Popular Mobilization in Brazil's AIDS Policy Sector in Latin American Politics & Society, volume 55 n.2 , 1-25



How does the state ensure the implementation of national policies in a context of decentralized political authority? This article identifies a new strategy utilized by national bureaucrats to regulate the behavior of subnational politicians: mobilizing civil society as government watchdog and political advocate. In the context of decentralized governance, in which local politicians administer most social sector programs, reform-minded bureaucrats often find that they have little control over the implementation of their progressive policies. In Brazil's AIDS policy sector, however, bureaucrats have ensured the successful implementation of their policies by developing allies outside government. These state actors—here called activist bureaucrats—have been largely overlooked in the English-language literature, yet they form a new layer of politics in Latin America.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Schmitt Nicolas

Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism as Essence of Federalism. The Swiss Example in *Politico* (II), n. 231, 2012 , 169-187

ABSTRACT: Switzerland is famous for being a peaceful and wealthy multicultural and multiethnic country whose citizens speak several languages, practice different religions and live in numerous cantons. But beyond all these very classical cleavages, if we have a closer look at the Swiss history from its early beginning, even at the time of Julius Caesar, we discover that there is another antagonism which has played a fundamental role in shaping the country: while a part of its population is deeply enrooted in its remote alpine valleys (the “nationalist” dimension), another part has created links with the whole world (the cosmopolitan part). These two elements have combined for centuries, and when modern Switzerland has been created as a federal state in 1848 after a civil war which precisely opposed isolationist and opened cantons, federalism allowed for the preservation of these two sensibilities. The combination of both openness and isolation proved efficient, as the first has brought a certain wealth to the country, while the second has brought a certain patriotism and identity. Nevertheless, the too numerous differences between cantons have never allowed for the creation of a global Swiss nationalism. Tensions between opening and isolation have reached a peak on the occasion of the vote about joining the European Economic Area (EEA). This referendum proved that the opposition between nationalism and cosmopolitanism surpasses all other cleavages in Switzerland to become the most powerful opposition – even if less considered – in the dialectic dimension of federalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Iff Andrea

Peace-Promoting Federalism: Making Sense of India and Nigeria in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 2, Spring , 227-250

What is federalism's impact on the transformation of violent conflict in multiethnic societies? This article looks at conflicts in India and Nigeria to study the extent to which the genesis and resolution of conflicts were related to federalism. I examine whether India and Nigeria introduced the integrationist and accommodationist mechanisms of federalism, and, if so, whether the mechanisms mutually reinforced each other. I argue that the mix of both approaches and the lack of shared rule mechanisms can be seen as an important variable in explaining the persisting violence of these conflicts and the inability of federal institutions to transform violence.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Mariana Llanos, Leany Barreiro Lemos

**Presidential Preferences? The Supreme Federal Tribunal Nominations in Democratic Brazil
in Latin American Politics & Society**, volume 55 n.2 , 77-105

This article studies the processes of nomination and appointment to the Supreme Federal Tribunal in Brazil made by Presidents Sarney through Lula da Silva. It shows that in relations with the Senate, presidential anticipation prevails over presidential dominance. Brazilian presidents are successful appointers because they invest great effort in the moment of selection, when potential candidates are tested in the juridical and political communities. As a consequence, a uniform Senate approval of candidates coexists with a differential pattern of candidate recruitment. Sometimes presidents can select close candidates from their government; sometimes first-choice candidates are ruled out for lack of consensus. The type of coalition the president heads and the number of vacancies available affect the president's chances of imposing a candidate. The filter posed by center-right parties in the Senate induces the selection of nominees with centrist preferences.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jack Citrin, Richard Johnston and Matthew Wright

**Do Patriotism and Multiculturalism Collide? Competing Perspectives from Canada and the United States
in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique**, Volume 45 - Issue 03 , 531 - 552

The relationship of national identifications to preferences about immigration is a subject of empirical controversy. The hypothesis we explore here through a comparison of Canada and the United States is that the normative content of national identity—how people define the meaning of patriotism in their country—mediates the relationship between national pride and sentiment about immigration and multiculturalism. How political elites construct what citizens should be proud of matters. In comparisons based on the 2003 International Social Survey Program's "National Identity Module," Canadians seem more divided than Americans over their nationality and generally less chauvinist. Canadians are more receptive to maintaining the current level of immigration and see newcomers as less threatening to economic and cultural values. The relationship between identification with the country and support for immigration and multiculturalism diverges sharply between the countries: where in Canada the relationship is positive, in the US it is negative.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Abascal Maria, Centeno Miguel A.

**A Holistic Approach to Language, Religion, and Ethnicity
in Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism** , vol. 13, n. 1, April , 101–104

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Kennedy James, Riga Liliana

A Liberal Route from Homogeneity?: US Policymakers and the Liberalization of Ethnic Nationalists in Bosnia's Dayton Accords

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 2, 2013 , 163-186

Abstract

This article explores how key US policymakers' understandings of nationalism contributed to core tensions in Bosnia's Dayton Peace Accords. Drawing on in-depth interviews with some of Dayton's key architects, our findings suggest that US elites drew on a cluster of entwined social knowledge claims about (ethnic) nationalism and the possibility of its liberal accommodation. US policymakers' social knowledge was anchored around two key liberal beliefs: a Millian acknowledgement that territorial homogeneity would facilitate political stability and liberal governability; and a countervailing normative desire to liberalize ethnic nationalisms through the imposition of liberal-legalist frameworks.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Wicke Christian

A Romantic Nationalist?: Helmut Kohl's Ethnocultural Representation of his Nation and Himself A Romantic Nationalist?: Helmut Kohl's Ethnocultural Representation of his Nation and Himself

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 2, 2013 , 141-162

Abstract

This article analyzes the personal nationalism of Helmut Kohl, the so-called "Chancellor of Unity." The German politician acted as a (neo)romantic nationalist, who articulated his concept of nation in cultural and ethnic terms and as primarily detached from the idea of the nation-state. This kind of nationalism has been portrayed as something typically German and dangerous, as part of the nation's cultural Sonderweg outside of the West, where nationalism had taken a safer path. However, Kohl exemplified an ethnocultural representation of Germany that was reconciled with, and subordinated to, his liberal nationalism and his belief in the primacy of the West. Interestingly, his dialectic political rhetoric and biographical self-image demonstrates how romantic conceptualizations of German nationhood could be maintained after 1945, be structurally strengthened through the division of the nation during the Cold War, and that they have been part of the ongoing normalization process of German nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Banton Michael

Back into Plato's Cave

in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* , vol. 13, n. 1, April , 94-96



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Nasreen Akhtar

Baluchistan Nationalist Movement and Unrest in Pakistan

in South Asian Survey , Vol. 18, n°1 , 121-135

Pakistan is one of the most complex multi-ethnic societies in the developing Islamic world. Each of the ethnic groups that now comprise Pakistan has very distinctive identity, folklore, history and political interests. However, Pakistan's nation builders were not alive to the ethnic question and failed to integrate ethnic groups into a Pakistani nationhood through recognised principles of autonomy, representation and empowerment. Instead, a non-representative, military-led authoritarian system suppressed legitimate regional and ethnic aspirations, relying too heavily on Islam and Pakistan ideology (two nation theory) to forge a sense of common nationhood. It didn't work: since the 1950s there have been four major insurrections against the central government by Baluch nationalists. Although the Baluch national question has its roots in the colonial era, it emerged as a significant political and security issue because an over-centralised and non-representative power system couldn't address the issue of ethnic diversity. Baluchistan is now a hub of interests for regional and major powers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Alois S. Mlambo

Becoming Zimbabwe or Becoming Zimbabwean: Identity, Nationalism and State-building

in Africa Spectrum, Vol. 48, n°1

This lecture explores the processes of identity-making and state-building in a multi-ethnic and multiracial society recently emerging from a protracted armed struggle against racially ordered, settler-colonial domination. It explores the extent to which historical factors, such as the nature of the state, the prevailing national political economy, and regional and international forces and developments have shaped notions of belonging and citizenship over time and have affected state-building efforts. The role of the postcolonial state and economy, political developments and the land question in shaping the postcolonial dispensation is also examined. The lecture argues that, like most African states created by colonialism, Zimbabwe is not yet a nation and that it is only in the process of becoming. It also comments on the role of historians in shaping notions of nationhood and identity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Lentz Carola

Celebrating independence jubilees and the millennium: national days in Africa

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 19, Issue 2, April 2013 , 208-216

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Mock Steven J.

Civil Religion as National Language

in Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism , vol. 13, n. 1, April , 109-114

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Nagle Shane

Confessional Identity as National Boundary in National Historical Narratives: Ireland and Germany Compared

in Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism , vol. 13, n. 1, April , 35-56

This article explores the question of 'boundary-formation' by examining the significance of historical narratives for defining the nation. Specifically, it compares the historical construction of religious or confessional identity as national boundary in the cases of Ireland and Germany in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The article examines the importance of this historically constructed national identity for rendering continuity to the nation's history and delineating the national 'Other', thereby establishing national particularity. The historical 'joining' of 'Irishness' to Catholic identity and 'Germanness' to Protestant identity, as well as providing cultural 'cement' for the nation, also had exclusionary implications.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Jackson Jennifer Kimberly

Continuing the Conversation: Responses to Rogers Brubaker's 2012 Gellner Lecture

in Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism , vol. 13, n. 1, April , 91-93

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Buckner Phil

Defining Identities in Canada: Regional, Imperial, National

in Canadian Historical Review (The), Volume 94, Number 2, June , 289-311

Growing up in Toronto, Phillip Buckner was a British-Canadian cultural hybrid but with a strong sense of Canadian nationalism that led to his interest in Canadian history. In high school and at the University of Toronto he absorbed a vision of Canadian history that was Ontario-centric and emphasized Canada's British roots but his experience as a graduate student in Britain and as a lecturer at the University of New Brunswick challenged his youthful assumptions. As



the founding editor of *Acadiensis* he sought to promote a more inclusive vision of Canadian history and when he returned to the study of Canada's connection with the British Empire he sought to promote a more balanced understanding of Canada's place within a wider British World. What he did retain was the view that Canadian history matters.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Lars Leszczensky

Do national identification and interethnic friendships affect one another? A longitudinal test with adolescents of Turkish origin in Germany

in *Social Science Research* , Vol. 42, n°3 , 775-788

Previous research has repeatedly found a positive association between immigrants' identification with the receiving society and their share of interethnic friends. That is, immigrants with a low level of national identification have relatively little contact with natives, and vice versa. Earlier cross-sectional studies, however, were not able to draw firm causal conclusions about the direction of causality. Theoretically, four different scenarios exist: The causal arrow might run from identification to friends (A), but also from friends to identification (B) or in both directions (C). Finally, the relationship might be spurious, caused by unobserved joint determinants (D). Using three-wave panel data for adolescents of Turkish origin in Germany, I examine these four scenarios. First-difference models with lagged independent variables that account for both time-invariant unobserved heterogeneity and potential reverse causality provide no evidence of reciprocal effects between national identification and interethnic friendships. This finding contradicts common interpretations of cross-sectional studies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Radonic Ljiljana

Erinnerungskultur und -politik in Kroatien

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 17, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/158170/erinnerungskultur-und-politik?p=all

Jede Erinnerung an Vergangenes ist an den Bedürfnissen der heutigen Identitätsstiftung orientiert und kann das Geschehene nie "authentisch" wiedergeben. Dennoch gibt es gravierende Unterschiede in der Art, wie demokratische und diktatorische Gesellschaften mit unterschiedlichen, oftmals konkurrierenden Erinnerungen umgehen, und wie sich aus verschiedenen Erinnerungskulturen eine offizielle staatliche Erinnerungspolitik herausbildet. Nach dem Zusammenbruch des "Ostblocks" und den gesellschaftlichen Umwälzungen nach 1989 kam es in den postsozialistischen Ländern zu einer "Neuerfindung" der Geschichte, die der sozialistischen Ära entgegengesetzt wurde. Während oftmals die nationale Unabhängigkeit stärker als die Demokratisierung betont wurde, suchte man in der Geschichte des jeweiligen Landes nach einer "goldenen Ära" nationaler Selbstständigkeit vor der Machtergreifung der kommunistischen Parteien in den 1940er Jahren...



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Keohane Oisín

Fichte and the German Idiom: the Metaphysics of the Addresses to the German Nation in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 19, Issue 2, April 2013 , 317-336

Abstract

This article argues against the dominant Anglophone and Francophone interpretation of Fichte, which reads him as advancing either a form of ethnic or cultural nationalism. It claims that what is missing from the current reception of Fichte is the essentially philosophical and cosmopolitan character of his nationalism – the fact that the Addresses to the German Nation uses non-empirical and cosmopolitical concepts to develop and articulate its nationalistic viewpoint. It therefore claims that the notion of a national philosophical idiom that the Addresses present, far from being a screen for its nationalism, is its driving engine. It does this by considering the problems of translating the German locution *ist unsers Geschlechts*. Consequently, it is claimed that the cosmo-nationalism of Fichte is not reducible to a set of claims regarding ethnicity or even the empirical world, even if a discourse on the organismic, on what counts as life, irreducibly haunts the Addresses.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Zhao Suisheng

Foreign Policy Implications of Chinese Nationalism Revisited: the strident turn in Journal of Contemporary China, Volume 22, Issue 82 , 535-553

This paper revisits the debate about foreign policy implications of Chinese nationalism in the context of China's increasingly confrontational and assertive behavior in recent years. It argues that while the Chinese government made effective efforts to control popular nationalism and Chinese foreign policy was therefore not dictated by emotional nationalistic rhetoric before 2008, it has become more willing to follow the popular nationalist calls to take a confrontational position against the Western powers and to adopt tougher measures in maritime territorial disputes with its neighbors. This strident turn is partially because the government is increasingly responsive to public opinion, but more importantly because of the convergence of Chinese state nationalism and popular nationalism calling for a more muscular Chinese foreign policy. Enjoying an inflated sense of empowerment supported by its new quotient of wealth and military capacities, and terrified of an uncertain future due to increasing social, economic and political tensions at home, the communist state has become more willing to play to the popular nationalist gallery in pursuing the so-called core national interests. These developments have complicated China's diplomacy, creating a heated political environment to harden China's foreign policy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism



Chang Pi-Chun

Going global and staying local: nation-building discourses in Singapore's cultural policies

in **Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power**, Volume 19, Issue 6 , 691-707

Utilizing the 'Singapore Story', this study will explore cultural policies implemented and aimed towards cosmopolitanism, and how these policies have affected the international arts scene, which has led to a polarization within the community by excluding the elderly and disadvantaged members of the population from participating. Singapore's cultural policy has served the function of nation-building and at the same time goes with globalisation and thus calls for constructing a cosmopolitan yet patriotic citizen in terms of identity. This article considers the role of nationalism as a guide to the understanding of cultural policy discourses and argues that a top-down cosmopolitan construction of national identity in cultural policy discourses lacks representation of people's daily life.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Stremlau Nicole

Hostages of peace: the politics of radio liberalization in Somaliland

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 7, Issue 2, Special Issue: Effects of 'statelessness': dynamics of Somali politics, economy and society since 1991 , 239-257

Somaliland has held several competitive and multiparty elections that have been cited by international election monitors as being "free and fair." While political competition has been tolerated, or even encouraged by the governments in power, there has been a continued reluctance to allow private radio stations. Citing the possibility of destabilizing Somaliland's delicate peace, arguments against the liberalization of the media include concerns of radios used to further political polarization, mobilize groups to escalate simmering conflicts and violence, and the capacity of the government to regulate media outlets. This article locates these arguments against media liberalization in the context of Somaliland's larger nation- and state-building project suggesting that in transitions from war to peace, no matter how prolonged, there are very real concerns about processes of institutionalization and the sequencing of democratic reforms.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Kissane Bill, Sitter Nick

Ideas in Conflict: The Nationalism Literature and the Comparative Study of Civil War

in **Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 1, 2013 , 38-57

Abstract

The comparative study of civil war has recently gone through a "structural turn," towards large-n quantitative studies that explain the variation in the incidence of civil wars in terms of structural factors. The alternatives have been a return to case studies and a constructivist critique that emphasizes the role of ideas in conflict. While there is no a priori reason to reconcile these approaches, it remains a practical task for those who want to understand how a given social situation escalates into civil war. After reviewing the two poles in the debate, we mine the literature on nationalism for insights into this issue.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Strömbom Lisa

Identity Shifts and Conflict Transformation – Probing the Israeli History Debates

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 18, Issue 1 , 78-96

This article investigates narratives of Israeli history and identity and ways in which they can be understood as linked to the transformation of intractable conflicts. By using the case of Israeli New History, this study elaborates on the interplay between master and counter-commemorative narratives of identity and history, and the potential impact of that interaction when it comes to the development of conflict. The Israeli case exhibits an elaboration on societal boundaries and understandings of identity, which makes it apt to illustrate processes in which new understandings of history tie into the development of conflicts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Andrzej Olechnowicz

Il Regno Unito e la sua monarchia (1837-1914)

in Memoria e ricerca , Fascicolo 42

The United Kingdom in 1914 was an oddity: a unitary state in which one parliament governed four nations. Yet the political challenges faced by the British monarchy were perhaps less serious than those faced by other European states. The widespread attachment to a 'constitutional monarchy' which reigned but did not rule meant that the monarch was accepted as standing outside partisan party politics, and ensured that periods of heightened party political division had little impact on the popular standing of the institution. Furthermore, nation-building seemed more an established fact, than an on-going process. The post-Victorian monarchy paid some attention to the four component parts of its realm; but even in Ireland the monarchy was not called upon to play a decisive role or to face a determined opposition. As an imperial monarchy it gave symbolic force to the idea of 'the British Empire'. Finally, royal secretaries almost always succeeded in containing any ill-conceived personal initiatives by monarchs.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Henk te Velde, Anne Petterson

Il nazionalismo come negoziazione e interazione. "Orangismo" e nation building nei Paesi Bassi del XIX secolo

in Memoria e ricerca , Fascicolo 42

'Orangism' and Nation Building in the Netherlands in the 19th Century In the Netherlands a popular attachment to the later royal family existed even before its accession to the throne in 1813-1815. In the second half of the nineteenth century this popular 'Orangism' was stimulated by Liberal politics, commerce and the House of Orange itself and it was used as a means to overcome socio-religious divisions. In this case nation building appears to be much more a process of negotiation and interaction between social classes and groups rather than a top-down process, as it has often been presented. The case of the Dutch monarchy demonstrates the shift from an early nineteenth-century state-centred type



of nation building, in which the monarchy played an important political role, to a more societal type of nationalism that wanted to please and mobilize the masses. Around 1900 Dutch nationalism would reach a peak and it was hard to conceive of an element of cultural nation building that did not involve the monarchy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Åkermark Sia Spiliopoulou

Internal Self-Determination and the Role of Territorial Autonomy as a Tool for the Resolution of Ethno-Political Disputes

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 20, Special Issue: Rethinking Territorial Arrangements in Conflict Resolution , 5-25

Since the end of the Cold War, autonomy arrangements have been increasingly perceived and used as tools for resolving ethno-political conflicts as well as part of the affirmation of indigenous claims and self-determination struggles. One important reason for this is that the all-or-nothing dichotomy of statehood and external self-determination seems to have sustained conflict at least as much as having resolved conflict. However, the theoretical underpinnings of territorial autonomy have not yet been elaborated in international law. While the Canadian Supreme Court started formulating some requirements of what it takes to have a "meaningful access to government" in the Reference re Secession of Quebec case, the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice seems to pull international law back into the perennial discussion of secession, this time dubbed "remedial". Territorial autonomy as an institution is about more than the division of competences between centre and periphery; it is about creating comprehensive structural solutions and processes of representation, accountability and decision-making. International law needs thus to engage seriously with the conditions influencing the quality, stability and adaptability of territorial autonomy arrangements. Among those are issues of timing; responses to the traumas of conflict; the quality of democratic involvement and institutional design; as well as the influence of external actors.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Malešević, Siniša

Is Nationalism Inherently Violent?

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 1, 2013 , 12-37

Abstract

This article analyzes the complex and contradictory relationships between nationalism and organized violence. The author challenges the approaches that see nationalism as being inherently linked with violence and demonstrates that nationalist ideology by itself is rarely a main cause of hostile acts. The article focuses on the different forms of organized violence including wars, revolutions, terrorism, and genocide. It aims to show that the relationship between violence and nationalism cannot be properly captured by the dominant intentionalist, naturalist, and formativist perspectives. Instead the case is made that the emphasis should be given to the long-term historical processes and the relative modernity of both nationalism and organized violence. The author argues that it is very difficult to generate sustained and organized violent nationalist action. The mutation of nationalist doctrines into violent acts is generally a product of unintended structural circumstances and is characterized by its temporary nature and volatility. More specifically, this process is



usually generated by the coercive bureaucratization, centrifugal ideologization, and their capacity to be embedded in the networks of microsolidarity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Voller Yaniv

**Kurdish Oil Politics in Iraq: Contested Sovereignty and Unilateralism
in Middle East Policy**, Volume 20, Issue 1, Spring , 68-82

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/mepo.12004/pdf>.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Catherine Brice

**La monarchia e la nazionalizzazione degli italiani (1861-1900)
in Memoria e ricerca** , Fascicolo 42

Though considered for a long time by historians as a minor actor of Italian's nation building process, monarchy did play a part in the decades between 1861 and the turn of the century. The Author tries to reconstruct this role around four main aspects. The first one lies in identifying the piedmontese dynasty with its Italian destiny. The story of the Savoia has been rewritten and presented as a genuinely Italian one, along with the invention of a history of the Risorgimento tending to become always more consensual, erasing as much as possible the differences between the King, Victor Emanuel II and Garibaldi, for instance. The second aspect lies in the «possession» of the territory by the King Humbert Ist and his wife, Queen Margherita, through a regular practice of royal visits, aimed at a better knowledge of the populations, at a staging of Monarchy under different aspects (visiting the workers, the Church, local aristocracies etc). Third, Italian monarchy has tried to build up new national/dynastic rituals though festivities such as the festa dello Statuto or royal funerals. And the king and queen have build up a strong network for philanthropy, in a country where on this field, the State was competing with the traditional catholic chrity. Finally there has been a political issue in monarchical circles or groups that have been active in the Italian territory at the end of the XIXth century.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Buffet Julien

**Las metamorfosis del sentimiento nacional ruso: de Boris Yeltsin a Vladimir Putin
in Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN LIII - NÚMERO 1

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the failure of its modernization project have eroded the trust of the Russian nation, giving rise to a serious cultural crisis. Eager to join the great Western powers, the anticommunist nationalism of Boris Yeltsin did not respond appropriately to the expectations of the Russian people regarding the definition of a new role for their nation in world history. The reversal in the early years of the new century marks the transformation of nationalism into a political resource and its appropriation by Vladimir Putin as leader of the nation. As the key element of the new modernization project, State nationalism must serve to stabilize the country. This implies revitalizing the social contract



and updating the sovereign power of the State, to the detriment of the political system.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Daucé Françoise, Le Huérou Anne, Rousselet Kathy

Les diversités du patriotisme contemporain

in *Critique Internationale*, n° 58 - janvier/mars , 9-17

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

L'historicité du patriotisme

Le patriotisme, une affaire d'émotions et de pratiques

Le patriotisme entre allégeance et distanciation vis-à-vis de l'État

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bryce Benjamin

Linguistic Ideology and State Power: German and English Education in Ontario, 1880–1912

in *Canadian Historical Review (The)*, Volume 94, Number 2, June , 207-233

This article analyzes the relationship between German and English in Ontario's educational system between 1880 and 1912. It examines textbooks, curriculum, and the linguistic ideology of the Education Department. It charts the transition of German from one of three languages of instruction alongside English and French to an elective subject. By connecting German to other language debates in the period, this study expands our view of English–French relations in Ontario. The analysis of several languages also contributes new perspectives on bilingual education in North America. In addition, the focus on linguistic and cultural policies reassesses the layers of state power and the rising authority of the provincial education bureaucracy. Finally, by situating the educational experience of German-speaking children and the goals of German-speaking parents within the broader context of projects of standardization in the late nineteenth century, the author challenges the assumption about the singular importance of the First World War on German language and culture in Ontario and more broadly in Canada and the United States.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Xavier Tabet

L'italianologia letteraria

in *Memoria e ricerca* , Fascicolo 42

Taking into account the re-emergence of the «idea of a nation» on the political and the intellectual scenes, the author explores the meaning of this new «longing for a fatherland». Within the context of a return of the question of "italianness", contrasted as it may be, he stresses the fact that, for at least the last fifteen years (with something like a discrepancy between political time and intellectual time), we have witnessed the appearance of a new interest for the question of Italian "literary identity" among the literary critics and historians. Relying on the analysis of a number of



books which lie at the core of what might be called l'italianologia letteraria, he tries to understand how the questioning relative to national identity seems to be spreading, as if by contamination, to the field of literary criticism. He focuses on how we have come to reexamine the fundamental characteristics of Italian literary historiography in a sometimes highly critical manner toward the "risorgimental" paradigms elaborated at the inception of the "literary nation".

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Volker Sellin

Monarchia e Nazione in Germania dal 1848 al 1914

in *Memoria e ricerca* , Fascicolo 42

During the revolution of 1848 the Frankfurt national assembly failed in their attempt to create a German national state by reconciling the existing monarchies with popular sovereignty. When in 1871 the unification of Germany was accomplished under Prussian leadership, the monarchical principle was respected. The preservation of the monarchies, however, had made the exclusion of the multi-national Austrian empire and of the Austrian Germans from the process of German national unification inevitable, since Austria refused to accept division into a German and a non-German part, connected by personal union only. Ideologically, the new Reich was styled as a restoration of the Holy Roman Empire, regardless of the fact that it was national and not universal and that the Hohenzollern dynasty of Prussia was protestant and not catholic. While monarchy in Germany was increasingly identified with the national emperor alone, the visibility and political importance of the other German princes declined.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Javier Moreno Luzòn

Monarchia in scena e discorsi nazionalisti nella Spagna del Rigenerazionismo (1902-1913)

in *Memoria e ricerca* , Fascicolo 42

This article studies the links between monarchy and Spanish nationalism in the first decade of Alfonso XIII's reign (1902-1913). It focuses on three different aspects: the great monarchical ceremonies, specially the royal oath to the Constitution "or coronation"; the royal trips, extraordinarily developed; and the military ceremonies containing a strong nationalist meaning as the annual swearing of loyalty to the national flag by new soldiers. Through those performances, the crown was integrated in a national imaginary dominated by discourses and practices of regeneration of the fatherland in the aftermath of the colonial disaster of 1898: in such a regeneration, the king was thought as a necessary force. At a lower level of pomp and splendor than other european monarchies, the Spanish king was perceived as a national symbol by different groups. Among them, local elites, various associations and the heterogeneous public of the royal spectacles, shown by the mass media. Those performances reinforced the political role of a king that enjoyed constitutional executive powers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Weiss Srdjan Jovanović

National, un-national



in **Nationalities Papers**, Volume 41, Issue 1, 2013 , 90-108

Abstract

This chapter discusses urban developments in two major cities in Serbia, Belgrade and Novi Sad, influenced by the Balkan political crisis of the 1990s. Belgrade is the national capital of Serbia, with a dominantly Serbian population. Novi Sad is the capital of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and home to a population of more than 20 different ethnicities. The seemingly bipolar relationship between these two cities started to emerge during the fall of Yugoslavia and has intensified during the subsequent shrinkage of the country into the current state of Serbia. The effects of war as well as migration have left their mark on the urban situation of both cities. Both cities are not old by European standards, Belgrade emerging before the rise of the Ottoman Empire and Novi Sad being a product of the eighteenth century and the rise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. These two cities traditionally vary in size and ethnic make up from almost mono-ethnic Belgrade to multi-ethnic Novi Sad. This paper will explore the idea that national capitals such as Belgrade can give rise to “un-national capitals” such as Novi Sad. This will be viewed through a lens of the role of architecture and design in affecting the realities of both cities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Vermeersch Peter

Nationalism and political competition in Central Europe: the case of Poland

in **Nationalities Papers**, Volume 41, Issue 1, 2013 , 128-145

Abstract

To explain nationalist politics in Poland, researchers and observers have sometimes speculated about the dispositions of the electorate, popular sentiments, public fears for the loss of sovereignty, the people's historically ingrained preference for nationalist rhetoric, and their feelings of discontent about the economy. This article argues that hypotheses about the existence of nationalist sentiments within the electorate have tended to eclipse an important question about the main producers of nationalist rhetoric: Why do certain mainstream parties at certain points in time decide to frame their program as nationalist, even when there is no objective reality that seems conducive to the creation of great public concern about typically nationalist issues? This article explores this question by looking at various campaigns for Polish parliamentary elections since 1997. My argument is that when seeking to explain the motivations behind major campaign turns toward nationalism we should not merely understand them as responses to voter sentiment and voting behavior. Instead, we should see them as crucially driven by the transactional logic of inter-party competition in a party system that is in constant flux.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Tim Reeskens Matthew Wright

Nationalism and the Cohesive Society A Multilevel Analysis of the Interplay Among Diversity, National Identity, and Social Capital Across 27 European Societies

in **Comparative Political Studies** , 46 (2) , 153-181



A spate of work has demonstrated tensions between ethno-cultural diversity and social capital. Some have suggested that attachment to the nation can foster cross-group trust, particularly if this national self-definition is “civic” in character rather than “ethnic” (the Miller thesis). Similarly, others have argued that civic nations are less likely to suffer reduced social capital in response to increased diversity, as the sense of threat that typically emerges in ethnically diverse contexts will be mitigated (the Putnam thesis). The authors test these hypotheses on 27 countries using both contextual-level data and the latest wave of the European Values Study (2008). Though the evidence is mixed on civic nationalism, the authors find strong evidence that ethnic nationalism goes hand-in-hand with reduced social capital and that it increases the negative social impact of diversity. So although this study only partially confirms the benefits of civic nationalism, it clearly underlines the costs of its ethnic variety.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Hayward Katy, Ó Dochartaigh Niall

Nationalism, Territory, and Organized Violence: Introduction to the Special Issue
in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 1, 2013 , 1-11

Abstract

Recent decades have seen significant advances in research on the relationship between nationalist ideology and organized violence. New scholarship has paid much closer attention to the microdynamics of violence, the strikingly uneven distribution of violence, the relationship between master cleavages and intimate local and personal struggles, and to process, history, and contingency. Nationalist ideology is understood to be bound up intimately with institutions and with everyday relationships at the local level. We introduce the contributions to this special issue, outlining the way in which they highlight the power of ideas, narratives, and microlevel solidarity in mobilization for violence and how they address the crucial importance of territoriality in linking ideas and action.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jaunait Alexandre

Nationalismes sexuels ? Reconfigurations contemporaines des sexualités et des nationalismes
in *Raisons politiques*, n. 49 , 5-23

Le terme de nationalisme sexuel pose une liaison sémantique entre deux « objets » qui peuvent non seulement apparaître comme renvoyant à des réalités distinctes, mais qui renvoient également à des champs d'investigation en histoire et en sciences sociales dont les résultats et les méthodologies ne se sont pas toujours recoupés. Pourtant, les recherches sur les processus...

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

Des nationalismes sexuels d'hier à ceux d'aujourd'hui

Vers les controverses de l'impérialisme sexuel et de l'homonationalisme

Construction et usage du concept d'«homonationalisme »



L'exemple de la politique israélienne de pinkwashing
L'imposition internationale/transnationale de catégories sexuelles hégémoniques ?
Effets de circulation : confrontations et interactions
Dualité des discours

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Christian P. Weber

Particular Universals—Universal Particulars: Biopolitical Metaphors and the Emergence of Nationalism in Europe (1650–1815)

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 426-448

Based on Max Weber's concept of Kulturation and Hans Blumenberg's project of metaphorology, this essay argues that modern nations follow distinct cultural programmes that are inherent to their national ideas. Each national idea is propagated by a particular biopolitical metaphor, which performs a transfer from practical or scientific ideas about how nature structures and organises life to cultural ideas about how human lives should be socially and politically organised. The essay examines the emergence of the principal metaphors of grafting in England (Great Britain), of regeneration and elective affinities in France, and of organic self-generation in Prussia (Germany). The fact that each nation claims for its particular national idea the status of a universal principle constitutes the intrinsic paradox of nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ozkirimli Umut

Passionately internationalist: Fred Halliday and nationalism studies

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 19, Issue 2, April 2013 , 203-207

Abstract

The aim of this academic obituary is to briefly consider Fred Halliday's (1946-2010) contribution to nationalism studies. The article will first discuss Halliday's understanding of nationalism, which he defines as a set of ideas that asserts that the world is divided into distinct peoples with a particular history and various entitlements, and his position in the theoretical debate on nationalism. It will then focus on Halliday's combat with the ethical doctrine of nationalism, more specifically the tension between the moral claims of the latter and what he loosely terms Enlightenment principles. The article will conclude by a brief discussion of Halliday's political commitments and his internationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Daniel Unowsky

Patriottismo sovranazionale e celebrazioni dinastiche nella tarda monarchia asburgica: la Kaiser-Huldigungs-Festzug del 1908



in **Memoria e ricerca** , Fascicolo 42

Many students of the Habsburg Monarchy continue to describe the last decades before World War I as a period in Habsburg history characterized by fierce nationalities problems that supposedly threatened the very existence of the state. Until recently, Habsburg historians paid far less attention to the factors considered that bolstered state cohesion, such as the dynasty itself, the Catholic Church, the Habsburg military, the bureaucracy, and so on. This article attempts to place the 1908 Kaiser-Huldigungs- Festzug, the most grandiose of all imperial celebrations during the reign of Franz Joseph, into context. Despite its failures and shortcomings, this article argues that the Kaiser-Huldigungs-Festzug of 1908 contributed to a broad public culture of patriotic celebration, participation, and consumption that punctuated the calendar and pervaded everyday life in the decades before the First World War.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Protsyk Oleh, Garaz Stela

Politicization of ethnicity in party manifestos

in **Party Politics**, Volume 19, Number 2, Special Issue on — Religious parties and the inclusion-moderation thesis, March , 296-318

In this article we present a content analysis framework for textual analysis of programmatic documents with the goal of identifying party positions on the ethnic dimension of political competition. The proposed approach allows for evaluation and comparison of how party systems in multi-ethnic states process ethno-cultural claims and demands. Our method of content analysis of party programmatic texts provides adequate granularity by which to capture the subtleties of ethno-cultural political rhetoric. It also addresses some of the misclassification and measurement problems raised in the literature with respect to the dominant Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) approach to textual analysis. We demonstrate how estimates generated by our method for human-based coding constitute an improvement on the CMP's estimates of party positions on ethno-cultural issues.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Rose, Paul Lawrence

Renan versus Gobineau: Semitism and Antisemitism, Ancient Races and Modern Liberal Nations

in **History of European Ideas**, Volume 39, Issue 4 , 528-540

Despite his repudiation of antisemitism, Renan influenced the development of antisemitic ideologies in both France and Germany. His typology of 'Semite' and 'Aryan' was adopted especially in Germany and combined with biological concepts of race to become the foundation of the concepts of 'Semitism' and 'Antisemitism'. Renan, however, always insisted on a linguistic/cultural definition of race and regarded the biological conception, while it might have had some primitive reality, as outmoded and immoral in European civilization. After 1870 the growth of German racial antisemitism led Renan to elaborate repeatedly on race as a civilisational phenomenon that in modern Europe should have lost its biological origins. His argument that modern Jews were integral members of the French 'nation' and 'civilization' was profoundly influential on the emergence of the theory of the modern 'nation' as the liberal state. Gobineau's theory of race also lent itself to exploitation by racial antisemites, though it was not overtly antisemitic. Unlike Renan, however, Gobineau in his later years inclined to a vague personal antisemitism. The main difference was one of temperament as



well as devotion on Renan's part to a liberal idea of the nation, as opposed to Gobineau's aversion to liberalism and modern civilization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Stack Trevor

**Spoken Like a State: Language and Religion as Categories of Liberal Thought
in Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism** , vol. 13, n. 1, April , 97–100

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Chicharro Merayo Mar

**Telenovelas and society: Constructing and reinforcing the nation through television fiction
in European Journal of Cultural Studies**, Volume 16, No. 2, April 2013 , 211-225

This study focuses on certain aspects of the socialising function exerted by the medium of television. More specifically, it examines in detail some of the televisual strategies used by Spanish public television to reinforce the idea of Spain as 'state' and 'nation'. To achieve this, the study analyses two telenovelas produced in Spain, *La Señora* (The Lady) and *Amar en tiempos revueltos* (Loving in Troubled Times), which represent the adaptation of the genre to the cultural characteristics of its target audience. Although both series adhere to the principal rules of this melodramatic formula, they propose, in a similar way, an exercise of interpreting the country's recent history. They explain and interpret the past of this society, thus justifying the collective present day. The analysis of both texts allows us to identify some of the semantic keys used today by the television media to evoke and legitimate the idea of the Spanish nation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Iñigo Urrutia Libarona

**Territorial Integrity and Self-Determination: The Approach of the International Court of Justice in the Advisory
Opinion on Kosovo**

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, n. 16 , 107-140

El 17 de febrer de 2008, Kosovo va aprovar la declaració d'independència de Sèrbia. La declaració es va fer en qualitat de secessió unilateral, una categoria que fins al moment present està sent àmpliament debatuda per la comunitat internacional. Un nombre respectable dels Estats membres de Nacions Unides hi van donar suport. S'han sotmès moltes qüestions jurídiques sobre la independència de Kosovo a informe consultiu del Tribunal Internacional de Justícia. L'informe ha estat llargament esperat pels estudiosos del dret, tant pels seus efectes com per l'abast dels seus principis fora del context de descolonització, per tal com podria constituir un nou enfocament sobre l'escenari internacional del segle XXI. El Tribunal Internacional de Justícia va concloure que la declaració d'independència era conforme al dret internacional sempre que aquell no la prohibís expressament. El contingut de l'informe pivotava entorn de si el dret internacional prohibeix o no la declaració d'independència, sense entrar a dirimir si a una entitat que busca la secessió



l'assisteix un dret positiu a la secessió ni, en cas afirmatiu, en quines circumstàncies. La qüestió bàsica és si estem o no estem davant d'un nou cursen la interpretació de certes categories clàssiques del dret internacional: el principi d'integritat territorial, què dona carta de naturalesa a un estat, la sobirania, el reconeixement, el dret a la lliure determinació externa, etc. En aquest estudi analitzem alguns dels aspectes que sorgeixen en l'informe consultiu del Tribunal Internacional de Justícia sobre la conformitat amb el dret internacional de la declaració unilateral d'independència de Kosovo a partir de la qüestió territorial. En primer lloc analitzarem l'abast del principi d'integritat territorial dels estats i la forma en què opera; en segon lloc, ens centrarem en l'àmbit d'aplicació d'aquest principi en relació amb l'interior de l'Estat, i ens preguntarem com opera el dret internacional en relació amb les declaracions d'independència. Finalment, tractarem el principi de respecte a la integritat territorial en el cas específic de Sèrbia respecte de Kosovo, i acabarem amb una sèrie de conclusions generals. Aquest estudi té com a objectiu, en definitiva, contribuir al debat teòric sobre els desafiaments a les certeses tradicionals del dret internacional sobre aquesta qüestió.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Lentz Carola

The 2010 independence jubilees: the politics and aesthetics of national commemoration in Africa
in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 19, Issue 2, April 2013 , 217-237

Abstract

In 2010, as many as seventeen African states celebrated their independence jubilees. The debates surrounding the organisation of these celebrations, and the imagery and performances they employed, reflect the fault lines with which African nation-building has to contend, such as competing political orientations as well as religious, regional and ethnic diversity. The celebrations represented constitutive and cathartic moments of nation-building, aiming to enhance citizens' emotional attachments to the country and inviting to remember, re-enact and re-define national history. They became a forum of debate about what should constitute the norms and values that make-up national identity and, in the interstices of official ceremonies, provided space for the articulation of new demands for public recognition. A study of the independence celebrations thus allows us to explore contested processes of nation-building and images of nationhood and to study the role of ritual and performance in the (re)production of nations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Hoffmann Robert, Larner Jeremy

The Demography of Chinese Nationalism: A Field-Experimental Approach
in China Quarterly (The), Vol. 213 , 189-204

Empirical evidence concerning the demographics and development of Chinese nationalism is sparse but important for scholarship and policy. Its collection entails methodological challenges in access and reliability. We conducted a field experiment to measure nationalism in incentive-compatible choices among a diverse group of 447 Chinese subjects in a field setting. Our results demonstrate greater nationalism in female, older, less affluent and more rural respondents. We



also find support for nationalism in professional and educated individuals. Our results provide qualified support for a middle-class nationalism in China.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Van Caenegem R.C.

The European Nation State: A Great Survivor
in *European Review*, Volume 21 - Issue 01 , 28.48

Today Europe consists of a great number of nation states – some large like Germany, some small like Latvia – where nationhood coincides with statehood. This situation is the result of political upheavals, such as the Italian resorgimento and the waning of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, and the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the collapse of the Soviet Union and Communist Yugoslavia in the twentieth century. The process is still going on and the United Kingdom may one day be divided into three nation states, England, Scotland and Ireland. The author explores the origins of the modern state after Europe had passed through the tribal and feudal phases (fifth–twelfth centuries) and the role of the Church in the success of the late medieval monarchies, while making clear that the Church also thwarted their ambition to achieve full sovereignty. The author finally wonders what encouraged the European peoples to achieve independence and national statehood.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Peterson V. Spike

The Intended and Unintended Queering of States/Nations
in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* , vol. 13, n. 1, April , 57-68

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Shinar Chaim

The Role of the National Problem in the Disintegration of the Soviet Union
in *European Review*, Volume 21 - Issue 01 , 56-69

‘The Soviet Union, like the United States, was a country established to serve and promote a political idea, not to be a state for nations. The United States was founded in order to be a modern democratic polity; the Soviet Union in order to promote Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet Union thus began as a ‘modern,’ post-imperialist state. The cement holding the state together was a compound of ideology, a hierarchical, disciplinary party, charismatic leadership, and external treats. [In the 80s] this cement was crumbling... [The Soviet] state had lost its *raison d’être* and the people turned to the traditional and conventional basis of the state – that is, the nation. But since this was a multinational state – and unlike the multiethnic United States, most peoples in the USSR have distinct languages and territories of their own – [they



returned to them to establish independent states.]’1

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

MacMaster Neil

The Roots of Insurrection: The Role of the Algerian Village Assembly (Djemâa) in Peasant Resistance, 1863–1962

in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 55, Issue 2, April , 419-447

Interpretations of the origins of the Algerian war of independence have tended to emphasize either discontinuity—the radical dislocation of precolonial social and political structures following the French conquest—or the continuity of a culture of peasant resistance between 1871 and 1954. Little investigation has been carried out into the latter, or how, if at all, socio-political institutions enabled rural society to sustain an unbroken “tradition” of resistance over nearly a century of unprecedented crisis. Most debate has focused on the role of the tribe, a largely moribund institution, and this has obscured the importance of the village assembly, or *djemâa*, a micro-level organization that historians have largely neglected. The *djemâa*, in both its official and covert forms, enabled village elders to regulate the internal affairs of the community, such as land disputes, as well as to present a unified face against external threats. This article shows how emerging nationalist movements starting in the 1920s penetrated isolated rural communities by adapting to the preexisting structure of the *djemâa*, a tactic that was also followed after 1954 as independence fighters established a guerrilla support base among the mountain peasants. While Pierre Bourdieu and other scholars have emphasized the devastating impacts that economic individualism had on peasant communalism, this study employs the *djemâa* as a case study of a “traditional” institution that proved flexible and enduring as rural society confronted settler land appropriations and a savage war of decolonization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Özavcı; Hilmi Ozan

The philosophy of westernisation: Ahmet Ağaoğlu on civilisation and culture

in European Review of History - Revue Européene d'Histoire, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 21-37

This article seeks to explore Ahmet Ağaoğlu's understanding of the concepts of ‘civilisation’ and ‘culture’ and his approach to the question of Westernisation, with the aim of shedding light on the intellectual background of the westward transformation of Turkey. Ağaoğlu attempted to define and describe these concepts at a time when a nation-building process was taking place in Turkey. The study traces the evolution of, and the relationship between, Ağaoğlu's later Westernist and nationalist ideas which were in constant interplay with each other, and concludes that Ağaoğlu saw a symbiotic relationship between one's changing civilisation and cultural enrichment.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Willis Justin, Gona George



Tradition, Tribe, and State in Kenya: The Mijikenda Union, 1945–1980

in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 55, Issue 2, April , 448-473

The apparent mobilizing power of ethnic sentiment in recent African history has been the subject of vigorous debate. Studies that emphasize the centrality of colonialism and the instrumental use of ethnicity have been criticized by a scholarship arguing that the affective power of ethnicity is culturally rooted through longstanding experience and practice, and that both manipulation and invention are constrained by this. This paper contributes to that debate through a discussion of the history of the Mijikenda, one of the “super-tribes” of modern Kenyan politics. It suggests that there were indeed “limits to invention,” but that there was nonetheless substantial entrepreneurship and creativity in the politics of Mijikenda identity. This drew heavily on the productive, discursive tension between tradition and modernity that lay at the heart of colonialism and was drawn into vigorous debates over legitimacy and representation in the “critical juncture” of the final years of colonial rule.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Baer Marc David

Turk and Jew in Berlin: The First Turkish Migration to Germany and the Shoah

in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 55, Issue 2, April , 330-355

In this paper I critically examine the conflation of Turk with Muslim, explore the Turkish experience of Nazism, and examine Turkey's relation to the darkest era of German history. Whereas many assume that Turks in Germany cannot share in the Jewish past, and that for them the genocide of the Jews is merely a borrowed memory, I show how intertwined the history of Turkey and Germany, Turkish and German anti-Semitism, and Turks and Jews are. Bringing together the histories of individual Turkish citizens who were Jewish or Dönme (descendants of Jews) in Nazi Berlin with the history of Jews in Turkey, I argue the categories “Turkish” and “Jewish” were converging identities in the Third Reich. Untangling them was a matter of life and death. I compare the fates of three neighbors in Berlin: Isaak Behar, a Turkish Jew stripped of his citizenship by his own government and condemned to Auschwitz; Fazli Taylan, a Turkish citizen and Dönme, whom the Turkish government exerted great efforts to save; and Eric Auerbach, a German Jew granted refuge in Turkey. I ask what is at stake for Germany and Turkey in remembering the narrative of the very few German Jews saved by Turkey, but in forgetting the fates of the far more numerous Turkish Jews in Nazi-era Berlin. I conclude with a discussion of the political effects today of occluding Turkish Jewishness by failing to remember the relationship between the first Turkish migration to Germany and the Shoah.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Iveković Sanja

Une artiste sans galerie. Un entretien avec Sanja Iveković

in Cultures & Conflits, n. 88, Migrations climatiques, hiver , 159-172

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Day Abby

**Yes, but Not in the North: Nuances in Religion and Language Cultures
in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*** , vol. 13, n. 1, April , 105-108

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bogain Ariane

**Jules Romains' Vision of a United Europe in Interwar France: Legacy and Ambiguities
in *Modern and Contemporary France***, Volume 21, Issue 1 , 89-105

The interwar period in Europe was characterised by a multi-faceted movement in favour of European integration. After the slaughter of the First World War, many intellectuals, writers, industrialists and politicians brought the idea of European unity to the fore and engaged in various actions, from setting up organisations to lobbying governments, to promote the unification of Europe. Much research has been carried out on the leading figures of these pro-European activities but amongst the wealth of this period other actors have tended to be forgotten. Such is the case with the French writer Jules Romains, who not only coined 'Europeanism', the word that would define the whole movement in favour of Europe, but who also actively participated in promoting a united Europe. This article seeks to introduce and discuss Romains' ideas on Europe. It will demonstrate that his vision was very coherent within the framework of his Unanimist philosophy but was undermined by serious ambiguities. It will also demonstrate that his ideas are of great interest for what they reveal about the interwar period in France and Europe, what they bring to the genealogy of the European project, as set up after the Second World War, and for the ambiguities at the core of his concept of Europe, which are still very much at the heart of many of today's debates about the European Union.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Maliks Reidar

Kant, the State, and Revolution

in *Kantian Review*, Volume 18, Issue 01, March 2013 , 29-47

Abstract

This paper argues that, although no resistance or revolution is permitted in the Kantian state, very tyrannical regimes must not be obeyed because they do not qualify as states. The essay shows how a state ceases to be a state, argues that persons have a moral responsibility to judge about it and defends the compatibility of this with Kantian authority. The reconstructed Kantian view has implications for how we conceive authority and obligation. It calls for a morally demanding definition of the state and asserts that the primary personal responsibility is not to evaluate the morality of every single law but to evaluate the moral standing of the polity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Milstein Brian

Kantian Cosmopolitanism beyond 'Perpetual Peace': Commercium, Critique, and the Cosmopolitan Problematic in European Journal of Philosophy, Volume 21, Issue 1, March 2013 , 118–143

Abstract: Most contemporary attempts to draw inspiration from Kant's cosmopolitan project focus exclusively on the prescriptive recommendations he makes in his article, 'On Perpetual Peace'. In this essay, I argue that there is more to his cosmopolitan point of view than his normative agenda. Kant has a unique and interesting way of problematizing the way individuals and peoples relate to one another on the stage of world history, based on a notion that human beings who share the earth in common 'originally' constitute a 'commercium' of thoroughgoing interaction. By unpacking this concept of 'commercium', we can uncover in Kant a more critical perspective on world history that sets up the cosmopolitan as a specific kind of historical-political challenge. I will show that we can distinguish this level of problematization from the prescriptive level at which Kant formulates his familiar recommendations in 'Perpetual Peace'. I will further show how his particular way of framing the cosmopolitan problematic can be expanded and expatiated upon to develop a more critical, reflexive, and open-ended conception of cosmopolitan thinking.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Corsetti Rita

Pensiero e azione federalista in Mario Albertini

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 79, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 567-587

In the last months the worsening of the economic and financial situation in the Eurozone has relaunched the debate on the political dimension of the European Union and an increasing number of articles, manifestos and statements on the European future have been published.

Offering an original point of view on Europe, the writings of Mario Albertini, a former leader of the European Federalist Movement and one of the most prolific federalist theorists, could suggest new ideas to draft an exit strategy from the current European crisis.

In the Fifties Albertini took part to the federalist action promoted by Altiero Spinelli, contributing to the organization of the Federalist Movement and to the education of the youth federalist militants.

In the first half of the Sixties he began to develop his own federalist strategy based on autonomy from the national political forces, opposition to the nation State and rejection of the government's European policy. His action aimed at introducing a genuine European political thought, mobilizing the European people to obtain recognition of his constituent power and realizing the European federation as a first step toward the World federation.

At the end of the Sixties the failure of his attempts and the development of the European integration process brought him to revise his strategy. He renounced to obtain the recognition of the European people's constituent power in the short term and focalized his action on more realistic goals, like the election of the European Parliament or the creation of European single currency, that should have pushed toward the European federation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Carnaghi Benedetta

Silvio Trentin, un fédéraliste en guerre contre le fascisme



in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 37, Printemps , 121-132

PLAN DE L'ARTICLE

L'engagement dans la Résistance
La conversion au fédéralisme
La postérité de la pensée de Trentin

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-bulletin-de-l-institut-pierre-renouvin-2013-1-page-121.htm>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Editorial

Deterrence Revisited?

in *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 1-4

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jordan Gheorghe Barbulescu, Miruna Troncota

EU's "Laboratory" in the Western Balkans. Experimenting Europeanization without Democratization. The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, N. 31

The article will explore some potential causes of this limited process of Europeanization and its overall impact on the malfunctioning of Bosnia. After a short conceptual overview inside the Europeanization literature and its connection with democratization, the analytical section of the article will focus on the particular case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). The main question to be tackled is: How democratic is the Europeanization process in Bosnia and who should be held accountable for the outcome after almost two decades-long effort? The subsequent analysis will try to bring a potential answer to this concern, using the intricate case of the Europeanization of BiH as an illustration for the ambivalent role of the EU in the Western Balkans (WB) with the scope of pointing out some lessons which were not fully drawn from this process. The main conclusion is that the mixed strategy of EU that induced both external pressure and local ownership under the EU conditionality created institutional blockage and a democratic deficit

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Skulte-Ouaiss Jennifer

Home is where the heart is; citizenship is where it is safe: dual citizenship and Europe

in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Volume 20, Issue 2 , 133-148

In a country with a history of conflict, Lebanese not only have long sought emigration as a means of improving their



safety and prosperity but also have sought out second passports as 'safeguards' to be used when things got rough at home. Little has been done on how Lebanese view these 'second passports' and the actual citizenship that comes with them. This article seeks to tackle this topic through analysing interviews of 10 Lebanese citizens who also hold European citizenship through naturalisation. How these Lebanese view their European citizenships will be described before turning to discussion of how this may affect the understandings of citizenship in Europe. The article concludes by looking on how the understandings of citizenship in liberal democracies in Europe on the part of citizens who normally reside outside of the state and who obtain citizenship as a 'safety' option may affect the broader understandings of citizenship in these countries.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Christopher Cochrane and Andrea Perrella

Regions, Regionalism and Regional Differences in Canada

in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique, Volume 45 - Issue 04 , 829 - 853

This article contests the concepts of "region" and "regionalism" in Canadian political science. There is widespread agreement among observers of politics in Canada that the country is divided in politically consequential ways along regional lines. There is little agreement, however, about what causes these regional divisions or, indeed, about where the lines of regional division should be drawn. As a result, rival explanations for regional differences in Canada are commonly tested against different evidence arising from different definitions of region. This article argues that "region" should be conceptualized in generalizable terms as the physical space that surrounds an individual, and that "regionalism" should be conceptualized as an affective attachment to the people, places and institutions within a geographic area. Regionalism, from this perspective, is a concept that plays an important role in driving regional differences in opinion differences rather than simply describing these differences. The article applies this argument to a study of regional differences in Canadian opinions about government involvement in the economy. The empirical analysis points to the need for the development of concepts that can be generalized across explanations and levels of analysis. Even on the single issue analyzed here, regional differences appeared to have different causes in different regions, and these different causes seemed to operate at different levels of analysis.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fahimul Quadir

Rising Donors and the New Narrative of 'South-South' Cooperation: what prospects for changing the landscape of development assistance programmes?

in Third World Quarterly, volume 34 n.2 , 321-338

This article aims to provide a critical analysis of how the 'emerging donors' are redefining the structure of development cooperation in the new millennium. It offers an overview of the growing role of Brazil, China, India and South Africa in shaping the conditionally driven framework of official development cooperation. By reviewing the aid coordination mechanisms of the Southern donors, the article also seeks to provide a context for comprehending the challenges for Southern countries to systematically manage, monitor and deliver aid. It argues that the Southern donors' interest in changing the dominant conditionality driven narrative of aid has opened up the possibility for constructing a new aid paradigm that focuses more on the strategic needs of the partner countries than on advancing the ideological interests



of the donor countries. However, without assuming a much greater role in providing overseas aid and without building a unified platform based on a shared development vision, Southern donors will not be able to meaningfully alter the current dac -dominated aid architecture.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Morgera Elisa, Savaresi Annalisa

A Conceptual and Legal Perspective on the Green Economy

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Assessing Progress in International Environmental Law, April , 14-28

The 2012 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development had as one of its two main themes ‘a green economy in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication’. The Conference did not agree upon a definition of ‘green economy’ and limited itself to ‘[encouraging] each country to consider the implementation of green economy policies’ as one of the different approaches available to achieve sustainable development. Nevertheless, its outcome document provides a host of indications about the challenges and opportunities to achieve sustainable development through the green economy. This article offers a conceptual and legal perspective on the green economy by investigating the evolution of the related policy debate and focusing on whether the text on the green economy adopted at Rio+20 provides new insights on the implementation of sustainable development, notably in relation to environmental integration, intra-generational equity, human rights and corporate accountability.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hook Glenn D., Son Key-young

A Tale of Two “Alliances”: Internal Threats and Networked Civil Society in Japan–US and South Korea–US Base Politics

in Pacific Focus, Volume 28, Issue 1, April , 17–42

This article examines what we call internal threats and civil alliances in connection with the two formal security alliances the United States has forged with Japan and South Korea. It investigates the causal link between the rise of internal threats to human and environmental security and the formation of civic alliances. In this process, we demonstrate the salience of networked human and environmental security actors and their articulation of anti-alliance and anti-base discourses. As case studies, the article focuses on the base relocation projects in Japan and South Korea at the heart of the formation of these civil alliances.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cuttica Cesare

A Thing or Two About Absolutism and Its Historiography

in History of European Ideas, Volume 39, Issue 2 , 287-300

This essay closely examines the highly contested but widely employed historiographical category ‘absolutism’. Why are



scholars so divided on whether it is even legitimate to use the term and, if they agree to do so, why are they still much at odds in explaining what it is? What are the main historiographical currents in the study of absolutism? Is it the same thing to speak of absolutism in regard to the practices of early modern European monarchies and with reference to the political ideas of so-called absolutist theorists? By addressing these questions through the methodology of intellectual history, this essay provides a comprehensive account of debates on absolutism and, at the same time, suggests that further work needs to be carried out on its theoretical aspects. In this respect, the author will propose a series of key ideas and principles which are meant to encapsulate the core of an early modern doctrine of absolutist monarchical sovereignty. It will also be argued that, when studying political thought, the term 'absolutism' might be abandoned in favour of the plural 'absolutisms' as a better way of understanding the past, its languages, opinions, people. In so doing, a thorough analysis of what political absolutism(s) is will be set forth, and a series of more general considerations on history-writing will also be advanced.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chen Ian Tsung-Yen, Yang Alan Hao

A harmonized Southeast Asia? Explanatory typologies of ASEAN countries' strategies to the rise of China
in *Pacific Review (The)*, Volume 26, Issue 3, 265-288

In the face of a rising China, some scholars have argued that ASEAN countries will choose to either bandwagon with or balance against China, while others believe they will respond with a more moderate policy known as 'hedging'. In considering these options, ASEAN countries must take into account their individual interests within the economic and security structure of this region. In this research, we argue that each ASEAN country confronts divergent sets of security and economic relations with China, which play a major role in shaping their policy responses. We can characterize their responses into four quadrants. Each cell can be categorized in terms of a high or low degree of threat perception (HT or LT) from China, as well as a positive or negative economic expectation (PE or NE) with China. We thus hypothesize that ASEAN countries in the HT-NE situation will balance against China; those in the LT-PE situation will bandwagon with China; those in the HT-PE or LT-NE situations will hedge against China. Hypotheses are supported by three case studies, Vietnam-China (HT-NE), Cambodia-China (LT-PE) and Singapore-China (HT-PE) relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chacón Rodrigo

Arendt's *Denktagebuch*, 1950-1973: An Unwritten Ethics for the Human Condition?
in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 39, Issue 4, 561-582

This paper provides an interpretation of the movement of Arendt's thought in her *Denktagebuch*, from 1950 to 1973. This movement results in an incipient political philosophy based on new concepts of freedom, equality, and solidarity. As a contribution to debates on the normative foundations of Arendt's political thought, the paper seeks to show that her incipient political philosophy is based on an ethical understanding of the human condition as constituted by its openness to the divine, the worldly, and the (human) Other. Despite its fragmentary nature and its politically problematic indebtedness to theological traditions, Arendt's private thought nevertheless allows us to rethink her place in the history of European ideas. Beyond that, it also provides a powerful alternative to the view that ethical and political thought must remain 'political not metaphysical'.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pezzimenti Rocco

Ascesa, declino e ripresa della sovranità: crisi di crescita

in *Archivio giuridico*, fasc. 4 , 465-488

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Obama Barack

Avanti insieme nella luce della libertà

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 226-239

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chih-yu Shih, Jiwu Yin

Between Core National Interest and a Harmonious World: Reconciling Self-role Conceptions in Chinese Foreign Policy

in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 6 Issue 1 , 59-84

Why and how can historical cases support different assessments of China rising with respect to the possibility of its becoming China threat? Rationalists and strategic culture analysts, who predominantly look at China from an external position, debate the influence of power, strategic cultures, and identities in explaining this highly controversial question. We, however, develop an internal view from the standpoint of a China looking out, which argues that different sources of Chinese self-role concepts could yield different policy behaviour. We analyse two discourses on Chinese foreign policy that have emerged in the 21st century—core national interest and harmonious world. We then introduce the dialectic approach of harmonious realism wherein indecisiveness is the essential characteristic. It is failure to decide on the specific purpose of Chinese foreign policy that creates China's self-role conflict. Harmonious disciplining, balance, racism, and intervention are the practical forms of China's harmonious realism through which the contemporary case analysis explains the forms, actual policy, and behavioural consequences of China's self-role conflict.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Farber Daniel

Beyond the North–South Dichotomy in International Climate Law: The Distinctive Adaptation Responsibilities of the Emerging Economies

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Assessing



Progress in International Environmental Law, April , 42-53

This article focuses on uneven development within emerging economies. The result of this unevenness, which often separates urban from rural populations, is that emerging economies contain two large groups: one that is enjoying rapid economic growth and begins to see a trajectory toward developed country lifestyles, and another that is lagging behind and is still more similar to developing country residents. In short, an emerging economy can be seen as containing within itself a quasi-developed country and a quasi-developing one. The article argues that these internal divisions are distinctive to emerging economies and that they provide a basis for differentiating the responsibilities of emerging economies from the developed/developing country situations. Internally, populations within emerging economies have common but differentiated responsibilities themselves, and emerging economies have a duty to use national resources funded by the more developed portion of the society to assist with adaptation in less-developed areas.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Entin Mark

Brics: l'arrivée d'un nouvel acteur à l'échelle mondiale

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 503-516

After its 4th summit it is undoubted that Brics is becoming a formidable global actor, whose influence on the international scene is growing. But how far is it going in its transformation? In the article, the Author tries to answer this important question, comparing Brics to other global Actors and analysing Brics's principal features to see if they correspond to the objective and subjective criteria, usually employed to describe those Actors. As showed in his inquiry, Brics is changing, but very slowly.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pankakoski Timo

Carl Schmitt Versus the 'Intermediate State': International and Domestic Variants

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 39, Issue 2 , 241-266

Carl Schmitt emphatically rejected intermediate formations between peace and war. Analysing Schmitt's oscillation between the domestic and the international, the article suggests that the notion of 'intermediate state' provides a vital route to the core of Schmitt's political theory. The concept emerges in Schmitt's analysis of the Rhineland crisis, recurs in his vehement critique of Weimar pluralism, and, finally, reappears in his theory of modern war from the Third Reich to the Cold War. 'Intermediate state' has both qualitative and temporal aspects; it connotes not only categorical confusion and impurity but also instability and limited duration. Despite his criticism, Schmitt himself utilised the ambiguity, polysemy, and normative ambivalence of the intermediate state in his argumentation, finally giving it an open theological reinterpretation in his later work. Schmitt's theory of political conflict, consequently, is problematically bound to the vague intermediate state of perpetual conflict that he sought to avoid, and to the metaphorical aspects of the notion of battle that he explicitly rejected.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Warner Carolyn M.

Christian Democracy in Italy. An alternative path to religious party moderation

in Party Politics, Volume 19, Number 2, Special Issue on — Religious parties and the inclusion-moderation thesis, March , 256-276

This article argues that historical context can be a strong force for the origins of an ideologically and behaviourally moderate religious political party. It explores the origins of Italian Christian Democracy, following the trajectory of the Partito Popolare Italiano and Democrazia Cristiana in order to highlight a path to religious party moderation that excludes extremism and violence at all stages. That path includes the development of a moderate ideology prior to inclusion in the democratic system, influenced by efforts to reconcile Catholicism with democracy. Extremist alternatives are eliminated not through the moderating tendencies of a democratic political system but by historical events and by efforts of the moderate religious party to ensure that the democratic system does not collapse. Ideological and behavioural moderation are understood as acceptance of democracy and promotion of civil liberties, not as the notion that a party becomes in some way less religious.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Barry John, Mol Arthur P.J., Zito Anthony R.

Climate change ethics, rights, and policies: an introduction

in Environmental Politics, Volume 22, Issue 3, Special Issue: Climate Change: Ethics, Rights and Policies, May , 361-376

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09644016.2013.788861>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Brandstedt Eric, Bergman Anna-Karin

Climate rights: feasible or not?

in Environmental Politics, Volume 22, Issue 3, Special Issue: Climate Change: Ethics, Rights and Policies, May , 394-409

Scholars have argued that we have compelling reasons to combat climate change because it threatens human rights, referred to here as 'climate rights'. The prospects of climate rights are analysed assuming two basic desiderata: the accuracy of the concept in capturing the normative dimension of climate change (reasons to prevent/mitigate/adapt to climate change), and its ability to generate political measures. In order for climate rights to meet these desiderata, certain conditions must be satisfied: important human interests are put at risk by global climate change; there is an identified rights-holder and obligation-bearer; this relationship is codified in a legitimate formal structure; it is feasible to claim the rights; an 'enforcement mechanism' (not necessarily of legal character) could strengthen compliance. When asserting climate rights, it is insufficient to consider the moral ground or actual enforcement possibilities by themselves. Normative and practical aspects are closely interlinked and must be studied in tandem.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Stroup Sarah S., Wong Wendy

Come Together? Different Pathways to International NGO Centralization

in *International Studies Review*, vol. 15, issue 2, June, 163-184

ABSTRACT: The internal structures of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) are determined through political processes, yet the growing literature focuses overwhelmingly on their external effects. We explore the factors that shape the choice of NGOs to come together to become INGOs by advancing and testing a series of claims about why and how INGOs centralize their organizational structures. We explicitly draw upon well-established theories of institutional design from the field of international organization (IO), bringing together two previously unconnected literatures. In theory, functional need, the relative power of different actors, the need for legitimacy, and the demands of donors might all shape INGO centralization. The cases of Oxfam and Save the Children, two leading relief and development INGOs, suggest that centralization is shaped by powerful members of NGO families that seek first to maximize their interests and maintain their legitimacy, while also improving their effectiveness.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gunitsky Seva

Complexity and theories of change in international politics

in *International Theory*, Volume 5, Issue 01, March, 35-63

This article examines how the principles of complex systems can illuminate recurring mechanisms of change in theories of international relations. It applies the logic of complex systems to two specific puzzles in international politics – the problem of theorizing change in structural realism, and the dynamics of cross-border democratic diffusion. In the first case, by shifting the analysis of anarchy's consequences from state behavior to state attributes, complex systems can illustrate the sources of domestic and international transformations embedded in structural theories. This approach offers a way to think about democratization as a global process of interstate competition and socialization driven by the pressures of anarchy. In the second case, the principles of co-adaptation in complex systems can help reframe diffusion not as the unilinear spread of democracy but as the interplay of self-reinforcing and self-dampening dynamics, whose interaction shapes both actor expectations and democratic outcomes. In both cases, complex systems serve a limited but useful role; although not conducive to theory creation, the approach provides a useful analytical prism for examining patterns of change and continuity in global processes, and highlights concrete ways of improving models of transformations in international politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Conrad Courtenay R, DeMeritt Jacqueline HR

Constrained by the bank and the ballot. Unearned revenue, democracy, and state incentives to repress

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 50, Number 1, January, 105-119

Why does the discovery of oil lead to increased government repression in some countries and not others? Why is there variance in the extent to which democracy constrains state violations of human rights? We assume that an executive's propensity to use violence against citizens is a function of the extent to which he is dependent on his citizenry. Executives can be dependent on their citizenry in two ways: (1) at the bank for financial resources, and (2) at the ballot



box for political support. We argue that these considerations jointly influence executive decisions to engage in state repression, and consequently, observed human rights abuse. Using a dataset of 146 countries from 1981 to 2011, we find that democratic institutions have a moderating effect on the positive relationship between unearned revenues and human rights violations. Decreased reliance on citizens for revenue does not weaken and may actually strengthen the pacifying effect of democratic institutions on state terror. Our results suggest that pursuing democracy is a useful way to reduce political violence, both directly and indirectly, even in the presence of a resource curse. Furthermore, the discovery of oil and other unearned revenues is unlikely to undermine the positive relationship between democratic institutions and domestic protections for human rights.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ulrich Beck and Daniel Levy

Cosmopolitanized Nations: Re-imagining Collectivity in World Risk Society

in Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 30, n. 2, March , 3-31

The concept of the national is often perceived, both in public and academic discourse as the central obstacle for the realization of cosmopolitan orientations. Consequently, debates about the nation tend to revolve around its persistence or its demise. We depart from this either-or perspective by investigating the formation of the 'cosmopolitan nation' as a facet of world risk society. Modern collectivities are increasingly preoccupied with debating, preventing and managing risks. However, unlike earlier manifestations of risk characterized by daring actions or predictability models, global risks can no longer be calculated or forecast. Accordingly, more influence accrues to the perception of risk, largely constructed by media representations. Cosmopolitanized risk collectivities are engendered through the anticipation of endangered futures which are, for the most part, communicated through an increasingly global media scape. While global media events produce shared exposure, risk conceptions retain distinctive political-cultural features as their respective meanings are prefigured by path-dependent pasts. Nevertheless, the promulgation of risk societies, we argue, results in a reimagination of nationhood which takes place in the context of: global norms (e.g. human rights); globalized markets; transnational migrations; global generations and their embeddedness in civil society movements; and the local interpenetration of world religions to name but a few of the global backdrops shaping new associational intersections. We develop our argument in four interrelated steps. Contrary to essentialized notions of nationalism or universal versions of cosmopolitanism, we address the cosmopolitan reconfiguration of nationhood by differentiating between presumptions of thick belonging and the actual proliferation of cosmopolitan affiliations. In a second step we overcome the territorial fixation of the social sciences by shifting our attention to temporal dimensions, with a particular focus on competing conceptions of the future. In a third step we demonstrate how these cosmopolitan transformations of nationhood are taking place in the context of a world risk society regime that marshals a set of cosmopolitan imperatives situating the global other in our midst. In a fourth step we illustrate these developments by exploring how the mediatization of risk, and concomitant notions of the future, contribute to the reimagination of cosmopolitan risk collectivities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schlee Günther

Customary law and the joys of statelessness: idealised traditions versus Somali realities

in Journal of Eastern African Studies , Volume 7, Issue 2, Special Issue: Effects of 'statelessness': dynamics of Somali politics,



economy and society since 1991 , 258-271

There is some truth in the statement that in Somalia the periods and regions least affected by struggles about the state have provided better living conditions than the ones more affected by statehood. It is also true that the state, especially in the final stage of its existence leading up to its collapse in 1991, was of a predatory nature and, rather than contributing to development, affected it adversely. There is no doubt that no state at all is better than some of the experience the Somali have made with actually existing statehood (but not in comparison with many alternative courses history could have taken). In some recent writings about Somalia, however, the advantages of statelessness have been grossly overstated, and the disadvantages of not having a functioning nation-state in a world of nation-states have grossly been neglected. Especially the Somali customary law (xeer) has been romanticized and praised as a cost-efficient mechanism for the provision of 'justice' in the absence of statehood. This paper examines the actual working of customary law and finds it to be based on negotiation, often between unequals with a number of structural advantages for the demographically, economically and militarily stronger side. Xeer does regulate the use of violence to a degree, but it does not produce 'justice' in the universal or Western sense of the term, as some of its advocates seem to assume.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Quilley Stephen

De-Growth Is Not a Liberal Agenda: Relocalisation and the Limits to Low Energy Cosmopolitanism in Environmental Values, Volume 22, Number 2, April , 261-285

Degrowth is identified as a prospective turning point in human development as significant as the domestication of fire or the process of agrarianisation. The Transition movement is identified as the most important attempt to develop a prefigurative, local politics of degrowth. Explicating the links between capitalist modernisation, metabolic throughput and psychological individuation, Transition embraces 'limits' but downplays the implications of scarcity for open, liberal societies, and for inter-personal and inter-group violence. William Ophuls' trilogy on the politics of scarcity confronts precisely these issues, but it depends on an unconvincing sociology of individuation as a central process in modernity. A framework is advanced through which to explore the tensions, trade-offs and possibilities for a socially liberal, culturally cosmopolitan and science-based civilisation under conditions of degrowth and metabolic contraction.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Muraca Barbara

Decroissance: A Project for a Radical Transformation of Society in Environmental Values, Volume 22, Number 2, April , 147-169

Decroissance has established itself in Southern Europe as a significant and heterogeneous societal movement, which fosters a renaissance of traditional streams of thought in social and political philosophy while opening a field for new actualisations. While the term Decroissance can be traced back to an authorised translation of Georgescu-Roegen's 'declining state', the idea of Decroissance - as it is widely employed by social movements - encompasses more than the critique of GDP as a measure for well-being. It embodies a radical questioning of the way social reproduction is intended and frames a multifaceted vision for a post-growth society. The aim of this paper is the reconstruction and critical



examination - from the point of view of social and political philosophy - of the main conceptual roots of Decroissance and its visions for a radical transformation of society.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Whitehead Mark

Degrowth or Regrowth?

in Environmental Values, Volume 22, Number 2, April , 141-145

Full text available at

<http://docserver.ingentaconnect.com/deliver/connect/whp/09632719/v22n2/s2.pdf?expires=1369824980&id=74384667&titleid=1473&acname=Guest+User&checksum=DD18C9E0273CE1813A3FA8A24071261E>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Asara Viviana, Profumi Emanuele, Kallis Giorgos

Degrowth, Democracy and Autonomy

in Environmental Values, Volume 22, Number 2, April , 217-239

The quest for real democracy is one of the components of sustainable degrowth. But the incipient debate on democracy and degrowth suffers from general definitions and limited connections to political philosophy and democracy theory. This article offers a critical review of democracy theory within the degrowth literature, taking as its focal point a relevant debate between Serge Latouche and Takis Fotopoulos. We argue that the core of their contention can be traced back to the relationship between the concepts of democracy and autonomy as defined by philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis, which both authors and generally the degrowth movement consider as one of their theoretical reference points. We show how both Latouche and Fotopoulos hold a misconception of Castoriadis' notions of autonomy, the social imaginary and politics, which in turn limits their cognisance of democracy and hence confuses their debate concerning the possibilities for a degrowth transition within the confines of a liberal parliamentary democracy. With a clarified theoretical understanding of the interconnected democracy-autonomy assemble, we proceed to an evaluation of the revolutionary potential of the degrowth movement and to a better understanding of a possible relationship between democracy and degrowth.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cotton Matthew

Deliberating Intergenerational Environmental Equity: A Pragmatic, Future Studies Approach

in Environmental Values, Volume 22, Number 3, June , 317-337

Across the applied ethics literatures are a growing number of ethical tools: decision-support methodologies that encourage multi-stakeholder deliberative engagement with the social and moral issues arising from technology assessment and environmental management processes. This article presents a novel ethical tool for deliberation on the issue of environmental justice between current and future generations over long time frames. This ethical tool combines



two approaches, linking John Dewey's concept of dramatic rehearsal - an empathetic and imaginative ethical deliberation process; with the methodologies of backcasting - a type of scenario planning technique drawn from the future studies literature. The proposed hybrid 'Deweyan Backcasting' approach combines a creative process of devising multi-stakeholder visions of potentially desirable futures, with practical evaluation of the technical, social and political networks necessary to make such futures happen. It is suggested that such a model can provide a fruitful means for evaluating intergenerational environmental equity issues in long-range policy and planning.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jaeger Kinan, Tophoven Rolf

Der Syrien-Konflikt: Internationale Akteure, Interessen, Konfliktlinien
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 8, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/155114/internationale-akteure-interessen-konfliktlinien

Nach über vier Jahrzehnten der Assad-Herrschaft hat sich in Syrien ein enormes soziales und sozioökonomisches Spannungspotenzial aufgebaut, das weit unterschätzt worden ist. Ähnlich wie einst Jugoslawien und der Balkan gleicht heute der syrische Vielvölkerstaat einem hochbrisanten Pulverfass. Aufgrund der internationalen Verstrickungen syrischer Politik könnten die militärischen Auseinandersetzungen der Beteiligten zu erheblichen Veränderungen der gesamtstrategischen Lage in Nahost führen. Nachbarländer, Milizen, Widerstandskämpfer, Separatisten und Dschihadisten sind mittlerweile in die Auseinandersetzungen involviert. Der Ausgang der Krise ist völlig ungewiss – sie könnte sich noch über Jahre hinziehen...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vlassopoulos Chloé Anne

Des migrants environnementaux aux migrants climatiques : un enjeu définitionnel complexe
in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 88, Migrations climatiques, hiver , 7-18

Full text available at <http://www.cairn.info/revue-cultures-et-conflits-2012-4-page-7.htm>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Venturini Tommaso, Gemenne François, Severo Marta

Des migrants et des mots : Une analyse numérique des débats médiatiques sur les migrations et l'environnement

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 88, Migrations climatiques, hiver , 133-156

Though environmental degradations appear today as a major driver of migration flows, the debate about the definition of the relationship between environment and migration remains vivid. In public debates, many terms exist to qualify those



who have to migrate because of environmental disruptions: this has led to controversies surrounding the use of these different terms. This article attempts to document this controversy through a study of the different uses of these terms in public debates online. In order to do so, we have used a new digital method that has allowed us, thanks to a search on Google.com, to collect webpages where the discussion on the different definitions of these migrations was most visible. Building on an analysis of the expressions contained in these webpages, we have generated semantic maps that show which terms are associated with each other: in particular, which actors, places and concepts were connected to the most terms. These maps reflect the polymorphic reality of these migrations, but also the categorical void that surrounds them.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lindley Anna

Displacement in contested places: governance, movement and settlement in the Somali territories

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 7, Issue 2, Special Issue: Effects of 'statelessness': dynamics of Somali politics, economy and society since 1991 , 291-313

South-central Somalia is the epicentre of one of the worst displacement situations in the world in terms of both the numbers of people affected and the dire conditions in which many are living. Key aspects of Somali displacement – the protracted and unresolved nature of much displacement, the contested nature of the places where people seek refuge, and the scale and significance of movement – unsettle common assumptions about internal displacement, and point to the importance of understanding the situation of displaced people at destination. Based on primary research with displaced people, political, aid and business actors, as well as secondary sources, this paper highlights the key forces and frameworks which mediate the situation of displaced people. The relevance of local social relations, macro-political authorities and the international humanitarian regime are examined, including how these structures articulate with each other. The paper concludes that much more research is needed to explore the perspectives of displaced people themselves, and to understand the impact of displacement in the Somali territories.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chatterji Joya

Dispositions and Destinations: Refugee Agency and “Mobility Capital” in the Bengal Diaspora, 1947–2007

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* , Volume 55, Issue 2, April , 273-304

This study seeks to illuminate patterns of refugee settlement in the Bengali Muslim diaspora since 1947, which replicate global trends identified by Aristide Zolberg in new nation-states. Based on historical research and oral testimony gathered from over two hundred migrants in different settings in India, Bangladesh, and Britain, it suggests why some Muslims crossed borders after India's partition and others did not; why most moved only short distances within the delta; and why so many huddled in the shadow of the new national borders and so few traveled to the West. I uncover the subtle interplay between migrants' agency and structures of coercion, and between histories of mobility and of affect, in the shaping of migration choices, and explain how the recurrent patterns identified by Zolberg were produced in a regional context of critical but unexplored significance. The essay explores the impact of nation-state formation on older forms of mobility in the region, and the continuing interconnections between local micro-mobilities and regional, national, international, and trans-oceanic migrations. I suggest that the concept of “mobility capital” can help to explain not only patterns of migration, but also patterns of staying on. I conclude by questioning “cumulative causation theory,” which has



inadvertently lent credence to fears that the developed countries of the West will be “swamped” by immigrants drawn from ever-expanding migratory networks based in the “third world.”

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Philpott Simon

Domesticating Imperialism: the Fashioning of Political Identity in Southeast Asia
in International Journal of Asian Studies (The), Volume 10 - Issue 02 , 189 - 204

Upon arriving at Denpasar airport in June 2000, I was greeted by an Australian friend who had recently married a Balinese man. The latter, within moments of our meeting for the first time, challenged me about my having been a UN accredited observer of the independence plebiscite in East Timor some ten months earlier. His was an impassioned if, in my view, not terribly well informed view of the torturous relationship between the former Portuguese colony and the Jakarta-based Indonesian government. My interlocutor insisted that East Timor's future ought to have remained an entirely Indonesian matter and that foreign involvement simply demonstrated the determination of the international community to break up Indonesia. The discussion proceeded as we made our way across the airport car park, and became even more heated when I suggested that it was important not just to consider former President Habibie's motivations for offering a plebiscite but also the record of Suharto's government in laying the ground for an East Timorese departure. Perhaps rather tactlessly, I suggested to my new acquaintance that he reflect upon the dreadful human rights record of the Indonesian military in East Timor. If a response was what I was seeking, I certainly found one. Wayan flashed back at me that he knew with certainty tales of human rights abuses were a lie concocted by hostile countries because the East Timorese had made clear their wish to remain part of Indonesia. Upon further pressing, he argued that the fact East Timorese school children sang the same songs as children from all over the archipelago was evidence of their love for Indonesia and their desire to remain integrated. I was somewhat nonplussed with this turn in discussion and rather unsure as to how to proceed. Could he, I wondered, really believe something that seemed so palpably absurd?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mouhot Jean-François

Du climat au changement climatique : chantiers, leçons et défis pour l'histoire
in Cultures & Conflits, n. 88, Migrations climatiques, hiver , 19-42

This article examines how history can help us think – and offer new insights – about climate change. After a presentation of the different fields of investigation in the history of climate, it first looks at the way past societies have understood climate and its changes over the centuries and shows that, far from being a recent phenomenon, concern about climate change is old. But awareness of contemporary anthropogenic warming reflects a change of scale and a different kind of fear, because global warming poses for the first time the question of the very survival of our civilizations. The second part of the article sets out what the past can teach us about the vulnerability of human societies to climatic shocks. Finally, the paper offers some reflections on the challenges historians working on these issues face and also the obstacles that continue to hamper historical research in this area.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Patterson Ruairi

**EU Sanctions on Iran: The European Political Context
in Middle East Policy**, Volume 20, Issue 1, Spring , 135-146

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/mepo.12010/pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rock Michael T.

**East Asia's Democratic Developmental States and Economic Growth
in Journal of East Asian Studies** , Volume 13, Issue 1 (January-April 2013) , 1-34

Political elites in East Asia have opted for a set of democratic institutions with a strong majoritarian bias that privilege efficiency and accountability over representativeness. Some have labeled these democracies “democratic developmental states.” Because the political architects of East Asia's democratic developmental states have met at least some of their objectives, it is time to ask, What has been the impact of the shift to majoritarianism on growth? I answer this question empirically by demonstrating that the contribution to growth from majoritarian democratic institutions in East Asia is as large as that from the region's developmentally oriented authoritarian governments.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Allen Susan Hannah, Lektzian David J

Economic sanctions. A blunt instrument?

in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 50, Number 1, January , 121-135

Economic sanctions have been referred to as a blunt instrument that the international community has often wielded without full consideration of the impact that these measures will have on the population of the targeted countries, particularly the weakest elements of society. Case studies of sanctions against Cuba, Iraq, and Yugoslavia have demonstrated the impact that sanctions can have on the availability of food, clean water, and medicine, causing many to conclude that all sanctions have extensive public health consequences. In this article, we examine the generalizability of these conclusions in a quantitative cross-national study of sanctions and their public health effects. Additionally, we compare these effects to those associated with both civil and interstate conflicts as critics have recently suggested that sanctions are not a humane alternative to armed warfare. We find that when sanctions have a large economic effect on the target they can have severe public health consequences. These consequences are substantively similar to those associated with major military conflicts. However, when sanctions have little or no economic effect on the target, they also have no substantive effect on public health. Building on recent work to explore the human consequences of war, this work also helps to demonstrate the importance of smart sanctions and humanitarian exemptions in sanctions policy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Swimelara Safia

Education in Post-war Bosnia: The Nexus of Societal Security, Identity and Nationalism in Ethnopolitics, Volume 12, Issue 2, 2013 , 161-182

The notion of security in international relations has been broadened and reconceptualized and now rightly includes an understanding of education as a potential security threat, not just a socializing tool. In post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina, the education system is decentralized, politicized and nationalistic, and promotes competing visions and identities of Bosnia. Some students attend segregated schools, while almost all study only with others from their same ethnonational group and learn from a mono-ethnic curriculum that does not foster understanding or tolerance of others, but breeds suspicion. This paper argues that these educational practices constitute a societal security dilemma. Many Bosnian Muslims, Croats and Serbs use the education system to gain rights and security for their group, which is viewed by others as a potential threat to their own security and identity within a fractured state. This paper shows that while these attempts to reinforce group security and identity (and increase power) may be beneficial to the group and nationalist leaders themselves, they paradoxically may have negative consequences for the security of other groups and for the security and stability of the Bosnian state itself, understood in terms of national cohesiveness and territorial integrity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Death Carl

Environmental mainstreaming and post-sovereign governance in Tanzania
in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 7, Issue 1 , 1-20

Tanzania's experiences of development aid partnerships and environmental mainstreaming have been widely praised in recent years, yet the country continues to suffer from considerable problems of poverty, food insecurity and ecological degradation. As such it constitutes an interesting case study through which to examine hypotheses on global environmental governance. Looking specifically at claims that environmental governance is increasingly "post-sovereign", this article assesses the degree to which environmental management in Tanzania is becoming "non-exclusive", "non-hierarchical", and "post-territorial". It argues that evidence for non-exclusivity is plentiful, given the extent of foreign donor, private sector, and civil society inclusion in governance processes. Rather than the absence of hierarchy, the article suggests the existence of multiple hierarchies produced by both the transnationalisation of environmental politics as well as the complex nature of the Tanzanian state. Finally, rather than a trend towards post-territorialisation, the research suggests that environmental governance should be seen within a longer trajectory of greater state penetration, monitoring, surveillance and intrusion into rural life. It concludes that environmental governance is significantly transforming the Tanzanian state and that this is characteristic of changes in environmental governance worldwide.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ratner Steven

Ethics and international law: integrating the global justice project(s)
in **International Theory**, Volume 5, Issue 01, March , 1-34



Academic discourse on global justice is at an all-time high. Within ethics and international law, scholars are undertaking new inquiries into age-old questions of building a just world order. Ethics – within political and moral philosophy – poses fundamental questions about responsibilities at the global level and produces a tightly reasoned set of frameworks regarding world order. International law, with its focus on legal norms and institutional arrangements, provides a path, as well as illuminates the obstacles, to implementing theories of the right or of the good. Yet despite the complementarity of these two projects, neither is drawing what it should from the other. The result is ethical scholarship that often avoids, or even misinterprets, the law; and law that marginalizes ethics even as it recognizes the importance of justice. The cost of this avoidance is a set of missed opportunities for both fields. This article seeks to help transform the limited dialogue between philosophers and international lawyers into a meaningful collaboration. Through a critical stocktaking of the contributions of the two disciplines, examining where they do and do not engage with the other, it offers an appraisal of the causes and costs of separation and an argument for an interdisciplinary approach.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gowricharn Ruben

Ethnogenesis: The Case of British Indians in the Caribbean

in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 55, Issue 2, April , 388-418

As a concept, ethnogenesis presupposes a category of individuals that are not a group becomes a group. Most accounts of ethnogenesis exhibit two features: they confuse ethnogenesis with the resilience of ethnicity, and they describe the “emergence” of ethnic groups as a response to external circumstances. This paper deviates from these perspectives by adopting a primordial approach, arguing that internal rather than external forces generate group cohesion. I establish three related propositions: First, while the debate between the so-called “circumstantialists” and “primordialists” suggests that these perspectives can be used interchangeably depending on scholarly preference, I argue that a “primacy” holds in favor of the primordial perspective. Second, I assert that this primordial perspective must be redefined, since ethnogenesis always incorporates “external” elements, thus changing and adapting to specific social and physical ecologies. Consequently, an ethnic group is constituted by the content of the ethnicity which functions as “boundaries.” Third, I contend that the emergence of primordial (though adjusted) ethnicity is not a “natural” process but instead requires actors that shape it, and that the initiatives of ethnic leaders are crucial in this regard. These propositions are established through a comparison of British Indians in the three former Caribbean plantation colonies of Suriname, Guyana, and Jamaica.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Basu Sudip Ranjan, Freire Clovis, Puapan Pisit , Sirimaneetham Vatcharin, Tateno Yusuke

Euro zone debt crisis: scenario analysis and implications for developing Asia-Pacific

in Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The), Volume 18, Issue 1 , 1-25

The ongoing euro zone debt crisis creates an undesirable scenario for the global economy as well as for the Asia-Pacific region given that the region has close economic linkages. The paper aims to provide quantitative estimates of the potential impact of the euro zone debt crisis on merchandise exports as well as on economic growth and poverty reduction efforts in the region. The results indicate that a one-percentage-point fall of output growth of the euro zone would result in a total export loss of \$166 billion. In addition, the protectionist threats could further increase the loss in



exports by \$27 billion. On social development, the disorderly euro zone debt crisis scenario would prevent 8.19 million people to get out of poverty and another 1.15 million would be pushed back into poverty as per the \$1.25-a-day poverty line. The paper illustrates that macroeconomic policy space appears adequate in most economies that tend to be more heavily affected by the euro zone debt crisis. But strong inflationary pressures and less favourable public debt conditions could prevent some economies from implementing swift and forceful macroeconomic policy responses.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Melchionni Maria Grazia

Europe at the fateful year 1951: the neo-realistic representation made by Roberto Rossellini

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 630-634

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Suksi Markku

Explaining the Robustness and Longevity of the Åland Example in Comparison with Other Autonomy Solutions

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 20, Special Issue: Rethinking Territorial Arrangements in Conflict Resolution , 51-66

The Åland Islands Settlement of 1921 before the League of Nations confirmed the domestic autonomy arrangement of 1920 in a conflict resolution context and at the same time added some special rights that the inhabitants of the Åland Islands would be allowed to enjoy. The international guarantees for the Swedish character of the islands have been changed in several respects over the years, either by the legislative assembly of the Åland Islands or by the Parliament of Finland with the consent of the legislative assembly of Åland. Although the international guarantee through the League of Nations disappeared through the dissolution of the organisation, the protection afforded by the international guarantee has actually continued. The autonomy of Åland can be placed in a group of autonomies together with a relatively large number of other similar entities, distinguishable from federal forms of organisation. The autonomy of Åland is strong because there is a clear distribution of competence between the national law-maker and the law-maker of Åland and because national law does not preempt or supersede legislation of the Åland Islands. The fact that this autonomy arrangement has existed in a national democratic environment that takes seriously not only its international commitments but also its own domestic commitments is probably a factor that strongly contributes to the robustness and longevity of the autonomy arrangement.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Frerichs Sabine

From Credit to Crisis: Max Weber, Karl Polanyi, and the Other Side of the Coin

in *Journal of Law and Society*, Volume 40, Issue 1 , 7-26

The predicament of modern capitalism, and of contemporary finance capitalism in particular, is the fine line between



credit and crisis. Recent developments from the American sub-prime mortgage crisis to the European sovereign debt crisis revived debates about the nature of money and all sorts of derivatives. Money is a social phenomenon which has always two sides: an economic and a legal one. As an economic commodity, it hinges on the market; as a legal relation, it depends on the state. The resulting tension features prominently in the works of Max Weber and Karl Polanyi. Both studied the market society of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, including its monetary institutions. Moreover, both were also aware of the political function of their related writings. The following review allows us to establish links between law, economy, and society and thus exemplify the economic sociology of law as it is foreshadowed by the sociological classics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rootes Christopher

From local conflict to national issue: when and how environmental campaigns succeed in transcending the local

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Coming of Age? *Environmental Politics* at 21, February , 95-114

As power is increasingly removed from local to national and global arenas, local environmental activists struggle both to secure local redress of their grievances and to place their concerns on supra-local agendas. Yet some succeed in doing so. In order to elucidate the conditions that facilitate such successes, campaigns concerning three issues – road-building, waste incineration and airport expansion – are examined. In each, local campaigners in England have, at least briefly, achieved national attention. Local campaigns are most likely to succeed in elevating their concerns to the status of national issues where they frame those concerns as translocal issues by networking with others with similar grievances. They are most likely to do this with the assistance of non-local actors such as national environmental non-governmental organisations, assistance that is most likely to be provided where the issue concerns a problematic government policy, and to be sustained only so long as that issue is nationally salient and consistent with the campaign priorities of those organisations. The rise of climate change as the ‘master frame’ of environmentalism has had diverse implications for local campaigns.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Arneson Richard J.

From primary goods to capabilities to well-being

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 16, Issue 2, 2013 , 179-195

Abstract

Amartya Sen's *The Idea of Justice* (2009) mistakenly characterizes transcendental accounts of justice as being unable to compare non-ideal alternatives, and thus misfires as a criticism of Robert Nozick and John Rawls. In fact, Nozick's disinterest in when rights may be overridden does not bespeak indifference to specific questions of comparative assessment, and Lockean rights do give determinate advice in everyday circumstances. Sen correctly reports that Rawls's theory is defective at giving practical normative advice, but the basic problem is the over-rigidity of Rawls's absolute priority relations, not transcendentalism. Sen's search for a complete moral theory requires that he produce



one. Act consequentialism is one promising complete theory of justice, having both transcendental grounding and clear methods for comparative assessment. I also propose moving from Sen's capabilities standard of social justice to one based on functioning. The latter facilitates distinguishing between trivial and worthless capabilities and important and worthwhile ones, and focuses social justice more squarely on the end of well-being.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Beverley Eric Lewis

Frontier as Resource: Law, Crime, and Sovereignty on the Margins of Empire
in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 55, Issue 2, April , 241-272

Nineteenth-century European colonialism produced a textured and uneven legal terrain rather than homogeneous imperial units. The fragmentation of sovereignty between empires and subordinated states created frontier zones that unsettled the workings of governance. This article views the developing landscape of power in high colonial South Asia from the loosely controlled frontier zone between Hyderabad, a Princely State ruled by sovereign Muslim dynasts titled Nizams, and the Bombay Presidency, part of Britain's Indian Empire, or Raj. I argue that the heterogeneous legal terrain along the border was a useful resource for administrators and subjects. State officials of both Hyderabad and Bombay justified various projects there; subjects of the two states shopped forums in a legal pluralist environment; and populations on either side of the border whose livelihoods and political agendas ran afoul of social pressures or the economic and cultural imperatives of state projects fled there from adversity. I examine cases of alleged cattle rustlers, bandits, and prostitutes and their engagements with police and courts to explore the political challenges and possibilities the frontier offered different groups. Colonial attempts to extend racialized policing practices across the frontier were frequently met by machinations of marginal people trying to avoid imprisonment or extricate themselves from oppressive social structures. Such figures could use the ambiguity of frontier legal authority to their advantage. The picture that emerges is one of a brute and often-arbitrary colonial power offset by alternative malleable sovereignties that resourceful subjects could play against one another.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Keitner Chimène I.

Germany v. Italy and the Limits of Horizontal Enforcement: Some Reflections from a United States Perspective
in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Vol. 11, Num. 1, March, 2013 , 167-183

This contribution considers the implications of the decision of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in *Jurisdictional Immunities of the State (Germany v. Italy: Greece Intervening)* for the evolution of structural norms relating to the immunity of foreign states in domestic courts, with a focus on the practice of the United States. It also considers whether the decision, which is explicitly limited to the question of state immunity, might nevertheless affect domestic courts' willingness to recognize the immunity of officials who act on behalf of foreign states. It concludes that the state-centric nature of Germany's challenge to Italy's exercise of jurisdiction underscores the conceptual and doctrinal distinction between foreign state immunity, on the one hand, and foreign official immunity, on the other. This distinction is critical to legitimizing the horizontal enforcement of those substantive rules of international law that are binding on individuals and designed to protect other individuals from harms inflicted under colour of state authority.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dickinson Andrew

Germany v. Italy and the Territorial Tort Exception: Walking the Tightrope

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Vol. 11, Num. 1, March, 2013 , 147-166

The recent ruling of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) that Italy had violated its obligation to respect Germany's entitlement to sovereign immunity under international law, by allowing civil claims to be brought against Germany based on the conduct of German military forces during the Second World War, is unsurprising in view of past and current state practice. This article addresses the ICJ's treatment of the so-called 'territorial tort' exception to immunity, both generally and specifically in relation to military activities and situations of armed conflict. It concludes that, although the Court reached the right conclusion in this case, its method of reasoning leaves states, individual litigants and their advisers, and scholars with important, unanswered questions as to the scope of the exception and its place in the international law of state immunity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Urbinati Nadia

Giustizia e felicità nel pensiero di John Stuart Mill e Amartya Sen

in *Filosofia Politica*, numero 1, aprile 2013 , 79-96

This article analyzes the renaissance of the idea of happiness as well-being in the contemporary theory of justice. It situates it within the conceptual frame of the relationship between «virtue ethics» (of the ancients) and «norm ethics» (of the moderns), and discusses in particular the ideas of John Stuart Mill and Amartya Sen.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lenzi Guido

Gli interventi umanitari: perché, come e quando

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 352-360

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rotberg Robert I.

Governance Matters: Why Nations Succeed

in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History (The)*, Volume 43, Issue 3, Spring , 599-607



(Review article) Historians at one time emphasized the critical causal interventions of important individuals, ascribing decisive differences in outcomes across time and place to human agency and idiosyncratic initiative. Subsequently, structure, contingency, and a collection of nonidiosyncratic choices became more prominent in causal explanations. Culture, geography, climate, economic circumstance, ideology, etc., became the favored variables in attempts to answer significant questions about key turning points in the global past. In *Why Nations Fail*, however, Acemoglu and Robinson demonstrate that leadership and governance matter much more than we thought. Although structural analyses add powerfully to our research, it is the quality of leadership that often determines whether a state is to flourish politically or economically.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Carter Neil

Greening the mainstream: party politics and the environment

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Coming of Age? *Environmental Politics* at 21, February, 73-94

If the environment becomes the subject of party competition so that mainstream parties compete to be the 'greenest' party and move closer to Green party positions that may produce more environmental policy measures and better environmental outcomes. A comparative analysis of the impact of the environmental dimension on contemporary party politics employs the 2010 Chapel Hill Expert Survey and the Manifesto Project empirical data to analyse party positions and issue salience. Green parties still form a homogenous party family characterised by strong environmental, libertarian and left-wing policy positions. Mainstream parties have mostly employed dismissive and accommodative strategies towards the environment, with left-wing parties adopting more pro-environment policy positions than right-wing parties, but with only marginal differences in issue salience that fluctuate over time.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Morita Hodaka, Servátka Maroš

Group identity and relation-specific investment: An experimental investigation

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 58, February 2013, 95-109

The hold-up problem has played a central role in the study of firm boundaries, which is a fundamental element of the economic study of organizations. We study a previously unexplored mechanism by which integration between two parties could mitigate the problem. Based on the social identity theory, we conjecture that group identity strengthens agents' altruistic preferences towards group members, and this helps mitigate the hold-up problem. We test this conjecture in a laboratory experiment. Our subjects were randomly divided into two teams and asked to wear their team uniform. Task 1 required them to answer questions about trivia, where the subjects had access to a chat program that enabled them to help their team members. For Task 2, the subjects played a hold-up game with either a member of their own team (representing integration) or a member of the other team (non-integration). The experimental results support our conjectures.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Seyfang Gill, Longhurst Noel

Growing green money? Mapping community currencies for sustainable development

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 86, "Sustainable Urbanisation: A resilient future", February , 65-77

Parallel sustainable monetary systems are being developed by civil society groups and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), informed by ecological economics perspectives on development, value, economic scale and growth, and responding to the unsustainability of current global financial systems. These parallel systems of exchange (or community currencies) are designed to promote sustainable development by localising economic development, building social capital and substituting for material consumption, valuing work which is marginalised in conventional labour markets, and challenging the growth-based monetary system. However, this international movement towards community-based ecological economic practices, is under-researched. This paper presents new empirical evidence from the first international study of the scope and character of community currencies. It identifies the diversity, scale, geography and development trajectory of these initiatives, discusses the implications of these findings for efforts to achieve sustainable development, and identifies future research needs, to help harness the sustainability potential of these initiatives.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tanneberg Dag, Stefes Christoph, Merkel Wolfgang

Hard times and regime failure: autocratic responses to economic downturns

in *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 19, Issue 1 , 115-129

Scholars rank problems in economic performance among the most important reasons for the collapse of autocratic regimes. This study forms no exception and explores the effect of economic misfortune on autocratic regime failure using a sample of 160 authoritarian regimes between 1981 and 2008. Moreover, this article introduces repression and co-optation as political variables which have the potential to mediate the adverse effects of economic misfortune. While the former shields authoritarian rule from vertical threats such as mass demonstrations, the latter addresses horizontal threats in the form of elite splits. As follows from the analysis, restrictions on political liberties (soft repression) serve autocrats better than infringements on personal integrity (hard repression) or co-optation. Furthermore, in contrast to other analyses, there is no evidence that co-optation in the form of quasi-democratic institutions prevents regime failure.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ziller Dominik

How Europe could tackle its growing skills shortage

in *Europe's World*, Issue 24, Summer

The twin pressures of demographic change and inadequate training mean that Europe's lack of skills will within 20 years mean 50m unfilled vacancies in the EU, warns Dominik Ziller.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22145/language/en-US/Default.aspx



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mügge Liza

Ideologies of nationhood in sending-state transnationalism: Comparing Surinam and Turkey
in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 13, n. 3

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Maiolini Mario E.

Il processo di pace in Medio Oriente

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 332-336

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Aivalis Christo

In the Name of Liberalism: Pierre Trudeau, Organized Labour, and the Canadian Social Democratic Left, 1949–1959

in *Canadian Historical Review (The)*, Volume 94, Number 2, June , 263-288

This article examines Pierre Elliott Trudeau's relationship with labour and social democratic organizations, 1949–1959. Using historiographic works, reflections from contemporary historical figures, and Trudeau's archival fonds, this essay demonstrates that his connections to labour and the left were motivated by his desire to enrich liberal democracy in both Quebec and Canada. Supporting labour unions and the provincial/federal Cooperative Commonwealth Federation during the early 1950s was imperative, as labour was a force for change and democratic renewal, and the ccf was the party with the strongest commitment to popular democracy, especially when contrasted with a Liberal Party and Union Nationale, which were dominated by regressive and financial interests. Using various theoretical approaches, including Ian McKay's Liberal Order Framework and Antonio Gramsci's concept of "trasformismo," I seek to show how Trudeau's leftist forays were informed by the desire to transform liberalism and capitalism in such a way that maintained their essences while inoculating them from their core flaws. This process of liberal transformation and hegemony is further emphasized in the later stages of the 1950s, as Trudeau began to reject social democratic and labour parties, arguing that they put their goals aside and join forces with liberals to fight for democracy first.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ewert Stefan

Index Regionale Vernetzung.



in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 6, Issue 1 Supplement, September 2012 , 185-206

Abstract

Regional networking of institutions is hitherto primarily the topic of ideographic-descriptive area studies. This article gives a quantitative input to the controversy on regionalization by building an index of regional networking of higher education institutions. The index helps to evaluate the importance and effects of regional political organizations and the regional policy of the European Union. In addition, the index could help to analyze regional convergence and diffusion. The index consists of different elements of higher education teaching and research. Using the index for the higher education institutions in the Baltic Sea region shows different patterns of regional networking.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gat Azar

Is war declining – and why?

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 50, Number 2, March , 149-157

The article reviews and assesses the recent literature that claims a sharp decrease in fighting and violent mortality rate since prehistory and during recent times. It also inquires into the causes of this decrease. The article supports the view, firmly established over the past 15 years and unrecognized by only one of the books reviewed, that the first massive decline in violent mortality occurred with the emergence of the state-Leviathan. Hobbes was right, and Rousseau was wrong, about the great violence of the human state of nature. The rise of the state-Leviathan greatly reduced in-group violent mortality by establishing internal peace. Less recognized, it also decreased out-group war fatalities. Although state wars appear large in absolute terms, large states actually meant lower mobilization rates and reduced exposure of the civilian population to war. A second major step in the decline in the frequency and fatality of war has occurred over the last two centuries, including in recent decades. However, the exact periodization of, and the reasons for, the decline are a matter of dispute among the authors reviewed. Further, the two World Wars constitute a sharp divergence from the trend, which must be accounted for. The article surveys possible factors behind the decrease, such as industrialization and rocketing economic growth, commercial interdependence, the liberal-democratic peace, social attitude change, nuclear deterrence, and UN peacekeeping forces. It argues that contrary to the claim of some of the authors reviewed, war has not become more lethal and destructive over the past two centuries, and thus this factor cannot be the cause of war's decline. Rather, it is peace that has become more profitable. At the same time, the specter of war continues to haunt the parts of the world less affected by many of the above developments, and the threat of unconventional terror is real and troubling.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hunter Ian

Kant and Vattel in Context: Cosmopolitan Philosophy and Diplomatic Casuistry

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 39, Issue 4 , 477-502

A good deal of the late-twentieth-century commentary on Kant's 'Perpetual Peace' essay accepted its author's view that



his conception of cosmopolitan justice had superseded the law of nations, some of whose leading exponents—Grotius, Pufendorf, and Vattel—Kant characterised as ‘miserable comforters’. Focusing on the case of Vattel, in this paper I begin to subject Kant's claim to an historical investigation, asking whether his ‘Perpetual Peace’ did indeed supersede Vattel's Law of Nations in terms of the actual uses of the texts in a variety of historical contexts. In pointing to an array of evidence against Kant's widely accepted claim, I develop a different and more historical way of assessing the relation between the two writers. Kant, I argue, should be approached as a political metaphysician whose conception of cosmopolitan justice formed part of a factional theological and philosophical attack on the law of nations tradition. Vattel, however, was a diplomatic official whose text operates within the horizon of the European state ensemble and functioned as a summative abstraction of a wide variety of post-Westphalian public-law treaties and diplomatic rules and conventions. This accounts for the wide distribution, use, and influence of Vattel's work in a variety of Anglophone contexts from the late eighteenth century through to the end of the nineteenth, where Kant's text was marginal to discussion.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Maillard Sébastien

L'Europe et la Belgique, un couple qui dure.

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Décembre 2012

Il n'est question que du couple franco-allemand en Europe. L'évolution des rapports, tensions, désaccords et rapprochements entre le président Hollande et la chancelière Merkel est scrutée au plus près. Leur relation est jaugée à l'aune de celle de leurs prédécesseurs dans cet exercice obligé mais jamais évident et toujours à renouveler. Pourtant la construction européenne repose aussi sur un autre couple, médiatiquement non identifié, poli-tiquement non moteur, mais structurellement incontournable et, au quotidien, qui fonctionne;: celui que forme la Belgique et les institutions européennes qui siègent à Bruxelles, autrement dit -l'Europe. Comme un couple bien assorti, le royaume de Belgique et l'Union européenne étaient faits pour se rencontrer. Dans leur -complexité comme dans leur fragilité propres, ils ont bien des points en commun- et dépendent désormais l'un de l'autre..

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

García-Alonso Marta

La Boétie and the Neo-Roman Conception of Freedom

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 317-334

Freedom as a natural right, the importance of consent, defending the idea that government should be in the hands of the most virtuous and reflective citizens, denouncing patronage, the need to link individual and political freedom ... These are some of the characteristics of La Boétie's doctrine that I believe place him within the tradition that Quentin Skinner calls the neo-Roman conception of civil liberty. Of course, La Boétie did not write a positive defence of the rule of law, as Livy did in his History of Rome and as the English republicans do, but the Discourse can easily be read as a legal plea condemning absolute monarchy and any kind of arbitrary regime.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Di Tella Torcuato

La democrazia in America Latina e Medio Oriente

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 361-372

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Destrée Jean-Marie

La dimension religieuse en France et en Europe

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Décembre 2012

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

de Medici Marino

La diplomazia americana passa di mano

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 311-319

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lucentini Mauro

La fisionomia morale degli Stati Uniti

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 320-331

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dalla Torre Giuseppe

La sovranità

in *Archivio giuridico*, fasc. 4 , 461 - 464

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gegout Catherine

Le retrait de l'Europe et la montée en puissance de la Chine en Afrique. Une évaluation des approches réalistes, libérales et constructivistes

in *Politique européenne* , n. 39, 2013/1 , 44-75

Both China and Europe (the European Union and its member states) are economic and security actors in Africa. China's trade with Africa gained importance in the early 2000s. In the security field, China started taking part in United Nations peacekeeping missions in the region in the late 1980s. European states, for their part, have a history of presence on the African continent, and the EU began to deploy troops in Africa in 2003. Despite similar interests in Africa, there is hardly any cooperation between European actors and China. This paper shows that although European and Chinese actors differ in their policies when they address security and political issues in Africa, they nonetheless have increasingly similar economic policies. Realist and liberal approaches seem more appropriate than the constructivist approach in order to understand European and Chinese foreign policies towards the African continent.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schade Jeanette

Les migrants des politiques climatiques : nouveaux défis face aux déplacements générés par le changement climatique

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 88, Migrations climatiques, hiver , 85-110

The discourse on climate migration is dominated by concerns about impacts of climate change on migration dynamics and displacement, i.e. that people have to leave their places of origin due to adverse climate and living conditions. From a migration research perspective this conceptualization of climate migration already shows some flaws. Moreover, it ignores the climate change policies can equally produce migration and displacement. The article elaborates on the repercussion of climate change related relocation policies and makes suggestions how a micro perspective and human rights frame could strengthen local populations vis-à-vis the climate regime and this new type of 'climate threat'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Desai Meghnad

Let's privatise "official" development aid

in *Europe's World*, Issue 24, Summer

Critics of ODA paint far too negative a picture of its effectiveness, says veteran British analyst Meghnad Desai. But he says there's nevertheless a case for greatly simplifying development aid by taking it out of the hands of governments.

http://manager.federalism-bulletin.eu/Bollettino/index.php?PAGE=Bollettino/Bollettino2_Details&MODE=NW

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Mulieri Alessandro

Liberalism against Democracy: A Comparative Analysis of the Concepts of Totalitarian Democracy and Positive Liberty in Jacob Leib Talmon and Isaiah Berlin

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 449-466

This article presents a comparative analysis of the concepts of totalitarian democracy and positive liberty in the work of Jacob Leib Talmon and Isaiah Berlin. Its main purpose is to show that a combined analysis of Talmon and Berlin's biographical relationship and their individual texts demonstrates that Talmon's idea of totalitarian democracy may have had a greater influence on Berlin's notion of positive liberty than Berlin seems to have ever acknowledged. The article first summarises the intellectual and biographical relationships that tied these two authors together in a personal friendship and an intellectual fellowship that lasted for more than three decades. In the second part, the insights drawn from the investigation of the authors' intellectual and biographical relationships are linked to an analysis of their texts, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy and Two Concepts of Liberty*. Finally, in the third part of the article, three crucial aspects of Talmon's definition of totalitarian democracy are considered: the interpretation of the Enlightenment and Rousseau's thought, the view of the French revolution, and the possible impact each of these has on subsequent Marxist and socialist reflection, to see how they are addressed in Berlin's idea of positive liberty.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Reitberger Magnus

License to kill: is legitimate authority a requirement for just war?

in *International Theory*, Volume 5, Issue 01, March , 64-93

In traditional just war theory, legitimate authority is regarded as a necessary requirement for war to be just. This article challenges this requirement by arguing that a right to wage war can be derived from the right to self-defense and the justifiability of exercising political power to protect basic human rights. Arguments for the legitimate authority-requirement are then surveyed and rejected as insufficient to defend the principle's privileged status. It is argued that just war theory does not need the legitimate authority-requirement and may benefit from its removal.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hoehne Markus Virgil

Limits of hybrid political orders: the case of Somaliland

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 7, Issue 2, Special Issue: Effects of 'statelessness': dynamics of Somali politics, economy and society since 1991 , 199-217

Hybrid political orders are in the literature discussed as a heuristic tool to understand how power and legitimacy are negotiated in settings where the Western model of the liberal democratic state does not work. Sometimes they are presented as an alternative model for successful statehood, e.g., by combining 'traditional' and 'modern' political institutions. The Republic of Somaliland is frequently presented as functioning hybrid political order. A cornerstone for Somaliland's success was the integration of traditional authorities in government. These authorities engaged in peace-building and state formation in the early 1990s. Their role was institutionalized in the 'House of Elders', the upper house of parliament. This article argues that the hybrid political order of Somaliland has outlived its success. What is left



at the beginning of the 21st century is an imbalanced and in many regards 'crippled' hybrid. It threatens democratic progress and undermines the authority and legitimacy of the state institutions as well as the leading traditional authorities in the region. These developments in Somaliland show the limits of hybrid political systems in general.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dubow Jessica, Steadman-Jones Richard D.

Linguistic cosmopolitans: Arendt, Čapek, Orwell

in *Journal of European Studies* , vol. 43, n. 2, June , 119-140

ABSTRACT: Political resistance to Fascism in 1930s Europe was often animated by a particular cosmopolitan imaginary. In this article we explore a number of questions concealed within this dynamic. What is the status of language in a space that expands beyond the constraints of the territorial to encompass more mobile allegiances and differently scaled solidarities? Conversely, how does an impulse towards the cosmopolitan turn back to the nation and reframe internal dialogues surrounding the nature of its linguistic constitution? Hannah Arendt's monograph on the nineteenth-century German-Jewish salonnière Rahel Varnhagen, the Czech novelist Karel Čapek's satire on twentieth-century totalitarianism, *War with the Newts*, and George Orwell's accounts of both the Spanish Civil War and the culture of the English working class, all three written in the mid 1930s, engage with language as it detaches itself from the narrow optics of nationalism and reattaches itself to both a politics of the public and an ethics of friendship beyond the nation-state. That 1936 is the date around which these ideas of language and communication cohere gives them a singular resonance. For these three very different writers, ideas of the cosmopolitan provide not only a potential future for human solidarity, but a means of revisiting the nation itself, at once engaging with its history of linguistic repression and with the danger posed by the sovereign monolingualism of Fascism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Basurto Xavier

Linking multi-level governance to local common-pool resource theory using fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis: Insights from twenty years of biodiversity conservation in Costa Rica

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 23, Issue 3, June , 573-587

Understanding the relationship between multi-level institutional linkages and conditions influencing the likelihood of successful collective action has practical and theoretical relevance to sustainable local resource governance. This paper studies the relationship between multi-level linkages and local autonomy, a facilitating condition found to increase the likelihood of local successful collective action. A technique known as fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) was applied to a longitudinal comparative data set. In the context of the decentralization of a protected area system in Costa Rica (1986–2006), it traced the emergence and endurance of autonomy among local institutions for biodiversity conservation. The technique illustrates which set of multi-level linkages combined in different ways, and at different points in time, to reach the same outcome (local autonomy). The findings show that a unique set of combinations of multi-level linkages led to the emergence of local autonomy among institutions for biodiversity conservation governance. In contrast, a more diverse set was associated with the endurance of local autonomy over time, suggesting that institutional diversity may play a more prominent role in the maintenance of institutional robustness than in processes of institutional emergence.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Egger Clara

L'Union européenne est-elle une source de coopération inter-organisationnelle? Le cas du réseau voice
in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 44, No. 1 , 5-24

This research focuses on inter-organizational cooperation, a neglected theme of the international relations theory. The analysis of the European humanitarian politics emphasizes the factors, dynamics and effects of inter-organizational cooperation inside the ngos network voice and between this network and the European institutions. By linking different but complementary theories, the strategies of cooperation can be divided into three phases. If ngos gather to be recognized as reliable partners by intergovernmental organizations, the networks they create are characterized by a complex delegation structure which aims to meet the needs of their members and of the targeted institutions. The alleged flexibility of networks does not protect them from the pathologies of international organizations (path dependency, lack of adaptability).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hours Bernard

L'accordéon de la philanthropie globale
in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Mai

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/05/HOURS/49096>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Frances M.B. Lynch, Fernando Guirao

L'eredità intellettuale di Alan S. Milward
in *Memoria e ricerca* , Fascicolo 41

Alan S. Milward was a contemporary historian who combined the political historian's method of consulting the written record with the economic historian's use of statistical data and the social scientist's preference for general theory. On the strength of the resulting research methodology he produced a series of original histories of Nineteenth and Twentieth century Europe which tackled the big historical issues of his time: the nature of Nazism; of total war; of economic development in Nineteenth and Twentieth century Europe; and the reasons for the sustained economic boom in western Europe after 1945 and for the origins of European integration. In so far as his conclusions on each separate theme challenged the dominant theories, they stimulated considerable debate. Indeed, his implicit theories of historical change and European integration continue to resonate in the current political and economic crises facing Europe. Unlike neo-classical economists, European federalists and many integration theorists, Milward argued that economic and monetary union would not necessarily lead to a democratic political union in Europe and the end of nation-state. Indeed



he predicted in 2000 that if the European Monetary Union was beset by asymmetric shocks, it would weaken progressively until its desired effect had been so reduced as to defeat the Union's original purpose. As we live through such asymmetric shocks, Milward's predictions seem to carry more force than any of teleological theories of European integration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jean Carlo

L'intervento internazionale nel Mali

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLV, n. 170, aprile-primavera , 337-351

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Norel Pierre

L'émergence du capitalisme au prisme de l'histoire globale

in *Actuel Marx*, N° 53, avril 2013

The Emergence of Capitalism in the Perspective of Global History

This article examines the question of the nature and concrete beginnings of capitalism. The essential core of agricultural, craft, commercial and military technologies which make up the context for its European emergence derive from Asia, and were sometimes linked to market economies. Does this mean that capital was therefore at work, elsewhere than in Europe? Wallerstein dates the capitalism of the modern world-system back to the emergence of European hegemony. Frank and Gills postulate capitalism's pluri-millennial existence, whereas for Braudel, going beyond Marx and Weber, it does not really affirm itself before high-seas trading achieved its positions of monopoly and domination over state authorities. In order to focus the debate on the places and epochs of the birth of capitalism, Morel here proposes to distinguish between « active merchant capitalism », market systems, and capitalism. He therefore proposes a more complex model, based on the interaction between merchant logic and state or territorial logic, which eventually leads, in line with the approach of Arrighi or Mielants, from the diffuse capitalism of the merchants to the modern concentrated capitalism.

Keywords: capitalism, merchant capital, diasporas, the Indian ocean, market economy, Marx, Weber, Braudel.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

du Gay Paul, Millo Yuval, Tuck Penelope

Making government liquid: shifts in governance using financialisation as a political device

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 6, December , 1083-1099



The financialised character of contemporary rationalities of public governance has been the subject of increased attention within a range of disciplinary and interdisciplinary fields. With this paper we propose a particular analytical framework, focused on the notion of 'governance devices', for understanding the processes that underpin financialised governance and, more fundamentally, maintain the connections between markets and politics. Deploying three distinct cases, we indicate that these devices transcend divisions between the actor and the device and create a different form of agency—an assemblage. We argue that understanding such assemblages—their emergence, activity, and, frequently, their failures—opens a window on analysing the nature of contemporary forms of financialised governance as a technosocial system. In so doing we suggest that the governance devices approach can offer a way of challenging contemporary governance orthodoxies, retracing governments' lost responsibilities and resurfacing their 'core tasks'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chris Tausanovitch and Christopher Warshaw

Measuring Constituent Policy Preferences in Congress, State Legislatures, and Cities
in *Journal of Politics (The)*, Volume 75 - Issue 02 , 330-342

Little is known about the American public's policy preferences at the level of Congressional districts, state legislative districts, and local municipalities. In this article, we overcome the limited sample sizes that have hindered previous research by jointly scaling the policy preferences of 275,000 Americans based on their responses to policy questions. We combine this large dataset of Americans' policy preferences with recent advances in opinion estimation to estimate the preferences of every state, congressional district, state legislative district, and large city. We show that our estimates outperform previous measures of citizens' policy preferences. These new estimates enable scholars to examine representation at a variety of geographic levels. We demonstrate the utility of these estimates through applications of our measures to examine representation in state legislatures and city governments.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Underdal Arild

Meeting common environmental challenges: the co-evolution of policies and practices

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 13, Issue 1, Special Issue on Institutions and Global Environmental Governance: A Tribute to Oran Young, March , 15-30

This article proposes an analytical framework for exploring policy responses to common challenges of environmental governance. Observing that governance involves multiple processes, I begin by identifying a conceptual platform for studying unilateral learning and adaptation as well as international cooperation as integral and interacting components of a complex governance system. I propose the concept of co-evolution as the cornerstone of this platform and distinguish between two modes of co-evolution: diffusion and cooperation. The article draws findings and propositions from recent literature to identify the mechanisms at work and the conditions under which they foster mutually beneficial solutions. Indicating how important governance challenges differ with respect to these conditions, I build the case for a diagnostic and differential approach that matches capacity-building and policy strategies with the challenge in focus.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bremer Scott

Mobilising high-quality knowledge through dialogic environmental governance: a comparison of approaches and their institutional settings

in *International Journal of Sustainable Development*, Volume 16, Number 1-2, Special Issue on Post-Normal Science and Sustainability , 66-90

An increasing tendency to classify environmental issues as 'wicked' has seen a wavering confidence in models of 'resource management' in favour of models of 'environmental governance'. This has come with an attendant shift in epistemological perspectives for the mobilisation of knowledge in support of society's collective deliberation and decision-making, with governance fields increasingly espousing a 'dialogic' approach. Looking through an 'interactive governance' lens, this article reveals a diversity of different forms of dialogue for the mobilisation of knowledge, before focusing on those forms that: a) are inclusive of all knowledge systems; b) bring together knowledge through reciprocal dialogue; c) allow for the negotiation of knowledge quality in terms of 'credibility, salience and legitimacy'. To this end, it unpacks and compares three specific approaches for the dialogic mobilisation of knowledge; deliberative democracy, collaborative learning and post-normal science.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schmidt Jeremy J., Shrubsole Dan

Modern Water Ethics: Implications for Shared Governance

in *Environmental Values*, Volume 22, Number 3, June , 359-379

It has been suggested that water and social values were divorced in modernity. This paper argues otherwise. First, it demonstrates the historical link between ethics and politics using the case of American water governance. It engages theories regarding state-centric water planning under 'high modernism' and the claim that water was seen as a neutral resource that could be objectively governed. By developing an alternate view from the writings of early American water leaders, J.W. Powell and W.J. McGee, the paper offers a way to understand the project of state-centred governance without the claim that water falls to the latter half of a society/nature dualism. Second, the paper reviews how the emerging 'water ethics' discourse helps organise both the ethical and legal norms at play within contemporary political shifts towards decentralised governance. The review identifies how McGee's early influence may warrant more attention, both in terms of water governance and environmental ethics. The paper concludes by arguing that, given the arguments presented, success in decentralising water governance turns not only on political considerations, but also on fairly ordering normative claims as part of fostering and extending the reach of coordinated water governance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

McGuire Steven

Multinationals and NGOs amid a changing balance of power

in *International Affairs* , vol. 89, issue 3, may , 695-710

ABSTRACT: The role of private non-state actors in global governance has focused largely on western actors, notably firms and non-governmental organizations. The rise of new economic powers presents us with an opportunity to



consider whether and how the place of non-state actors might evolve. This is particularly true where emerging market firms are concerned, as they are the most obvious manifestation of the shift in economic power away from the developed West and Japan. The article suggests, however, that the current international system satisfies most of the demands that firms from rising powers might make, so they have little incentive to define their policy preferences in opposition to established powers. They can conduct political activity across a range of avenues, from multilateral institutions to regulatory bodies overseeing technical aspects of business operations. Indeed, the disaggregation of modern capitalism makes the last route particularly important and attractive for firms. As such, they do not need to frame their policy demands solely—or even mainly—in terms of balancing against western economic dominance. For non-governmental organizations, the emerging power structure has eroded their previous role of advocates for developing economies. The economic growth of emerging markets has, however, given NGOs an opportunity to work with multinationals in the provision of public goods.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Caccamo Domenico

Multipolarismo e American leadership nel discorso politico internazionale

in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, Volume 79, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 549-566

The Author seeks to define the concepts of "multipolarism" and "American leadership" looking at the writings of politicians and intellectuals in the US and Eurasia. The concept of "multipolarism" has been particularly emphasized by Russian Writers, from Evgenij Primakov to Fedor Lukjanov, while the concept of "American leadership" is a key word in the American vision concerning international relations, that Russians understand as "American hegemony". Sometimes open to dialogue, sometimes contending cautiously, American Authors lead the international debate, together with Chinese and Russian.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Scott David A.

Multipolarity, Multilateralism and Beyond ...? EU– China Understandings of the International System

in International Relations, vol. 27, n. 1, march , 30-51

ABSTRACT: The European Union (EU) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) both use the terms 'multipolarity' and 'multilateralism' in their 'public diplomacy' rhetoric and in their analyses of the international system. However, while the EU stresses multilateralism, the PRC remains explicit in its welcome of multipolarity. Yet shifts are apparent. In part, there may be some 'international socialisation' in play in which EU multilateralism usage, normative underpinnings, rub off on the PRC. In part, both terms are being supplemented by still wider overlapping terms of references for an untidy multilevel international system, such as 'interpolarity', 'asymmetrical multipolarity', 'region-polarity', 'inter-regionalism', 'multilateralising multipolarity' and 'multi-multilateralism'. An untidy multilevel EU may find it easier to operate in such a shifting international system than a tidy sovereignty-sensitive PRC?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Ali Shaheen Sardar

Navigating Religion, Politics and Cultural Norms: The Arduous Journey Toward Domestication of CEDAW in Pakistan

in *Peace, Conflict and Development*, Issue 19, Special Issue "Gender, Peace and Conflict Research in Pakistan", December , 18

The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was ratified by Pakistan in 1996. But to what extent has this human rights instrument found a place in state, government and society, in governmental and non-governmental policy documents, in legislation, judicial decisions, governance structures and institutions in Pakistan? Have CEDAW's pre- and post-ratification processes and attendant discourse internalised it within state, government and society? This study suggests that, in a country where pluralism is deeply embedded in legal culture as well as in religious and cultural norms, CEDAW (and indeed human rights instruments in general) has received an ambivalent and mixed reception as the newest layer of plural legalities. The paper draws upon a variety of governmental and nongovernmental sources, upon surveys of judicial decisions of the high courts and the Supreme Court that

have invoked CEDAW since Pakistan's ratification in 1996, and is informed by the academic literature on the approach of Pakistan and other Muslim states to CEDAW. The paper has a strong experiential component in that it reflects the author's participation in the accession process and thereafter.

Full text available online

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Malloy Tove H.

Nordic (Minority) Autonomies and Territorial Management in Europe: Empowerment through Regionalisation?

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 20, Special Issue: Rethinking Territorial Arrangements in Conflict Resolution , 85-106

The participation of traditional minority autonomies is seldom discussed in relation to territorial management in Europe. Yet, several traditional minorities and indigenous people enjoying autonomous powers participate in regional co-operation efforts. This article discusses the involvement of Greenland, the Faroe Islands and the Åland Islands in the development and co-operation of macro-regions. Regional co-operation has long been a corner stone of Europe's integration project, and macro-regions is the latest concept in the effort to strengthen regions economically in the wake of the onset of globalisation and indeed global economic crises. In contradistinction to the perceived notion of traditional minorities as conflict prone troublemakers, it is argued that in the effort to maintain the peace and overcome persistent challenges common to both majorities and minorities, traditional minorities are increasingly pro-active and working for the survival of their autonomous regions. This is manifested, among other, in the manner in which they participate – albeit unevenly – in regional co-operation aimed at economic development and integration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hobson Kersty

On the making of the environmental citizen

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Coming of Age? Environmental Politics at 21, February , 56-72



Debates about how to foster green/environmental citizenship have been central to environmental politics research in the past few decades. While a great deal of this work draws its central tenets from liberal political theory more recently researchers have adopted broadly post-structural analytical frameworks to explore how diverse forms of (environmental) citizenship are formed and enacted. But what can and does this 'green governmentality' literature contribute to our understanding of environmental citizenship? In exploring such a question, some key environment and citizenship debates, including the recent post-structural turn, are examined. Research into domestic sustainable consumption and public deliberation around climate change is drawn upon to outline how both forms of intervention worked to produce incomplete and conditional expressions of intent and commitment that could be viewed as environmental citizenship. Green governmentality analysis thus highlights some conceptual and empirical blind spots in prevailing environmental citizenships frameworks whilst raising further questions about appropriate and effective public intervention mechanisms.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gussen Benjamin F.

On the problem of scale: Hayek, Kohr, Jacobs and the reinvention of the political state in Constitutional political economy, Volume 24, Issue 1, March 2013

There is no shortage of crises in the ecological (e.g. climate change), economic (e.g. the Global Financial Crisis), and socio-political spheres (e.g. the Arab Spring). While such crises are not new to the human saga, both the magnitude and frequency of these crises seem to be intensifying. The usual prognosis follows the public/private dichotomy, suggesting more or less government intervention (and the closely related variants of more integration and regime change). However, there are 'islands' of alternative analyses where crises result from scale distortion (organisational structures of states, markets and firms that are too large or too small) and scale entanglement (strong rather than weak ties between different scales such as the local, national and global). This paper attempts to synthesise this scale problematisation into one coherent school of thought. To this end, we introduce the complexity ansatz, which links complexity to symmetry (breaking), scale and collapse. To illustrate, the paper traces this ansatz in the writings of Friedrich Hayek, Léopold Kohr and Jane Jacobs (HKJ). The thesis is that the moribund nation state needs to be relegated to a subsidiary role to evade collapse. Loosely coupled (fiscally and monetarily) autonomous city-regions should be the 'eyes' of socio-economic action.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

V. Dickinson, M. Farnworth, J. Zhan

Opportunism and Election Timing by Canadian Provincial and Federal Governments in Canadian Public Policy, volume 39 n.1, 101-18

We investigate election timing by Canadian provincial and federal governments from 1976 to 2008. Using monthly data, our provincial regressions indicate that lower unemployment and the prospect of increasing unemployment spur election calls. Our federal regressions also suggest that lower unemployment triggers elections and the effect is stronger at the federal level than at the provincial level. We present evidence that US monthly unemployment rates are lower before Canadian variable-date federal elections but are not lower before US fixed-date elections. This finding further indicates that Canadian politicians have used our variable-date election system to exploit favourable conditions.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Croissant Aurel, Wurster Stefan

Performance and persistence of autocracies in comparison: introducing issues and perspectives in Contemporary Politics, Vol. 19, Issue 1 , 1-18

Authoritarianism research has evolved into one of the fastest growing areas in comparative politics and political economy. However, the newly awakened interest in autocratic regimes goes hand in hand with a lack of systematic research on the results of the political and substantive policy performance of variants of autocratic regimes. In this article we introduce the individual contributions to this special issue and summarize their findings with regard to three core research questions: What are the differences between autocracies and democracies, as well as between different forms of authoritarian regimes, with regard to their outcome performance in selected policy fields? Does policy performance matter for the persistence of authoritarian rule? How can we conceptualize different types of autocratic regimes and do differences in the availability of performance data matter for the results of empirical studies comparing democracies and autocracies or different types of non-democratic regimes?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dobson Andrew

Political Theory in a Closed World: Reflections on William Ophuls, Liberalism and Abundance in Environmental Values, Volume 22, Number 2, April , 241-259

This paper takes as a starting point William Ophul's claim that the last 450 years amount to an 'era of exception' in terms of resource availability. Ophuls suggests that it is no accident that this exceptional era of abundance coincides with the birth and development of liberalism - that liberalism, in other words, would not/could not have occurred without the conditions provided by this era of exception. Some of the ways in which this suggestion might be critically examined are discussed, and attention is drawn to one of its more interesting implications: if liberalism depends on abundance, what kind of political theory do we need if we are entering a new era of scarcity ('peak oil/peak everything')?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jones H. S., Stewart Ian

Positive Political Science and the Uses of Political Theory in Post-War France: Raymond Aron in Context in History of European Ideas, Volume 39, Issue 1, Special Issue: The Impact of Positivism on Post-War European Political Thought , 35-50

This article approaches post-war debates about the relationship between normative political theory and empirical political science from a French perspective. It does so by examining Raymond Aron's commentaries on a series of articles commissioned by him for a special issue of the *Revue française de science politique* on this theme as well as through an analysis of his wartime dialogue with the neo-Thomist philosopher, Jacques Maritain. Following a consideration of Aron's critique of contemporary approaches to this issue in France, we discuss his own distinctive



attempt to draw normative theory and empirical science into the same orbit by tracing the interaction of these two elements in his work from the late 1930s to the mid-1960s.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Urpelainen Johannes

Promoting International Environmental Cooperation Through Unilateral Action: When Can Trade Sanctions Help?

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 13, Issue 2, May , 26-45

International environmental cooperation is difficult because states disagree on burden sharing and have incentives to free ride. However, interested countries can promote future cooperation through unilateral action that induces technological change in and, thereby, shapes the preferences of foreign countries. How can the effectiveness of such unilateral action be improved? This article offers a game-theoretic analysis of the value of combining unilateral action with trade sanctions, or policies that force foreign exporters to comply with domestic environmental regulations. Trade sanctions can significantly improve the effectiveness of unilateral action, but only when (1) they induce clean technology adoption by exporters in targeted countries and (2) this reduces the cost of clean technology elsewhere in the economy through intersectoral technology spillovers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bronkhorst Salomé

Rareté de ressources et conflit entre pasteurs et agriculteurs au Sud-Kordofan, Soudan. Les obstacles à la promotion du pastoralisme comme forme d'adaptation au changement climatique

in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 88, Migrations climatiques, hiver , 111-132

It is widely believed that global climate change will have far-reaching effects and pose development and security challenges on an unprecedented scale, particularly for Africa where the majority of people depend on the environment for their livelihoods. As a form of seasonal migration, pastoralism in Sudan is both motivated and affected by climate change and variability. At the same time, however, some scholars have suggested that pastoralism continues to present opportunities for adaptation in areas of high climate variability, and may be more resilient than other livelihood systems that do not entail mobility. By drawing on the theoretical foundations of the linkages between migration, climate change and conflict, this article examines conflicts between pastoralists and farmers of the state of Southern Kordofan, Sudan, from a resource scarcity perspective. First, this paper argues that structural resource scarcities have been created through the introduction of legislation on land and mechanised farming, which contribute to conflicts. It argues, secondly, that government policies have undermined an institution (the traditional Native Administration), which has demonstrated the potential to not only manage resources and scarcities but also mitigate conflicts arising from competition over scarce resources. It is argued that these two factors present key driving factors of pastoral-farmer conflicts in Southern Kordofan, and therefore critical hurdles in the promotion of pastoralism as a form of climate change adaptation in that state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ross Andrew A. G.

Realism, emotion, and dynamic allegiances in global politics
in *International Theory*, Volume 5, Issue 02, July , 273-299

This article appeals to classical realism for new insights into the role emotions play in shifting the terrain of political allegiance in global politics. Although undetected in readings emphasizing rational statecraft, realists such as Hans Morgenthau and Reinhold Niebuhr were centrally concerned with human emotions and their political impact. While following the intellectual currents of their time in regarding emotions as fixed impulses, these realists' deep appreciation for the contingencies of history also led them to cast emotions as socially conditioned mechanisms of adaptation. By revisiting the texts of classical realism, this paper develops a fresh account of how emotion responds to and engenders change in the social world – in particular, change in the location of political allegiances. I then show how Morgenthau and Niebuhr applied these ideas not only to the nation-state but also to the most vexing transnational phenomena of their time – communism and liberal internationalism. In conclusion, the paper speculates that these reflections on dynamic allegiances at the transnational level offer realists and other international relation theorists insight into the emotional appeal, adaptability, and organizational complexity of contemporary non-state movements and actors.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rune Dahl Fitjar

Region building in the Artic periphery: the discursive construction of a petroleum region
in *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography*, volume 95 n.1 , 71-88

As social communities, regions are built through discourses that convey images of what the region is. Regions are built for a variety of reasons, including political and economic ones. This implies that changing economic circumstances have the potential to change the discourses on regional identities. Petroleum discoveries represent such a potential change in the economic circumstances of a region. This study of an emerging petroleum region in the north of Norway shows that a regional identity discourse is used to claim ownership over the petroleum resources in the Barents Sea in order to justify the need for a production plan that maximizes regional economic benefits. In this way, the discovery of petroleum represents an opportunity to reinforce regional identities around a set of common interests. However, "the region" is vaguely defined in this discourse, being used in reference to two different scales: Finnmark and Northern Norway.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Arias-Maldonado Manuel

Rethinking Sustainability in the Anthropocene

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 3, Special Issue: Climate Change: Ethics, Rights and Policies, May , 428-446

Climate change is provoking a pragmatic turn in our approach to sustainability, resulting in a more pluralistic debate about both the desirable sustainable society and the means by which it is to be achieved. The traditional green approach, founded on a moral view of the socio-natural relationship and inclined to a radical transformation of the current social system, now seems misguided. In this regard, sustainability should be considered as an inherently open principle for guiding social action that also serves as a framework for discussing the kind of society we wish to have. The



distinction between an open and a closed account of sustainability aims to reflect this. But, at the same time, sustainability should go beyond the common distinctions between strong and weak versions of the principle, turning substitutability into a much more flexible criterion that puts cultivated (rather than natural and human-made) capital at its centre. Sustainability is thus to be freed from nature. Adopting a post-natural stance with regard to sustainability is a key part of the much-needed renewal of environmentalism itself.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hammersley Rachel

Rethinking the Political Thought of James Harrington: Royalism, Republicanism and Democracy in History of European Ideas, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 354-370

Traditional accounts of seventeenth-century English republicanism have usually presented it as inherently anti-monarchical and anti-democratic. This article seeks to challenge and complicate this picture by exploring James Harrington's views on royalism, republicanism and democracy. Building on recent assertions about Harrington's distinctiveness as a republican thinker, the article suggests that the focus on Harrington's republicanism has served to obscure the subtlety and complexity of his moral and political philosophy. Focusing on the year 1659, and the pamphlet war that Harrington and his supporters waged against their fellow republicans, it seeks to re-emphasise important but neglected elements of Harrington's thought. It suggests that the depth and extent of Harrington's sympathy with royalists and royalism has been underplayed, while too little attention has been paid to the fundamental differences between his ideas and those adopted by other republican thinkers at the time. In addition it brings to light, for the first time, Harrington's innovative endorsement of both the term and the concept of 'democracy' and draws attention to his intellectual and personal affinities with the Levellers. Finally it outlines some implications of these findings for understandings of English republicanism and the republican tradition more generally.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Buehler Michael

Revisiting the inclusion-moderation thesis in the context of decentralized institutions. The behavior of Indonesia's Prosperous Justice Party in national and local politics

in Party Politics, Volume 19, Number 2, Special Issue on — Religious parties and the inclusion-moderation thesis, March , 210-229

Institutions figure prominently in explanations for why radical parties forego their agendas and subject themselves to democratic principles when included in politics. Analyzing the Prosperous Justice Party's political trajectory across Indonesia's multi-level government structures between 1999 and 2009, I show that the Islamist party has gradually adopted more moderate behavior not only in national politics, where institutional incentives are conducive to moderation, but also in local politics, where institutional incentives for moderation are weaker. The absence of a strong pattern of invariant association between institutional incentives and the moderation of party behavior points to the importance of party internal mechanisms in moderation processes. Based on primary sources and in-depth interviews with party members, I argue that socio-structural factors shape a party's internal power dynamics and thereby its long-term capacity to adopt more moderate behavior.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kristian Petrov

Russia in the European Home? Convergence, Cosmopolitanism and Cosmism in Late Soviet Europeanisation in Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 65, Issue 2, , 321-346

The aim is to present a conceptual and historical reconstruction of Gorbachev's notion of a 'European home', its underlying philosophy of history as well as its relation to Russian cosmism. The concept is contextualised within the convergence debate of the post-war period, in which a rapprochement between communism and capitalism was posited. The essay concludes with reflections on what the conceptualisation can tell us about the fall of communism and what impact the concept has had on today's search for a common European identity. An argument is advanced that the notion contained paradoxes that contributed to the dislocation of post-Soviet Russia from Europe.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sasikumar Karthika

Serbia "Enters" Europe: International Mobility and the Redrawing of State Boundaries in Mediterranean Quarterly, Volume 24, Number 2, Spring , 59-80

In 2009, citizens of Serbia were finally allowed to make short trips to Schengen zone countries without visas. This represented a victory for the regime in Belgrade. A whole generation of Serbians had been held back from European travel by the visa requirement that was introduced as Yugoslavia disintegrated. However, this victory came at a price. Schengen countries worried that the lifting of the visa barrier would trigger a flood of illegal workers and asylum seekers from Kosovo. The Serbian government, which considers Kosovo to be an autonomous province, had to come up with an expedient solution to reassure wealthier European countries that allowing Serbians to "enter" would not open the gates to a large number of problematic visitors. Eventually, Belgrade agreed to restrict the privilege of visa-free travel for residents of Kosovo, formally differentiating Kosovar citizens from "normal" citizens. The imperatives of international mobility have forced a country, in a sense, to redraw its boundaries and to acknowledge a different status for a section of its population from a province that it continues to claim. This essay unpacks the puzzle of why supporters of the "integral Kosovo" position in Serbia resigned themselves to the compromise. The central argument is that states seek to secure mobility not only for economic reasons but also to mark themselves as normal, respectable members of the international community. Serbia's visa waiver decision provides a lens with which to view issues of mobility and national identity in one of the most complex and divided regions of the world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Balthasar Dominik

Somaliland's best kept secret: shrewd politics and war projects as means of state-making

in Journal of Eastern African Studies , Volume 7, Issue 2, Special Issue: Effects of 'statelessness': dynamics of Somali politics, economy and society since 1991 , 218-238



The de facto state of Somaliland has featured prominently as constituting an allegedly exceptional case of state-making, especially because peaceful and democratic elements of its trajectory have frequently been emphasized. Yet, evidence suggests that the polity's state-making project not only showed considerable traits of authoritarian leadership, but also that it was significantly perpetuated by the civil wars encouraged by President Egal during his first term in office. Hence, this article proposes that Somaliland's 'best kept secret' lies less with the commonly emphasized processes of reconciliation and consensus-based governance driven by 'traditional authorities' than with the shrewd politics and war projects that underpinned its state-making endeavour. While clarifying that war was neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for state-making, this article counters the neo-liberal proposition that war invariably constitutes 'development in reverse' and contributes to the argument that we need to disaggregate the 'black box' of war in order to enhance our understanding of under what condition war, or certain elements thereof, can be constitutive of state-making in the contemporary world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

JEREMY MOSES

**Sovereignty as irresponsibility? A Realist critique of the Responsibility to Protect
in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 39 - Issue 01 , 113-135**

This article aims to cast a critical light on the concept of 'sovereignty as responsibility', which lies at the heart of the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP). It argues that there are two distinct strands of theorising about sovereignty, de facto and de jure, which are not often clearly distinguished in the literature. After establishing the concept of 'sovereignty as responsibility' as a de jure theory of sovereignty, the article goes on to contrast the de facto theory, based upon the sovereignty theories of Hobbes, Schmitt, and Morgenthau. I argue that the de facto theories of sovereignty, concerned as they are with unlimited power and decision as the essence of sovereign authority, can be used to highlight the lack of appreciation of power in the literature surrounding the Responsibility to Protect. This is particularly the case in relation to the just war principles of 'right authority' and 'reasonable prospects of success', both of which lie at the heart of the RtoP criteria for assessing when military interventions for human protection purposes may take place. In conclusion, it is argued that any attempt to advance the RtoP norm must engage with the problem of unlimited power in a more sustained manner.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

McGregor Lorna

**State Immunity and Human Rights: Is There a Future after Germany v. Italy?
in Journal of International Criminal Justice, Vol. 11, Num. 1, March, 2013 , 125-145**

This article considers whether the recent decision of the International Court of Justice in Jurisdictional Immunities of the State (Germany v. Italy: Greece Intervening) definitively draws the line under the question whether states enjoy jurisdictional immunity in cases involving allegations of human rights violations. The article first submits that the judgment is likely to foreclose the development of an exception to state immunity on the basis of the nature of the allegations alone. However, it argues that the Court's rejection of the so-called 'forum of last resort' exception to immunity may not be determinative. Rather, such an exception may still emerge in national and international courts mandated to assess the impact of the lack of alternative means available to address a claim on the right of access to a



court. The article concludes with an assessment of the impact of the judgment on the availability of immunity *ratione materiae* to individuals in such cases. It offers analysis as to why immunity *ratione materiae* can be considered separately from that of the state in civil proceedings and explores whether the recognition of individual civil responsibility in international law could form a basis for an exception to immunity *ratione materiae*.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kinyondo Abel, Pelizzo Riccardo

Strengthening Legislatures: Some Lessons from the Pacific Region

in Politics & Policy, Vol. 41, Issue 3, June , 420-446

There is universal agreement among development stakeholders that parliaments play a crucial role in enhancing good governance, economic growth, and development as well as the general quality of democracy. It follows from this fact that several international organizations (IOs) have embarked in activities that seek to strengthen legislative capacity. However, we note that there is a lack of consensus—among IOs and in key literature—on the right approach to strengthen parliaments. Consequently, IOs have been offering varying legislative-strengthening exercises that have inevitably produced significantly different and, at times, disappointing outcomes. Using a multicase study design that includes five Pacific countries, we show that to attain positive and significant outcomes, legislative capacity-building initiatives need to be country specific and informed by local needs assessment. We further reassert that no amount of legislative capacity-building effort can enhance parliamentary performance in the absence of local political will.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Patric Bond

Sub-imperialism as Lubricant of Neoliberalism: South African ‘deputy sheriff’ duty within brics

in Third World Quarterly, volume 34 n.2 , 251-270

South Africa’s role in global economy and geopolitics was, during the apartheid era, explicitly sub-imperialist, as the West’s ‘deputy sheriff’ in a tough neighbourhood. But, with democracy in 1994, there arose a debate surrounding the difference between the liberation government’s (leftist) foreign policy rhetoric and its practice. Defining the sub-imperial standpoint at this stage is important in because of the extreme economic, social and environmental contradictions that have worsened within South Africa, for which anti-imperialist rhetoric is sometimes a salve. However, the explicit strategies for global engagement chosen by Pretoria, including joining the Brazil–Russia–India–China (bric) alliance in early 2012, have not proven effective in reforming world power relations. The degree to which brics has recently accommodated imperialism—especially in matters related to economic and ecological crises—suggests that critics should more forcefully confront the general problem of sub-imperial re-legitimation of neoliberalism. That problem requires a theory of sub-imperialism sufficiently robust to cut through the domestic and foreign policy claims made by the brics regimes, of which South Africa’s are among the most compelling given the ruling elite’s ubiquitous ‘talk left, walk right’ tendency and the extremely high levels of social struggles against injustice that result.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Patric Bond

Sub-imperialism as Lubricant of Neoliberalism: South African ‘deputy sheriff’ duty within brics
in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 34 n.2 , 251-270

South Africa’s role in global economy and geopolitics was, during the apartheid era, explicitly sub-imperialist, as the West’s ‘deputy sheriff’ in a tough neighbourhood. But, with democracy in 1994, there arose a debate surrounding the difference between the liberation government’s (leftist) foreign policy rhetoric and its practice. Defining the sub-imperial standpoint at this stage is important because of the extreme economic, social and environmental contradictions that have worsened within South Africa, for which anti-imperialist rhetoric is sometimes a salve. However, the explicit strategies for global engagement chosen by Pretoria, including joining the Brazil–Russia–India–China (bric) alliance in early 2012, have not proven effective in reforming world power relations. The degree to which brics has recently accommodated imperialism—especially in matters related to economic and ecological crises—suggests that critics should more forcefully confront the general problem of sub-imperial re-legitimation of neoliberalism. That problem requires a theory of sub-imperialism sufficiently robust to cut through the domestic and foreign policy claims made by the brics regimes, of which South Africa’s are among the most compelling given the ruling elite’s ubiquitous ‘talk left, walk right’ tendency and the extremely high levels of social struggles against injustice that result.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Andrey Dominique

Suisse : sécurité et défense d’un petit pays
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 759, Avril

Dans cette présentation des spécificités de l’appareil de sécurité suisse qu’en fait le chef des forces terrestres de la Confédération, on découvre le modèle décentralisé et mobilisable d’une population concernée au quotidien par sa sécurité mais aussi la tentation d’évoluer vers une force militaire fondée sur le volontariat.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Agné Hans, Bartelson Jens, Erman Eva, Lindemann Thomas, Herborth Benjamin, Kessler Oliver, Chwaszcza Christine, Fabry Mikulas, Krasner Stephen D.

Symposium: ‘The politics of international recognition’
in *International Theory*, Volume 5, Issue 01, March , 94-107

Recognition plays a multifaceted role in international theory. In rarely communicating literatures, the term is invoked to explain creation of new states and international structures; policy choices by state and non-state actors; and normative justifiability, or lack thereof, of foreign and international politics. The purpose of this symposium is to open new possibilities for imagining and studying recognition in international politics by drawing together different strands of research in this area. More specifically, the forum brings new attention to controversies on the creation of states, which has traditionally been a preserve for discussion in International Law, by invoking social theories of recognition that have



developed as part of International Relations more recently. It is suggested that broadening imagination across legal and social approaches to recognition provides the resources needed for theories with this object to be of maximal relevance to political practice.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Capelle-Blancard Gunther, Havrylchik Olena

Taxer les transactions financières n'a pas d'incidence sur la volatilité des marchés financiers

in *Lettre du CEPII*, n. 331, March - 2013

Presque 80 ans après la proposition de John Maynard Keynes de taxer les transactions à Wall Street, 40 ans après celle de James Tobin de placer quelques grains de sable dans les rouages trop bien huilés de la finance mondiale, l'idée de taxer les transactions financières n'a jamais autant été d'actualité. La France en août 2012, puis l'Italie en mars 2013 ont décidé de taxer les échanges de titres et prochainement, c'est à onze que les pays de la zone euro vont appliquer le projet de taxe de la commission européenne. Les opposants à la taxe sur les transactions financières – nombreux bien sûr parmi les professionnels de la finance, mais aussi parmi les économistes – font valoir qu'elle serait contre-productive : loin de réduire l'instabilité des marchés, cette taxe contribuerait à augmenter la volatilité en diminuant la liquidité. Pourtant, dans leur ensemble, les études empiriques ne décèlent aucun effet sur la volatilité (ni dans un sens, ni dans l'autre), malgré la baisse des volumes de transaction. De même, la taxe française introduite en août 2012 a certes induit une baisse des volumes, mais sans que cela n'ait d'effet sur la volatilité des titres concernés.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sylvest Casper

Technology and Global Politics: The Modern Experiences of Bertrand Russell and John H. Herz

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 35, Issue 1 , 121-142

As questions of technology and world government are returning to the agenda of International Relations (IR), there is a risk that technology is approached in a simple, instrumentalist manner. Beginning from an overview of the overwhelmingly instrumental approaches to technology lodged in the dominant traditions of IR, the article revisits the post-war decades when scholars thought profoundly about the impact of technology on global politics. Combining the history of (international) political thought, IR theory, and Science and Technology Studies (STS) the article examines the relationship between technology and politics, authority, and liberty in the thought of Bertrand Russell (1872–1970) and John H. Herz (1908–2005), which leads to the unearthing of a sophisticated and complex set of ideas. Particularly during the nuclear revolution, these figures developed global visions in which the interrelations among technology, security, democracy, sustainability, and freedom were critical. Russell and Herz's approaches to technology and (global) politics are insightful and relevant for IR's attempt to re-engage with technology: by anticipating contemporary critical and reflexive approaches to technology, they can help bridge the fields of IR and STS and open new avenues for research. The Large Technical Systems (LTS) approach within STS is used to exemplify this possibility.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Jill Vickers

Territorial Pluralism and Family-Law Reform: Conflicts between Gender and Culture Rights in Federations, North and South

in *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* , Volume 40, Issue 1 , 57-82

This article considers how gender conflicts and cultural rights conflicts affect family-law reform. UN Women maintains that women experience harms including violence because of legal pluralism, i.e. multiple family law codes. The article explores if federal territorial pluralism involves similar dangers. Since women's citizenship depends on equality, security and autonomy in family relations, the question is whether federal governments can regulate legal pluralism and enact reforms required under international law. Although in some federations, unregulated territorial pluralism harms women, some federal governments regulate legal pluralism effectively and reform family law codes. State capacity, political will, and manageable diversity all contribute to positive outcomes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Boisen Camilla

The Changing Moral Justification of Empire: From the Right to Colonise to the Obligation to Civilise in History of European Ideas, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 335-353

This paper argues that the moral legitimating reasoning of terra nullius assumed an under-recognised, different guise in the later years of colonial justification in the form of trusteeship. The idea of terra nullius has a central place in the political thought of thinkers such as Grotius and Locke. Although terra nullius, consolidated in European colonial thought in the early modern period, differed conceptually from the doctrine of trusteeship as the colonial legitimation for Africa, both instituted a moral justification for the appropriation of native land, and of empire itself.

The contention is that the trajectory from the one doctrine to the other was aligned with the change in the underlying moral framework of the rights and duties of Europeans and non-Europeans. In the early days of colonisation, there was a certain permissiveness on the part of the colonisers to appropriate the land of American Indians. By the late nineteenth century this seemed to change into a moral requirement for civilising the native Africans. Edmund Burke's conceptualisation of trusteeship illustrates the way in which traditionally conceived natural rights were transformed into fundamental social rights, and central to this idea was the expansion of European 'civilised' moral communities on which rights now depended.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stirk Peter M. R.

The Development of Post-War German Social and Political Thought

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 39, Issue 1, Special Issue: The Impact of Positivism on Post-War European Political Thought , 19-34

The development of post-war German social sciences is marked by a series of disputes about the nature and implications of positivist methodology. Two of these are selected for consideration here; the 'positivist dispute' in



German sociology associated with Adorno and Popper, and the more diffuse assault on positivism in the legal sciences. In both cases, self-avowed positivists were in fact hard to find but the debates were important polemical disputes about the past—notably the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich—and the future of the young Federal Republic. It is suggested below that these disputes should be seen in this context and that the polemical claim in both disputes that certain methodological standpoints mandated specific moral and political commitments is more questionable.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lesb Leslie S.

The EU, the Muslim Brotherhood and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation

in Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs, vol. 57, n. 1, winter

ABSTRACT: The European Union (EU), the Muslim Brotherhood, and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) are locked in a struggle for the future of Europe that encompasses very different visions. The EU aims for a highly sophisticated Western civilization; the Brotherhood and OIC see Europe as part of a future global Caliphate, an Islamic empire governed by an Islamist version of traditional Islamic law, or sharia. This competition extends to the United Nations where the OIC is seeking to enforce global prohibitions on criticism of Islam. A comparison of the EU's actions with those of the U.S. federal government shows that U.S. policymakers, in confronting a similar challenge, are making many of the same errors as their European counterparts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pauwelyn Joost

The End of Differential Treatment for Developing Countries? Lessons from the Trade and Climate Change Regimes

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Assessing Progress in International Environmental Law, April , 29-41

Dividing the world in two groups of countries – developed and developing – remains deeply engrained. This bifurcation is increasingly problematic. It has led to deadlock in negotiations and equity concerns. This article traces parallel developments of differential treatment in the trade and environmental regimes. It demonstrates that in both regimes a radical shift is in the making, away from differential treatment for developing countries as a group, and toward individualized differentiation between countries based on objective, issue-specific criteria. The question is less whether China or Russia are developing countries. The challenge is to find criteria to differentiate between countries – both developed and developing – tailored to each negotiation or regime. Half a century after the start of decolonization, this may be the end of differential treatment for developing countries. Yet, ironically, it leads to more (not less) differentiation and, though not without risks, can make regimes more effective and equitable.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pratt Guterl Matthew

The Futures of Transnational History



in *American Historical Review*, Volume 118, Issue 1, February , 130-139

In the three contributions to this AHR Forum, the life is a stand-in for something else: for the nation, for the world, for the trans-nation. The “life” here is different. It is not offered up in the sense of your typical biography, where the goal is to unearth the minutiae of the everyday, to plot a single human being's circumstance in all of its cradle-to-the-grave detail, and in doing so to explain his or her consequence. Instead, the purpose of the “life” in these projects is to contain and focus an answer to a question that might, were it not appropriately consolidated, expand without end, and to reveal, through that containment and focus, something new—something exciting—about the relations of the self to place, time, and space. Each in their own way, the three essays in this forum reveal where we—historians of the trans-nation—are today, and suggest where we might need to go. Every life tells us something new and exciting; every life has consequences for what we can write and imagine.

This trio arrived on my desk this past fall, catching me by surprise, and in a moment of somber reflection. I had recently given a public talk about Josephine Baker, the object of my attention for the past six years—and a “life” to match, in spirit, the group here. After recounting my travels over this period of research and laying out what remained to be done, I had half-jokingly described my biography of the ...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Neill Edmund

The Impact of Positivism: Academic Political Thought in Britain, c. 1945–1970

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 39, Issue 1, Special Issue: The Impact of Positivism on Post-War European Political Thought , 51-78

This article examines the nature of academic political theory in Britain in the post-war period, examining in particular the degree to which theorists were able to mount normative theoretical arguments. Traditionally, commentators such as Brian Barry and Perry Anderson have argued that political theory in this period was largely dead between 1945 and 1970 due to the impact of positivism, but I argue this is mistaken for two main reasons. First, it fails to distinguish between the different forms that positivism took in the post-war era. Thus although it is true many theorists tended to claim that moral and political values could (or should) not be discussed rationally, their reasons for doing so varied considerably. For while theorists such as A. J. Ayer and T. D. Weldon justified their positions theoretically, with arguments drawn from behaviourist social science or innovations made in linguistic philosophy, others, such as Ralf Dahrendorf and Anthony Crosland, argued that it was the perceived success of post-war welfare states or the alleged failure of political ideologies that made traditional political theory irrelevant. Second, following on from this, I argue that delineating more accurately how positivism actually operated helps to explain how political theorists were able to pursue their discipline normatively—albeit that few reacted to all aspects of positivism. Thus if some (such as Karl Popper) were more concerned to insist that political philosophy had something to say in practice, others (such as Michael Oakeshott), reacted more strongly against the proposition that human behaviour can be understood purely causally. Finally, I examine the impact of ordinary language philosophy on post-war political theory, and argue that rather than simply damaging the cause of normative political theory by encouraging a myopic concentration on the linguistic analysis of particular moral and political concepts, over the longer term its effects were much more positive, since it helped to focus attention on the irreducibly normative dimension of political concepts.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Whiteside Kerry H.

The Impasses of Ecological Representation

in **Environmental Values**, Volume 22, Number 3, June , 339-358

Calls for new forms of representation to protect the interests of future generations and non-human species have become common among green theorists. Examining these proposals critically, this article finds, first, that 'ecological representation' contradicts the virtues traditionally associated with representative government: creating a circuit of legitimacy between voters and political authorities; preventing abuses of power; keeping law neutral with respect to the worth of competing values. It concludes, second, that our environmental predicament is not essentially the fault of inadequate representation. The logic of representation itself is part of the problem. Ecological democrats must look to other participatory models.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Müller Jan-Werner

The Paradoxes of Post-War Italian Political Thought

in **History of European Ideas**, Volume 39, Issue 1, Special Issue: The Impact of Positivism on Post-War European Political Thought , 79-102

This article examines the complex nature of post-war Italian political thought, stressing the importance of Italy's unusual institutional and historical political arrangements, but also the vibrancy of its political ideologies in this period. In the past it has often been argued that the dysfunctional nature of post-war Italian democracy with its rapidly changing governments, and widespread corruption—which nonetheless coexisted with the one party, the Christian Democrats, being constantly in power—led to the atrophy of political theory in general, and political ideologies in particular. But this picture is strongly disputed here—on the contrary it is argued that Christian Democratic, Left and liberal political ideologies were all complex and interesting. Thus if Christian democracy should ultimately be seen as an 'ideology of transition' which existed to help Catholicism adapt to the parameters of modern mass democracy, and which lacked a thinker of the calibre of Jacques Maritain, it nevertheless contained within it important debates on the role of the state, between such interesting thinkers as Giuseppe Dossetti and Alcide De Gasperi. And if anything, political thinking on the Left in the post-war period was even more complex, with visceral debates within the (large) Communist Party (PCI) over whether to work within the law—between such thinkers as Palmiro Togliatti and the Il Manifesto group. Equally on the more revolutionary Left, there were important debates about how quickly capitalism could be made to collapse through revolutionary action between thinkers such as Raniero Panzieri and his more radical disciples, Mario Tronti and Antonio Negri, while later, due to the general failure of these revolutionary efforts, post-modern thinkers such as Gianni Vattimo sought to abandon grand metaphysical narratives, whilst retaining a commitment to Left of centre political commitments. Finally, although not part of a widespread mass movement, the liberal thought of Norberto Bobbio was also highly interesting and sophisticated—borrowing from Hobbes and Kelsen, he sought to advocate a modest form of liberal democracy which allowed for civilised forms of conflict, and the protection of minorities, and which rejected the contention of Marxists that civil rights could not be distinguished from economic ones. Overall, if normative aspirations in post-war Italian politics were often frustrated in practice, this was certainly not due to any lack of theoretical vibrancy.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stephan Sarah

The Proliferation of Status Proposals for Abkhazia – Distinct Concepts or Mere Labels?

in **International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights**, Volume 20, Special Issue: Rethinking Territorial Arrangements in Conflict Resolution , 119-140

In the conflict between Georgia and the breakaway region of Abkhazia, status talks have not been successful. Yet, between 1989 and 2008 a number of proposals for Abkhazia's status have surfaced which can be situated along a wide spectrum of concepts, from cultural autonomy to confederalism to independence. The example of Georgia/Abkhazia serves well to outline the extent to which desired status can be formulated, re-formulated and possibly misformulated in the context of an ethno-political conflict. This is especially illustrative when contrasted with the 'Åland Example'. The mere labels given to self-government arrangements can play an important role in status negotiations, as these might render the arrangements proposed more or less vulnerable to rejection, e.g. due to historic experiences. The aim of this article is to highlight such complexities as pertinent in the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Giuseppe Nesi

The Quest for a 'Full' Execution of the ICJ Judgment in Germany v. Italy

in **Journal of International Criminal Justice**, Vol. 11, Num. 1, March, 2013 , 185-198

The response of Italy to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) judgment of 3 February 2012 on the jurisdictional immunities of the state has been prompt and comprehensive. The Italian judiciary obeyed — contrary to what other national judges do — the ICJ decision either on the basis of a joint interpretation of Article 94 of the UN Charter and Articles 10 and 11 of the Italian Constitution; or by stressing the authoritative nature of the ICJ decision and denying ex officio the jurisdiction of the Italian judge; or by taking note of the isolation of the Court of Cassation on the principle of immunities of the state in cases where jus cogens was violated. Moreover, on 21 December 2012, the Italian Parliament adopted a new law that modifies the Code of Civil Procedure in order to introduce a mechanism aimed at automatically reviewing any decision of Italian courts that is contrary to a ICJ judgment. However, in light of ICJ observations on the treatment of Italian military internees during World War II and the conduct of the parties afterwards, it is advised Germany and Italy should conduct negotiation aimed at resolving the still pending issue of compensation to those military internees. Arguably, and in keeping with the Court's invitation, an appropriate settlement through meaningful reparation to the numerous victims is the only way to ensure a fair and just solution.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Viñuales Jorge E.

The Rise and Fall of Sustainable Development

in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 22, Issue 1, Special Issue: Assessing Progress in International Environmental Law, April , 3-13

Sustainable development is turning brownish. Too many disparate initiatives are being conducted under its banner. The



concept of 'sustainable development' no longer provides an adequate umbrella for the main challenge currently faced by global environmental governance – namely implementation. Its very strengths are turning into fatal weaknesses. Vague enough to bring all States and other stakeholders to the negotiating table, the concept of 'sustainable development' was very successful in managing the political collision between 'development' and 'environment' throughout the 1980s and the 1990s. It was a formidable tool to find balance as well as for normative development. But it is inadequate to navigate the implementation phase. This article introduces an alternative model, based on four strategic priorities (participation, differentiation, decarbonization, and innovation and technology diffusion). It maps different levels at which these priorities could be pursued in order to make global environmental governance more effective. The article is not against the concept of 'sustainable development' as a worthy 'fight'. It is about the need to use another 'weapon' to spearhead efforts to meet the challenge of implementation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Joranger Line

The World of Psychiatry and the World of War: Foucault's Use of Metaphors in *Le pouvoir psychiatrique* in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 39, Issue 4 , 583-604

In his series of lectures, *Le pouvoir psychiatrique*, Michel Foucault employs concepts from the military field of knowledge in order to analyse the founding scenes of psychiatry. I focus on three issues connected to Foucault's use of these military terms. Firstly, I examine why Foucault was reluctant to use concepts from sociology and psychology in *Le pouvoir psychiatrique* and how this affects the notions that he had formulated in his earlier work, *Histoire de la folie*. Secondly, I show how he challenges traditional understandings of the founding scenes of psychiatry by using concepts from a different field of knowledge. In doing this, he creates metaphors, and this is something that he himself had previously been critical of doing. Thirdly, I reflect upon the fact that Foucault's creative use of concepts from different disciplines and examples from different historical times can be related to episodes in his own life; I argue why it is important to supplement a structural analysis with linguistic, phenomenological and hermeneutical ones.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Grynaviski Eric

The bloodstained spear: public reason and declarations of war in *International Theory*, Volume 5, Issue 02, July , 238-272

States rarely declare war. For many international law scholars, just war theorists, and moral philosophers, the declaration of war is a moribund tradition that serves no important purpose. When declarations of war are defended, the argument is situated in the war powers debate about executive authority. In contrast, I argue that declaring war – making conditional and reasoned moral demands – continues to be an important requirement for just wars. States should declare war because states should make explicit (formal) moral demands before fighting. Declaring war is procedurally important because it ensures that a state makes a formal moral case, showing respect to innocent third parties whose interests are affected and providing targets the right to confront their accusers and hear evidence. While not a panacea, requiring declarations is a significant improvement on the ad hoc politics of wartime justification that plagues wars such as Iraq. Further, declarations, as ultimatums, are the only reasonable interpretation of the 'last resort' requirement in just war theory. A final section extends the argument to contemporary wars against non-state actors, showing that a politics



of recognition underlying declarations of war may prove especially fruitful today.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

E. Gualda, A. Frago, E.L. Villegas

The border, the people and the river: development of the cross-border area between southern Spain and Portugal

in **Community Development Journal**, volume 48 n.1 , 23-39

In this paper, we focus on the southern cross-border area between Spain and Portugal, which includes eighteen different municipalities on both sides of the border. We gathered information using a number of different techniques from a wide range of informants, including politicians, experts on cross-border cooperation, a broad range of civil society organizations and common citizens. Our objectives were to make a broad diagnosis of social reality in this area, to understand the dynamics of territorial development, including the possibilities and limitations of community development, and to obtain clear insight into the characteristics of the social networks that Portuguese and Spanish citizens are currently building. Our results contrast with existing assumptions on these issues, particularly regarding the relationships built by Spanish and Portuguese citizens, the social network arrangements they establish, the relative importance of the spaces of places and the spaces of flows and the sense of community on both sides of the border. We also question more general notions regarding the importance of cross-border cooperation, especially insofar as this concept usually emphasizes institutional relationships while overlooking non-formal and informal relationships between people. These latter relationships, we argue, may have greater potential to influence the sustainable development of the cross-border area between southern Portugal and Spain. We highlight the role of bottom-up activities that would promote closer relationships between Spanish and Portuguese citizens and communities and would change the typical social networks they establish.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vanhala Lisa

The comparative politics of courts and climate change

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 3, Special Issue: Climate Change: Ethics, Rights and Policies, May , 447-474

Disappointment with international efforts to find legal solutions to climate change has led to the emergence of a new generation of climate policy. This includes the emergence of courts as new 'battlefields in climate fights'. Cross-national comparative analysis of the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia supplements research that has found that litigation plays an important governance gap-filling role in jurisdictions without comprehensive national-level climate change policies. The inductive research design identifies patterns in climate change litigation. The three countries illustrate the varieties of climate policies, and thus serve as a useful entry point for thinking more generally about the interplay between climate politics and legal mobilisation. To improve theoretical understandings of the role of courts in climate change politics, the range of litigants and the variety of cases brought to courts under the umbrella of the term 'climate change litigation' are identified.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Garretsen Harry, McCann Philip, Martin Ron, Tyler Peter

The future of regional policy

in **Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society**, Volume 6 Issue 2 July , 179-186

The last few years have seen the publication of a range of major international reports that have put the spotlight once again on the underlying logic, the mechanics and the intended outcomes of regional and local development policy. The impacts of these reports have been reinforced by the general re-thinking and re-questioning among policy-makers in the wake of the Global Financial Crisis as to the most appropriate ways forward for best fostering growth and development. At the forefront of these debates have been the World Bank (2009), the European Commission (Barca 2009) and the OECD (2009a, 2009b, 2011a, 2011b), institutions that have taken rather divergent views on the most appropriate ways forward (Barca et al. 2012).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ingiriis Mohamed H., Hoehne Markus V.

The impact of civil war and state collapse on the roles of Somali women: a blessing in disguise

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 7, Issue 2, Special Issue: Effects of 'statelessness': dynamics of Somali politics, economy and society since 1991 , 314-333

Somali society can be characterized as patriarchal 'to the bone'. Despite tremendous political and economic changes in the 20th century, and from colonial to post-colonial rule, the situation of women changed only minimally. In fact, some authors argue that women enjoyed even less independence from male 'wards' during the democratic and later revolutionary governments from 1960 to 1991 that were promulgating modernization and gender equality, at least rhetorically. Paradoxically, the most substantial changes regarding gender relations that led to a considerable empowerment of women in the social, economic and political sphere were triggered by the tragedy of civil war and state collapse. Women had to bear the brunt of the fighting. But they also became actively involved in armed conflict as combatants, motivators of their men and also as peace-makers. Women also took over more economic responsibilities and fought their way into politics. This article traces the challenges and opportunities that the civil war and the collapse of the state provided for women, arguing that the Somali tragedy provided a blessing in disguise at least for some women who gained social, economic and political power. Still, what we are observing is not a revolution but at best an incidental 'reform'. If this will eventually lead to more just gender relations in the long run remains to be seen.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schock Kurt

The practice and study of civil resistance

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 50, Number 3, Special Issue: Understanding Nonviolent Resistance, May , 277-290

This article provides an overview of the practice and study of civil resistance. First, historical roots of modern civil resistance are discussed, including the emergence in the 19th century of mass-based campaigns of non-cooperation to promote nationalist and labor interests, as well as the significance of Mohandas Gandhi and the widespread use of nonviolent resistance in the 20th century. Second, perspectives of scholars of social movements and revolution are



compared with those of scholars who focus more specifically on nonviolent resistance. Despite studying much of the same phenomena, separate literatures have developed that are ripe for cross-fertilization and synthesis. In the third section, a literature review is organized around three key concepts for understanding civil resistance: mobilization, resilience, and leverage. Fourth, consequences of nonviolent resistance relative to violent resistance are discussed. Finally, areas for future research are identified.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bosco Giorgio

The responsibility to protect

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 80, n. 1, gennaio-marzo

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Anna Geis

The 'Concert of Democracies': Why some states are more equal than others

in *International Politics*, Volume 50, Issue 2, 257-277

This article engages with a discourse emerging from international political theory, international law and political science on awarding privileges to democracies in crucial issues of global governance. Proposals that a 'Concert of Democracies' should be legally entitled to take decisions in case the United Nations Security Council is unable or unwilling to act are amongst the most prominent expression of this vision of the stratification of the international society into first-class and second-class regimes. The article reconstructs central tenets of this discourse on the inclusion and exclusion of regime types and shows that this kind of differentiation of states has been very much inspired by readings and appropriations of 'democratic peace' scholarship in International Relations. The article critiques the underlying problematic theoretical assumptions and the practical implications of democratic peace theory and policy proposals inferred from it.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Inderjeet Parmar

The 'knowledge politics' of democratic peace theory

in *International Politics*, Volume 50, Issue 2, 231-256

How do academic ideas influence US foreign policy, under what conditions and with what consequences? This article traces the rise, 'securitisation' and political consequences of democratic peace theory (DPT) in the United States by exploring the work of Doyle, Diamond and Fukuyama. Ideas influence US foreign policy under different circumstances, but are most likely to do either during and after crises when the policy environment permits 'new thinking', or when these ideas have been developed through state-connected elite knowledge networks, or when they are (or appear paradigmatically congenial to) foreign policymakers' mindsets, or, finally, when they become institutionally-embedded. The appropriation of DPT by foreign policymakers has categorised the world into antagonistic blocs –



democratic/non-democratic zones of peace/turmoil – as the corollary to a renewed American mission to make the world ‘safer’ through ‘democracy’ promotion. The roles of networked organic intellectuals – in universities and think tanks, for instance – were particularly important in elevating DPT from the academy to national security managers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wigell Mikael

The Åland Example as Norm Entrepreneurship

in **International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights**, Volume 20, Special Issue: Rethinking Territorial Arrangements in Conflict Resolution , 67-84

The Åland Example has generated considerable international attention as a successful solution to a complicated ethno-territorial dispute. This article looks at how it has been used as a basis for norm entrepreneurship by political actors in both Åland and Finland. For Åland itself, the Åland Example provides normative capital that is used to influence domestic politics. As such, the article shows how norm entrepreneurship may provide a useful political device for a minority or an autonomous region as it strives to preserve or develop its status and identity vis-à-vis the majority and host country. Herein the case of the Åland Example also shows how norms are a strategic asset that can be used for different political purposes and how this may create conflicting agendas between domestic interests with a stake in the international advocacy of the norm. For Finland, the Åland Example provides a potential asset when constructing its foreign policy profile. Yet, it has been used relatively sparingly as such a brand-enhancing device in Finnish foreign policy. The article finds two main reasons for this. First, being a minority solution, it does not generate the sort of emotional attachment that would get Finnish policy-makers to invest in its full potential. As such, it is being somewhat ignored. Second, from the perspective of state diplomacy, the Åland Example has its drawbacks. Under some circumstances, visibly marketing it can do more harm than good for Finnish diplomacy, which is why Finnish foreign policy-makers choose to tread carefully with promoting the Åland Example. The article thus provides a glimpse of the partly overlapping, partly conflicting agendas between majority and minority actors in their international advocacy of norms.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ison Ray, Blackmore Chris, Iaquinto Benjamin L.

Towards systemic and adaptive governance: Exploring the revealing and concealing aspects of contemporary social-learning metaphors

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 87, March , 34-42

This paper uses metaphor theory and analysis to explore competing and sometimes contested claims about the nature and utility of social learning. Seven metaphor clusters — performance metaphors, action metaphors, communication metaphors, governance mechanism metaphors, social learning as a paradigm, social learning as a form of cognition and social learning as a wheelbarrow full of frogs, were identified from the sustainability and natural resource management (NRM) literature. Rather than seeking to define social learning rigidly, and thus limiting its potential utility to open up spaces for innovation in NR governance, social learning can be positioned in future discourse so that it holds a cluster of revealing and concealing features. This position shifts responsibility for clarity and rigour away from the concept, useful because of its fluidity, to the user of the concept who must then articulate the way(s) in which they choose to use it. This



shift is consistent with reflexive, systems practice for systemic and adaptive governance and invites practitioner responsibility rather than conceptual reification.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Leahy Michael

Ulrich Beck's Cosmopolitanisation Thesis: A Philosophical Critique

in *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 48, n. 2 , 152-163

ABSTRACT: For Ulrich Beck, the Enlightenment project aimed to subordinate religious truth to the authority of reason in questions of the true and the good, and thus to replace religious conflict with peace. Although the 'First Modernity' delivered risks like climate change rather than progress like peace, Beck discerns signs of hope for the Enlightenment project in the processes of individualisation and cosmopolitanisation. I argue, first, that Beck exaggerates his claims about the relative influence of tradition on religion and reason; second, that his cosmopolitanisation thesis fails to identify triggers for a paradigm conversion; third, that the thesis relies upon essentialist commitments of the kind he condemns; and finally, that only the classicist view of essentialism is vulnerable to his attack.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gabe Mythen

Ulrich Beck, Cosmopolitanism and the Individualization of Religion

in *Theory, Culture & Society*, Volume 30, n. 3, May , 114-127

This article offers a critical appraisal of Ulrich Beck's *A God of One's Own*. Connecting the trajectory of the book with the conceptual anchors set down in preceding work on reflexive modernization and cosmopolitanism, areas of empirical imprecision are identified and obstacles to the widespread adoption of personalized forms of faith are considered. Concentrating on issues around configurations of power, the formation of identity and filters of cultural difference, points of critique are developed and areas ripe for future investigation are suggested.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Joshi Shangrila

Understanding India's Representation of North–South Climate Politics

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 2, May , 128-147

This paper examines India's role in perpetuating North-South imaginaries in global climate politics. A Global South perspective on climate politics is premised on the differential contribution of developed and developing countries towards climate change, differential adaptive capacities, and the overriding need of developing countries to focus on poverty alleviation and sustainable development. Meanwhile, the North-South binary has been extensively critiqued in the literature for the heterogeneity of each category, narrowing gaps between North and South, and the state-centrism implicit in such a categorization. Based on the understanding that the reproduction of the North-South frame in climate discourses is inherently political, I examine the politics behind their reproduction, rather than focus on the validity of



these categories. Based on fieldwork in Delhi and Copenhagen, my paper provides insight into the spatial politics of climate policy negotiations. The categories North and South, developed and developing, or First World and Third World constitute powerful spatial imaginaries that strongly influence the negotiating positions of Indian officials in global climate politics, even as India's image as a developing country is increasingly questioned in light of its status as an emerging economy and major emitter. The self-identification of Indian officials with the imaginary of the Global South is a crucial feature of global climate politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chenoweth Erica, Cunningham Kathleen Gallagher

Understanding nonviolent resistance. An introduction

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 50, Number 3, Special Issue: Understanding Nonviolent Resistance, May , 271-276

The events of the Arab Spring of 2011 have made clear the importance and potential efficacy of nonviolent resistance, as well as the field's inability to explain the onset and outcome of major nonviolent uprisings. Until recently, conflict scholars have largely ignored nonviolent resistance. This issue features new theoretical and empirical explorations of the causes and consequences of nonviolent resistance, stressing the role that unarmed, organized civilians can play in shaping the course of conflicts. Contributors demonstrate the importance of treating nonviolent and violent strategies, as well as conventional politics strategies, as alternative choices for engaging the state, show how gender ideology can influence which opposition groups use nonviolent resistance, and suggest that the causes of civil war and nonviolent resistance often differ. Other pieces highlight the role of public attitudes regarding whether nonviolent resistance and violence are employed, how experience with activism and repression by the state can shape activists' perceptions of justice, and how the perceptions of resistance leaders can influence strategic choices. Moreover, several articles examine the key role that security force defections can play in the success of nonviolent resistance, how micro-level nonviolent tactics can improve security in civil war, and how nonviolent campaigns can influence the stability of autocratic states. These contributions suggest that rigorous empirical study of civilian-based contentious politics (rather than only violent contention by armed non-state actors) must be incorporated into the conflict literature. Improved theory and data on the subject will help researchers and policymakers to shape strategies to support these movements when appropriate, and to manage changes in the international system that result from the success of nonviolent uprisings.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Giuseppe Astuto

Unità senza federalismo. Cavouriani e democratici nel 1860

in **Amministrare**, 1/2013 , 49-98

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Neill Edmund

Varieties of Positivism in Western European Political Thought, c. 1945–1970: An Introduction



in History of European Ideas, Volume 39, Issue 1, Special Issue: The Impact of Positivism on Post-War European Political Thought , 1-18

This article introduces a set of essays examining the state of political thought in the Western European democracies of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Sweden in the post-war period between 1945 and 1970. In particular, as well as simply filling a gap, they seek to demonstrate that political theory in this period was more vibrant than has traditionally been maintained. A key part of this argument is that the discipline was less adversely affected by the ascendancy of positivism than historians and political theorists have normally argued, not least because 'positivism' was in fact a more diverse and varied phenomenon than is usually recognised. For while some positivists drew on either behaviourist social science or linguistic philosophy to justify their denial that moral and political values could be discussed rationally with reference to theoretical arguments, others argued that it was the perceived success of post-war welfare states or the alleged failure of political ideologies that had made traditional political theory irrelevant. This meant that although few political theorists in this period were able to refute all types of positivism entirely, they were able to take issue with different aspects of it, and hence, at least to some extent, to pursue their discipline normatively. However, experiences in different Western European countries nevertheless varied widely. In Britain, normative political theorists faced both versions of the positivist challenge, but their ripostes were largely couched in academic terms, whether addressing the 'end of ideology' thesis, behaviourism or linguistic positivism. In West Germany, by contrast, the debate over positivism was much more overtly political, since the legacy of the Weimar republic caused the issue of whether political values in general, and laws in particular, were rationally justifiable to be a peculiarly sensitive one. But even in Sweden, which had a much quieter history, and has often been seen as the epitome of a technocratic political system, it is revealed that the degree to which 'the end of ideology' had been reached was much more keenly contested in practical politics than has previously been thought. And in France, it is revealed that there was more interesting academic political theorising being prosecuted than has traditionally been acknowledged, by such thinkers as Jacques Maritain and Raymond Aron, even if there was admittedly less than in, for example, Britain. And lastly, in Italy, despite a badly functioning political system, which tended to encourage cynicism about politics in general, there were in fact important and sophisticated attempts at formulating coherent normative positions, at least on an ideological level. Whatever the differences, however, the conclusion is clear: normative political theory was in general in much better health during this period than has traditionally been admitted, and, as such, is worthy of considerable further exploration.

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/01916599.2012.664383>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Anta Claudio Giulio

Victor Hugo et l'idée d'Europe. Discours d'ouverture du Congrès de la Paix. Paris, 21 Août 1849

in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, Volume 79, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Alexander Samuel

Voluntary Simplicity and the Social Reconstruction of Law: Degrowth from the Grassroots Up

in Environmental Values, Volume 22, Number 2, April , 287-308



The Voluntary Simplicity Movement can be understood broadly as a diverse social movement made up of people who are resisting high consumption lifestyles and who are seeking, in various ways, a lower consumption but higher quality of life alternative. The central argument of this paper is that the Voluntary Simplicity Movement or something like it will almost certainly need to expand, organise, radicalise and politicise, if anything resembling a degrowth society is to emerge in law through democratic processes. In a sentence, that is the 'grass-roots' or 'bottom up' theory of legal and political transformation that will be expounded and defended in this paper. The essential reasoning here is that legal, political and economic structures will never reflect a post-growth ethics of macro-economic sufficiency until a post-consumerist ethics of micro-economic sufficiency is embraced and mainstreamed at the cultural level.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Straub Eberhard

Wagner und Verdi – Nationalkomponisten oder Europäer?

in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 21-23, 2013

Wagner und Verdi werden häufig als Gegensätze behandelt. Doch beide sind Vertreter derselben europäischen Kultur. Wagner ist viel italienischer und Verdi viel deutscher als vermutet wird.

Kein Zweifel, daß neben vielen hohen Zusammenfassungen auch der Begriff ‚Europa‘ fragwürdig geworden ist", bemerkte 1925 Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Er hielt eine angespannte Bemühung für erforderlich, um geistig so ungesicherte Vorstellungen wie "Europäer" und "europäisch" abermals zu sichern. Trotz mancher Einigungen in Europa gelang diese "schöpferische Restauration" nicht mehr. Denn es fehlten die dafür notwendigen Repräsentanten eines geistigen Europa, die trotz parteilicher und ideologischer Unterschiede allgemein als solche anerkannt wurden. Ab den 1990er Jahren flüchtete Europa in den gemeinsamen Markt, es schrumpfte auf den Euro, und die Europäer entwickelten sich zu Europayern. Sie bedürfen keiner geistig-kulturellen Rechtfertigungen ihrer handfesten Wertegemeinschaft. Deshalb fällt es ihnen ziemlich schwer, in Gestalten aus der Vergangenheit deren unmittelbar europäischen Charakter wahrzunehmen, etwa bei Richard Wagner und Giuseppe Verdi, die beide 1813 geboren wurden. Selbstverständlich begriffen sich diese beiden größten Dramatiker des 19. Jahrhunderts als Deutscher oder Italiener, doch damit eben als Erben und im Zusammenhang einer gemeinsamen Welt, die damals mit gesteigertem Pathos Europa genannt wurde. "Große Menschen haben die eigene Nation zum Schicksal, Europa zum Erlebnis", um noch einmal auf Hofmannsthal zurück zu kommen...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Demaria Federico, Schneider Francois, Sekulova Filka, Martinez-Alier Joan

What is Degrowth? From an Activist Slogan to a Social Movement

in Environmental Values, Volume 22, Number 2, April , 191-215

Degrowth is the literal translation of 'decroissance', a French word meaning reduction. Launched by activists in 2001 as a challenge to growth, it became a missile word that sparks a contentious debate on the diagnosis and prognosis of our society. 'Degrowth' became an interpretative frame for a new (and old) social movement where numerous streams of critical ideas and political actions converge. It is an attempt to re-politicise debates about desired socio-environmental



futures and an example of an activist-led science now consolidating into a concept in academic literature. This article discusses the definition, origins, evolution, practices and construction of degrowth. The main objective is to explain degrowth's multiple sources and strategies in order to improve its basic definition and avoid reductionist criticisms and misconceptions. To this end, the article presents degrowth's main intellectual sources as well as its diverse strategies (oppositional activism, building of alternatives and political proposals) and actors (practitioners, activists and scientists). Finally, the article argues that the movement's diversity does not detract from the existence of a common path.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Spector Céline

Who is the Author of the Abstract of Monsieur l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre's 'Plan for Perpetual Peace'? From Saint-Pierre to Rousseau

in History of European Ideas, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 371-393

In this contribution, I reassess the opposition between Saint-Pierre's idealism and Rousseau's realism. Rousseau accuses Saint-Pierre of having a defect in his analysis and political judgement which, if he had been consistent, would have led to a revolutionary position in the strong sense – a position of which the author of *The Social Contract* himself disapproved. In short, not only was Saint-Pierre far from being a convinced absolutist; Rousseau's own writings on the Abbé do not advocate a 'republican solution', which he regarded as impracticable for the Europe of his time.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Del Pero Mario

Wilson e wilsonismo: storiografia, presentismo e contraddizioni

in Ricerche di Storia Politica, numero 1, marzo

his review essay discusses the changing historiographical and political fortunes of Woodrow Wilson's international philosophy and vision. In the post World War II period, «Wilsonianism», as it came to be known, was often criticized and denounced by Cold War realists and New Left revisionists alike. Only after the end of the Cold War there was a rediscovery and sometimes celebration of the audacity and far-sightedness of Wilson's ideas. This historiographical revival has however been marked by a strong presentism and the propensity to apply the alleged Wilsonian lessons to today's problems and issues.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Apter Andrew

Yoruba Ethnogenesis from Within

in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 55, Issue 2, April , 356-387

It is an anthropological truism that ethnic identity is "other"-oriented, such that who we are rests on who we are not. Within this vein, the development of Yoruba identity in the late nineteenth century is attributed to Fulani perspectives on their Oyo neighbors, Christian missionaries and the politics of conversion, as well as Yoruba descendants in diaspora



reconnecting with their West African homeland. In this essay, my aim is to both complement and destabilize these externalist perspectives by focusing on Yoruba concepts of “home” and “house” (ilé), relating residence, genealogy and regional identities to their reconstituted ritual frameworks in Cuba and Brazil. Following Barber's analysis of Yoruba praise-poetry (oríkì) and Verran's work on Yoruba quantification, I reexamine the semantics of the category ilé in the emergence of Lucumí and Nagô houses in order to explain their sociopolitical impact and illuminate transpositions of racial “cleansing” and ritual purity in Candomblé and Santería. More broadly, the essay shows how culturally specific or “internal” epistemological orientations play an important if neglected role in shaping Atlantic ethnicities and their historical trajectories.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ian Hunter

‘A Jus gentium for America’. The Rules of War and the Rule of Law in the Revolutionary United States
in *Journal of the History of International Law*, Volume 14, Issue 2 , 173-206

In juridical histories, justifications of war, conquest and dispossession are often treated as corruptions of European law and justice brought about by its imperialist and colonialist uses. This article inverts that view. Taking Vattel's Law of Nations (1758) as its key text and revolutionary America as its key context, it argues that war, conquest and dispossession were constitutive features of European political jurisprudence – the “law of nature and nations” – whose core premise was that justice does not exist between nations. Rather than being symptomatic of the corrupting backwash of law's imperialist and colonialist deployment, war and conquest are in fact indicative of the political-jurisprudential continuity that the law of nations established between European state-formation and colonialist empire-building.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Michael Goodrum

‘Friend of the people of many lands’: Johnny Everyman, ‘critical internationalism’ and liberal post-war US heroism

in *Social History*, Volume 38, Issue 2 , 203-219

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Beaulieu Alain

“An equitable right to be compensated””: The Dispossession of the Aboriginal Peoples of Quebec and the Emergence of a New Legal Rationale (1760–1860)

in *Canadian Historical Review (The)*, Volume 94, Number 1, March , 1-27

At the conquest of New France, the British had already built a long tradition of purchasing Aboriginal land. This policy, made official in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, was implemented in an extensive portion of the Canadian territory, but



not in the Saint Lawrence Valley, heart of the former French empire in America, and what is now the province of Quebec. The British, followed by the Canadian government, adopted a policy of unilateral land appropriation in that area, dispossessing the Aboriginals without reliance on a treaty system. This particularity of the Indian land policy in Quebec has given rise to divergent interpretations that rest on the same implicit premise that a structuring legal framework existed, which, when reconstituted, gives meaning to history, either by legitimizing the unilateral dispossession process or by stigmatizing it. This article attempts to locate the process of dispossessing Aboriginal land outside the normative framework imposed by the law. The objective is not to identify a standard to explain why the British did not conclude treaties, but rather to follow a process of legal standardization, in which colonial practice is inscribed, through trial and error, detours, shifts in meaning, and improvisations into a legitimizing framework.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Girard Philip

“If two ride a horse, one must ride in front”: Married Women's Nationality and the Law in Canada 1880–1950
in *Canadian Historical Review (The)*, Volume 94, Number 1, March , 28-54

Canada's Naturalization Act 1881 followed Britain's lead in requiring a woman's nationality to conform to that of her husband. Analysis of the interwar campaign to change the law sheds light on the link between the status of women and dominion autonomy; the continuing reluctance to admit immigrant women to the full privileges of citizenship; the role of national women's organizations in maintaining Canada's future as a white settler nation; and the emergence of new ways of justifying and maintaining male legal privilege at a time when ideas about gender and marital equality were gaining some traction. By 1946, when Canada's Citizenship Act declared citizenship to be independent of marriage, and Canadian citizenship to be independent of British subject status, the emancipation of married women from their husbands' nationality tracked the disengagement of Canada from the British Empire.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tsipras Alexis

« Notre solution pour l'Europe »
in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Février

Le 3 janvier, l'économiste en chef du Fonds monétaire international (FMI) concédait qu'une « erreur » avait conduit l'institution à sous-estimer l'impact négatif des mesures d'austérité qu'elle prône par ailleurs. Ce faisant, il apportait une caution inattendue à l'analyse que présente ici M. Alexis Tsipras, porte-parole de Syriza, la principale force de la gauche grecque.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2013/02/Tsipras/48724>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sammeth Frank

« Rebond - Économie de défense » Les effets de la crise économique sur les dépenses de défense en Europe



in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 758, Mars

Depuis 2008, les pays européens ont adapté leurs budgets de défense à la crise économique. Ils ont tous appliqué les mêmes recettes : réduction des effectifs, réduction des investissements voire une combinaison adaptée de ces deux formules. Morceaux choisis en France, Royaume-Uni, Allemagne, Italie.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sergeant Jean-Claude

Écosse : l'enjeu de la défense

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 759, Avril

Une Écosse indépendante serait amenée à constituer des forces armées à partir de la composante écossaise des forces britanniques. Elle devrait se prononcer sur son adhésion à l'Otan, le futur de la base nucléaire stratégique de Faslane et définir ses relations de sécurité avec son environnement. Inventaire des questions ouvertes par cette perspective.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fernando Lolas Stepke

Ética global : consideraciones sobre su relevancia en los estudios internacionales

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 45, No. 174, 7-14

The concept of global ethics is illustrated based on the example provided by global health. The implications of a global concept go beyond geopolitical considerations and this paper identifies them with the transdisciplinary task of a reflection that incorporates different methodical and philosophical perspectives. Suggestions offered by the example of global and international health are presented as a stimulus for the application of the concept to other areas of interest in the field of international studies.