



## Bulletin n. 1/2008 - May 2008

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in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 9, issue 3 , 367-388

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in *California Law Review*, Vol. 95, issue SYMPO , 1515-1572

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

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in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 56, 2008

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

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Busch Andrew E.

**Federalism and Front-loading**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 38,n. 3, Summer - The State of American Federalism 2007–2008 , 538-555

"Front-loading" primaries and caucuses—the movement of state delegate selection contests to the beginning of the nomination calendar—is problematic for the integrity of the presidential nominating system. Because it results from decentralized decision making by self-interested states, front-loading also poses a problem for federalism. Indeed, most proposed remedies for front-loading would impinge on federalism in some manner. In analyzing those remedies, one must assess their interaction with federalism both procedurally and substantively. For example, a federally imposed national primary would be harmful to federalism on both dimensions; regional primaries negotiated among states would



be best for federalism procedurally but are of dubious efficacy; the national parties have an ambiguous relationship to federalism; and a change in federal campaign finance rules would seek to combine a centralized process with a decentralized result. The best solution might be to use available central levers to try to change campaign dynamics and thus the incentives for states to schedule their primaries early.

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**Bartolich Marco**

**Federalismo e democrazia diretta in Svizzera**

in *Quaderni Regionali* , N. 3

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

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**Gardner James A.**

**In Search of Sub-National Constitutionalism**

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 4 - Issue 02 , 325-343

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in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 9, issue 3 , 343-366

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**Los derechos en el constitucionalismo: tipología y tutela**

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, n. 20 , 231-276

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

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Brugger Winfried, Sarlet Ingo Wolfgang

**Moderner Konstitutionalismus am Beispiel der US-Verfassung, des Grundgesetzes und der brasilianischen Verfassung: eine rechtsvergleichende Perspektive**

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 56, 2008

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

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Di Martino Alessandra

**Qualche osservazione in tema di sovranità e dualismo alla luce di una recente decisione del Tribunale costituzionale tedesco**

in *Teoria del diritto e dello stato*, n. 1-2-3 - 2006

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

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Ferraiolo Kathleen

**State Policy Innovation and the Federalism Implications of Direct Democracy**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 38, n. 3, Summer - The State of American Federalism 2007–2008 , 488-514

As state policy activism has flourished in recent years, increasingly that activism has taken place through the direct democracy process. While winning ballot measures often have implications for federal–state relations, federalism issues have largely been ignored in the direct democracy literature. I address this oversight by investigating how the outcomes of direct democracy politics affect the relationships among citizens, states, and the federal government. My analysis focuses on measures proposed over the last decade that represent either a response to perceived federal inaction or a challenge to federal policy. The findings suggest that initiatives have different effects on federal–state relations depending on the form they take. When ballot measures seeking to fill a policy void lead to federal action, they promote intergovernmental policy consensus and narrow the distance between public opinion and federal policy; if the federal government fails to address the issue at stake, additional state innovation will result and voter preferences and federal policy outcomes will move farther apart. Meanwhile, initiatives that challenge federal law create conflict and polarization between states and the federal government and widen the distance between public opinion and federal policy. The passage of initiatives in both categories heightens opinion-policy congruence at the state level as officials are often eager to publicly support and implement the results of successful ballot measures.

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Blankart Charles B.

**The European Union: confederation, federation or association of compound states?**  
in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 18, Number 2 / June, 2007

The European Union of today is neither a confederation nor a federation, but rather an association of compound states. It is shown that this mixture of two forms of constitutional contracts implies inconsistencies prone to political deadlocks. A Buchanan/Tullock/Rawls approach to a reform suggests a clear choice between either a confederation or a federation. In this paper, however, it is proposed to follow a Hayekian approach in which issue fields are allocated to a confederation or to a federation, respectively depending on the revealed homogeneity of preferences of the citizens across the Member States. Hence both, Council and European Parliament, would remain the central decision makers but with separate tasks. Suggestions are made how to improve their election and their decision rules. The paper should contribute to the debate on reforming the European institutions which emerged after the rejection of the constitutional draft by the French and Dutch voters in 2005.

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Auber Emmanuel

**États-Unis versus Union européenne. Observations comparatives sur la répartition des compétences**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 517, avril , 221-226

From different stories, the United States and the European Union have produced their own constitutional structures. In the European Union the responsibilities of States are not clearly designated, the lawmaker has a strong interstate character, the executive is partly shared. In the American Federation, as the Union was born from an agreement between States, cooperative federalism appears more balanced. However, in spite of the difficulty of elaborating a single analytic system, there are resemblances between the vertical responsibility breakdown adjustment systems allowing for jurisdictional interaction between the two levels. In addition, the centralising case law of the United States' Supreme Court and the European Communities Court of Justice has made it possible to go beyond the constitution/treaty or State/international organisation distinction. In the wake of the Lisbon treaty, the European Union will need to take advantages of the lessons of America's federalism in order to clarify the responsibility breakdown and achieve a budget more suited to the magnitude of its task.

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Guragain Rimal Purnima

**Federalism As An Option For Nepal**

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 17th Issue, 1/2008

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Adhikari Dadhi



**Federalism As An Option For Nepal**

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 17th Issue, 1/2008

No abstract available

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

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Roper Steven D.

**From semi-presidentialism to parliamentarism: Regime change and presidential power in Moldova**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, n. 1, January , 113-126

This article examines Moldova's constitutional change in 2000 from a semi-presidential to a parliamentary regime and analyses what the Moldovan case tells us about the nature of executive power. One of the interesting issues that this case raises is whether our definition of regime really captures the locus of political power. While Moldova has evolved from a semi-presidential to a parliamentary regime, the president is more powerful under the current regime than previous presidents were in a semi-presidential regime. The consolidation of the president's party in the parliament explains the concentration of executive power more than constitutional prerogatives.

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Savino Mario

**I progetti di riforma costituzionale e amministrativa nel Regno Unito e in Francia**

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 1 , 201 ss.

No abstract available

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

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Olivetti Marco

**Il referendum costituzionale del 2006 e la storia infinita (e incompiuta) delle riforme costituzionali in Italia**

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 18 , 108-167

No abstract available

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

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Arvanitopoulos Constantine, Tzifakis Nikolaos

**Implementing reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the challenge of the constitutional process**

in *European View* , vol. 7, n. 1, June , 15-22

The transition to democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina has proven extremely troublesome, as it overlapped with the



complex post-conflict reconstruction process. Furthermore, the Dayton Peace Accords have provided Bosnia and Herzegovina with a rather incoherent institutional framework. In fact, the peace agreements created an asymmetrical confederation of highly autonomous, ethnically based entities coupled with weak central institutions. This situation has generated fragmentation and exclusion of minorities rather than reconciliation, triggering the worrying rise of a divisive national rhetoric. Consequently, reform attempts have been hampered by the defence of (perceived) national interests by different ethnic groups. Moreover, the international community has failed both in driving the reform process and in fostering talks to help local leaders achieve an agreement. In such a context, the much-needed constitutional reforms to establish a more efficient and cohesive governmental structure are still far from being achieved.

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de Cazals Marie

**La V République face à l'instauration d'une destitution politique inédite du Président de la République: retour sur la révision du titre IX de la Constitution du 4 octobre 1958**

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 71 , 451-470

No abstract available

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

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Kluth Winfried

**La reforma del federalismo alemán: razones, objetivos y modificaciones**

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 70 , 35-62

No abstract available

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

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Braun Dietmar

**Making Federalism More Efficient: A Comparative Assessment**

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 43, Number 1, April , 4-25

It is assumed in this article that the recent reform wave in federal countries has been influenced and facilitated by efficiency considerations. Reform processes in five federal countries — Australia, Austria, Canada, Germany, and Switzerland — belonging to two distinct types of federalism (power separation and power sharing) are analysed. It is asked whether efficiency considerations have led to a convergence process in the federal organization and intergovernmental relations of such distinct types. It turns out, first, that efficiency has indeed been a major point of reference for the design of reforms in all five federal countries and, second, that though one finds similarities in reforming the federal organization and intergovernmental relations, the differences between power separation and power-sharing federal countries continue to play a role.

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Bridges Amy

**Managing the Periphery in the Gilded Age: Writing Constitutions for the Western States**

in *Studies in American Political Development* , Volume 22 - Issue 01 , 32-58

In this essay I argue that in the Gilded Age (the last quarter of the nineteenth century), delegates to constitutional conventions in the western territories designed state governments to manage, as best they could, the development of their economies. They were, and understood themselves to be, citizens of the periphery of the United States. Delegates to the conventions hoped to shield their states from the worst possible outcomes of that peripheral relationship, and foster the best ones. My arguments contribute to our understanding of state constitutions and, more broadly, to central concerns of American political development—regionalism, labor law, and state building.

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Luther Jörg, Francavilla Domenico

**Nepal's Constitutional Transition**

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 56, 2008

No abstract available

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

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De Fiores Claudio

**Prospettive di riforma del bicameralismo in Italia**

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 4 , 527-568

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Cashaback David

**Assessing asymmetrical federal design in the Russian federation: A case study of language policy in tatarstan**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, n. 2, March , 249-275

This article seeks to further the understanding of language policy in Tatarstan by examining the development of language legislation and policies in the republic in the post-Soviet period and by placing the issue of language policy within a federal - republican context. The article finds that asymmetrical federalism is an appropriate and workable





response to Tatarstan's demands for policy capacity over issues pertaining to language. It is Russia's federal design itself, and not processes of ad hoc constitutional bargaining, which creates governance capacity in this policy area and provides Tatarstan with the de jure power to implement measures to protect the Tatar language.

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**Berge Frank**

**Belgien: Vom Bundesstaat zum Staatenbund**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Februar, 2008 , 23-26

Nach über einem halben Jahr Stillstand hat unser Nachbarland Belgien seit Weihnachten wieder eine Regierung. Rechtzeitig zum Fest präsentierte der alte und neue Premierminister Guy Verhofstadt eine Übergangsmannschaft, die bis Ostern eine Reihe liegen gebliebener Regierungsgeschäfte erledigen soll. Seitdem ist es ruhiger geworden um das Königreich. Doch diese Ruhe trügt: Die jüngsten Probleme sind mit dem aktuellen Provisorium noch lange nicht überwunden. Sie basieren auf dem ...

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**Mastroianni R.**

**Conflitti tra norme interne e norme comunitarie non dotate di efficacia diretta: il ruolo della Corte costituzionale**

in **Diritto dell'Unione europea**, Anno: 2007 – Fascicolo: 3 , pag. 585

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**Höreth Marcus**

**Das Amt des Bundespräsidenten und sein Prüfungsrecht**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 16, 2008 , 32-38

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Der Bundespräsident - "Mithüter der Verfassung"

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Stüwe Klaus

**Der Bundesrat in Zeiten Großer Koalitionen**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 16, 2008 , 24-31

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Die Ausgangslage 1966 und 2005

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Cerrina Feroni Ginevra

**Devolution e diritti fondamentali: il caso della libertà di religione. L'esperienza costituzionale tedesca**

in *Diritto pubblico*, n.2, maggio-agosto , 607-636

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Miller Edward Alan

**Federal Administrative and Judicial Oversight of Medicaid: Policy Legacies and Tandem Institutions under the Boren Amendment**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 38, Number 2, Spring , 315-342



Because of the active role assumed by the courts in Medicaid nursing facility reimbursement, and because that role changed over time, federal intervention in this area provides a useful window through which to examine the role of the federal judiciary in oversight of state health policy making. Findings support the proposition that because judicial influence extends beyond program outcomes to include the organizational structure and beliefs of key stakeholder groups, the effects of case decisions, and the statutes under which they are litigation, may be deeper and longer lasting than their usefulness as a litigation tool. Findings also support the proposition that neither the executive nor the judiciary acts in isolation but instead they serve as tandem institutions guiding federal oversight of state policy making. Data for this analysis derive from archival documents, secondary sources, and 101 in-depth interviews.

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R.C. K. Chan and G.C. S. Lin

**From a Colonial Outpost to a Special Administrative Region: Hong Kong's First Decade of Reunion with China in *China Review (The)*, Vol. 8, No.1, Spring**

No abstract available

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Gast Henrik, Kranenpohl Uwe

**Große Koalition - schwacher Bundestag?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 16, 2008 , 18-23

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Die Fraktionen unter Kanzler Kiesinger

Die Neuauflage der Großen Koalition 2005

Die Fraktionen unter Kanzlerin Merkel

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<http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/OR77YB.html>



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Cuocolo Lorenzo

**I rapporti Stato-Regioni in materia farmaceutica, tra diritti costituzionali e contenimento della spesa**  
in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1

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Ceccherini Eleonora

**La collaborazione fra Stato ed enti territoriali negli Stati composti dell'Unione Europea**  
in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 18 , 39-69

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MacPherson, K.L.

**One Public, Two Health Systems: Hong Kong and China, Integration without Convergence**  
in *China Review (The)*, Vol. 8, No.1, Spring

No abstract available

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Alt James E., Lassen David D.

**Political And Judicial Checks On Corruption: Evidence From American State Governments**  
in *Economics and Politics*, Vol. 20 Issue 1 , 33-61

This paper investigates the effects of checks and balances on corruption. Within a presidential system, effective separation of powers is achieved under a divided government, with the executive and legislative branches being controlled by different political parties. When government is unified, no effective separation exists even within a presidential system, but, we argue, can be partially restored by having an accountable judiciary. Our empirical findings show that a divided government and elected, rather than appointed, state supreme court judges are associated with lower corruption and, furthermore, that the effect of an accountable judiciary is stronger under a unified government, where the government cannot control itself.

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Kincaid John, Cole Richard L.

**Public Opinion on Issues of Federalism in 2007: A Bush Plus?**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 38, n. 3, Summer - The State of American Federalism 2007–2008, 469-487

A 2007 trend survey revealed more Americans saying that the federal government gives them the least for their money and has too much power. The proportions citing high trust in the federal government and saying the federal government needs more power were low. The proportions holding positive attitudes toward state and local government were high, though local government scored best on most questions. More than half of Americans reported that their state is treated with the respect it deserves in the US federal system, compared with less than half of Canadians stating the same about their province. Slightly more than half of the US public judged three major federalism actions of President George W. Bush to have been helpful to state and local governments.

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Jung Joo-Youn

**Retreat of the State • Restructuring the Chinese Central Bureaucracies in the Era of Economic Globalization**

in *China Review (The)*, Vol. 8, No.1, Spring

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

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Bhambhri C.P.

**Separation of Powers Vs Judicial Activism: Crisis of Governance**

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 17th Issue, 1/2008

No abstract available

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De Giorgi Elisabetta, Verzichelli Luca

**Still a Difficult Budgetary Process? The Government, the Legislature and the Finance Bill**

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 13, Number 1, March, 87-110

The so called 'budget session' has been the most crucial issue on the Italian parliamentary agenda since the late 1970s, when the annual finance bill was introduced into the political system. Since then, the practice of fiscal governance has been significantly transformed, paving the way for an important phase of budget consolidation throughout the period of convergence to the Economic and Monetary Union. However, the effectiveness of the performance of the budgetary process — and particularly its parliamentary phase — is still under discussion. This article aims to emphasize the changing modes of interaction between the executive and parliamentary branches during the annual budget session. Parliamentary impact on the structure of the annual finance bill and the degree of involvement of the parliamentary



opposition during the discussion of budget proposals will be analysed in depth, focusing on the period 1996 to 2005.

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Abdulrasheed A. Muhammad

**Strains in the Federal Polity of Nigeria: Agitations for Resource Control**

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 17th Issue, 1/2008

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Pollicino O.

**Tanto rumore per (quasi) nulla? Sulla decisione Arcelor del Conseil d'Etat in tema di rapporti tra ordinamento interno e diritto comunitario**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno: 2007 – Fascicolo: 4 , pag. 895

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Galtung John

**The Case for Federal Power-Sharing for Sri Lanka**

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 17th Issue, 1/2008

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

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Kabra Kamal Nayan.

**A Case for a Federal House: Bringing the Voice of the Panchayat Raj Institutions to Parliament**

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 16th Issue, 2/2007

No abstract available

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

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Zucchini Francesco

**An Afterword - But Not the Last Word. Epilogue**

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 13, Number 1, March , 111-115



The articles included in this issue display a healthy scepticism towards any naive parallelism between the changes in the party system, the electoral rules or political communication, and the changes that have taken place in the legislative process. The former are linked to the evolution of the legislative process in indirect, complicated ways which merit a more in-depth examination. All articles do share a common view of what the Italian political system is not: Montecitorio is clearly still quite some distance from Westminster. From the legislative perspective, the Italian political system during the second republic still appears to be a moving 'target'. The comparison between rough legislative figures for the 15th legislature and the equivalent information for previous legislatures does not really help understand in which direction that system is heading.

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Caretti Paolo

**Bicameralismo e autonomie: un'altra ipotesi all'esame del Parlamento in Regioni (Le)**, n. 5 , 657-662

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

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Giuliano Marco

**Brand New, Somewhat New or Rather Old? The Italian Legislative Process in an Age of Alternation in South European Society & Politics**, Volume 13, Number 1, March , 1-10

This special issue of South European Society & Politics explores the transformation of Italy's law-making process, and presents fresh data and a series of original analyses, with regard to four key topics: the role played by the bicameral structure of parliament; the effects and dynamics of the amendment process; the overall level of consensualism in the adoption of most bills; and finally, the more adversarial, complex nature of the budgetary process. Here, we offer a brief introduction to the Italian legislative process during the 1996-2006 decade, as a framework for subsequent in-depth analyses, followed by the reasons for our choice of topics for discussion.

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James Michael Rabinder

**Diversity, Deliberation, and the Concepts of Constituency in Polity**, Volume 40, Issue 2, April , 229-237

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Zucchini Francesco



**Dividing Parliament? Italian Bicameralism in the Legislative Process (1987-2006)**

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 13, Number 1, March , 11-34

Italian bicameralism is a constitutional feature that is quite often the object of criticism from both politicians and scholars. It is also a somewhat neglected topic within Italian political science. The main aim of the present article is to evaluate the level of congruence between the two chambers of the Italian parliament, using original data on legislative activity in the last legislature of Italy's first republic (the 10th legislature) and the last two legislatures of the second republic (the 13th and 14th legislatures). Regardless of the measurement we employ, our study clearly shows that the congruence between the two chambers has declined. As a careful empirical analysis suggests, this phenomenon cannot be solely accounted for by the difference in distribution of party seats or by changes to the law-making rules in the two chambers. The article hypothesizes that the diminishing intraparty cohesion could be the main explanatory factor of such dynamics.

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Abreu Sacramento José Pablo

**El control parlamentario a través de las comisiones de investigación**

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 18 , 1-38

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Rehfeld Andrew

**Extremism in the Defense of Moderation: A Response to My Critics**

in *Polity*, Volume 40, Issue 2, April , 254-271

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Stone Peter

**Introduction: Reflections on Andrew Rehfeld's The Concept of Constituency**

in *Polity*, Volume 40, Issue 2, April , 216-220

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Bonfiglio Salvatore

**Le seconde Camere nei sistemi federali. Può il sistema delle conferenze prospettarsi come soluzione alternativa**





**alla Camera delle autonomie territoriali?**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1561-1575

The author argues that in federal and regional systems it is useful to establish a political and legislative connection between central government and local selfgovernment.

He first examines this issue from a comparative perspective, and then gives an overview of the Italian legal system. The author argues in favour of an amendment of the Italian Constitution aimed at turning the Senate into a Chamber representing local self-government.

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Shelly Bryan

**Rebels and Their Causes: State Resistance to No Child Left Behind**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 38,n. 3, Summer - The State of American Federalism 2007–2008 , 444-468

The formal state resistance to No Child Left Behind (NCLB) may surprise scholars of federalism, who have generally found that states rarely resort to legislative and legal challenges to federal regulation. This article considers that factors influence states' level of resistance to NCLB. Using an original data set, I estimate a series of ordered logit models with a dependent variable measuring state legislation and legal action against NCLB and find that states with lower poverty rates and a larger Hispanic population offer greater resistance. The discussion uses these results to suggest five factors towards which scholars may look to predict future formal challenges.

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Williams Melissa S.

**Rehfeld's Hyper-Madisonianism**

in *Polity*, Volume 40, Issue 2, April , 238-245

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Frederick Brian

**The People's Perspective on the Size of the People's House**

in *PS: Political Science & Politics* , Vol. 41, Issue 2, April , 329-335

The quality of representation the citizenry receives from its political leaders is central to evaluating the character of any democratic institution. Moreover, the number of elected members that comprise an institution can be vital in determining whether citizens have access to and can influence the decisions of their representatives (Dahl and Tufte 1973). The United States House of Representatives has been frozen at 435 members for almost a century. This durability of this alignment is astonishing; in its first century of existence, the U.S. House experienced a virtually uninterrupted string of decennial increases in its membership. Despite the magnitude of the effects of this stasis on representation, political



scientists have not extensively examined this subject (Squire and Hamm 2005). While the House has remained constant in size for nearly 100 years, the nation's population has grown by more than 200% over this duration. Members of the House on average represent more than 600,000 citizens; a figure that increases with population growth as long as the size of the body remains constant. This development has sparked a debate among some observers about whether it is time to increase the size of the House of Representatives.

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Canon David T.

**The Representational Consequences of a Random National Constituency**

in *Polity*, Volume 40, Issue 2, April , 221-228

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Stone Peter

**Voting, Lotteries, and Justice**

in *Polity*, Volume 40, Issue 2, April , 246-253

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

Light Paul C.

**A Government Ill Executed: The Depletion of the Federal Service**

in *Public Administration Review*, May-June 2008 - Vol. 68 Issue 3 , 413-419

The federal government's "quiet crisis" of the 1980s has become the "deafening crisis" of the early twenty-first century. Virtually every measure of the state of the public service as envisioned by Alexander Hamilton has worsened over the past two decades. This lecture outlines Hamilton's seven characteristics of an energetic federal service and examines recent trends in its decline. Although the federal service still executes an enormous agenda of important missions, it is increasingly frustrated in its work.

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

Bassu Carla



**I diritti dei bambini aborigeni nel Commonwealth of Australia. Un caso di federalismo paternalista**  
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1614-1630

The protection of fundamental rights of indigenous people is one of the most complicated issues that modern Australia has had to face in the last century. Notwithstanding the evident increase of the level of protection and recognition of aboriginal civil and land rights, the situation is still very controversial. The author focuses, in particular, on the condition of children's human rights within aboriginal communities, with particular attention given to the recent intervention of the Australian government in the Northern Territory. The Australian federal government enacted an emergency plan in order to respond to a situation of severe and spread abuse on aboriginal children. The author examines the constitutional implications of the emergency measures and also questions the effectiveness with regard to the protection of fundamental rights.

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

Frosina Laura

**L'attività normativa del Governo nella transizione incompiuta della forma di stato e della forma di governo**  
in *Nomos*, n. 3/2006 , 93-146

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

Gazier Anne

**Le président de la Fédération de Russie et l'instauration d'une « verticale exécutive »**  
in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 39, n. 2, juillet , 73-92

Two barely compatible principles, laid down in the 1993 constitution, regulate relations between the president of Russia and the heads of regions: the unity of state power, on the one hand, and, on the other, the autonomy of regions. Since Vladimir Putin came to power, a centralizing policy has tended to set up a "vertical executive" power between the president and heads of regions. This policy's various aspects – changes in the status of regional leaders that have reinforced the president's power over them, increased presidential controls over regional activities – are examined. What remains of the principle of autonomy, the pillar of any federal system?

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

Pond David

**Legislative Control of Cabinet Appointments to the Public Service: A Canadian Case-Study in the Political Limits to Parliamentary Reform**  
in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 61, Number 1, January , 52-72



This paper analyses an important Canadian experiment in the legislative scrutiny of political appointments by the executive. Since 1991, the Ontario Legislature's Standing Committee on Government Agencies has routinely interviewed cabinet appointments to semi-independent agencies, which are a major policy instrument at both federal and provincial levels in Canada. The Committee was assigned this task on the assumption that partisan Members could agree on criteria for questioning witnesses about their qualifications, and that the government would be willing to withdraw candidates exposed as inadequate. At the same time, the governing party retained the discretion to make partisan appointments. An examination of how the Committee conducts interviews reveals a tension between the Members' role in holding the executive accountable, and their identities as partisan politicians. In large part, the Committee has become a forum for debates on the appropriate limits to patronage in appointments to public bodies.

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

Startsev Yaroslav

**L'institutionnalisation des compétences implicites du Président russe et leur rôle dans le fonctionnement du pouvoir présidentiel**

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 39, n. 2, juillet , 93-116

The "implicit" powers of the president of Russia are not described in the constitution or are mentioned in very general, ambiguous terms. Alongside classical presidential prerogatives, the president has the power, for instance, to create advisory organs, head certain ministries and administrations, make appointments to major positions and give instructions to various authorities. This scope of action has considerably expanded the presidency. The contents of these "implicit" powers, their institutionalization since 1990 and the effect of administrative practices from the Soviet era in exercising them are analyzed. The effects of these powers on the Russian political system are examined.

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

García Fernández Javier

**Secretariado del Gobierno y coordinación del trabajo gubernamental: notas de Derecho comparado y de Derecho español**

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 69 , 13-94

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

Wong, C.K.

**Squaring the Welfare Circle in Hong Kong: Lessons for Governance in Social Policy**

in *Asian Survey* , Volume 48 Number 2 March/April , 323-342



This article examines how the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region government squares the welfare circle. Because of the constrained institutional pathway of the established welfare system, the government is not successful in either reducing public expenditures or raising taxes. The article argues that it is important to look into the role of institutional design in the management of public expectations.

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

**Barron David J. , Lederman Martin S.**

**The Commander In Chief At The Lowest Ebb — Framing The Problem, Doctrine, And Original Understanding**  
in *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 121 · January 2008 · No. 3 , 692-804

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

**Hart David M.**

**The Politics of "Entrepreneurial" Economic Development Policy of States in the U.S.**  
in *Review of Policy Research* , Vol. 25 Issue 2 , 149–168

"Entrepreneurial" economic development strategies at the state level in the United States, which focus on nurturing home-grown, high-growth businesses, lack immediate payoffs for politically powerful constituencies, a condition that would seem likely to limit their appeal compared to the alternative "locational" strategy of attracting large investments from elsewhere. Nonetheless, many U.S. states have added programs with entrepreneurial attributes to their economic development portfolios in recent years. This paper explores how the political obstacles to such programs have been overcome. In a few cases, an institutional innovation in the policy-making process drew in new participants who provided ideas for and support to programs with entrepreneurial attributes. More commonly, the preferences of executive branch officials, especially governors, appear to have been critical to the enactment and implementation of such programs. This finding suggests that economic development policy making may be more technocratic than is commonly believed.

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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

**Saxena Rekha**

**Working of Executive Federalism in India**  
in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 16th Issue, 2/2007

No abstract available



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

*Subsection 5. The executive branch*

**Barron David J., Lederman Martin S.**

**the Commander In Chief At The Lowest Ebb — A Constitutional History**

in *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 121 · February 2008 · No. 4 , 944-1111

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

**Banks Christopher, Blakeman John**

**Chief Justice Roberts, Justice Alito, and New Federalism Jurisprudence**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 38,n. 3, Summer - The State of American Federalism 2007–2008 , 576-600

The Rehnquist Court returned power back to the states in rulings that scholars have dubbed "New Federalism." The appointments of Chief Justice Roberts and Justice Alito invite speculation about the future direction of federalism cases in the Supreme Court. A survey of the Roberts Court's federalism rulings discovers that the ideological pathways of new federalism depend upon Justice Kennedy's swing vote and the effects the new appointments have on shaping voting coalitions in light of the vacancies they have filled. Although there is a reconfigured "States' Rights Five" voting coalition, neither Roberts nor Alito endorses rigid viewpoints about federalism and it remains uncertain if the Court will return to the type of aggressive new federalism which arguably defined the legacy of the Rehnquist Court.

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

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**Issacharoff Samuel**

**Democracy and collective decision making**

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 6, n. 2 , 231-266

Around the world, traditional barriers to judicial engagement with the structure of democratic politics have fallen remarkably as courts increasingly entertain first-order questions about the structures of governance. This article explores judicial responses to a particularly vexing problem: who should be the polity that decides first-order political issues?

The most famous such judicial encounter is that of the Canadian Supreme Court in a case involving whether Quebec had a right to secede based on a referendum of its own population. The discussion places the Canadian Court's resolution of that issue in the context of how numerous courts around the world, including the United States Supreme Court, have addressed similar questions, though generally in cases not so freighted as the potential dissolution of the national federation.

Concluding from a review of such cases that courts forced (or willing) to engage such issues are likely to find little





mooring for their resolution in either legal doctrine or political theory, the article warns that courts should be wary of following their impulses to treat such first-order conflicts about the structure of political systems as familiar claims of individual rights, even if that is the posture in which the issues are litigated.

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

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Richman Daniel

**Federal Sentencing in 2007: The Center Holds—The Supreme Court Doesn't  
in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 117, n. 7, May**

This essay takes stock of federal sentencing after 2007, the year of the periphery. On Capitol Hill, Attorney General Alberto Gonzales resigned in the face of widespread criticism over his role in the replacement of several U.S. Attorneys. In the Supreme Court, the trio of *Rita v. United States*, *Gall v. United States*, and *Kimbrough v. United States* clarified and perhaps extended the breadth of license given to district judges in an advisory guideline regime. In contrast to the Supreme Court's sentencing cases, which focus on the allocation of authority between judges and juries, and the bulk of the sentencing literature, which pits prosecutors against judges, the institutional pairing highlighted here is Main Justice versus the districts, with Department of Justice (DOJ) sentencing policies since 2001 considered in the larger context of DOJ efforts to exercise power over U.S. Attorneys' offices. What has often been framed as "judicial discretion" might better be seen as a coordinated exercise in local norm setting—an exercise in which line prosecutors, through charging power and shared control over investments in information gathering (in tandem with agencies) inevitably play a critical role. The extent to which prosecutors will be allowed to explicitly embrace the power they tacitly exercise already, and whether an illusory regime of sentencing uniformity will give way to a real one of collaborative norm articulation and development, remains to be seen. But the suggestion here is that the new sentencing cases may point the way to a healthier federal criminal justice system.

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

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Michelson, E.

**Justice from Above or Below? Popular Strategies for Resolving Grievances in Rural China  
in *China Quarterly (The)*, Volume 193, March , 43-64**

Research on rural conflict in China suggests that village leaders are sources of trouble and obstacles to justice and that aggrieved villagers have more trust in and receive more satisfactory redress from higher-level solutions than from local solutions. In contrast to this account of "justice from above," evidence presented in this article from a 2002 survey of almost 3,000 households supports an alternative theory of "justice from below." According to this latter theory, the social costs associated with appealing to higher authorities, including the legal system, for help with local disputes tend both to discourage the escalation of disputes and to produce relatively disappointing experiences and outcomes when such routes are taken. Survey respondents indicated that local solutions, often with the involvement of village leaders, were far more desirable and effective than higher-level solutions.





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

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Lejeune Aude

**Justice institutionnelle, justice démocratique. Clercs et profanes. La Maison de justice et du droit comme révélateur de tensions entre des modèles politiques de justice**

in *Droit et société*, n. 66 , 361-381

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Queralt Jiménez Argelia

**Los usos del canon europeo en la jurisprudencia del Tribunal Constitucional: una muestra del proceso de armonización europea en materia de derechos fundamentales**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 20 , 435-470

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Cramton Roger C.

**Reforming the Supreme Court**

in *California Law Review*, Vol. 95, issue SYMPO , 1313-1334

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Henderson Jane

**Russia – Regional Constitutional Justice in the Russian Federation**

in *European public Law*, Volume 14 (2008), Issue 1 , 21-33

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Shapiro David L.

**The Role of Precedent in Constitutional Adjudication: An Introspection**

in *Texas Law Review*, vol. 86, issue 5 , 929-958



No abstract available

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Farber Daniel A.

**The Supreme Court, the law of nations, and citations of foreign law: the lessons of history**

in *California Law Review*, Vol. 95, issue SYMPO , 1335-1366

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Darvas Zsolt , Szapáry György

**Business Cycle Synchronization in the Enlarged EU**

in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 19, Number 1 , 1-19

This paper analyzes the synchronization of business cycles between new and old EU members using various measures. The main findings are that Hungary, Poland and Slovenia have achieved high degree of synchronization for GDP, industry and exports, but not for consumption and services. The other CEECs have achieved less or no synchronization. There has been significant increase in synchronization of GDP and its major components within EMU. This lends support to the argument of OCA endogeneity but there is also evidence of a world cycle. The consumption-correlation puzzle remains, but its magnitude has greatly diminished in the EMU members.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Giudice Gabriele, Turrini Alessandro, Veld Jan

**Non-Keynesian Fiscal Adjustments? A Close Look at Expansionary Fiscal Consolidations in the EU**

in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 18, Number 5 , 613-630

This paper analyses the characteristics of episodes of fiscal consolidation in the EU exhibiting non-Keynesian features, i.e., followed by an improved growth performance. Roughly half of the episodes of fiscal consolidations that have been undertaken in the EU in the last 30 years have been followed by higher growth. Probit regressions indicate that the consolidations that turned out to be expansionary were more likely started in periods with output below potential and based on expenditure cuts rather than on tax increases. These results appear quite robust with respect to the criteria used to identify the consolidation episodes and to classify such episodes as expansionary

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Sharma Pooja

**Political Economy of Conditional Aid in a Federal Economy**

in *Review of Development Economics*, Volume 12, Number 2 , 327-338



This paper employs a political economy approach to model the joint determination of national and subnational sectoral protection in an open federal economy. Political interactions between special interest groups and policymakers as well as economic interrelationships between federal and state government policies are analyzed. The model is applied to study the effects of conditional financial assistance on policy-making in the aid-receiving federal economy. We find that policy-based financial assistance to the federal government tends to reduce the extent of distortions resulting from the federal government policy. However, if federal and state government policies are strategic substitutes, state government induced policy distortions would increase, thereby detracting from the effectiveness of conditionality in reducing overall policy distortions in the recipient economy.

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651-657

**A Note on the Dynamic Analysis of Fiscal Competition**

in **Urban Studies**, Volume 45, No. 3 , Tamai Toshiki

This note presents an analysis of dynamic aspects of fiscal competition in a model with local capital accumulation. This shows that, even when a head tax is available, the optimal capital tax rate is generally non-zero. In addition, a decentralised equilibrium without a head tax might be characterised by overprovision of local public goods in a dynamic fiscal competition model. The source of inefficiency is overaccumulation of local capital.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Han Seungjin, Leach John

**A bargaining model of tax competition**

in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume 92, Issues 5-6 , 1122-1141

This paper develops a model in which competing governments offer financial incentives to induce individual firms to locate within their jurisdictions. Equilibrium is described under three specifications of the supplementary taxes. There is no misallocation of capital under two of these specifications, and there might or might not be capital misallocation under the third. This result contrasts strongly with that of the standard tax competition model, which does not allow governments to treat firms individually. That model finds that competition among governments almost always leads to capital misallocation.

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

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Zee Howell H.

**Aspects of Interjurisdictional Sharing of the Value-Added Tax**

in **Public Finance Review**, Volume 36, No. 2 , 147-168

The sharing of consumption taxes between different levels of government has come to the fore in a number of developing countries in recent years with respect to the VAT. Employing a simple model that abstracts from considerations of equalization transfers and complications of tax competition, this article inquires about the determinants



of an optimal arrangement for interjurisdictional sharing of the VAT base and revenue, and derives explicit solutions for the optimal central and local VAT rates, as well as the optimal revenue-sharing ratio between central and local governments on a derivation basis. The central finding is that an optimal VAT sharing arrangement is generally characterized by the simultaneous sharing of the VAT base and of the VAT revenue. The nature of the optimal solutions is shown to depend on the interactions among interjurisdictional differences in population, income, and the level of local government expenditure relative to local tax base

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Sharp Elaine B., Haider-Markel Donald

**At the Invitation of the Court: Eminent Domain Reform in State Legislatures in the Wake of the Kelo Decision in Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 38,n. 3, Summer - The State of American Federalism 2007–2008 , 556-575

The Supreme Court's 2005 Kelo decision upholding a condemnation of private property for economic development purposes sparked a wave of reform legislation in state legislatures. However, there is considerable variation in the extent to which state legislatures restricted the power of eminent domain. This article seeks to account for this variation. It tests hypotheses drawn from the literature on state responses to Supreme Court decisions and research on factors shaping state policy change in the wake of federal actions more generally. The results show support for an organized interests explanation, a need/scope of the problem explanation, and some elements of an explanation featuring institutional characteristics of the state legislature; there are mixed findings with respect to the role of public ideology.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Besfamille Martin, Lockwood Ben

**Bailouts In Federations: Is A Hard Budget Constraint Always Best?**  
in *International Economic Review*, Vol. 49 Issue 2 , 577–593

This article analyses hard and soft budget constraints in a federation, where there is a moral hazard problem between the central and the regional governments. Regional governments can avoid a bailout from the center by exerting costly effort. In this setting, a hard budget constraint is not always optimal because it can provide excessive incentives for high effort, and thus discourage investment that is socially efficient. Thus, a hard budget constraint can imply the opposite kind of inefficiency that emerges under a soft budget constraint, where the common pool problem can give rise to inefficiently low effort and overinvestment.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Mazzaferro Carlo, Zanardi Alberto

**Centralisation versus Decentralisation of Public Policies: Does the Heterogeneity of Individual Preferences Matter?**



in **Fiscal Studies**, Vol. 29 Issue 1 , 35–73

This paper explores the role of the heterogeneity of fiscal preferences in the assignment of policy tasks to different levels of government (decentralisation versus centralisation). With reference to a sample of European countries, a median-voter mechanism of collective decision is assumed to work at both a national and a supranational level. Using data from a large international survey (the International Social Survey Programme, ISSP), a series of econometric models are estimated in order to make individual attitudes representative of different categories of public expenditure and of different countries. The dominance of decentralisation over centralisation or vice versa is determined on the basis of the utility loss that each individual suffers in connection with the distance between his or her own most preferred level of public expenditure and that chosen by the national/supranational median voter. The main finding is that, differently from the predictions of Oates's decentralisation theorem, the assignment of responsibilities at the supranational level (centralisation) for a number of public expenditure programmes (healthcare, education, unemployment benefits) dominates (or is close to dominating) decentralisation, even in the absence of economies of scale and interregional spillovers. However, when the possibility of interjurisdictional mobility is explicitly considered, in line with the predictions of Tiebout's model, decentralisation dominance becomes more and more substantial and also prevails in the sectors where, under the nonmobility assumption, the assignment of responsibilities at the supranational level is efficient.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Lundholm Michael

**Decentralizing Public Goods Production**

in **Journal of Public Economic Theory**, Vol. 10 Issue 2 , 259–279

Decentralized decisions, to a bureau with a given budget, about the production of public goods is analyzed within a general equilibrium model with a representative agent and no pure profits. Contrary to previous results on decentralization it is shown that sequential decentralization (i) does not necessarily imply aggregate production efficiency and (ii) need not be optimal even if all public goods are neutral. Also, cost-benefit criteria are derived and the marginal cost of public funds is characterized.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Kunce Mitch, Shogren Jason F.

**Efficient decentralized fiscal and environmental policy: A dual purpose Henry George tax**

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 65, Issue 3, 15 April , 569-573

One consequence of decentralized responsibility to set tax policy and environmental standards is that local governments might try to attract industry and jobs by underproviding local public goods with lower taxes or lax environmental standards or both. But if local authorities exploit fixed property site (i.e., land) taxation to fund local public goods, affect firm migration, and internalize potential local emission rents, herein we find decentralized efficiency is supported. This result reflects a dual form of the classic Henry George theorem previously overlooked.

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



*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Bursens Peter, Deforche Jana

**Europeanization of Subnational Polities: the Impact of Domestic Factors on Regional Adaptation to European Integration**

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 1 - 18

This paper considers how subnational entities adapt under the pressure of European integration. In particular, the article looks at whether the combined institutional mechanisms of goodness-of-fit and mediating domestic factors offer sufficient understanding of adaptational behaviour by regions of member states. Empirical data come from the transposition of an environmental directive and an agriculture regulation in Flanders. It is argued that formal institutions and resources, on the one hand, and norm entrepreneurs and issue salience, on the other, pop up as crucial domestic variables to explain regional adaptation to European integration, meaning that variables from both rational choice and sociological institutionalism offer explanations for the Europeanization of regional entities.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Koethenbuerger Marko

**Federal tax-transfer policy and intergovernmental pre-commitment**

in *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, Volume 38, Issue 1 , 16-31

Federal and state governments often differ in the capacity to pre-commit to expenditure and tax policy. Whether the implied sequence of public decisions has any efficiency implications is the subject of this paper. We resort to a setting which contrary to most of the literature does not exhibit a perfect tax-base overlap. We show that a federal government's pre-commitment capacity is welfare-improving. Efficiency, however, does not improve over all decision margins. The welfare-increasing policy entails a more distorted level of public consumption. Moreover, welfare may also improve if local governments are able to pre-commit towards the upper level. The rationale is that although federal transfers are formally unconditional they nevertheless entail a tax-price effect; thereby potentially counteracting incentives to engage in a "race to the bottom" in fiscal competition among local governments

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Carrion-i-Silvestre Josep Lluís, Espasa Marta, Mora Toni

**Fiscal Decentralization and Economic Growth in Spain**

in *Public Finance Review*, Volume 36, No. 2 , 194-218

This article analyzes the contribution of the Spanish fiscal decentralization process to economic growth at both the aggregate and regional levels. Our main conclusion is that at the aggregate level, the process of decentralization of responsibilities to autonomous communities (ACs) has not had significant effects on Spanish economic growth when fiscal decentralization is measured in terms of revenue and investment shares, while a statistically significant negative effect is found when decentralization is measured through expenditure shares. When the study is carried out from a regional point of view, we find that fiscal decentralization at the AC level has a positive effect on economic growth for those ACs with the highest levels of fiscal and institutional decentralization, but the opposite effect is found for those ACs with the lowest levels of competencies. Decentralization at the local level has a significant positive effect for ACs





with complete fiscal autonomy.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Thornton John, Mati Amine

**Fiscal Institutions and the Relation between Central and Sub-National Government Fiscal Balances**

in *Public Finance Review*, Volume 36, No. 2 , 243-254

Skeptics of fiscal decentralization argue that it can complicate fiscal stabilization policies at the level of the central government because of uncoordinated fiscal actions by the national and sub-national tiers of government. However, panel data estimates for Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development economies suggest that this danger has been overstated in that changes in the fiscal balances of central and sub-national governments are highly positively correlated. This result partly reflects the success of institutional arrangements that govern intergovernmental fiscal relations and appears unrelated to the extent of fiscal decentralization.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Martell Christine R.

**Fiscal institutions of Brazilian municipal borrowing**

in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 28 Issue 1 , 30 - 41

In an effort to understand subnational borrowing, this article explores how three Brazilian institutions - the 1988 Constitution which mandates revenue and expenditure assignments among the levels of the federation; the national Law of Fiscal Responsibility, which imposes expenditure and debt limitations on all levels and branches of government; and various borrowing arrangements - affect the municipal borrowing environment. These institutions are examined in light of de Mello's (2001) policy recommendations for strengthening efficiency and fiscal discipline in subnational borrowing. The institutions of Brazilian borrowing were found to have some of de Mello's recommendations, with the new Constitution and the Law of Fiscal Responsibility making progress towards increased fiscal responsibility, but the current borrowing arrangements serving to maintain a controlled system that is not conducive to responsible municipal borrowing. Several recommendations are made to improve the borrowing environment and foster fiscal discipline and efficiency

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Radaelli Claudio M., Kraemer Ulrike S.

**Governance Areas in EU Direct Tax Policy**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 2, March 2008

Conventional scholarship on international taxation tends to address competition. It focuses on governments and does not integrate purposeful political strategy with the ideational dimension of policy change. In this article we examine co-operation, use a multi-actor perspective to explain the selection of modes of governance and bridge the gap between the strategic and ideational components of policy change. We show how a political strategy pursued by the Commission has led to the emergence of two functionally differentiated governance arenas, dealing with different definitions of tax





problems and operating with modes of governance that suit the internal logic of individual arenas. We then examine the limitations of political strategy, by showing how a third governance arena dominated by the European Court of Justice has become increasingly important, with little control exercised by the Commission and the Member States.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Edmark Karin, Ågren Hanna

**Identifying strategic interactions in Swedish local income tax policies  
in Journal of Urban Economics**, Volume 63, Issue 3 , 849-857

This paper uses data on Swedish local governments to test for strategic interaction in local tax setting. We make use of a number of indirect predictions from the theories of tax competition and yardstick competition in order to test for the presence of strategic interaction in these forms. Using such additional predictions of the theories serves a twofold purpose—first it helps us establish if the spatial coefficient is due to strategic interactions or merely reflecting spatial error correlation, and second, it helps identify the source of interaction. The analysis provides strong evidence for spatial correlation in tax rates among Swedish local governments. Moreover, we find weak evidence of tax competition effects in the setting of tax rates.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Mistri Maurizio

**Institutional changes and shifting ideas: a constitutional analysis of the Euro  
in Constitutional political economy**, Volume 18, Number 2 / June, 2007

This paper uses the logical tools of Constitutional Economics to analyze the creation of the Euro, considering the entire process as the outcome of a conflict between different rules or, if you will, between different monetary systems, moving from the system of flexible exchange rates to a system of fixed exchange rates and ultimately to the single currency. The conflict between monetary systems has been acted out according to the single states' collective preference functions, with both full employment and price stability figuring among the weights of said preference functions. The "solution" of the single currency was conceived when the body of information available to the policymakers was "simplified" by the new classical macro-economy taking a hegemonic role.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Sykes Olivier , Shaw David

**Investigating Territorial Positioning by Sub-state Territories in Europe  
in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 55 - 76

Since the 1990s, much attention has been devoted to exploring the extent to which regions in Europe seek to promote their development by capitalizing upon vertical and horizontal links with other territories and governance scales. In the same period, regional policy in many states has evolved from a traditional 'redistributive' model towards more territorialized 'endogenous' approaches that aim to foster the intrinsic endowments and capacities for growth and



collective action of subnational territories. EU initiatives have also encouraged subnational authorities to overcome 'insularity' and to take into account interdependencies and European links in their spatial development strategies. The capacity to strategically engage in such 'territorial positioning' will become increasingly important for territories as they adjust to evolving European spatial and policy contexts. This paper explores the notion of territorial positioning and, through reference to recent developments in the North West region of England, provides an exploratory indication of how and why territorial positioning occurs in practice and with what success.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Croella Stefano**

**L'imposta di soggiorno: una proposta per il federalismo fiscale**

in *Queste istituzioni*, 146-147 , 60-89

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Lago-Peñas Santiago**

**Local Governments' Asymmetric Reactions to Grants**

in *Public Finance Review*, Volume 36, No. 2 , 219-242

In this article, a data set corresponding to Spanish municipalities is used to test asymmetries in the effects of increases and decreases in grants on total spending, with political and financial factors included as possible explanations of them. Estimation results strongly support the hypothesis of asymmetry. Recipients compensate part of the loss in grants by increasing other revenues. This fiscal replacement form of asymmetry is explained by two factors: incumbent's ideology and financial capacity of getting into debt. The relationship between deficits and ideology is studied. While increases in deficits because of reductions in grants are statistically significant only in the case of leftist incumbents, there are other causal mechanisms relating ideology and propensity toward deficits. These differences play in opposite directions, and the net result is that the relationship between ideology and deficit size is not statistically significant.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Dur Robert, Staal Klaas**

**Local public good provision, municipal consolidation, and national transfers**

in *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, Volume 38, Issue 2 , 160-173

We analyze a simple model of local public good provision in a region comprising two districts, a city and a village. When districts remain autonomous and local public goods have positive spillover effects on the neighboring district, there is underprovision of public goods in both the city and the village. When districts consolidate, underprovision persists in the village (and may become even more severe), whereas overprovision of public goods arises in the city as urbanites use their political power to exploit the villagers. From a social welfare point of view, inhabitants of the village have insufficient incentives to vote for consolidation. We examine how national transfers to local governments can resolve these



problems.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Jorio Ettore

**L'incisione della Consulta in tema di applicazione del federalismo fiscale**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VI - Nr. 2

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Revelli Federico

**Performance competition in local media markets**

in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 92, Issue 7 , 1585-1594

This paper investigates the impact of tax and public service performance on English local government popularity by using data on local property taxes, service performance ratings and local election results after the introduction of a system of evaluation of local government performance (Comprehensive Performance Assessment). The evidence emerging from estimation of a re-election equation offers a somewhat more rounded portrait of the voter than the conventional fiscal conservative icon, by highlighting the beneficial consequences of public service performance on government popularity and pointing to the role of local media networks (the BBC regional television, local radio and web network) in shaping consensus by spreading tax-related information.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Eckardt Sebastian

**Political accountability, fiscal conditions and local government performance - cross-sectional evidence from Indonesia**

in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 28 Issue 1 , 1 - 17

Why are some local governments more successful than others in managing resources and delivering services? And even more vitally, how can malfunctioning governments be reformed so that they perform their responsibilities more effectively? This article contributes to our understanding of these overarching questions by exploring the interactions between political institutions and public sector performance in the context of decentralisation and local governance. It shows-both theoretically and empirically-that performance outcomes are determined by the extent to which people can hold their governments accountable through political institutions. The basic hypothesis underlying this research is that political accountability, either by encouraging sanctions upon non-compliant public agents or simply by reducing the informational gap regarding government activities, will create forceful incentives for elected officials and civil servants to reduce opportunistic behaviour and improve performance. Using a cross-sectional regression the hypothesis is empirically tested against evidence from newly empowered local governments in Indonesia. The empirical findings



broadly support our hypotheses. Improved public services on the ground, both in terms of quantity and quality, require informed and well functioning decision-making processes that allocate resources to priority areas that meet the demand of the broader community.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Zissimos Ben, Wooders Myrna

**Public good differentiation and the intensity of tax competition**

in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 92, Issues 5-6 , 1105-1121

We show that, in a setting where tax competition promotes efficiency, variation in the extent to which firms can use public goods to reduce costs brings about a reduction in the intensity of tax competition. This in turn brings about a loss of efficiency. In this environment, a 'minimum tax' counters the reduction in the intensity of tax competition, thereby enhancing efficiency. 'Split-the-difference' tax harmonization also potentially enhances efficiency but would not be agreed upon by governments because it lowers the payoff to at least one of them. This paper also presents an explanation for how traditionally high-tax countries have continued to set taxes at a relatively high rate even as markets have become more integrated.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Kimaro Honest C., Mengiste Shegaw A. , Aanestad Margunn

**Redesigning health information systems in developing countries: the need for local flexibility and distributed control**

in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 28 Issue 1 , 18 - 29

Despite widespread aims to strengthen the Health Information System (HIS) as a tool for decentralised health care, there is a strong tendency in most developing countries that the HIS continues to reflect the central level's needs and requirements. The traditional design approach with little or no end user involvement results in a centralised HIS with an extensive, somewhat inappropriate, but also inflexible set of standards. Consequently, the HIS is not very useful for the wished-for decentralisation of health services, and there is an urgent need to redesign the existing HIS in order to make it locally relevant and appropriately decentralised. Based on a comparative case analysis of the HIS in Tanzania and Ethiopia, we offer practical recommendations on the way to achieve this redesign. A central design goal should be to achieve a balance between centralised control and local autonomy. Some degree of control over a decentralised HIS, including budgets and the use of resources, should be delegated to the district administration. In order to achieve the aim of a locally relevant, well-working HIS, it is necessary that appropriate authority, capacity and decentralised allocation of resources for HIS will be developed at the district and sub-district levels.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Aronsson Thomas, Blomquist Sören

**Redistribution and Provision of Public Goods in an Economic Federation**

in *Journal of Public Economic Theory*, Vol. 10 Issue 1 , 125–143



This paper concerns redistribution and public good provision in an economic federation with two levels of government: a local government in each locality and a (first mover) central government. Each locality is characterized by two ability-types, and the ability-distribution differs across localities. The central government redistributes via a nonlinear income tax and a lump-sum transfer to each local government, while the local governments use proportional income taxes and provide local public goods. We show how the redistributive role of taxation is combined with a corrective role, and how the central government can implement the second best resource allocation.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Alok V. N.

**Role of State Finance Commissions in Devolution of funds to Local Governments: An Status Report in Indian Journal of Federal Studies**, 16th Issue, 2/2007

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Bourassa Steven C., Ming Yin

**Tax Deductions, Tax Credits and the Homeownership Rate of Young Urban Adults in the United States in Urban Studies**, Volume 45, No. 5-6 , 1141-1161

The US President's Advisory Panel on Federal Tax Reform has recommended changes to income tax concessions for homeowners. Consistent with the opinions of many economists, the tax reform panel concluded that the existing tax concessions are not particularly effective. The housing and mortgage industry have opposed the reforms, in part due to a fear that the reforms will reduce the homeownership rate. In this paper, 1998 American Housing Survey data are used to estimate a tenure choice equation and to simulate hypothetical changes in tax concessions. Focusing on young households who are likely to be on the margin between renting and owning, it is concluded that the mortgage interest and property tax deductions reduce the homeownership rate for these households due to effects on house prices. The tax credit proposed by the Advisory Panel would be likely to have a similar effect.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Azémar Céline, Delios Andrew

**Tax competition and FDI: The special case of developing countries in Journal of the Japanese and International Economies**, Volume 22, Issue 1 , 85-108

According to the foreign direct investment (FDI) literature, the elasticities between FDI and its determinants vary considerably with the level of host country development. This may be a major concern when dealing with the influence of corporate tax rates on FDI in developing countries, since most studies concentrate on developed countries. Using data on Japanese firm location choices between 1990 and 2000, we contrast differences in regional tax rates in order to reveal an asymmetry between developed and developing countries. By looking at the interaction effects between Japan and host developing countries' tax systems, we also put forward the idea that special tax sparing provisions signed with



Japan can alter the effect of host country taxes on Japanese firms' location choices. Finally, we find that even though tax competition can be strong in developing countries, this competition should not lead to an effective rate of zero taxation for these countries in their competition for FDI inflows

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

de Mello Luiz

**The Brazilian "Tax War"**

in **Public Finance Review**, Volume 36, No. 2 , 169-193

This article tests for horizontal tax competition in the value-added tax (VAT) for a sample of Brazilian states in the period 1985-2001. The states have considerable autonomy over the VAT and often use it as an industrial policy tool. The empirical findings, based on the estimation of a tax reaction function in an error-correction setup, confirm that the states react strongly to changes in their neighbors' VAT code, especially those that belong to the same geoeconomic region. Also, there is a Stackelberg leader among the states, with the remaining jurisdictions responding strongly to its policy moves. There is no co-occupancy of tax bases among different levels of government and hence limited scope for vertical externalities in tax setting. But the fact that the federal government shares with the states part of the revenue of its more elastic taxes, such as the income tax, appears to affect the opportunity cost of horizontal tax competition

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Devereux Michael P., Loretz Simon

**The Effects of EU Formula Apportionment on Corporate Tax Revenues**

in **Fiscal Studies**, Vol. 29 Issue 1 , 1-33

The European Commission proposes to replace the current system of taxing corporate income using separate accounting by a two-step 'consolidation and apportionment' procedure. This paper uses a large set of unconsolidated firm-level data to assess the likely impact on corporate tax revenues in each member state. Taking pre-tax profit as given, overall tax revenues would be likely to drop by 2.5 per cent if companies could choose whether to participate. By contrast, if they were forced to participate, total tax revenues would be likely to increase by more than 2 per cent, leaving some European countries - most notably, Spain, Sweden and the UK - better off. We investigate how sensitive these results are to the apportionment factors used.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Holcombe Randall G., DeEdgra W. Williams

**The Impact of Population Density on Municipal Government Expenditures**

in **Public Finance Review**, Volume 36, No. 3 , 359-373

Data from 487 municipal governments with populations greater than 50,000 are examined to see the relationship between population density and per capita government expenditures. There is no statistically significant relationship between per capita total government expenditures and operational expenditures for cities smaller than 500,000, and for





larger cities, higher population density is associated with higher per capita government expenditures. Infrastructure expenditures tend to decline with increases in population density for cities smaller than 500,000, whereas expenditures on services tend to increase with population density for cities larger than 500,000. The relationship between per capita total expenditures and population density has policy relevance because it indicates that when all government expenditures are taken into account, policies that increase population density will not reduce per capita government expenditures and, in larger cities, will lead to higher per capita government expenditures.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Colciago A., Moscatelli V. A., Rosele T., Tirelli P.

**The Role of Fiscal Policy in a Monetary Union: Are National Automatic Stabilizers Effective?**  
in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 3, August 2008

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Eggert Wolfgang , SørensenPeter Birch

**The effects of tax competition when politicians create rents to buy political support**  
in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 92, Issues 5-6 , 1142-1163

We set up a probabilistic voting model to explore the hypothesis that tax competition improves public sector efficiency and social welfare. In the absence of tax base mobility, distortions in the political process induce vote-maximising politicians to create rents to public sector employees. Allowing tax base mobility may be welfare-enhancing up to a point, because the ensuing tax competition will reduce rents. However, if tax competition is carried too far, it will reduce welfare by causing an underprovision of public goods. Starting from an equilibrium where tax competition has eliminated all rents, a coordinated rise in capital taxation will always be welfare-improving. For plausible parameter values it will even be welfare-enhancing to carry tax coordination beyond the point where rents to public sector workers start to emerge.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Mora Toni

**The relationship between the capacity of the Spanish central government to retain tax-revenue shares and interregional inequality**  
in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 26, Issue 3, June , 601-613

I examine the relationship between the dynamics of the size of the Spanish central government, by looking at central government tax-revenue-retention shares in different domestic regions, and regional-income heterogeneity. Annual data correspond to the 1986 – 2001 period. In addition to interregional inequality, other factors, such as per capita transfers from the central government, regional saving rates, and years in which there is a change in the party leading the central government, also contribute to the decreasing dynamics of revenues that are retained by the Spanish central





government.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Xavier Debrun, Laurent Moulin, Alessandro Turrini, Joaquim Ayuso-i-Casals and Manmohan S. Kumar

**Tied to the mast? National fiscal rules in the European Union**

**in Economic Policy**, Volume 23 Issue 55 , 297-362

Numerical fiscal rules implemented at the national level in member countries of the European Union offer useful information on possible reasons for the growing reliance on such rules, and on their implication for fiscal policy. Our analysis of a survey-based dataset suggests that both the introduction of the EU fiscal framework and country-specific fiscal governance features played a role in triggering introduction of numerical fiscal rules, and that the impact of rules is statistically significant, robust, and quantitatively important. Outcomes and rules may be jointly determined by unobserved political factors, but the evidence suggests that causality runs from rules to fiscal behaviour, and that rules specifically designed to prevent conflicts with the stabilization function of fiscal policy are indeed associated with less pro-cyclical policies.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Smith Andrew

**Toryism, Classical Liberalism, and Capitalism: The Politics of Taxation and the Struggle for Canadian Confederation**

**in Canadian Historical Review (The)**, Volume 89, Number 1, March , 1-25

Within the four original Canadian provinces, the politics of taxation were a central issue in the struggle to form Confederation, as they were in Newfoundland, the tax-adverse colony that rejected it. For many participants in the Confederation debate, the key issue was the optimal size of the state as a proportion of total economic activity. Janet Ajzenstat, Peter J. Smith, and Ian McKay have argued that Confederation represented a victory for the ideology of liberal individualism that underpins capitalism. The position taken here is that these scholars are mistaken about the ideological nature of Confederation, and that Confederation, instead, was supported by many colonists who were sympathetic to a relatively interventionist, or statist, approach to capitalist development. The anti-confederate camp of the time, by contrast, included the strongest supporters of classical liberal values such as free trade and low taxes. The struggle over Confederation involved a battle between a staunchly individualist economic philosophy and a comparatively collectivist view of the state's proper role in the economy. Consequently, it is far more accurate to describe 1867 as the birth of a Tory-interventionist economic order in Canada, rather than of a liberal one.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Ryusuke Ihara

**Transport costs, capital mobility and the provision of local public goods**

**in Regional Science and Urban Economics**, Volume 38, Issue 1 , 70-80



Using a new economic geography model with local governments, this study analyzes the relation between transport costs, capital mobility and the provision of local public goods that improve regional productivity. First, if capital is immobile, the effect of local public goods on regional competitiveness engenders over-provision of local public goods, whereas the interregional spillover engenders under-provision of local public goods. As transport costs fall, the latter effect becomes stronger than the former; consequently, the provision status of local public goods changes from under-provision to over-provision. Secondly, if capital is mobile, capital flows to regions with a larger market (higher productivity) when transport costs are high (low). Such capital mobility changes the local public policy from under-provision to over-provision as transport costs fall

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Prinsen Gerard , Titeca Kristof

**Uganda's decentralised primary education: musical chairs and inverted elite capture in School Management Committees**

*in Public Administration and Development*, Volume 28 Issue 2 , 149 - 164

Decentralisation policies in Africa increasingly place responsibilities and resources for the provision of public services in the hands of public bodies at the lowest level, for example in School Management Committees (SMCs). This paper questions whether elite capture, which is considered a major reason for the ineffectiveness of the management of public services at a national level, also characterises SMCs. On the basis of field research in Uganda, it is argued that elite capture does not trickle down to the lowest levels in the management of public services.

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Hallett Hughes Andrewand, Libich Jan

**Fiscal-monetary Interactions: The Effect of Fiscal Restraint and Public Monitoring on Central Bank Credibility in Open Economies Review**, Volume 18, Number 5 , 559-576

This paper offers new insights into the interactions between private agents, the government, and a central bank, and their effect on the outcomes of monetary policy. In a simple game theoretic model we show that, unless there is public monitoring, impatient governments will be tempted to override or outmaneuver the central bank and create surprise inflation to boost output. This both undermines the government's reputation for sound fiscal policies and reduces the central bank's credibility. The result is not only higher and more volatile inflation but also sub-optimal output. More importantly, it is also shown that this is likely to occur even if the central banker is fully independent and the government is always patient. In contrast, if the public monitors sufficiently carefully, the central bank is never overridden and monetary policy can be credible even under an impatient government. We derive the general conditions under which each scenario occurs and then relate them to the developments in central banking over the past two decades, most notably to the trends towards greater independence, explicit inflation targeting, clearer communication and transparency. Interestingly, transparency is shown to reduce the variability of both inflation and output (by reducing the monitoring cost and making public monitoring more likely) which is in contrast to the usual transparency literature with a single policymaker which supposes a transparency-volatility trade-off.

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Gersbach Hans, Hahn Volker

**Should the individual voting records of central bankers be published?**

in **Social Choice and Welfare**, Volume 30, Number 4 , 655-683

We examine whether the publication of the individual voting records of central-bank council members is socially beneficial when the public is unsure about the efficiency of central bankers and central bankers are angling for re-appointment. We show that publication is initially harmful since it creates a conflict between socially desirable and individually optimal behavior for somewhat less efficient central bankers. However, after re-appointment, losses will be lower when voting records are published since the government can distinguish highly efficient from less efficient central bankers more easily and can make central bankers individually accountable. In our model, the negative effects of voting transparency dominate, and expected overall losses are always larger when voting records are published.

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Sucheen Patel

**An Independent Bank of England**

in **Public Policy and Administration**, Volume 23, No. 1 , 27-41

This article traces the schemes for an independent Bank of England in the British political process in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The Treasury examined the issue of central bank independence on four separate occasions. Furthermore, the Bank of England held a series of internal discussions about its autonomy and about how such a reform could be implemented. Using recently released material disclosed under the 2000 Freedom of Information Act and interviews with former Treasury and Bank of England officials, these schemes are examined together with other corresponding discussions that pervaded the political process. It is shown that the debate surrounding an adjustment to the status of the Bank of England in terms of its structure and functions was embedded in the political and monetary institutions several years before the 'sudden' implementation of the reform. Furthermore, the Labour Party's policy for central bank independence contained many features that originated in the preceding schemes.

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Lebaron Frédéric

**Central bankers in the contemporary global field of power: a 'social space' approach**

in **Sociological Review**, Volume 56, Monograph 1: Remembering Elites, May 2008 , 121-144

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Tachibana Minoru

**Inflation zone targeting and the Federal Reserve**



in *Journal of the Japanese and International Economies*, Volume 22, Issue 1 , 68-84

The purpose of this paper is to examine whether the Federal Reserve (the Fed) implicitly implemented an inflation zone targeting policy. To this end, I estimate the piecewise linear Taylor rule, in which the magnitude of the inflation coefficient depends on whether inflation lies within or outside a target zone. The estimation results show that the Fed conducted an inflation zone targeting policy during the 1987–2004 period. In addition, it is found that a symmetric (not asymmetric) specification of the piecewise linear rule is adequate to describe the inflation zone targeting behavior of the Fed

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Sonmez Atesoglu H.

**Monetary policy rules and U.S. monetary policy**

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, Volume 30, Number 3 , 403 - 408

An inflation-augmented Atesoglu monetary policy rule is introduced. The Atesoglu rule is based on an estimate of the neutral rate of interest of Keynes. Actual Fed monetary policy and policy implied by Atesoglu rules are compared. During the 1994:2-2006:4 period, monetary policy suggested by the inflation-augmented Atesoglu rule is closer to that indicated by the Atesoglu rule rather than the actual Fed monetary policy. Findings reveal that the monetary policy implied by the Atesoglu rules has been less restrictive and less volatile than the actual Fed monetary policy.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Spalla Flavio, Lanza Riccardo

**Area metropolitana: esperienze italiane**

in *Amministrare*, 1-2 , 105-172

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

de Vries Michiel S.

**Falling Between Two Cracks: The Indeterminate Character of Mid-level Government**

in *Public Organization Review*, Volume 8, Number 1 , 69-87

This article argues that the neglect of mid-level government among public administration scholars is regrettable because the investigation of developments within this level of governmental could shed new light on various core themes in public administration. In order to understand developments taking place at the local level, it is often necessary to investigate what is going on at the mid-level. This article concludes that public administration scholars should develop a general framework to judge the policies and position of mid level government, investigate whether the provincial level is the appropriate level for developing policies, conduct more independent evaluations of processes taking place at the mid-level layer of government; and conduct comparative research into the causal mechanisms that determine the needs for mid-level government.



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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Kook, L.S.

**State in a State: Administration and Governance in a Thailand-Burma Border Town**

in *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Volume 36, Number 2 , 187-233

This study investigates governance in the district of Mae Sot, located at the Thailand-Burma border. Unlike other places in Thailand, the enormous presence of non-Thais, particularly unauthorised migrants, makes Mae Sot unique in matters of administration and governance. This study examines the interactions of the various governing systems that exist in Mae Sot, including those of the Burmese, even though the Burmese do not have a proper legal status in the Thai district. The study asks if modern states can be conceptualised in terms of an isomorphism with territory, sovereignty and citizenship.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Heinelt Hubert , Niederhafner Stefan

**Cities and Organized Interest Intermediation in the EU Multi-Level System**

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, Volume 15, No. 2 , 173-187

It is argued that European cities gain new room for political manoeuvre because the process of Europeanization implies the opening-up of a new political sphere in which cities can play a new multi-level game or traditional structures of domestic policy making can — at least partly — be bypassed. First, we consider whether there are specific points of access for local-level actors to EU institutions. Cities can enter into the European policy-making process by providing EU institutions with knowledge, legitimacy and ways to monitor the implementation of EU policies. Second, we analyse how cities organize their activities to utilize these access points. Based on an investigation of two pan-European cities' organizations, the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) and Eurocities, we consider how different organizational models influence their effectiveness as a part of the EU governance system. Eurocities is a network type of organization whose activities are based on the modus of coordination. The CEMR, however, is a classic international umbrella organization consisting of national sections; its activities are based on the modus of cooperation. Finally, we conclude the article with some reflections about the potentials and the constraints which apply to each type of organization.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Barbero Matteo

**Come (non) si risolve la questione delle 'secessioni' dei comuni di confine (e dei privilegi finanziari delle autonomie speciali)**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VI - Nr. 9



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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Wolman Harold**

**Comparing local government systems across countries: conceptual and methodological challenges to building a field of comparative local government studies**

**in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 26, Issue 1, February , 87-103

Despite increasing research on comparative local government, the resulting literature remains disappointing in that it is difficult to generalize across the range of diffuse studies. The main problem is the lack of a common framework to conduct such research and into which results can be placed and built upon. Partly, this is a consequence of insufficient attention to the requirements of building a classification system that can serve as a framework. In the spirit of contributing to the conceptual and methodological development of the literature on comparative local government, I set forth criteria for a classification system, review and assess the literature with respect to these criteria, and suggest a possible approach for building an empirically based classification system for local government that can serve as a common framework.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Diez Picazo Luis Maria**

**De nuevo sobre las declaraciones estatutarias de derechos: respuesta a Francisco Caamaño.**

**in Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional**, n. 81

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Leo Christopher, Andres Todd**

**Deep Federalism through Local Initiative: Unbundling Sovereignty in Winnipeg**

**in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique**, Volume 37 - Issue 01 - March 2004

Building on an international literature that stresses the growing importance of cities in both the economy and governance, this paper proceeds from the premise that national government support is essential to the maintenance of a social safety net, but that a great deal of local initiative is also necessary in order to ensure that national government funds are spent in a manner appropriate to the very different conditions in different cities. The paper focuses on a case in which a municipal government initiated a tri-level government program. Winnipeg officials and politicians developed a proposal for federal and provincial participation in a locally created welfare-to-work scheme, a scheme that, unlike conventional workfare, offered union wages and training leading to well-paid work. The municipal government provided on-the-job training for workers selected from the welfare rolls to carry out infrastructure upgrades and financed the project with money the federal and provincial governments saved on welfare payments. The paper argues that the





municipal government was uniquely well placed to identify needed work, as well as to choose welfare recipients who would be able to benefit from the job training on offer. In this case, therefore, we argue that local initiative was essential to the success of this federally and provincially financed welfare-to-work program. The findings of the theoretical literature we review suggest that it could eventually become a precedent for further municipal and local activism along similar lines.

Résumé. S'inspirant d'une littérature internationale—comprenant les contributions de Canadiens tels que Magnusson, Elkins et Courcherne—qui souligne l'importance croissante des villes dans l'économie et la gouvernance, et s'inspirant également du savoir déjà acquis sur le fédéralisme de fond, cette communication part de la prémisse que l'appui du gouvernement fédéral est indispensable au maintien d'un filet de sécurité sociale, mais que l'initiative locale est très importante pour assurer que les fonds versés par le gouvernement national soient exploités d'une manière qui réponde aux circonstances particulières des villes différentes. La présente communication porte sur un projet lancé par une administration municipale mais destiné aux trois niveaux de gouvernement. En effet, ce sont les employés et l'administration de la Ville de Winnipeg qui ont mis sur pied un projet de retour au travail pour les bénéficiaires d'une aide sociale auquel les gouvernements fédéral et provincial devaient participer. Contrairement aux programmes conventionnels de travaux d'utilité publique, ce projet offrait un salaire conforme aux règles syndicales en même temps qu'une formation sur le lieu de travail. C'est le gouvernement municipal qui assurait cette formation aux individus choisis de la liste des bénéficiaires d'une aide sociale et dont le travail consistait à hausser l'infrastructure. C'est aussi le gouvernement municipal qui finançait le projet avec l'argent que les gouvernements fédéral et provincial avaient économisé sur les fonds de solidarité. La communication prétend que le gouvernement municipal est particulièrement bien placé pour identifier les travaux nécessaires et pour sélectionner les bénéficiaires d'aide sociale les plus capables de profiter de la formation donnée sur le poste de travail. Nous prétendons donc que, dans ce cas, le succès de ce programme de retour au travail pour les bénéficiaires d'une aide sociale, financé aux niveaux fédéral et provincial, dépendait de l'initiative locale. La littérature théorique que nous avons passée en revue suggère que ce projet puisse finir par devenir le modèle pour d'autres activités municipales et locales du même genre.

[http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FCJP%2FCJP41\\_01%2FS000842390808013Xa.pdf&code=9b7361ff7831b715367dab8427fc72d](http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FCJP%2FCJP41_01%2FS000842390808013Xa.pdf&code=9b7361ff7831b715367dab8427fc72d)

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

#### ***Subsection 9. Local government(s)***

**Subrata K. Mitra**

#### **Elite Agency and Governance in Changing Societies: India in Comparative Perspective**

**in Asian Journal of Political Science**, Volume 16 Issue 1 , 1-23

The article uses a rational choice, neo-institutional model to analyse cross-region and over-time variation in governance in India. Governance is measured through qualitative indicators (perception of law and order, measured by a national opinion survey) and quantitative indicators (murders and riots per million of inhabitants). The article raises both specific and general questions. Why did India succeed in achieving a high level of governance compared to the majority of post-colonial states? Why has governance declined in some parts of India during the past decades? Which policies and administrative and legal structures promote governance? How do India's new social elites—many of whom have come up through elections and policies of positive discrimination—transform rebels into stakeholders and agents of law and





order? The article concludes that governance remains high when decision-making elites respond to challenges to order through policies that combine sanctions with strategic reform and the accommodation of identity.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Boschetti Barbara**

**Enti locali e iniziativa economica**

**in Regioni (Le), n. 5 , 765-802**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Aijaz Rumi**

**Form of Urban Local Government in India**

**in Journal of Asian and African Studies , Volume 43, No. 2, April , 131-154**

The role of urban local governments in India has become extremely challenging. To ensure that demands of the urban population are addressed properly, the Indian government has initiated various policy reforms to strengthen local governments. This article describes the form of urban local government in India in the context of recent municipal reforms. Evolution of municipalities, their typology and constitution, legislation, duties, composition, management and finance practices are some aspects covered. It is concluded that municipalities in India are being empowered in various ways with the intention that they would emerge as viable units of governance at the local level.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Belli Attilio, Mesolella Anna**

**Forme di razionalità plurima nel processo di pianificazione territoriale regionale in Campania**

**in Archivi di Studi Urbani e Regionali, Fascicolo 90**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Pérez Diego**

**Geografía de la vida y la esperanza en Colombia. Comunidades en resistencia e iniciativas locales de paz -  
Geografia della vita e della speranza in Colombia. Comunità in resistenza e iniziative locali di pace**

**in Quaderni Satyagraha, n. 13 - "Sembrando Vida y Dignidad. Comunidad de Paz de San José de Apartadó: 10 años de  
resistencia noviolenta a la guerra , 40-51 120-131**

No abstract available



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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Davies, G.; Ramia G.

**Governance Reform towards “Serving Migrant Workers”: The Local Implementation of Central Government Regulations**

*in China Quarterly (The)*, Volume 193, March , 140-149

Using data from three provinces as part of a joint study by Monash University in Australia and China's Institute of Labour Science, an affiliate body of the national Ministry of Labour and Social Security, this article examines the extension of social rights and social security coverage to intra-national migrants in China as a public governance issue. More specifically, it analyses how central government regulations on improving the situation of migrant workers are being interpreted and implemented by local governments. In this regard, it offers a unique case study of difficulties encountered in the local implementation of policy directives issued by the central government.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Costa Stefano ,Sciandra Luisa

**I processi di riforma nei servizi pubblici locali nell’Unione europea: tra regolazione comunitaria e «istanze» nazionali**

*in Economia Pubblica*, Fascicolo 3-4

In last decades public utilities in eu have been at the centre of a great liberalization program. The constant confrontation between national and Community institutions fosters a convergence towards (partially) shared models, which are at times operated from a «top-down» position (by means of Directives and Regulations) and at other times from a «bottom-up» position (by means of mutual sensitisation efforts on both national and Community orientations). However, the confrontation is also complicated by the concerns of national and local Administrations with economic and social aspect of these sectors, making the process swing between the need to guarantee a public service and the aim of establishing a competitive internal market. This paper, focusing on electricity, gas and water sectors, analyses the current stage of the liberalization process, pointing out the gap between formal and substantial liberalization, as well as the institutional dialectic and its spin-offs. As a matter of fact, from an institutional viewpoint, Member States and Commission are still in search of a difficult balance between the Member States' surrender of their sovereignty and the safeguard of their legacy in terms of a local administration of these sectors. From an economic viewpoint, the liberalization process tends also to make these sectors more similar across the countries than in the countries, inducing to substitute a «sectoral-based» classification for the traditional «national-based» one.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Mazza Mauro

**Il diritto degli Enti territoriali in Polonia**

*in Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1



No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Mazza Mauro**

**Il diritto delle autonomie territoriali in Slovenia**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1837-1849

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Fraenkel-Haeberle Cristina**

**La 'secessione' dei Comuni: una chimera o una via percorribile?**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VI - Nr. 2

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Camarda Lorenzo**

**La Provincia snodo di relazioni tra comuni e regioni nel sistema di (co)pianificazione e di (co)programmazione e nella prospettiva di uno Stato federalista**

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, n. 2 , 130-132

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Canosa Usera Raúl**

**La declaración de derechos en los nuevos Estatutos de Autonomía**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 20 , 59-115

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Tawa Lama-Rewal Stéphanie**

**La démocratie locale dans les métropoles indiennes. Les associations de résidents à New Delhi**

in *Transcontinentales*, numero 4, "Amérique latine", juin , 131-144



The Indian decentralization policy launched in the mid-nineties has borne mitigated results. The democratic renewal that it heralded seems largely limited to the renewal of local political personnel through electoral quotas (for women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes). Yet in many Indian megacities today, one can observe an increasing involvement of residents in the management of local affairs, mainly through neighbourhood associations that invoke participative democracy and claim to be the spokespeople of urban citizenship. This paper identifies four factors that explain the new legitimacy of these associations as players in urban governance; and it concludes with consideration of the relationship, informed by class categories, between the participative and representative aspects of local democracy in India.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Vado Grajales Luis Octavio

**La jerarquía de las normas locales. Una lectura crítica de Eduardo García Máynez**

in **Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional**, n. 18 , 227-243

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Motroni Matteo

**La migrazione dei comuni di frontiera verso le regioni a statuto speciale**

in **Federalismi**, Anno VI - Nr. 4

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Pajno Simone

**La revisione degli Statuti speciali nel sistema delle fonti**

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 5 , 747-764

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Miguez Macho Luis

**La riforma degli Statuti regionali in Spagna: problematica giuridica**

in **Quaderni Regionali** , N. 3

No abstract available



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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Italia Vittorio

**La tesi sulla soppressione della Provincia. Critiche e necessità di riconsiderare il problema.**

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, n. 2 , 129-130

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Fernández Alles José Joaquín

**Las relaciones intergubernamentales en el nuevo estatuto de autonomía de Andalucía**

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 70 , 179-221

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Carpino Riccardo

**Le Province: percezione sociale, ruolo e prospettive**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VI - Nr. 3

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Cocconi Monica

**Le Regioni nell'istruzione dopo il nuovo Titolo V**

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 5 , 725-746

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Vesperini Giulio

**Le autonomie locali nello Stato regionale**

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 5 , 663-688



No abstract available

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

**Subsection 9. Local government(s)**

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

**Leadership, Governance and Legitimacy at an Intermediate Government Level: The Case of Belgian Governors in Local Government Studies**, Vol. 34, issue 2 , 245-265

This article tries to analyse the impact of some important changes in recent decades on the context in which Belgian governors function. On the one hand we can observe an internal shift in legislation, strengthening the democratic control and executive power of the elected politicians, while on the other hand there is the alleged external shift towards network policy and multi-level governance. At first sight the internal change seems to indicate a loss of (formal) power, illustrated by the fact that the governors lost their voting rights in 1997 and even lost the position of chairman in the Walloon provinces in 2004. But when we take a closer view, the institutional changes seem to have induced a shift in the selection process, as the political profile of the (recently) nominated governors is more pronounced. Moreover, our research indicates an important leadership role for governors brought about through the complex interactions of formal and informal structures at the intermediate government level. Governors play their leadership role by focusing on partnerships as a means to achieve the goals of a particular public policy

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

**Subsection 9. Local government(s)**

**Premat Christophe**

**Les effets de l'institutionnalisation du référendum local en France et en Allemagne**  
**in Revue française de science politique**, Volume 58, Numéro 2, Avril

Il s'agit ici d'analyser le rôle du référendum local dans la transformation des systèmes de démocratie locale en France et en Allemagne. Selon son statut (consultatif ou décisionnel), le référendum pèse différemment sur le circuit temporel des décisions locales. Comparer un cas où le référendum est une simple demande d'avis (France) à un cas où le référendum est contraignant (Allemagne) permet ainsi de mesurer la façon dont les acteurs se saisissent de ce type de procédure et mettent sur l'agenda des autorités locales de nouveaux thèmes de préoccupation. L'article se propose d'étudier les résultats des référendums selon une variable objective (validité juridique, c'est-à-dire respect de la législation) et également selon une variable subjective (satisfaction du point de vue des initiateurs) afin de comprendre les motivations des acteurs ayant recours à cet instrument.

The effects of the local referendum's institutionalization in France and Germany



The article deals with the role of local referenda in the transformation of local democracy in France and Germany. Depending on its status (consultative or binding), the referendum has a different influence on the time process of local decisions. Comparing a weak case where it is merely consultative such as France with a strong case where it is binding like in Germany enlightens the way the actors see the procedure and set new topics on the agenda of local authorities. The article analyzes the results of local referenda with an objective variable (juridical validity according to the legislation) and also with a subjective variable (satisfaction of the initiators' point of view) in order to understand the goal of the actors who use this procedure.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Chandler James A.**

**Liberal Justifications for Local Government in Britain: The Triumph of Expediency over Ethics**  
in **Political Studies**, Volume 56, Issue 2, June , 355-373

It is shown in this article how theories justifying local government in Britain are largely based on the expedience of providing administrative efficiency or stable democracy for the central state rather than ethical grounds that justify local government as an independent entity in its own right. The article critically reviews the development of theories justifying local government within Britain and argues that it is possible on the basis of Mill's arguments within *On Liberty* to establish a strong ethical justification for local government. It is shown how Mill did not develop this line of thought but established substantive arguments concerning the value of local government for securing a stable liberal democracy and how successive mainstream theorists have modified but not substantially departed from this approach.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Guarneros-Meza Valeria**

**Local Governance in Mexico: The Cases of Two Historic-centre Partnerships**  
in **Urban Studies**, Volume 45, No. 5-6 , 1011-1035

This paper contends that the British understanding of governance as networks has travelled and discusses the extent to which it can be applied in the Mexican context. The paper comes at a time when Rod Rhodes, one of the first inventors of the concept, reflects on how governance is now understood after a decade of research, including its potential to be transferred beyond the British context. The paper begins by underlining the relevance of Mexico's political economy, with particular regard to the neo-liberal and democratic processes experienced over the past 25 years. The next section discusses the three main premises of governance (fragmentation, networks and self-government) and the way they have been questioned by two criticisms significant to this paper: the role of government as having a strong interventionist character and the threat posed by the classical concept of governance to democratic accountability.





These criticisms are relevant for understanding the Mexican reality and the implementation of governance through public—private partnerships. The third section develops the research fieldwork, arguing that the premises on fragmentation and networks are relevant to the Mexican case when considered within the context of the historic-centre regeneration partnerships of Querétaro and San Luis Potosí. In presenting the findings, the paper argues that the applicability of the concept reinforces the aforementioned criticisms, underlining their general relevance when used for comparative analysis.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Cai, Y.S.

**Local Governments and the Suppression of Popular Resistance in China**  
**in China Quarterly (The)**, Volume 193, March , 24-42

Local governments are responsible for dealing with many of the instances of resistance in China, and an important mode of response which they use is suppression. This article examines the rationale behind local governments' use of this mode of response. It shows that Chinese citizens who stage resistance are in a weak legal position because their actions often violate the law or government regulations. Given local governments' discretion in interpreting citizens' action, suppression becomes the option when concessions are difficult to make and citizen resistance threatens social stability, policy implementation or local officials' images. However, suppression has not stopped popular resistance, and it remains a channel through which citizens defend or pursue their legitimate rights in China.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Martiacutenez-Fuentes Guadalupe

**Local Political Leadership in Spain**

**in Local Government Studies**, Vol. 34, issue 2 , 267-278

While different European programmes to modernise local government have clearly shown that local political leadership needs to be reinforced, the procedures designed to work towards attaining such a goal are less clear. Addressing this general problem, this article focuses on how this is to be achieved in Spain. It examines the political leadership of mayors in the 'Big Cities' as well as the suitability of the mechanisms envisioned to strengthen this leadership within the framework of the programme of modernising Spanish local government

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Brunetti Leonardo

**Potere sostitutivo del difensore civico ex art. 136 T.u.e.l.: legittimo il suo esercizio (anche) nei confronti degli Statuti comunali**

**in Quaderni Regionali** , N. 3

No abstract available



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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Diez Thomas, Hayward Katy

**Reconfiguring Spaces of Conflict: Northern Ireland and the Impact of European Integration**

*in Space and Polity*, Volume 12, Number 1 / April , 47-62

The Irish border has historically been one of the most contested borders in Europe. In the context of the peace process and EU membership, co-operation between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland has been encouraged, supported and normalised, although internal borders of segregation stubbornly remain. This paper offers a conceptualisation of borders in conflict cases and a theoretical account of how European integration can affect their transformation. Analysis of the Northern Ireland case shows there are ambiguities within integration that allow for a 'rebordering' of identities at the same time as the state border diminishes in significance.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Wollmann Hellmut

**Reforming Local Leadership and Local Democracy: The Cases of England, Sweden, Germany and France in Comparative Perspective**

*in Local Government Studies*, Vol. 34, issue 2 , 279-298

In this article it is argued that with regard to characteristic features of the recent local government reform targeted at local leadership two country groups can be distinguished. On the one hand, the reforms in England and Sweden have critically focused on the traditional government by committee and its collective/collegial decision-making form. This was reformed into a 'de-collectivised', if not 'individualised' commission form, with England going furthest in concentrating the decision-making and 'executive' powers within the cabinet, while essentially restricting the elected council to a 'scrutinising' function. By contrast, Sweden, while also moving towards 'de-collectivising' and 'parliamentarising' local leadership, has basically held on to the traditional government by committee form.

On the other hand, in Continental European, Germany's local government reform has further accentuated the traditionally 'monocratic' local leadership through the direct election of the ('executive') mayor, thus moving towards a local 'presidential' leadership; yet, at the same time, it has provided for a 'tripolar' local power balance particularly by expanding direct democratic citizen rights (i.e. the recall of the mayor, a binding local referendum). France, however, has essentially retained the traditionally predominant 'monocratic' leadership position of the formally council-elected 'executive' mayor, with the council playing a largely mayor-dependent role

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

De Vries Michiel S.

**Stability despite Reforms: Structural Asymmetries in Dutch Local Policy Networks**

*in Local Government Studies*, Vol. 34, issue 2 , 221-243



This article addresses the development of local policy networks in the Netherlands in the period 1996-2005. It is argued that there is a surprising stability in such networks seen from the perspective of local policymakers. Those working inside city hall as politicians and as members of the local administration remain the core members of the inner circle in policy networks, while societal groups remain outsiders and political party groups are absent from local policy networks. This conclusion is based on three identical standardised surveys among local politicians and top administrators at the local level, which were conducted in 1996, 2000 and 2005. This outcome is surprising, because it is contrary to the high expectations arising from numerous institutional reforms taking place in this period, aimed, among other things, at diminishing the gap between citizens and policymakers; the numerous experiments in co-production, public-private partnerships, and interactive policy processes; and the widespread documentation and dissemination of the outcomes of such experiments. Possible explanations for the results are that the experiments, however successful they might have been, never had a structural follow-up, and that the structural reforms, no matter what they accomplished otherwise, did not achieve their goal in enhancing interactive policymaking because they overlooked the fact that local policymakers see the local political system as a representative democracy and not as a direct or participatory one. On that basis it is to be expected that support for policies by policymakers is mainly sought among influential actors who are elected or appointed to develop policies and whose interests have to be taken into account. The public and societal groups do not satisfy that criterion. They can and do seek support from policymakers but the latter are hardly inclined to seek support from them

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Romano Francesco

**Strumenti automatici per le Assemblée Legislative regionali: tra valutazione e partecipazione**

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Toscano Attilio

**Sulla revoca degli Assessori comunali e provinciali**

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Cadena Cecilia, Franco Sergio, Campos Héctor

**Territorialidad y política. El caso de la división del municipio de San Felipe del Progreso, Edomex**

in *Gestion y política publica*, Vol. 16, n. 2 , 421-464

La división de municipios en México responde formalmente al interés por hacer más equilibrado el desarrollo económico, político y social. Este artículo explora la relación de las motivaciones



oficiales para la división de un municipio del Estado de México, con otras de índole político que no son abiertamente expuestas. El análisis muestra la profundización de diferencias económicas y sociales, al tiempo que la homogeneización de la política electoral en dos territorios

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**Bergströmlm Tomas, Magnusson Haringkan, Ramberg Ulf**

**Through a Glass Darkly: Leadership Complexity in Swedish Local Government**

**in Local Government Studies**, Vol. 34, issue 2 , 203 - 220

New management ideas aim to change the roles of local government politicians and administrators. The new ideas are poorly adjusted to the traditional role of councillors that was built on detailed knowledge and active participation in administrative practice. Leadership has now become even more full of contradictions; many demands are hard to reconcile. But, if any managers are good at handling complexity, it should be those in the local government sector. This article discusses, based on experiences from Sweden, how the complex interface between politics and administration is, or could be, handled by a dialogue between central actors

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**Proietti Andrea**

**Un extraordinario ejemplo de resistencia y esperanza - Uno straordinario esempio di resistenza e speranza**

**in Quaderni Satyagraha**, n. 13 - "Sembrando Vida y Dignidad. Comunidad de Paz de San José de Apartadó: 10 años de resistencia noviolenta a la guerra , 12-17 93-98

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Santamaría Rubén Darío Pardo**

**Una lección de resistencia, dignidad y valentía - Una lezione di resistenza, dignità e coraggio**

**in Quaderni Satyagraha**, n. 13 - "Sembrando Vida y Dignidad. Comunidad de Paz de San José de Apartadó: 10 años de resistencia noviolenta a la guerra , 20-30 101-111

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

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**Painter Martin**

**From Command Economy to Hollow State? Decentralisation in Vietnam and China**

**in Australian Journal of Public Administration**, Volume 67, Number 1 , 79-88



In Vietnam and China, decentralisation is a by-product, both by default and design, of the transition to a state-managed market economy. A dual process of horizontal and vertical decentralisation is occurring simultaneously in both the economic and political arena. There is an increasingly high level of de facto political/fiscal decentralisation, much of it occurring by default as local governing units try to meet rising demand for services. This is accompanied by the marketisation and socialisation of services such as education and health. Accompanying both of these processes is a trend towards greater 'autonomisation' of service delivery units, including the emergence of new 'para-state' entities. Most of these decentralisation processes are the by-product of marketisation, rather than part of a process of deliberate state restructuring in pursuit of ideals of decentralised government. The cumulative effects include a significant fragmentation of the state, a high potential for informalisation and corruption, and a growing set of performance accountability problems in the delivery of public services.

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Fessha Yonatan, Kirkby Coel

**A Critical Survey of Subnational Autonomy in African States**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 38, Number 2, Spring , 248-271

This article examines the quiet yet pervasive transfer of power from central governments to subnational units in Africa since the early 1990s. Central governments have justified this trend by arguing it promotes one or more of three goods: democracy, development, and accommodating diversity. The authors survey six selected countries representing federal-unitary and regional differences to evaluate their degree of formal and substantive political, administrative, and financial autonomy. Transfer of powers to subnational units, the authors conclude, is a real and nearly universal trend. However, many central governments have clawed back this grant of power in numerous ways, which led to an informal recentralization of power. Moreover, central governments of federations have deliberately strengthened local government at the expense of regional autonomy.

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Bergmann, William H.

**A "Commercial View of This Unfortunate War": Economic Roots of an American National State in the Ohio Valley, 1775–1795**

in *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 6, n. 1, spring , 137-164

This article argues that the roots of an American national state were forged in the wars with Native Americans for control of the Ohio Valley between 1775 and 1795. It examines how the new national government's use of its fiscal-military powers shifted and accelerated an economic transformation in the region by encouraging commercial husbandry and merchant-based exchange. An expanded commercial economy, in turn, supported the federally funded military. The result was that local western economies and communities became more tightly bound to an expansionist national government.

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Rochtus Dirk

**Belgien vor dem Kollaps?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 8, 2008 , 6-12

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

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Jamart Annick

**Belgique, un séparatisme qui ne dit pas son nom ?**

in *Esprit*, n. 343, mars/avril 2008 , 183-210

Belgium: Is this separatism in all but name? Annick Jamart

For the past year or so, Belgium has been without a full-fledged government. Cobbling up a majority in Parliament is not the only challenge in a country that has experienced every possible combination between the socialist, liberal and conservative parties. The main logjam has to do with the perspective, or not, of further progress down the federal road, which could undermine the last few areas that so far had been kept out of the remits of regional or linguistic-based institutions.

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

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Parry Richard

**Changing UK Governance under Devolution**

in *Public Policy and Administration*, Volume 23, No. 1 , 114-120





The 2007 elections in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales resulted in nationalist ministers entering the devolved governments and holding out the prospect of new patterns of governance. The article examines some early initiatives, including moves towards a separate Scottish Civil Service, greater integration of the Scottish Executive, a pro-welfare state coalition in Wales, a Northern Ireland Executive reappraising moves to public sector reform under direct rule, and pressure for more formalized mechanisms of intergovernmental relations within the UK. As nationalist parties lack the political majority to take forward their constitutional aspirations, their main contribution to governance may come through developing an alternative centre-left perspective on traditional UK patterns.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Braathen Einar, Hellevik Sirin Bjerkreim**

**Decentralisation, Peace making, and Conflict Management: from Regionalism to Municipalism in Peace, Conflict and Development**, Volume 12, Issue 12, May , pp. 23

This article discusses and reviews the role of decentralisation in peace making and conflict management processes. In the paper, we argue that decentralisation as devolution plays an ambiguous role in such processes. In some cases, decentralisation may provide opportunities for peace and conflict management due to being an instrument of power sharing, while in other cases such sharing of power may ignite further conflict. Examples from armed conflicts in African countries are used to illustrate this ambiguity.

In order for decentralisation to lead to peace making and conflict management, we argue that an interdependent central-local relationship is crucial. Such a relationship entails that the state devolves powers and resources and at the same time ensures fiscal equity between local government areas and that local governments are accountable.

Moreover, we argue that there is a tendency in African countries which have been in processes of peace making and conflict management where decentralisation has been introduced that there is a move from regionalism to municipalism. This move is in some cases applied by central government authorities as a strategy of cooptation, because by transferring power to the local level, regional authorities are enforced to split and act at lower levels of government.

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*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Freitag Markus, Vatter Adrian**

**Decentralization and Fiscal Discipline in Sub-national Governments: Evidence from the Swiss Federal System in Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 38, Number 2, Spring , 272-294

This article analyses the relationship between decentralization and the extent of fiscal discipline in the Swiss cantons between 1984 and 2000. From a theoretical point of view, decentralization and federalism can be associated with both an expansive and a dampening effect on government debt. On the one hand, decentralized structures have been argued to lead to a reduction of debt due to inherent competition between the member states and the multitude of veto positions which restrict public intervention. On the other hand, decentralization has been claimed to contribute to an increase of public debt as it involves expensive functional and organizational duplications as well as cost-intensive, often



debt-financed, compromise solutions between a large number of actors that operate in an uncoordinated and contradictory way. Our empirical results show that in periods of prosperous economic development, the architecture of state structure has no impact on debt. However, the degree of decentralization influences debt in economically poor times: In phases of economic recession, administratively decentralized cantons implement a more economical budgetary policy than centralized Swiss member states.

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Ghai Yash

**Devolution: Restructuring the Kenyan State**

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 2, Issue 2, July , 211-226

This essay was originally presented as a lecture to the African Research and Resource Forum at the Kenya International Conference Centre, Nairobi, on 23 November 2007. The author has previously served as Chairperson of the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission, and Chair of the National Constitutional Conference, popularly known in Kenya as 'Bomas'. The essay surveys his thoughts on the status of the constitutional debate in Kenya as the election of December 2007 approached, in the midst of that campaign. The text has not been amended in any way in light of the electoral crisis and violence that has consumed Kenya since 29 December 2007, and so reflects a pre-crisis perspective.

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

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Bünthe Marco

**Dezentralisierung und Demokratie in Südostasien**

in **Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , 18. Jahrgang (2008), Heft 1 , 25-50

Decentralization and Democracy in Southeast Asia

This article analyzes the decentralization of state power in the “defective democracies” of Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand. These countries have undergone democratization and different degrees of decentralization in recent years, but have followed different trajectories. While the Philippines and Indonesia followed a big bang decentralization, Thailand has opted to decentralize in incremental stages. It is argued that democratization only succeeds if the main regime coalition supports the initiation and implementation of the process. In case of a lack of experience with decentralization and resistance on the part of the authoritarian regime coalition chances are slim that democratic decentralization will succeed. Although the rise of electoral democracy has enhanced political participation, political contestation is limited to old regime force which still occupy the political space at the local level.

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Wielenga Friso

**Die Benelux aus niederländischer Perspektive**



in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 8, 2008 , 13-19

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

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You-Ren Yang Daniel, Hung-Kai Wang

**Dilemmas of Local Governance under the Development Zone Fever in China: A Case Study of the Suzhou Region**

in *Urban Studies*, Volume 45, No. 5-6 , 1037-1054

This article aims to explore the mechanisms of the development zone fever in the Suzhou region, located in the fast-growing Yangtze River Delta, and investigates, from an institutional perspective, the practice of relevant intragovernmental governance in the context of rapid industrialisation since the 1990s. A specific mode of governance—the evaluative economic indicators scheme inherited from the earlier socialist planning system, combined with the party/state's promotion/evaluation system—plays an essential role in this transformation of farmland property rights. However, this model of development is not necessarily helpful for local financial conditions and it results in the displacement of peasants and the loss of land resources. Based on the resulting 'dilemmas of governance', it is argued that, in addition to the 'economic paradigm', which focuses on consequences of fiscal reforms and devolution, scholars should pay more attention to factors such as the party/state's promotion/evaluation system and the stress between the evaluative indicators system maintained by the central/local sectoral command and the territorial jurisdictions. This could be helpful in gaining a fuller understanding of the dynamics and tensions of local developments in China.

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

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Roberts Patrick S.

**Dispersed Federalism as a New Regional Governance for Homeland Security**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 38,n. 3, Summer - The State of American Federalism 2007–2008 , 416-443



State and local officials complain about their lack of involvement in disaster plans issued by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). Their complaints point to a common theme: the reorganization that produced the DHS complicated shared governance. States and localities carry out most of the work of homeland security, but the federal government's guidelines and grants shape much of what subnational governments do. This article offers an interpretation of the complaints of emergency management officials and a proposal for dispersing federal homeland security personnel and resources out of Washington, DC, to FEMA regions. Dispersing federal agencies to the regions they oversee offers an alternative to pure centralization and decentralization that combines the task and location specificity of major approaches to federalism.

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Chunli Xia

**From Discourse Politics to Rule of Law: A Constructivist Framework for Understanding Regional Ethnic Autonomy in China**

*in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 14, Number 4 , 399-424

This article is a macro study on China's regional ethnic autonomy (REA). Using a constructivist approach, it takes the evolution and development of REA as a process transforming from discourse politics to rule of law. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the minority groups, the international human rights advocacy network and the UN human rights mechanisms and other actors have participated in this process, and they use the strategies of promising, encouraging, shaming and mobilising. In this article, the process of REA transformation will be divided into five stages: self-entrapment, tightening-up, discursive-practices stage, regulative stage and practices-consistent stage. It is expected that in the final stage, genuine rule of law and well-institutionalised democracy will be established by which minority rights and their autonomous power could be fully respected, well protected and facilitated.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Rodríguez-Pose Andrés, Sandall Richard

**From identity to the economy: analysing the evolution of the decentralisation discourse**

*in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 26, Issue 1, February , 54-72

Few global phenomena have been as pervasive over the lifetime of Government and Policy as the drive towards decentralisation. The number of countries transferring authority and resources to subnational tiers of government has multiplied over the last twenty-five years. Yet the motives behind this trend remain relatively unknown. We explore these motives by analysing changes in the decentralisation discourse across a number of countries. We find that, while arguments about democracy and good governance have been at the heart of the reasoning for decentralisation, identity has progressively been relegated in favour of the economy and the promise of an economic dividend as the other main motivating factor. However, this shift from identity to the economy is highly contingent on who is driving the process. Despite noticeable shifts towards economic arguments in the discourse of nationalist and secessionist movements, identity remains strong in bottom-up discourses. In contrast, it has almost disappeared—if it ever existed—when the process of decentralisation is undertaken by the state or is encouraged by international organisations.

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Alegría Ciro

**Geschichte und Sittlichkeit in den postkolonialen Ländern**

in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 56. Jahrgang, Heft 2, 2008 , 261-275

The essay analyzes the historical development of former colonial states after the withdrawal of the colonial powers. The central term is Hegel's concept of 'Sittlichkeit'. Based on this concept, the author develops a model of the historical process that is characterized by the conflict between the demands of particular communities and those of the nation state. The author puts the model to the test by applying it to specific developments, for example in South America.

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Jorio Ettore

**Il contributo delle leggi finanziarie 2003-2008 all'attuazione del federalismo fiscale**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VI - Nr. 4

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

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Hollander Robyn

**John Howard, Economic Liberalism, Social Conservatism, and Australian Federalism**

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 54, Issue 1, March , 85-103

The Howard era saw a further accumulation of power in Canberra and continued the marginalisation of the States. This essay locates John Howard within Liberal Party tradition and examines the way in which his own values shaped his approach to federalism. Howard identified himself as an economic liberal and as a social conservative (although he might be better thought of as a social liberal.) His commitment to small government and a single market unimpeded by state borders together with his lack of sympathy with regional identity had important consequences for the evolution of the Australian federation after 1996.

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Gropi Tania

**L'évolution de la forme de l'état en Italie: un état régional sans âme**

in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, n 2 , 85-108

No abstract available

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

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Detais Julien

**La constitution de la Serbie-et-Monténégro. De l'unité au démembrement de la fédération**

in *Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger*, n. 1 , 211-232

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

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Poggi Annamaria

**La problematica attuazione del regionalismo differenziato**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VI - Nr. 1

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

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Balaguer Callejón Francisco

**La reforma del Estatuto de Autonomía de Andalucía en el contexto de la pluralidad de espacios constitucionales de dimensión europea**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VI - Nr. 4

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

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Koll Johannes

**Metropolregion Benelux-NRW?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 8, 2008 , 32-38

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

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González Lucas I.

**Political Power, Fiscal Crises, and Decentralization in Latin America: Federal Countries in Comparative Perspective (and some Contrasts with Unitary Cases)**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 38, Number 2, Spring , 211-247

What factors shape decentralization processes in Latin American federations? This work reviews and statistically analyzes current approaches on the topic, questions some claims of generality in their theoretical frameworks, and presents an argument to explain variation in decentralization processes across these federations. The main hypothesis is that the degree of decentralization (in fiscal and administrative terms) in Latin American federations has been shaped by the political power of the national executive and sub-national actors and the fiscal context in which they interact. The article presents statistical evidence (for federal and unitary countries between 1979 and 1998) to sustain some of the expectations in the argument and discusses some of its limitations.

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Greco Maria

**Procedura di attivazione dell'articolo 116, terzo comma, Cost. L'esperienza della Regione del Veneto**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VI - Nr. 3

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

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Elcock Howard

**Regional Futures and Strategic Planning**

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 77 - 92

Recent Government decisions and Opposition statements have called into question the future of the governing



institutions of the English regions. This raises two questions, the first of which is the strategic role of European regions and the need for it in EU member states. This question is addressed first through a discussion of the English regional government agencies' strategic planning roles and the development of similar regional strategic planning in other European Union member states. The second main issue is possible scenarios for the development of the English regions. These include further attempts to create elected regional assemblies, developing administrative regionalism, revising regional boundaries, developing city regions and abolishing most or all of the regional government institutions. The provisional conclusion is that such abolition would be a retrograde step that would reduce England's capacity to cope with domestic and European pressures.

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**Torre Alessandro**

**Regno Unito: il terzo voto della devolution in Scozia e in Galles**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1589-1598

No abstract available

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

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**Magnani Carlo**

**Sussidiarietà e Costituzione: pluralismo e diritti**

in *Teoria del diritto e dello stato*, n. 1-2-3 - 2006 , 473-490

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

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**Kramsch Olivier Thomas, Dimitrovova Bohdana**

**T.H. Marshall at the Limit: Hiding out in Maas-Rhein Euregio**

in *Space and Polity*, Volume 12, Number 1 / April , 31-46

The 1990s and early 2000s have witnessed a flourishing of cross-border institutional initiatives in Europe, most notably in the establishment of administrative cross-border regions (or euresions) along the dorsal spine of its former internal political borders. As self-confessed 'laboratories of European integration', they provide windows through which to observe the tensions inherent in the European project, in reconciling macroeconomic integration with the social and political goal of building an authentic transnational demos. Given the on-going problematic of democratic deficit in the euresions, this paper argues that, in order to grasp the stakes involved in creating new transborder regional governance structures in Europe today, one must shift from the political economic analysis pioneered by Alfred Marshall to theories of citizenship elaborated by T. H. Marshall. Reviewing the fraught experience of transboundary governance in the Maas-Rhein euresion, and drawing on T. H. Marshall's tripartite evolutionary schema of citizenship based on civic, political and social rights, the authors reflect on the limits of Marshall's conceptual enframing for understanding the dynamics of internal border regions which are increasingly assuming the exclusionary geopolitical logics of political



frontiers. Building on this critique, they propose the idea of the 'frontier political' as a widening horizon of social rights to replace that of a cross-border politics rooted in a priori civic or political rights. They conclude that such a repoliticised arena, defined by qualities of partial invisibility and 'hiddenness' exemplified by the stark constellation of migrant detention camps located at both the inner and outer borders of the EU, offers a chance to rename the problem of euregional citizenship from the perspective of its multiple constitutive outsides.

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Paasi Anssi, Prokkola Eeva-Kaisa

**Territorial Dynamics, Cross-border Work and Everyday Life in the Finnish-Swedish Border Area in Space and Polity**, Volume 12, Number 1 / April , 13-29

Borders have become increasingly complex and multifaceted in the contemporary world. In spite of accelerating globalisation, flows of refugees, efforts at lowering the internal borders within the EU and general statements on the disappearance of borders, the state-centric system of territories and their borders still channels, through inclusion and exclusion, the ways in which most human beings recognise national practices and in which their daily lives are patterned at both the individual and the institutional levels. This paper aims at contributing to the on-going debates on European regional dynamics and the shaping of territories and will look critically at the current roles of borders as objects of research. It analyses the history of the Finnish-Swedish border and the co-operation taking place there at present as a contextual example in order to look at whether national practices and meanings still structure the way in which this border is shaped in its new EU context. It will first scrutinise the historical roles of this border, which has been one of the EU internal borders since 1995, and will then look at how local people have led their daily lives in this context. The empirical observations show that, in spite of increasing interaction and co-operation, this national border still structures a certain regionalisation of everyday life and identities and provides a socio-spatial framework for organising and performing daily routines in a national context.

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Ihjas M.M.

**The Case for Asymmetric Power Devolution in Sri Lanka in Indian Journal of Federal Studies**, 17th Issue, 1/2008

No abstract available

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

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Laible Janet

**The Scottish Parliament and its Capacity for Redistributive Policy: The Case of Land Reform in Parliamentary Affairs** , Volume 61, Number 1, January , 160-184

The Redistributive Policy(Scotland) Act of 2003 demonstrated the capacity of the Scottish Parliament to promote economically redistributive policies by regulating land markets. However, the factors contributing to land reform suggest



that it is more likely the consequence of unique political contexts than an indicator of sustained radicalism in the Parliament. Initially, institutional sponsorship by Westminster and Whitehall legitimised land reform as a legislative project. Subsequently, a cross-party consensus in Scotland linked land reform with democratisation, the issue resonated with Scottish Executive goals regarding sustainable development and the existence of funding streams for land purchases initially shielded the Executive from difficult budgetary questions.

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Dinan John

**The State of American Federalism 2007–2008: Resurgent State Influence in the National Policy Process and Continued State Policy Innovation**

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 38,n. 3, Summer - The State of American Federalism 2007–2008 , 381-415

States played a prominent role in policy-making in 2007–2008 in several respects. States were more successful in securing relief from federal directives regarding the National Guard, homeland security, education, and welfare than in any prior year in the Bush presidency; they were unable to fend off several new mandates, however, particularly concerning the State Children's Health Insurance Program. States also continued to be the primary innovators in areas such as immigration, environmental protection, and health care, although they encountered new constraints in the form of federal court challenges and agency rulings. The Supreme Court made no notable contributions to the post-1992 decisions that initially curbed and recently deferred to federal power; however, several rulings interpreting federal statutes and reviewing state acts had important federalism implications.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Louise Beaudoin.

**Un projet toujours vivant : la souveraineté**

in **Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Février

Lors des dernières élections législatives au Québec, au printemps 2007, le Parti québécois (PQ) a subi une grave défaite, n'obtenant qu'un peu moins de 30 % des voix et devenant le deuxième parti d'opposition à l'Assemblée nationale. Faut-il en conclure que le grand débat qui agite la province depuis quarante ans à propos de son avenir politique est clos ? Un regard attentif sur la situation québécoise permet au contraire de croire que ce débat est seulement suspendu pour un temps, et qu'il reviendra rapidement à l'avant-scène.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2008/02/BEAUDOIN/15651>

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Bae-Gyoon Park

**Uneven Development, Inter-scalar Tensions, and the Politics of Decentralization in South Korea**  
in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 32 Issue 1 , 40-59

In this article, I examine how the spatiality of the state and its associated territorial politics can have an impact on the spatial and scalar restructuring of the state. Building on recent theoretical developments on state space, this article examines how territorial politics can be organized under the particular spatiality of the state, and how that particular form of territorial politics can have an impact on the future restructuring of state spatiality. In particular, by focusing on the spatial processes of state restructuring in South Korea, I will attempt to conceptualize the ways in which the spatiality of top-down regulatory processes led by the state can generate inter-scalar tensions between the national and the local; this, in turn, results in the downward rescaling of the state. More specifically, the empirical focus is on how the processes of decentralization in South Korea have been shaped by the influences of various kinds of territorial politics (for example, inter-scalar tensions between the national and the local, territorialized party politics, etc.) that occur within the context of uneven regional development stemming from the spatial selectivity of state regulation.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Daly, Brooks W.

**The Permanent Court of Arbitration in Indian Treaties: Its Role, Potential Procedural Problems, and Drafting Solutions**

in *Indian Journal of International Law*, volume 47, issue 3 , 359-376

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Daes Erica-Irene A.

**An overview of the history of indigenous peoples: self-determination and the United Nations**  
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 21, n. 1, March , 7-26

This paper reflects on the entire consultation and drafting process that resulted in the recent proclamation of the United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIP) UN General Assembly (GA) resolution 61/295. It discusses the problems the drafters of the declaration faced, including those concerning the definition of the terms 'indigenous' and 'peoples'. It also reviews the formal positions of all the parties concerned in an attempt to explain the new meaning of indigenous peoples' right to self-determination, which was one of the main stumbling blocks of the declaration. It is the conviction of this author (hereinafter UN Chairperson-Rapporteur) that the right to self-determination, as contained in Article 3 of the above-mentioned resolution 61/295, should be duly implemented by all concerned for the benefit of the states, indigenous peoples and the global community as a whole.

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



*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Roos Ulrich, Franke Ulrich, Hellmann Günther

**Beyond the Deadlock: How Europe Can Contribute to UN Reform**  
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIII, n. 1, January-March

Ever since it started in the early 1990s, the latest debate on United Nations Security Council reform has divided EU member states. This division has created a huge stumbling block for progress. It has also hampered the deepening of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. This article discusses recent developments in both the UN and the EU. In particular, it sketches out how the EU can become a key power broker by reconciling the conflicting Italian and German positions towards a common European UN policy. The creation of semi-permanent SC seats seems to be the most promising solution in the short term. Moreover, such an interim approach also promises to achieve a single EU seat in the long run.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Goldstone Richard, Hamilton Rebecca J.

**Bosnia v. Serbia: Lessons from the Encounter of the International Court of Justice with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia**  
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 21, Issue 01, March , 95-112

This article uses the recent judgment of the ICJ in *Bosnia v. Serbia* to highlight the potential problems that arise when international courts have to adjudicate on overlapping situations. It describes the dispute between the ICJ and the ICTY on the appropriate legal standard for the attribution of state responsibility, and finds that the ICJ's approach in this case suggests that those keen to minimize the fragmentation of international law between adjudicative bodies should not overlook the need for consistency within those bodies. With regard to fact finding, this article raises serious concerns about the manner in which the ICJ relied on the ICTY's work. The decision of the ICJ not to demand crucial documents from Serbia is discussed and criticized. Based on its approach to fact finding in this case, doubts are raised as to whether the ICJ will ever hold a state responsible for genocide outside the parameters of the prior criminal convictions of individual perpetrators.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Jockel Joseph T., Sokolsky Joel J.

**Canada and the war in Afghanistan: NATO's odd man out steps forward**  
in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , vol. 6, n. 1, special issue , 100-115

At the Cold War's close, Canada was NATO's 'odd man out', contributing relatively little to western defence. Today, Canada is the third-largest contributor of combat forces to NATO's efforts in Afghanistan. Canada got into Afghanistan partly as an alternative to getting into Iraq. But fighting the Taliban also serves the Canadian national interest in combating terrorism and has dovetailed well with recent efforts to 'transform' the Canadian military and use it more





effectively in overseas development efforts. However, the Canadian commitment to Afghanistan beyond the current February 2009 deadline is in doubt. Public support for the combat dimension of the Afghanistan operations remains weak.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Schott Jared

**Chapter VII as Exception: Security Council Action and the Regulative Ideal of Emergency**  
in *Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights*, issue 1, vol. 6, fall

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Darbouche Hakim, Zoubir Yahia H.

**Conflicting International Policies and the Western Sahara Stalemate**  
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIII, n. 1, January-March

The Western Sahara conflict is a 32-year old case of decolonisation that has been on the UN Security Council's agenda since 1991. Despite the straightforwardness of the stalemate in terms of international legality, the UN has been unable to implement its own provisions on the issue. The UN's failure is due to the contradictions arising from the interaction throughout the conflict between international law and geopolitics. Morocco's supporters in the UNSC have not only allowed it to systematically violate international law but have encouraged Morocco to formalise its irredentism through its "Autonomy Initiative". This behaviour is perilous not only for the stability of the Maghreb but for the UN system as well.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Elliesie Hatem

**Die Darfur-Krise im Sudan und das Völkerrecht: Eine Herausforderung für die Vereinten Nationen (UN) und den Internationalen Strafgerichtshof (ICC)**  
in *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee*, issue 2, vol. 40, 199-229

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Wegter Bartjan

**Emerging from the Crib: The Difficult First Steps of the Newly Born UN Peacebuilding Commission**  
in *International Organizations Law Review*, n. 2, vol. 4, 343-355



No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Salleo Ferdinando, Pirozzi Nicoletta

**Italy and the United Nations Security Council**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIII, n. 2, April-June

Responding to the increasing inadequacy of the UN and especially the Security Council (SC) in dealing with today's challenges and threats, Italy has actively taken part in the reform debate. Since the 1993 Memorandum and through the experience of the Coffee Club in the 1990s, the United for Consensus movement initiated in 2004 and its current mandate as non-permanent member of the SC for the 2007-08 period, Italy has campaigned against any increase in the number of individual permanent seats, which it feels would undermine its role and be an obstacle to a genuine European approach to SC issues. Yet, given the difficulties of SC reform, Italy cannot afford to limit itself to a merely obstructionist policy, which could prove sterile in the long run. Italy must promote and implement concrete initiatives that have the potential to re-establish the body's authority and relaunch multilateral dynamics at the international level, while reaffirming its own importance in the global arena.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Blanc Altemir Antonio , Real Bénédicte

**La réforme du Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies : quelle structure et quels membres?**

in *Revue générale de droit international public*, Vol. 110, n.4 , 801-825

La cuestión de la ampliación del Consejo de Seguridad, en un primer momento analizada en el seno de un Grupo de Trabajo creado al efecto, ha sido incluida en dos documentos esenciales en la dinámica de reforma de las Naciones Unidas, planteando dos interrogantes. En primer lugar, ninguna de las propuestas de reforma relativa a la creación de nuevos asientos que podría modificar tanto la estructura del Consejo como su número total de miembros, ha sido aceptada por la totalidad de los miembros permanentes, lo que es imprescindible para llevar a cabo cualquiera de ellas. A esta dificultad, se debe añadir las creadas por la cuestión del derecho de veto, en la que, también los Estados discrepan. En segundo lugar, cuando se trata del posible aumento de la categoría de miembros permanentes surgen dos dificultades : cuáles podrán ser los criterios de selección de los nuevos miembros y cuáles son los Estados candidatos. Muchos interrogantes pendientes que hacen dudar de la posibilidad real de lograr una ampliación del Consejo de Seguridad en el momento actual

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Bore Eveno Valérie

**Le contrôle juridictionnel des résolutions du Conseil de sécurité : vers un constitutionnalisme international?**

in *Revue générale de droit international public*, Vol. 110, n.4 , 827-860



No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Thouvenin Jean-Marc

**Le positions européennes a l'égard du projet de réforme des Nations Unies**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 513, décembre , 665-672

To have an impact, the UNO should adjust to its time in order to support or even cause changes or transformations of the framework of international relationship required by the emergence of international society's new needs. The United Nations reform plan carried by the previous secretary general since the turn of the century was therefore a requirement. Even if the 2005 World Summit was the strongest political moment of the thus engaged process, the changes it intends to prompt trigger a background movement in the international community, in which the Europeans will not be inert. They probably have a role to play, beliefs and a doctrine to be asserted, a message to carry. Which ones? This article attempts to describe their stances as to the United Nations Reform.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Abdessemed Abderrachid

**Le principe de double degré de juridiction et le juridictions pénales internationales**

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, n. 74

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Robertis Antongiulio de'

**Nazioni Unite, sicurezza collettiva e democrazia internazionale. I progetti di ricostruzione dell'ordine internazionale (1942-1943)**

in *Nuova Storia Contemporanea*, anno XII, n. 2, marzo-aprile , 33-72

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Burke-White William W.

**Proactive Complementarity: The International Criminal Court and National Courts in the Rome System of International Justice**

in *Harvard International Law Journal*, Volume 49, Issue 1 (Winter 2008)



When the International Criminal Court (“ICC” or “Court”) was established in 2002, states, nongovernmental organizations (“NGOs”), and the international community had extraordinarily high expectations that the Court would bring an end to impunity and provide broad-based accountability for international crimes. Nearly five years later, those expectations remain largely unfulfilled due to political constraints, resource limitations, and the limited ability of the ICC to apprehend suspects. This article offers a novel solution to the misalignment between the Court’s limited resources and legal mandate on the one hand and the lofty expectations for it on the other, arguing that the Court must engage more actively with national governments and must encourage states to undertake their own prosecutions of international crimes. It advocates a shift in the ICC’s role through a policy of “proactive complementarity,” whereby the Court would encourage and at times assist states in undertaking domestic prosecutions of international crimes. The article examines the legal mandate for such a policy, considers the political constraints on the Court, offers a practical framework for the implementation of proactive complementarity in the range of circumstances the ICC is likely to face, and documents examples of proactive complementarity in the ICC’s initial operations. Overall, the article argues that encouraging national prosecutions within the “Rome System of Justice” and shifting burdens back to national governments offer the best and perhaps the only ways for the ICC to meet its mandate and help end impunity.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Sambanis Nicholas**

**Short- and Long-Term Effects of United Nations Peace Operations**  
in *World Bank Economic Review (The)*, Volume 22, Number 1, 2008

In an earlier study Doyle and Sambanis (2000) [Doyle, Michael W., and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 94(4):779–801.] showed that United Nations (UN) peace operations have made positive contributions to peacebuilding in the short term, helping parties implement peace agreements. But are the effects of UN peace operations lasting? Because the UN cannot fight wars, such operations should not be used to enforce a peace. Peacekeeping operations contribute more to the quality of the peace—that is, to securing more than the mere absence of war—than to its duration, because the effects of such operations dissipate over time. For peace to be self-sustaining, countries must develop institutions and policies that generate economic growth. UN peacebuilding lacks a strategy for fostering self-sustaining economic growth that could connect increased participation with sustainable peace. The international community would benefit from an evolution that uses economic reforms to plug the gap between peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance on the one hand and development on the other.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Dubow Saul**

**Smuts, the United Nations and the Rhetoric of Race and Rights**  
in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 43, No. 1, January , 45-74



No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Cullen Anthony**

**The Definition of Non-International Armed Conflict in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court: An Analysis of the Threshold of Application Contained in Article 8(2)(f)**

in **Journal of Conflict and Security Law**, Volume 12, Number 3, Winter , 419-445

This article puts forward an argument for a particular approach to the interpretation of the definition of non-international armed conflict in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Focusing on the meaning of Article 8(2)(f), it is contended that this provision possesses a threshold of an application equivalent to that of Article 3 common to the four Geneva Conventions of 1949. In supporting this position, the first half of the article analyses the travaux préparatoires of the Rome Statute. Here relevant clauses relating to non-international armed conflict are analysed in order to highlight the threshold of application intended by their drafters. Following on from the travaux préparatoires of the Rome Statute, the second half of the article puts forward an interpretation of the threshold contained in Article 8(2)(f) as one applicable to all situations of non-international armed conflict subject to the court's jurisdiction. Drawing, among other things, on the conventional usage of the term 'armed conflict not of an international character' and the customary status of non-international armed conflict provisions in the Rome Statute, an argument is advanced for an understanding of the threshold contained in Article 8(2)(f) as the one identical to that of common Article 3.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Hassel Anke**

**The Evolution of a Global Labor Governance Regime**

in **Governance**, Vol. 21, n. 1, January , 231-251

During the last decade, the approach by businesses and governments toward labor and social issues at the global level has fundamentally changed. Industrial relations are rapidly internationalizing by developing new actors and forms of governance to deal with the regulation of labor. This article looks at the evolution of self-regulatory standards in the global labor governance debate. Key is that notwithstanding problems with the lacking legal framework of global regulation and enforceability, patterns of local self-regulation, norm-setting, and international codes lead not only to higher expectations of the behavior of transnationally operating firms but also to an indirect pattern of regulation. The article argues that particularly the adoption of the core labor standards by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the setup of the Global Compact by the UN serve as points of convergence. A plethora of voluntarist initiatives that converge over time toward a shared understanding of labor standards is part of the transformation of global labor governance institutions.



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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Oosthoek Jan

**The IPCC and the Ozone Hole: A Warning from History**

in **Globalizations** , Volume 5, Issue 1, March 2008 , 63-66

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

McLaughlin Rob

**The Legal Regime Applicable to Use of Lethal Force When Operating under a United Nations Security Council Chapter VII Mandate Authorising 'All Necessary Means'**

in **Journal of Conflict and Security Law**, Volume 12, Number 3, Winter , 389-417

This article examines the issue of authorisation to use of lethal force under a UN Security Council Chapter VII 'all necessary means' resolution. Because UN-mandated or endorsed forces are regularly confronted by complex operational environments of mixed—often ambiguous—legal nature, it is essential that both the international and domestic legal implications and consequences of the use of lethal force are considered when planning and executing such operations. This is important for a number of reasons—not least among them being the legal protections and certainties that individual UN force members are entitled to expect are correctly reflected in their Rules of Engagement (RoE). Through an examination of the scope of SC Chapter VII powers generally—with particular emphasis on the human rights and IHL dimensions of the use of lethal force—the analysis arrives at the conclusion that there are two 'use of force paradigms' governing UN Chapter VII 'all necessary means' mandates. The first is the 'law enforcement' paradigm, which essentially countenances the use of lethal force within the limitations of self-defence. The second is the 'armed conflict' paradigm, where use of lethal force is permitted in wider circumstances. From this point, the article examines which paradigm is at play in a number of specific SC Chapter VII 'all necessary means' mandates, noting that the default position appears to be the law enforcement paradigm. The analysis then concludes by arguing that, for individual UN force members, the consequences and implications of this characterisation are ultimately a domestic legal issue, using one particular domestic legal jurisdiction—Australia—as an example.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Miller Calum

**The Mitigation of Climate Change: Findings of IPCC Working Group III**

in **Globalizations** , Volume 5, Issue 1, March 2008 , 53-55

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Croissant Aurel





**The Perils and Promises of Democratization through United Nations Transitional Authority - Lessons from Cambodia and East Timor**  
in *Democratization*, Vol. 15, n. 3, June , 649-668

This article compares democratization under the aegis of the United Nations in Cambodia and East Timor. The analysis points to the inherent contradictions and problems of democratization in post-conflict situations and discusses the difficult issue of timing. It draws four generalized conclusions about democratization through international interim governments in post-conflict societies. First, UN-led interim governments can provide a solution to the problems of civil strife, insecurity, and political instability in disrupted states. Second, democratization through international interim governments in civil-war countries can be successful if the transitional authority is able to maintain a stable 'hurting balance of power' and to guarantee the parties' compliance with democratic procedures. Third, international interim regimes like UNTAC are designed on the premise that reconciliation among the domestic parties is possible. If the premise turns out to be inaccurate, the very foundation of the peace process is challenged and it will be almost impossible successfully to adjust the interim government's institutional structure. Fourth, the cases of Cambodia and East Timor demonstrate that democratization must be embedded in a comprehensive agenda of political, social, and economic methods of peace-building. If interim governments end before the roots of democracy are deep enough and before democratic institutions are strong enough to stand alone, then the entire endeavour may fail.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Tejan-Cole Abdul

**The Special Court for Sierra Leone: Conceptual concerns and alternatives**  
in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, n. 2, vol. 7

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Husain Aiyaz

**The United States and the Failure of UN Collective Security: Palestine, Kashmir, and Indonesia, 1947-1948**  
in *American journal of international law*, Vol. 101, n.3 , 581-598

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Omar Sidi M.

**The right to self-determination and the indigenous people of Western Sahara**  
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 21, n. 1, March , 41-57

This paper discusses the right to self-determination of the indigenous people of Western Sahara. It studies their post-colonial struggle for self-determination, which has been denied owing to Morocco's occupation and forcible



annexation of their territory in 1975. It also looks into the process by which the right of the Sahrawi people to self-determination has been institutionalized within the United Nations (UN) system as well as the ongoing UN peace efforts to implement this right and the prospects to which they may lead. Overall, the paper seeks to demonstrate that the continuation of the conflict in Western Sahara is a strong reminder of an enduring violation of a fundamental norm of international law, and the responsibility of the UN and the international community as a whole to redress this aberrant situation.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Matthews Max W.

**Tracking the emergence of a new international norm: the responsibility to protect and the crisis in Darfur**  
in *Boston College International and Comparative Law Review*, vol. 31, issue 1 , 137-152

Since 2005 both the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council have expressed for the first time a clear acceptance of the existence of a responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crime, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. Though scholars have since debated the legal status of this responsibility, commonly referred to as R2P, it is most accurately described as a declaratory principle rather than a binding rule of international law. Still, recent resolutions by the Security Council, particularly those in reaction to the ongoing atrocities in Darfur, Sudan, explicitly invoke R2P while calling for protective actions in accordance with the principle. If the Security continues to implement R2P, the principle may crystallize into a binding norm of international law in the foreseeable future

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Blum Yehuda Z.

**Was Yugoslavia a Member of the United Nations in the Years 1992-2000?**  
in *American journal of international law*, Vol. 101, n.4 , 800-818

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Glasser Robert

**Why we need to look hard at the NGOs' flaws**  
in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

No one could deny that the mushrooming NGO sector does good work in providing on-the-ground humanitarian relief. But Robert Glasser, Secretary General of CARE International, says that evaluations of their effectiveness "have been patchy at best".

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Alessandri Emiliano

**World Order Re-founded: The Idea of a Concert of Democracies  
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIII, n. 1, January-March**

The idea of a "Concert of Democracies" acting as a sort of new international "directorate" if the UN Security Council is stalled has engendered great controversy lately in the international public debate. Some top-ranking political leaders, such as US presidential candidate John McCain, have endorsed a similar plan. Others have instead voiced the concern that the creation of such a new institution would lead to the dismantling of the UN system altogether and would engender more problems than it would solve. The article highlights the terms of the debate that is developing around this proposal, but also provides a historical and intellectual background to allow for a better understanding of its genesis, rationale and chances of success.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

French Duncan

**"From Seoul with love" - The continuing relevance of the 1986 Seoul ILA Declaration on progressive development of principles of public International law relating to a new International Economic order  
in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 55, Issue 1 , 3-32**

The attempt to establish a New International Economic Order (NIEO) during the 1970s was an acrimonious period in international diplomacy and quite clearly failed, in retrospect, to achieve anything like the substantive change envisaged. This article considers one non-governmental attempt to move the debate forward, the 1986 International Law Association (ILA) Declaration on Progressive Development of Principles of Public International Law relating to a New International Economic Order. The article revisits the 1986 Seoul Declaration and considers to what extent its principles of international law remain valid for an economic system that has changed dramatically over the last twenty years. The article concludes that not only is the Seoul Declaration remarkably apposite to the current situation, but it has been re-energised by the emergence of the notion of sustainable development, itself a major topic within the International Law Association. In that sense, the Seoul principles – as now supplemented by the 2002 ILA New Delhi Declaration of Principles of International Law relating to Sustainable Development – remain foundational not only to the functioning of an equitable economic system but also, in the light of changing expectations, a sustainable international community, more generally.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Boisson de Chazournes Laurence

**A propos du principe du soutien mutuel. Les relations entre le Protocole de Cartagena et les Accords de l'OMC  
in *Revue générale de droit international public*, Vol. 111, n. 4 , 829-862**

No abstract available



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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Crosby Daniel C.

**Banking on China's WTO Commitments: 'Same Bed, Different Dreams' in China's Financial Services Sector**  
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 11, Number 1 , 75-105

Foreign banks and the Chinese Government have different dreams about the business opportunities and obligations that arise under China's World Trade Organization (WTO) commitments on financial services. This article provides an overview of China's banking sector reforms and its gradual opening to foreign participation in the context of General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) rules governing international trade in financial services and the obligations that apply since China's WTO accession in December 2001. The article highlights the contradictory interpretations that China and other Members have issued regarding China's GATS commitments and provides a framework for assessing the WTO consistency of China's banking measures. An analysis is conducted under this framework to evaluate whether China has fully implemented its GATS commitments on (i) the acquisition of Chinese banks by foreign financial institutions, (ii) legitimate 'prudential regulation' in the banking sector, and (iii) full market access for credit card and electronic payment services. Notwithstanding the apparent complexity of GATS rules, the article concludes that the WTO legal framework supports the case for increased access to China's financial services market consistent with its GATS commitments, and fully consistent with China's plans for continuing domestic growth and its medium-term financial services export interests

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Gazzini Tarcisio

**Can Authoritative Interpretation Under Article IX:2 Of The Agreement Establishing The Wto Modify The Rights And Obligations Of Members?**  
in *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* , Volume 57, Issue 01, January , 169-181

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Bown Chad P., Hoekman Bernard M.

**Developing Countries and Enforcement of Trade Agreements: Why Dispute Settlement is Not Enough**  
in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 42 Issue 1 , 177-203

Poor countries are rarely challenged in formal World Trade Organization (WTO) trade disputes for failing to live up to commitments, reducing the benefits of their participation in international trade agreements. This article examines the



political-economic causes of the failure to challenge poor countries and discusses the static and dynamic costs and externality implications of this failure. Given the weak incentives to enforce WTO rules and disciplines against small and poor Members, bolstering the transparency function of the WTO is important to make trade agreements more relevant to trade constituencies in developing countries. While our focus is on the WTO system, our arguments also apply to reciprocal North–South trade agreements.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Lamy Pascal

**El lugar y la función (del Derecho) de la Organización Mundial del Comercio en el orden jurídico internacional**  
in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional*, Vol. 59, n 1 , 11-27

No abstract available

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

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Ye F.J.

**Financial Opening and Financial Security**

in *China: an International Journal*, Volume 5 Issue 2 September , 559-587

Since the onset of globalization in the 1980s, ever-greater numbers of countries have joined in the tidal wave of financial opening. But the costs and benefits of taking this step vary enormously. Certain countries greatly enhance their financial strength by attracting international capital of a magnitude sufficient to remedy financial deficits and redress unfavourable trade balances. Others experience serious crises, their economic security beholden to the constant challenge of international capital flow. Why should experiences of financial opening vary to such a great extent? And why do foreign-invested financial institutions (hereafter: foreign financial institutions) have such a low market share and so little influence within the vast majority of developed financial markets?

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Ahn Dukgeun

**Foe or Friend of GATT Article XXIV: Diversity in Trade Remedy Rules**

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 11, Number 1 , 107-133

While the WTO Member countries continue to increase their FTA arrangements with divergent frameworks, they have begun to adopt modified WTO trade remedy systems in FTAs. Although the content and degree of these modified systems may not be significant yet, they still set very important precedents, or 'seeds', for 'rule diversification' in the world trading system. Such modification typically aims to further liberalize mutual trade between FTA parties and thereby contribute to a freer world trading system. However, such rule diversification appears to be inconsistent with the mandate of Article XXIV of GATT by worsening economically inferior trade diversion. The reinterpretation of the legal obligations in Article XXIV commensurate with economically more reasonable structures implies that trade remedy rules in FTAs should be applied on a non-discriminatory basis. Moreover, an FTA safeguard measure must precede a WTO



safeguard measure to ensure optimal competitive conditions among trading partners. In sum, the right channel for improving the current WTO trade remedy systems is not the FTA forums but the WTO negotiation.

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Hammouda Hakim Ben, Osakwe Patrick N.

**Global Trade Models and Economic Policy Analyses: Relevance, Risks and Repercussions for Africa in Development Policy Review** , Volume 26 Issue 2 , 151–170

Computable general equilibrium models are widely used for trade policy analyses and recommendations. There is, however, increasing discomfort with the use of these models, especially in Africa. This article demonstrates that the results of several such studies of the impact of trade reforms in Africa differ drastically in terms of both magnitude and direction, failing to take account of key features of African economies. It also outlines potential consequences of the misuse of CGE models for policy evaluation and suggests pitfalls to be avoided.

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Garcia Thierry , Chaumont Anne-Claire

**Le processus d'accession à l'Organisation mondiale du commerce (OMC) : logique relationnelle contre logique institutionnelle?**

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 111, n. 3 , 659-674

No abstract available

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Plutino Guido

**L'attività e la missione della BEI e della BERS**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 158 , 372-378

No abstract available

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DiMascio Nicholas; Pauwelyn Joost

**Non-discrimination in Trade and Investment Treaties: Worlds Apart or Two Sides of the Same Coin?**

in *American journal of international law*, Vol. 102, n.1 , 48-89

No abstract available

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**Bronckers Marco**

**Private Appeals to WTO Law: An Update**

in **Journal of World Trade**, Volume 42 Issue 2 , 245-260

At first glance there seem to be few opportunities for private parties to raise objections to government regulation based on World Trade Organization (WTO) law. The WTO still appears to be largely a forum for governments to negotiate or litigate. In fact, there are various ways in which private parties can invite governments to engage with their WTO law obligations, and these are surveyed in this article. First, I illustrate the immediate obstacles facing private parties that want to challenge a government measure on the basis of WTO law. I then take a closer look and discuss different means for private parties to appeal to WTO law, today or perhaps in the not too distant future. There have been several recent developments that suggest that such private complaints should be taken more seriously. This discussion covers the position of private parties before the WTO, before their own government and before domestic courts. To the extent I refer to experiences drawn from a domestic context I will mostly refer to European law, though I have occasion also to mention precedents from US law and Chinese law.

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**Klimenko Mikhail, Ramey Garey, Watson Joel**

**Recurrent trade agreements and the value of external enforcement**

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 74, Issue 2, March 2008

This paper presents a theory of dynamic trade agreements in which external institutions, such as the WTO, play a central role in supporting credible enforcement. In our model, countries engage in ongoing negotiations, and, as a consequence, cooperative agreements become unsustainable in the absence of external enforcement institutions. By using mechanisms such as delays in dispute resolution and direct penalties, enforcement institutions can restore incentives for cooperation, despite the lack of coercive power. The occurrence of costly trade disputes, and the feasibility of mechanisms such as escape clauses, depend on the degree to which enforcement institutions can verify, and condition on, events that may lead to trade disputes.

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**Van Damme Isabelle**

**Seventh Annual WTO Conference: an Overview**

in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 11, Number 1 , 155-165

The Seventh Annual WTO Conference, held on 22–23 May 2007 and co-organized by the Institute of International Economic Law ('IIEL') and the British Institute of International and Comparative Law ('BIICL'), offered a platform for trade scholars, practitioners and diplomats to debate systemic issues relating to WTO dispute settlement and the integration of trade regulation within the broader global regulatory framework.<sup>1</sup> The Annual WTO Conference has become an established annual meeting point for discussing current developments in WTO dispute settlement and equally for reflecting on the system's future directions. The first day of the Conference featured panels on the EC –



Biotech Products report of the Dispute Settlement Body ('DSB'), the role of precedent, compliance and remedies and finally the (lack of) interaction between dispute resolution under the WTO and preferential or free trade agreements ('FTAs'). The second day prompted a different type of discussion about alternative ways of conceptualizing the international trading system. Themes such as global administrative law, constitutionalism, global economic regulation and the proliferation of international dispute settlement fora offered panellists the opportunity to expand the current framework in which WTO law is commonly analysed.

This article presents an overview of the panel presentations and ensuing discussion during the two-day conference.

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**Zambelli Mirko**

**Some remarks on the nature of the functioning of the WTO Dispute Settlement System**

in *Revue de Droit international de sciences diplomatiques et politiques* , Volume 85 / No 3 - Septembre-décembre

No abstract available

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**Sacerdoti Giorgio**

**Structure et fonction du système de règlement des différends de l'OMC: les enseignements des dix premières années**

in *Revue générale de droit international public*, Vol. 110, n.4 , 769-800

El sistema de arreglo de diferencias de la OMC presenta una serie de innovaciones dentro de los modelos de justicia internacional existentes que justifica un análisis de sus particularidades, así como una comparación con los otros ejemplos en el marco de la «judicialización» del Derecho Internacional. Al mismo tiempo, el sistema de arreglo de diferencias constituye un elemento clave de la OMC: representa el brazo judicial que complementa al proceso de negociación intergubernamental y a las limitadas competencias confiadas a la Organización. A la luz de los primeros 10 años de práctica, el autor pasa revista, gracias a su background académico y a su experiencia como miembro del órgano de apelaciones de la OMC hasta 2001, las fortalezas y debilidades del sistema, su papel en la labor de legitimación de la Organización y su contribución al desarrollo del Derecho Internacional, sus instituciones judiciales y sus mecanismos. El autor identifica en la función de arreglo de diferencias un instrumento para reforzar la legitimidad de la OMC. La aplicación de sus reglas en los derechos internos es criticada desde ciertos sectores como una indebida interferencia en la soberanía de los parlamentos nacionales que encuentran constreñidas sus propias competencias en la regulación de importantes aspectos de la vida diaria, como la salud o la alimentación. Dichas limitaciones derivan de los propios Acuerdos de la OMC, que han sido aceptados por todos los Estados Miembros. No son una imposición de la Organización. El derecho de los Estados de litigar acerca de su interpretación y aplicación ante los órganos de la OMC, y de recibir una autorizada e independiente declaración constituye un factor de seguridad para los Estados, a la vez que asegura que sus derechos serán respetados y hechos respetar. Respecto del funcionamiento del sistema, el autor considera que una de sus más importantes características es la combinación de una fase judicial (en realidad, no es ese su nombre), donde la función del órgano de apelación es esencial, con la posterior fase de ejecución. Ambas fases aseguran el cumplimiento de las obligaciones, añadiendo, además, un peso político a su ejecución. De hecho, el



resultado final es una decisión de una Organización que el Estado Miembro debe cumplir y no como si fuera una decisión judicial. La combinación permite cierta flexibilidad a la vez que asegura una determinación imparcial de la obligación en cuestión, de cara al resto de los Estados Miembros. El autor analiza en detalle las características especiales del sistema y concluye que la naturaleza, organización y función del órgano de apelación es típicamente judicial, a pesar de la ausencia formal del efecto de cosa juzgada de sus decisiones. Su función dentro de la OMC explica ciertas características que han sido recibidas con distintas reacciones en varios círculos: la autocontención en su política judicial, la interpretación fiel del texto, el cuidado en la aplicación de los criterios de los artículos 31 y 32 de la Convención de Viena sobre el Derecho de los Tratados. El autor mantiene la línea seguida por el órgano de apelaciones desde su primer caso: la no aproximación al derecho de la OMC de modo aislado, sino como parte integrante del Derecho Internacional. En este sentido, rechaza como infundada la crítica de que el órgano de apelación ha llenado indebidamente vacíos que los negociadores de la Ronda Uruguay habían dejado abiertos, mostrando un activismo judicial. Diez años de práctica han mostrado un remarcable apoyo y aceptación hacia las decisiones del órgano de apelación, así como un creciente interés por parte de los tribunales internacionales y la doctrina. El autor concluye recordando que el papel de los actores no estatales continúa siendo un asunto sin resolver: mientras que las controversias en el ámbito del comercio internacional afectan directamente a empresas y consumidores en una dimensión transnacional, las posibilidades dentro de la OMC siguen siendo solo para los Estados (a pesar del reconocimiento de *amici curiae*). Ello tiene un impacto en el no reconocimiento de efecto directo interno del derecho de la OMC y de sus decisiones

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Radi Yannick

**The Application of the Most-Favoured-Nation Clause to the Dispute Settlement Provisions of Bilateral Investment Treaties: Domesticating the "Trojan Horse"**

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol.18, n. 4 , 757-774

No abstract available

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Doaa Abdel Motaal,

**The Biofuels Landscape: Is There a Role for the WTO?**

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 42 Issue 1 , 61-86

The International Food and Agricultural Trade Policy Council (IPC) has recently called on the WTO to clarify its rules on biofuels. It called for a resolution of the customs classifications problems surrounding these fuels so that trade could flourish in an organized manner. More specifically it argued that uncertainty over the biofuels customs classification, and the range of governmental measures to protect domestic biofuel production, including tariffs and subsidies, risked stunting growth in trade even as the global demand for biofuels was rising. For the IPC—as well as for numerous actors on the biofuels landscape—an examination of how WTO rules apply to these fuels has clearly become timely.

This article seeks to draw attention to the multiple policy objectives that are driving governments to promote biofuels, and to how “trade policy” is largely being put to the service of the specific goals to which governments are attaching



priority. It argues that a coherent vision at the international level of the role that biofuels should play in energy, economic and environmental policy has yet to emerge, but that despite this situation it is key that this sector develops on a “level trade policy playing field” for its long-term efficiency. Such a levelling would, in particular, unleash the full comparative advantage of tropical developing country producers of ethanol. The article highlights that—even in the absence of a concerted decision by governments on how to handle these fuels at the WTO—certain restrictions to biofuels trade would in any event be reduced through the current Doha Round of trade negotiations. But for the Doha Round to bear full fruit, it would be important for governments not to fully shelter either biofuels, or their production feedstock, through existing “flexibilities” in the negotiations.

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**Broome André, Seabrooke Leonard**

**The IMF and Experimentalist Governance in Small Western States**

**in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 97, Issue 395, April , 205-226

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an organization charged with the responsibility to observe governance experiments to enhance institutional competitiveness in its member states. While the IMF's role in propagating certain forms of institutional competitiveness in developing economies is commonly discussed, less emphasis has been placed on how the IMF seeks to transfer policy knowledge, and to learn from, the governance of institutional competitiveness in its developed Western member states. This article provides a corrective by providing an analysis of IMF staff and Executive Board advice on taxation and monetary reform to two 'coordinated' market economies, Denmark and Sweden, and two 'liberal' market economies, Australia and New Zealand, from 1975 to 2004. The article traces how IMF staff and Executive Board advice compares with actual changes to taxation and monetary regimes in these four small open economies. In sum, this article explores the notion that the IMF is an 'experimentalist governance' organization that seeks to build its comparative knowledge of policy reform, providing a contrast with the common depiction of the IMF as an institution that dictates 'neoliberal' policy homogeneity.

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**Diebold Nicolas F.**

**The Morals and Order Exceptions in WTO Law: Balancing the Toothless Tiger and the Undermining Mole**

**in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 11, Number 1 , 43-74

On 10 April 2007, the United States requested consultations with China regarding trading rights for publications and audiovisual products. Following US—Gambling, this case is likely to provoke the next clash between free trade and public morals. This article takes an abstract approach to the scope and content of the public morals and public order exceptions in the GATS and the GATT and, given the absence of a public order exception under the GATT, analyzes how these two concepts interrelate with one another. In this regard, the finding in US—Gambling that Members should individually define the scope of Article XIV(a) GATS is critically examined, but the article suggests that it deserves support based on an interpretation in accordance with general principles of the law of treaties. Following the identification of instruments that limit the risk for abuse of the morals and order exceptions, the article will turn to the scope-related aspect regarding the justifiability of 'extraterritorial' measur



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Leal Arcas Rafael

**The Resumption of the Doha Round and the Future of Services Trade**

in *International and Comparative Law Review Loyola of Los Angeles*, Vol. 29, n. 3 , 339-461

No abstract available

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Kelly Brian

**The Treatment of Profit in the Export Market in Antidumping Duty Proceedings**

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 42 Issue 2 , 299-313

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Antidumping Code and US law and practice allow a seeming asymmetry in the antidumping calculation. While expenses in the domestic market result in adjustments based on the expense incurred, expenses in the export market may attract an element of profit. This results in a larger adjustment for export sales than for normal value, increasing antidumping duties relative to the case in which the adjustments are made symmetrically. This article appraises US policy both before and after the Uruguay Round Agreements Act using the off-cited "level playing field" rationale to determine whether the additional deduction for profit in the export market is compatible with that rationale. We conclude that US practice prior to the Uruguay Round in fact was largely compatible with the level playing field rationale, but the adoption of the more far-reaching profit calculation following the Uruguay Round has created a serious distortion in the antidumping calculation. Since US law and practice reflect the Antidumping Code in this respect, this problem may exist in the practices of other signatories as well.

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Wouters Jan, de Meester Bart

**The UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity and WTO Law: A Case Study in Fragmentation of International Law**

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 42 Issue 1 , 205-240

This article examines whether the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity can be reconciled with the World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements by using existing techniques that deal with fragmentation of international law. It is argued that, although principles of interpretation and conflict clauses may help to ease tensions, they will never provide a full solution to this, in essence political, process of balancing values. Provisions calling for reliance on the Convention when applying other treaties are useful in protecting cultural diversity. Yet, it is highly uncertain whether WTO panels and the Appellate Body will be willing to consider the Convention as a tool for interpreting WTO provisions. It may have been a missed chance not to give a clear voice to UNESCO in the field of cultural diversity and not to establish a formalized "consultative link" between UNESCO and the WTO.





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Scott James

**The Use and Misuse of Trade Negotiation Simulations**

in **Journal of World Trade**, Volume 42 Issue 1 , 87-103

The Doha Round of trade talks was suspended following the inability of the key players to find a mutually satisfactory agreement. One contributory factor to the problems the negotiations have faced has been the significant improvement in developing countries' awareness of the costs and benefits of the offers being made, as a result of a huge expansion in the availability of economic analyses being performed by a diverse array of agencies, much of it focused specifically on the effects on developing countries. While in the Uruguay Round and before many developing countries had little understanding of what the various agreements entailed, this is no longer the case. As a consequence, the EU and the United States have been unable to force through a bilaterally agreed deal, as was the usual practice in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) rounds.

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Chad P. Bown

**The WTO And Antidumping In Developing Countries**

in **Economics and Politics**, Vol. 20 Issue 2 , 255-288

Since the 1995 inception of the World Trade Organization (WTO), developing countries have become some of the most frequent users of the WTO-sanctioned antidumping (AD) trade policy instrument. This paper exploits newly available data to examine sector-level use of nine of the major "new user" developing countries, matching data on production in 28 different three-digit ISIC industries to data on AD investigations, outcomes, and imports at the six-digit Harmonized System product level. We present economically significant evidence consistent with theory that developing-country industries that seek and receive AD import protection are responding to macroeconomic shocks, exhibit characteristics consistent with endogenous trade policy formation, and face some changing market conditions consistent with requirements of the WTO Antidumping Agreement. However, the evidence also suggests substantial heterogeneity in determinants of AD use across developing countries, which highlights the flexibility of this policy as a protectionist tool responsive to many different types of political-economic shocks.

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Kane Liam

**The World Bank, community development and education for social justice**

in **Community Development Journal**, Volume 43, Number 2 , 194-209

For a long time the target of criticism, the World Bank has changed its image and received a more favourable press. Now it talks the language of development, has a routine presence in the worlds of adult education and community development and is seen by some as qualified to speak about education for social justice. This article critically examines





the work of the Bank and argues that its values remain antithetical to social justice from the perspective of a transformative approach to community development. It concludes by asking what might be an appropriate relationship for community workers to develop with the Bank.

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**Singh Rahul**

**The World Trade Organization and Legitimacy: Evolving a Framework for Bridging the Democratic Deficit'**  
in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 42 Issue 2 , 347-365

No abstract available

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**Jackson John**

**The case of the World Trade Organization**  
in *International Affairs* , issue 3, vol. 84, may , 437-454

ABSTRACT: This article explores the relationship between power and rules within the context of international relations, utilizing as a case-study what is arguably the most powerful international juridical institution in the world today, the World Trade Organization (WTO). The author draws upon a number of his previous works on the subject of the WTO and its predecessor, the GATT, wending through such topics as: the way that political and diplomatic leaders improvized and filled in the gaps of international institutions when the original idea for an International Trade Organization (ITO) failed; the remarkably elaborate development of the particularly deep and rich WTO Dispute Settlement (DS) jurisprudence (over 60,000 pages); and the constant tension between the role of nation-state power and the power allocated to international institutions, apparently necessitated by the huge impact of 'globalization' and interdependency in world affairs (especially economic) today. Various specific issues and cases illustrate these tensions and allocations, including treaty interpretation techniques, the degree of deference towards the members' government actions, the arguments about the appropriate role of the 'adjudicators', and the delicately sensitive approach of the DS system towards clashes of policy necessitating 'balance'. Throughout, particular emphasis is laid upon the 'rule oriented' ('more legalization') approach of the WTO DS jurisprudence, both in reflection on the historical and current developments of that juridical system—from 'power oriented' to 'rule oriented'—and also in the important roles regarding tensions between 'sovereignty' concepts and international rule needs.

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**Malacrida Reto**

**Towards Sounder and Fairer WTO Retaliation: Suggestions for Possible Additional Procedural Rules Governing Members' Preparation and Adoption of Retaliatory Measures**  
in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 42 Issue 1 , 3-60

Since 1995, World Trade Organization (WTO) Members have authorized trade retaliation (countermeasures) in six



disputes, and retaliatory measures have been imposed in four of these six disputes. Thus, retaliation no longer is a mere worst-case scenario of WTO dispute settlement. This article suggests that, given this, there would be merit in elaborating further procedural rules governing Members' preparation and adoption of retaliatory measures. In an effort to flesh out this idea, possible amendments to the WTO Dispute Settlement Understanding are suggested which would introduce a requirement that Members conduct a domestic notice-and-comment procedure before adopting a retaliatory measure to be submitted to the WTO for authorization.

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Harashima Yohei

**Trade and environment negotiations in the WTO: Asian perspectives**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 8, Number 1, March , 17-34

For developing countries, aid cannot replace trade. Mutually supportive trade and environmental policies should contribute to the realization of sustainable development. The purpose of this paper is to identify the negotiating position of selected Asian developing countries on the World Trade Organization (WTO) Committee on Trade and Environment (CTE). This paper reviews their submissions and suggestions for the CTE with regard to its mandate on trade and environment. In addition, using key trade statistics, it explores the relationship between their negotiating positions and changes in the structure of international trade in Asia. While the CTE has brought about no specific results concerning its mandate, the negotiating positions of developing countries are changing sharply. In particular, Asian developing countries now participate proactively in CTE negotiations. This paper shows the diversity of views held by Asian countries on trade and environment. In some cases, their views are opposed to each other. It can also be observed that the negotiating position of each Asian country at the CTE is closely related to its own trade structure. In accordance with national patterns of trade structure, NIEs, China and India have their own distinct negotiating positions whereas Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries have not taken the same stance in the CTE negotiations. Each member of ASEAN presents separate views depending on the nature of the issue.

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Serfaty Simon

**Globaliser l'Alliance ?**

**in Politique Etrangère**, n. 1 - printemps

Une Alliance qui sortirait de l'Europe sortirait de l'histoire qui l'a vue naître, et déformerait la géographie qui lui a permis de s'affirmer ces cinquante dernières années. L'idée d'une OTAN globale n'est guère nouvelle et a revêtu, au fil des temps, des sens divers. Sa mise en oeuvre signifierait aujourd'hui une dégradation des garanties de l'article 5, et un affaiblissement de l'Alliance en Europe. Il est sans doute plus urgent de stabiliser cette Alliance sur le Vieux Continent, en adaptant son concept stratégique, et en mettant sur pied, avec une Union européenne qui devrait elle-même revoir sa stratégie de sécurité, un véritable forum transatlantique.

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Kanet Roger E.

**A New US Approach to Europe? The Transatlantic Relationship after Bush**

*in International Politics* , Volume 45, Number 2, March , 348-363

Although the NATO alliance has suffered from policy disagreements throughout its history, current divisions derive mainly from a shift in US grand strategy associated with the Bush Doctrine, which is based on assumptions of US hegemony, an assertive nationalist approach in relations with other states, including erstwhile allies, and the preemptive/preventive use of force. Although this approach has failed to achieve its objectives, the underpinnings on which it is based are deeply rooted in the American political psyche. Given the different interpretations of the security challenges facing the member states of the NATO alliance system, the deeply imbedded views of uniqueness and hegemony that characterize the American political psyche, and the likely unwillingness of the next generation of US political leaders to revise US policy so fully as to eliminate all aspects of recent US attitudes and behavior, it is highly unlikely that the close institutional relationships that characterized the cold war years will be an important feature of future US relations with European states.

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Tow. W.T.

**Asia's Competitive "Strategic Geometries": The Australian Perspective**

*in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 30, Number 1, April , 29-51

Recent changes of government in Australia and Japan, and a pending one in the United States, signifies a historical crossroads in these three allies' security politics in the Asia-Pacific region. In recent years, all three countries have tended to rationalize their strategic collaboration on the need to build innovative and competitive-oriented "strategic geometries" as a means to counter China's growing power and to meet new types of threats in the region. Yet the Australian Government under John Howard simultaneously pursued a hedging strategy, exploiting its growing economic relationship with China while strengthening its diplomatic and strategic profile with the United States. Despite Tokyo's own substantial economic relationship with Beijing, recent Japanese leaders were unable to pursue the same type of "dual track" strategy to the same extent as Howard. With Kevin Rudd's election as the new Australian Prime Minister and Yasuo Fukuda's ascent to power in Japan, prospects for Australia and Japan to cultivate more independent politico-security ties with Beijing have strengthened. If so, the evolving regional security postures of both these US allies may compel the United States to reassess its own traditional skepticism towards multilateral security groupings in the region.

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Zecca Antonello

**Basi e installazioni militari in Campania**



in *Quaderni Satyagraha*, n. 14 - Napoli chiama Vicenza: disarmare i territori, costruire la pace , 45-52

No abstract available

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Anastassov Anguel

**Can the comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty be implemented before entry into force?**

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 55, Issue 1 , 73-97

The end of nuclear testing has been a goal and dream of a number of generations for five decades. The actual date of entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT, or Treaty), however, is still unclear at this stage. One of the lessons learned by the international community is that mere negotiations of an arms control treaty are not enough. The *raison d'être* of creating an international treaty is that it be implemented. Without implementation, the treaty just conserves certain normative provisions elaborated through the international negotiations for an indefinite time in the future.

Modern international law offers certain legal practices to implement relevant norms in a treaty that formally does not meet the requirements for entry into force. In this article an attempt has been made, bearing in mind the existing international legal practice and the present stage of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization activities, to study alternative means of applying the CTBT provisionally. The analysis has been done on the basis of international treaty law, international organizations and arms control. The article pretends neither to propose concrete practical steps towards the full implementation of the CTBT, nor to ignore the importance of its entry into force. The intention of the author is to look for alternatives that might be helpful to achieve a safer world, without nuclear explosions. The article is intended to provide ideas for possible debate, which appropriate conclusion would definitely promote the values of nonproliferation and peace in the years to come.

The article begins by analysing the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties as an authoritative basis for provisional application of international treaties. It then considers the CTBT and the legal prerequisites for provisional application. The article concludes with an assumption that the completion of the CTBT verification regime would accelerate the need to discuss alternative means of applying CTBT without substituting its entry into force.

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Romano Angelica

**Che ci stanno a fare?**

in *Quaderni Satyagraha*, n. 14 - Napoli chiama Vicenza: disarmare i territori, costruire la pace , 39-43

No abstract available

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Moccia Vittorio

**Che si può fare?**

in **Quaderni Satyagraha**, n. 14 - Napoli chiama Vicenza: disarmare i territori, costruire la pace , 119-135

No abstract available

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Herd Graeme P., Forsberg Tuomas

**Constructive Transatlantic Strategic Dissonance: Making a Virtue out of Vice?**

in **International Politics** , Volume 45, Number 3, May , 364-381

In 2002–2003, the US pressed for and then used coercive force against Iraq and was ultimately supported by 16 of the 26 NATO member states, though not by NATO itself. While the US and Europe shared similar strategic threat perceptions — weapons of mass destruction proliferation, failed states and terrorism — but difference were apparent on the conceptual level. Here diverging political outlooks, differing comparative advantages, and capability bottlenecks all help account for different policy responses and priorities, particularly with regards to Iraq. The consequences and implications for European security and transatlantic relations of the Iraq war were more palpable than its causes: the rift fractured pre-existing transatlantic fault lines and consolidated realignments around concepts of 'Atlantic Europe', 'Core Europe', 'New Europe' and 'Non-aligned Europe'. The dynamic events before and after the US-led Iraq war of 2003 and the policy and identity, ideational, institutional and power shifts that underpinned them appear to lack the constructive potential to generate a push for 'strategic renewal' or the destructive power to enforce a total 'strategic divorce'. Strategic dissonance and continued turbulence has become the default transatlantic condition. The dynamics that generate its power still have the potential to resurface and further fragment and paralyse the unity of purpose and action of the transatlantic security community, as well as a constructive potential that can be harnessed.

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Zellner Wolfgang

**Das Ende kooperativer Sicherheit?**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, April, 2008 , 17-20

Europa hält sich seit 1990 viel auf sein System gemeinsamer und kooperativer Sicherheit zugute und hat dieses oftmals anderen Weltregionen zum Vorbild empfohlen. Das Gründungsdokument dieses Systems ist die KSZECharta von Paris aus dem Jahre 1990. Untermuert wird es von einem umfassenden Rüstungskontrollregime. Dessen unersetzliches Kernstück ist der Vertrag über konventionelle Streitkräfte in Europa (KSE-Vertrag). Mit dessen Aussetzung durch Russland ist nun das ganze ...

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Karabeshkin Leonid A., Spechler Dina R.

**EU and NATO Enlargement: Russia's Expectations, Responses and Options for the Future**  
in *European Security*, Volume 16, Numbers 3-4, September , 307-328

For Russian policymakers no events in the post-Cold War period have had more momentous consequences or received greater public commentary, both before and after they occurred, than the almost simultaneous enlargement of NATO and the EU that took place in 2004. The most sensitive aspect of this 'dual enlargement' for the Russian Federation was the extension of these two organisations into the Baltic States, which had been part of the Soviet Union itself. Despite some uneasiness, Moscow anticipated that the extension of the EU into the former Soviet sphere, even into the former Soviet Union itself, would constitute a generally positive development, while NATO penetration of that sphere would be extremely harmful. Accordingly, Russia voiced little opposition to the EU's plans and made only limited efforts to insure that its major interests would be protected, while it actively sought to forestall the NATO project, especially with regard to the Baltics. As it turned out, however, most of Russia's expectations regarding the impact of these processes were mistaken, and Russia's interests were poorly served by its prior and subsequent responses.

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Rees Wyn

**Inside Out: the External Face of EU Internal Security Policy**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 30, Number 1 / March , 97-111

The field of Justice, Liberty and Security has evolved into an important and dynamic policy domain since the early 1990s. An external policy dimension has developed in relation to internal security as the EU has wrestled with a range of transnational threats. This article analyses this external policy dimension and argues that the Union's response has two facets. First, the EU has sought to impose its model of internal security upon its neighbours. Secondly, it has attempted to foster norms within the international community that will help to address transnational security challenges.

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Layne Christopher

**It's Over, Over There: The Coming Crack-up in Transatlantic Relations**

in *International Politics* , Volume 45, Number 3, May , 325-347

Euro-American ties — and NATO — have been ruptured, and never again will be the same. Of course, as the historian Lawrence S. Kaplan correctly observed, 'The idea of NATO being in a terminal state has been a topic for pundits since the 1950s' (Kaplan, 1992, 16). It still is. However, today those who argue that the Alliance is in terminal decline have a very strong case to make. There are four reasons for this. First, the Cold War's end has deprived NATO of its essential *raison d'être*. Second, the European Union has not only taken huge strides toward attaining political and economic unity but now also has taken significant steps to creating the capacity to act independently of the United States in the security arena. Third, the structural effects of unipolarity are pushing the EU in the direction of counter-balancing American preponderance. Fourth, the Iraq war has highlighted the divergent geopolitical interests of the US and the EU.

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**Bouhou Kassim**

**L'OTAN et le monde arabe: peur, dialogue et partenariat**

in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 1 - printemps

Dans ce « hors zone », l'OTAN va-t-elle réussir à transformer ses concepts et ses missions, à mettre au point des relations positives, efficaces, avec les responsables politiques et militaires de son flanc sud? Dans l'après-guerre froide, le constat de l'interdépendance sécuritaire en Méditerranée fonde le Dialogue méditerranéen entre l'OTAN et certains pays du Sud. L'après-11 septembre réoriente ce Dialogue en direction de la coopération antiterroriste. Son articulation avec l'Initiative d'Istanbul de 2004 en direction des pays du Golfe reste ambiguë. Tout comme est brouillé, en définitive, son positionnement global face à la multiplicité des initiatives politiques dans la zone méditerranéenne.

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**Hofmann Stephanie C.**

**L'OTAN: vers un nouveau concept stratégique**

in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 1 - printemps

"L'OTAN a toujours été une institution de sécurité multifonctionnelle. Pourtant, durant les dernières décennies, les divers buts poursuivis par l'Alliance ont été de plus en plus remis en question." L'émergence progressive de la PESD de l'Union européenne produit, avec l'OTAN, un inévitable chevauchement institutionnel et de compétences. L'OTAN devrait-elle élargir sa conception géographique et fonctionnelle? Elle va devoir choisir entre trois stratégies: celle, classique, de l'alliance défensive, celle de la prévention et de la gestion des conflits à l'échelle mondiale, ou celle de l'intervention dans les crises au cas par cas, en articulation avec d'autres institutions.

[http://www.ifri.org/files/politique\\_etrangere/Hofmann12008.pdf](http://www.ifri.org/files/politique_etrangere/Hofmann12008.pdf)

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**Hagelberg Robin**

**La question de l'architecture sécuritaire européenne : Le Royaume-Uni, la France, l'Allemagne**

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 3-4, décembre, 3-39

Free text available on-line: <http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/HAGERBERG42007.pdf>

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**Kamto Maurice**



**Le rôle des «accords et organismes régionaux» en matière de maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales à la lumière de la charte des nations unies et de la pratique internationale**  
in *Revue générale de droit international public*, Vol. 111, n. 4 , 771-802

No abstract available

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

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Conesa Pierre

**Les Etats-Unis sont-ils une menace pour l'Europe ?**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Avril

Est-ce la perspective du sommet de l'Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord (OTAN), à Bucarest (Roumanie), du 2 au 4 avril, ou les incertitudes existentielles de l'Europe ? Les rapports et ouvrages sur le lien transatlantique et la relation avec les Etats-Unis se multiplient. Dans son livre, M. Edouard Balladur (1) prône un nouvel équilibre et même une union entre l'Europe et les Etats-Unis pour gérer la sécurité du monde. Hardi, l'ancien premier ministre assimile Occident et démocratie.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2008/04/CONESA/15799>

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Aboville d' Benoît

**Les soixante ans de l'OTAN : un point de vue européen**

in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 1 - printemps

Dans un environnement post-guerre froide, l'OTAN en est venue à assumer des missions et buts nouveaux, de plus en plus larges –au point que certains craignent aujourd'hui un « ordre du jour » trop ambitieux. L'Alliance atlantique a démontré dans l'après-guerre froide toute sa flexibilité. Mais les débats actuels autour de sa « mondialisation », les appels à la redéfinition de ses missions, en direction de tâches de stabilisation et d'action civile, peuvent être aussi considérés comme comportant des risques pour sa mission militaire première. L'adaptation de l'Alliance aux missions complémentaires ne peut se faire qu'en accord avec d'autres institutions –ONU, Union européenne...

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Beurdeley Laurent

**Les stratégies sécuritaires américaine et européenne au Maghreb. Impacts sur le droits de l'homme et sur l'évolution politique des pays de la région**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 518, mai , 298-312



Maghreb is considered a high vulnerability zone for international security. Americans and Europeans are applying themselves to curbing all sources of instability in the region in order to guarantee their geostrategic interests. The competition between the two leadership in the Maghreb area is patent but their action capacities (hard and soft) as well as their procedure are divergent. The western requirements for security (combating terrorism, illegal immigration, political Islam), which are abound with heavy economical conditions, have irreversible effects on the legislations and internal policies of the Maghreb States which have established an ever more drastic set of repressive measures (close to European standards). The democratic values advocated as much by Washington as by Bruxelles are often blithely scoffed at by the governments in place in the name of the security objective and, at best, only lead to an agreed reprobation of the Westerners. Faced with the fear of radical Islam developing, which not only feeds on pervading corruption but also from day-to-day oppression and the various compromises of principles of public authorities, moderate Islamists can turn out to be credible representatives and partners meaning that is necessary not to exclude them from political dialogue between the two sides of the Mare Nostrum.

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**Cimbala Stephen J.**

**Missile Defenses and Mother Russia: Scarecrow or Showstopper?  
in European Security**, Volume 16, Numbers 3-4, September , 289-306

Missile defenses will neither derail the post-Cold War political relationship between the US and Russia nor repeal the existence of mutual deterrence as between their respective nuclear arsenals. Because politics rules strategy and strategy must pay homage to the realities of physics, missile defenses will emerge into arsenals gradually, if at all. Whether missile defenses exacerbate political tensions, or can be deployed cooperatively by the United States and/or NATO and Russia, is not a technological given, but a political decision point that will require care taking by the current and prospective administrations in Washington and Moscow.

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**Romano Angelica**

**Napoli porta militare dell'Occidente**

**in Quaderni Satyagraha**, n. 14 - Napoli chiama Vicenza: disarmare i territori, costruire la pace , 21-22

No abstract available

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**Rynning Sten**

**Peripheral or Powerful? The European Union's Strategy to Combat the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons  
in European Security**, Volume 16, Numbers 3-4, September , 267-288

The European Union has since 2003 developed both a security and a Weapons of Mass Destruction strategy, and it has become the primary interlocutor of Iran in the dispute related to Iran's nuclear development. These are signs of



significant policy progress. However, the fact that four years of nuclear diplomacy have brought few results invites a critical appraisal of EU strategy. This essay undertakes this appraisal, arguing that the EU is notably ambivalent regarding its underlying conception of international order. The EU wishes to be pluralist (in the tradition of sovereign equality), but is also anti-pluralist (in the liberal-democratic tradition). The essay lays out how the EU has coped with pressures for reform—arising notably from the United States—within the current international nuclear non-proliferation regime, and how this has made the EU problem apparent. The essay finally suggests that to salvage its policy of effective multilateralism the EU must acknowledge its anti-pluralist bias and promote a common transatlantic approach to nuclear non-proliferation.

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McCormack Tara

**Power and agency in the human security framework**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 21, n. 1, March , 113-128

The concept of human security is arguably a progressive move away from the narrow conceptions of military and territorial security that have traditionally dominated international relations. The human security framework is argued to have the potential to empower and emancipate individuals by putting them at the centre of policy, analysis and debate and addressing the problems they face in their daily lives. In this paper I will argue that the human security framework cannot live up to its promises to empower the citizens of poor and developing countries. Whilst the human security framework problematizes the relationship between the state and its citizens, the framework replaces this relationship with relationships with other states or international agencies that lack accountability, effectively further disempowering citizens in weak or unstable states. The human security framework serves to reinforce international power inequalities and renders criteria for intervention by powerful states and international institutions less transparent and less accountable.

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Rolfe, J.

**Regional Security for the Asia-Pacific: Ends and Means**

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 30, Number 1, April , 99-117

Despite calls over the years for the Asia-Pacific region, or some subset of it, to develop a regional security regime, no deliberate action to achieve this has been taken. This paper considers the possible ends of a regional security regime and the means towards achieving them. The ends themselves would differ according to whether any regime focused on security, traditionally and narrowly conceived, on comprehensive security or on human security. No matter which approach is taken, if the regime is to be successful in any sense beyond that of rhetoric, some of the region's cherished norms such as non-intervention as that is currently interpreted will have to be at least modified, if not completely scrapped. Even if the region collectively decides it needs a security regime and can agree on its ends, there are many alternative ways of achieving the ends and the processes of working out detailed rules will be difficult and time-consuming. None of this is to say that establishing a regional security regime will be impossible. It is to say that it will involve a lot of work, and a lot of compromise by state policy-makers.



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Giessmann Hans J.

**Regionalism and Crisis Prevention in (Western) Europe and (Eastern) Asia: A Systematic Comparison in Asia Pacific Review**, Volume 14 Issue 2

While the globalization of risks is commonly recognized, a corresponding global pattern of risk management has not arisen. For a while after 1989 the vision of a global community of states appeared to be coming true. Long-standing conflicts were settled, and the UN Security Council for the first time acted with consent and commitment in the area of crisis reaction. However, this short-lived phase of global conflict management was soon troubled, beginning with a cascade of secessionist disputes and ending abruptly on 9/11. Ironically, today's global crisis management seems to be more complicated and less promising than that of the Cold War with its comparably primitive bipolar structure. Some threats, such as arms races, nuclear proliferation, enemy images and Alliance-building, have returned. Frozen conflicts have been re-heated because of spreading ethno-political strife. New lines of confrontation have also emerged from transnational constellations. Nations and states are under pressure to cope with new risks at a time when both their competence and capability to manage societal change and adjust to globalization are under duress. While the responsibility of states to carry out crisis management in a turbulent environment is increasing, their operational capability is being challenged, from both top-down and bottom-up. Most states in the northern hemisphere feel sufficiently prepared to prevent conflicts between themselves and other states, but they are less well prepared for armed conflicts other than among states - so-called asymmetric wars. Where nation-state-based responses are insufficient and global responses out of reach because of disagreement among big powers, it is the regional level, which looks most promising for tackling these new challenges. But even if regional patterns function well, crucial questions remain. Might smaller states become the objects or victims of power politics in a region if it is dominated by champions? Would regional arrangements foster global fragmentation? How can the success of regional conflict resolution be transferred to the national level in cases of transnational risks, and is there anything that states can learn from each other in organizing regional security and state-to-state cooperation? Finally, should tools and strategies that have proven successful in one region be applied to others? This analysis compares state-based regionalism in (Western) Europe and (East) Asia. It accepts the premise that states can learn from each other, but argues that attempts at direct model transfer should be avoided.

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Romano Angelica

**Rischio nucleare**

in **Quaderni Satyagraha**, n. 14 - Napoli chiama Vicenza: disarmare i territori, costruire la pace , 23-36

No abstract available

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Bisley, N.

**Securing the “Anchor of Regional Stability”?: The Transformation of the US-Japan Alliance and East Asian Security**

**in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs**, Volume 30, Number 1, April , 73-98

Over the past decade, the US-Japan alliance has been strengthened and subtly but substantively transformed. In response to a range of domestic changes and new international challenges, a relationship that was becoming frayed in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War has been rejuvenated and re-tooled with significant consequences for East Asia’s strategic setting. This article provides a critical analysis of this process with two ends in mind. First, it provides a systematic overview of the changes, their sources and what they mean for the alliance partners and their security interests. It argues that the US-Japan alliance now has two distinct functions, one relating to regional stability and the other focusing on shared global strategic aims. The alliance is in good health, but its continued vitality will require careful management. Second, it assesses the regional consequences of this change and argues that while alliance enhancement has been intended to promote mutual and regional security there is reason to doubt whether the latter goal has been served through the enhancement process.

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Seroka Jim

**Security Considerations in the Western Balkans: NATO's Evolution and Expansion**

**in East European Quarterly**, vol. XLI, n. 1, March , 25-38

No abstract available

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Kanet Roger E.

**Still Mars, Still Venus? The United States, Europe, and the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship**

**in International Politics**, Volume 45, Number 3, May , 231-235

No abstract available

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Petersen Alexandros, Rogers James

**Swim together or sink together: A new Atlantic pact**

**in Europe’s World**, Issue 8, Spring

European countries must genuinely beef-up their defence and security commitments if they are to safeguard their global interests, say James Rogers and Alexandros Petersen. Calling for an EU Security Council that would develop these





efforts, they also urge a renewed EU-US alliance

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**Proedrou Filippou**

**The EU-Russia Energy Approach under the Prism of Interdependence**

*in European Security*, Volume 16, Numbers 3-4, September , 329-355

This essay aims to analyse and interpret the EU-Russia approach in the energy sector under the prism of interdependence. It seeks to account for both the increasing cooperation among EU member-states and Russia as far as security of supplies is concerned, but also provides a sound explanation for the steady clashes between the two sides. For this reason, we use the terms sensitivity and vulnerability to refer to the position that each side holds on bilateral energy matters and, accordingly, to the actions it is capable of taking to resolve its problems. This model of interdependence provides a profound understanding of the bifurcated relationship between the EU and Russia and interprets both its cooperative and conflictive elements.

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**Duke Simon**

**The Future of EU-NATO Relations: a Case of Mutual Irrelevance Through Competition?**

*in Journal of European Integration*, Volume 30, Number 1 / March , 27-43

The future of EU-NATO relations will depend principally upon the ability to find solutions to three interrelated issues. The first is the question of whether transatlantic relations can be improved, most notably through the desire to engage in a genuine dialogue with America's allies and a rapprochement between France and NATO. A sub-theme that will be touched upon in this context is leadership and vision in transatlantic relations. The second is the underlying rhetoric-resources gap that threatens to undermine both EU and NATO abilities to take on responsibility for more challenging operations. Finally, the Cyprus problem lies at the centre of the current impasse between the two organizations and accounts for many of the day-to-day problems.

In each case a number of solutions are suggested but, it is acknowledged, none will be easy to implement. If progress is not made, the EU and NATO risk condemning themselves to growing irrelevance as security actors. The contribution also identifies a number of approaching windows of opportunity to place relations between the EU and NATO onto a more constructive path. If the three problems above are addressed the EU and NATO will remain highly relevant and essential to meeting the multifarious security challenges facing Europe and the wider international community.

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**Pouliot Vincent**

**The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities**

*in International Organization*, issue 2, vol. 62, april , 257-288



ABSTRACT: This article explores the theoretical implications of the logic of practicality in world politics. In social and political life, many practices do not primarily derive from instrumental rationality (logic of consequences), norm-following (logic of appropriateness), or communicative action (logic of arguing). These three logics of social action suffer from a representational bias in that they focus on what agents think about instead of what they think from. According to the logic of practicality, practices are the result of inarticulate know-how that makes what is to be done self-evident or commonsensical. Insights from philosophy, psychology, and sociology provide empirical and theoretical support for this view. Though complementary with other logics of social action, the logic of practicality is ontologically prior because it is located at the intersection of structure and agency. Building on Bourdieu, this article develops a theory of practice of security communities arguing that peace exists in and through practice when security officials' practical sense makes diplomacy the self-evident way to solving interstate disputes. The article concludes on the methodological quandaries raised by the logic of practicality in world politics.

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Thornton Gabriela Marin

**The Paradox of the Transatlantic Security Project: From Taming European Power to Dividing It in International Politics** , Volume 45, Number 3, May , 382-397

The transatlantic security project — with its central focus on the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO) — was by many accounts a phenomenon that occurred because of the bipolarity of the international system during the Cold War. The main contention of this article is that the foundation of the transatlantic security project was built on a paradox. The transatlantic security project may have been the right response to the security challenges of the Cold War, but the project, as conceived originally, was not able to meet the new challenges brought by the fall of the Soviet Union. With the Cold War gone, the nature of the power relations between the main pillars of the transatlantic relationship, the US and the EU, started to change. Therefore, what best defines the idiosyncratic existence of the transatlantic space de notre jours? In order to answer this question, this article is structured as follows. First, I analyse the paradox of the transatlantic security project. I then explore the relationship between the newly created EU institutions and NATO. Third, I claim that the Clinton administration tried to solve the transatlantic paradox by taming European power, that is, by making efforts to tie the EU's security institutions into NATO. By contrast, the Bush II presidency has tried to divide European power. I conclude by arguing that references to the transatlantic relationship, as to a monolithic bloc — a way in which it was conceived and referred to during the Cold War — no longer reflect the new transatlantic reality. A new transatlantic security space has been emerging; a more fragmented space — a space invested with a new dynamic, in which actors' security and geo-political concerns have started to diverge.

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

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Thornton Gabriela Marin

**The Paradox of the Transatlantic Security Project: From Taming European Power to Dividing It in International Politics** , Volume 45, Number 2, March , 382-397

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transatlantic security project may have been the right response to the security challenges of the Cold War, but the project, as conceived originally, was not able to meet the new challenges brought by the fall of the Soviet Union. With the Cold War gone, the nature of the power relations between the main pillars of the transatlantic relationship, the US and the EU, started to change. Therefore, what best defines the idiosyncratic existence of the transatlantic space de notre jours? In order to answer this question, this article is structured as follows. First, I analyse the paradox of the transatlantic security project. I then explore the relationship between the newly created EU institutions and NATO. Third, I claim that the Clinton administration tried to solve the transatlantic paradox by taming European power, that is, by making efforts to tie the EU's security institutions into NATO. By contrast, the Bush II presidency has tried to divide European power. I conclude by arguing that references to the transatlantic relationship, as to a monolithic bloc — a way in which it was conceived and referred to during the Cold War — no longer reflect the new transatlantic reality. A new transatlantic security space has been emerging; a more fragmented space — a space invested with a new dynamic, in which actors' security and geo-political concerns have started to diverge.

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

#### *Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Sarotte Mary Elise

#### **The Worst Allies, Except for All the Others: US-European relations in the age of George W. Bush in *International Politics*** , Volume 45, Number 3, May , 310-324

Any nuanced assessment of current transatlantic tensions requires an awareness of their historical context. An understanding of the legacy of the Cold War in particular helps to answer the following questions: (1) What are the sources of current US-European tensions? (2) Has the transatlantic connection sustained mortal damage, or can it endure? (3) What changes of attitude and of focus might help the transatlantic relationship in the future? The argument is as follows: The US–European relationship is under assault not just because of recent US military actions but also because of a longer-term shift away from a successful US Cold War grand strategy that still had much to offer the post-Cold War world. However, cause for alarm is limited, because the history of cooperation, the lack of alternative partners, and the very real nature of external threats means that neither the US nor the Europeans have any realistic alternative to cooperation with each other.

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Svendsen Adam

#### **The globalization of intelligence since 9/11: frameworks and operational parameters in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*** , Vol. 21, n. 1, March , 129-144

In the early 21st century we are witnessing the increasing globalization of intelligence. The phenomenon of international intelligence liaison is central to this process, an area where intelligence and international relations connect. This article highlights the key themes that are currently developing within international intelligence liaison relationships. It asserts that we can identify a trend towards 'homogenization' of intelligence and other law enforcement and security initiatives. It even suggests we may speak of something close to 'international standardization' among a widening group of partners. These processes are underway to establish viable frameworks and operational parameters for the intelligence liaison arrangements, together with addressing counterintelligence and other security considerations. These convergent 'regimes' contribute to the important processes of trust and confidence building, as well as their subsequent



maintenance over time. In short, a 'best practice' approach is becoming 'normalized' operationally, facilitating the optimization of intelligence liaison arrangements.

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Ronzitti Natalino

**US Military Bases in Italy: In Keeping with International Law? Still Needed?**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIII, n. 2, April-June

The end of the Cold War brought about a change in US basing policy in Italy. Some bases were dismantled, while others, like the one in Vicenza, were strengthened raising considerable local protest for environmental reasons. The article examines whether agreements establishing the US bases have a solid foundation in the Italian Constitution and whether the weapons detained there are in conformity with the disarmament treaties binding Italy. Since the bases are now employed for NATO "out-of-area" operations and have become a part of the US strategy of "war on terror", they inevitably influence Italy's foreign policy and its option to stay out of ongoing conflicts. The article also considers the continuing need for US bases from the point of view of Atlantic solidarity.

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La Sablière Jean Marc de

**Un'Europa forte alleata degli Stati Uniti**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 157, 78-83

No abstract available

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

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Shalikashvili John M.

**Una nuova strategia per la NATO**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 158, 349-351

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Larrabee F. Stephen

**Whither Missile Defence?**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIII, n. 2, April-June

In the last eighteen months, missile defence has emerged as a controversial issue between the United States and its



European allies. The administration's plans have provoked a major debate in Europe and the United States. Since the spring of 2007, however, the Bush administration has begun to develop a much more effective public outreach campaign designed to address public concerns. It has also sought to strengthen the link between its bilateral efforts at missile defence and those of NATO and made a number of important proposals designed to reduce Russian concerns.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Dalle Benjamin

**Instruments of a Universal Toolbox or Gadgets of Domestic Administration? The Aarhus Convention and Global Governance**

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 1 , 1-40

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Williams David

**'Development' and Global Governance: The World Bank, Financial Sector Reform and the 'Will To Govern' in International Politics** , Volume 45, Number 2, March , 212-227

Despite the proliferation of literature on 'global governance', relatively little attention has been paid to the role of 'development' agencies in the construction of regimes of global governance. This article presents an empirical study centred on the role of the World Bank in financial sector governance. The evolution of World Bank policies and practices in this area demonstrates how the World Bank has become an important instrument in the construction of regimes of global governance. This article concludes with some reflections on what this case suggests about how we should explain the emergence of regimes of global governance, and what the World Bank's financial sector reform activities mean for the relationship between development and global governance.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Caruso Sergio

**'Società civile': una idea vecchia per un mondo nuovo**

in *Iride*, n. 3, dicembre 2007 , 461-471

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Andersson Krister, Ostrom Elinor

**Analyzing decentralized resource regimes from a polycentric perspective**

in *Policy Sciences*, n. 1, vol. 41, march , 71-93



ABSTRACT: This article seeks to shed new light on the study of decentralized natural resource governance by applying institutional theories of polycentricity—the relationships among multiple authorities with overlapping jurisdictions. The emphasis on multi-level dynamics has not penetrated empirical studies of environmental policy reforms in non-industrial countries. On the contrary, many of today's decentralization proponents seem to be infatuated with the local sphere, expecting that local actors are always able and willing to govern their natural resources effectively. Existing studies in this area often focus exclusively on characteristics and performance of local institutions. While we certainly do not deny the importance of local institutions, we argue that institutional arrangements operating at other governance scales—such as national government agencies, international organizations, NGOs at multiple scales, and private associations—also often have critical roles to play in natural resource governance regimes, including self-organized regimes.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Gabay Clive

**Anarcho-cosmopolitanism: The Universalisation of the Equal Exchange**

*in Global Society*, Volume 22, Issue 2, April , 197-216

This paper concerns itself with the values which make up what has been labelled “ethical cosmopolitanism”—that which entails a universal scope of ethical concern. Conceptions of this ethic have underpinned the development of a “global civil society” and associated humanitarian and activist campaigns. However, such cosmopolitan campaigns have illustrated the ways in which the dismissals of difference and importance of embeddedness have caused suffering to the supposed beneficiaries of such campaigns. This is because of the unrecognised power relations that exist between moral agents, which result in “unequal exchanges”, that is, the exchange of physical, material and mental resources from positions of unequal negotiating positions, driven by power differentials and hierarchy. A theory of the “equal exchange” is developed upon which to base alternative cosmopolitan practices. Such a theory is grounded in Anarchist thought, which, it is argued, provides the most stringent philosophical underpinning for such a cosmopolitan theory.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Marthoz Jean-Paul

**Bush's legacy will be NGOs with a truly global vision**

*in Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

This has been a dispiriting decade for NGOs on both sides of the Atlantic, says veteran activist Jean-Paul Marthoz. He foresees a new global era for civil society organisations, even though he warns that the Bush administration's eight years "will not easily be unravelled".

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Friederich Jan

**CURRENCY WATCH Euro e dollaro: la storia infinita**

*in Aspenia*, n. 40, "Elezioni globali" , 13-26





No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Beck Ulrich

**Climate Change and Globalisation are Reinforcing Global Inequalities: High Time for a New Social Democratic Era**

in **Globalizations** , Volume 5, Issue 1, March 2008 , 78-80

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Pachauri Rajendra K.

**Climate Change as an Emerging Global Issue**

in **Globalizations** , Volume 5, Issue 1, March 2008 , 58-59

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Glencross Andrew

**Consensus to Contestation: Reconfiguring Democratic Representation in the European Union in the Light of 19th Century United States Democratization**

in **Democratization**, Vol. 15, n. 1, February , 123-141

This article explores how proposals for democratizing the European Union (EU) according to a supranational, contestational model are likely to disrupt its existing political system. The current EU is characterized by a dual system of representation that combines the representation of member states with that of individual citizens. Democratization typically entails enhancing the representation of individuals at the expense of state prerogatives. It is thus possible to make a pertinent analogy with the antebellum United States, which also featured dual representation, and where a great wave of democratization took place following Andrew Jackson's presidency (1829-1837). As the system of representation there became more majoritarian, John C. Calhoun led the calls for introducing new anti-majoritarian constitutional safeguards. A transatlantic comparison suggests the contestational system born of EU democratization will require institutional innovation in order to prove viable. In this context, Calhoun's theory of nullification, an ex post political mechanism wielded by the units to stymie federal legislation, appears more appropriate as an anti-majoritarian bulwark and better able to engender constitutional debate over competences than is the EU's stillborn judicial principle of subsidiarity. In similarly Calhounian fashion, a bottom-up procedure of constitutional amendment originating in the units is further proposed as a way of establishing unit acquiescence to greater supranationalism.

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



*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Brassett James

**Cosmopolitanism vs. Terrorism? Discourses of Ethical Possibility Before and After 7/7**

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, n. 2, vol. 36, april , 121-147

ABSTRACT: The article provides a critical analysis of the relationship between cosmopolitanism and terrorism, via the question of response. Using 9/11 and 7/7 as key moments in the evolution of this relationship, the article asks: how does cosmopolitanism respond to terrorism? What limits does this response contain? How might we go beyond such limits? It is argued that cosmopolitan responses to terrorism provide an important, but limited (and sometimes limiting), alternative to mainstream discourses on terror. After 9/11 the possibility for cosmopolitan thinking 'beyond' the mainstream view was articulated by a range of authors, including Archibugi, Habermas, Held and Linklater. A brief survey suggests that defending international law, constructing international institutions and alleviating global poverty were seen as good responses, in the context of divisive mainstream politics. However, by engaging a case study of the Make Poverty History campaign, the article argues that when cosmopolitan ideas were cemented in practice, the distinctiveness of a cosmopolitan response faded. This point was brought into sharp relief by a number of moralising responses to 7/7. Straightforward dichotomies between 'barbaric terrorists' and 'civilised cosmopolitans' served to construct cosmopolitanism as a coherent, and united, global community. Available tactics, for this 'community', were reduced to more-of-the-same - more aid, more global democracy - and assertions of a moral equivalence between Bush and 'Terror', such that 'you are either with cosmopolitans, or, you are with the War on Terror'. In light of these ethical closures, and drawing from the arguments of Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler, the article identifies some cursory ways in which cosmopolitans might think beyond such limits, to articulate an imaginative and engaged approach to global ethics.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Mansfield Edward, Pevehouse Jon

**Democratization and the Varieties of International Organizations**

in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, n. 2, vol. 52, april , 269-294

ABSTRACT: Scholars of international relations have devoted remarkably little attention to the issue of why and when states enter international organizations (IOs). We argue that states have particular reason to enter IOs during the process of democratization. In the midst of a democratic transition, state leaders have difficulty making a credible commitment to sustain reforms, since they can benefit from rolling back liberalization. Gaining membership in an IO can enhance the credibility of leaders' commitments to democratic reforms. However, not all IOs are equally useful in this regard. We distinguish between IOs that cover standards in areas such as human rights and environmental protection, those that regulate economic activity, and those that are forums for addressing broad political problems. We argue that democratizing states have greater reason to join standards-based and economic IOs than political organizations. The results of a set of statistical tests support this argument.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Schattle Hans



**Education for global citizenship: Illustrations of ideological pluralism and adaptation**

in *Journal of Political Ideologies* , Volume 13, Number 1 / February , 73-94

This article explores the ideological currents emerging within the contested idea of global citizenship in public discourse by focusing on how this term has been deployed within the educational arena. In educational initiatives across the English-speaking world, 'global citizenship' is aligned with four ideological constellations: moral cosmopolitanism, liberal multiculturalism, neoliberalism and environmentalism. Identifying and examining some of the more prominent strains of thinking within educational programs for global citizenship contributes to ongoing debates about whether a new, distinct and globally-oriented ideology might be emerging. This article maintains that public discourse related to global citizenship in education does not yet validate a prospective ideology such as 'globalism' but does illustrate how established ideologies, most notably liberalism in its plural forms, are adapting alongside increasing public recognition of global interdependence.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rasmussen Anders Fogh

**Europe's chance to become a global climate champion**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

With less than two years to go until the crucially important UN climate change talks in Copenhagen in late 2009, Denmark's Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen assesses Europe's chances of making a real difference on global warming

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Spini Debora

**Fra lumi e interessi: linee di riflessione sul ruolo della società civile in un mondo post-nazionale**

in *Iride*, n. 3, dicembre 2007 , 473-480

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Kumar Krishan

**Global Civil Society**

in *European Journal of Sociology*, Volume 48, Issue 03, December 2007 , 413-434

There has been much discussion recently of "global civil society". This concept evidently draws on the more familiar civil society concept as related to national societies. What are the consequences of extending the concept in this way? Is global civil society simply civil society writ large, an extension to the international plane of basically the same kinds of institutions and practices as are found in national societies? Or do we need new tools of description and analysis? This article considers various theories of global civil society, and the extent to which they map onto traditional concepts of



civil society. It concludes that global civil society may express the same mixture of strengths and weaknesses as the parent concept of civil society, but with additional features of its own that may – somewhat surprisingly – make it more robust than the earlier concept from which it derives.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Glenn John

**Global Governance and the Democratic Deficit: stifling the voice of the South**  
in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 29 Issue 2 , 217 - 238

This paper examines the democratic credentials of three key international institutions (the imf, World Bank and the wto) with regard to the majority of developing countries. In so doing the paper argues that we need to understand the democratic deficit of these institutions not only in terms of input legitimacy, but also in terms of output legitimacy and procedural fairness. The level and quality of these three aspects of democracy vary depending upon the international institution in question, but each of these institutions suffers from a democratic deficit in all three spheres. The paper therefore puts forward several reform proposals in order to overcome the problems outlined.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Stone Diane

**Global Public Policy, Transnational Policy Communities, and Their Networks**  
in *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 36, Issue 1, February , 19-38

Public policy has been a prisoner of the word "state." Yet, the state is reconfigured by globalization. Through "global public-private partnerships" and "transnational executive networks," new forms of authority are emerging through global and regional policy processes that coexist alongside nation-state policy processes. Accordingly, this article asks what is "global public policy"? The first part of the article identifies new public spaces where global policies occur. These spaces are multiple in character and variety and will be collectively referred to as the "global agora." The second section adapts the conventional policy cycle heuristic by conceptually stretching it to the global and regional levels to reveal the higher degree of pluralization of actors and multiple-authority structures than is the case at national levels. The third section asks: who is involved in the delivery of global public policy? The focus is on transnational policy communities. The global agora is a public space of policymaking and administration, although it is one where authority is more diffuse, decision making is dispersed and sovereignty muddled. Trapped by methodological nationalism and an intellectual agoraphobia of globalization, public policy scholars have yet to examine fully global policy processes and new managerial modes of transnational public administration.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Schneider Carmen Huckel

**Global public health and international relations: pressing issues - evolving governance**



in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 62, n. 1 / March , 94-106

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Johnson Pauline

**Globalizing Democracy. Reflections on Habermas's Radicalism**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 11, No. 1, February 2008 , 71-86

According to many of his critics, Habermas is so preoccupied with 'old normative maps' that he cannot really help us chart our options in a fast globalizing world. The following article contests aspects of this familiar critique. The argument is developed in three stages. First, some misapprehensions are targeted. No unreconstructed liberal, Habermas is shown to offer a discriminating interpretation of learning processes that need to guide political democracy in a global context. The far-reaching agenda of Habermas's programme for a globalized and democratized welfare project is underlined. Next, Habermas's attempt to bring forward the normative resources of liberal democratic histories is contrasted with Ulrich Beck's normative avant-gardism. This latter is shown to be a mere semblance of radicalism that serves to legitimate the triumph of one particular axis within modernization processes. Finally, the article explores a dilemma that faces Habermas's attempt to use the potentials of a particular cultural tradition as the normative grounds for a globally extended democracy. Habermas wants to avoid reducing critical theory to the mere affirmation of certain parochial cultural choices and so tries to find grounds for establishing the universal resonance of these normative contents. The last section looks into the ideological character of this attempt and considers an alternative way in which the inter-cultural significance of democratic Enlightenment commitments might be tested.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Smith Peter (Jay)

**Going Global: The Transnational Politics of the Dalit Movement**

in *Globalizations* , Volume 5, Issue 1, March 2008 , 13-33

This article analyses the involvement of the Dalits (formerly 'untouchables') in the World Social Forum (WSF) processes. The focus will be on one networked organization in particular, the National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR) as a key organization which served as a catalyst for linking the Dalit struggle against neoliberal globalization and casteism with the social forum process and the global justice movement. The article argues that the Dalit struggle, domestically and internationally, can best be understood from a Polanyian perspective, as a countermovement for social protection against neoliberal globalization. It examines the dialectic of globalization within an Indian context first in terms of the impact of neoliberal globalization upon the Dalit community and then the NCDHR's decision to go global, to the WSF. In taking their cause beyond India, a central focus of Dalit activity remains rooted in making the Indian state serve as a means of social protection for the Dalit peoples.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*



Goetz Klaus

**Governance as a Path to Government**

in **West European Politics**, n. 1 & 2, vol. 31, January, 258-279

ABSTRACT: Abstract

During the 1970s, analyses of state and government in Western Europe were preoccupied with crises of governability and legitimacy. The early 1980s witnessed sharply differing responses to these crises, exemplified by the socialist experiment in France and Thatcherism in the UK. By the end of the 1980s, 'governance' - in both national and European arenas - began to be regarded as the dominant institutional response to problems of governability. Considered from the perspective of comparative European government, the oft-claimed shift from government to governance appears overstated. Governance is less widespread and consequential both at national and European levels than its proponents suggest, as a survey of the propellants, conditions and national and European constellations of governance shows. Viewed historically, governance does not so much indicate a shift from government as towards government, as the core institutions of the state build up capacity to deal authoritatively and hierarchically with new governing challenges.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rotfeld Adam Daniel

**How Europe is starting to set global rules**

in **Europe's World**, Issue 8, Spring

With its Reform Treaty, the European Union becomes a new animal, more than an organisation but less than a state, says Adam Daniel Rotfeld, a former foreign minister of Poland. He argues that its soft power strategy has helped to make Europe secure and prosperous, but asks how it should develop.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hansen Holley, McLaughlin Mitchell Sara, Nemeth Stephen

**IO Mediation of Interstate Conflicts**

in **Journal of Conflict Resolution**, n. 2, vol. 52, April, 295-325

ABSTRACT: Regional and global intergovernmental organizations have grown both in number and scope, yet their role and effectiveness as conflict managers is not fully understood. Previous research efforts tend to categorize organizations solely by the scope of their membership, which obscures important sources of variation in institutional design at both the regional and global levels. International organizations will be more successful conflict managers if they are highly institutionalized, if they have members with homogeneous preferences, and if they have more established democratic members. These hypotheses are evaluated with data on territorial (1816-2001), maritime (1900-2001), and river (1900-2001) claims from the Issue Correlates of War (ICOW) project in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, and the Middle East. Empirical analysis suggests that international organizations are more likely to help disputing parties reach an agreement if they have more democratic members, if they are highly institutionalized, and when they use binding management techniques.





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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Ferrarese Maria Rosaria

**Il diritto orizzontale. L'ordinamento giuridico globale secondo Sabino Cassese**  
in *Politica del diritto*, n. 4 , 653-702

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Dorussen Han, Ward Hugh

**Intergovernmental Organizations and the Kantian Peace**  
in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, n. 2, vol. 52, april , 189-212

ABSTRACT: The authors use network analysis to argue that the main contribution of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) to international stability is not necessarily their direct and individual impact, because generally IGOs are institutionally weak. Rather, membership of IGOs creates network ties between states, allowing them, either individually or collectively, to intervene more effectively in latent conflicts. The IGO network also provides direct and indirect communication channels, where indirect links can act as partial substitutes for direct diplomatic ties. Empirically, the authors apply these ideas to the extensive network of international linkages created in the post—World War II period. They demonstrate that indirect links do indeed matter and that they substitute for more direct diplomatic ties. Furthermore, these effects are not limited to ties created by IGOs with specific security functions.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hafner-Burton Emilie, Von Stein Jana, Gartzke Erik

**International Organizations Count**  
in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, n. 2, vol. 52, april , 175-188

ABSTRACT: This special issue seeks to move forward the development of an empirical research agenda that takes seriously the complexity of how international organizations (IOs) function and the need to study that complexity at all levels of analysis by using robust research tools. We advocate for a broad empirical research approach that molds and sharpens theories about IOs by conducting systematic tests in large-sample environments. Two themes create a common thread throughout this issue. First, shifting the focus from whether IOs matter to how they work requires acknowledgment of the contingency of cause and effect. A second common thread lies in the authors' treatment of IO membership as an aggregate phenomenon—that is, as a set of institutions and relationships evolving over time and with many members rather than as a single organization.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*



Baillie Smith Matt

**International non-governmental development organizations and their Northern constituencies: development education, dialogue and democracy**

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 4, Issue 1, April 2008 , 5-18

The ways in which international non-governmental development organizations (INGDOs) engage with northern constituencies have important implications for their promotion of principles of global justice and equity, their legitimacy as global actors and their capacity to shape a democratic global civil society. This paper focuses on the diverse forms of engagement currently being sought by international development NGOs. Using development education as a case study the paper explores some of the processes of mediation and negotiation that shape NGOs' articulation of global ethics. The paper argues that the diversity of approaches to engagement in the sector presents an opportunity for INGDOs to strengthen and deepen their relationships with Northern constituencies and to support the articulation and embedding of principles of global justice and equity. It argues that development education can play a central role in achieving this.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Jabour Julia, Weber Melissa

**Is it Time to Cut the Gordian Knot of Polar Sovereignty?**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 17, Issue 1, April , 27-40

There has been recent discussion on the abandonment of sovereignty in the Arctic and territorial and marine claims in Antarctica in the interests of redefining these regions into global commons with joint management. Global commons refers to a region, or group of valued resources, protected from exploitation in the interests of the global population and future generations. While it may be reasonable to examine the possibility of shifting sovereignty in these regions and locking access to any of the resources, an academic examination must not focus on sovereignty in isolation from existing management regimes. Sovereignty is not displaced easily, and nor are sovereign rights; however there is a large capacity for negotiation, consent and agreement towards how resources and areas may be used and enjoyed while maintaining an indifference to existing or exerted territorial and/or marine claims. Sovereignty and sovereign rights can also be preserved, but their utility minimized in the presence of alternative arrangements, as exemplified in the Antarctic Treaty. In the absence of such arrangements, the self-interest of States is manifest. A false sense of probability is fostered by any examination that only considers sovereignty and disregards State practice or current management initiatives. This article demonstrates that the current governance arrangements are legitimate in a dynamic world, regardless of sovereignty, and identifies the lengths to which the stakeholders go to preserve both their national interest and that of the global community in de facto global commons areas. It concludes by offering a view that cutting the Gordian knot of polar sovereignty is both risky and premature in the absence of suitable alternatives.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Long Graham

**Justification and legitimacy in global civil society**

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 4, Issue 1, April 2008 , 51-66

As some thinkers have sought in the concept of global civil society an ethically driven site of deliberation and even



resistance, so others have criticized global civil society for its lack of legitimacy and representativeness. This article attempts to answer these criticisms - at least in part - by invoking a moral commitment to the value of justification. I argue that the idea of justification, when examined, offers us a particular understanding of legitimacy which would be attainable for global civil society actors. The article begins by setting out the case for concern about the legitimacy of global civil society. I then outline a certain understanding of justification, showing how a commitment to this conception provides both a response to critics of global civil society and an ethical baseline for humane actors within global civil society. I move on to trace the significance of the moral relevance of justification for actors' strategies. Lastly, however, I highlight the difficulty of justification in a diverse world. This is to say that the issues of legitimacy and strategy facing global civil society are only made more tractable, not dissolved, by an appeal to the importance of justification.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Casini Fabio

**La comunità internazionale nell'era del terrorismo globale**

in *Politico (II)*, n. 216, anno LXXII, settembre-dicembre , 21-62

ABSTRACT: The States debating on international security have to face an extremely alarming horizon. Two new elements characterize the present scenery: global Islamic terrorism and escalation of nuclear proliferation. The greatest danger is that terrorist organizations could obtain nuclear weapons. Nowadays there isn't a regional and localized terrorism but a new one with its generalized trans-national dimension, without frontiers and which is not easy either to identify or to cut off suddenly. Terrorism aims to destabilize countries and people, dominate media, politicians and Intelligence. Generally speaking, terrorism tries to unhinge international balances. We have to face a global terrorism which begets a globalized fear and threatens democracy and human rights. It is not easy for International Community to fight so an aberrant enemy. The United States , Russia , China , India , the pro-occidental regimes of the Islamic world, the European Union and, above all, the United Nations, have to create a security network in order to entrap the perils of terrorism all over the world. It is necessary to create a defensive and preventive system simultaneously based on force and cohesion between democratic governments, harmonization of the national legislations on terrorism, and intensive talks with Islamic countries. It's a process which needs time and perseverance: some steps have been achieved but it's indispensable that International Community tries hard to do something else.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

D'Alterio Elisa, Mari Chiara

**La costruzione giurisprudenziale dell'ordine giuridico globale**

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 3 , 775 ss.

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Cassese Sabino

**La funzione costituzionale dei giudici non statali: dallo spazio giuridico globale all'ordine giuridico globale**



in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 3 , 609-626

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Abbas Mehdi

**La proposition d'une taxe CO2 aux frontières. Vers une stratégie européenne en matière de régulation commerciale et de lutte contre le changement climatique?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 513, décembre , 628-637

The fight against global warming has become the most important issue on the EU international agenda. In this context, France has taken the initiative of a CO2 border tax adjustment that aims at two objectives: i) to avoid competitive distortions towards the European industries that suffer from the cost of implementing the Kyoto Protocol and ii) to incite joining and implementing the Protocol. The article analyses the compatibility of a border tax adjustment with the WTO regime. It shows that such a tax would not be possible. This is why are presented other strategies, not mutually exclusive, available to the EU for a project of global governance. The objective is to generate a synergy between trade and climate regimes. The issue is to prepare now the post-Kyoto agenda which will come into force in 2012. The article stresses the necessity for the EU to develop such an offer that gives rise to great powers' adhesion and for a change in the actual interstate coalition equilibrium.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Koenig Matthias

**Mondialisation des droits de l'homme et transformation de l'État-nation. Une analyse néo-institutionnaliste**

in *Droit et société*, n. 67 , 673-694

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Cassese Sabino

**Nel labirinto delle globalizzazioni**

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 4 , 921-930

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Subacchi Paola



**New power centres and new power brokers: are they shaping a new economic order?**

in *International Affairs* , issue 3, vol. 84, may , 485-498

ABSTRACT: Global integration through trade and finance is the defining feature of today's international economic order. As mature industrial economies and emerging market economies become more integrated and interdependent, countries that play a key role in the global supply chain increasingly shape the world economy and influence its dynamics. How is the world economy changing? This article argues that a multipolar structure is an accurate description of the pattern in which the world economy is organized and power is distributed among players. Power is now more diffused, but not equally distributed; new players have increased their capacity for action, but not necessarily their influence. The balance remains tilted in favour of the old poles, with the United States in the strongest, albeit less dominant, position. In particular, there is a misalignment between the new poles' role in the global economy and their ability, and willingness, to influence institutions and participate in rule-setting. This is where the major source of potential tension and conflict lies in today's economic order. The combination of global financial markets and national politics has created a lopsided system where political arrangements are still based on the sovereignty of states and where the development of international institutions that could promote collective goods has not kept pace with the development of markets. Looming changes and fear of systemic collapse, especially in view of the current economic turmoil that has the potential to weaken global growth and impose huge strains on the international order, may spur action. However, whether this will trigger renewed efforts to rethink existing arrangements, improve global governance and strengthen the rules-based framework that underpins the global order remains an open question.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Death Carl

**No WSSD + 5? Global environmental diplomacy in the twenty-first century**

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 17, Number 1, February , 121-125

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Princen Thomas

**Notes on the Theorizing of Global Environmental Politics**

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 8, Number 1, February , 1-5

Although global environmental politics (GEP), like other areas of international relations, should be theorized, no single unified theory of GEP is in the offing, nor should be. Nevertheless, assuming that the ultimate societal goal is ecological and social sustainability, at least three elements are necessary in that theorizing: starting points, metaphors, and normative content. The primary starting points for GEP include concern for irreversible diminution of the earth's life support systems, the consequences of ever-increasing throughput of material and energy, and the injustices of uneven distribution. Inappropriate metaphors of the environment include the machine and the laboratory; appropriate ones include spaceship earth and a watershed. Appropriate norms include ecological capping and zero waste. Finally, the theorizing effort needs to be explicit about the questions being asked. Are they about environmental improvement or sustainability? Are they about easing the environmental burdens of the powerless or easing the adjustment costs of the



powerful?

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Eckert Amy E.

**Obligations beyond national borders: international institutions and distributive justice**

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 4, Issue 1, April 2008 , 67-78

Recent scholarship has tied duties of distributive justice to the existence of coercive institutions. This body of work argues that, because the international system lacks institutions that can coerce individuals in the same manner as domestic institutions, there are no international obligations to address relative poverty and inequality. Proponents of this view use it to support the existence of a compatriot preference that requires us to meet the needs of compatriots before meeting those of the global poor. Even supposing distributive justice to be linked to coercion, coercive institutions do exist at the international level. These institutions coerce states rather than individuals, but their ability to coerce gives rise to duties of economic redistribution between states.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Underhill Geoffrey, Zhang Xiaoke

**Setting the rules: private power, political underpinnings, and legitimacy in global monetary and financial governance**

in *International Affairs* , issue 3, vol. 84, may , 535-554

ABSTRACT: The role of private market agents in global monetary and financial governance has increased as globalization has proceeded. This shift in both markets and patterns of governance has often been encouraged by states themselves in pursuit of liberalization policies. Much of the literature views these developments in a positive light, yet there are other aspects of these developments that also merit attention. This article supports its central propositions with two cases of emerging global financial governance processes: the Basel II capital adequacy standards for international banking supervision and the International Organization of Securities Commissions-based transnational regulatory processes underpinning the functioning of cross-border securities markets. Based on the case findings, the article argues first that private sector self-regulation and/or public-private partnership in governance processes can leave public authorities vulnerable to dependence on the information and expertise provided by private agents in a fast-moving market environment. Policy in the vital domain of financial regulation has been increasingly aligned to private sector preferences to a degree that should raise fears of bureaucratic capture. Second, the article contends that the overall outcome in terms of global financial system efficiency and stability has been mixed, bringing a range of important benefits but also instability and crisis for many societies to a degree that has led to challenges to global governance itself. The case material indicates that the input, output and accountability phases of legitimacy in global monetary and financial governance are highly problematic, and much of the problem relates to the way in which private market agents are integrated into the decision-making process. Third, the article posits that a better consideration of these three 'phases' of legitimacy and their interrelationships is likely to enhance the political underpinnings and legitimacy of global financial and monetary order.





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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Young Oran R.

**The Architecture of Global Environmental Governance: Bringing Science to Bear on Policy in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 8, Number 1, February , 14-32

This article draws on the findings of the international research project on the Institutional Dimensions of Global Environmental Change to evaluate current proposals for reforming organizational arrangements that address environmental protection and especially calls for strengthening the UN Environment Programme or creating a UN Environment Organization. The first section explores pitfalls arising when policy-makers focus on form before sorting out functional matters. The next section examines institutional challenges confronting efforts to create effective environmental governance systems. The final section broadens the scope to address issues extending beyond environmental protection in a world of nation states. The goal is not to throw cold water on specific proposals of those who advocate organizational reform. Rather, the article argues that form should follow function in this realm as in others. By itself, organizational reform cannot achieve environmental protection, much less the broader goal of sustainable development.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Von Stein Jana

**The International Law and Politics of Climate Change: Ratification of the United Nations Framework Convention and the Kyoto Protocol**

in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, n. 2, vol. 52, april , 243-268

ABSTRACT: A considerable challenge for the creators of international environmental agreements is how to design mechanisms that deter defection without deterring participation. Relatively "soft" law often garners widespread participation, but it creates few concrete incentives for states to improve behavior. "Harder" commitments make shirking more difficult, but these institutional features may deter from joining the very states whose practices are least consistent with the treaty's requirements. Empirical analyses of ratification of the core agreements of the climate change regime support these propositions. Flexibility provisions provide one mechanism for states to mitigate this dilemma. The findings with regard to one flexibility mechanism strongly support this argument. The results with regard to a second flexibility mechanism, however, tend to follow an opposite pattern. The author offers a preliminary interpretation of this finding. Finally, this article provides insight into how international social networks and the strength of domestic nongovernmental organizations affect ratification.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Gibson John

**The Myth of the Multitude: The Endogenous Demise of Alter-globalist Politics**

in *Global Society*, Volume 22, Issue 2, April , 253-275



Approaches to protests at global economic institutions and Social Forum events have focused on their counter-hegemonic potential and the commonality articulated through such metaphors as “one no, many yeses” and “we are everywhere”, in which the diversity of activism is contained within a common understanding of the system to be rejected. Recent trends, however, suggest that these assessments are far from satisfactory, and oblivious to the fragility and precariousness surrounding such global subjectivity. This paper explores the existing literature supportive of such political activity, and introduces alternative approaches that question the claims of activists to global political significance, probing the pluralistic global subject imagined in images of a global multitude in a critical fashion. It then reports back to the notion of global society, considering how continuing injustices and difficulties within alter-globalist spaces prevent the creation of ethical identifications with marginalised peoples.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Wessel Ramses, Wouters Jan

**The Phenomenon of Multilevel Regulation: Interactions between Global, EU and National Regulatory Spheres in International Organizations Law Review**, n. 2, vol. 4, 259-291

ABSTRACT: Rules are no longer merely made by states, but increasingly by international organizations and other international bodies. At the same time these rules do impact the daily life of citizens and companies as it has become increasingly difficult to draw dividing lines between international, EU and domestic law. This contribution introduces the notion of 'multilevel regulation' as a way to study these normative processes and the interplay between different legal orders. It indicates that many rules in such areas as trade, financial cooperation, food safety, pharmaceuticals, security, terrorism, civil aviation, environmental protection or the internet find their origin in international cooperation. Apart from introducing multilevel regulation on the basis of a number of examples, the authors try to set out an agenda for further research, including legal and non-legal approaches.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Klodt Henning, Lorz Oliver

**The coordinate plane of global governance in Review of International Organizations (The)**, n. 1, vol. 3, march, 29-40

ABSTRACT: The ‘coordinate plane of global governance’ developed in this paper describes the trade-off between static gains and dynamic losses associated with international policy harmonization. A simple model illustrates how potential gains result from producing positive international spill-overs, whereas potential losses come from restricted systems competition between national policy regimes. The solution to this model allows identifying the cut-off level between policies suitable for global harmonization and policies which should better not be centralized. An application of the concept to selected policy fields illustrates its relevance for decision-making on global governance.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Etzioni Amitai, Hussain Amir, Fadel Mohammad H., Elshain Jean Bethke, Schwartz Stephen, Moeller Joergen Oerstroem



**The global importance of 'illiberal moderates', an exchange: partners in peace to precede a concert of democracies**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 21, n. 2, June , 159-178

The following is an exchange concerning the concept of 'illiberal moderates' and its implications for a new global architecture as well as for a worldview that sees the evolution of a global core of shared values which favour domestic and international security, in sharp contrast to the 'clash of civilizations' thesis. The original statement was published in the *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* (Etzioni 2006). A more extensive treatment can be found in Part III of *Security first: for a muscular, moral foreign policy* (Etzioni 2007b), which examines texts of four religious and two secular belief systems as well as review of relevant public opinion polls and 'traveller notes'. Here follows a brief summary of the main thesis, followed by comments from prominent scholars and Etzioni's response to these comments.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Jordan Andrew

**The governance of sustainable development: taking stock and looking forwards**

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 26, Issue 1, February , 17-33

The number of books and papers bearing the terms 'sustainable development' and 'governance' in their titles has grown exponentially in the last decade or so. The main purpose of this paper is to explore what meanings have been attached to these two essentially contested terms and to assess the extent to which the material on them constitutes an important, coherent, and cumulative body of scholarship. The first half explores the existing literatures on the two terms, and draws out some of the main similarities and differences. Drawing on papers that have been published in this journal over the last decade or so, the second half focuses on the attempts that have been made to build empirical and/or theoretical bridges between the two terms. The concluding section identifies a number of key themes and explores future research needs in what is evidently a vibrant and highly policy-relevant area of environmental social science research.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Cohen Benjamin

**The international monetary system: diffusion and ambiguity**

in *International Affairs* , issue 3, vol. 84, may , 455-470

**ABSTRACT:** This article examines the dynamics of power and rule-setting in the international monetary system. It begins with a brief discussion of the meaning of power in international monetary relations, distinguishing between two critical dimensions of monetary power: autonomy and influence. Major developments have led to a greater diffusion of power in monetary affairs, both among states and between states and societal actors. But the diffusion of power has mainly been in the dimension of autonomy, rather than influence, meaning that leadership in the system has been dispersed rather than relocated—a pattern of change in the geopolitics of finance that might be called leaderless diffusion. The pattern of leaderless diffusion, in turn, is generating greater ambiguity in prevailing governance structures. Rule-setting in monetary relations increasingly relies not on negotiations among a few powerful states but, rather, on the evolution of custom and usage among growing numbers of autonomous agents. Impacts on governance structures can



be seen on two levels: the individual state and the global system. At the state level, the dispersion of power compels governments to rethink their commitment to national monetary sovereignty. At the systemic level, it compounds the difficulties of bargaining on monetary issues. More and more, formal rules are being superseded by informal norms that emerge, like common law, not from legislation or statutes but from everyday conduct and social convention.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Dellink Rob, Finus Michael, Olieman Niels

**The stability likelihood of an international climate agreement**

**in *Environmental & Resource Economics***, Volume 39, Number 4, April , 357-377

Results derived from empirical analyses on the stability of climate coalitions are usually very sensitive to the large uncertainties associated with the benefits and costs of climate policies. This paper provides the methodology of Stability Likelihood (SL) that links uncertainties about benefits and costs of climate change to the stability of coalitions. We show that the concept of SL improves upon the robustness and interpretation of stability analyses. Moreover, our numerical application qualifies conclusions from a recent strand of literature based on stylised models with ex-ante symmetric players that learning has a negative impact on the success of coalition formation in context of uncertainty.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Kraft-Kasack Christiane

**Transnational Parliamentary Assemblies: A Remedy for the Democratic Deficit of International Governance?**

**in *West European Politics***, n. 3, vol. 31, may , 534-557

ABSTRACT: While international governance may improve the legitimacy of its policies by producing better outputs, it reduces legitimacy on the input side as decisions are taken further away from the citizens. This article examines transnational parliamentary assemblies and assesses whether they might add legitimacy to decision-making beyond the state. While the parliamentary route to legitimacy is often belittled within the realm of international relations, many such assemblies already exist. The study gives an overview of such assemblies and compares the European Parliament, the Nordic Council and the Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference in detail. They represent three types of transnational parliamentary assemblies: parliament, assembly and conference. The article reaches the conclusion that a parliament can further democratic legitimacy in supranational contexts, whereas assemblies can provide additional legitimacy to processes of international cooperation. The conference type does not fulfil the criteria set for democratic legitimacy.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Torgler Benno

**Trust in international organizations: An empirical investigation focusing on the United Nations**

**in *Review of International Organizations (The)*** , n. 1, vol. 3, march , 65-93

ABSTRACT: The literature on social capital has strongly increased in the last two decades, but there still is a lack of substantial empirical evidence about the determinants of international trust. This empirical study analyzes a



cross-section of individuals, using micro-data from the World Values Survey, covering 38 countries, to investigate trust in international organizations, specifically in the United Nations. In line with previous studies on international trust we find that political trust matters. We also find that social trust is relevant, but contrary to previous studies the results are less robust. Moreover, the paper goes beyond previous studies investigating also the impact of geographic identification, corruption and globalization. We find that a higher level of (perceived) corruption reduces the trust in the UN in developed countries, but increases trust in developing and transition countries. A stronger identification with the world as a whole also leads to a higher trust in the UN and a stronger capacity to act globally in economic and political environment increases trust in the UN.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Ballabio Roberta , Martellini Maurizio, Tempesti Lucilla**

**Un nuovo piano Baruch**

in *Aspenia*, n. 40, "Elezioni globali" , 182-196

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Jaeschke Walter**

**Vom Völkerrecht zum Völkerrecht. Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Philosophie und Rechtsgeschichte**

in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 56. Jahrgang, Heft 2, 2008 , 277-298

An den vielfachen Wandlungen des Wortes 'Völkerrecht' zeigt die Abhandlung die jahrhundertelange 'Arbeit des Begriffs': Sie führt von der Konstatierung großenteils hochproblematischer übereinstimmender Rechtsüberzeugungen über das ambivalente "Kriegs- und Friedensrecht" zur Zeit der Klassischen Deutschen Philosophie bis zum modernen Völkerrecht. 'Klassische' philosophische Konzeptionen – von Grotius, Hobbes, Kant, Hegel – müssen vor diesem rechtsgeschichtlich konkretisierten Hintergrund verstanden und beurteilt werden. Zugleich lässt auch erst diese rechtsgeschichtliche Differenzierung die Aufgabe der gegenwärtigen Philosophie angesichts des Völkerrechts deutlich werden.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Helms Ludger**

**Wie verändert die Internationalisierung von Politik, Gesellschaft und Ökonomie die liberale Demokratie in Europa? Eine Problemskizze**

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 17. Jahrgang (2007), Heft 4 , 1119-1139

How Does the Internationalization of Politics, Society and the Economy Affect Liberal Democracy in Europe? A Problem-Oriented Assessment

That internationalization may affect the evolution of liberal democracy in Europe and elsewhere in a positive way marks



a prominent assessment. Such evaluations appear justified in particular with regard to the impact of European integration on the development of democracy in Central Eastern Europe. However, the manifestations and effects of growing internationalization of politics, society and the economy have been highly diverse and ambiguous. Among the more problematic effects of internationalization is the challenge it poses to some of the fundamental principles of liberal democracy at the level of European nation states. This paper highlights some of the major internationalization-driven challenges to liberal democracy in Europe, and looks at possible solutions to the structural problems identified.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Parnreiter Christof, Fischer Karin, Imhof, Karen

**El enlace faltante entre cadenas globales de producción y ciudades globales: el servicio financiero en Ciudad de México y Santiago de Chile**

in *EURE - Revista latinoamericana de estudios urbano regionales*, Vol. 33, n. 100 , 135-148

Since the 1980s, the economies of Mexico and Chile have passed through a profound process of globalisation. The result has been a nodalisation of the cities' economies, documented by their high concentration of command and control functions essential for economic globalization. In order to specify the relationship between global city formation and the deepening of global integration we draw on the findings of the global city and global commodity chain literature. Since advanced producer services have been identified as key actors in interlocking de-centralized production sites and urban networks we have analyzed the involvement of financial institutions in bond and share issues of the 50 top ranked Mexican and Chilean enterprises. Based on this initial empirical investigation we take a first step to specify how the two firm-based, trans-state networks -global city- and global production networks - relate

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Adib-Moghaddam Arshin

**A (short) history of the clash of civilizations**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 21, n. 2, June , 217-234

Where does the clash of civilizations thesis and its underlying us-versus-them mentality come from? How has the idea been engineered historically and ideologically in the 'east' and 'west'? What were the functions of Christianity and Islam to these ends? These are some of the questions that will be discussed in this article that engages both the clash of civilizations thesis and the discourse of 'Orientalism' more generally. Dissecting the many manifestations of mutual retributions, the article establishes the nuances of the 'clash' mentality within the constructs we commonly refer to as 'Islam' and the 'west', showing how it is based on a questionable ontology, how it has served particular political interests and how it is not inevitable. What is presented, rather, is a short genealogy of this idea, dispelling some of its underlying myths and inventions along the way.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Etzioni Amitai

**A Global, Community Building Language?**





in **International Studies Perspectives** , issue 2, vol. 9, may , 113-127

ABSTRACT: Although long championed, a global language has not come to fruition despite considerable efforts. Many fear that such a language would undermine the particularistic, identity-constituting primary languages of local and national communities. These concerns can be addressed at least in part by utilizing a two-tiered approach in which efforts to protect primary languages are intensified at the same time that a global language is adopted as an additional language and not as a substitutive one. Although the U.N. or some other such global organization could, theoretically, choose a language to serve as the global language, English is already (and increasingly) occupying this position as a result of the colonial period and post-colonial developments. In this respect, English is compared to the development of the railroad system in the United States, which although introduced at considerable human costs by overpowering corporations, later became an integral part of the economy and society. Whether English should be adopted as a second language, or as a third or fourth one, is heavily influenced by the level of difficulty involved—the labor to fluency ratio—in acquiring a new language.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Smith William

**A cosmopolitan sociology: Ulrich Beck's trilogy on the global age**

in **Global Networks**, n. 2, vol. 8, april , 253-259

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Chanda Nayan

**Bound Together: The Future of Globalization**

in **New Perspectives Quarterly**, Vol. 25, Issue 2, Spring , 14-18

Globalization has indeed flattened the earth, paving the way for new beginnings and the resurgence of old cultures alike by levelling the playing field for all comers. While this new era of post-globalization certainly heralds de-Westernization by century's end, is it more likely to mean a revival of the old ways of the East or the new hybrid ways of the first global civilization?

Some of Asia's most provocative voices, as well as the world's most renowned cellist and cross-pollinating musician, offer their views.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Zolo Danilo

**Ciudadanía y Globalización**



in *Analisis politico* , Vol. 20, issue 61 , 45-53

The essay refers to the relationship between globalization and citizenship rights. In the first part, the author presents an approach to the concept of citizenship and then discusses the cosmopolitan theories which assume globalization as the advent of the global civil society. In the last part, the author points out the world levels of inequality to conclude on the restrictive character of some of the new rights in the society of information

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Vengoa Hugo Fazio

**De La Globalización A La Historia Global: Hacia Otra Representación Del Mundo Contemporáneo**

in *Analisis politico* , Vol. 20, issue 61 , 28-44

The core thesis of the article deals with the way in which deep transformations of our contemporary world have generated incertitude in the classic epistemological basis of social sciences. To show that, the author briefly examines the main problems of our contemporary times in a procedure that denotes a gap between reality and thought. Then, the article focuses on the reasons leading to positioning the concept of globalization as an axis around which the contemporary reality has been intendedly decoded. Finally, the author proposes a new way to make contemporary reality apprehensible through the concept of global history

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

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Gibson Ian

**Down and Out in Globality: The Violence of Poverty, The Violence of Capital**

in *Peace, Conflict and Development*, Volume 12, Issue 12, May , pp. 35

This paper will focus on the continuing conditions of poverty within globality and poverty's interrelation with violence and inequitable usages of capital. These conditions are both supported and maintained by systems contained within globality. Elite classes in the North and South (arguably the helm of globality) who control movements of capital, dissemble concern towards issues of poverty while maintaining systems that ensure both poverty and violence will continue, the most prominent systems being global capitalism and war (whether selling arms for, or fanning the flames of). This global overclass (see Rorty, 1999) responsible for major global economic decisions has subsumed nation-state politics and law resulting in political inaction that rarely contributes to any significant reductions in global poverty or global violence. However citizen-driven action and here 'citizen' refers specifically to those whose defining purpose is to make the world better than they found it (see Reardon 2001, Singer 2002 & Bauman 2006) has kept both the issues of poverty and violence against the unrepresented on governmental and international agendas, consistently demanding that the root causes of poverty and violence be tackled, and that a sustainable rights-driven agenda be adopted, one that correctly identifies poverty as violence against the unrepresented.

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

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Ibáñez-Martin José Antonio

**El quehacer educativo en un mundo globalizado**

in *Nueva Revista de Política Cultura y arte (Spagna)*, n. 113 , 24-38

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Sassen Saskia

**El reposicionamiento de las ciudades y regiones urbanas en una economía global: empujando las opciones de políticas y gobernanza**

in *EURE - Revista latinoamericana de estudios urbano regionales*, Vol. 33, n. 100 , 9-34

This paper addresses two critical urban and regional policy issues. One concerns actual shifts in the scales, spaces and contents of economic activity focusing in three types of critical processes: The ongoing formation of global cities; the novel trend towards the formation of mega-regions and the expansion of cross-border flows connecting cities at diverse levels of the urban hierarchy The second concerns the needed shifts in our interpretations and policy frameworks to adjust to these novel trends and maximize their benefits and distributive potential, examining some of the key challenges these developments generate for globalising cities and urban areas, from economic to social

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Castelleti Osvaldo, Canzanelli Giancarlo

**Estrategias y instrumentos para el desarrollo local en la era de la globalizacion**

in *Geosur : publicacion mensual* , Vol. 29, n. 329-330 , 20-26

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Lowenheim Oded

**Examining the State: a Foucauldian perspective on international 'governance indicators'**

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 29 Issue 2 , 255 - 274

This paper offers a critical perspective on the growing phenomenon of governance indicators in international politics. I employ a governmentality approach to shed light on the political meanings and outcomes of the increasing tendency of various international actors to rate and rank the governance capacities and performances of states. In particular, I argue that, beyond being an analytic tool or an advisory system for governments, this practice in fact reproduces structures of authority and hierarchy in the international system. Power and knowledge are bound together in many governance indicators, as powerful states either examine themselves, the quality of governance of Third World states, or adopt the examinations carried out by other agents. Consequently, poor and developing states cannot simply ignore these ratings and rankings. The governance indicators establish a discursive field of state legitimacy and normalcy and



'responsibilises' states: construct them as ethical actors that are capable of correct and responsible choices and policies. As a result, the responsibility of powerful states and international actors for a host of social, economic and political problems in many Third World countries is obscured. Therefore the paper calls for closer attention to be paid to the elements of power in these governance indicators.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Salehyan Idean

**From Climate Change to Conflict? No Consensus Yet**

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 45, Number 3, May , 315-326

Many scholars, policymakers, and activists have argued that climate change will lead to resource competition, mass migration, and, ultimately, an increase in armed conflict around the world. This article takes issue with the 'deterministic' view that climate change and resultant resource scarcities will have a direct impact on political violence. Rather, the effect of climate change on armed conflict is contingent on a number of political and social variables, which, if ignored by analysts, can lead to poor predictions about when and where conflict is likely. This article then discusses ways to improve research on the climate change—conflict connection and outlines broad policy suggestions for dealing with this potential problem. Scholars must communicate their findings with the policy community in order to come up with prudent solutions to this problem, while countering unnecessary rhetoric on both sides of the debate.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Loriaux Sylvie

**Global equality of opportunity: a proposal**

in **Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 11, Number 1, March , 1-28

This article aims at showing that a plausible conception of global equality of opportunity can be constructed. It starts from the observation that abandoning any egalitarian commitments at the global level would amount to leaving the potential unfairness of global market competitions unaddressed. It then argues that one of the most important objections that has been raised to the ideal of global equality of opportunity — namely, the unavailability of an adequate cross-cultural standard of comparison — can be avoided (at least to a certain extent) if we adopt a 'competitive' conception of equality of opportunity. Applied to the global economic context, this conception demands that all equally talented and motivated persons who participate in the global economic order should have a roughly equal chance to enjoy the fruits of global economic interactions, irrespective of the society to which they belong. It places two kinds of demands upon the global rich: (1) ensuring that global economic rules duly represent the interests of all the parties concerned, and (2) ensuring that all the persons who participate in the global economic order are given the capacity to acquire the talents that predict success in the global marketplace.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*



Schmitz Thomas

**Globalisation, International Law, People and the State**  
in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLIX, n. 3 , 210-222

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Prange Heiko

**Globalisierung und der variierende Wandel nationaler Politiken im internationalen Vergleich**  
in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 17. Jahrgang (2007), Heft 4 , 1143-1163

Globalization and the Varying Change of National Policies in Comparative Perspective

Taking the time span between the years 1970 and 2000 this article traces the change of national science and technology policies in the Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden and explains why the changes vary to a significant extent. I will argue that variations in policy change are not the overriding result of growing globalization of science and technology activities but first of all reflect the dynamics of institutionalization processes (relating to veto points within a political system, the degree of Europeanization, and politico-economic traditions and structures) within a policy area. In sum, this means that the impact of growing globalization on national policies plays an inferior role, especially when in parallel a change of national-institutional structures or of processes of European integration occur.

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Avendaño Belem Dolores

**Globalización y competitividad en el sector hortofrutícola: México, el gran perdedor**  
in *El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual* , n. 147

No abstract available

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

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Ka Ho Mok, Ray Yep

**Globalization and State capacity in Asia**  
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 21 Number 2, , 109-120

No abstract available

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Conrad Sebastian

**Globalization effects: mobility and nation in Imperial Germany, 1880–1914**

in *Journal of Global History*, volume 3, Issue 01, March , 43-66

The trajectories of German nationalism in the late nineteenth century were deeply affected by the process of globalization. While the literature on the subject has largely remained within the confines of a national history paradigm, this article uses the example of mobility and migration to show to what extent German nationalism was transformed under the auspices of global integration. Among the effects of cross-border circulation were the emergence of diasporic nationalism, the racialization of the nation, the implementation of new border regimes, and the hegemony of ideological templates that linked nationalist discourse to global geopolitics. This article is intended as a contribution to a 'spatial turn' in the historiography of nationalism, in arguing that not only the 'nation form' but also the way that the nation was defined, understood, and practised – the particular contents of nationalism – owed more to the global context in which it was constituted than is usually recognized.

[http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FJGH%2FJGH3\\_01%2FS174002280800243Xa.pdf&code=dea234bdc20b88a71e3a1a9fe14560df](http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FJGH%2FJGH3_01%2FS174002280800243Xa.pdf&code=dea234bdc20b88a71e3a1a9fe14560df)

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Salvatore Dominick

**Globalization, International Competitiveness, and European Regions**

in *Economia Politica*, Fascicolo 1 , 3-10

No abstract available

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

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Ha Eunyoung

**Globalization, Veto Players, and Welfare Spending**

in *Comparative Political Studies* , Vol. 41, n. 6 , 783-813

This article examines the role of globalization and its interaction with domestic political institutions (veto players) in shaping welfare spending in 18 advanced industrial countries from 1960 to 2000. First, the author evaluates how integrated world markets have influenced welfare expenditures. Results suggest that globalization increased welfare spending in this sample. Second, the author studies how domestic political institutions mediate the impact of globalization on welfare spending. With a new data set on veto players for the years 1960 to 2000, the author finds that as the number of and ideological distance among veto players increases, the upward pressure of globalization on welfare spending is reduced. The results show that globalization has pressured states to expand welfare spending, but the extent to which states have responded to pressure critically depends on the number of and ideological distance among veto players, whose agreement is required to change welfare policy

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James Harold

**Globalization, empire and natural law**

in *International Affairs* , issue 3, vol. 84, may , 421-436

ABSTRACT: Three controversial concepts are central to discussion on how international order originates, how it operates, and ultimately how we should respect it: globalization, empire and natural law. Each of these is examined in turn in this article. The currently prevalent way of thinking about globalization simply as a system of inter-connections, of processes and networks that span national and cultural boundaries is likely to produce anti-globalization backlashes. Many people reach the conclusion that global rules are simply a euphemism for some sort of imperial or neo-imperial rule. Consequently, there is an increasingly intense discussion of the role of force and power in a global order. This article suggests an alternative mechanism for creating global order. The power of globalization rests not simply on material prosperity, but on the ability to communicate and share ideas as well as goods across large geographical and cultural distances. Natural law theories suggest that a sustained dialogue between apparently rival traditions of thinking can lead to agreement on shared norms and values.

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Damman Siri

**Indigenous Vulnerability and the Process Towards the Millennium Development Goals-Will a Human Rights-Based Approach Help?**

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 14, Number 4 , 489-539

Indigenous peoples tend not to benefit equally from development processes. This is partly due to lack of efforts by states and others to respect and protect their land and livelihoods, and to a failure to consider their equal rights and their special rights when policies related to development are designed and enacted. As the case of indigenous peoples and the Millennium Development Goal 1 (MDG-1) shows, development indicators and strategies may not properly capture and address their special circumstances and concerns. Information should be sought on the specific situations of the most marginalized, and development policies should be sensitive to national multicultural realities. The newly adopted UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples does, in addition to other human right instruments, provide guidance on how development processes, and in particular the process towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), may better respond to indigenous peoples' needs and development aspirations.

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Yu H.Y.

**International Institutions and Transformation of China's Decision-making on Climate Change Policy**

in *China: an International Journal*, Volume 5 Issue 2 September , 497-523

The onset of the knowledge economy era and acceleration of globalization accentuate the influence of the international system on modes of government and the unprecedented challenges it creates. Certain scholars believe that governments will, as the general trend indicates, make the transition from the convention of 'managing the masses' to



that of coordinating natural resources for the common good, by enacting the roles of navigator, harmonizer, and communicator. Many pro-globalization scholars adopt the 'the reversed second image' method of analysing factors of globalization and the international system that influence domestic politics. Robert Keohane and Helen Milner, for instance, point out that the process of internationalization is certain to remould domestic policy, as political systems mirror policy makers' preferences and reactions as regards the benefits of internationalization.

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Oladi Reza, Beladi Hamid

**Is Regionalism Viable? A Case for Global Free Trade**

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 2, May 2008

No abstract available

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Rojas Diana Marcela

**La Falla Estatal y La Globalización**

in *Análisis político*, Vol. 20, issue 61, 73-85

State failure, more than a simple "anomaly" in the international system, reveals a deep transformation of statehood under the influence of globalization process. The so called "failed", "collapsed" or "unviable states" correspond only to the most extreme cases of a spectrum in which the limits of statehood "normality" turn out to be difficult to define and the modern concept of state-nation shows its inadequacy regarding the changes in the contemporary state. Therefore the need of a theory that comprises the model or models of statehood that would be in formation under this new global order

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Cuttitta Paolo

**Le monde-frontière. Le contrôle de l'immigration dans l'espace globalisé**

in *Cultures & Conflits*, numero 68, hiver, 60-84

Far from marking the end of borders, the globalization era enlightens us actually more about the continuous process by which borders are redefined in their shape and in the operational modalities. This is most obvious in the field of immigration control where territorial power operates through a double modality. On the one hand, it has a direct effect on territorial borders, diversifying and relocating actions in space: the constitutive points of the borderline are duplicated, multiplied and projected below and beyond the line itself, thus producing an effect of either introvert or extravert flexibilisation of the border. The border is thus transformed from a fixed one to a mobile one, from a material one to an immaterial one and from a linear one to a zonal one. On the other hand, territorial power vests itself in the sphere of the borders, borders represented by the status and personal conditions of migrants, by not only delineating the different status already existing but by multiplying them through the remodelling of their outlines and the differentiation of their contents.



Free text available on-line: <http://www.conflits.org/index5593.html>.

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**Ranganathan Maya, Lobo Bernadette**

**Localizing the Global: Analysis of Nationalist Ideologies in MNC Advertisements in Indian TV**

**in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 1, January 2008 , 117-142

Multinational corporations (MNCs) and their economies of production and distribution are based on the concept that the world is one market where the boundaries of the nation-states do not intrude in the sale of the products. Typically, MNC's products are most often centrally manufactured and distributed throughout the world with often no difference in the products that are sold in different countries. However, while it is found that the products can ignore the national boundaries, the process of marketing them cannot. This paper explores the process by which MNCs employ nationalist ideologies as a marketing tool through an analysis of television advertisements of MNCs in India. India offers a good case study in view of cultural nationalism that dictates her national identity and the path of economic liberalization that the country launched into 15 years ago.

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**Cailmail Benoît, Perier Miriam**

**Lorsqu'un conflit local s'intègre dans la guerre globale au terrorisme : le cas des maoïstes du Népal**

**in Cultures & Conflits**, numero 68, hiver , 127-146

The Nepalese political crisis linked to the relative success of the People's War launched by the Maoist movement in February 1996 has pushed the fragile Nepalese government and democracy into a sort of decadence and chaos. Political institutions, already weak, were forced to leave rural areas. This loss of control and legitimacy of political institutions, far from facilitating the settlement of the conflict via the political means and negotiations, strengthened the rebels but also offered to the Royal Nepalese Army (RNA) and King Gyanendra, Supreme chief commander of the army a form of power that became even more difficult to oppose, whether nationally, regionally or internationally, at least at the early stage of the conflict. The RNA was mobilized after seven years of conflict in order to start negotiations with the rebels. But rapidly, its repressive role replaced this aim. This paper argues that the Nepalese case shows the interconnection between the local and the international, in particular with regards to the consequences of international policies launched by a few states on local politics that were a priori disconnected from "international terrorism" and the war against the so called phenomenon. The paper will show the consequences of the application of the label "terrorists" to the Maoists rebels, in terms of international aid, regional relations and everyday life of the Nepalese people. Nepal presents an excellent example of the impossibility to consider a so called "peripheral" conflict without observing regional and international links often that are at the heart of dynamics of violence.

Free text available on-line: <http://www.conflits.org/index6243.html>.

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**Corva Dominic**



**Neoliberal globalization and the war on drugs: Transnationalizing illiberal governance in the Americas**  
in *Political Geography*, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 176-193

The augmentation of the state's "illiberal" capacity to govern in the Americas has occurred in tandem with the rolling back of its capacity to govern global capital (Peck, 2003, "Geography and public policy: mapping the penal state." *Progress in Human Geography* 27(2): 222–232), and both processes have been catalyzed by the imperiality of the U.S. state (Slater, 2004, *Geopolitics and the post-colonial*. Oxford: Blackwell). I examine the militarization and transnationalization of the U.S. "war on drugs" as a liberal technique for identifying populations that must be governed in other ways. This critical engagement with the war on drugs in the Americas begins by placing its relationship with the rise of the "penal state" in the context of neoliberalism in the U.S., then examines the geopolitics of its transnationalization in context of neoliberal governance in the Americas, and finishes by examining some of the empirical outcomes of this articulation between neoliberalization and punitive "illiberalization" in the Americas. I argue for political geographical research on globalization and criminalization that engages with the relationship between criminalization and socioeconomic exclusion across scales, and maps out the geographically particular and historically continuous ways in which neoliberal and illiberal governance articulate to produce excluded populations as subjects that "need" to be governed in other ways.

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Zohlnhofer Reimut, Obinger Herbert, Wolf Frieder

**Partisan Politics, Globalization, and the Determinants of Privatization Proceeds in Advanced Democracies (1990–2000)**

in *Governance*, Vol. 21, n. 1, January , 95-121

The 1990s have witnessed unprecedented attempts at privatizing state-owned enterprises in virtually all OECD democracies. This contribution analyzes the extent to which the partisan control of the government can account for the differences in the privatization proceeds raised by EU and OECD countries between 1990 and 2000. It turns out that privatizations are part of a process of economic liberalization in previously highly regulated economies as well as a reaction to the fiscal policy challenges imposed by European integration and the globalization of financial markets. Partisan differences only emerge if economic problems are moderate, while intense economic, particularly fiscal, problems foreclose differing partisan strategies.

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Marramao Giacomo

**Pensare Babele. L'universale, il multiplo, la differenza**

in *Iride*, n. 3, dicembre 2007 , 449-459

No abstract available



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**Gardels Nathan**

**Post-Globalization**

**in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 25, Issue 2, Spring , 2-5**

Globalization has so thoroughly transformed the world that we may now be entering a new phase: post-globalization. This phase is characterized less by a flattening of old differences than the appearance of new ones.

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**Albertin Giorgia**

**Regionalism or Multilateralism? A Political Economy Choice**

**in *IMF Policy Discussion Papers*, March 2008**

This paper provides a political economy analysis of the incentives underpinning a country's decision to enter a regional trade agreement when a multilateral free trade agreement is available, and of how entering a regional trade agreement affects the incentives to pursue multilateral trade liberalization. Taking into account the influence exerted by organized interest groups in the formation of trade agreements, we derive a formal condition under which a regional trade agreement is preferred to a multilateral one. Furthermore, we show that a country's decision to enter a regional trade agreement unambiguously undermines the incentives towards multilateral trade liberalization.

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**Borja Jordi**

**Revolución y contrarrevolución en la ciudad global: las expectativas frustradas por la globalización de nuestras ciudades**

**in *EURE - Revista latinoamericana de estudios urbano regionales*, Vol. 33, n. 100 , 35-50**

A pessimistic analysis, even catastrophic, prevails in studies of global urbanization. For example, the Reports of the UNDP-Habitat or the Worldwatch Institute, or the articles and presentations in intellectual fora. This does not mean that the transformative and integrative potential of cities is not recognized. The positive discourse about citizens' liberties that the urban revolution, currently in process, makes possible forms part of our culture. These are the two sides of this reality. Many cities, European and American, have promoted regeneration of their central areas that, in many cases, deal with almost an entire municipality, with a revaluing of the compact, heterogenous city characterized by the quality of public space. However the urban developments, the metropolitan regions, multiply inequalities over the landscape, generating spaces that are physically fragmented and socially segregated. The current urban revolution is frustrating. The political, urbanistic and cultural challenge today is to 'make the city' in all regions characterized by urbanization



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Massal Julie

**Sociedad Civil Internacional: Un Poder Global?**

in *Analisis politico* , Vol. 20, issue 61 , 54-72

No abstract available

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

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Deler Jean-Paul, Godard Henri R.

**Territoires, sociétés et mondialisation en Amérique andine**

in *Transcontinentales*, numero 4, "Amérique latine", juin , 15-44

Although Andean America appears relatively homogeneous as the seven states concerned still show similarities in their economic organisation and the structuring of spaces, a more in-depth study reveals both the disparities between them and the discontinuity and breakdown that permeate their societies and territories. With the current wave of globalisation and its impact on the redefinition of South American regional markets, the area is struggling to become a significant competitor in the world arena where North American and European power blocks are now being joined by increasingly influential Asian countries.

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Haass Richard N.

**The Age of Nonpolarity**

in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008 Vol 87, Number 3

The United States' unipolar moment is over. International relations in the twenty-first century will be defined by nonpolarity. Power will be diffuse rather than concentrated, and the influence of nation-states will decline as that of nonstate actors increases. But this is not all bad news for the United States; Washington can still manage the transition and make the world a safer place.

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Mahbubani Kishore

**The Case Against the West**

in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008 Vol 87, Number 3

The West is not welcoming Asia's progress, and its short-term interests in preserving its privileged position in various global institutions are trumping its long-term interests in creating a more just and stable world order. The West has gone





from being the world's problem solver to being its single biggest liability.

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Wapner Paul

**The Importance of Critical Environmental Studies in the New Environmentalism**

**in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 8, Number 1, February , 6-13

Over the past few years, environmental studies has been pushed to the sidelines of political discourse as environmental challenges have been overshadowed in world affairs by issues of terrorism, national security and global economic stability. However, a new Democratic Congress in the US and anticipation of a new US president, intensifying global concern about climate change and forward-looking environmental initiatives at the municipal and regional levels the world-over suggest that we may be entering a new era of environmental concern. How should environmental scholars position themselves in the emerging political landscape? This essay argues that, while critical environmental scholarship often occupies the margins of disciplinary space, it is more relevant now than ever before. The essay explains why and how critical environmental studies can adopt the mantle of genuinely effective scholarly engagement.

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Robinson Andrew

**The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World.**

**in Contemporary Political Theory**, Vol. 7, n. 1, February , 114-119

This book is an original and important contribution to understanding movements of the excluded in postcolonial societies. The concrete discussion is mainly of India, but the potential relevance is broader, particularly in the postcolonial world. The majority of the book consists of a series of lectures and related pieces on the formation of 'political society', with a few additional short pieces on globalization, the 'war on terror' and urban cleansing bringing the book to its current length. The book is necessary reading for understanding how the excluded, often operating outside illegality, sometimes obtain a voice in modern states, though there are some problems with how Chatterjee conceives the relationship between social movements and the state.

The central thesis presented in the book is the existence of what Chatterjee terms 'political society'. Chatterjee constructs a binary between two dynamics within the modern state — on one side, theory, nationalism, unbound serialities, citizens, a homogeneous national space, and civil society; on the other, practice, governmentality, bound serialities, populations, a heterogeneous social space, and political society. Drawing on Benedict Anderson, he differentiates unbound serialities — the open-ended imaginary communities of national identity, operating in homogeneous empty time — from bound serialities constructed through mathematical devices such as censuses and by strategies of governmentality targeting particular groups (p. 5). Against Anderson, however, he asserts that the latter form the texture of modern society. 'People can only imagine themselves in empty homogeneous time; they do not live in it. Empty homogeneous time is the utopian time of capital' (p. 6). Nationalism has become the central legitimation of state power since the French Revolution by identifying people, nation and state (p. 27). But it is unsustainable because it requires a certain kind of person and association — the citizen (rather than subject) who has a proper and legal place in society, and civil society as the association of such citizens (p. 33).



In practice, governance rests on population categories — recognition of variables such as ethnicity, religion and caste, and of groups living outside or on the borders of legality — in order to direct projects of social welfare and social control. In the realm of practice, therefore, citizens are replaced with 'populations'. Even in the west, governmentality, with its networks of surveillance and its ethos of instrumentalism and non-participation, has displaced citizenship at the heart of politics. In the postcolonial world, it actually preceded the nation-state (pp. 34–35). Populations are not excluded from politics or outside the state's reach, but nor are they treated as citizens or as members of civil society. Rather, they are seen as entities to be controlled or looked after (p. 38). Hence, the popular experience of politics is an experience of being subject to governmentality as passive and fragmentary politics, not of being citizens. Governments such as India thus seek to construct the very basis they claim, to transform populations into citizens (p. 39).

One problem for this modernist project is the existence of entire population-groups whose social life depends on transgression of illegality — squatters, street traders, fare-dodgers, people who obtain free water and electricity — and who come to view such resources as land and water as rights in a way the state, with its prioritizing of order, does not (p. 40). The state's obsession with order and property prevent it accepting these people as citizens (pp. 136–137). These populations are likely to mobilize as populations (not citizens), couching demands in terms of welfare rights. Governments seeking popular legitimacy often have to engage and compromise with such popular movements (p. 41). Organizations arise to gain recognition as population groups and to construct moral communities in settings, such as the shanty town, which are outside civil society (p. 57). It is the 'demographic categories of governmentality', not citizenship, which ground the claimed right to squat, and other welfare rights (p. 59). Chatterjee paints a detailed empirical picture of self-organization among squatters and slum-dwellers, with a collective identity approximating kinship and formal organizations such as a Welfare Association capable of collective negotiations (pp. 57–59). To pass from governmental category to political-societal entity, a population group must gain a 'moral content' (p. 75). To succeed in extracting concessions from government programmes, the poor 'must succeed in applying the right pressure at the right places in the governmental machinery' to bend or stretch procedures designed to exclude them (p. 66). The mobilizations might involve 'controlled organization of violence' (p. 139). Often intermediate elites such as school teachers act as mediators between governors and governed (p. 66). 'The urban poor' in post-colonial India 'were frequently tied to the wealthy in patron–client relationships that were... mediated by charitable organisations and even proto-unions', often mobilized around ethnicity or through neighbourhood associations, sometimes as a way for organizations such as the Congress party to head off self-organization (pp. 132–133). The result is that strategic, temporary arrangements are often negotiated with the state (pp. 136–137).

Against the usual privileging of universal citizenship over particular belongings, Chatterjee insists the two are equally legitimate (p. 25). The utopia of nationalism is impossible in a postcolonial world; to achieve democratic inclusion, one needs to dirty one's hands with the particularist questions of governmentality (p. 23). Chatterjee thus both documents and espouses a politics of the governed based on the density and heterogeneity of everyday life. This is to mean a constant negotiation of social arrangements between political society and the state, leading to a persisting ambiguity between national, universal rights and an anchoring of politics in movements of particularity. Ultimately Chatterjee's approach is an endorsement of the 'project of democratic modernity', and attempt to lead this statist project through the 'thicket of contestations' of everyday life (p. 50). To this end, he calls for political society to be embraced. Political society lets 'some of the squalor, ugliness and violence of popular life' into politics, but this inclusion is to be preferred to the 'sanitized fortress' of civil society (p. 74). It is in political society that an expansion of democratic political participation becomes possible (p. 76). The other modalities of time restricting capitalism, secularism and statism are not pre-modern residues, but rather, products of the encounter with modernity (p. 7). Even in resisting modernizing projects, subaltern peoples have been transformed (p. 51). He also advocates using political society to reform minority communities,



democratizing these communities through a border zone between the state and society (p. 128). The state aspect of this process is taken to be necessary to avoid empowering traditionalist and fundamentalist forces (p. 129). In other words, this is a project for deepening the existing democratic system to include the urban poor by means of making the most of political society.

In addition to the material on political society, the book also includes chapters dealing with globalization, Indian cities, and American militarism since 911. Chatterjee embraces globalization scepticism — the world is less globalized in many regards today than it was before World War One (p. 87). There has been, however, an increase in global flows since the 1950s, due to financialization of the world economy (p. 88). He thus embraces Hardt and Negri's view of a new kind of stateless empire, with US forces acting more like police than an army (pp. 97–99). This new empire is about 'control, not occupation or appropriation' (p. 101). However, this empire lacks moral legitimacy due to its utterly undemocratic nature; the more it expands the more people resist (p. 104). 'If the United States is the world's only superpower, it must be responsible for its actions to the people of the whole world' (p. 110). Chatterjee criticizes the US government for falling back on familiar tropes of warfare after 911 which are inappropriate in a globalized world (pp. 108–109), and denounces the 'war on terror' for attacking minorities and political society (p. 129).

He also discusses a struggle by civil society to reclaim public spaces from squatters and 'encroachers' (p. 130). Since the 1990s, civil society has organized an urban counteroffensive which is a serious threat to political society (p. 140). This is linked to a new imaginary of the information-age city that has provided a mobilizing myth to 'bourgeois' groups (pp. 142–143). In an age of globalization, the business elite tends to become a 'spatially bound, interpersonally networked subculture', living in separate, intensely policed areas with little contact with the rest of society (p. 144). It pursues a project to clear slums, shanty towns, squats and market stalls to make way for exclusive residential areas and office space (p. 146). This development provides a 'formidable challenge' to political society (p. 146).

This is an important intervention in breaking with modernist assumptions and thinking seriously about the actual political forms emerging in the postcolonial world. It is not, however, without its problems. The biggest problem is that Chatterjee retains an attachment to the modern state and its project of 'democratic modernity', weakening his ability to think societal movements in non-state terms. One result is a failure to deal in any detail with social movements as extra-state or as resistances to state power. With the postcolonial state often acting as a transmission belt for the world system and for neoliberalism, the emergence of movements which directly target corporate power (such as the farmers' movement in Karnataka and the movement against Coca-Cola in Plachimada), or which oppose the existing state as such (for instance, the mass mobilizations in Manipur) are an important part of the Indian political landscape. Similar radicalizations, in which social networks which would previously have been managed through patronage and incorporation become antagonistic to an increasingly neoliberal state, can be traced in recent uprisings in Argentina, Bolivia and Ecuador. In fact, in his piece on Indian cities, Chatterjee admits that 'civil society' has mobilized neoliberal discourse to attack and displace the power of 'political society'. One could wonder whether the negotiations with political society which Chatterjee celebrates are not already a part of an older world order, a postcolonial manifestation of the Fordist social compromise which capital and the state have abandoned for aggressive neoliberal policies.

Chatterjee seems to view the state itself as part of the ambiguity of postmodernity, because of its vulnerability to voter reactions and popular unrest. This exaggerates, however, the interiority of the restraint imposed on the state. Against the model of negotiation, one should also note that the state does in fact frequently resort to violence to impose its will, forcing social movements to retreat or resist. Thus the epistemological violence of state universalism turns into a concrete physical and structural violence against the recalcitrant reality of everyday life. That the state is forced to compromise to maintain social peace does not preclude the possibility that its ultimate project is one of total control, as



in Martin Buber's analysis for example. The whole point of state universalism is that it refuses to be falsified by intractable particularities, facing alternative epistemologies with an arrogance inseparable from verticality. The result is not a 'tension' but a contradiction between the statist and horizontal/social principles. This contradiction may sometimes be managed in terms of a *modus vivendi* or balance of force, but can hardly be a basis for the inclusive democracy Chatterjee seeks. As for the worry about empowering fundamentalism, often such forces arise precisely because of the struggle for state power and the patronage structures it engenders.

In his empirical accounts, Chatterjee is forced to recognize state violence such as a police assault on a religious sect and violent clearances of street traders, but he does not draw implications from such cases, in fact tending to adopt the state's own instrumentalist perspective in assessing such measures as 'smooth and successful' (pp. 45–46, 61). In another case he discusses squatters effectively repulsing an attempted eviction by force, without drawing consequences from this. And in another, he admits that statist think communities should not insist on tolerance of certain illegalities (pp. 125–126). But Chatterjee does not draw conclusions from this. The political implication of the state's resort to violence is that the gains of negotiation are unstable and need to be backed up by a serious threat of resistance to avoid being overridden by the statist and neoliberals. In other words, pointing social movements towards negotiation and compromise with an adversary which may not be open to dialogue could lead to political impotence. The constraint of the state by society is undeniably necessary but is consistently resisted by the state. Only if social movements have the capacity to be radically outside, to oppose and defeat the state should it ignore them or try to suppress them, can they operate also in the way Chatterjee hopes.

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

#### *Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

KIRSTEN WANDSCHNEIDER

#### **The Stability of the Interwar Gold Exchange Standard: Did Politics Matter?**

in *Journal of Economic History (The)*, Volume 68 - Issue 01 , 151-181

Economic historians have devoted enormous attention to the collapse of the interwar gold standard. This article proposes a discrete time duration model (using a panel data set of 24 countries for 1928–1936) to analyze how economic and political indicators affected a country's term on the gold standard. High per capita income, international creditor status, and prior hyperinflation increased the probability of continuation. In contrast, democratic regimes left early. Unemployment, sterling group membership, higher inflation, and the experience of banking crises reduced the time a country remained on the gold standard. This study also predicts sample countries' survival probabilities.

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

#### *Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Karacaovali Baybars, Limão Nuno

#### **The clash of liberalizations: Preferential vs. multilateral trade liberalization in the European Union**

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 74, Issue 2, March 2008

Preferential trade agreements (PTAs) are characterized by liberalization with respect to only a few partners and thus



they can potentially clash with, and retard multilateral trade liberalization (MTL). Yet there is almost no systematic evidence on whether the numerous existing PTAs actually affect MTL. We provide a model showing that PTAs hinder MTL unless they entail accession to a customs union with internal transfers. Using product-level tariffs negotiated by the European Union (EU) in the last two multilateral trade rounds we find that several of its PTAs have clashed with its MTL. However, this effect is absent for EU accessions. Moreover, we provide new evidence on the political economy determinants of trade policy in the EU.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Oppenheimer Michael

**The end of liberal globalization**

in *World Policy Journal*, n. 4, vol. 24, winter , 1-9

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Jabbara Joseph G.

**The global context of our globalizing world**

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , March 2008, Volume 74, No. 1 , 147-158

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Sassen Saskia

**Una Sociología De La Globalización**

in *Análisis político* , Vol. 20, issue 61 , 3-27

In its introduction, the text presents the basis for a sociology of globalization at affirming that such a phenomenon is comprehensible not only in terms of interdependency and formation of exclusively global institutions but in regard to something within what is national. After overcoming a methodological nationalism it becomes possible to approach a growing number of cases of localization of what is global and others of denationalization of what is national which, meanwhile, opens a wide range of research possibilities in social sciences. Then, a study of global cities as a convenient space to test theoretical assumptions of such a sociology is undertaken since, in those cities, a new transnational geography serving as a space for new transnational politics emerges

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*





Raskin Paul D.

**World lines: A framework for exploring global pathways**

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 65, Issue 3, 15 April , 461-470

Sustainability research studies the dynamics and prospects of co-evolving human and ecological systems, a subject of inherent complexity and deep uncertainty. While work proceeds on facets of the overall problem, an overarching theoretical framework for giving coherence to this new discipline is lacking. Scenario analysis has been proposed as a promising integrative approach, while a recent wave of studies has significantly improved scenario methods. Still, these studies remain most compelling in their opening frames, where quantitative modeling can track unfolding trends, and their closing frames, where qualitative description can provide rich descriptions of long-term social visions. Not surprisingly, given the formidable uncertainties, the trajectories between “now” and “then”, remain poorly specified, if addressed at all. This paper suggests ways of thinking about these pathways and pivots, the “world lines” through the terra incognita between current global realities and alternative futures. It outlines and illustrates a macro-framework, drawing fresh insight into the requirements for a transition to sustainability. It discusses major analytic elements – a systemic perspective, a scenario structure, critical uncertainties, human agency – and combines them into depictions of the broad contours of possible pathways. The analysis highlights two key uncertainties: the form of forthcoming crises and the quality of human response to global challenges. If institutional and cultural innovation fails to mute the precursor stressors of a systemic crisis, the world line could pivot toward a venal future. However, if the world begins to act with foresight, unity, and resolve, development would bend toward a resilient global civilization. This transition requires a sharp upswing in public awareness and engagement, a development that the evolving conditions of our planetary phase of history make possible, but by no means inevitable. Here, sustainability scenarios have a role in changing the future, as well as illuminating it, by expanding the horizon of what is thought possible and deemed desirable. The world lines framework offers a conceptual arena for advancing this effort.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Racine Jean-Luc

**Éditorial : Amérique latine : gauches et mondialisation**

in *Transcontinentales*, numero 4, "Amérique latine", juin , 5-13

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Fugazza Marco, Vanzetti David

**A South-South Survival Strategy: The Potential for Trade among Developing Countries**

in *World Economy*, Volume 31, Number 5 , 663-684

Trade between developing countries, or South-South trade, has been growing rapidly in recent years following reductions in tariff barriers. However, significant barriers remain, and there is currently reluctance in many developing countries to undertake further reductions, with a preference instead for focusing on opening up access to developed country markets, or maintaining the status quo given that multilateral liberalisation may result in the erosion of preferential access enjoyed by some developing countries. This emphasis on Northern markets represents a missed





opportunity for developing countries. To assess this we compare the potential effects of the removal of barriers on South-South trade with the gains from developed country liberalisation and from regional free trade areas within Africa, Asia and Latin America. A general equilibrium model, the Global Trade Analysis Project (GTAP) model, containing information on preferential bilateral tariffs, is used to estimate the impacts. The results indicate that the opening up of Northern markets would provide annual welfare gains to developing countries of \$22 billion. However, the removal of South-South barriers has the potential to generate gains 40 per cent larger. The results imply that giving greater emphasis to removing barriers between as well as within continents could prove a successful Southern survival strategy

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Mansfield Edward D., Milner Helen V., Pevehouse Jon C.

#### **Democracy, Veto Players and the Depth of Regional Integration**

in *World Economy*, Volume 31, Number 1 , 67-96

We examine how domestic political factors influence the type of regional integration arrangement (RIA) that states enter. States can pursue at least five types of RIA, in order of their depth of policy integration: preferential trade agreements, free trade areas, customs unions, common markets and economic unions. We argue that a country's regime type and the number of institutional 'veto players' strongly affect the type of arrangement that states choose. Democracies are more likely to form an RIA than other states, a tendency that becomes more pronounced as the proposed level of integration in an arrangement rises. However, all democracies are not the same. As the number of veto players rises, the likelihood of a democracy entering an RIA declines. Furthermore, veto players are expected to have a larger effect on the odds of a democracy forming an RIA, the greater is the extent of integration that the arrangement aims to achieve. A series of statistical tests, based on analysis of all pairs of countries from 1950 to 2000, support our arguments.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Baier Scott L.; Bergstrand Jeffrey H.; Egger Peter; McLaughlin Patrick A.

#### **Do Economic Integration Agreements Actually Work? Issues in Understanding the Causes and Consequences of the Growth of Regionalism**

in *World Economy*, Volume 31, Number 4 , 461-497

This paper argues that the 'competitive liberalisation' of national governments of the past several decades has created a 'market' for regional economic integration agreements (EIAs). Evidence shows that countries that have selected into EIAs - such as free trade agreements - have 'chosen well' in the sense that the same economic characteristics that explain and predict bilateral EIAs also explain and predict bilateral trade flows. We show that previous ex post empirical evaluations of the effects of EIAs on trade have tended to underestimate the effects due to ignoring the (endogenous) self-selection bias of country pairs into EIAs. Accounting for this bias, we find that European economic integration had a much larger impact on trade over the period 1960-2000 than previously found, and other more recent EIAs have had economically and statistically significant effects on members' trade. The results shed further light on understanding the causes and consequences of the growth of regionalism.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Anderson James E

**Economic Integration and the Civilising Commerce Hypothesis  
in World Economy**, Volume 31, Number 1 , 141-157

Economic integration lowers one form of trade costs, tariffs and stimulates changes in other trade costs. This paper offers a model in which integration may raise or lower the important trade cost associated with insecurity. The model can help to explain the varied experience with integration and it points to the usefulness of combining enforcement-policy integration with trade-policy integration.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Bergstrand Jeffrey H., Estevadeordal Antoni, Evenett Simon J

**Introduction - The Sequencing of Regional Economic Integration  
in World Economy**, Volume 31, Number 1 , 1-4

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Whalley John

**Recent Regional Agreements: Why So Many, Why So Much Variance in Form, Why Coming So Fast, and Where Are They Headed?**

**in World Economy**, Volume 31, Number 4 , 517-532

Recent years have seen a sharp growth in the number of regional agreements both concluded and under negotiation. This paper attempts to document and discuss this growth focusing on US, EU, Chinese, Indian and other agreements. The form, coverage and content of these agreements vary considerably from case to case. The paper asks why so many, why the variation in form, and why the recent acceleration. Implications for the trading system are discussed in a final section.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Yoshimatsu Hidetaka

**Regional Integration and Business Interests: A Comparative Study of Europe and Southeast Asia  
in European Journal of East Asian Studies** , Volume 6, Number 2 , 217-243

This article aims to articulate business representation in the process towards creating a unified market by comparing the regional integration process in Europe in the 1980s and in Southeast Asia in the new millennium. Both the European Community (EC) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) adopted the creation of a single market as a feasible strategy to respond to an economic hardship. In this process, US business associations played a critical role in



identifying problems and issues in promoting actual integration. As for local business, the existing business associations did not function effectively and a new association comprising individual business executives was formed. Importantly, an initiative to create a new association came not from the private sector in Europe but from the member states in Southeast Asia. This difference led to disparities in the relative influence of the two associations on the actual integration processes.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Baldwin Richard E.**

**Sequencing and Depth of Regional Economic Integration: Lessons for the Americas from Europe**  
in *World Economy*, Volume 31, Number 1, 5-30

The paper first reviews Europe's experience with regional integration, stressing the political economy forces that governed the direction and speed of the process. It argues that the geographic spread of economic integration in Europe is driven by a domino effect by which each successive integration increases the pressure on non-participants to join the integration effort. On the depth of integration, the paper argues that the path of European integration - from completion of the customs union, to the Single Market programme, to the Maastricht Treaty and monetary union - was dictated by a political economy dynamo set in motion by the unique institutional features established by the 1957 Treaty of Rome. Consequently, the lessons for other regions must be considered with great care.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Kandogan Yener**

**Consistent Estimates of Regional Blocs' Trade Effects**  
in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 2, May 2008

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Duarte Margarida, Wolman Alexander L.**

**Fiscal policy and regional inflation in a currency union**  
in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 74, Issue 2, March 2008

Substantial attention has been devoted to inflation differentials within the European Monetary Union, including suggestions that inflation differentials are a policy issue for national governments. This paper investigates the ability of a region participating in a currency union to affect its inflation differential with respect to the union through fiscal policy. In a two-region general equilibrium model with traded and nontraded goods, lowering the labor income tax rate in response to positive inflation differentials succeeds in compressing inflation differentials. Such policies can lead to higher volatility of domestic inflation while leaving the volatility of real output roughly unchanged. Regional fiscal policies also have spill-over effects on the volatility of union-wide and foreign inflation in our model.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Méon Pierre-Guillaume

**Majority voting may not rule (in monetary unions): A comment on Matsen and Røisland [Eur. J. Political Economy 21 (2005) 365–384]**

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 24, Issue 1, March 2008

This note reconsiders the results obtained by Matsen and Røisland [*Eur. J. Political Economy* 21 (2005) 365–384] by dropping the simplifying assumption that the median of country-specific shocks is equal to their mean. Majority voting then increases the volatility of the chosen interest rate without giving member countries a sufficient probability of having their domestic shocks absorbed by the common monetary policy. It thus results in lower welfare than other decision rules. When the variances of domestic shocks sufficiently differ, voting may however reduce the volatility of the interest rate and raise welfare in more stable countries.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Estevadeordal Antoni, Suominen Kati

**Subscribed Content Sequencing Regional Trade Integration and Cooperation Agreements**

in *World Economy*, Volume 31, Number 1, 112-140

Trade integration agreements and other international cooperation agreements have proliferated in recent years around the world. Rather than being spurred by exogenous forces alone, the two phenomena are likely to be both path-dependent and endogenous to one another. However, the theoretical and empirical understanding of the relationships between agreements forged in different domains of cooperation remains nascent. The purpose of this paper is to describe a new, extensive dataset on international agreements that can be employed to start mending the gaps in the literature, and to develop 'best practices' of sequencing international agreements to obtain higher pay-offs from cooperation. Of particular interest here is the relationship between trade integration and other cooperation agreements; the data provide preliminary grounds for hypothesising that trade integration agreements can be a particularly likely catalyst for further cooperation between states.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Trakman Leon

**The Proliferation of Free Trade Agreements: Bane or Beauty?**

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 42 Issue 2, 367-388

This article explores the policy foundations behind regional and bilateral trade agreements and their application in practice. Critically examining the arguments in support of them, it highlights the virtues and deficiencies of each. It concludes by arguing that international standards should be developed to guide the development of bilateral trade agreements in the future. The proliferation of bilateral trade agreements has helped to fill a gap in a multilateral trade process that is impeded by the impasse of negotiations in the World Trade Organization (WTO). At the same time, the



development of bilateral trade agreements arguably has discouraged some States from engaging in multilateral negotiations. The result is a new genre of trade relations in which bilateral and regional mechanisms are increasingly adopted in substitution for multilateral trade processes. While, bilateral trade agreements diverge significantly in their form and substance, they are having an important, albeit disparate impact upon multilateral trade. This article examines different arguments for asserting that bilateral trade agreements have advanced multilateral trade relations. It poses a variety of questions. To what extent is the development of bilateral trade agreements founded on sound trade principles? Have bilateral trade agreements added value to or detracted from the perceived needs of multilateral trade? Are States subject to suitable guidelines in negotiating bilateral agreements? To what extent are States subject to obligations to redress the practices of recalcitrant States, such as by resort to trade boycotts and other sanctions, in responding to violations of the law governing international trade? Overriding all these questions is a potential tension between policies over the liberalization of trade. One policy is grounded in principles of laissez faire: that States should be comparatively unrestrained in concluding bilateral trade agreements in the interests of promoting the unchecked exchange of goods and services. Another policy holds that States are bound to respect their bilateral agreements and that violating them ought to lead to the censuring of offending States. In support of this latter policy is the claim that States that consent to bilateral agreements both surrender their sovereignty and territoriality bilaterally and subject themselves to international standards of compliance not limited to those embodied in the GATT and its WTO successor. The first two sections of this article evaluate the reasoning behind the liberalization of trade and the assumptions in favor of bilateral trade agreements. The third section critically evaluates different arguments in favor of negotiating and concluding bilateral trade agreements. The fourth section proposes legal principles and standards to guide the application of bilateral free-trade agreements in the twenty-first century.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Eilstrup-Sangiovanni Mette**

#### **Uneven Power and the Pursuit of Peace: How Regional Power Transitions Motivate Integration**

**in Comparative European Politics**, n. 1, vol. 6, april , 102-142

ABSTRACT: This paper addresses two related puzzles confronting students of regional and international integration: Why do states willingly pool and delegate sovereignty within international institutions? What accounts for the timing and content of regional integration agreements? Most theories of integration suggest that states integrate in order to solve problems of incomplete information and reduce transaction costs and other barriers to economic growth. In contrast, I argue that integration can serve to establish a credible commitment that rules out the risk of future conflict among states of unequal power. Specifically, I suggest that integration presents an alternative to preventive war as a means to preclude a rising revisionist power from establishing a regional hegemony. The implication is that it is not countries that enjoy stable and peaceful relations that are most likely to pursue integration, but rather countries that find themselves caught in a regional security dilemma, which they hope to break out of by means of institutionalized cooperation. I evaluate this proposition against evidence from two historical cases of regional integration: the German Zollverein and the European Communities.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Masson Paul R.**

#### **Currency Unions in Africa: Is the Trade Effect Substantial Enough to Justify their Formation?**



in *World Economy*, Volume 31, Number 4 , 533-547

Using estimates that currency unions double trade, we quantify the welfare effects of forming currency unions for the African regional economic communities and for the African Union as a whole. The potential increase in trade is shown to be small, and much less than that resulting from the adoption of the euro. Allowing for increased African trade does not overturn the negative assessment of African currency unions, due to asymmetries in countries' terms-of-trade shocks and their degree of fiscal discipline.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Abu-Qarn Aamer S.1, Abu-Bader Suleiman

**On the Optimality of a GCC Monetary Union: Structural VAR, Common Trends, and Common Cycles Evidence**  
in *World Economy*, Volume 31, Number 5 , 612-630

The suitability of the proposed monetary union among the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) is examined. The authors identify the underlying structural shocks that these economies are subject to and assess the extent to which the shocks are symmetric. Alternatively, the authors test for common trends and common business cycles among the GCC economies. They find that while the transitory demand shocks are typically symmetric, the permanent supply shocks are asymmetric. Furthermore, they do not find synchronous long-run and short-run movements in output. Despite the progress that has been made in terms of integration, the findings indicate that the conditions for forming a GCC monetary union have not as yet been met.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Vahard Patrice

**African Union Integration Agenda: The Quest for Dignity, Peace and Prosperity**  
in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 2, No. 1 - January

<http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol%202%20No%201/Vahard.pdf>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Seïd Algadi Aziber

**Cession judiciaire et principes contractuels en droit OHADA**  
in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, Vol. 60, issue 1 , 45-60

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Mata Joseph Emmanuel





**Effet de la CEMAC sur l'intégration sou-régionale : cas du Cameroun, du Congo et du Gabon**

in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 2, No. 1 - January

Cet article analyse les effets de la création de l'UDEAC/CEMAC à partir des importations hors UDEAC/CEMAC du Congo, du Gabon et du Cameroun. La méthodologie adoptée est basée sur l'analyse économétrique. Les résultats obtenus montrent que la création de l'UDEAC/CEMAC n'a pas significativement modifié le commerce hors zone des trois pays en ce qui concerne leurs importations. Quant aux effets de l'intégration dus à la création de l'UDEAC/CEMAC, la méthodologie n'a pas permis d'affirmer son rôle de catalyseur. Toutefois, au regard de quelques statistiques des échanges intra zone et de la différence entre les importations réelles et les importations estimées sans l'effet de l'UDEAC/CEMAC, on peut penser que la création de l'UDEAC/CEMAC n'a pas suscité un grand élan d'intégration entre les pays membres même si, pour certaines années, les résultats semblent indiquer un début timide de celle-ci.

Impact of CEMAC on sub-regional integration : case of  
Cameroun, Congo an Gabon

Summary: This article gives an analysis of the effects of the creation of UDEAC/CEMAC on the basis of imports outside UDEAC/CEMAC of Congo, Gabon and Cameroon. The adopted methodology is an econometric analysis. The results obtained show that the creation of UDEAC/CEMAC did not significantly modify trade outside the zone of the three countries as far as their imports were concerned. As for the effects of integration due to the creation of UDEAC/CEMAC, the methodology did not make it possible to play its catalytic role. However, in view of some statistics on intra area trade and the difference between real imports and estimated imports without the UDEAC/CEMAC effect, one can conclude that the creation of UDEAC/CEMAC did not result in enhanced integration between member countries even if, for some years, the results seem to indicate a modest beginning of this integration.

<http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol%202%20No%201/Mata.pdf>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Hakim Sam R.

**Gulf Cooperation Council Stock Markets Since September 11**

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 15, Issue 1, Spring , 70-81

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Yeo Dossina, Adou Jean Yves

**Harmonisation statistique et intégration africaine**

in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 2, No. 1 - January

Le présent article pose la problématique de l'harmonisation



statistique en Afrique. Il montre, que malgré les efforts déployés par les organisations statistiques sur le continent, doublés par des appuis de la communauté internationale, la question de la disponibilité des données statistiques comparables et de qualité, disponibles en temps réel, indispensables pour la conduite du processus d'intégration, demeure une préoccupation majeure au sein de la Commission de l'Union africaine. Il passe en revue les différents domaines prioritaires du processus d'intégration africaine et montre le rôle et l'importance des données statistiques comparables régulièrement produites en vue d'évaluer les progrès réalisés dans la mise en oeuvre des politiques intégratrices et d'aider les dirigeants africains dans les prises de décision sur l'avenir du continent. Par ailleurs, il propose le renforcement de la fonction statistique au sein de la Commission de l'Union africaine par la création d'une structure autonome dénommée STATAFRIC, à l'instar de EUROSTAT au sein de l'Union européenne, en charge de conduire le processus d'harmonisation statistique et de fournir les statistiques officielles sur l'Afrique en collaboration avec l'ensemble des membres du système statistique africain.

#### Statistical Harmonisation and African Integration

The present article addresses the problems of statistical harmonization in Africa. It shows, that in spite of the efforts made by statistical organizations across the continent, backed by support from the international community, the question of availability of comparable, quality and timely statistical data, essential for monitoring the process of integration, remains a major concern within the African Union Commission. It reviews the various priority fields of the process of African integration and shows the role and the importance of comparable statistical data regularly produced in order to evaluate the progress made in the implementation of integration policies and to help the African leaders in the decision-makings on a common future. Subsequently, it proposes the strengthening of the statistical function within the Commission of the African Union, through the creation of an autonomous structure called STATAFRIC, similar to EUROSTAT within the European Union, responsible to lead the process of statistical harmonization and provide, in collaboration with members of the African statistical system, official statistics on Africa.

[http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol%202%20No%201/Yeo\\_Adou.pdf](http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol%202%20No%201/Yeo_Adou.pdf)

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#### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Gbetnkom Daniel**

**Is South-South Regionalism Always a Diversion: Empirical Evidence from CEMAC**  
in *International Trade Journal*, Volume 22 Issue 1 , 85 - 112

Data on trade among CEMAC member countries are used in a gravity model to address the determinants of intra-CEMAC trade flows, and to compute unexploited trade potential within the grouping. The model is tested for 1990-1993 and for 1996-2000 using a sample of 25 reporting and 31 partner countries. The results indicate that among the factors explaining trade flows within the CEMAC subregion, the GDPs of the exporter and the importer, the distance, and the population of the exporter, are very important. Membership in CEMAC improves trade creation among member countries after the economic reforms. Our findings also suggest that there is unexploited trade potential in the sub-region.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Avom Désiré

**La coordination des politiques budgétaires dans une union monétaire: l'expérience récente des pays de la Cemac**

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 192 , 871-893

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Moore Dickerson Claire

**Le droit l'OHADA dans les États anglophones et ses problématiques linguistiques**

in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, Vol. 60, issue 1 , 7-18

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Hugon Philippe

**Rentabilité du secteur bancaire et défaillances du financement du développement: le cas de la cemac**

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 192 , 771-788

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Murray Rachel

**The African Charter on Human Rights and Peoples' Rights 1987 - 2000: An overview of its progress and problems**

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, n. 2, vol. 7

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Oliva Maria-Angels

**Trade Restrictiveness in the CEMAC Region. The Case of Congo**

in *IMF Policy Discussion Papers*, January 2008

Congo's vital dependence on trade for development stands in contradiction with its trade policy. As a member of the



CEMAC, Congo's tariff scheme at least formally is guided by CEMAC's 1994 trade regime agreement. This paper shows CEMAC's customs code is restrictive relative to that of comparable regional integration groups. The paper also discusses a number of quantitative and qualitative barriers to trade applied by Congo that render its current regime complex, nontransparent, and relatively unpredictable, compromising efforts to develop the non-oil sector and the country's export base. Moreover, Congo's high tariffs and other taxes have not led to higher fiscal revenues, as the number of exemptions granted in recent years has surged and customs administration remains weak.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Goretti Manuela, Weisfeld Hans**

**Trade in the WAEMU: Developments and Reform Opportunities**

**in IMF Policy Discussion Papers**, March 2008

This paper provides an overview of trade reform in the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) since 1996 and a quantitative assessment of potential effects on trade patterns and tariff revenue of the current reform agenda. Despite evidence of significant trade complementarities within WAEMU, implementation of the union's current trade regime still suffers from persistent non-tariff barriers and administrative weaknesses. Based on an assessment of prospects for further trade integration, the paper also recommends strengthening the implementation of the present tariff union and supports the plan to extend it to all ECOWAS members. Finally, the paper stresses that an Economic Partnership Agreement with the EU could bring to the region the political momentum needed to address the weaknesses of the current trade regime, while also underlining the corresponding challenges in terms of trade diversion and tariff revenue losses.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*

**Evenett, Simon J.; Meier, Michael**

**An Interim Assessment of the US Trade Policy of 'Competitive Liberalization'**

**in World Economy**, Volume 31, Number 1, 31-66

Since 2001, the Administration of George W. Bush has pursued a trade policy known as Competitive Liberalization. This policy envisages a series of mutually-reinforcing and sequential steps to open markets abroad to US companies, to strengthen market-oriented laws and regulations overseas, and to place the United States at the centre of the world trading system. Foreign and security policy considerations have influenced US trade policy making, perhaps more so than in the 1990s. To date the principal outcome of this policy has been the negotiation by the United States of numerous free trade agreements, mainly with developing countries, individually or in sub-regional groupings. In addition to characterising this policy in detail, the principal purpose of this paper is to assess the logic underlying this approach to trade policy making and whether Competitive Liberalization has begun to fulfil the promise spelled out for it at the beginning of this decade.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

**Maliska Marcos Augusto**



### **Die Supranationalität in Mercosul**

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 56, 2008

No abstract available

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Sadikov Azim M.

### **External Tariff Liberalization in CARICOM: A Commodity-Level Analysis**

in *IMF Policy Discussion Papers*, February 2008

This paper estimates the impact of the tariff liberalization in four largest CARICOM countries (Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago) on their trade flows. I trace changes in the product-line imports from CARICOM and non-CARICOM countries against time and commodity-level variation in external tariffs. I find that in each country the reduction of the external tariff, which eroded preferences enjoyed by member imports, increased the ratio of imports from non-member countries to imports from member countries. In Trinidad and Tobago, the higher ratio was largely the result of non-member imports crowding out member imports. In the three other countries, the ratio increased mainly because of higher non-member imports; there is little evidence that tariff reductions had an impact on member imports. Findings suggest that in Trinidad and Tobago liberalization of the external tariff reversed some of the trade diversion effects of CARICOM.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

da Silva Bichara Julimar, Moreira Cunha André, Caputi Lélis Marcos Tadeo

### **Integración monetaria y financiera en América del Sur y en Asia**

in *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 43, Number 1 2008

Partiendo de la discusión reciente sobre la integración económica en dos regiones periféricas, Asia y América del Sur, este artículo evalúa si existen condiciones de convergencia económica en el ámbito de los grupos denominados Asociación de Naciones del Sudeste Asiático más China, Japón y la República de Corea (ASEAN+3, por sus siglas en inglés) y el Mercado Común del Sur (Mercosur), que puedan llevar a una mayor integración monetaria o financiera en ambas regiones. Por una parte, se analizan los aspectos históricos e institucionales de la construcción de los acuerdos de integración regional, destacando los elementos económicos y políticos que están favoreciendo o dificultando un mayor acercamiento económico-financiero entre los países miembros de los dos bloques regionales. Y, por otra, utilizando el referente analítico de la teoría de áreas monetarias óptimas, se estima si ambas regiones obtendrían ventajas al abandonar su autonomía en la gestión macroeconómica, especialmente en lo que se refiere a la política monetaria y cambiaria, a cambio de una adhesión a un sistema monetario coordinado internacionalmente.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Bizzozero Lincoln

### **La adhesión de Venezuela al Mercosur**



in **Geosur : publicacion mensual** , Vol. 29, n. 329-330 , 47-51

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

**Dabène Olivier**

**Virage à gauche et intégration régionale en Amérique latine**

in **Transcontinentales**, numero 4, "Amérique latine", juin , 45-58

Latin America's move to the left has not triggered any significant progress in regional integration. Strong historical evidence shows that ECLAC's regional integration policy, instigated in 1948 and based on industrial complementarity, has not been implemented. Instead, the centrist political parties that supported regional integration have favoured free trade. This particular path severely constrained subsequent candidates from reactivating integration. The reforms undertaken by Mercosur from 2002 onwards demonstrate the difficulties faced by left-wing presidents in their attempts to consolidate integration. This paper discusses the limits of the Parliament and Convergence Fund projects and examines the failure of the Technical Assistance Secretariat. It also refers to the competition between the Free Trade Agreements with the United States and President Chávez' Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA). The left is lukewarm towards the supranational aspect of integration, but it also has to face up to inertia in the process of integration.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

**Gardini Gian Luca**

**Who Invented Mercosur?**

in **Diplomacy & Statecraft**, n. 4, vol. 18, december , 805-830

ABSTRACT: This article explores the genesis of the Common Market of the South (Mercosur), the regional integration scheme grouping Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay since 1991, and which Venezuela joined in 2006. The aim is to portray an accurate account of the diplomatic history of the foundation of Mercosur during the years 1989-1991. Methodologically, a case is made in favour of the use of oral history in the study of high politics. Argentina and Brazil's reading of the new international circumstances of the early 1990s are explored, and so are their respective international insertion strategies. The diplomatic negotiations leading to the 1991 Treaty of Asuncin constitutive of Mercosur are dissected. The relationship between Mercosur and the so-called ACE-14 agreement concluded by Argentina and Brazil in the framework of the Latin American Integration Association is also illustrated, as are the negotiations to incorporate new members to the incipient common market. The final section suggests that, while there was an overall continuity in the integration project in the Southern Cone between 1985 and 1991, nonetheless Mercosur was a departure from previous objectives, timing and methodology. For good or ill, Mercosur was the creation of the neo-liberal governments of Presidents Menem of Argentina and Collor of Brazil and the result of broader changes at the international level.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Elliott Robert J. R., Shimamoto Kenichi**





### **Are ASEAN Countries Havens for Japanese Pollution-Intensive Industry?**

in *World Economy*, Volume 31, Number 2, 236-254

In an era of closer worldwide economic integration, the role that environmental regulations play in shaping a country's comparative advantage is greater than ever. This has led to fears that 'dirty' firms will relocate from developed to developing countries where environmental regulations may be less stringent - the so-called pollution haven hypothesis. To date, however, there is little support for the existence of pollution havens despite anecdotal evidence and the theoretical predictions. In this paper we employ a unique industry-level dataset for Japan and examine whether Japanese industries have relocated production to their ASEAN neighbours in response to the relative stringency of Japanese environmental regulations. Not only do we find no evidence for pollution-haven-consistent behaviour but also some indication that the complex relationship between the characteristics of Japanese dirty industries and environmental regulations may actually have reduced Japanese outward FDI to the Philippines.

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#### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Emmerson Donald

#### **Challenging ASEAN: A “Topological” View**

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Vol. 29, n. 3, December

The 40th anniversary of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is an opportunity to consider the ways in which the Association is a challenge to its analysts and is itself challenged by issues and circumstances. Among the analytic challenges is the necessity but also the difficulty of distinguishing Southeast Asia the region from ASEAN the organization. The more ASEAN claims and tries to transform Southeast Asia into a community, and the more the Association is challenged by questions of democracy, the more useful this analytic distinction becomes. Conflating the region and the organization precludes asking two very different questions about democracy: On the one hand, can and should ASEAN try to make the region more democratic? On the other, can and should ASEAN itself become more democratic? The first task is daunting in a region where only one country — Indonesia — is rated “free” by Freedom House. But the “non-interference” principle, on closer inspection, does not preclude adding democracy to ASEAN’s agenda. The second task will depend in part on the content of ASEAN’s new charter and how much its provisions will matter. How, in particular, will the Association as a consociational body practicing “horizontal” or inter-elite democracy respond to the presently steep inequality between its member governments and its Secretariat? In this “topological” picture, ASEAN’s member states are mountains of unequal height surrounding the Secretariat as a basin. Could elevating the basin — empowering the Secretary-General — help ASEAN retain credibility as an organization with a more than contingent interest in democracy and human rights? Evidence from the 2007 crisis in Myanmar, the Association’s delayed response to that crisis, and the background of the incoming Secretary-General suggest that the answer is yes.

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#### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Severino Rodolfo

#### **ASEAN Beyond Forty: Towards Political and Economic Integration**

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Vol. 29, n. 3, December



ASEAN has come a long way since its founding in 1967. It has achieved a certain degree of political cohesion on some regional and international issues. It has helped keep the peace among its members. It has adopted norms for inter-state relations and managed to get others to accede to those norms. It has healed the divisions in Southeast Asia. It has served as the core of regionalism in East Asia and the Asia Pacific. ASEAN has reduced or abolished tariffs on much intra-ASEAN trade and committed its members to other measures for the integration of the regional economy. It has established modes of cooperation in dealing with regional problems. However, ASEAN has fallen short of the ambitions that it has proclaimed for itself, particularly in terms of driving regionalism and regional economic integration. A major reason for this is the fact that political cohesion and economic integration are pursued independently of each other. Here, regional institutions could help in formulating, for the member-states' adoption, a regional outlook and coordinating politics and economics as a coherent whole.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Batra Amita**

#### **Asian Economic Integration: ASEAN+3+1 or ASEAN+1s?**

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 24, Number 2

his paper presents the economic rationale for a regional trade bloc in Asia comprising the ASEAN economies, China, Japan, Korea and India, i.e. the ASEAN+4. The inclusion of India in the trade bloc is justified on the basis of increasingly intense trade relations between India and ASEAN+3 and also the increasing importance that India has come to acquire as a market for the ASEAN+3. Alternative approaches to the alignment of ASEAN and the plus four economies for the formation of the ASEAN+4 trade bloc have been evaluated in terms of their efficiency costs. Efficiency costs are determined by the extent of trade distortion and trade diversion implied by each country's participation in the proposed trade bloc. The findings of this analysis underscore the efficiency of a prior alignment with ASEAN for all the plus four economies

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**G.L. Rose**

#### **Australia's treaty activity in the Asia-Pacific: a sub-regional trends analysis**

in *International Journal of Asian Studies (The)*, Volume 5 Issue 1 , 103-124

This paper investigates Australian treaty making with neighboring countries in the Asia-Pacific. Patterns of Australian treaty making with South East Asian countries are markedly different to those with South West Pacific countries and the difference is continuing to deepen. Treaties with the former are primarily bilateral and commercially oriented, whereas those with the latter are plurilateral and oriented to natural resources management and development. There is a major gap in Australian subregional treaty activity for natural resources management in South East Asian countries. A coalescence of issues in the law enforcement and security categories is occurring and the new direction in Australian regional treaty making for both subregions is to strengthen capacity to enforce the rule of law in national legal systems. Commercial treaty making remains and is likely to continue to be the strongest area of treaty activity.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Green David Jay

**Bridging the ASEAN Development Divide: Challenges and Prospects -- A Regional Overview**

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 24, Number 1

Southeast Asian countries have set for themselves challenging economic goals individually and collectively. These goals require a significant and sustainable rise in economic growth. Investment is one key, especially in the longer term. Investments in infrastructure, in productivity enhancements by businesses and in the public provision of education and health services help define the potential for growth. This spending is also a factor in the ability of firms and individuals to compete in the international marketplace. There is also the need to have proper co-operative norms: Southeast Asia needs to provide a wider regional market and the policy environment that will allow firms and individuals to participate more fully in international marketplaces. ASEAN has provided a forum for this, particularly looking towards forming the ASEAN Economic Community

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Menon Jayant

**Building Blocks or Stumbling Blocks?: The GMS and AFTA in Asia**

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 24, Number 2

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Ku, S.

**China's Changing Political Economy with Malaysia and Southeast Asia**

in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Volume 43, No. 2, April, 155-171

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Zhao Suisheng

**China's Global Search for Energy Security: cooperation and competition in Asia-Pacific**

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 17 Issue 55, 207 - 227

China has adopted a state-centered approach towards energy security to deepen political and commercial relationships with all energy producing nations and to aggressively invest in oil fields and pipelines around the world. Applying this approach to its relations with its Asia-Pacific neighbors has produced mixed results. While China's energy diplomacy has brought about opportunities for cooperation with some of its neighbors, notably some countries in Central Asia and continental Southeast Asia, it has become a source of conflict with some other neighbors, especially those with border



disputes over maritime territories which may have rich natural resources. This paper examines China's state-led search for energy security and its implications for China's relations with Asia-Pacific countries.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Bisley Nick**

**East Asia's Changing Regional Architecture: Towards an East Asian Economic Community?**

**in Pacific Affairs** , Vol. 80, No. 4

This article examines the current state of East Asia's regional architecture with a focus on efforts to construct an East Asian Economic Community (EAEC). First, the article considers trends in regional cooperation and assesses the elements which constitute an EAEC and which distinguish it from other forms of regional cooperation. Second, it analyzes the different forms an EAEC might take, and their respective plausibility, and then sets the putative EAEC alongside APEC to consider how it might profitably learn from and relate to this already existing regional organization. The article argues that the revival of East Asian regionalism is driven by efforts to manage the economic and political consequences of globalization. There is a genuine desire in the region for increased economic cooperation and a belief that institutionalized cooperation can bring payoffs although this is not matched by a consensus on how to achieve this end. While unlikely to emerge in the next five years, the article argues that, due to changing political and economic circumstances, and particularly China's interest in regional institutions, there is reason to be cautiously optimistic about the chances of an EAEC over the medium to longer term.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Yatawara Ravindra A.**

**Exploiting Sri Lanka's Free Trade Agreements with India and Pakistan**

**in South Asia Economic Journal**, Volume 8, No. 2 , 219-247

The article looks at the impact of preference, given under the bilateral free trade agreements Sri Lanka has signed with India and Pakistan. The focus here is on the export side and away from the import angle. This article identifies where the greatest preferences are offered to Sri Lanka-based exporters and analyzes the relationship between preferences and the export outturn. Preferences are calculated incorporating the current levels of protection in India and Pakistan. The article argues that successful Sri Lankan exporters' penetration of the large Indian market, as reflected by the doubling of total exports over 2003–05, actually reflects a very concentrated increase in exports of a few products. Controlling for industry effects, preferences do not have a statistically significant impact on exporting to India.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**TrueJacqui**

**Global accountability and transnational networks: the Women Leaders' Network and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation**

**in Pacific Review (The)** , Volume 21 Number 1, , 1 - 26



Decisions that affect the life chances and wellbeing of citizens are increasingly being made in international settings that are only indirectly connected to the democratic institutions where those citizens have a voice. Global and regional governance organizations not only lack the democratic legitimacy of states but also there are few mechanisms that make them accountable to the citizens that their decision making most affects. Civil society groups have exposed this gap between the jurisdiction and the impact of supra-state organizations and have proposed various ways of addressing it. Feminist analysis has highlighted the masculine preserve of traditionally closed-door multilateral trade and security discussions and negotiations. It has also highlighted the unequal and deeply structural gender impact of this style of policy making. Women's movements have found international organizations to be especially challenging institutional settings within which to achieve policy influence. Yet transnational feminist networks have the political and ethical resources to make global governance organizations more accountable to a broader constituency. This article explores this phenomenon through an examination of the Women Leaders' Network (WLN) and its efforts to make Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation more accountable to women as political and economic actors. The WLN is the only women's transnational advocacy network to have directly and routinely engaged with an economic intergovernmental organization. An analysis of the limits and potentials of the WLN model highlights accountability issues for APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) and other regional or global governance organizations, as well as for the WLN and transnational civil society networks more generally.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Sudsawasd Sasatra, Mongsawad Prasopchoke**

**Go with the Gang, ASEAN!**

in **ASEAN Economic Bulletin**, Volume 24, Number 3

This study investigates the unexplored trade potentials and the economic impacts of bilateral free trade agreements (FTAs) between ASEAN-5 member countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand) and the seven-candidate FTA partners (Australia, India, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea, and the United States.) By using the gravity model and the Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) model, this study suggests the strategic FTA partners of ASEAN-5: ASEAN plus 3 FTA, ASEAN-China FTA, ASEAN-US FTA, ASEAN-Japan FTA, and ASEAN-India FTA. Moreover, this study shows that ASEAN-5 would achieve more benefits from the FTAs if they fully liberalized trade among themselves partly due to less trade diversion, better resource allocation, and terms-of-trade effect improvement. The results clearly indicate the potential gains from the intra-regional free trade, and point towards the importance of the ASEAN regional cooperation.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Chin Kin Wah**

**Introduction: ASEAN — Facing the Fifth Decade**

in **Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs**, Vol. 29, n. 3, December

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



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

G.W. Noble

**Japanese and American Perspectives on East Asian Regionalism**

**in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific***, Volume 8, Number 2, May , 247-262

Regular convening of East Asian summits and rising concerns about the American dollar have heightened interest in Asian cooperation. Japan will necessarily play a central role in regional endeavors, and the United States must at least acquiesce if regional coordination is to progress. Among American accounts, the most theoretically elaborate and systematically comparative analysis is *A World of Regions*, while *Remapping East Asia* provides the most authoritative overview of recent developments. Japanese-language studies of East Asian regionalism agree that regional cooperation is far less institutionalized and rule-based in East Asia than in Europe, but they include a wider range of opinion about the desirability and feasibility of cooperation. Skeptics on the right warn that efforts to create a regional community would weaken the United States–Japan alliance, undermine universal values, and cede regional leadership to China. Optimists on the left counter that regional cooperation holds out the only hope for ameliorating nationalist conflicts. Most numerous are centrists arguing for active cooperation on economics and the environment, but only cautious moves on politics and security. Despite their caution, Japanese authors convey a sense that changes to the American-led global and regional order are occurring and likely will continue.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Tacconi Luca, Jotzo Frank, Grafton R. Quentin

**Local causes, regional co-operation and global financing for environmental problems: the case of Southeast Asian Haze pollution**

**in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics***, Volume 8, Number 1, March , 1-16

Lack of action on cross-border environmental problems in developing countries is often ascribed to gaps in local capacity and resources, failure of regional cooperation and lack of financial support from rich countries. Using the case of the Southeast Asian Haze pollution from forest and peat fires in Indonesia, we explore the challenges posed by environmental problems whose causes are closely linked to local development and livelihood strategies, and whose impacts are local, regional (haze) as well as global (carbon emissions). We assess whether there are real opportunities to implement effectively the recent Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution. To address the deep determinants behind haze pollution, we propose signatories to the Agreement refocus their efforts to controlling peat fires rather than to strive for a zero-burning regime. We also recommend a new approach to financing sustainable development based on rules and incentives, with a regional pool of funds, contributed by rich countries through the Global Environment Facility and countries in Southeast Asia.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Mahathir Mirzan, Irwan Fazil

**Malaysia's Role in Asian Regional Cooperation: A Look at Foreign Policy Themes**

**in *Asia Pacific Review***, Volume 14 Issue 2 , 97 - 111

Blessed with a vastly diverse multiracial population comprising a plethora of divergent political views and religious





aspirations, Malaysia's nation-building efforts have been a unique experiment. Since the colonial period, the country had to contend with three large and distinct ethnic groups, which largely, due to history, could be identified most closely by their role and place in Malaysia's society and economy. Upon gaining independence, this nascent polity was confronted with a colossal task - to unite the various ethnic groups in the country under a single national vision and a cohesive economic development strategy.

Today, despite several shortcomings, Malaysia has hitherto been relatively successful in building a competent economic model based on a complex formula of multiracial unity in the country. Malaysia can be said to be one of the few countries that has been successful in balancing national imperatives with ethnic and religious realities.

It is this understanding of and response to a uniquely pluralistic demographic landscape that has served as the underlying philosophy of Malaysia's foreign policy. The country's approach to building relationships in the region starts from a deep appreciation of the diverse ethnic, religious and cultural nature of Asian societies. Her many policies over the past fifty years aimed at strengthening ties with her Asian neighbors based on enlightened self-interest and mutual political, social and economic benefit. Her domestic experience in dealing with a multitude of Asian races and cultures enabled Malaysia to empathize with the challenges that Asian nations face. This allowed her to forge close cooperation with many Asian countries over the years. Overall, it would appear that Malaysia not only was able to achieve her national motto "Unity is Strength" within its borders but was able to work with her neighbors to attempt to achieve it internationally.

This paper therefore seeks to analyze how Malaysia's outlook came about, how it manifested in her foreign policies and in the approach of her partners.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

R.S. Rajan

**Monetary and financial cooperation in Asia: taking stock of recent ongoing**  
**in International Journal of Asian Studies (The), Volume 5 Issue 1 , 31-45**

Ever since the currency crisis of 1997–98, there has been a great deal of interest in enhancing regional economic cooperation in Asia. It is important to keep in mind that economic regionalism is of multidimensional nature. The focus of this paper is on policy initiatives underway in Asia to enhance monetary and financial regionalism and the analytical bases for these initiatives, rather than on examining the de facto level of financial and monetary links that already exists (which may or may not have been facilitated via regional policy mechanisms). There are many gradations of monetary and financial regionalism, ranging from the weak form involving regional policy dialog and surveillance, on the one hand, to exchange rate and monetary coordination, on the other. To maintain focus, this paper concentrates more narrowly on 'medium forms' of monetary and financial regionalism, broadly defined as the development of regional liquidity arrangements and regional financial markets.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Pempel T.J.



### **Northeast Asian Economic Integration: A Region in Flux**

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 14 Issue 2 , 45 - 61

Over the last decade, essentially since the Asian crisis of 1997-98, the economic integration of Northeast Asia has been marked by three overarching trends. Economic relations have become: 1) more institutionalized; 2) more "Asian;" and 3) more China-centric. These macro-trends are demonstrated and analyzed in the paper. But by way of anticipation, numerous counter-cutting facts need also to be kept in mind. In essence, recent trends, notable as they are, have by no means reversed three counter-realities: 1) economic ties are still largely driven, less by governments and formal arrangements, than by corporations in search of profits and production efficiencies; 2) despite growing economic interdependence across Northeast Asia and between that sub-region and Southeast Asia, Japan, China and South Korea remain heavily linked to global, and particularly US, markets; and 3) though China is an ever important hub in Northeast Asian trade and investment, Japan remains by far the most powerful economic player in the region.

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#### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Symon, A.

#### **Southeast Asia's Nuclear Power Thrust: Putting ASEAN's Effectiveness to the Test?**

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 30, Number 1, April , 118-139

The possibility of nuclear power in Southeast Asia to help meet huge growth in electricity demand has suddenly risen in government planning. Vietnam, Indonesia and Thailand have plans for nuclear power generation while Malaysia and the Philippines are studying the option. These plans and possibilities raise a gamut of economic, environmental and security issues and fears which policy makers are only beginning to grapple with. As in other parts of the world, both where there are established nuclear generation industries and where there are not, nuclear power is being turned to as a possible solution to meeting demand when the cost of traditional fossil fuels used for generation, coal and natural gas, are rising steeply, and in a way that mitigates against contribution by fossil fuel combustion to the greenhouse effect and predicted global warming. But how governments in Southeast Asia go about implementing nuclear power is still far from clear. Optimal development from economic, environmental and security points of view would argue for a cooperative approach via the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), possibly through an ASEAN nuclear power authority. So far, plans for nuclear power generation are fairly limited when considered against total projected power demand. But they may be the precursor to a much greater commitment to nuclear power if first plants are successfully developed. Managing the development of nuclear power will be a major test of ASEAN's maturity and effectiveness.

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#### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Severino Rodolfo C

#### **The ASEAN Developmental Divide and the Initiative for ASEAN Integration**

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 24, Number 1

When Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam became members of ASEAN in the late 1990s, concerns were raised about the emergence of a development divide on the basis of a gap in average per capita GDP between the older and the newer members. Such concerns are largely misplaced. There are, however, areas where the divide is real and



concerns over it are valid. The Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) has been the principal response of ASEAN and its partners to the development divide. While the four newer ASEAN members have found the IAI projects generally useful, more could be done to make them more coherent, subject their selection and design to greater rigour, strengthen them with provisions for follow-through and assessment, and give the newer members a greater sense of ownership. Aside from the IAI, there are also other programmes for the development of the Mekong Basin, where all the four newer ASEAN members are located. In sum, the development divide in ASEAN is more complex than the difference in economic advancement between the older and the newer members. Programmes to close it should, therefore, be sharply targeted at where the gap precisely lies

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Taylor Brendan

**The Bush administration and Asia Pacific multilateralism: unrequited love?**

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 62, n. 1 / March , 1-15

This article challenges the presumed multilateral aversion of the George W. Bush administration. It argues that, at least in its approach toward the Asia-Pacific, this administration has been a more active and stimulatory advocate of multilateral approaches than is commonly acknowledged. The article begins by documenting the Bush administration's multilateral activism in the Asia-Pacific and examines those factors which appear to have contributed towards it. It then goes on to demonstrate, however, that Bush's at times unexpected enthusiasm for multilateral approaches has encountered a high degree of regional reticence. For a part of the world that has been affording an increased prominence to multilateral institutions and activities, this finding is initially both surprising and significant. The article concludes by seeking to account for this apparent anomaly and by considering its possible implications for the emerging regional architecture.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Tazhin Marat

**The Geopolitical Role of the Main Global Players in Central Asia**

in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Vol. 30, Issue 2 , 63-69

An insider's penetrating insights into what's going on in Central Asia together with analyses of the Republic of Kazakhstan's bilateral and multilateral relationships with the countries in the region as well as with the United States.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Bisley Nick

**The Japan-Australia security declaration and the changing regional security setting: wheels, webs and beyond?**

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 62, n. 1 / March , 38-52

The March 2007 Japan-Australia Security Declaration has garnered more than its share of hyperbole. Described variously as an historic milestone for peace or an agreement designed to encircle China; the declaration's actual



strategic consequences are somewhat unclear. The purpose of this article is to provide a critical analysis of the security declaration and to assess its impact in the context of the changing patterns of the region's security setting. Some have argued that it marks a small but qualitatively significant shift in the essential features of the regional security architecture. The article assesses this claim and argues that while the declaration is of some diplomatic importance, and clearly contributes to improving cooperation in disaster relief and other humanitarian operations, it is of little strategic significance to the broader patterns of East Asian security over the short to medium term. Each side's operational constraints, their different strategic priorities, most obviously their perceptions of China, as well as the continued military predominance of the US, means that the agreement will be of little immediate significance for East Asian security. That said, it remains an important development for the respective parties and is a leading edge indicator of broader forces for change that are increasingly present in East Asia.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Figuière Catherine, Guilhot Laëtitia

**Vers une typologie des "processus" régionaux: le cas de l'Asie Orientale**

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 192 , 895-917

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Osborne Milton

**Vincere l'oro con l'ASEAN**

in *Aspenia*, n. 41, "I giochi di Pechino" , 139-140

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Brimmer Esther

**Le voisinage de l'UE: sphère de sécurité, réseau de connections ou mariage de convenance?**

in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 1 - printemps

"La Politique européenne de voisinage s'est développée sur l'idée que l'Union européenne avait besoin de s'adresser à une «Europe plus vaste» à l'aube d'une nouvelle vague d'élargissement. La mise en place de la Politique européenne de voisinage est indissociable de l'élargissement réalisé par l'UE en Europe centrale. L'exercice demeure cependant ambigu: s'agit-il d'affirmer l'unité de l'Europe, ou d'y dessiner des espaces séparés? Tant à l'est de l'Europe qu'au sud, en Méditerranée, les approches européenne et américaine semblent s'appuyer sur des visions différentes. Il reste que cette PEV constitue désormais un élément essentiel de la présence internationale de l'UE

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Agur Itai, Dorrucchi Ettore, Mongelli Francesco Paolo

**Testing the Links between Institutional Integration and Trade Deepening: Clues from Europe**  
in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 18, Number 5 , 599-612

This paper investigates the interaction between institutional integration and trade deepening in the EU over the last 50 years. It uses Granger causality tests, a VECM and variance decompositions to further the understanding of this interaction. The evidence indicates two-way endogeneity. But the link from institution building to trade dominates. Yet, this link has weakened over time, possibly due to globalisation sidestepping institutions. Moreover, the sensitivity of institutional integration to trade deepening has risen, which suggests that economic forces have gained more strength in determining institutional steps

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Moravcsik Andrew

**The European Constitutional Settlement**  
in *World Economy*, Volume 31, Number 1 , 158-183

This paper argues first that a synthesis of the theories of endogenous policy formation, non-coercive interstate bargaining theory, and international regime theory provides a plausible account of the path of European integration, with little role for explanations stressing geopolitical or ideological factors, international mediation, or political entrepreneurship. Moreover, these theories - which embrace economic fundamentals as driving factors - help explain the 'sequencing' of the European Union, especially in regard to successive enlargements. However, the paper concludes that the process of European integration appears to have reached an 'institutional plateau', for which incremental change based on the current 'constitutional compromise' appears to be the only plausible equilibrium.

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Adam Antonis, Moutos Thomas

**The Trade Effects of the EU-Turkey Customs Union**  
in *World Economy*, Volume 31, Number 5 , 685-700

In the present study we argue that the salient features of both the EU-15 countries and Turkey are conducive to making the effects of the 1995 EU-Turkey customs union asymmetric among the incumbent EU countries. In order to support our argument we rely on a model in which trade involves the exchange of vertically differentiated products. This model generates the prediction that the more contiguous an incumbent country is to the joining country in terms of technological sophistication, the larger will be the crowding out of this country's exports to the other incumbent countries as a result of the CU expansion. Using a gravity model we estimate the effects of the customs union between Turkey and the EU-15 by differentiating between exports from (a) lower-technology EU-15 countries (we term this group of countries 'South') to higher-technology EU-15 countries (the 'North'), (b) North to South, (c) South to Turkey, (d) North to Turkey, and (e) Turkey to EU-15. Our econometric results indicate that, in contrast to North's exports to the other EU-15 countries (which have remained intact), the Southern countries' exports to the other EU-15 countries have



declined as a result of the CU. Moreover, the extra penetration of the Turkish market by the EU-15 countries has not been more favourable to the Southern group.

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Selck Torsten J., Rhinard Mark, Häge Frank M.

**The evolution of European legal integration**

in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, Volume 24, Number 3 , 187-200

This article contributes to the development of theories on European integration by testing and exploring statistical models on the long-term development of legislative activity of the European Commission. Drawing on legal information gained from the European Union's PreLex database and analyzing it with the help of statistical analyses, we map out growth patterns of EU law between 1976 and 2003. We construct time-series models and models based on non-linear regression. While the performance of models based on the traditional theoretical approaches, intergovernmentalism and neo-functionalism, is rather poor, the analysis suggests that nonlinear dynamic models might be an interesting avenue for future conceptualizations of the EU integration process.

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Flick Giovanni Maria, Contri Fernanda

**50' anniversario del Trattato di Roma: riflessioni di Giovanni Maria Flick e Fernanda Contri**

in *Quaderni Regionali* , N. 3

No abstract available

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Breuss Fritz

**A Common Election Day for the Euro Zone?**

in *Kyklos*, February 2008 - Vol. 61 Issue 1

This paper tests for the Euro zone the hypothesis put forward by Sapir and Sekkat (1999) that synchronizing elections might improve welfare. Implementing political business cycle features into a politico-macroeconomic model of the Euro zone allows us to simulate the effects of adopting a common election day in the 12 Euro zone member states. The results support most of the theoretical predictions by Sapir-Sekkat: (i) Synchronizing the elections could enhance GDP growth, reduce unemployment, but leads to increased inflation and in some countries to a deterioration of the budget; higher inflation could force the ECB to monetary restrictions. (ii) If the synchronization happens asymmetrically – either only in the large or only in the small Euro zone countries – the result depends on the size of the spillovers. (iii) As anticipated in Sapir-Sekkat a common election day is a further step towards the desired 'European business cycle', however, at the cost of increasing its amplitude. Harmonizing elections is another method of policy coordination. Whether this leads to higher welfare is a matter of weighting the different macroeconomic outcomes and it also depends on the model applied.





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**Williams Colin C.**

**A Critical Evaluation of Public Policy Towards Undeclared Work in the European Union**

**in Journal of European Integration**, Volume 30, Number 2 / May , 273-290

To evaluate critically public policy towards undeclared work in the European Union, this paper presents a typology of the various potential policy approaches, ranging from repressive measures to those seeking to enable compliance, so as to provide a lens through which the breadth of practices currently adopted can be viewed. The finding is that despite signs of growing experimentation with a wider range of measures, most countries remain firmly entrenched in a repressive approach that seeks to detect and punish non-compliance. Evaluating critically this dominant approach, this paper reveals not only the paucity of evidence of the effectiveness of repressive approaches at eliciting behaviour change but also how EU member states through the repression of undeclared work unintentionally stifle precisely the entrepreneurship and active citizenship that elsewhere on their policy agendas they are so desperately seeking to nurture. The paper concludes by discussing the ways forward for public policy.

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**Lynch Philip, Whitaker Richard**

**A Loveless Marriage: The Conservatives and the European People's Party**

**in Parliamentary Affairs** , Volume 61, Number 1, January , 31-51

The Conservatives are allied members of the European People's Party–European Democrats (EPP–ED) group in the European Parliament. But the link with the pro-European EPP has been a contentious issue within the Conservative Party. In deciding whether to remain within the EPP–ED, the Conservatives have to balance issues of domestic party management with their policy and office objectives at the European level. In this article we first assess David Cameron's commitment to form a new group, and then analyse the advantages and disadvantages of Conservative membership of the EPP–ED by examining roll-call votes and modelling two scenarios for a new group in 2009. We conclude that the pros and cons of forming a new group are finely balanced

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**White Stephen, Korosteleva Julia, McAllister Ian**

**A Wider Europe? The View from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine**

**in Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 46, Issue 2, March 2008

On the evidence of national surveys conducted between 2000 and 2006, there is a declining sense of European self-identity in the three Slavic post-Soviet republics of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine. Attitudes towards the European Union and the possibility of membership are broadly supportive, but with a substantial proportion who find it difficult to



express a view, and substantial proportions are poorly informed in comparison with the general public in EU member or prospective member countries. Those who are better informed are more likely to favour EU membership and vice versa. Generally, socioeconomic characteristics (except for age and region) are relatively poor predictors of support for EU membership as compared with attitudinal variables. But 'Europeanness' should not be seen as a given, and much will depend on whether EU member countries emphasize what is common to east and west or establish 'new dividing lines' in place of those of the cold war.

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Hyde-Price Adrian

**A 'tragic actor'? A realist perspective on 'ethical power Europe'**  
in *International Affairs* , issue 1, vol. 84, january , 29-44

No abstract available

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Maduro Miguel Poiares

**Abhandlungen und Aufsätze - Intergouvernementalismus contra Konstitutionalismus: Braucht das transformierte Europa eine Verfassung?**  
in *Staat*, issue 3, vol. 46 , 319-348

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Jacquot Sophie, Woll Cornelia

**Action publique européenne : les acteurs stratégiques face à l'Europe**  
in *Politique européenne* , n. 25

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Risso Linda

**Against Rearmament or against integration? The PCI and PCF's opposition to the European Defence Community and the Western European Union, 1950-55**  
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 13, n. 2 , 11-31

No abstract available



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Hawkins Darren, Jacoby Wade

**Agent permeability, principal delegation and the European Court of Human Rights  
in Review of International Organizations (The)** , n. 1, vol. 3, march , 1-28

ABSTRACT: A growing body of international relations literature examines the delegation of state authority to international organizations. Delegation is a conditional grant of authority from a principal to an agent in which the latter is empowered to act on behalf of the former. This paper explores the effect of agent permeability to interested third parties on the efficacy of control mechanisms established by principals. Our central argument is that higher levels of agent permeability are likely to lead to higher levels of agent autonomy. Because of this, principals who face a potentially permeable agent are likely to delegate more cautiously—partially, in stages, or with clear limits. We illustrate our argument with a case study of the European Convention of Human Rights and its two principal institutions, the Commission and the Court. We find that principals (contracting states) historically delegated quite cautiously to the Court, clearly concerned about the Court's autonomy. Court behavior in its first two decades reassured principals while increasing the Court's permeability. Over time, that increased permeability increased Court autonomy in conjunction with the Court's growing visibility and experience.

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Barbieri Dario

**Agenzie Europee: un esempio di evoluzione (istituzionale) amministrativa?**  
in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 3, Dicembre , 77-102

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Groom A. J. R.

**America in Britain's Place: A Polemic on not Being Anglo-Saxon**  
in *International Politics* , Volume 45, Number 3, May , 254-265

Although many analysts on the European continent use the term Anglo-Saxon to refer to a presumed close political association between Britain and the United States, the fact is that for more than a century the two countries competed for global influence. In fact, for well more than a century beginning at least early in the 19th century the United States regularly challenged Britain's global role — eventually replacing Britain as the dominant global power. In this competition, the United States adopted a brutally realist 'power politics' approach to Britain, while the latter focused on the challenge from another global contender, Germany. Today, when Britain's future role clearly lies with the European Union (EU) and the United States has entered upon a period of decline, Britain's role, and that of the EU, is to help the United States to move on so that it does not threaten values that are dear to Europe. Britain can play a role in this if it is acceptable, both within the framework of the EU and to the United States.



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Jordan Andrew

**An ever more environmental union amongst the peoples of Europe?**

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 17, Number 3, June , 485-491

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König Thomas

**Analysing the Process of EU Legislative Decision-Making: To Make a Long Story Short...**

in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 9, n. 1, March , 145-165

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Barrett Gavin

**Analysis and Reflections - 'The king is dead, long live the king': The recasting by the Treaty of Lisbon of the provisions of the Constitutional Treaty concerning national parliaments**

in **European Law Review**, Vol. 33, n. 1 , 66-84

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Lippert André

**Anmerkung zum Urteil: Die begrenzte Anerkennung - der EuGH sichert seine Kompetenz - Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Diskussion um gegenseitige Anerkennung und Herkunftslandprinzip**

in **Europarecht**, volume 42, issue 5, 2007 , 631-641

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Hatje Armin

**Anmerkung zum Urteil: Gemeinschaftsrechtliche Grenzen der Rechtskraft gerichtlicher Entscheidungen**

in **Europarecht**, volume 42, issue 5, 2007 , 654-659



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Dufourcq Jean

**Après le Traité de Lisbonne, quels objectifs stratégiques pour l'Union européenne?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 516, mars , 156-160

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Hood Frederick

**Atlantic Dreams and European Realities: British Foreign Policy After Iraq**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 30, Number 1 / March , 183-197

To what extent has the outcome of the Iraq invasion undermined the assumptions underpinning post-war British foreign policy? This article seeks to address this question in light of historical precedence and domestic political constraints. It argues that while political elites remain attached to the interconnected roles of loyal US ally and transatlantic interlocutor, their ability to pursue them has been impeded by public hostility to US global leadership. In consequence, they have prioritized issues of 'soft security' where the British preferences are closer to those of other EU member states than to the USA. Almost by default, therefore, British governments may find themselves utilizing the EU's common foreign and security policy (CFSP) and European security and defence policy (ESDP) as primary forums for pursuing British interests.

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Triantafyllou Dimitris

**Auf dem Wege zur Koordinierung der direkten Steuern in der EG?**

in *Europarecht*, volume 42, issue 5, 2007 , 671-682

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Saurugger Sabine

**Avons-nous besoin d'une sociologie des relations internationales pour analyser l'intégration européenne ?**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 25

No abstract available



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Tallberg Jonas

**Bargaining Power in the European Council**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 3, June 2008

What grants influence in the European Council? Drawing on general theories of negotiation, this article isolates and illustrates three complementary sources of bargaining power in the European Council: state sources of power, institutional sources of power and individual sources of power. It reports the results of a unique series of elite interviews with European heads of state and government, foreign ministers and top-level civil servants. Elite testimonies suggest that the state dimension of power is the most fundamental, whereas the institutional and individual dimensions of power play a secondary role and mainly mediate the impact of structural power asymmetries.

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Bratberg Oivind

**Bilateral Embassies in an Integrated Europe: a Case of Institutional Robustness?**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 30, Number 2 / May , 235-253

Bilateral diplomacy is typically portrayed as under threat by European integration, which has forged direct links between sectoral ministries, introduced an all-embracing policy arena in Brussels and, arguably, rendered traditional embassy representation irrelevant. This article questions whether the decline thesis indeed holds sway, inspired by insights from historical institutionalism. Drawing on data from diplomatic service lists, a time-series analysis of embassy staff allocation is presented. The results from five foreign services point towards maintained representation in the EU-15 and a strong increase in the EU-16-27, in line with an expectation of institutional robustness. With regard to variation between the foreign services, convergence in representation patterns is a dominant trend. Furthermore, it is suggested, where the foreign ministry has a strong position, changes in the allocation of embassy staff will be less radical. Among the cases, France points itself out by its high and increasing priority of embassies in EU-15.

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Vaughan-Williams Nick

**Borderwork beyond Inside/Outside? Frontex, the Citizen-Detective and the War on Terror**

in *Space and Polity*, Volume 12, Number 1 / April , 63-79

The article begins by noting Etienne Balibar's insight that the borders of Europe may be vacillating but that they are changing and multiplying rather than simply disappearing. Drawing upon this insight, it seeks to investigate ways in which responses to the threat of terrorism in the EU have involved bordering practices that to some extent challenge commonsensical understandings of what and where the borders of Europe should be according to the conventional 'inside/outside' model. In this context, two cases are examined: the recent surveillance activities of the new EU border management agency Frontex in Africa; and the emergence of surveillance strategies arising from the linking of notions





of European citizenship with EU-wide counter-terrorism initiatives following 9/11. It is argued that new border vocabularies are necessary in order for emerging forms of borderwork to be identified and interrogated in the context of the on-going 'war on terror'.

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Fabbrini Sergio, Sicurelli Daniela

**Bringing Policy-Making Structure Back In: Why are the US and the EU Pursuing Different Foreign Policies?**  
in *International Politics*, Volume 45, Number 3, May, 292-309

While the major feature defining United States' (US) foreign policy since the Cold War has been the use of coercive means such as military power and economic sanctions, the European Union (EU) international role, despite recent attempts to develop military capabilities, remains that of a civilian power. The literature on transatlantic relations has explained this difference by stressing the different positions of the two actors in the international balance of power and pointing at their divergent value and normative frameworks. This article, by comparing the EU and US policy-making processes, introduces a further explanation. It argues that, although the two polities share the features of Compound Democracies, the different institutional organization of their foreign policy-making processes has generated powerful incentives for pursuing different kinds of international action.

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De Ayala José Enrique

**Carta de Europa. Un complicado año de transición**  
in *Política Exterior*, 121

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Macphail Eilidh

**Changing EU Governance: a New Opportunity for the Scottish Executive?**  
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 18 Issue 1, 19 - 35

New developments in EU governance that may have an impact on subnational authorities have not yet been adequately covered by research into multi-level governance. This paper examines the role of the Scottish Executive<sup>1</sup> in a traditional EU policy area, the Structural Funds, and in a 'new' mode of governance, the Open Method of Coordination in Employment. Looking at the policy, polity and politics dimensions of governance, it concludes that the OMC cannot yet be seen as a new opportunity for the Scottish Executive to play a greater role in European policy making.

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Rumford Chris

**Citizens and Borderwork in Europe**

*in Space and Polity*, Volume 12, Number 1 / April , 1-12

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Albonetti Achille

**Come opporsi al declassamento dell'Italia**

*in Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 157 , 55-77

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Gianniti Luigi

**Come sarà scelto il nuovo Alto rappresentante dell'Unione?**

*in Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 1, febbraio , 153-155

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Ehin Piret

**Competing Models of EU Legitimacy: the Test of Popular Expectations**

*in Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 3, June 2008

What are the appropriate criteria for assessing the legitimacy of the EU? This article uses data from the Eurobarometer to adjudicate between rival perspectives on EU legitimacy. The findings strengthen the case for holding the EU to the same liberal-democratic standard of legitimacy that is applied to political authority in the nation-state.

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Orcalli Gabriele

**Constitutional Choice and European Immigration Policy**

*in Constitutional political economy*, Volume 18, Number 1 / March, 2007

The EU's immigration policy is evaluated from the standpoint of constitutional economics. The main conclusion is that European immigration policy is trapped in a system of constitutional regulations that is too rigid as it is exclusively



oriented towards the protection and securitisation of European borders. As such, it is not capable of allowing the development of a problem-solving capacity based on successive trials, and this produces negative outcomes for the whole of the EU.

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Font Joan , Rodríguez Ortiz Elisa

**Contenidos, estrategias y consignas : factores de voto en el referéndum española sobre la Constitución Europea**

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , n. 138 , 95-127

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Frith Robert

**Cosmopolitan Democracy and the EU: The Case of Gender**

in *Political Studies*, Volume 56, Issue 1, March , 215-236

Cosmopolitan democracy is one of the most debated models of transnational democracy. As a result of his prominence in this field, David Held has attracted much of the criticism and approval of this position. The critique and comment aimed at cosmopolitanism in general, and Held's work in particular, has provoked cosmopolitan advocates to respond, restate and develop their arguments. However, despite its considerable merit, this debate remains largely theoretical, and little has been done in terms of studying the realisation of cosmopolitanism in real-world settings. This article contributes towards the debate concerning the possibility of its actual application by mapping the principles of cosmopolitan democracy in relation to the EU polity and the issue of gender equality. It argues that the EU articulates certain cosmopolitan-comparable principles, and by studying areas where they are clearly exhibited, such as the issue of gender, that this helps us to critically evaluate their practicability and enables a response to criticisms levelled at cosmopolitan democracy. This article addresses two specific criticisms. Firstly, in view of the justiciable qualities of EU law, and its ability to give rise to formal individual rights, it is argued that claims regarding the inherently fictitious nature of cosmopolitan rights are unfounded. Secondly, while acknowledging that civic engagement takes a principally legal mode in relation to the issue of gender, this article rejects the claim that cosmopolitan democracy neglects the political aspects of citizenship. However, cosmopolitan scholars must extend their understanding of the relation between rights and the wider aspects of citizenship engagement, if they hope to realise the vision of an active citizenry that remains central to the cosmopolitan project.

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European Economy News

**Cyprus and Malta: two islands, one currency**

in *European Economy News*, January 2008 - Issue 9



On 1 January the citizens of Cyprus and Malta woke up to a new year and a new currency as their adoption of the euro became a reality. Thanks to the extensive practical preparations beforehand – which drew heavily on past experiences in other euro area Member States – Cypriot and Maltese citizens, businesses and authorities were well prepared, and well informed about the details of the changeover. Here, we present two invited contributions – from the Minister of Finance of the Republic of Cyprus, Michael Sarris; and from the Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of Malta, Lawrence Gonzi – who share their countries' experiences on the preparations for Economic and Monetary Union and the challenges and opportunities it offers for the future.

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**Lucentini Mauro**

**Dal Piano Marshall alla terza fase**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 157 , 132-147

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Czerner Frank**

**Das völkerrechtliche Anschlusssystem der Art. 59 II 1, 25 und 24I GG und deren Inkorporierungsfunktion zugunsten der innerstaatlichen EMRK -GeltungG**

in *Europarecht*, volume 42, issue 5, 2007 , 537-563

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**Dearden Stephen**

**Delivering the EU's development policy: policy evolution and administrative reform**

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Volume 9, Issue 2, June, Special Issue: The New Season of EU Development Policy , 114-127

This paper traces the evolution of the EU's development policy since the mid-1990s in response to the changing international political environment and the EU's priorities. These changes are reflected both in broader policy statements such as the Statement on Development Policy (2000) and the European Development Consensus (2005), but also in a series of accompanying administrative reforms. The paper reviews the Commission's pursuit of 'co-ordination' and 'complementarity' across both its own and the member states' aid programmes and then turns to the important issue of 'policy coherence for development'. Finally the paper considers the remaining policy, organisational and administrative issues that remain to be addressed.

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WTE and MC

**Democracy and the Union: Dressing up Cinderella**

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 3 - Issue 03 , 353-356

'The functioning of the Union shall be founded on representative democracy.' This the new Union Treaty echoes from the Constitutional Treaty. 'Citizens are directly represented at Union level in the European Parliament.' It means that the Union pretends to be a democracy and challenges the thesis, held by some, that democracy cannot be applied to an international organization. The mere ambition does not, however, answer the Union's shortcomings in terms of democracy.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Versluys Helen

**Depoliticising and Europeanising humanitarian aid: Success or failure?**

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Volume 9, Issue 2, June, Special Issue: The New Season of EU Development Policy , 208-224

Humanitarian assistance has become an increasingly prominent part of the European Union's external activities, representing about 10% of total EU external aid. The purpose of this paper is to track trends in EU humanitarian aid policy and compare policy to practice. The evolution towards greater independence of humanitarian assistance from EU policy objectives concerning crisis management and development, as well as the emerging trend towards a more pronounced Europeanisation of humanitarian aid policy, are analysed. The European Community, represented by the European Commission, fulfils a double role in EU humanitarian assistance. The Commission carries out its own humanitarian aid policy, and has a role to play in the coordination of the 27 + 1 European donors' policies. First, the Commission focused on improving its performance as an aid provider in its own right, and on outlining a distinctive function for humanitarian aid in the gamut of EU crisis response activities. Since 2006, the Commission has also sought to strengthen its role as a promoter of humanitarian harmonisation. Via supranational policy promotion it aims at forging a consensus among all 28 European donors on the goals of humanitarian action.

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Eikenberg Henning

**Der Europäische Forschungsraum: Ein Kompetenzproblem?**

in *Europarecht*, volume 43, issue 1, 2008 , 125-139

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Østergård Uffe

**Der Holocaust und europäische Werte**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-2, 2008 , 25-31

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Hertig Randall Maya

**Der Schutz von Grundrechten und individuellen Freiheiten in der Europäischen Union aus schweizerischer Sicht**

in *Zeitschrift für Schweizerisches Recht*, Vol. 126, issue 1/5, 2008 , 497-528

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Mayer Franz C., Lenski Edgar, Wendel Mattias

**Der Vorrang des Europarechts in Frankreich -- zugleich Anmerkung zur Entscheidung des französischen Conseil d'Etat vom 8. Februar 2007 (Arcelor u.a.)**

in *Europarecht*, volume 43, issue 1, 2008 , 63-87

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Bussi re  ric

**Des conventions du d but du XXe si cle au plan Schuman : les permanences d'une approche contractuelle du processus d'unification  conomique de l'Europe**

in *Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique*, hors - s rie n. 3, f vrier , 11-23

Le plan Schuman fonde ce qu'on a coutume d'appeler la m thode fonctionnelle, qui consiste   conduire   l'unit  politique europ enne par une unification  conomique. Il est en cela l'aboutissement de r flexions portant sur la part croissante de l' conomique dans la politique ext rieure des  tats. D s la fin du XIXe si cle, des motivations  conomiques et politiques conduisent   penser un projet europ en. Il s'agit   la fois de lutter contre la concurrence croissante de nouvelles puissances extra-europ ennes et contre celle qui s vit entre voisins europ ens. L' conomie, facteur de rivalit  entre puissances, doit devenir, par une sorte d'inversion de dynamique, un facteur de rapprochement, voire d'union. La premi re moiti  du si cle pose en m me temps les bases de la m thode contractuelle, associant action sectorielle visant   organiser la production et ses flux, et la mise en place progressive d'un march  europ en unifi    l'initiative des  tats. Plut t qu'un effet d'entra nement de l' conomie sur le politique, cette m thode instaure une culture de n gociation extensible aux champs politique, social ou culturel.

The Schuman plan begins what we usually call the functional method, which consists in leading to the European political unity by an economic unification. It is in it the result of reflections concerning the increasing part of the economic in the foreign policy of states. At the end of the ninetieth century, economic and political motivations spur on European project; but at the same time politicians thought about the fight against the increasing competition of new extra-European powers and against the one who rages between European nations. The economy, factor of rivalry between powers, had to become, by an inversion of dynamics, a factor of rapprochement, even of union. The first half of the century is the time of putting the bases of the contractual method, by the organization of the production and its streams, and the progressive implementation of an European market unified thanks to the initiative of states. Rather than an effect of training of the economic on politics, this method establishes a culture of negotiation in the political, social or cultural fields.

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Dutta Anatol

**Die Pflicht der Mitgliedstaaten zur gegenseitigen Durchsetzung ihrer  ffentlichrechtlichen Forderungen**

in *Europarecht*, volume 42, issue 6, 2007 , 744-767

No abstract available

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Wilms G nter

**Die Reform des EU-Haushaltes im Lichte der Finanziellen Vorausschau 2007-2013 und des Vertrages von**



**Lissabon -- neue Perspektiven für die Europäische Union?**

in *Europarecht*, volume 42, issue 6, 2007 , 707-743

No abstract available

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Häberle Peter

**Die deutsche EU-Ratspräsidentschaft (1. Januar 2007 bis 30. Juni 2007)**

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 56, 2008

No abstract available

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Cromme Franz

**Die primärrechtliche Absicherung der Einheit der EU bei der differenzierten Integration -- Die Entwicklung bis zum Brüsseler Mandat 2007**

in *Europarecht*, volume 42, issue 6, 2007 , 821-828

No abstract available

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Leisner Walter Georg

**Die subjektiv-historische Auslegung des Gemeinschaftsrechts -- Der 'Wille des Gesetzgebers' in der Judikatur des EuGH**

in *Europarecht*, volume 42, issue 6, 2007 , 689-706

No abstract available

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Berezin Mabel, Díez-Medrano Juan

**Distance Matters: Place, Political Legitimacy and Popular Support for European Integration**

in *Comparative European Politics*, n. 1, vol. 6, april , 1-32

ABSTRACT: Theorists of globalization often assume that technology has eclipsed distance as a sociologically and politically significant variable. This article counters this assumption. Based on insights obtained from the literature on regionalist revival and local democracy and on experimental results on the relationship between distance and emotional involvement, we develop a series of hypotheses concerning the role of geographical distance in explaining support for



the polity to which one belongs. We then test these hypotheses with Eurobarometer data relative to support for the European Union (EU). The results confirm the article's hypothesis, open new perspectives on the potential constraints faced by a geographically expanding EU, and provide insights on policies that the EU could implement to counter these constraints.

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Wilsher Daniel

**Does Keck discrimination make any sense? An assessment of the non-discrimination principle within the European Single Market**

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 33, n. 1, 3-22

No abstract available

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Laurent Sylvain, Rapoport Cécile, Delcourt Christine

**Du Traité constitutionnel au Traité modificatif de Lisbonne. Première partie: Coups de projecteur sur les "Traités fondateurs" de l'Union rénovée**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 518, mai, 288-297

Since being signed on the 13th December 2007, the Treaty of Lisbon has already been the subject of various general comments and following the example of previous treaties, it will certainly have its different articles commented on one by one in a single volume. As a way of discussing this new treaty, the team at the Rennes Centre of European Research, coordinated by C. Delcourt, has chosen a different approach. With no worries about the commentary being too exhaustive or one-dimensional, they have opted for a thematic and selective approach to the text by shedding some spotlight on certain aspects of the Treaty of Lisbon, which for the most part, is not a pure and simple copy-and-paste version of the constitutional treaty. This will shed light on five big topics dealt with in five successive issues of the *Revue du Marché commun et de l'Union européenne*: the first two topics - the founding treaties (I) and the values (II) of the reformed Union - will be followed by three topics which arise naturally since they correspond to the stated objectives of the reform, not only in the mandate of the IGC 2007, but also in the final version of the preamble of the Treaty of Lisbon, namely, the efficiency (III), democratic legitimacy (IV) and the coherence of EU action (V).

First part: Spotlight on the "founding treaties" of the reformed Union (it includes three articles: Sylvain Laurent, "Le processus de déconstitutionnalisation opéré par le Traité de Lisbonne", pp. 289-291; Cécile Rapoport, "Interrogations sur la réorganisation du droit primaire de l'Union européenne", pp. 292-295; Christine Delcourt, "Traité de Lisbonne et acquis communautaire", pp. 296-297). A triple shedding of light enables the answers to the three following questions to be formed: in what way are the treaties reformed by the Treaty of Lisbon the same thing as a deconstitutionalisation compared to the so-called "constitutional treaty". Which are the questions raised by the new arrangements of the Union's primary law? What connections do the reformed treaties have with the *acquis communautaire*?

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Leucht Brigitte, Seidel Katja

**Du Traité de Paris au règlement 17/1962 : ruptures et continuités dans la politique européenne de concurrence, 1950-1962**

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 1 , 35-46

Cet article étudie certains des liens existants entre les politiques de la concurrence de la CECA et de la CEE, une correspondance souvent mentionnée dans la littérature historique mais rarement étudiée en tant que telle. Les politiques de la concurrence établies par le Traité de Paris et par le Traité de Rome ont pourtant des points communs en terme de réseaux d'acteurs et de fondements doctrinaux. Même si la Haute Autorité de la CECA n'a pas réussi à mettre en place une politique de la concurrence effective, son expérience, mais aussi les articles 65 et 66 du Traité de Paris, ont servi de modèles pour les articles du Traité de Rome sur ce dossier. Depuis son introduction en 1950-1951, le principe même de concurrence est resté une caractéristique majeure des débats sur l'intégration économique européenne, d'où sa présence dans le Traité CEE. Ces règles sont issues de différentes approches et modèles comme la politique anti-trust américaine et l'ordolibéralisme de l'école de Freiburg, et sont le résultat d'un transfert de pratiques d'acteurs opérant aux échelles nationales et européennes. Finalement, la politique de la concurrence en vint à jouer un rôle majeur dans le processus d'intégration européenne et dans la construction d'un marché commun.

This article explores some of the links between competition policy in the ECSC and the EEC which are often mentioned in the literature but remain understudied to date. Yet there are connections in terms of actors and ideas between competition policy in the treaty of Paris and the treaty of Rome. Even though the High Authority of the ECSC failed to implement an effective competition policy, the ECSC experience and, importantly, Articles 65 and 66 served as a model for the competition articles in the EEC treaty. From its introduction in 1950-1951 onwards, the competitive principle remained an important feature in the debates on European economic integration. Consequently, competition rules entered the EEC treaty. These rules were shaped by different approaches and models such as US anti-trust policy and the ordo-liberalism of the Freiburg School and not least as a result of a transfer of knowledge of actors operating at the European and the national levels. Ultimately, competition policy came to play a crucial role in the European integration process and in the construction of a common market.

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Genson Roland, Van de Rijt Wouter

**Décembre 2007. Un élargissement de l'espace Schengen sans précédent**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 513, décembre , 652-659

In the first week of December, the European Union Council decided on an unprecedented extension of the Schengen space which will grow on December 21, 2007 from 15 to 24 states. On December 5, 2006, the European Union Council had passed conclusions aimed at completing as from December 2007, the removal of checks at inside borders with and between Member countries that adhered to the EU in May 2004. Nine of the respective countries have done everything to fulfil all conditions necessary for applying all of the Schengen provisions for the Council to be in a position to make the decisions relating to the removal of checks at inside borders before the end of 2007. Since the creation of the Schengen



space, it is the most significant extension. That free circulation which numbered seven countries when it started out in 1995, will therefore regroup 24 countries at the end of 2007.

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**Bachtler John, McMaster Irene**

**EU Cohesion policy and the role of the regions: investigating the influence of Structural Funds in the new member states**

**in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 26, Issue 2, April , 398-427

This paper undertakes a critical assessment of the influence of the EU Cohesion policy on regionalisation and the role of regional institutions in Central and Eastern Europe. It addresses questions that are central to ongoing theoretical debates about the role of the region in the new member states. Have the powers and resources of the regions been strengthened by their involvement in EU support programmes? Are regions increasingly involved in integrated 'bottom-up' responses to regional development challenges? The paper offers a fresh perspective on these issues, with a cross-national analysis of practical experience in the postenlargement period and a detailed assessment of the technical, variable, and complex reality of working with EU Structural Funds. A distinctive approach of the analysis is to disaggregate the stages of Structural Funds programme management and delivery, thereby highlighting the varied nature of regional involvement in Structural Funds. Ultimately, the paper questions the notion that Structural Funds build regional structures and competence, and lead to 'stronger regions'. Instead, it is argued that there is no guarantee that the Structural Funds will necessarily promote regionalisation in Central and Eastern Europe, at least in the short to medium terms.

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**Kustermans Jorg**

**EU as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union**

**in Acta Politica**, Volume 43, Number 1, April , 118-120

No abstract available

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**Rivosecchi Guido**

**El gobierno económico en la Unión Europea**

**in Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo** , n. 8 , 139-151

El presente estudio aborda dos aspectos relevantes en el ámbito de la Constitución económica, las relativas a las cuestiones financieras y presupuestarias de la Unión. Se trata de aspectos inherentes al gobierno de la economía en la Unión Europea que permiten realizar un juicio de continuidad respecto a los planteamientos originarios y las propuestas transferidas al proyecto de Tratado constitucional y las sometidas a debate tras su revisión. Y es que desde el Tratado de Maastricht las normas sobre las cuentas públicas se mueven en el terreno del pacto de estabilidad y la disciplina



presupuestaria. Para el examen de estas cuestiones, el estudio analiza el alcance de las obligaciones presupuestarias establecidas por la Unión a los Estados miembros y por otro, el del presupuesto comunitario y la autonomía financiera de la Unión, cuestiones cuya relación pretende ser demostrada en este trabajo

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Lightfoot Simon

**Enlargement and the challenge of EU development policy**

**in Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, Volume 9, Issue 2, June, Special Issue: The New Season of EU Development Policy , 128-142

2004 saw eight states from Central and Eastern Europe become members of the European Union. Never before had so many recipients of EU aid joined the Union and taken on the commitment to become aid donors. Although only four years since they became members of the EU, it is possible to identify the key improvements made by the new member states (NMS) in the area of development policy as well as the challenges still to be faced. To do so this paper explores three questions. First, what are the key challenges facing the new donors? In particular it examines administrative capacity within governments, the level of political will and the level of public awareness. Second, it assesses how the development policies of the NMS have evolved since accession, focusing on meeting ODA goals, the geographical focus of aid and the types of projects favoured by CEE states. Finally, the paper explores the challenge presented by Eastern enlargement for EU development policy. In particular, it will assess the impact of enlargement on EU-ACP relations and the future of the EDF, whilst also considering the impact of enlargement on the three Cs of EU Development Policy as well as the comparative advantages offered by the NMS in particular geographic areas/policy sectors.

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Eberlein Burkard, Newman Abraham L.

**Escaping the International Governance Dilemma? Incorporated Transgovernmental Networks in the European Union**

**in Governance**, Vol. 21, n. 1, January , 25-52

This article investigates the role of transgovernmental networks of national regulators in addressing collective action problems endemic to international cooperation. In contrast to recent work on transgovernmental actors, which emphasizes such networks as alternatives to more traditional international institutions, we examine the synergistic interaction between the two. Building on the broader premise that patterns of "dual delegation" above and below the nation-state enhance the coordinating role of networks of national agencies in two-level international governance, the article examines the formal incorporation of transgovernmental networks into European Union (EU) policymaking. The focus on authoritative rule-making adds a crucial dimension to the landscape of EU governance innovations while connecting to the broader study of transgovernmental networks in international governance. The article develops an analytical framework that maps these incorporated networks across different sectors in terms of function, emergence, and effectiveness. Two case studies of data privacy and energy market regulation are presented to apply and illustrate the insights of this mapping.





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**Maestro Buelga Gonzalo**

**Estado de mercado y Constitución económica: algunas reflexiones sobre la crisis constitucional europea**  
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 8 , 43-73

Este trabajo pretende hacer un balance de la Constitución económica en el ordenamiento europeo. El fracaso del Tratado constitucional y la salida a la crisis constitucional europea constituyen el marco de la reflexión. La atenuación de los contenidos universales en el futuro Tratado de la Unión y el peso determinante que, en el Tratado de funcionamiento de la Unión, tiene la dimensión económica, hace que la Constitución económica siga configurándose como el núcleo del constitucionalismo europeo. Esta adquiere un carácter absorbente respecto al conjunto del ordenamiento, igualmente infiltra, invade, los ordenamientos constitucionales de los Estados miembros.

La Constitución económica europea continúa bebiendo de la tradición ordoliberal que se confronta con el Estado social. La inclusión de contenidos sociales desde la reforma de Ámsterdam no modifica la acusada centralidad del mercado y la subordinación social a éste. Desde esta perspectiva, el ordenamiento comunitario se configura como el nivel constitucional que extiende la nueva constitución material del "Estado de mercado" a los Estados miembros sancionando la ruptura de la forma de "Estado social"

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**Androsh Hannes**

**Europa - Entwurf und Konstruktion zwischen Marshallplan und Globalisierung**  
in *Europäische Rundschau*, Heft 4, 2007

No abstract available

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**Kertész Imre**

**Europas bedrückende Erbschaft**  
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-2, 2008 , 3-6

Nach den schrecklichen Prüfungen des hinter uns liegenden Jahrhunderts durften wir schließlich auch Zeuge einer unerwarteten und freudigen Wendung sein: Ich meine den unblutigen Zusammenbruch des Sowjetreiches, dieses erschütternde, schwer zu fassende Ereignis, das mit einer ähnlichen Eigengesetzlichkeit abließ wie gewaltige Naturereignisse, die wir entsetzt oder entzückt bestaunen, aber nicht beeinflussen können. Als dann die große tönernen Feste zusammengestürzt war, leuchteten Freudenfeuer auf, und überall in Europa setzte unbekümmertes Feiern ein. Erst nach dem Abklingen der ersten Euphorie dachte man auch an die Erbschaft, die entsetzliche Hinterlassenschaft des dahingegangenen Giganten, und in der Atmosphäre der Beklommenheit trat plötzlich die europäische Idee hervor.



<http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/BOXOKX.html>

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**Blokker Paul**

**Europe 'United in Diversity'. From a Central European Identity to Post-Nationality?**

*in European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 11, No. 2, May 2008, 257-274

Political and cultural diversity in contemporary Europe can be encountered on many levels and in a variety of forms. The significance of such political and cultural diversity is, however, differently understood, and conceptualized, and not always sufficiently appreciated in distinct perceptions of Europe. A variety of perceptions of Europe have played a role in the project of Eastern enlargement, even if a communitarian/unitarian vision of a single European identity seemed to prevail. Such a vision was not only promoted by Western European political forces, but also actively endorsed by some of the new-comers themselves, who, in a way, embedded the unitarian understanding of European identity in their local self-identification as 'Central Europe'. A unitary vision of Europe was, however, at odds with a number of connotations associated with the myth of a distinct Central European identity as it had emerged in the 1980s. The article identifies three understandings of the idea of Central Europe as they have historically emerged, and suggests their contemporary relevance for the European integration project. Subsequently, the usage and understanding of Central Europe will be briefly looked at in the context of the fifth enlargement project. Finally, the future of political and cultural integration in the post-enlargement era is hypothesized. While the unitary vision of European identity remains an important marker, a diversity-sensitive, post-national, and deliberative understanding of European identity seems increasingly important, an identity that can significantly build on an emancipatory reading of Central Europe.

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**Zielonka Jan**

**Europe as a global actor: empire by example?**

*in International Affairs*, issue 3, vol. 84, may, 471-484

**ABSTRACT:** The European Union (EU) spreads its norms and extends its power in various parts of the world in a truly imperial fashion. This is because the EU tries to impose domestic constraints on other actors through various forms of economic and political domination or even formal annexations. This effort has proved most successful in the EU's immediate neighbourhood where the Union has enormous political and economic leverage and where there has been a strong and ever-growing convergence of norms and values. However, in the global arena where actors do not share European norms and the EU has limited power, the results are limited. Consequently, it is not only Europe's ethical agenda that is in limbo; some basic social preferences across the EU seem also to be unsustainable. Can Europe maintain, let alone enhance, its environmental, labour or food safety norms without forcing global competitors to embrace them? The challenge lies not only in enhancing Europe's global power, but also primarily in exporting rules and norms for which there is more demand among existing and emerging global players. This means that Europe should engage in a dialogue that will help it to establish commonly shared rules of morality and global governance. Only then can Europe's exercise of power be seen as legitimate. It also means that Europe should try to become a 'model power' rather than a 'superpower', to use David Miliband's expression. The latter approach would imply the creation of a strong European centre able to impose economic pains on uncooperative actors. The former would imply showing other actors



that European norms can also work for them and providing economic incentives for adopting these norms. To be successful in today's world, Europe needs to export its governance to other countries, but it can do it in a modest and novel way that will not provoke accusations of 'regulatory imperialism'.

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Warlouzet Laurent

**Europe de la concurrence et politique industrielle communautaire. La naissance d'une opposition au sein de la CEE dans les années 1960**

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 1 , 47-62

Alors que la politique de la concurrence communautaire, inspirée par la doctrine ordolibérale, cherche à limiter l'intervention des autorités publiques dans l'économie à la création d'un cadre favorable à l'activité économique, la politique industrielle part de la nécessité d'une action volontariste de renforcement de la structure industrielle. Elle encourage donc l'adoption de mesures spécifiques, destinées soit à certains secteurs (secteurs en crise, secteurs de pointe), soit à certaines opérations (fusions européennes, recherche-développement). Si un groupe ordo-libéral allemand parvient à développer assez rapidement une politique communautaire de la concurrence à partir de 1962, il a beaucoup de mal à l'appliquer par la suite. Cela laisse le champ libre au gouvernement français et surtout à un réseau franco-italien au sein de la Commission européenne pour développer des initiatives en matière de politique industrielle. Un conflit entre deux conceptions de l'Europe économique, l'Europe de la politique de la concurrence et l'Europe de la politique industrielle se développe alors au sein même de la Commission européenne. Il se perpétue encore aujourd'hui.

The EEC competition policy was developed upon an ordoliberal framework. The role of the state in the economy is limited to the shaping of a general framework. On the contrary, industrial policy seeks to develop specific state interventions, aimed at strengthening the competitiveness of the European industrial structure. Such a policy would promote measures aimed at supporting specific sectors (first industrial revolution sectors or high-techn industries) or at fostering specific operations (intra-european mergers, R&D). Whereas a German ordoliberal group based at the Commission launched the European Competition policy from 1962, a French-Italian group within the Commission responded by the development of projects for an Industrial Policy. A conflict occurred within the Commission between these two visions of Europe, a Europe of Competition Policy and a Europe of Industrial Policy. This opposition is still acute today.

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Becker Uwe

**Europe in the Global Age**

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 43, Number 1, April , 140-143

No abstract available



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**Avery Graham**

**Europe's Future Foreign Service**

**in *International Spectator (The)***, Vol. XLIII, n. 1, January-March

The Lisbon Treaty adapts the EU's institutional structures into a new architecture for foreign affairs. It creates a High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy with responsibility as Vice-President in the Commission for work on external affairs ("first pillar") and in the Council for common foreign and security policy ("second pillar"). To assist this person in his/her tasks it creates a European External Action Service and Union Delegations in non-EU countries, which may develop into a European Diplomatic Service. The article examines the service's tasks, timing, institutional place, staff, structure and budget, and the participation of EU member states.

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**Borgmann-Prebil Yuri**

**European Citizenship and the Rights Revolution**

**in *Journal of European Integration***, Volume 30, Number 2 / May , 311-319

No abstract available

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**Clark David**

**European Foreign Policy and American Primacy**

**in *International Politics*** , Volume 45, Number 3, May , 276-291

The ideology of American primacy is not new with the Bush administration. Rather it draws upon a long tradition of American exceptionalism. Yet, the unilateralism built into this ideology is not viable as a foundation on which to build a global order, since it assumes that US behaviour is based on broadly-held values and interests, not those of a single state. With the end of the cold war many of the factors that tied the United States to Europe dissolved; moreover, the United States in effect, as its demographic and political centre moved south and west, abandoned many of the values that it shared with Europe. In many ways America's repudiation of multilateralism and welfare capitalism could be seen as a return to the default setting of its founding values. Some analysts argue that Europe faces but two alternative paths in its relationship with the United States — to accept a subservient position, while attempting to broaden Washington's agenda, or a form of 'Euro-Gaullism' in which Europe would break free from US domination. In fact, a third, and preferable approach, exists that would be based on strengthening Europe's position vis-à-vis the United States, while working with the United States in those areas where common values and interests exist. There is no doubt that a united Europe has the potential to play a more independent global role if it is willing to create the necessary decision-making structure and deploy its collective resources more efficiently.



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**Irondelle Bastien**

**European Foreign Policy: the End of French Europe?**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 30, Number 1 / March , 153-168

After 9/11, the Iraq war and the French and Dutch rebuttal of the Constitutional Treaty in 2005, some have observed that EU member states have tended to de-Europeanize or renationalize foreign policies. In such a context, does France see its foreign policy future within the common foreign and security policy (CFSP) or outside it? Despite the inherent contradictions of the traditional French model of European foreign policy (intergovernmentalism, Europe puissance, EU as a power multiplier), France's commitment to a strong European foreign policy remains powerful. But the French allegiance to CFSP is less based on a political project for Europe and for its role in the world than motivated by necessity, as France is less and less able to act alone in the world. Thus, French policy vis--vis the EU in general and CFSP-European security and defence policy (ESDP) in particular has become increasingly pragmatic and flexible. This trend will most likely continue under President Sarkozy's leadership.

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**Egeberg Morten**

**European Government(s): Executive Politics in Transition?**

in *West European Politics*, n. 1 & 2, vol. 31, january , 235-257

ABSTRACT: This article starts by discussing 'agencification' and fragmentation in national governments. When dealing with the problems that these developments might cause for democratic control and agency accountability, one only tends to look at the relationships between agencies and various national stakeholders, in particular ministerial departments. Has a 'methodological nationalism' hindered us from seeing the emerging executive centre at the level above, i.e. the European Commission, and the re-coupling of nationally decoupled agencies into a multilevel Union administration? The development of the EU, due to its peculiar institutional architecture, takes quite another direction than intergovernmental cooperation and comes to challenge governments in an unprecedented way. National agencies become parts of two administrations - a national as well as a Union administration.

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**Klabbers Jan**

**European Union Administration: Legitimacy and Efficiency**

in *International Organizations Law Review*, n. 2, vol. 4 , 357-359

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



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Hooghe Liesbet, Marks Gary

**European Union?**

in **West European Politics**, n. 1 & 2, vol. 31, January, 108-129

ABSTRACT: This article provides an overview of the study of the European Union since the doldrums of the 1970s. We focus on three debates that have helped to shape the field. Has European integration centralised state control or is European integration part of a process of dispersion of authority? What is the role of identity in framing preferences over European integration? And, finally, is European integration part of a new political cleavage? We observe that the European Union is a moving target. It has a habit of throwing up new and unexpected facts which wrong-foot extant theories. We have no grounds for believing that this will not continue.

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Tsoukalis Loukas

**European foreign policy begins with the neighbours**

in **Europe's World**, Issue 8, Spring

The new narrative in Brussels is that the EU should be more assertive internationally and must help shape globalisation. Loukas Tsoukalis looks at Europe's track record so far, particularly in the Mediterranean region, and draws some lessons for the future

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Bowen Harry P., Sleuwaegen Leo

**European integration: the third step**

in **International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 4, Number 3 / November, 2007

A perception of declining EU competitiveness has intensified calls for structural reforms within the EU. This paper examines recent evidence on changes in relative EU competitiveness and considers the observed changes in relation to the evolving competitive environment facing EU firms. Our analysis suggests that recent declines in EU competitiveness reflect changes (or lack thereof) within the EU in response to an evolutionary "Third Step" in the process of EU integration: global market integration. Starting from the mid-1990s, we find that the EU began to face unprecedented increases in external sources of competition. The rising competition from external sources and declining export market competitiveness created pressures for EU firms to alter their organizational and product market strategies to meet the challenge of a globally integrating market. While many leading EU firms have responded to this challenge, most EU firms remain hampered by anachronistic EU product and labor market regulations that have inhibited adjustments that could better restore the competitiveness of EU based firms. In particular, our analysis points to labor market rigidities and limited growth in the services sector as factors limiting adjustment to the realities of a global market. The growing calls for structural reforms therefore reflect the rising external competitive pressures on EU firms as they attempt to respond to growing global competition.





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Rossolillo Giulia

**European people, constituent power and the building of a European Federal State  
in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLIX, n. 3 , 199-209**

[http://euraction.org/revfiles/3\\_07.pdf](http://euraction.org/revfiles/3_07.pdf)

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Kutscha Martin

**Europäische Grundrechte**

**in *Recht und Politik*, volume 44, issue 1, 2008 , 56-57**

No abstract available

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Flassbeck Heiner

**Europäische Krisenignoranz**

**in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, März, 2008 , 5-8**

Die Aktienmärkte auf der Achterbahn, das globale Finanzsystem in einer tiefen Krise, Banken am Abgrund und die amerikanische Wirtschaft vor einer Rezession: Dramatischer als mit dem Börsencrash am „schwarzen Montag“ vom 21. Januar hätte das Jahr an den internationalen Finanzmärkten nicht beginnen können. Die Tagesverluste waren so heftig wie seit den Terroranschlägen vom 11. September 2001 nicht mehr. Doch kaum hatten die aggressiven Zinssenkungen der US-Notenbank die Märkte etwas beruhigt, signalisierten die Politiker hierzulande schon wieder business as usual – was wie immer heißt, wir tun nichts, aber auch gar nichts, um einen globalen Einbruch zu verhindern.

Die Krise ist aber keineswegs überwunden. Die vom amerikanischen Häusermarkt ausgelöste Bankenkrise und die noch zu erwartende Krise der internationalen Leistungsbilanzungleichgewichte werden hierzulande tiefe Bremsspuren in der Konjunktur und am Arbeitsmarkt hinterlassen. Das einzige, was die Politik in Deutschland tut, ist aber so zu tun, als gäbe es diesmal wie durch ein Wunder eine Abkopplung von der amerikanischen Wirtschaft. Die Gründe dafür bleiben das Geheimnis der Politiker.

Die Bundesrepublik war nämlich, das wird in dem allgemeinen Gerede von einer Abkopplung einfach unterschlagen, noch nie so exportabhängig wie heute. Deutschland hat in den letzten vier Jahren extreme Exporterfolge erzielt. Nur aufgrund dieser fiel das Wachstum in den letzten zwei Jahren ganz ordentlich aus. Folglich ist bei angeschlagener Weltkonjunktur dieses Wachstum in höchstem Maße gefährdet. Zwar hängt die deutsche Wirtschaft heute nicht mehr so einseitig wie in früheren Zeiten am US-Dollar und der amerikanischen Wirtschaft, aber dafür umso stärker an den



anderen Europäern und den Schwellenländern. Wenn es dort, ausgelöst von Amerika, einen Dämpfer für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung gibt, dann wird das schneller als jemals zuvor auch auf die Bundesrepublik durchschlagen. Der Blick in den Rückspiegel

Selbst wenn die aktuellen Konjunkturdaten in Deutschland und Europa im Moment (Anfang Februar liegen Indikatoren erst für Dezember 2007 vor) noch keine Alarmsignale senden, bedeutet das nichts anderes als einen Blick in den Rückspiegel, der ohne Aussagewert für die Zukunft ist. All die positiven Prognosen, die unsere „Experten“ bisher vorgelegt haben, schauen eher zurück als voraus. Schlimmer noch, diese Prognosen waren ohnehin auf Sand gebaut. Nach fünf Jahren Konsumflaute haben Institute und Sachverständigenrat unisono auf den Konsum gewettet nach dem Motto: „2008 steigen zum ersten Mal Löhne und Beschäftigung gemeinsam, und dann steigt auch der private Konsum und damit endlich die erforderliche Binnennachfrage“. Das ist infolge der dramatischen Verunsicherung nur noch unwahrscheinlicher geworden, als es bereits zuvor war. Zwar spielen die Börsen für den privaten Verbrauch hierzulande keine so große Rolle wie in den Vereinigten Staaten (und die Aktien als Anlageform auch nicht), aber dennoch vergrößert die gegenwärtige Lage die Verunsicherung, die wegen permanent angespannter Finanzlage bei der Mehrzahl der Verbraucher ohnehin groß ist.

Es ist schon grotesk, dass gerade diejenigen, die über ein Jahrzehnt den Haushalten der Arbeitnehmer das „Gürtel-enger-Schnallen“ als die allein selig machende Strategie gepredigt haben, jetzt auf den Konsum setzen und suggerieren, die Arbeitnehmer müssten die Krise verhindern. Hinzu kommt, dass es auch bei den privaten Investitionen in den Betrieben wahrscheinlich einen erheblichen Rückschlag geben wird, denn seit dem 1. Januar gibt es keine degressive Abschreibung mehr. Viele Firmen haben deshalb im letzten Jahr Investitionen vorgezogen, die in diesem Jahr natürlich ausfallen und die Wirtschaft weiter destabilisieren.

Ungeachtet ihrer Widerstandskraft bis zum Ende vergangenen Jahres ist die deutsche Wirtschaft somit hochgradig gefährdet. Die Exportquote, der Anteil der Exporte am gesamten Bruttosozialprodukt, liegt heute bei 45 Prozent – statt wie früher bei 30 Prozent. Die durch die deutsche Lohnzurückhaltung zulasten anderer Länder eroberten Marktanteile sind zukünftig nicht mehr zu halten. Der Fall des Dollars und anderer Währungen hat die deutsche Wettbewerbsfähigkeit in den letzten Wochen und Monaten gegenüber dem gesamten Dollar-Raum, also Nordamerika und großen Teilen Asiens, schon erheblich verschlechtert. Umgerechnet auf die Wettbewerbsfähigkeit entspricht der Fall des Dollars Lohnsteigerungen für die einheimische Wirtschaft von 15 bis 20 Prozent im vergangenen Jahr. Hätte es diese tatsächlich gegeben, würde die deutsche Wirtschaftselite Zeter und Mordio schreien. Beim sinkenden Dollarkurs murrte man zwar, betont aber das große Gewicht der europäischen „Handelspartner“. Dass die „lieben Partner in Europa“ vom fallenden Dollar viel stärker getroffen werden als Deutschland, weil dieses sie in den vergangenen zehn Jahren systematisch geschwächt hat, verschweigt man kurzerhand.

Für die Europäer insgesamt und insbesondere für die Länder in der Eurozone, die wegen der deutschen Exportstärke selbst äußerst schwach sind, wie Italien und Frankreich, oder nur von einem eigenen Hauspreisboom aufrechterhalten wurden, wie etwa Spanien, ist die Finanzkrise und die drohende Rezession eine Katastrophe. Für die Bundesrepublik bedeutet dies, dass sie mit ihren Exporten derzeit die Spitze eines Berges erreicht hat. Die Politik des „Gürtelenger-Schnallens“, die zugleich eine Politik der systematischen Schwächung der Inlandsnachfrage war, hat sozusagen ihre „natürliche“ Grenze erreicht. Nun, wo es nicht mehr weiter nach oben geht, muss man herunter – und man muss weiter herunter als diejenigen, die den Gipfel nicht erreicht haben. Alles spricht derzeit für einen gewaltigen Rückschlag für die deutsche Wirtschaft in diesem Jahr.

Das Versagen der EZB



Weil die gegenwärtige Krise ihren Ursprung in den Finanzmärkten hat, ist kurzfristig die Reaktion der Zentralbanken entscheidend. Die Europäische Zentralbank (EZB) müsste der absehbaren Rezession in gleicher Weise entgegenwirken wie die amerikanische Notenbank, die den Leitzins umgehend um deutliche 0,75 Prozentpunkte und eine Woche später nochmals um einen halben Punkt senkte. Doch so etwas käme der EZB niemals in den Sinn. Sie weigert sich systematisch, eine aktive Rolle bei der Stabilisierung der Nachfrage zu übernehmen. Das passt zwar zu der Weigerung der Bundesbank und jeder Bundesregierung in den letzten 30 Jahren, irgendeine Rolle bei der Stabilisierung der globalen Wirtschaft zu spielen, ist aber gleichwohl dumm und kurzfristig.

Wer so sehr wie Europa von weltweiten Aufschwüngen profitiert (wobei Deutschland, wie oben beschrieben, den Großteil in Anspruch nahm), hinterher aber regelmäßig so tut, als ginge der Abschwung nur die Amerikaner etwas an, hat einfach nicht verstanden, dass eine globalisierte Wirtschaft auch eine globalisierte Wirtschaftspolitik benötigt. Dass die USA die riesigen Fehlbeträge in ihrer Leistungsbilanz nicht beseitigen können, ohne dass der Dollar in die Knie geht, ist auch und vielleicht sogar vor allem Folge der Tatsache, dass Europa in Sachen Wachstum seit drei Jahrzehnten versagt.

Noch toller ist, dass die Amerikaner von vielen „guten Europäern“ sogar dafür kritisiert werden, dass sie massiv nachfrageseitig einsteigen und etwas für ihre eigene und die globale Konjunktur tun. Das gilt für die derzeitige Politik ebenso wie für die Politik der amerikanischen Zentralbank nach dem Ende der sogenannten dot.com bubble im Jahr 2000. Es ist nur als Skandal zu bezeichnen, dass die EZB bis Mitte Februar 2008 mit Preisrisiken in einer Weltkonjunktur argumentiert, die sich eindeutig abschwächt und in der es trotz eines außergewöhnlichen Booms in den letzten fünf Jahren keinerlei Inflationsgefahr gegeben hat. Mehr noch, es gab keinerlei Inflationsgefahr, obwohl es eine Reihe von potentiell inflationären Einmaleffekten gab (Ölpreis, Rohstoffpreise allgemein, Mehrwertsteuererhöhung in Deutschland). Sie alle hätten längst zu Inflation führen müssen, wenn es jetzt tatsächlich immer noch eine inflationäre Tendenz gäbe, die die EZB beunruhigen müsste. Die Vorstellung der EZB, im Abschwung der Weltwirtschaft müsse man besonders wachsam sein, weil man ja nie wisse, ob nicht Lohnerhöhungen (die man aber für den Konsumaufschwung in Deutschland gerade braucht!) jetzt „Zweitrundeneffekte“ auslösen könnten, die die EZB nicht mehr in den Griff bekäme, wenn sie tatsächlich einträten, ist abwegig. Absurder als eine solche Position ist nur noch die Tatsache, dass sie von den europäischen Ökonomen noch immer in großer Zahl als alternativlos angesehen wird.

Eine Kurskorrektur der europäischen Wirtschaftspolitik in Richtung Vernunft erfordert, dass die EZB ein neues und breites Mandat erhält. Wie in den USA darf die Zentralbank nicht nur auf Inflation zielen, sondern muss Beschäftigungsförderung und Inflationsbekämpfung gleichberechtigt verfolgen. Eine Zentralbank, die vollkommen unabhängig ist und einzig und allein eine niedrige Inflationsrate anvisiert, hat angesichts der Komplexität der Weltwirtschaft eine viel zu einfache, ja eine geradezu primitive Aufgabe. Alle Verantwortung für andere Ziele abschieben, auf „strukturelle“ Probleme „verweisen“ und die Inflationsrate niedrig halten, kann jedes Kind nach einer zweistündigen Einweisung in die monetaristische Ideologie. Dass ein gewaltiger und für die Weltwirtschaft enorm wichtiger Wirtschaftsraum auf einem solchen Klippschulniveau verharrt, ist traurig und wird Europa noch viel größere Krisen und eine andauernde Wachstumsschwäche bescheren.

Finanzpolitik in der Krise

Angesichts der Untätigkeit der EZB muss sich die Finanzpolitik in allen Ländern der Europäischen Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion ihrerseits darauf einrichten, expansiv zu reagieren – und nicht nur zu beschwichtigen. Es kommt darauf an, dann, wenn es notwendig ist, sehr schnell einschlägige Maßnahmen parat zu haben – in erster Linie eine direkte Erhöhung öffentlicher Ausgaben, insbesondere öffentlicher Investitionen. Deutschland ist hier das Land mit dem größten Nachholbedarf. Nur das ist, natürlich finanziert durch höhere öffentliche Verschuldung, in einer Zeit hoher



Verunsicherung der privaten Haushalte wirksam. Insofern reagieren die USA mit ihrem Konjunkturprogramm im Prinzip zwar richtig; im Hinblick auf die Effizienz ist das Programm aber nicht optimal, weil die privaten Haushalte in einer unsicheren Situation kein Garant dafür sind, dass Steuersenkungen, die den Großteil des Programms ausmachen, zu Mehrausgaben führen.

Dass umgehende Reaktion und massive Intervention die richtige Lösung sind, macht ein Vergleich des deutschen Zyklus mit dem amerikanischen deutlich. Während sich die USA dank schneller und aggressiver Reaktion der Zentralbank aus dem letzten Konjunkturtal nach dem Jahr 2000 rasch wieder herausarbeiteten, brauchte die Bundesrepublik bis 2005, also geschlagene fünf Jahre, um einen wirklichen Aufschwung zu erleben.

Ein solch umfassendes Konjunkturprogramm ist hierzulande aber nach wie vor ein Tabu. Bloßes Abwiegen bzw. eine Neuauflage der „Politik der ruhigen Hand“ ist dagegen genau die falsche Politik. Es wäre auch vollkommen neben der Sache, um die es geht, wenn man jetzt wieder mit den berühmten „Reformen“, den Aufrufen zum Maßhalten, reagierte, um am Ziel des ausgeglichenen Staatshaushalts festhalten zu können. „Gürtel-enger-Schnallen“ ist genau das Gegenteil des Benötigten, es verstärkt die Abschwächung.

Nicht nur in Sachen Geldpolitik, auch in der Finanzpolitik muss Berlin grundsätzlich umdenken. Das Gegenargument, für derartiges Gegensteuern mit Hilfe öffentlicher Investitionen fehle schlicht das Geld, ist lächerlich. Rezession ist ein anderes Wort dafür, dass am Kapitalmarkt mehr Kapital angeboten als nachgefragt wird. Also muss der Staat das dort angebotene Geld auch nehmen. Das Geld, das benötigt wird, um die Konjunktur anzukurbeln, kann weder direkt von den Bürgerinnen und Bürgern kommen, noch aus dem Staatshaushalt. Damit kurbelt man die Konjunktur ja gerade nicht an. Geld aufnehmen bedeutet natürlich temporär eine höhere Verschuldung. Aber wenn es eine Rezession gibt, steigen die Schulden sowieso; deshalb geht es heute nur um die Frage, ob die Schulden jetzt ein wenig oder später umso mehr steigen. Denn tut der Staat jetzt vorbeugend nichts, werden die Schulden am Ende noch höher sein.

Es war sowieso eine Illusion, in Berlin zu glauben, man könne ungeachtet der weltwirtschaftlichen Entwicklung für 2011 einen ausgeglichenen Haushalt planen. Den gleichen Fehler hat schon einmal ein Finanzminister namens Hans Eichel gemacht – und ist daran gescheitert.<sup>1</sup> Derzeit sieht es ganz so aus, als würde auch der nächste SPD-Finanzminister in dieser Frage sein Waterloo erleben.

1 Vgl. Heiner Flassbeck, Wie Deutschland wirtschaftlich ruiniert wurde. Ein Bericht aus dem Jahre 2010, in: „Blätter“, 8/2003, S. 955-965; ders., Glasperlenspiel oder Ökonomie. Der Niedergang der Wirtschaftswissenschaften, in: „Blätter“, 9/2004, S. 1071-1079.

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Miguel Azpitarte

**Europäisches Spanien: Widerstreitende Meinungen im europäischen Verfassungsdiskurs**  
in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 56, 2008

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Rose Richard

**Evaluating Democratic Governance: A Bottom-up Approach to European Union Enlargement**  
in *Democratization*, Vol. 15, n. 2, April , 251-271

To be admitted to the European Union (EU), an applicant country is expected to meet five conditions for democratic governance set out in the EU's Copenhagen criteria. The first section compares the EU's criteria with alternative criteria of democracy and of governance. Secondly, the article uses New Europe Barometer sample surveys to demonstrate how the bottom-up evaluation of governance by a country's citizens can complement top-down evaluations by external institutions. Evaluations by citizens of Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, and Ukraine are compared with those of citizens in eight post-communist countries admitted to the EU in 2004. Factor analysis demonstrates that, unlike democracy indexes, democratic governance is a multi-dimensional concept. Citizens characterize their system of democratic governance as acceptable on some criteria but not on others. Taken singly, each Copenhagen criterion can be a tool for diagnosing an area of weakness in democratic governance. However, political pressures lead policymakers to lower demands for improving governance as a deadline approach for deciding whether or not to admit an applicant country to the European Union.

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Crum Ben

**Explaining Decisions in the European Union**  
in *Acta Politica*, Volume 43, Number 1, April , 128-131

No abstract available

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Maurer Andreas, Parkes Roderick, Wagner Markus

**Explaining group membership in the European Parliament: the British Conservatives and the Movement for European Reform**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 15 Issue 2 2008

This article examines the decisions behind group membership in the European Parliament (EP) using a rational-choice institutionalist framework. Following the goals ascribed to them by Ström (1990) in other settings, national parties should join the largest group that matches their socioeconomic preferences. Yet, whilst explanations taking national parties as the basic unit of analysis might sometimes suffice, we argue that it is often necessary to consider the influence of individual parliamentarians and existing EP groups. The scope open to these various actors to pursue their interests determines the attractiveness of the various options available to a national party. We illustrate our conceptual framework by reference to the attempt by the British Conservative Party to leave the European People's Party-European Democrats (EPP-ED) group, an effort ending in the formation of an extra-parliamentary federation, the Movement for European Reform.

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Fioramonti Lorenzo, Poletti Arlo

**Facing the Giant: Southern perspectives on the European Union**

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 29 Issue 1 , 167 - 180

The European Union portrays itself as a different global actor. This self-representation has triggered a debate around the EU as a global 'normative power', while providing momentum for innovative research into how other societies view and assess the global performance of the EU. For the first time this article presents the findings of a study conducted respectively in Brazil, India and South Africa. As leading nations of the 'global South', these three countries offer important insights into how the EU is perceived not only in emerging markets, but also in the so-called developing world at large. The findings reveal that the EU is an unknown entity to most citizens in these countries and is rarely covered by local media. Moreover, it is often criticised for inconsistencies and double standards by political elites and civil society, especially in the area of international trade, while being praised as a successful example of regional integration.

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Laffineur Marc

**Finding a new EU budget won't be easy**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

The EU is looking hard at ways to overhaul its finances. Marc Laffineur, Vice-President of France's National Assembly, wants an end to such "special cases" as Britain's rebate while offering a strong defence of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).

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Moisio Sami

**Finlandisation versus westernisation: Political recognition and Finland's European Union membership debate**

in *National Identities*, vol. 10, n. 1, March, "Nation, state and identity in Finland" , 77-93

It is often said that Finland's European Union (EU) membership in 1995 finally made it a 'purely Western' nation. This article theorises upon the membership debate by studying the geopolitical rhetoric used for and against EU membership from 1990 to 1994. It is argued that political studies of this kind should address arguments used in situations where competing actors try to persuade the public to support their own political goals and to increase their political power. In this context, national identity (i.e., competing interpretations of national history, geographical affiliation, the national future and national interests) becomes a rhetorical resource for political elites. The EU membership debate that took place in Finland reveals how important geography was in the context of this identity-political dispute and emphasises the importance of political recognition in legitimising crucial political decisions—in this case, joining the Western European integration process.





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Anholt Simon

**Fixing Europe's image problem**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

The European Union needs to be re-branded says Simon Anholt, Independent Government Advisor and Editor of the journal *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*. He argues that a grand project addressing intolerance, global poverty and climate change holds the key.

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Condinanzi M.

**Fonti del**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno: 2007 – Fascicolo: 3 , pag. 513

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Sicurelli Daniela

**Framing Security and Development in the EU Pillar Structure. How the Views of the European Commission Affect EU Africa Policy**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 30, Number 2 / May , 217-234

The increasing integration of development and security policies in European foreign policy raises problems of coordination between the pillars of the EU. Literature on EU external relations stresses the lack of definition of the competences of the Council and the European Commission in the cross-pillar space, but the way the Commission and the Council relate to each other in EU security and development policies is under-explored. This article, focusing on EU Africa policy, argues that the lack of clear decision-making procedures for peace-building issues makes framing a crucial instrument in affecting the policy process. The Commission, by framing security as a first pillar issue, proves able to establish three types of relationship with the Council: pushing the Council to take specific actions, replacing the Council and even triggering conflicts of competence with the Council.

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Reich Norbert

**Free Movement v. Social Rights in an Enlarged Union: The Laval and Viking Cases before the European Court of Justice**

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 9, issue 2 , 125-160



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Down Ian, Wilson Carole

**From 'Permissive Consensus' to 'Constraining Dissensus': A Polarizing Union?**

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 43, Number 1, April , 26-49

The growth of Euro-scepticism in the last decade and a half would seem to suggest a decline in public consensus on the European Union (EU) — that is, a decline in the congruence of individual's attitudes. Yet, Euro-scepticism may simply reflect movement of the distribution in the issue space, as opposed to a change in the shape of the distribution. The difference between these perspectives is important because while a shift in the distribution has implications for the EU, a change in the shape of the distribution has implications for both the EU and domestic politics. To address the issue, we examine cross-temporal variation in the mean, variance and kurtosis of public opinion distribution on the EU — that is, the shape of the distribution. Unsurprisingly, opinions are more dispersed and the distributions flatter in the 1990s, relative to the 1980s. Yet, when viewed over the long run the extent of the decline in consensus is far less marked. Indeed, we find cross-national convergence in opinion in the last three decades, and, evidence of greater attitudinal polarization in the 1970s than in the early years of the new millennium.

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Bracke Maude

**From the Atlantic to the Urals? Italian and French communism and the question of Europe, 1956-1973**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 13, n. 2 , 33-53

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Crespo Cuaresma Jesús, Fidrmuc Jarko, Silgoner Maria Antoinette

**Fundamentals, the exchange rate and prospects for the current and future EU enlargements: evidence from Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania and Turkey**

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 35, Number 1 , 195-211

We analyze the link between macroeconomic fundamentals and exchange rate dynamics in two new and two potential EU member states: Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, and Turkey. Given the different institutional settings of the exchange rate market in the countries of interest, we follow two different modelling strategies. For Romania and Turkey, we evaluate possible exchange rate misalignments based on a monetary model of exchange rate determination. In the case of Bulgaria and Croatia, with currency board and narrow-band peg arrangements against the euro, we discuss possible exit strategies and quantitatively assess the effects of the peg arrangements by means of simulation.

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De Ayala José Enrique

**Galileo se mueve**

in *Política Exterior*, 122

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Schmale Wolfgang

**Geschichte der europäischen Identität**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-2, 2008 , 14-19

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Krimphove Dieter

**Gesetzgebung im europäischen Bank- und Kapitalmarktrecht - eine ökonomisch-historische Betrachtung**

in *Europarecht*, volume 42, issue 5, 2007 , 597-621

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Dunne Tim

**Good citizen Europe**

in *International Affairs* , issue 1, vol. 84, january , 13-28

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Donnelly Brendan

**Gordon Brown Comes to Brussels (Reluctantly)**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIII, n. 1, January-March

Despite the belief of some that British Prime Minister Brown's attitudes towards the European Union could not be predicted, much in his period as Chancellor of the Exchequer suggested that Britain's role within the European Union would not be a high priority of his premiership. Early indications bear out this expectation. There will probably not be a British referendum on the Reform Treaty, but the rhetoric employed by Brown's government to describe the Treaty will be negative and minimalist. Although no significant body of British opinion favours withdrawal from the European Union, British popular resentment towards the Union is unlikely to disappear under Brown's leadership.

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Armstrong Kenneth

**Governance and Constitutionalism After Lisbon**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 2, March 2008 , pp. 415-426

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Lasas Ainius

**Guilt, Sympathy, and Cooperation: EU—Baltic Relations in the Early 1990s**

in *East European Politics and Societies*, Volume 22, n. 2, Spring , 347-372

The period between March 1990 and June 1993 represents the critical window for European Union (EU)—Baltic relations. During this time Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania laid the foundation for future EU membership. For its part, the European community made a commitment to include the three republics in the process of enlargement. This paper traces the beginnings of EU—Baltic cooperation and examines factors that led to growing political and economic convergence. Nordic membership in the EU, ex-Soviet troop withdrawal, and Russian parliamentary elections were instrumental in bringing both sides together on the road to enlargement, but collective guilt provided the underlying rationale. In this paper, the author argues that it is impossible to understand fully this process of convergence without taking into account the connotations and consequences of the "black trinity": the Munich pact, the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, and the Yalta agreement.



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Rossano Claudio, Ponzano Paolo, Tizzano Antonio

**Hacia el Tratado de Lisboa: las perspectivas de la Constitución Europea. Introducción y conclusiones**  
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 8 , 153-168

El presente trabajo recoge tres intervenciones realizadas en marco del Seminario Internacional «Las perspectivas de la Constitución europea: impulsos tras el semestre alemán de presidencia de la Unión», dirigido por el profesor Antonio Miccú y celebrado en Roma el 8 de junio de 2007 en la Facultad de Economía de Universidad de la Sapienza. En el primer apartado de este estudio, el profesor Claudio Rossano identifica algunos de los problemas que se han planteado al proceso de integración política, marcados en gran medida por las dificultades de establecer una Constitución formal para Europa basada en el modelo estatal tradicional y precisa algunos de los obstáculos y límites que actualmente se alzan frente a la integración política. El segundo apartado recoge la intervención del profesor Paolo Ponzano quien aborda algunas de las cuestiones objeto de discusión y negociación en la redacción de un texto alternativo al Tratado constitucional, singularmente las relativas al contenido del Tratado simplificado y el método a seguir en su redacción. Por último, en el marco de las conclusiones a las intervenciones y los debates producidos en el Seminario, el profesor Antonio Tizzano realiza una serie de consideraciones retrospectivas sobre el proceso que llevaría a la elaboración del Tratado constitucional y sobre sus relativos éxitos, con el objeto de intentar entender las razones que explicarían la falta de éxito del proyecto de Constitución europea

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Leaman Jeremy

**Hegemonialer Merkantilismus. Die ökonomische Doppelmoral der Europäischen Union**  
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2008 , 76-90

Seit Sommer letzten Jahres wird eine intensive Debatte über den Einfluss ausländischer Staatsfonds auf das Wirtschaftsleben der Bundesrepublik und anderer EU-Staaten geführt. Führende Politiker von CDU/CSU und SPD warnen bereits vor der chinesischen und russischen Gefahr. Gegen die avisierten Investitionen in die europäischen Aktienmärkte seien, so hieß es, gesetzliche Gegenmaßnahmen dringend erforderlich. Dieses öffentlich artikulierte Unbehagen unter Repräsentanten der deutschen ...

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Marshall Derek, Williams Tim

**How article 296 is stopping competition**  
in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

Europe's defence equipment industry is in no shape to compete successfully in the global market, or even within the EU. One of the problems, say British defence experts Derek Marshall and Tim Williams, is that a loophole in EU rules allows countries to protect their defence industries from competition.



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**Bähr Cornelius**

**How does Sub-National Autonomy Affect the Effectiveness of Structural Funds?**

in *Kyklos*, February 2008 - Vol. 61 Issue 1

One of the European Union's explicitly formulated goals is reducing the lags in development and narrowing the gaps in income between its member states and regions. In order to attain these goals, the Union's regional policy employs a system of vertical conditional grants known as the Structural Funds. Various attempts have been made to evaluate the effectiveness of this policy in promoting convergence. This paper adds to the existing literature in focusing the investigation on the role of the member states' federal structure. A short discussion drawing mainly on the theory of fiscal federalism provides the basis for an empirical model. Using a sample of 13 European countries in the period from 1975–1995 we estimate the effect varying decentralization among the member states has on the conditional effectiveness of Structural Funds expenditure. The results suggest that Structural Funds are more effective in promoting growth when the states exhibit a higher degree of decentralization.

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**Zielonka Jan**

**How to Exercise Europe's Power**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIII, n. 2, April-June

In order to make it more effective as an actor on the international scene, the European Union is being urged to reverse its foreign policy priorities. EU enlargement policy has fallen out of grace and many want to see Europe acquire a "normal" foreign policy with a global rather than merely regional reach, significant military means and centralised governance. Management of various conflicts in Africa and Asia is also in vogue. Such a policy shift will define the nature of Europe's actorness. It is argued that, with all its defects, the EU performs quite well as a civilian regional power and efforts to transform it into a traditional military power with a global reach could make things worse rather than better.

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**Ponthoreau Marie-Claire**

**Identité constitutionnelle et clause européenne d'identité nationale. L'Europe à l'épreuve des identités constitutionnelles nationales**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4, 1576-1588

The European constitutional process implies a great challenge: to enhance European integration process and, at the same time, to preserve the member States' national identity. The author discusses this problematic issue using France as a case study





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Castaldo Massimo

**Il Kosovo, un nodo al pettine**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 157 , 170-180

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Mezzetti Fernando

**Il Piano Marshall e la storia**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 157 , 119-131

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Armillotta Giovanni

**Il Piano Marshall, il Portogallo e la Spagna**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 157 , 148-162

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Rizzo Aldo

**Il Piano Marshall. Gli Stati Uniti e l'Europa sessanta anni dopo**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 157 , 111-118

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Mazzocchi V.

**Il mandato d'arresto europeo e le Corti supreme nazionali**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno: 2007 – Fascicolo: 3 , pag. 661

No abstract available



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Bastianelli Rodolfo

**Il problema del Kosovo**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 158 , 352-367

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Ronzitti Natalino

**Il seggio europeo alle Nazioni Unite**

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, fascicolo 1, vol. XCI , 79-98

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Ziller Jacques

**Il trattato modificativo del 2007: sostanza salvata e forma cambiata del trattato costituzionale del 2004**

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 4, dicembre , 875-894

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Trumellini Luisa

**Il voto a maggioranza nell'Unione Europea**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 158 , 423-425

No abstract available

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Munari F., Amalfitano C.

**Il «terzo pilastro» dell'Unione: problematiche istituzionali, sviluppi giurisprudenziali, prospettive**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno: 2007 – Fascicolo: 4 , p. 773



No abstract available

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Trondan Jarle, Jeppesen Lene

**Images of Agency Governance in the European Union**

in *West European Politics*, n. 3, vol. 31, may, 417-441

ABSTRACT: Diagnosis of the transformation of executive governance in Europe should incorporate the diverse dynamics of EU-level agencies. Recent years have witnessed comprehensive reform efforts in the European Commission aimed partly at increasing institutional effectiveness and efficiency. One constituent ingredient thereof has been the institution of non-majoritarian EU-level agencies with regulatory and non-regulatory discretionary competences beneath the Community institutions. This article conceptualises theoretically and explores empirically three complementary images of agency governance in the EU. Based on a rich body of survey (N = 265) and interview (N = 29) data among three regulatory and four non-regulatory EU-level agencies, the article demonstrates that EU-level agencies tend to combine the roles as autonomous administrative spaces, multilevel epistemic networks and Community institutions. EU-level regulatory and non-regulatory agencies blend all three images of agency governance. This article thus demonstrates that agency governance is only marginally affected by the regulatory-non-regulatory dichotomy.

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Duncan Fraser; Van Hecke Steven

**Immigration and the transnational European centre-right: a common programmatic response?**

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 15 Issue 3 2008

As aspects of immigration policy are brought into the competence of the EU, the role of transnational parties in co-ordinating policy choices across national boundaries grows in importance. Yet immigration is often seen as a cross-cutting issue and transnational parties have limited capacity to enforce programmatic uniformity across national member parties. We explore both of these issues by mapping the stances of transnational and national party manifestos on immigration policy at EP elections. We argue that ideology does structure party positions on immigration but that separating immigration control from migrant integration is essential to understanding partisan differences. While Christian Democrat and Conservative parties do not differ significantly from their Socialist equivalents on control issues, Liberal parties are less restrictionist. On integration, both Christian Democrats/Conservatives and Liberals are less multicultural than Socialist and Green parties.

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Kauppi Niilo, Madsen Mikael Rask

**Institutions et acteurs : rationalité, réflexivité et analyse de l'UE**

in *Politique européenne*, n. 25



No abstract available

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Fortunato Sérgio Fernandes

**Internationaler Schutz der Familie am Beispiel der Europäischen Sozialcharta**

in *Europarecht*, volume 43, issue 1, 2008 , 27-44

No abstract available

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Mary Farrell

**Internationalising EU development policy**

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Volume 9, Issue 2, June, Special Issue: The New Season of EU

Development Policy , 225-240

EU development policy is broad in its range of instruments and geographic scope. It is also an area of mixed competence, where the member states conduct diverse national development policies alongside the European Commission, raising the issue of policy co-ordination. The challenges are highlighted when it comes to international development policy as articulated by the intergovernmental international organisations (including the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions), where the European Commission has to address a dual challenge, the co-ordination of the individual member states' development policies, and the representation of the EU in international organisations where the European Commission holds largely an observer status. In these circumstances, to what extent can the EU influence international development policy? Or, is it effectively a follower in the context of the hegemonic position of these global organisations and the dominance of neo-liberal ideas on development?

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Aggestam Lisbeth

**Introduction: ethical power Europe?**

in *International Affairs* , issue 1, vol. 84, january , 1-11

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Mayer Hartmut

**Is it still called 'Chinese Whispers'? The EU's rhetoric and action as a responsible global institution**

in *International Affairs* , issue 1, vol. 84, january , 62-79



No abstract available

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**Begg Iain**

**Is there a Convincing Rationale for the Lisbon Strategy?**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 46, Issue 2, March 2008 , pp. 427–435

No abstract available

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**Bossuyt Anneleen Van**

**Is there an effective European legal framework for the protection of minority languages? The European Union and the Council of Europe screened**

in **European Law Review**, Vol. 32, n.6 , 860-877

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Andreatta Filippo**

**Italian Foreign Policy: Domestic Politics, International Requirements and the European Dimension**

in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 30, Number 1 / March , 169-181

Italy's foreign policy has always been heavily influenced by its domestic politics. Despite the fact that ideological cleavages are less profound, even in the post-Cold War period the difficulties of the Italian political system have jeopardized a successful foreign policy. One of the crucial factors contributing to this paradox has been the attitude on the European dimension of Italy's foreign policy, which has become a partisan issue. While the Berlusconi government confined the European dimension to a subordinate position with respect to bilateral relations with the USA, the Prodi government is attempting the opposite approach. The lack of bipartisan consensus is threatening an effective foreign policy at a time in which international changes require a quick capacity to adapt.

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**Fossati Fabio**

**Italy and European Union enlargement: A comparative analysis of left and right governments**

in **Modern Italy**, Volume 13, Issue 2 May

This article explores the attitudes of Italy's ruling and opposition parties towards the European Union (EU) enlargement process in Central and Eastern Europe. It shows that during both left (1996-2001) and right (2001-2006) governments



there was a convergence between conservative and constructivist political platforms. In the first case, support for the Balkan countries (i.e., Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia) and Turkey was based on their economic (penetration of Italian firms) and political (stabilisation of a difficult area) potential. In the second case, support was justified for both economic (i.e., redistributive policy towards Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia) and cultural (i.e., pursuing a 'plural' Europe by including Turkey) reasons. Some liberal criticism based on Turkey's partial compliance with the political requirements for accession were raised by individual politicians of moderate right and left parties, and cultural biases against Islamic Turkey were stressed by the Lega Nord. Neither view, however, had a significant impact on the decision-making process.

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Isakson Henrik

**It's time Europe stopped crying "foul" to justify its protectionism  
in Europe's World**, Issue 8, Spring

The EU system shoots itself in the foot when it levels trade defence measures against low-cost competitors, warns Henrik Isakson of the Swedish National Board of Trade. He argues that European companies lose more than they gain from protectionism.

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Rafi Anusheh

**Kommentar zum AGG aus europäischer Perspektive  
in Recht und Politik**, volume 44, issue 1, 2008 , 58-59

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Helms Ludger

**Konvergenz- und Divergenzaspekte der Parteiensystementwicklung in der Ära der Europäisierung: Ost- und Westeuropa im Vergleich  
in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , 2008/1 , 11-28

This article seeks to capture, and compare, the more recent developments at the level of political parties and party systems in Western and Eastern Europe, with a special focus on Central Eastern Europe. With regard to some aspects, such as electoral volatility, moderate dynamics of convergence between West and East can be identified with the Central Eastern European countries assuming the role of an international trendsetter. Overall, however, clear-cut manifestations of convergence have remained scarce and patchy. The specific structural and functional profiles of post-communist party systems have largely persisted. Even the dynamics of 'Europeanization', understood in terms of domestic effects of European integration in European Union member states, have only to a limited extent developed into a catalyst facilitating overcoming the structural differences between East and West.





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Sapir André

**L'Europa e l'economia globale**

in *Mulino (il)*, n. 2, marzo-aprile, 2008 , 295-308

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Ranieri Umberto

**L'Italia e il rilancio dell'integrazione europea**

in *Federalismi*, Anno VI - Nr. 2

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Napolitano Giorgio

**L'Italia, la Francia e la Germania per l'Europa unita**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 157 , 37-54

No abstract available

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Calamia Pietro

**L'Unione Europea nel 2008**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 158 , 300-305

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Petrignani Rinaldo

**L'anniversario del Piano Marshall**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 157 , 84-93



No abstract available

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Yakemtchouk Romain

**L'indépendance du Kosovo: quelles conséquences pour les Balkans et l'Europe?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 517, avril , 213-220

While compliant with the principle of people self-determination, Kosovo's independence does not comply with resolution 1244 of the Security Council dated June 10, 1999, which ended the war in that country: under the terms of that text approved both by European countries and by the United States and Russia, Kosovo was to remain fully part of former Yugoslavia, while enjoying substantial autonomy in its territorial frame. The acknowledgment of the independence, placed in fact under close political and military supervision by NATO and the European Union has deeply divided the member states of the EU, and affects the credibility of the Union's common foreign policy. It may result in a domino effect in the multi-ethnic countries that face separatist conflicts or sustain armed struggles and terrorist actions. Can Kosovo's independence destabilise public order in the Balkans by questioning the status of the Republika Srpska? It can at any rate hinder Serbia's European Union membership process: the government of Kostunica has resigned and the May 11 parliamentary elections will constitute a referendum for the future Serbo-European relationship.

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Ferrari Erminio

**L'uguale libertà del cittadino europeo: linee di frattura della corrispondente concezione nazionale di uguale libertà**

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 4 , 931-957

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Balaguer Callejon Francisco

**La Constitución europea tras el Consejo Europeo de Bruselas y el Tratado de Lisboa**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 8 , 11-41

En este trabajo se analizan los últimos desarrollos del proceso de constitucionalización de la Unión Europea desde la perspectiva de la necesidad de avanzar en ese proceso. Existen dos tipos de razones, que se complementan, para que Europa avance de manera rápida tanto en integración política como en desarrollo constitucional. Esas razones son tanto de orden externo como interno. De orden externo por cuanto que no se puede pensar en una gestión independiente por parte de cada uno de los países europeos de sus intereses de manera eficaz dentro de dos o tres décadas. La integración política viene así exigida para hacer posible que Europa realice una gestión común de los asuntos en el contexto mundial. Ahora bien, existen también razones de orden interno ya que el aumento de la integración política resultaría incompatible con la cultura democrática europea si no fuera acompañada de mecanismos



constitucionales de control y de exigencia de responsabilidad.

El Consejo Europeo de Bruselas de 21 y 22 de Junio de 2007 y el Proyecto de Tratado de Reforma que se ha elaborado a partir del mismo han generado una situación paradójica: por un lado, se ha incorporado el contenido el Tratado Constitucional, mientras que, por otro lado, se ha eliminado el término «Constitución». Hemos pasado así de una Constitución con forma de Tratado (esto es, de un Tratado con contenido constitucional) a una Constitución con nombre de Tratado. La conclusión a que podemos llegar no es un muy grata para las instituciones europeas: o bien antes no era una Constitución y se nos había intentado pasar por Constitución lo que no lo era o bien ahora es una Constitución y se nos está intentado pasar por un mero Tratado lo que es una Constitución. Porque lo que tenemos que descartar, en todo caso, es que el mismo contenido constitucional y la misma forma de Tratado puedan ser y no ser una Constitución al mismo tiempo. La política, incluida la política europea, no puede llegar a tanto.

En el trabajo se analiza el alcance de las modificaciones que se han introducido en relación con el Tratado Constitucional destacando su carácter irrelevante desde el punto de vista de la consideración como «Constitución» de los nuevos textos fundamentales resultantes del Tratado de Reforma o Tratado de Lisboa. Se trata de cambios terminológicos que no afectan a la sustancia del anterior Tratado Constitucional. Ahora bien, pese a la conclusión positiva respecto del alcance constitucional (en relación con el que tenía el Tratado Constitucional, por limitado que se pudiera considerar) del Tratado de Lisboa, por lo que a su contenido se refiere, no deja de destacarse el retroceso que supone la forma de elaboración y adopción de este nuevo Tratado desde el punto de vista de la transparencia y la legitimidad democrática de la Unión.

Se argumenta también en este trabajo que si la crisis constitucional se ha convertido en una crisis de identidad europea es porque el proceso de constitucionalización es ya el único instrumento posible para avanzar hacia una integración política cada vez más necesaria. Al cuestionar ese proceso se está cuestionando la cultura democrática y constitucional de Europa y la posibilidad misma de que Europa sea algo más que una zona de libre cambio ¿qué se le puede ofrecer a la ciudadanía europea para construir una identidad propia que no sea un orden constitucional y democrático? Lo lógico es que el siguiente paso fundamental de la Unión sea una auténtica Constitución europea no sólo por el contenido sino también por la forma. Una Constitución que sea expresión de la voluntad de la ciudadanía europea. No de la ciudadanía europea nacional de cada país, no de una ciudadanía fragmentada, sino de la ciudadanía de la Unión Europea. La reforma en curso puede proporcionar una base constitucional sólida para pasar de una Constitución material a una Constitución formal europea.

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Warlouzet Laurent

#### **La France, la construction européenne et les limites de la conversion à la « libre concurrence » (1945-1992) in *Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique*, hors - série n. 3, février , 25-37**

La construction européenne est souvent considérée comme un « cheval de Troie » de la libéralisation économique, imposée à une France réticente. Cet article vise à montrer que la construction européenne s'est développée sur une base libérale de 1945 à 1992 à travers la promotion du libre-échange commercial d'une part, et de la politique de la concurrence d'autre part. Les décideurs français ont été pleinement associés aux décisions qui ont mené à la création de cet ordre libéral européen mais ils n'en ont pas toujours mesuré toutes les conséquences : leur conversion à la « libre concurrence » reste donc partielle.



European Integration has often been seen as a “Trojan Horse”, a proxy designed to spread free-market rules to a reluctant France. This article aims to demonstrate that the European Integration has indeed a liberal economic basis and that French decision-makers were fully associated to this development. From 1945 to 1992, they have accepted the strengthening of a free-market economic order based on two pillars: commercial liberalization and competition policy. However, their understanding of this evolution was not complete, therefore limiting

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**Odello Marco**

**La Política de Seguridad y Defensa en Europa**

in **Journal of Conflict and Security Law**, Volume 12, Number 3, Winter , 492-496

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**Stern Klaus**

**La Unión Europea, en el camino hacia una Comunidad de Derecho Constitucional**

in **Revista de derecho politico**, n. 70 , 13-35

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Denéchère Yves**

**La contribution des Françaises à l'idée d'Europe et à la construction européenne au XXe siècle**

in **Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique**, hors - série n. 3, février , 73-85

Si l'Europe n'a que des « pères fondateurs », c'est parce que les premiers pas de la construction européenne ont été réalisés à une époque où les femmes n'avaient pas de place dans la vie politique des États membres. Pourtant dès l'entre-deux-guerres, des Françaises ont milité pour l'idée européenne, ont œuvré au rapprochement des peuples. Ainsi reconnaît-on en Louise Weiss une « grand-mère de l'Europe », mais d'autres noms méritent d'être sortis des oubliettes de l'histoire. En 1979, Simone Veil incarne l'impérieuse nécessité de construire l'Europe. Devenue présidente du premier Parlement européen élu au suffrage universel, elle joue un rôle important dans l'affirmation de cette institution. Elle est le modèle des députées françaises qui s'investissent pleinement dans le travail parlementaire européen quand beaucoup d'hommes politiques n'y voient qu'un mandat accessoire. Sûrement de toutes ces Françaises qui s'engagent pour l'Europe, Élisabeth Guigou, dont la contribution dans la marche vers l'Union Économique et monétaire est soulignée par tous, est la moins méconnue. D'autres, davantage dans l'ombre des médias, ont également apporté des contributions essentielles à la construction de l'Europe.



If Europe has only “founding fathers”, it is because the first steps towards the construction of Europe were made at a time when women did not have a place in the political life of the member states. However, as early as the era between the two world wars, French women agitated for the European idea and built bridges between citizens. Thus, Louise Weiss is recognized as a “grandmother of Europe”, but other names deserve to be removed from the obscurity of history. In 1979, Simone Veil personified the pressing need to build Europe. As the president of the first European Parliament elected through universal suffrage, she played an important role in the affirmation of that institution. She is the model of French female members of the Parliament who engaged fully in its work when many male members saw it as having only a secondary mandate. Surely of all the French women who committed themselves to building Europe, Elisabeth Guigou, who is acknowledged widely for her contributions to the move towards the Economic and Monetary Union, is the least known. Others, more in the shadow of the media, also made essential contributions to the construction of Europe.

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#### *Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Martin Vida Maria Angeles**

**La dimensión social de la ciudadanía europea, con especial referencia a la jurisprudencia comunitaria en materia de libre circulación de los ciudadanos comunitarios y acceso a las prestaciones de asistencia social in Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo , n. 8 , 95-137**

Aunque la competencia normativa de los Estados miembros de la UE en materia de política y protección sociales, en particular en lo que respecta a la asignación de prestaciones de asistencia social, no ha sido cuestionada y seguirá siendo en el futuro próximo un asunto de Derecho interno, el Tribunal Europeo de Justicia de las Comunidades Europeas ha hecho uso de la ciudadanía comunitaria y de la cláusula de igual tratamiento contenida en el Tratado constitutivo de la Comunidad Europea como un instrumento para superar la distinción entre trabajadores, que tienen pleno acceso a las prestaciones sociales, y ciudadanos económicamente no activos, que en principio sólo tienen derecho a residir en un Estado miembro del que no son nacionales si disponen de medios suficientes para vivir. En la jurisprudencia del Tribunal de Justicia se declara a la ciudadanía europea como el status fundamental de los nacionales de los Estados miembros, que permite a todos los que se encuentran en una misma situación disfrutar del mismo tratamiento ante la ley, independientemente de su nacionalidad. De acuerdo con esto, un ciudadano que resida legalmente en el territorio de otro Estado miembro podrá acogerse a la cláusula de no discriminación del Tratado en todas las situaciones que caen dentro del ámbito de aplicación material («ratione materiae») del Derecho comunitario. El ámbito de aplicación del Tratado en el sentido del artículo 12 TCE se ha ampliado en este contexto hasta el extremo de incluir ahora también ayudas de manutención para estudiantes (Bidar), prestaciones financieras para facilitar el acceso al empleo en el mercado de trabajo de un Estado miembro (Collins), y otras prestaciones asistenciales (Martínez Sala, Grzelczyk, Trojani). Sin embargo, el Tribunal nunca ha considerado el potencial impacto económico de su jurisprudencia en materia de asistencia social. La reciente Directiva 2004/38/CE se corresponde de manera notable en muchos aspectos con la jurisprudencia del Tribunal, pero no renuncia completamente a diferenciar entre ciudadanos económicamente activos y no activos en favor de un status uniforme de "ciudadano comunitario", de modo que hace depender el derecho de residencia de los últimos de que prueben que disponen de suficientes medios de subsistencia y de un seguro completo de enfermedad de cara a evitar el llamado "turismo social"

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Hervouët François

**La dérive de l'Union européenne: de l'objectif de l'Union entre les peuples à celui de la concurrence**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 514, janvier , 9-13

The legitimacy of the community process relies on the search for an ever closer union between European people. That goal is based on a means, the Common Market, and the latter can be achieved practically through a tool, competition. Although the objective is still asserted, it has been lost over years, firstly to the Common Market, or domestic market, and then to competition, those means becoming main objectives in practice. The contrast between stated goal and pursued goal results in an interrogation on the legitimacy of the European Union.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Di Filippo Marcello

**La fase ascendente del processo decisionale dell'Unione europea e il ruolo dei parlamenti nazionali**

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno II, n. 3 , 543-570

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Mangiameli Stelio

**La liberalización de los servicios en la Unión Europea**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 8 , 75-93

En el siguiente texto, se pone de manifiesto el proceso de regulación de uno de los principales pilares de la integración económica, la libertad de prestación de servicios en el territorio de los Estados miembros y el principio de trato nacional (respecto del país destinatario). La regulación de ambos principios se desarrolla a lo largo de un debate sobre la necesidad de equilibrio entre la prohibición de restricciones a la libre prestación de servicios y la protección de los servicios de interés general. Estos últimos, en palabras de la Comisión "enriquecerían la calidad de vida, permitiéndolo la superación de las condiciones de marginación y de aislamiento social de los ciudadanos". Por tanto, nos encontramos ante la exposición del debate sobre la liberalización de servicios y la protección de un modelo europeo de sociedad. Debate expresado por medio de un Libro verde y un Libro blanco de la Comisión, la propuesta de directiva Bolkenstein y las enmiendas hechas por el Parlamento Europeo

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Jerez Mir Miguel Juan , Delgado Fernández Santiago, Real Dato José , Vázquez García Rafael, Alarcón González Francisco Javier

**La percepción de la Unión Europea en la elite parlamentaria española. Una primera aproximación**

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, n. 18 , 179-197





No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Di Paola Giampaolo

**La politica estera e di sicurezza europea**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 158, 285-291

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Lippert Barbara

**La politique européenne de voisinage : perspectives internes et externes**

in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 1 - printemps

"Dans la région Est de la Politique européenne de voisinage, l'Union européenne a un rôle de plus en plus structurant, fondé sur sa puissance économique, ses institutions, ses idées, et exerce une grande attraction sur ses voisins. La Politique européenne de voisinage de l'Union européenne précise peu à peu ses propositions aux États concernés, l'une des principales difficultés étant son articulation avec le processus d'élargissement. Mais dans l'espace est-européen, la PEV doit aussi affirmer une relation particulière avec Moscou, acteur lourd de la zone. Et s'articuler avec une vision américaine qui, loin des différenciations de Bruxelles, a toujours voulu ne considérer qu'une Europe « libre et unie ».

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

González Gemma Mateo

**La política nacional y los referendos para ratificar el Tratado Constitucional Europeo**

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, n. 18, 121-147

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Chaltiel Florence

**La ratification du Traité de Lisbonne par la France**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 518, mai, 277-280

The Treaty of Lisbon is in the process of ratification in all the 27 Member States. France has just ratified it, making it one



of the first States to do so. Although not a Constitution, the treaty includes many progresses in terms of integration and the powers of national parliaments. In these two aspects the Constitutional Council has censored the treaty. From then on, in order to ratify the treaty, France had to revise its constitution. The revision was carried out, as chosen by the President of the Republic, by way of the Congress representing the derived constituent power. Since the Treaty no longer contradicted the Constitution, it could be ratified. Once again the parliament way was chosen this time as opposed to the referendum way. The head of State has therefore ratified the supranational treaty on the authorisation of the national representation.

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Costato Luigi

**La responsabilità dei giudici nazionali e la Corte di giustizia CE**

in *Studium Iuris*, n. 4 , 434-439

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Georgakakis Didier

**La sociologie historique et politique de l'Union européenne : un point de vue d'ensemble et quelques contre points**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 25

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Cannizzaro E., Bartoloni M. E.

**La «costituzionalizzazione» del terzo pilastro dell'Unione europea**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno: 2007 – Fascicolo: 3 , pag. 471

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Cerasoli Umberto

**Le Autorità indipendenti nel processo decisionale europeo. Un nuovo modello di integrazione amministrativa**

in *Quaderni Regionali* , N. 3

No abstract available



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Chaltiel Florence

**Le Comité des sages, réponse au déficit démocratique de l'Europe?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 514, janvier , 5-8

While Hungary has just ratified the Lisbon treaty, and is the first country to have done so, the European Union is setting up a Senior's Committee. In order not to affect the treaty ratification, the committee, will start its work later. This simple process shows a concern. Indeed though one can understand the usefulness of a high level thinking committee, the said committee should not exempt governments from setting up democratic debates at European Union level.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Schwarze Jürgen

**Le Traité de Lisbonne. Quelques remarques d'un observateur allemand**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 518, mai , 281-287

This article presents an overall evaluation of the Treaty of Lisbon. The emphasis is above all on analysing the questions that are posed in relation to the ratification in the Federal Republic of Germany. Through coming across some main drawbacks and advantages in this way, the author makes a positive assessment.

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Dutheil de la Rochère Jacqueline, Chaltiel Florence

**Le Traité de Lisbonne: quel contenu?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 513, décembre , 617-620

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Moussis Nicolas

**Le Traité de Lisbonne: une constitution sans en avoir le titre**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 516, mars , 161-168

The Treaty of Lisbon, signed by the heads of State or government of the 27 Member States, on 13 December 2007, maintained all the important elements of the stillborn constitutional Treaty, setting aside certain secondary or emblematic elements, which bothered particularly eurosceptics, notably: the title "Constitution" and the reference to the symbols of unification, such as the flag with the twelve stars, the anthem of Europe and the day of Europe. On the other hand, the



most important reforms proposed by the defunct Constitution are taken over by the Treaty of Lisbon: the provisions of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union; the absorption by the European Union of the European Community, which will cease to exist; the principles that govern the competences of the Union; and the democratic foundations of the Union. The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union will replace the Treaty establishing the European Community. The powers of the European Parliament will be increased considerably. The codecision procedure will be renamed "ordinary legislative procedure". The national parliaments will contribute actively to the functioning of the Union. The European Council will become a full EU institution and will be headed by a permanent president. The Commission shall comprise a number of Commissioners corresponding to two thirds of the number of Member States. Its President shall be elected by the European Parliament. Its Vice-President will be the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and will chair the Foreign Affairs Council. He will be assisted by a European External Action Service. Qualified majority voting will be generalised in the normal legislative process and will be defined as at least 55% of the members of the Council, comprising at least 65% of the population of the Union. Like the draft Constitution, the Treaty of Lisbon does not extend qualified majority voting to the common foreign and security policy (CFSP), which will be subject to specific rules and procedures. This article analyses the articles of the Treaty of Lisbon, which provide for the most important reforms of the functioning of the Union and compares them with the corresponding articles of the defunct Constitution.

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Russo Teresa

**Le norme 'anti-deficit' democratico nell'Unione europea  
in Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno II, n. 3 , 599-629

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Derisbourg Jean-Pierre

**Le traité de Lisbonne consacre l'Europe à plusieurs vitesses  
in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 3-4, décembre

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Sabel Charles F., Zeitlin Jonathan

**Learning from Difference: The New Architecture of Experimentalist Governance in the EU  
in European law journal**, May 2008 - Vol. 14 Issue 3 , 271–327

This article argues that current widespread characterisations of EU governance as multi-level and networked overlook the emergent architecture of the EU's public rule making. In this architecture, framework goals (such as full employment,



social inclusion, 'good water status', a unified energy grid) and measures for gauging their achievement are established by joint action of the Member States and EU institutions. Lower-level units (such as national ministries or regulatory authorities and the actors with whom they collaborate) are given the freedom to advance these ends as they see fit. But in return for this autonomy, they must report regularly on their performance and participate in a peer review in which their results are compared with those pursuing other means to the same general ends. Finally, the framework goals, performance measures, and decision-making procedures themselves are periodically revised by the actors, including new participants whose views come to be seen as indispensable to full and fair deliberation. Although this architecture cannot be read off from either Treaty provisions or textbook accounts of the formal competences of EU institutions, the article traces its emergence and diffusion across a wide range of policy domains, including telecommunications, energy, drug authorisation, occupational health and safety, employment promotion, social inclusion, pensions, health care, environmental protection, food safety, maritime safety, financial services, competition policy, state aid, anti-discrimination policy and fundamental rights.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Ivanov Kalin

**Legitimate Conditionality? The European Union and Nuclear Power Safety in Central and Eastern Europe in *International Politics***, Volume 45, Number 2, March, 146-167

This article analyzes European Union (EU) conditionality regarding the safety of Central and East European nuclear power reactors. Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Slovakia breached or evaded shutdown pledges made in exchange for foreign aid in the early 1990s. Conditionality proved more effective when the European Commission required reactor closure as a condition for accession. However, EU pressure gave rise to legitimacy concerns, as candidate country governments agreed to phase out reactors against the wishes of their citizens. The resultant problems exposed inherent discrepancies between conditionality and democracy. Such discrepancies cannot be resolved by the illusory concept of 'ownership'. Bridging two literatures, the article examines EU conditionality in the context of enlargement's 'democratic deficit'. Previously overlooked factors that discredit conditionality include stereotyping, symbolism, the reluctance to admit mistakes, and popular conspiracy theories about donor motives. Greater attentiveness to such factors can enhance conditionality's legitimacy.

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Manigand Christine

**Les Français face aux trois premières élections européennes (1979-1989) in *Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique***, hors - série n. 3, février, 103-113

Observatoire privilégié de l'état de l'opinion publique française, l'étude des trois premières élections au suffrage universel du Parlement européen (1979-1989) permet de mener une analyse sur dix ans et de dégager les traits distinctifs de cette nouvelle échéance au sein du paysage politique hexagonal. Élection « de second ordre », intermédiaire, caractérisée par un fort abstentionnisme, terre d'élection des petites listes, sans enjeu décisif et propre au dévouement des électeurs, cette échéance électorale a suscité de la part des partis politiques et de l'opinion des



réflexes avant tout nationaux et n'a pas su mettre l'enjeu européen au cœur des débats.

A privileged observatory of the state of French public opinion, the study of the three first universal suffrage elections of the European parliament (1979-1989) enables to analyze a ten year period which in turn draws the distinctive traits of this new election date on the French political scene. A 'second-rate' election, intermediate, characterised by high abstention, an election ground for small electoral lists, with no decisive stakes and particular to the outlet of the electorate, this electoral date has provoked reactions from political parties and public opinion which are above all national, and it has been unable to place the European stake at the heart of the debate

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**Benoît – Rohmer Florence**

**Les Sages et la réforme de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme**

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, n. 73

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Merand Frédéric**

**Les institutionnalistes (américains) devraient-ils lire les sociologues (français) ?**

in *Politique européenne*, n. 25

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Mathieu Bertrand**

**Les rapports normatifs entre le droit communautaire et le droit national: bilan et incertitudes relatifs aux évolutions récentes de la jurisprudence des juges constitutionnel et administratif français**

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 72, 675-693

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Balaguer Callejón Francisco**

**Los Tribunales Constitucionales en el proceso de integración europea**

in *Nomos*, n. 3/2006, 17-52





No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Steiner Michael**

**L'Europa dopo Lisbona**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 158 , 296-299

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Weisbein Julien**

**L'Europe à contrepoint. Objets nouveaux et classicime théorique pour les études européennes**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 25

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Napolitano Giorgio**

**L'Italia e il rilancio della costruzione europea**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 158 , 269-281

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Guerrieri Sandro**

**L'Italie et la construction européenne : de la naissance de la CECA au traité de Maastricht (1950-1992)**

in *Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique*, hors - sèrie n. 3, février , 89-101

Depuis le début de l'intégration européenne, la politique italienne a été soumise aux exigences nationales spécifiques mais elle a aussi visé à apporter une contribution aux intérêts communs européens. Le choix européen fait par l'Italie dans les années 1950 se comprend par sa volonté de jouer un nouveau rôle au niveau international après les effets désastreux du nationalisme fasciste et par le désir de moderniser l'économie. Ce choix s'est traduit par l'adhésion à la proposition visant à construire une Europe politique, donnant la priorité à la dimension supranationale. L'article décrit l'évolution de la position italienne quant à l'intégration européenne jusqu'au traité de Maastricht. Avec cette politique, l'Italie parvient-elle à préserver la défense de ses intérêts nationaux ? Quelles sont les conséquences des différentes communautés européennes sur l'économie italienne et sur la structure sociale italienne? Quelles ont été les raisons de la persistance italienne dans le développement de la dimension politique et tout particulièrement dans la mise en œuvre



du parlementarisme européen ?

Since the beginning of the European integration, Italian European policy corresponded to specific national requirements but it also aimed at giving a contribution to the European common interests. The European choice made by Italy in the Fifties was determined by the will of finding a new role at the international level after the ruinous effects of fascist nationalism and by the desire of modernizing its economy. This choice was accompanied by the proposal of building a political Europe, giving priority to the supranational dimension. The article describes the evolution of Italian position regarding the European integration up to the Maastricht Treaty. Was Italy successful in defending its national interests? What consequences had the Communities on Italian economy and social structure? And which were the reasons of Italian persistence in asking the development of the political dimension and particularly of the European parliament's role?

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Silvestri Andrea, Holsztein Tarczewski Elisabetta

**L'Unione Europea e il voto a maggioranza qualificata**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 158 , 408-422

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Nelli Feroci Ferdinando

**L'Unione Europea: la riforma delle istituzioni e le nuove sfide**

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

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Fondazione Alcide De Gasperi

**L'unità politica dell'Europa**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 158 , 393-407

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Boin Arjen, Rhinard Mark

**Managing Transboundary Crises: What Role for the European Union?**

in *International Studies Review*, issue 1, vol. 10, march , 1-26



ABSTRACT: The nation-state faces an increasing number of what we refer to as "transboundary threats." A transboundary threat is characterized by the potential to cross geographical and functional boundaries. These characteristics outstrip the capacity of nation-states and national bureaucracies that were designed to deal with more classic threats. The institutional challenge, we argue, is to build effective transboundary systems for managing these complex threats. In this essay, we ask what role the European Union can play in such an endeavor. We document the EU's growing crisis management and security capacities and offer an initial assessment of these capacities. We surmise that the EU will play a significant but rather circumscribed role, one which reflects the EU's unique system of supranational governance.

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Bailey David

**Misperceiving Matters: Elite Ideas and the Failure of the European Constitution  
in Comparative European Politics**, n. 1, vol. 6, april , 33-60

ABSTRACT: The ongoing problems confronting the European political elite in its attempt to legitimate the European Union (EU) suggest the existence of substantial obstacles to the legitimation of the EU polity. This article presents the findings of a survey conducted from a critical realist perspective, in which the views held by the European political elite about the objections of the European public to the process of European integration are compared with the objections actually expressed by the public themselves, in the specific instance of the French and Dutch no-votes in the referendums on the European Constitution in 2005. The findings suggest a disjuncture between the perceptions of the European political elite regarding popular objections to the EU polity, and the objections actually expressed. In particular, the survey identifies a tendency among the European political elite to redirect blame for political failure towards external (national-level or extra-European) factors and/or to re-interpret political failure in terms that confirm (rather than repudiate) existing ideological predispositions.

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Vidmar-Horvat Ksenija

**Mitteleuropa and the European Heritage**

**in European Journal of Social Theory**, Volume 11, No. 2, May 2008 , 203-218

The political significance of Mitteleuropa has grown in that much of it is now within the EU. Mitteleuropa is a discourse; it is not just a semantic term or a label to refer to a geopolitical region in which power and culture are intertwined. Although people may identify with it, it is not primarily a term of identity but a cultural mode of interpretation. It can be called, along with other concepts of Europe, a conflicting field of interpretation. The concept reflects a civilizational context based on imperial models of modernity and cosmopolitan cultural resonances. Europe is an ongoing cultural battleground and the idea of Mitteleuropa is a reminder of a shift to the margins and the emergence of a multiperspectival Europe along with new notions of geopolitical space and historical-time consciousness.

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Franzinetti Guido

**Mitteleuropa in East-Central Europe**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 11, No. 2, May 2008 , 219-235

The aim of this article is to provide a description, an analysis and an explanation of Mitteleuropa and of other closely related concepts, such as East-Central Europe. The first section briefly addresses the broad historiographical issues. The second addresses the more strictly political and intellectual history of the concept in the period between 1975 and 1989 while the third section will describe the evolution of the concept after the end of the Cold War. The final part outlines the future directions in which the concept will change.

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Gupta Devashree

**Nationalism Across Borders: Transnational Nationalist Advocacy in the European Union**

in *Comparative European Politics*, n. 1, vol. 6, april , 61-80

ABSTRACT: Research on transnational protest activity in Europe typically focuses on cases in which the European Union (EU) is the source and target of social movements that take issues with either specific policies at the European level or the project of integration itself. This paper expands this narrow view of transnational contention in Europe by examining how the EU can redefine and affect the relationship between movements and states by interacting with transnational movements in varied ways ranging from patron to adversary. Taking transnational nationalist movements as my central example, I argue that the EU regularly interposes itself in the contentious relationship between movements and states through five key mechanisms: brokerage, certification, de-certification, resource transfer, and displacement. These mechanisms vary in terms of their intentionality. In some cases, the EU, through its institutions and officials, makes deliberate choices that alter the ability of movements to form alliances and to pursue their goals. In other cases, the EU emerges as a more inadvertent participant, although even in such circumstances, it can have a lasting effect on a movement's ability to operate. I find that through these five mechanisms, the EU can alter the terms on which movements and states meet, although the result is not always positive for transnational movements seeking aid and allies against more powerful state actors. Ultimately, the EU's impact on the balance of power can have both positive and negative consequences for movements that choose to take advantage of the expanded political space of the EU by organizing transnationally.

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Denord François

**Néo-libéralisme et "économie sociale de marché" : les origines intellectuelles de la politique européenne de la concurrence (1930-1950)**

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n. 1 , 23-34

Combinant divers types d'interventions afin d'assurer un fonctionnement optimal des marchés, la politique de la concurrence présente un aspect paradoxal. Elle peut à la fois être pensée comme un outil de démocratie économique et comme un instrument de préservation du capitalisme moderne. La politique européenne de la concurrence trouve ses origines dans une forme très spécifique de néo-libéralisme : l'ordo-libéralisme allemand, né dans les années 1930 en



réaction au planisme et au libéralisme classique. Aux yeux des ordo-libéraux, le maintien de l'ordre concurrentiel n'est pas naturel et doit constituer un objectif de politique économique parce que le marché est une construction historique qui ne fonctionne que grâce à des règles. La prégnance des idées ordo-libérales dans l'émergence du cadre concurrentiel européen est ici analysée d'un double point de vue : en restituant l'apport de l'ordo-libéralisme au vaste mouvement de renouveau du libéralisme économique amorcé durant l'entre-deux-guerres ; en rappelant comment il s'est trouvé associé après la Libération au développement de l'Économie sociale de marché allemande.

Competition policy combines various types of interventions to ensure an optimal performance of markets. It can then be considered both as a tool for economic democracy and as an instrument for the preservation of modern capitalism. European competition policy is rooted in a very specific form of neo-liberalism : German ordo-liberalism, which appeared in the 1930's against planned economy and classical liberalism. In the eyes of ordo-liberals, economic competition requires institutions and should be a goal of economic policy. Indeed, the market is a historical construction which needs a legal framework to maintain its activity. The influence of ordo-liberal ideas in the emergence of the European competition policy can be analysed from two points of view. First, we evaluate the contribution of ordo-liberalism to a vast international movement dedicated to the renewal of economic liberalism which began during the interwar period. Then, we recall how it became involved in the development of the "social market economy" in Germany.

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**Grigoriadis Ioannis N.**

**On the Europeanization of Minority Rights Protection: Comparing the Cases of Greece and Turkey in Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 13, Number 1, March , 23-41

The transformation of the character of the European Union and the diffusion of European norms facilitated a drastic improvement of minority rights in Greece in the 1990s. Nonetheless, significant problems have persisted, which have undermined the credibility of the role model that Greece wishes to comprise for neighbouring EU candidate states. The situation was different in the 1990s when Turkey's EU candidacy gained impetus. The promulgation of the Copenhagen Criteria in 1993 meant that respect for minority rights became a condition for EU membership. It is argued in this study that minority rights protection in Greece and Turkey remains one of the fields where Europeanization has triggered considerable progress, but not fulfilled its full potential. The asymmetry between current and past EU membership criteria led Greece and Turkey to diverse experiences of Europeanization in the field of minority rights.

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**Heidenreich Martin, Wunder Christoph**

**Patterns of Regional Inequality in the Enlarged Europe**

**in European Sociological Review**, Volume 24, Number 1, February 2008 , 19-36

Regional economic inequalities are increasing in most of the European Union (EU) member states, while between-nation inequalities in the enlarged Europe are declining in the last years. The economic differences between



East and West Europe are gradually diminishing and the EU is becoming a relatively homogeneous economic, legal, and political field, which promotes social and economic cohesion in Europe (at a rate of approximately 2 per cent per year). Most of the regional economic inequalities are already inequalities within nations. The economic and income inequalities in the enlarged EU can be largely explained by different regional employment patterns, industrial structures and the region's location within the European space: central urban regions with a good research and traffic infrastructure, qualified employees, a high employment rate and knowledge-intensive services are the best predictors for high income levels. The slow convergence process in the enlarged EU may not increase popular support for the European integration process because the most important frame of reference is still the nation-state where regional inequalities are increasing.

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**Prodi Romano**

**Per l'Europa**

in **Mulino (il)**, n. 1, gennaio-febbraio, 2008 , 5-16

ABSTRACT: Forte, responsabile, coraggiosa. È ancora una volta una decisa esortazione a credere nell'Europa, nonostante le difficoltà e le incertezze del cammino, quella che Romano Prodi ha voluto lanciare nel corso della XXIII Lettura dell'Associazione «il Mulino». Una difesa convinta e appassionata dell'allargamento e delle sue conseguenze, nell'ottica di un'Unione proiettata su una dimensione sempre più globale.

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**Triandafyllidou Anna**

**Popular perceptions of Europe and the Nation: the case of Italy**

in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 14, Issue 2, April 2008 , 261-282

To date, European identity has not mobilised a feeling of belonging or solidarity that would be comparable to the ways in which national identities stir people's passions and make them ready 'to die for' their nations. However, much of the related political debate and scholarly analysis has paid little attention to citizens' understanding of European identity and the way this relates to national identity. This paper aims to contribute towards filling this gap. It explores qualitatively the relationship between national and European identity among Italian citizens with a view to answering the following research questions: How do Italian citizens define Europe? Who is a European? How does feeling European relate to feeling Italian? How do citizens perceive the European integration process? The article is based on 24 qualitative interviews with Italian citizens of varying age, gender, locality of residence and socio-economic status, conducted in spring and summer 2003. The methodology adopted follows the discourse analytical tradition.

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**Sissenich Beate**

**Postnational Rulemaking, Compliance, and Justification: The New Europe**





in **Perspectives on Politics**, issue 1, vol. 6, march , 143-157

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Langenhove Luk Van

**Power to the regions, but not yet farewell the nation state**

in **Europe's World**, Issue 8, Spring

European integration has been accompanied by the emergence of sub-national regional governance, says Luk Van Langenhove. He considers whether the governments of regions may start to replace those of nation states.

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Isernia Pierangelo

**Present at creation: Italian mass support for European integration in the formative years**

in **European Journal of Political Research**, issue 3, vol. 47, may , 383-410

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes a period usually neglected in empirical studies of public opinion and European integration: the formative years between the early 1950s and the late 1960s. The analysis is based on one country – Italy – in which the European process was a source of deep political cleavage in the formative phase. The study of the sources and dynamics of support in these years sheds a different light on the determinants of support. More specifically, a pooled multivariate logistic analysis of six surveys conducted between 1952 and 1970 shows two things. First, it shows that public support in Italy was driven mostly by considerations that were affective and political rather than economic and utilitarian. Second, it explains under which conditions the political factors behind support (and opposition) for European integration in the 1950s and 1960s changed over time, mostly in reactions to international events and to developments in European institutionalization. The article points to the bottom-up nature of change in public support for European integration; changes in public opinion affected party positions, rather than vice versa.

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Mayer Sebastian

**Prävention und Intervention: Security Governance im Mehrebenensystem der Europäischen Union**

in **Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , 18. Jahrgang (2008), Heft 1 , 79-103

Prevention and Intervention: Security Governance in the EU Multi-Level System

As a security actor the European Union undertakes military operations as well as civilian measures to prevent civil wars or the collapse of states at an early stage. Decision-making within the underlying prevention and intervention regime displays properties of a Multi-Level Governance system comprising state as well as non-state actors. They jointly contribute to the production of security along different levels with a functional division of interrelated competences.



Within this multi-layered system, the two executive heads – EU-Commission and Council Secretariat – gained a number of new competences which translate into increased political autonomy. This implies a loss of national control over certain elements of key responsibilities. The authority to make, implement and enforce decisions in this governance system is thus increasingly shared amongst state as well as non-state actors across hierarchical, institutionalized structures.

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**Avbelj Matej**

**Questioning EU Constitutionalisms**

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 9, issue 1 , 1-26

No abstract available

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**Lubbers Marcel**

**Regarding the Dutch `Nee' to the European Constitution**

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 9, n. 1, March , 59-86

In June 2005, 61.5% of the Dutch voted `nee' in the referendum on the European constitution. In the present contribution I test hypotheses from the national identity, utilitarian and political approaches to explain this voting behaviour. I collected data in the Netherlands to test whether one of those approaches has been decisive in explaining the referendum outcome. I also provide information about whether specific EU evaluations from these approaches explain the voting behaviour, thus bringing in the discussion on the importance of domestic political evaluations (second-order election effects). I also test hypotheses on which theoretical approach explains differences between social categories in rejecting the constitution. My results show that specifically EU evaluations in particular accounted for the `no' vote, although in conjunction with a strong effect from domestic political evaluations. I also find evidence for `party-following behaviour' irrespective of people's attitudes. Utilitarian explanations determine the `no' vote less well than political or national identity explanations. The strongest impact on voting 'no' came from a perceived threat from the EU to Dutch culture.

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**Stubb Alexander**

**Regulating Brussels' legion of lobbyists**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

With some 15,000 lobbyists in Brussels, it's not surprising that debate over the rules that should govern them is growing



heated. Alexander Stubb, who at the time of writing this article was the European Parliament's rapporteur on lobbying and now is Finland's Foreign Minister, explains the difficulties

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Durao Barroso J.M.

**Renforcer la construction européenne à l'ère de la mondialisation**

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 4 , 793-800

No abstract available

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Lightfoot Simon

**Representative Politics in the European Parliament?**

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 12, Issue 2 , 289-296

No abstract available

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Tsadiras Alexandros

**Rules of institutional 'flat-sharing': The European Ombudsman and his national peers**

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 33, n. 1 , 101-115

No abstract available

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Beck Ulrich

**Réinventer l'Europe. Une vision cosmopolite**

in *Cultures & Conflits*, numero 68, hiver , 17-30

Free text available on-line: <http://www.conflits.org/index5183.html>.

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Jones Christopher

**Seduce Me: Kagan, Power, the US and Europe**

in *International Politics* , Volume 45, Number 3, May , 266-275



As man and woman 'are supposed to be different', one being from Mars and the other from Venus as Gray put it, so it is important to recognize that Europe and the United States are supposed to be different. While there are many connectors between the two, these are not sufficient to bridge the gap that has developed between them. Kagan argues that Europe is weak — that because it lacks force (what he calls power) it comes with the arguments and rhetoric of the weak. Yet reading Kagan's argument more closely, one finds that it is not one of power, but of force. This article takes issue with this understanding of power, and attempts to clarify the language on power and force.

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Spaventa Eleanor

**Seeing the Wood Despite the Trees? On the Scope of Union Citizenship and its Constitutional Effects**  
in **Common Market Law Review**, issue 1, vol. 45 , 13-45

ABSTRACT: The article looks at the impact of the introduction of Union citizenship on the scope of application of the Treaty. In particular it considers how the citizenship provisions have affected the personal and the material scope of the Treaty. By virtue of Article 17 EC the personal scope of the Treaty is expanded so that any Union citizen, and not only the migrant citizen, now falls within the personal scope of the Treaty. The significance of this finding then depends on the definition of the material scope of the Treaty, i.e. on the identification of the rights that Union citizens can claim qua citizens. In this respect, it is clear that Union citizens have a right to move; and a right to reside in any of the Member States (subject to limitations and conditions). Union citizens have also a right to equal treatment deriving from Article 12 EC. In this respect, the article argues that such a right to equal treatment is not merely an ancillary right which is conditional upon migration; rather, Article 12 EC is a self-standing right pertaining to all those who fall within the personal scope of the Treaty. As a result, Article 12 EC is capable of being invoked by static union citizens to challenge reverse discrimination.

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European Economy

**Shifting Lisbon into an upward cycle**

in **European Economy News**, January 2008 - Issue 9

The Commission's strategic review of the relaunched Lisbon Strategy's first three years has good news for the Union, but the next three-year cycle will need to keep up the pace. The review therefore sets out a whole series of clear and coherent recommendations for accelerated reform.

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Somek Alexander

**Solidarity decomposed: Being and time in European citizenship**

in **European Law Review**, Vol. 32, n.6 , 787-818



No abstract available

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Ramajo Julián, Márquez Miguel A., Hewings Geoffrey J.D., Salinas María M.

**Spatial heterogeneity and interregional spillovers in the European Union: Do cohesion policies encourage convergence across regions?**

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 52, Issue 3, April 2008

Using a spatial econometric perspective, the speed of convergence for a sample of 163 regions of the European Union (EU) over the period 1981–1996 is estimated. For this purpose, we use a specification strategy which allows an explicit modeling of both spatial heterogeneity and spatial autocorrelation found in the analyzed sample. The estimated final model combines groupwise heterocedasticity, the identification of two spatial regimes and spatial dependence. Our results show how an appropriate consideration of the role of spatial effects can shed new insights into the European convergence process. We find that regions in the EU cohesion-fund countries (Ireland, Greece, Portugal and Spain) are converging separately from the rest of regions of the EU. Our estimations indicate that over the analyzed period, there was a faster conditional convergence in relative income levels of the regions belonging to Cohesion countries (5.3%) than in the rest of the regions of the EU (3.3%). Therefore, our results contrast with other evidence that points to the fact that the convergence process in Europe has weakened or even has stopped at the beginning of the 1980s. Moreover, our work shows clear evidence of separate spatial convergence clubs among EU regions.

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Atac Ilker, Grunewald Andreas

**Stabilization through Europeanization? Discussing the Transformation Dynamics in Turkey**

in *Debate: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, Volume 16, Issue 1, 31-54

Various works of the Neo-Gramscian School analysed the Integration of Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) and the role of the European Governance process as a decisive actor in the transformation processes that opened the way to membership. The “first” generation of these works focused on the question of how transnational neo-liberal policies, deepening and integration of the EU and peripheralization of the CEEC relate to each other. However, after the accession of CEEC to the EU the focus of the “second generation” work shifted towards the emergence of varieties of capitalism among these countries and the role of the domestic forces in the process of state transformation. Our theoretical/methodological approach is based on the question: what can the scholars working on the Turkish transformation learn from the critical political economy studies of enlargement? Does the Turkish example differ from the CEEC? How can the influence of the European governance on Turkey be assessed? How can one discuss the neo-liberalization of the Turkish economy and Europeanization dynamics together? In this article we discuss the political economic dynamics of Turkey's integration into the world market and accession process to the EU. Although the transformation of Turkey's economy in the 1980s and 1990s was essential for bringing the country on the path to membership negotiations, the EU did only have a minor role in this process. Only after the severe crises of Turkey's economy in 2000/2001 and the stabilization programme of the IMF, could the EU substantially augment its influence. The focus of the stabilization programme on macroeconomic stability overlapped perfectly with the economic priorities of the EU and was an opportunity to become engaged in the Turkish reform process as an important player. Since then,



the EU is seen as an anchor of Turkey's economic stability. For analysing the Turkish path of development we focus on the export orientation, financialization and monetary based stabilization programme to discuss three phases of liberalization in Turkey since 1980 from an Europeanization aspect. This analysis sheds light upon the question of what two generations of neo-Gramscian work can contribute to our understanding of the Turkish case.

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Pridham Geoffrey

**Status Quo Bias or Institutionalisation for Reversibility?: The EU's Political Conditionality, Post-Accession Tendencies and Democratic Consolidation in Slovakia**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, n. 3, May , 423-454

The EU's political conditions have been a consistent and at times salient element in the accession process, since Brussels enlarged their scope and tightened procedures from the mid-1990s. But so far little attention has been given to post-accession compliance with these conditions. This is important, for while the European Commission no longer monitors them, the political conditions were imperfectly implemented by the time of the 2004 enlargement. The question that therefore arises is whether compliance continues or whether there are any tendencies to reverse the process. Using a comparative approach based on four alternative hypotheses, this problem is explored in detail using the case of Slovakia, a country where the EU has been a prominent factor in its return to the path of democratisation after the Meciar years. Comparing Slovakia's performance on the EU political conditions before EU entry in 2004 and during the three years after, two competing approaches, 'rationalist' and 'constructivist', are assessed. It is found that the fears of the rationalists have not been strongly justified nor have the hopes of the constructivists been much encouraged. The outcome of political conditionality is related to democratic consolidation in Slovakia, and the conclusion is that the former assisted the latter despite its limitations but much more with respect to reforming institutions than to changing either attitudes or behaviour.

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Ghia Walter

**Sullo stato nazionale... e sulla natura dell'Europa**

in *Pensiero Politico (II)*, anno XL, n. 1, gennaio aprile 2007 , 55-84

No abstract available

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Trondal Jarle, van den Berg Caspar, Suvarierol Semin

**The Compound Machinery of Government: The Case of Seconded Officials in the European Commission**

in *Governance*, Vol. 21, n. 1, January , 253-274

This article explores the compound machinery of government. Attention is directed toward decision making within the core executive of the European Union—the European Commission. The article studies seconded national civil servants





(SNEs) hired on short-term contracts. The analysis benefits from an original and rich body of surveys and interview data derived from current and former SNEs. The decision-making dynamics of SNEs are shown to contain a compound mix of departmental, epistemic, and supranational dynamics. This study clearly demonstrates that the socializing power of the Commission is conditional and only partly sustained when SNEs exit the Commission. Any long-lasting effect of socialization within European Union's executive machinery of government is largely absent. The compound decision-making dynamics of SNEs are explained by (1) the organizational affiliations of SNEs, (2) the formal organization of the Commission apparatus, and (3) only partly by processes of resocialization of SNEs within the Commission.

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Toje Asle

**The Consensus—Expectations Gap: Explaining Europe's Ineffective Foreign Policy in Security Dialogue**, n. 1, vol. 39, march , 121-141

ABSTRACT: By 2008, what is commonly known as the EU's 'capability—expectations gap' has narrowed considerably. While the EU has made notable improvements in terms of its resource availability, as well as the instruments at its disposal, a gap between what the EU member-states are expected to do in the world and what they are actually able to agree upon persists. This article argues that the primary reason why the European Union is unable to deliver the foreign and security policies expected is a lack of decisionmaking procedures capable of overcoming dissent. Repeated attempts to surmount the drawbacks of consensus policymaking have only marginally improved the consistency and effectiveness of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). These efforts are assessed by applying consensus as a 'conceptual lens' through which to select and assess information. The real-world impact of the lack of cohesiveness, the capacity to make assertive collective decisions and stick to them, is illustrated by Europe's handling of the crisis in the Sudanese province of Darfur in the period 2003—08. The main finding of the article is that as long as the consensus—expectations gap exists, the EU is likely to remain a partial and inconsistent foreign policy actor.

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Edwards Geoffrey

**The Construction of Ambiguity and the Limits of Attraction: Europe and its Neighbourhood Policy in Journal of European Integration**, Volume 30, Number 1 / March , 45-62

The introduction of the EU's Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was a response to competing demands that have resulted in compromise and ambiguity. The EU's enlargement of 2004 shifted the focus eastwards towards new areas of instability in Eastern Europe. The need to balance that newer concern with the problematic Barcelona Process led to proposals for 'a ring of friends', from Morocco to Moldova, extended — especially under the influence of new member states — to include the Southern Caucasus. The resulting ambiguities of purpose, to halt further enlargement for those potentially eligible, while simultaneously encouraging all the 'partners' to accept liberalization, democratization and convergence on the EC's *acquis*, have, arguably, not won the European Union any great leverage with the new partners. This article looks at the rationalization of member states' aims and their interaction with the Commission, largely responsible for framing the policy, as well as to how the ENP fits with the EU's foreign policy ambitions.



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Kennedy Paul

**The Construction of Trans-social European Networks and the Neutralisation of Borders: Skilled EU Migrants in Manchester—Reconstituting Social and National Belonging**

*in Space and Polity*, Volume 12, Number 1 / April , 119-133

Drawing on an exploratory study conducted in Manchester, the paper examines several different ways in which not only territorial but also primordial cultural borders are being crossed, neutralised, dissolved and rendered irrelevant by the overseas experiences encountered by young, postgraduate EU migrants. At times, this occurs because national cultures are transplanted and constructed anew by expatriate groups within host societies. However, in other situations, especially where migrants remain for longer periods, borders are called into question by the formation of multinational interpersonal relationships requiring intercultural negotiation. These engender multiple affiliations and call into question national identities and a sense of belonging while requiring explorations into uncharted post-national social areas.

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Thomson Robert

**The Council Presidency in the European Union: Responsibility with Power**

*in Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 3, June 2008

The extent of the Council presidency's political influence is the subject of disagreement among both practitioners and researchers. While some describe the presidency as responsibility without power, others suggest that it provides incumbent states with an opportunity to achieve decision outcomes close to their preferences. This article formulates and tests hypotheses on the conditions under which presidents influence the timing and content of decision outcomes in the legislative arena. Decision outcomes are shown to be significantly more favourable to presidents in the chair at the time of adoption than to other Member States, even after controlling for other factors that influence bargaining success.

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Dijkstra Hylke

**The Council Secretariat's Role in the Common Foreign and Security Policy**

*in European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 13, Issue 2 , 149-166

The Council Secretariat, under the leadership of Javier Solana, has become an indispensable actor in the context of the CFSP. This article gives a comprehensive overview of this institution's development path since the beginning of European Political Cooperation (1970). It argues that with the entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty and the parallel Cologne European Council (both 1999), the Secretariat received at once a political and a military dimension. This has been the basis for a significant expansion during the last decade. From a wider perspective it shows that the Council Secretariat fills the political absence of the European Commission in the field of the CFSP. The Council Secretariat is basically strong in areas where the Commission is weak. These inter-institutional dynamics are important with a view to



the Lisbon Treaty, which will see a partial merger of the CFSP services in both institutions. Lastly this article argues on a theoretical level that while these developments are significant, the rationale behind the Council Secretariat is different from the role of the Commission in the first pillar and this limits its potential.

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Adler-Nissen Rebecca

**The Diplomacy of Opting Out: A Bourdieudian Approach to National Integration Strategies**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 3, June 2008

How are controversial national opt-outs managed and perceived in the EU? This article argues that the United Kingdom and Denmark compensate diplomatically for the exclusionary effects of their exemptions. A Bourdieudian approach to national diplomacy in the EU is developed to explore how British and Danish officials handle their opt-outs. By drawing on extensive interview data, it is demonstrated that the two opt-out champions employ various sophisticated strategies to overcome the dilemma between autonomy and influence. Some diplomatic strategies reduce marginalization while others enhance it. National opt-outs are ambiguous attempts at avoiding further European integration.

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Rasmussen Anne

**The EU Conciliation Committee**  
in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 9, n. 1, March, 87-113

Since the introduction of the co-decision legislative procedure, the EU has had the possibility to resort to a Conciliation Committee made up of representatives from the European Parliament and the Council to reconcile differences between the two bodies. This article assesses whether the members of this committee have an incentive to take advantage of their ability to present take-it-or-leave-it offers to their parent bodies by examining whether they are representative of their full body and/or whether they represent other interests inside or outside their legislative body. It concludes that the EU Conciliation Committee is generally representative of its parent bodies and that the option to go to conciliation is not a risky tool for them to reach agreement.

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Bailes Alyson

**The EU and a 'better world': what role for the European Security and Defence Policy?**  
in *International Affairs*, issue 1, vol. 84, January, 115-130

No abstract available

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Barbè Esther, Johansson-Nogués Elisabeth

**The EU as a modest 'force for good': the European Neighbourhood Policy**  
in *International Affairs*, issue 1, vol. 84, january, 81-96

No abstract available

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Petritsch Wolfgang

**The EU must speed-up its Western Balkans enlargement**  
in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

The EU is dragging its feet over the Western Balkans, warns Wolfgang Petritsch, the EU's former Special Envoy to Kosovo. He urges the Union to draw on its experience with Bulgaria and Romania to accommodate the special needs of the Balkan states.

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Pridham Geoffrey

**The EU's Political Conditionality and Post-Accession Tendencies: Comparisons from Slovakia and Latvia**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 2, March 2008

The EU's political conditionality during the 2004 enlargement process recorded significant progress but imperfect implementation. But what has happened since post-Communist countries joined the EU three years ago now that the leverage of Brussels has ceased? This article develops an analytical approach to answer this question and applies it to the two cases of Slovakia and Latvia during the first three years of membership, showing some further progress with conditionality matters but also a rather mixed picture. Altogether, there is no common pattern whereby conditionality loses momentum and becomes unscrambled even though the drive behind enlargement has been the crucial force driving conditionality policy.

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Toje Asle

**The European Union as a Small Power, or Conceptualizing Europe's Strategic Actorness**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 30, Number 2 / May, 199-215

The article disputes the notion that the European Union is unfit to develop a strategic actorness for cultural or structural reasons or that it must change in order to facilitate the development of such a presence. Instead, it posits a counter-intuitive hypothesis: an EU strategic actorness has already emerged and its tenets are not those of a great power — but rather those of a small power. In this article the EU strategic actorness is traced in the Union's history, in its



geopolitical setting, in its power resources and in the attitudes of its leaders. The article shows how the twin concepts of 'strategic actorness' and 'small state studies' have much to offer in terms of gaining insight into the foreign policies of the European Union.

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**Mftler-Ba Meltem**

**The European Union's Accession Negotiations with Turkey from a Foreign Policy Perspective**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 30, Number 1 / March , 63-78

The opening of accession negotiations between Turkey and the EU is a historic turning point for the European Union's foreign policy. This paper proposes that the EU needs to accept Turkey as a member — subject to Turkey's ability to meet all the accession criteria — for the realization of its foreign policy objectives. The opening of accession negotiations with Turkey is a foreign policy decision for the EU with the aim of bringing about a transformation in Turkey as well as guaranteeing stability in the EU's borders in the region where Turkey is located. The paper argues that Turkey's accession is critical for the credibility of the EU's foreign policy and its enlargement process. In addition, Turkey's accession would significantly add to the EU's hard and soft power capabilities, enhancing its role as an international actor.

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**de Pitta e Cunha Paulo**

**The Federalist Impulses in the European Integration**  
in *European Union Review*, Vol.12, 1-2

Le processus d'intégration européenne connaît aujourd'hui une phase historique très importante. Les pays européens sont en effet appelés à faire face à des défis significatifs pour poursuivre le chemin tracé depuis la Déclaration de Schuman. Dans ce cadre, l'article, après avoir analysé l'originale conception fédéraliste à la base du processus d'intégration européenne, met en évidence la nature hybride de la Communauté européenne, historiquement caractérisée par la présence d'une approche qui est parfois supranational et parfois intergouvernementale. L'Auteur, en excluant la possibilité pour l'Europe de répéter le modèle fédéral des Etats-Unis, se réfère aux opportunités qui s'ouvrent aux pays européens, dans le cadre de l'actuel débat sur la Constitution européenne, pour renforcer la politique étrangère et la politique économique

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**Mayer Hartmut**

**The Long Legacy of Dorian Gray: Why the European Union Needs to Redefine its Role in Global Affairs**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 30, Number 1 / March , 7-25



The article analyses the future of EU foreign policy and Europe's role in global governance from a normative and from an outside perspective. It argues that Europe needs to acknowledge an increasingly peripheral place in world affairs. It therefore has to create a new narrative for EU external affairs in the twenty-first century which does not see Europe as the anchor of the world. The EU can remain credible and effective only if it fundamentally shifts its mind-set from Europe's promises and ambitions to Europe's global obligations. What matters is not what Europe wants to do, but what Europe has to do to fulfil global duties. Based on six general principles of responsibility (capacity, community, consent, contribution, beneficiary and legitimate expectation principles), the article then defines priorities and primary obligations for Europe which reflect the EU's actual capacities. It calls for a more modest EU that avoids raising unrealistic and exaggerated expectations. Instead of assuming more tasks by chance or choice, the EU must have a clearer sense of what it should do alone and what has to be done through better inter-institutional cooperation. A responsible EU would overcome Euro-centric notions of self-importance and would remain significant only if it served the global community by its very considerable economic and political means.

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Zeitlin Jonathan

**The Open Method of Co-ordination and the Governance of the Lisbon Strategy**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 2, March 2008 , pages 436–450

No abstract available

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Heidenreich Martin, Bischoff Gabriele

**The Open Method of Co-ordination: A Way to the Europeanization of Social and Employment Policies?**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 3, June 2008

The open method of co-ordination (OMC) can contribute to the co-ordinated modernization of the national systems of employment and social protection in Europe, if it is institutionalized in a relatively stable way at the European level and if the European processes can influence effectively the national reform strategies. The first challenge was met successfully by the bureaucratization, codification and formalization of some co-ordination processes at the European level. These processes can be interpreted as the institutionalization of a social field. The second challenge refers to the need for an effective coupling between the European and the national arenas. Currently, the most important way of coupling these two social fields is based on mutual learning. Given the limitations of such a predominantly cognitive coupling, the Commission can either enforce the 'national ownership' of the co-ordination processes, improve the mutual learning processes or strengthen the strategic ('financial incentives') and normative ('legal obligations') forms of coupling between the European and national social fields.

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Kumar Krishan

**The Question of European Identity. Europe in the American Mirror**





in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 11, No. 1, February 2008 , 87-105

In the wake of the Iraq war of 2003, and in response to the European reaction to the war, a number of prominent European intellectuals launched a new debate on Europe's identity, and in particular the extent to which it differed from American identity. The debate was sparked by a newspaper article by Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida, which was circulated to several other intellectuals for comment. The Europe-wide debate which ensued — in which several Americans joined — provides a revealing snap-shot of European opinion on the question of Europe's identity. It illustrates in particular the dangers as well as the seductions of seeing that identity mainly in terms of a contrast with America, putatively to the advantage of the Europeans. This article argues that such a contrast fuels an anti-Americanism that is disabling to Europe and conceals many significant — and less self-flattering — aspects of the European inheritance.

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Jacobs Francis G.

**The State of International Economic Law: Re-Thinking Sovereignty in Europe**

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 11, Number 1 , 5-41

No abstract available

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Jonathan Golub

**The Study of Decision-Making Speed in the European Union: Methods, Data and Theory**

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 9, n. 1, March , 167-179

No abstract available

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Koenig Thomas, Daimer Stephanie, Finke Daniel

**The Treaty Reform of the EU: Constitutional Agenda-Setting, Intergovernmental Bargains and the Presidency's Crisis Management of Ratification Failure**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 2, March 2008

This study empirically investigates the two options which were considered by the German presidency for finding a solution to the crisis of the EU's reform process. Our findings reveal that making concessions to the remaining eight ratification countries and renegotiating the text with all Member States were feasible solutions for reform.

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Hannay David

**The case for urgently re-starting talks on Cyprus**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

There has been worsening antagonism between Cyprus' Greek and Turkish communities since the 2004 collapse of the UN's reunification plan. But David Hannay, who was Britain's Special Representative for Cyprus from 1996-2003, says that with so much at stake talks should be re-started soon.

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Bobinski Krzysztof

**The dangers to the EU of condemning Ukraine and Belarus to political limbo**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

When it comes to a new enlargement round in eastern Europe, the EU can't go forward and can't go back. Krzysztof Bobinski looks at the unpalatable choices that now confront Brussels

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Armand Clesse

**The enlargement mess**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

The EU has fallen victim to an enlargement fallacy, says Armand Clesse of the Luxembourg Institute for European and International Studies, and wrongheadedly believes it can remodel its new members in its own image. The price may be Europe's long-term economic decline.

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Fabee Gerrit, Orbie Jan

**The new trade and development agenda of the European Union**

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Volume 9, Issue 2, June, Special Issue: The New Season of EU Development Policy , 192-207

The European Union has always used trade policy measures for development objectives. But the design and content of the EU's 'trade and development' relations have changed considerably during the past five decades. This paper focuses on the most recent changes in the Union's common commercial policy vis--vis the South, looking at three levels: The EU role in the multilateral negotiations of the WTO Doha Development Agenda, Europe's bilateral trade agreements with third countries and regions and its unilateral market access schemes through the Generalised System of Preferences. Although historical factors continue to determine the EU's position in these areas, a relatively new European trade and development agenda can be discerned. More specifically, it is argued that two trends have underlined recent changes in this area. First, there is a drive towards reciprocal trade relations, in line with the WTO regime. Even Europe's unilateral



and bilateral trade relations are increasingly streamlined with the multilateral trade rules. Second, there is a growing emphasis on regulatory issues, capacity building and aid for trade. This new and broad trade agenda illustrates the European position that promoting free trade is not sufficient for economic development of the South. However, the paper concludes that the EU's new commercial policies are not consistently development oriented, and that more coherence between trade and aid policies would be needed.

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**Manners Ian**

**The normative ethics of the European Union**

in *International Affairs* , issue 1, vol. 84, january , 45-60

No abstract available

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**Blom-Hansen Jens**

**The origins of the EU comitology system: a case of informal agenda-setting by the Commission**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 15 Issue 2 2008

The 2-300 comitology committees monitor the EU Commission's use of delegated powers. Why should there be this unique and peculiar solution to a parliamentary control problem that is well known from all national political systems? This article argues that, contrary to conventional wisdom, the exact choice of comitology can only be explained by the actions of the Commission. The idea of comitology was introduced by the Commission, and it functioned as a focal point in the member states' negotiations on supranational administration in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The argument is substantiated in an analysis of the first uses of comitology within three widely different EU policy areas: agriculture, development aid, and customs policy. The general lesson is that the EU Commission can be an important informal agenda-setter in areas where it has no formal powers.

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**The treaties of Rome: continuity and discontinuity in SPD's European Policy**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 13, n. 2 , 103-114

No abstract available

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**Carbone Maurizio**

**Theory and practice of participation: Civil society and EU development policy**



in **Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, Volume 9, Issue 2, June, Special Issue: The New Season of EU Development Policy , 241-255

This paper investigates the role of civil society in EU development policy. The two key findings are that over the years European civil society has been increasingly marginalised in the planning and implementation of EU external assistance and that the practice of ensuring effective participation by Southern civil society in the programming process is far from optimal. The first part of the paper shows that the marginalisation of European civil society actors is due to the new emphasis on ownership of development by developing countries and is also a consequence of the process of devolution of management authority from Brussels to the external delegations. Moreover, while the interaction between European civil society actors and the European Commission has progressively become more difficult, their relations with European Parliament and a majority of the member states in the Council continue to be optimal. The second part of this paper concentrates on the involvement of Southern non-state actors in the programming process. While in theory the Cotonou Agreement provides a comprehensive framework for integrating civil society in the development process, the practice has been very different. Efforts have been made to involve as many actors as possible; nonetheless the overall quality of participation is not yet satisfying. An even more serious concern is that little progress has been achieved between the first (2002-2007) and the second (2008-2013) programming exercises.

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Tsebelis George

**Thinking about the Recent Past and the Future of the EU**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 46, Issue 2, March 2008

After the referendums in France and the Netherlands, the European Union was in disarray. However, political elites in all countries were insisting in the adoption of the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, which in turn was a slight modification of the text adopted in the European Convention. The solution was found in the IGC of Brussels in 2007, where the substance of the Treaty was adopted, and symbolic details (flag, anthem) were dropped out. The article explains the impact of the institutions adopted in the Convention, and argues that these institutions would help political decision-making in the EU. It then explains how such significant results became possible (because of the important role of the Presidium in terms of agenda-setting). Finally it argues that the text of the Constitution became a focal point for all negotiating governments. This is why elites came back to it despite the public disapproval of the referendums.

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Dover Robert

**Towards a Common EU Immigration Policy: a Securitization Too Far**

in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 30, Number 1 / March , 113-130

This article examines the EU's immigration policy as it has developed towards Sub-Saharan Africa. It argues that the securitization of this policy is counterproductive in two important ways. First, the erection of further barriers to economic migration from the south and the extra-territorialization of this problem merely increase the transaction costs and physical dangers faced by an important source of cheap labour. Secondly, in seeking to keep African migrants out of the EU, the Union is locking economic and social insecurity into its territorial area. Furthermore, this article argues that the



connection of migration policy to the 'global war on terror' fundamentally mis-specifies the threat of terrorism from African sources. Aid conditionality, and the policies that follow on from it, merely serve to radicalize African populations — thus creating the threat that is feared by European policy makers.

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Marques Helena

**Trade and factor flows in a diverse EU: what lessons for the eastern enlargement(s)?**  
in *Journal of Economic Surveys*, Vol. 22 Issue 2 , 364–408

This paper reviews the neoclassical and new economic geography (NEG) theoretical frameworks used to analyse the effects of integration on trade and factor flows, and the empirical work carried out within those theoretical frameworks for the European case. The European Union (EU) is of particular interest because it is illustrative of the tensions between deepening of the integration process and widening membership: whereas deepening requires homogeneity, widening has made the EU increasingly diverse. The orthodox framework saw trade and factor flows as substitutes, thus separating their analysis, and was mainly concerned with efficiency issues of trade integration. The NEG framework saw trade and factor flows as complements, and analysed them jointly, looking mainly at distribution issues such as disparities in industry location and wages arising from a single market for goods and factors. The main lesson for the Eastern enlargement(s) is that integration in its various forms leads to an uneven distribution of gains across member countries when these have very diverse economic structures.

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Menon Anand, Weatherill Stephen

**Transnational Legitimacy in a Globalising World: How the European Union Rescues its States**  
in *West European Politics*, n. 3, vol. 31, may , 397-416

ABSTRACT: This article addresses claims regarding the limited legitimacy of international institutions. It argues that the two original appointed supranational institutions of the European Union play a crucial, if systematically underestimated, role not merely in providing legitimacy for the Union itself, but also in shoring up that of its constituent member states. We illustrate that supranationalism enhances national legitimacy in functional, political and administrative terms. It does so by helping member states produce outputs they otherwise could not (particularly by enabling them to deal with transboundary policy problems they would struggle to confront if acting in isolation) and by embedding within national political and administrative systems legally enforceable obligations to respect the interests of actors whose voice is excluded or muffled (de jure or de facto) within purely national political processes. The article contends that the claims to legitimacy made by the EU and its member states are of distinctive character but interdependent and mutually reinforcing.

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Ferrera Maurizio

**Trent'anni dopo. Il welfare state europeo tra crisi e trasformazione**



in *Stato e mercato*, n.3 , 341-376

No abstract available

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**Baban Feyzi**

**Turkey and Postnational Europe. Challenges for the Cosmopolitan Political Community**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 11, No. 1, February 2008 , 107-124

The question of Turkey's membership in the EU has been the subject of debates about the cosmopolitan future of Europe. Using the concept of cosmopolitanism as developed by Beck, Habermas, and Delanty, this article argues that the possibility of an antiontological and multicultural cosmopolitan European community will largely depend on how Europe answers the question of whether Turkey should be granted membership in the EU. Turkey forces a debate on three crucial areas that are directly related to the cosmopolitan future of Europe: (a) Europe's geopolitical place in the global world, (b) postnational forms of a European public sphere, and (c) European identity. The potential for a multicultural and pluralistic cosmopolitanism is a two-way street, and while Turkey's membership will have a transformative impact on the EU, the membership process will also have a similar impact on Turkish democracy and modernity.

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**Fetzer Thomas**

**Turning Eurosceptic: British trade unions and European integration (1961-1975)**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 13, n. 2 , 85-101

No abstract available

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**Two-speed European Citizenship? Can the Lisbon Treaty help close the gap?**

in *Common Market Law Review*, issue 1, vol. 45 , 1-11

No abstract available

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**Lenzi Guido**

**Un Piano Marshall oggi?**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XL, n. 157 , 94-105





No abstract available

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Höpner Martin, Schäfer Armin

**Una nuova fase dell'integrazione europea: i capitalismi organizzati nell'Europa post-ricardiana**

in *Stato e mercato*, n.3 , 377-408

No abstract available

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Trenz Hans-Joerg

**Understanding Media Impact on European Integration: Enhancing or Restricting the Scope of Legitimacy of the EU?**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 30, Number 2 / May , 291-309

The debate about the legitimacy of the EU and the possibilities for its democratization has addressed so far only rarely the question of the role of the media. An instrumental approach prevails towards the media, acknowledging that the so-called gap between the EU and its citizens is grounded in a communication deficit and that the EU should therefore strive towards a higher legitimacy in terms of public accountability, openness and participation, in other words of democracy. The article discusses these technical aspects of 'public-sphere building from above' in relation to the systematic constraints on mediatization that result from the inertia of the existing (national) media spheres. On the basis of this, an alternative understanding of mediatization and its ambivalent effects on the legitimacy of the EU will be developed. The proposal is that European public sphere research should focus on the more active role of the media as an independent variable that affects institutional choices and processes. Empirical results from comparative content analyses are discussed, which illustrate to what extent media have become an enabling and/or constraining factor on European integration.

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Nabli Béligh

**Une figure complexe: le législateur de l'Union européenne**

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 72 , 695-717

No abstract available

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Saurugger Sabine

**Une sociologie de l'intégration européenne ?**



in *Politique européenne* , n. 25

No abstract available

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Ross George

**What do 'Europeans' Think? Analyses of the European Union's Current Crisis by European Elites**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 2, March 2008

The EU has been in 'crisis' at least since the 2005 referendums. This article presents different explanations for crisis held by high-level EU insiders, based on in-depth interviews with 'Europeans', people whose lives have been deeply invested in the EU through careers either committed to 'building Europe' or to observing Europe's building sites professionally. The results demonstrate a variety of causal stories that explain the present situation, the conviction that the EU is entering a new and very different era and pervasive sense of pessimism, all in the form of penetrating analyses.

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Risso Linda

**Which Europe? Communist parties between nationalism and internationalism 1945-1975**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 13, n. 2 , 7-10

No abstract available

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Bechev Dimitar, Nicolaidis Kalypso

**Whither the European neighbourhood policy? Scenarios for a special relationship**

in *European View* , vol. 7, n. 1, June , 23-31

The need to redefine the European Union's relations with neighbouring countries in the southern Mediterranean and Eastern Europe has become critical in light of the EU's most recent enlargement and the institutional reform process now underway. This paper explores the main instruments of the EU's external policy: the "integration without accession" principle of the European neighbourhood policy (ENP) and the idea of a "special relationship" proposed in the Lisbon Treaty. As the ENP and the Reform Treaty appear somewhat ambiguous and vague, the authors suggest "decentralised integration" as a new paradigm to craft the "special relationship" between the EU and its neighbours.

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Haegel Frank M.



### **Who Decides in the Council of the European Union?**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 3, June 2008

This study presents reliable cross-sectoral data on the relative involvement of working parties, senior committees and ministers in legislative decision-making of the Council of the European Union. In general, the results challenge the received wisdom that ministers are hardly involved in legislative decision-making. However, the findings also indicate that the involvement of different Council levels varies considerably across policy sectors. The study concludes with a discussion of the implications of these findings for the debate about the democratic legitimacy of Council decision-making.

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Dunin-Wasowicz Maria

### **Why 2012 is well on for the Euro**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

The recent enlargement of the eurozone up to fifteen member states is perceived, at least in the popular view, as though it has been a great success. Flanked by low inflation and sustained by the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP), the Euro-insiders weigh up economic problems and monetary stability, to finally reach the conclusion that a wider European monetary deal is worth continuing. However, the move towards Euro-unification seems a relatively small step beyond the time of its outset which was initiated by twelve countries nine years ago. A strategic goal of the EU nowadays is a reasonable – and not too slow – pace of full Eurozone enlargement.

This merits careful consideration. For a start, there will be no full European integration, if the member states are going to be differentiated with regard to their status or standard of living, or the length of their membership in the EU. The success depends on the persistence of political solidarity binding the faster and the slower together. Yet, as for Euro-zone insiders, the vision of the EMU is very much of an exclusive character and the adoption of the common currency is becoming the last stage of economic integration, the „coronation". It is said that the fast process of adjustments to the EMU membership may jeopardize the economy of countries with poor economies. Frankly speaking, this justified argument questions some of the intentions of the „old rich Europeans" towards the speed and scope of monetary enlargement, which refers to the newcomers that are not as well-off as the older member states.

Such a problem was much debated by the EMU establishment in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. The idea of dividing member countries into the prosperous and the not so prosperous was rejected. It would undermine the common interests of the EU. This was the view of member states when signing the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, with its central idea of a monetary union. This is why in 1998 the sufficient flexibility of the stronger states allowed Spain and Italy to join the eurozone, followed in 2001 by Greece, the member state with the weakest financial credentials. Today, the flexibility has been abandoned. Moreover, less enthusiasm to speed up the monetary enlargement is justified by the same arguments which ten years ago were good enough to make the EMU as big as possible. One implication, for example, is that in May 2006, the European Commission turned down Lithuania's application, despite the Baltic state's great efforts to meet the criteria. It was explained that inflation in Lithuania exceeded the level set by the Commission of 2.66%, although by only 0.06%. In consequence, new EU member states join the eurozone one at a time on individual merit. This is why the eurozone has, in recent years, been enlarged only with the addition, in January 2007, of the small country of Slovenia which met the criteria for public debt, budget deficit, interest rates and inflation. Two other small



countries, Cyprus and Malta, also joined in January this year.

Another problem is that there is no general plan for new member states to join the eurozone. They are not offered such a scenario, as it was prepared for „old" member states by the Treaty of Maastricht. It included both the outline of establishing the union and the specific date of introducing the common currency. At the same time, it did forbid any independent action by a state to speed up the introduction of the Euro. One opposing idea has been "euroisation", in which a state could unilaterally introduce the Euro as legal tender. It was advocated for use in Poland in 2000 by two economists, one of whom, Jacek Rostowski, recently went on to become the Finance Minister. The EU rejected the idea. An independent Euro, said the eurozone, would not remain in line with the fixed exchange rate condition.

Finally, serious political consequences for the process of European monetary enlargement are created by the exceptional freedom of many of the 15 states, especially its largest members, Germany and France, in applying the standards of the SGP, called the "monetary constitution" of the EU. Their behaviour, especially in the period 2000–2005, led to serious changes in the clauses of the SGP. It was their sustain pressure surrounding the Pact that made Sweden reject the possibility to join the Euro zone in the September 2003 referendum. It is the French policy of today, not to mention the Italian ones, which creates an uncertainty around the future of the Pact and the EMU as a whole.

The application of coronation „theory" occurring in coincidence with the optional interpreting convergence criteria creates fears that the right of the Euro–zone outsiders to full participation in one of the realms that regulates and orders the system of the European Union, will be unnecessarily questioned for a long time. As a result, a state that wants to be a member of the monetary union has to radically improve its economic credentials and, in the meantime, passively watch the policy of „old" states breaking the principles of the Pact. It has become the political agenda of a very destructive character. It is better to stick to a national currency, at least until the "old" members treat the Union as a body with common rights, economic as well as political ones.

Indeed, the Maastricht Treaty requirements have to be fulfilled in the long run. Such an approach to the economy is important not only for Euro–zone outsiders but for the Union as a whole, if it wants to perform properly as a global actor. However, in the case of unacceptable behaviour of large countries it has created an adverse effect where the less prosperous countries have sought to emulate the need to implement reforms. As a result, a positive impact of the economic imperative of the EMU could be driven off its course. This evidence suggests that newcomers are witnessing a Prisoners' Dilemma anew. It asserts that the role of a collective hegemon, which is necessary to organize and maintain the monetary regime, is provided not by the EU as a whole, but by those countries within the Council which are able to force the regulations up to their own national interest. As it is underlined by plenty of studies, such a role is carried out mainly by Germany and France. It is creating what Amitai Etzioni, an American sociologist, called the community deficit, a lack of shared values and bonds that is producing divisions within the enlarged EU.

Just how divided are the EU's 27 member states over the operation of the EMU? Despite some predictions of a crack in European monetary unity and the Czech authorities' bold declaration that they want the Euro no earlier than in 2019, the divisions are not that clear. Whatever the problems, many politicians and economists in the EU do not doubt that the common currency helps growth. Think–tanks in the Union generally approve the Euro. Opinion polls conducted in new member states in 2006 showed that a majority of those questioned were in favour of signing up for the eurozone in the next few years.

These remarks suggest that the enlargement of the eurozone, in a given time and according to specific procedures, seems to be a logical and practical development of parallelism rather than the adamant „coronation" strategy. The



legitimacy of such an approach to the EMU project was indicated by the key document related to the establishment of the union, i.e. Delors's report, which quotes the European Council's conclusions from Hanover in 1988. It is stated there that states resolve to produce "... gradual realisation of economic and monetary union". Indeed, it gave warning that "perfect parallelism...would be impossible." Simply, parallelism was its word for the common development of the EMU. But taking a broader view, particularly in the context of the outrageous practices of some member states, „implicit" recognition of parallelism is less important than its „indirect" dimension. This would provide for more EU-wide dialogues, leading to any necessary reforms.

The narrowly-led strategies of the EMU enlargement do not favour development, or the reforms of the EU. It is enough to bring to mind the idea created by Juan Márquez, a Spanish Jesuit from Salamanca and adviser to Philip III of Spain, who in 1612 was the first to suggest that all states in the continent should adopt an equal value of coinage in order to eliminate the inconvenience of converting one currency into another, and avoid the risk of loss through the exchange rate. The 400th anniversary of this very European concept falls in 2012. Neither this nor later plans to introduce a common European currency were accomplished. Perfection was not possible. European political leaders would be wise if they adopted Márquez's proposal and did what is possible, so that by 2012, all member states could enjoy the Euro on an equal footing. Indeed, it would be an act of political common sense.

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**Almond Mark**

#### **Why Turkey may turn its back on Europe**

in *Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

For 40 years secular Turkey has sought to become part of Europe, but of late it has re-discovered its eastern options. Mark Almond analyses the change in Turkish attitudes and the pressures counteracting the EU's gravitational pull.

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**Koenig Thomas**

#### **Why do member states empower the European Parliament?**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 15 Issue 2 2008

This is the first study which provides a strategic view on the empowering of the EP by the member states. Compared to the consultation procedure, in which the Council adopts Commission proposals, the EP has become a co-legislator in the codecision procedure, in which it usually promotes an integrationist position favouring policy change. According to this supranational scenario, most scholars conclude that member states intend to increase the legitimacy of the EU rather than their benefits from legislative outcomes. For some authors the empowering of the EP is even a significant example of the limits and deficits of rational choice theory. From a strategic perspective, however, this study clarifies that member states can benefit from introducing the codecision procedure in the supranational scenario. When the parliament can hardly figure out the complex configuration in the Council, member states can strategically misrepresent their pivotal member's 'true' position and present a minority proposal in the conciliation bargains that is more closely located to the status quo. Under these conditions, the introduction of the codecision procedure has several advantages for the member states; in particular it improves the benefits of member states vis- -vis solutions under the consultation



procedure, in which a better informed Commission makes a proposal that must find the support only of a qualified majority of member states.

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van Aartsen Jozias

**Why energy must be the core of EU security thinking**

*in Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

Europe must respond to the growing assertiveness of energy-producing countries with a much more coherent strategy of its own, says Jozias Van Aartsen, a former Dutch foreign minister. Failing to do so, he warns, would be a threat to Europe's democratic integrity.

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Colling François

**Why the EU may never get its accounts straight**

*in Europe's World*, Issue 8, Spring

The EU's auditors constantly face demands for a Statement of Assurance, a kind of all-clear signal for its accounts, and they constantly decline. François Colling, a former member of the European Court of Auditors, explains why and suggests a way out.

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de Haan Jakob, Inklaar Robert, Jong-A-Pin Richard

**Will business cycles in the euro area converge? A critical survey of empirical research**

*in Journal of Economic Surveys*, Vol. 22 Issue 2 , 234–273

This survey of business cycle synchronization in the European monetary union focuses on two issues: have business cycles become more similar, and which factors drive business cycle synchronization. We conclude that business cycles in the euro area have gone through periods of both convergence and divergence. Still, there is quite some evidence that during the 1990s business cycle synchronization in the euro area has increased. Higher trade intensity is found to lead to more synchronization, but the point estimates vary widely. The evidence for other factors affecting business cycle synchronization is very mixed.

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Hatzopoulos Vassilis

**With or without you ... judging politically in the field of Area of Freedom, Security and Justice**

*in European Law Review*, Vol. 33, n. 1 , 44-65





No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Birsl Ursula**

**Zitadelle „virtueller Nationalstaat“: Die Europäische Union und die Politik interner Schließung europäischer Einwanderungsländer**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2008/1 , 99-118

Citadel „Virtual Nation-State“: The European Union and the Policy of Internal Closure of European Migration Countries

Following the Amsterdam Treaty and the Tampere Program of 1999 a concept for a common migration policy and policy on asylum was supposed to be passed in the EU until 2004. This objective has failed although the conditions seemed favourable: The migration regimes of the EU 15 had become alike, and already since the 1990s there had been more and more indications in some countries that migration policy was becoming more open again. However, a closer look on the inner constitution of the migration societies reveals a complex situation in the immigration region Western Europe, and, at a first glance, the migration policy of the immigration countries seems to follow a conflicting logic between external opening and internal closure with respect to migration. On the basis of a comparison of the 15 old EU countries, this article wants to take a closer look on this conflicting logic and examine if there is a strategy behind this logic by responding to denationalization in the process of the European Integration with a policy of renationalization. It is argued that one can identify essential features of a political concept of citadels consisting of “virtual nation-states” in the “Fortress Europe”. This concept opposes the need for immigration as well as it sets boundaries to the European Integration.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Schiffauer Peter**

**Zum Verfassungszustand der Europäischen Union nach Unterzeichnung des Vertrags von Lissabon**

in *Europäische Grundrechte zeitschrift*, issue 1-5, vol. 35 , 1-9

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Ladeur Karl-Heinz**

**‘We, the European People . . .’—Relâche?**

in *European law journal*, March 2008 - Vol. 14 Issue 2 , 147–167

The failure of the European constitutional treaty has not been taken seriously by the European constitutionalists. It is regarded as a kind of accident which will be repaired in due course. The article is a plea for a reopening of the debate on Europeanness. Europe cannot and should not be a ‘superstate’; nor can it be a kind of revival of the European nation state which is threatened by globalisation. Even less can it be a community of post-national deliberators as Jürgen



Habermas would have it. Europe should be constructed as an entity of its own which responds to the heterarchical relational logic of fragmentation which characterises post-modernity and globalisation of which it is a part. It cannot be its counterpart. Europe does not need a 'constitution', and it does not need a 'people' either.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Ugartemendía Eceizabarrena Juan Ignacio

**¿Quién es el juez de los derechos fundamentales frente a la ley en el ámbito interno de aplicación del derecho comunitario?: (reflexiones sobre el control iusfundamental del derecho interno a la luz de la recepción nacional de los derechos fundamentales de la Unión Europea)**

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, n. 20 , 401-433

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Francis Celine

**'Selective Affinities': The Reactions of the Council of Europe and the European Union to the Second Armed Conflict in Chechnya (1999 - 2006)**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, n. 2, March , 317-338

This article aims to compare how the main bodies of the European Union and the Council of Europe reacted to the issues raised by the armed conflict in Chechnya: human rights violations; the necessity (or otherwise) of political negotiations between the Chechens and the Russians; and Chechen terrorism. While the requests for political negotiations were quickly dropped by nearly all organs of the Council of Europe (CoE) and European Union (EU), the issue of human rights abuses uncovered a chasm between the legislative and decision-making bodies. The terrorist acts had no impact on either the EU's or the CoE's definition of the conflict in Chechnya, but they did influence EU policy. In sum, this comparison suggests the presence of 'selective affinities' between the CoE and EU bodies depending on the issue involved.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Grillo Ralph, Mazzucato Valentina

**Africa-Europe: A Double Engagement**

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 34, n. 2, Africa-Europe: Transnational Linkages, Multi-Sited Lives , 175-198

This introduction to the special issue entitled 'Africa<>Europe: Transnational Linkages, Multi-Sited Lives' outlines the history of the African migrant presence in Europe, gives an account of the contexts which shape contemporary migration, and surveys the approaches to international migration from Africa which have influenced researchers since the 1960s. Linking the contributions to the special issue is the theme of migrants' transnational 'double engagement' with



both Africa and Europe. The paper examines this theme across three domains of the lived experience of African migrants and refugees in Europe: 'Livelihoods', 'Families', and 'Identities'. We conclude with an assessment of what can be learned (theoretically and methodologically) from the study of African transmigration, and suggest future lines of research.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Nicolas Françoise

**Are the Economies of ASEAN and the EU Complementary?**

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 24, Number 2

The revival of EU-ASEAN economic relations has recently been stirred by the EU-ASEAN Vision Group that was set up in 2005, with the aim of looking into the possibility of a free trade area (FTA) between the two regions. This article analyses the economic feasibility of an EU-ASEAN FTA by measuring the degree of complementarity existing between the economic structures of both regions. The idea is that the greater the complementarity, the higher the scope for trade expansion between the two economies, the lower the costs induced by resource reallocation and the more desirable and successful the FTA. Using a standard trade complementarity index, we find a clear manufacturing-services complementarity between the two regions. At a lower level of aggregation, ASEAN displays a relative comparative advantage in automatic data processing machines (an EU structural weakness). Moreover, for the large majority of manufactured products traded, intra-industry trade (IIT) ratios are relatively low, denoting important trade complementarities between the two regions in general.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Nuriyev Elkhan

**Azerbaijan and the European Union: new landmarks of strategic partnership in the South Caucasus-Caspian basin**

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 8, n. 2, "Revisiting the Black Sea Region", 155-167

Since the last enlargement of the European Union (EU) in January 2007, the South Caucasus has become a region of direct concern to the EU's strategy in its wider neighbourhood. This article examines the trends affecting EU policies in the South Caucasus, with a specific focus on EU-Azerbaijan relations. It argues that in the three main areas in which Azerbaijan affects Europe's interests - cooperation in the energy sector, democratization and conflict resolution - so far the EU has engaged well on a regional energy strategy; but less so on democratic reforms, and almost not at all on conflict settlement in Nagorno Karabakh.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Saccone Maurizio

**Between ambition and ambivalence: Italy and the European Union's Mediterranean policy**

in *Modern Italy*, Volume 13, Issue 2 May, 155 - 168



This article reviews Italy's role in the various phases of the European Union's policy towards the Mediterranean: the ad hoc policy of the 1950s and 1960s, the Global Mediterranean Policy developed in the 1970s, the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership agreed in Barcelona in 1995, the European Neighbourhood Policy signed in 2003, the proposal launched by French president Nicolas Sarkozy in 2006 for a Mediterranean Union. The overall argument is that the various Italian governments have carried out an ambivalent and often reactive policy: on the one hand, they have consistently tried to promote a Mediterranean dimension in the European Union, though without upsetting the United States; on the other hand, they have limited the extension of trade privileges to exports from North Africa. While the end of the Cold War provided a new opportunity for Italy to play a more assertive role in the international arena, the two coalitions that have alternated in power have substantially failed to move the Mediterranean to the centre of Italy's and the European Union's external policy. A partial change of attitude-yet a reactive policy-emerged under the second Prodi Government, when Italy and Spain became close allies in an attempt to counter-balance the new activist policy of Sarkozy

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Wolff Sarah

#### **Border management in the Mediterranean: internal, external and ethical challenges**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 21, n. 2, June , 253-271

Framed in the Justice and Home Affairs external dimension (JHAE) literature that argues that the European Union's (EU) internal security has become an objective of European foreign policy, this article offers an analysis of the institutionalization of border management in the Mediterranean. Investigating the role of Frontex, the European border management agency, this article reveals that border management in the Mediterranean is a fragmented policy that presents internal and external challenges. First, at an internal level, border management remains a sensitive issue where the principles of burden sharing and solidarity between EU member states are difficult to operationalize. Second, at an external level, effective border management is dependent on cooperation with EU's neighbours, as the Spanish-Moroccan case demonstrates. Lastly, along with these internal and external challenges, border management raises some crucial issues about the opportunity of externalizing surveillance technologies to authoritarian regimes.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Salazar Lorraine Carlos, Das Sanchita Basu

#### **Bridging the ASEAN Developmental Divide: Challenges and Prospects**

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 24, Number 1

This special issue of ASEAN Economic Bulletin zeroes in on the developmental divide among ASEAN member states and analyses how its various forms and aspects pose a challenge to the creation of an ASEAN Economic Community. The articles in this volume seek to assess the state of the developmental divide among ASEAN member countries from the perspective of its middle- and lower-income members. This introductory chapter provides a backdrop to the two regional and six country papers that follow. The article presents a brief overview of the developmental divide and examines some of its indicators. The article then considers the EU experience and attempts to draw some lessons for ASEAN. Finally, the article previews the chapters ahead.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Olsen Gorm Rye

**Coherence, consistency and political will in foreign policy: The European Union's Policy towards Africa in Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, Volume 9, Issue 2, June, Special Issue: The New Season of EU Development Policy , 157-171

During the past 15 years, there has been a determination to strengthen the co-ordination, coherence and consistency between the different foreign policy instruments of the European Union. The aim has been to establish an effective foreign policy. The paper focuses on the initiatives to establish a strong EU policy towards Africa. It appears that conflict prevention has been one of primary objectives of the Union's policies. The paper scrutinizes the initiatives within the field of CFSP/ESDP, development assistance and trade. It is concluded that there has been a remarkable horizontal as well as institutional coherence between the initiatives falling within the area of the CFSP/ESDP. To a certain extent, the development aid policy buttressed the aims of the CFSP, whereas it is an open question if the trade policy was coherent and consistent with the aim of establishing an effective foreign policy. It is supposed that the strong involvement in conflict prevention is a reflection of the old ambition of values and norms characterising the EU. It also reflects a political will to turn the Union into a significant international actor. However, the shortcomings are there too and probably, they are to be explained by the compartmentalisation of policy making and decision making within the European Union.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Mackie James

**Continuity and change in international co-operation: The ACP-EU Cotonou Partnership Agreement and its first revision in Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, Volume 9, Issue 2, June, Special Issue: The New Season of EU Development Policy , 143-156

The changes made to the Cotonou Agreement in its first formal Review in 2005 are considered. Although some of these, to the political dimensions chapter of Cotonou, may appear to fundamentally alter the EU-ACP relationship, the author argues that it is the changes to the management of the EDF that are likely to have the more important long-term impact on implementation. These occurred partly in the 2005 Review, but also in revisions made in the same period to the financial regulations governing the use of the EDF. The Review allowed the EU to update Cotonou to reflect recent international thinking on development policy and also to cater for the funding needs of its increasingly close relationship with the African Union. This latter relationship is in fact starting to outshine that with the ACP Group that the Agreement actually covers, which suggests that further, perhaps more radical, adjustments can be expected during the next review in 2010.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Rose Richard, Munro Neil

**Do Russians see their future in Europe or the CIS?**  
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, n. 1, January , 49-66



Historic differences between Russian elites about where the country's future lies are here addressed by examining what the Russian public thinks, using data from the New Russia Barometer survey. More than two thirds see the country's future with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and less than one third see it with Europe. Alternative explanations for these differences are tested statistically. The most important influences making Russians look to the near abroad are traditional identities, national pride and age. Although cosmopolitan contacts of individuals with the West encourage people to be pro-European, Russians are likely to continue to view their world as a CIS space. However, this does not indicate a popular demand to re-establish Imperial dominance but rather a durable commitment among most Russians to a Eurasian rather than European view of the world.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Robles Alfredo C. Jr

**EU fta Negotiations with sadc and Mercosur: integration into the world economy or market access for EU firms?**  
*in Third World Quarterly*, Volume 29 Issue 1 , 181 - 197

The EU claims that its free trade agreements with regional organisations of developing countries can promote the respective regions' integration into the world economy. Taking as case studies EU negotiations with the Southern African Development Community and Mercosur, the paper argues that the EU and its partners have different conceptions of integration into the world economy. For the EU the latter simply means multilateral trade liberalisation under the wto, while, for its partners, it involves increasing industrial production and exports of manufactured products. If the latter notion is accepted, an fta with the EU should increase European foreign direct investment into the region or at least increase their trade surpluses, thus increasing the resources available for support of local firms. The paper argues that an fta with the EU will not be likely to produce these results; thus the fta will simply be an instrument to promote market access for EU firms.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Crawford Gordon

**EU human rights and democracy promotion in Central Asia: From Lofty principles to Lowly self-interests**  
*in Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Volume 9, Issue 2, June, Special Issue: The New Season of EU Development Policy , 172-191

Promoting human rights and democracy is repeatedly stated as a key objective of both EU foreign and development policy, highlighted in the European Consensus on Development (2005) and in the European Security Strategy (2003), as well as in regional strategy documents such as the new Central Asia Strategy (2007). Through a case study of EU activities in Central Asia, this contribution focuses on the interaction between the expression of lofty principles in policy statements and the operation of lowly self-interests in practice. It argues not only that the latter trump the former in a hierarchy of foreign policy objectives, but also that the statements of fine-sounding principles serve simultaneously to legitimise the ongoing 'co-operation' with authoritarian and semi-authoritarian rulers. Outcomes thus contradict stated intent, with such regimes more likely to be strengthened than move towards a trajectory of political liberalisation, democratisation and increased respect for human rights. The EU may like to present itself as a normative actor in the world, yet its actions are increasingly those of a realist power, with norms sacrificed to interests. In exploring human rights and democracy promotion in practice in Central Asia, one distinctive element is an empirical analysis of the





European Initiative on Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) projects in Central Asia (2003-2006).

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Behr Timo

**Enduring Differences? France, Germany and Europe's Middle East Dilemma**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 30, Number 1 / March , 79-96

In an attempt to explain Europe's lack of influence and policy inconsistency in the Middle East, the European foreign policy literature has consistently pointed towards the existence of a democratization-stabilization dilemma. According to this explanation, EU long-term interests in a more democratic region have been consistently subordinated to short-term preferences for security and regime stability. The outcome has regularly been a lack of vision and consistency. This article questions this explanation by demonstrating that European vacillation has not been informed by a static competition between realist and idealist approaches, but by different national foreign policy traditions that are based on divergent views of identity, interests and threats. Analysing continuity and change in French and German Middle East policy, the article argues that a solution to the democratization-stabilization dilemma remains close at hand.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Casado Maria

**Eurolat: une Assemblée parlementaire euro-latino-américaine**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 515, février , 94-95

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Gultekin-Punsmann Burcu, Nikolov Krassimir Y.

**European Union approaches to fostering synergies of cooperation and integration around the Black Sea**

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 8, n. 2, "Revisiting the Black Sea Region " , 109-128

Following the European Union's (EU) eastern enlargement and debates on the Constitutional Treaty, the Black Sea region has received increasing political, public and scholarly attention. This article examines the prospects for and the forms of economic and political cooperation in the area from the perspective of the EU as well as of the local actors. The macroeconomic situation in the region is analysed as a major factor for commercial and economic cooperation. The complex network of existing trade agreements is set in the context of national trade policies and the common commercial policy of the EU. Special attention is given to EU support for trade liberalization and regional economic integration around the Black Sea. Two specific facets of regional cooperation are considered: the initiative of creating a Black Sea Euro-region, and the modalities of inter-parliamentary cooperation. The institutional and political formats of regional cooperation are studied from an evolutionary perspective. The EU's gradual opening to multilateralism in the Black Sea area has faced the dilemma of choosing between two models of EU involvement in the region - 'political umbrella', and EU-Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) inter-institutional relationship. Both models having been



tested over the last couple of years, their strengths and weaknesses have prompted the possible emergence of a new format of regional cooperation based on a 'network of networks'.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Leonard Mark, Popescu Nicu

**Integrazione o contenimento: gli europei e la Russia**

in *Aspenia*, n. 40, "Elezioni globali", 164-169

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Del Sarto Raffaella A., Tocci Nathalie

**Italy's politics without policy: Balancing Atlanticism and Europeanism in the Middle East**

in *Modern Italy*, Volume 13, Issue 2 May

Focusing on Italy's Middle East policies under the second Berlusconi (2001-2006) and the second Prodi (2006-2008) governments, this article assesses the manner and extent to which the observed foreign policy shifts between the two governments can be explained in terms of the rebalancing between a 'Europeanist' and a transatlantic orientation. Arguing that Rome's policy towards the Middle East hinges less on Italy's specific interests and objectives in the region and more on whether the preference of the government in power is to foster closer ties to the United States or concentrate on the European Union, the analysis highlights how these swings of the pendulum along the EU-US axis are inextricably linked to a number of underlying structural weaknesses of Rome's foreign policy. In particular, the oscillations can be explained by the prevalence of short-term political (and domestic) considerations and the absence of long-term, substantive political strategies, or, in short, by the phenomenon of 'politics without policy' that often characterises Italy's foreign policy.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Schmid Dorothée

**La Turquie et l'Union pour la Méditerranée : un partenariat calculé**

in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 1 - printemps

Il est à parier que le nouveau nationalisme turc ne cherchera pas en Méditerranée son terrain d'expression, à moins de raisonner à l'échelle d'une Méditerranée élargie au Moyen-Orient, à la mer Noire, et à l'Asie centrale. L'image de la Méditerranée n'est guère positive dans l'imaginaire turc. L'idée que le projet d'Union méditerranéenne pourrait se substituer aux négociations d'adhésion du pays à l'Union européenne a donc été d'emblée nettement rejetée par Ankara. La diplomatie turque semble désormais privilégier une position d'observation, qui suggère que le pays pourrait accepter de jouer le jeu du projet français, à condition que l'UM s'intègre dans l'UE, et que la porte de cette dernière demeure ouverte.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Godiveau Grégory

**La conditionnalité démocratique dans le partenariat ACP-CE. Nouvelle voie et nouvelles interrogations**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 515, février , 87-93

Democratic conditionality within the ACP-EC partnership has had mixed results in many respects. In spite of an original system to protect the main elements of the Cotonou agreement (law state, democracy, human rights), it is being found difficult to apply such protection in an even manner. And the overall inadequacy of the sanction to the objectives of conditionality requires that the methods of its efficiency be put into question. Greater consistency and added support are required if it is to succeed. A pertinent expression of the latter requires added coherence with other money lenders and more involvement by ACP partners. It also requires more pragmatism from the European partner and less ambiguity towards the stances of its member countries. In all, the European Union's repositioning on this matter requires, more broadly, its reinforcements on the world stage.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Bauchard Denis

**L'Union pour la Méditerranée : un défi européen**

in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 1 - printemps

Un des temps forts de la présidence française de l'Union européenne en 2008 sera certainement la mise sur orbite d'une Union méditerranéenne. La fracture méditerranéenne –économique, politique, culturelle– est une donnée que ne réduisent pas les actuelles coopérations avec l'Union européenne. Le projet d'Union pour la Méditerranée a donc pour objectif de développer de nouveaux mécanismes de coopération entre les pays riverains, sans aller jusqu'à l'intégration. La réussite de ce projet exige des pays riverains une confiance mutuelle, et celle des Européens eux-mêmes, ainsi que la mise en place d'une méthode spécifique

[http://www.ifri.org/files/politique\\_etrangere/PE2008\\_art04\\_bauchard.pdf](http://www.ifri.org/files/politique_etrangere/PE2008_art04_bauchard.pdf)

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Flint Adrian

**Marrying poverty alleviation and sustainable development? An analysis of the EU–ACP Cotonou agreement**

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 11, Number 1, March , 55-74

The Cotonou Partnership Agreement, signed in Benin in 2000 between the European Union (EU) and its African-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) partners, constitutes the basis for much of the EU's interaction with developing countries. The Agreement stresses the need to prioritize poverty alleviation and sustainable development as part of the overall development process. While an all-embracing approach to tackling problems of poverty and the environment



ostensibly fulfils a number of social and political requirements where the EU's moral obligation towards the South is currently concerned, Cotonou's flagship provisions invite closer scrutiny. This paper considers the EU's attempt to marry poverty alleviation and sustainable development within its pro-poor strategy and assesses the likely efficacy of this approach in achieving Cotonou's stated aims.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Rotta Alessandro

**Promoting Regional Cooperation: The EU in South Eastern Europe  
in International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLIII, n. 1, January-March

Promoting regional cooperation has been one of the EU priorities in South Eastern Europe since the mid-1990s. However, the EU's regional approach has often been weakened by the prevailing bilateral dimension of its policies towards SEE countries, and not adequately supported by stringent conditionality. Nevertheless, recent progress has been achieved in several specific areas of regional cooperation, such as trade, energy and parliamentary cooperation, and countries of the region are increasingly assuming responsibility on cooperation processes, as the transition from the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe to the regionally owned and led Regional Cooperation Council seems to prove.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Makarychev Andrey S.

**Russia's Search for International Identity Through the Sovereign Democracy Concept  
in International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLIII, n. 2, April-June

The search for common language has become a demanding issues in the Russia-EU relationship. One of the strongest messages contained in Russia's "sovereign democracy" concept is its desire to be regarded as a "normal" country, a full-fledged member of the international community. The concept embodies a search for its own subjectivity, which is ultimately felt to be a pre-condition for its self-assertion vis-à-vis Europe. Russia does not question any of the basic European norms; instead it seeks to offer an alternative version of each of them. For the Western audience, analysis of these concepts is essential for a better comprehension of Russia's foreign policy arguments.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Vadcar Corinne

**Suspension des accords de partenariat économique. Quels enseignements pour la relation euro-africaine?  
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, numero 515, février , 80-86

By signing the Kigali statement at the EU-ACP joint meeting of November 2007, ACP countries put an end to the negotiations in favour of the economic partnership agreements (EPA) that were to be completed in late December 2007 to end the exemption granted by the WTO to the Cotonou agreements themselves, signed in June 2000 by the EU and



the ACP countries. That declaration expresses the wish for a change in direction and thereby suspends the talks between the European Union and the ACPs since firstly, the text requires the guarantee that no ACP country unable to sign an EPA before Dec. 31 be in a less favourable position than it is now and secondly, required more to time to assess, comprehensively, the implications of the proposed agreements.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Stavridis Stelios**

**The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP): Perspectives from the Mediterranean EU Countries (Rethimno, Crete, 25-27 October 2007)**

in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 13, Number 1, March , 103-107

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Sasse Gwendolyn**

**The European Neighbourhood Policy: Conditionality Revisited for the EU's Eastern Neighbours**

in **Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 60, n. 2, March , 295-316

The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) is modelled on the institutional and procedural experience of the EU's eastward enlargement, although it explicitly excludes a membership perspective. It thus aims to define an alternative incentive for domestic reform in neighbouring countries, referred to as 'a stake in the internal market'. This article suggests that the ENP amounts to a form of 'conditionality-lite' for non-candidate countries. Within the ENP the key defining elements of conditionality—clear incentive and enforcement structures—are vague for both the EU and its neighbouring countries. Thus, the ENP is conceptually and empirically weak when measured against a simple, rationalist conditionality model. In line with the alternative understanding of conditionality as a process rather than a clear-cut variable, the main function of the ENP is twofold: it provides an external reference point which domestic political actors in the ENP countries can choose to utilise when it fits their agenda (both pro-EU or anti-EU); and a loose framework for socialisation. This process of socialisation involves both the EU and the ENP countries. Through an analysis of the ENP process in Ukraine and Moldova it concludes that while the ENP tries to prevent a repeat of the EU's 'rhetorical entrapment' in further eastward enlargement, it paradoxically paves the way for a 'procedural entrapment' in ENP countries that harbour membership aspirations and provides a momentum, though not a guarantee, for conflict resolution.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Manoli Panagiota**

**The European Union and its Eastern neighbours: new relations in the making**

in **Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**, vol. 8, n. 2, "Revisiting the Black Sea Region " , 91-92

No abstract available



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Lindberg Lena

**The National Element in Regional Trade Agreements: The Role of Southeast Asian Countries in ASEAN-EU Trade**

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 24, Number 2

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Krakowski Michael

**The Relations between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 43, Number 2 / March, 2008

The EU is the second-largest trading partner (after the USA) of the Latin American and Caribbean countries (LAC). The European Commission is presently in the process of negotiating association agreements with three Latin American regional trading associations, a result of the fact that the EU has traditionally preferred multilateral treaties to bilateral ones as a means of its international trade policy. These negotiations have proved to be very complex and progress is difficult. Will the two-yearly meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the EU and the LAC in Peru in May 2008 take place under the sign of a return to a policy with more emphasis on bilateral agreements? The recent agreement with Brazil seems to point in this direction.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Haukkala Hiski

**The Russian Challenge to EU Normative Power: The Case of European Neighbourhood Policy**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLIII, n. 2, April-June

The Russian attitude towards the European Neighbourhood Policy constitutes a serious obstacle to the realisation of the Union's agenda in its neighbourhood. The Russian challenge takes three main forms: 1) with Russia not a part of the EU's overall approach involving the principle of conditionality, the Union's legitimacy and international actorness in general is in danger of being undermined; 2) Russia is increasingly starting to put forward its own model of operation, thus hampering the realisation of the Union's goals in the neighbourhood; 3) Russia is engaging in business activities that are in effect undoing the ENP's energy component. There are no easy fixes to these problems. What the Union must do is believe in its own values and visions: it is only by example that it can promote its ideals outside its institutional boundaries.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*





Zorob Anja

**The Syrian-European Association Agreement and its Potential Impact on Enhancing the Credibility of Reform in Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 13, Number 1, March , 1-21

The effect of 'locking-in' economic reform and enhancing its credibility is generally regarded as one of the most important potential effects of regional integration. The first part of this study outlines a general framework for assessment to evaluate the potential of regional integration agreements (RIAs) for serving as mechanisms of 'signalling' and 'commitment'. This assessment framework is then applied to the case of the Syrian-European Association Agreement (AA) initialled by the chief negotiators of both parties in October 2004. The empirical findings of this study show that despite several shortcomings, the Syrian-European AA, if it were to come into force, should be able to deliver an appropriate mechanism for signalling and commitment and thus to improve the credibility of the Syrian process of reform at home and abroad. A major loophole of the agreement, however, is represented by the inclusion of a clause on weapons of mass destruction (WMD) which might be used by both parties as an 'exit option'. In addition, the AA lacks substantial incentives as 'rewards for good policy'.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Andreev Svetlozar A.

**The future of European neighbourhood policy and the role of regional cooperation in the Black Sea area in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**, vol. 8, n. 2, "Revisiting the Black Sea Region " , 93-108

This paper studies the 'regional dimension' of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in the Black Sea area. Specifically, it analyses the emerging forms of regional cooperation and their interrelation with ENP. It has been demonstrated that the different regional cooperation initiatives, of varying quality and importance for the countries of the area, have been experiencing substantial change due to the dual challenge of dealing with their immediate environment and European integration. Alongside established regional organizations, like the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), new types of regional cooperation, such as the Black Sea Synergy (BSS), have also been growing in importance, not least because of the dominant role of the European Union (EU) and its wish to make a success of the ENP. Finally, the paper makes concrete proposals regarding the possibility of transforming and upgrading both the existing regional cooperation bodies and ENP.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Satu P Limaye

**United States-ASEAN Relations on ASEAN's Fortieth Anniversary: A Glass Half Full**

**in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs**, Vol. 29, n. 3, December

As ASEAN marks its 40th anniversary, US-ASEAN relations, for all their complexities and dissonances, also show signs of success and potential future growth. Viewed from the perspective of where US-ASEAN relations were four decades ago, signs of structural change and the prospect of a more focused- and action-oriented ASEAN organization, there remains every possibility of further filling a glass of interactions that is now only half full. The US is considering several ways in which to enhance its relations with ASEAN including through signing the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, appointing an ambassador to ASEAN and participating in a range of regional and bilateral activities in the economic,



political and military realms. It is quite likely that the US will take one or more of these measures to demonstrate its commitment to ASEAN. However, the ultimate guarantor of strengthened US-ASEAN relations will be the ability of member countries to demonstrate that they as individual countries and as ASEAN can be and wish to be partners of the US in this new century.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Ojeda Diego

**Unión Mediterránea: de la ambición política a los resultados**  
in *Política Exterior*, 122

La Unión Mediterránea impulsada por el Elíseo amenaza con perturbar el desarrollo de la presidencia francesa en el segundo semestre de 2008. Para que la ambiciosa iniciativa de Sarkozy se materialice en un proyecto que contribuya a explotar toda la potencialidad del Mediterráneo, será necesario engarzar correcta y eficazmente las nuevas estructuras de cooperación con las del Proceso de Barcelona, limitando al mínimo la duplicación de esfuerzos y recursos.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Khader Bichara

**Unión Mediterránea: ¿bonitas palabras o buena idea?**  
in *Política Exterior*, 122

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Kaddouri Hamid

**Vers une nouvelle politique euro-méditerranéenne: le projet d'union de la Méditerranée comme piste de réflexion**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 514, janvier , 14-26

The failure of the current Euro-Mediterranean policy is no longer doubtful. Whether it be from an economic, political, security or cultural point of view, all the basics that had motivated the birth of the PEM are still there and even aggravated today. As a result, the time has gone for the Mediterranean to receive a wilful and joint policy where cultural differences would not be used as an implied pretext for human space prioritisation and differences. The Mediterranean Union project put forward by the French President is in line with that institutional reform of the EU/third Mediterranean countries relationship. However, that initiative, which is supposed to boost the North South relationship, provides no credible alternative, since it is centered on France's identity and security issues. It looks more like a reclassification policy for countries and territories that are unable to join the EU. The purpose is to contain migratory pressures and terrorist threats from the South and keep a check on new membership applications. In addition, it is a step back from the current policy, since it offers a mere cooperation logic without any integration. Clearly, the Mediterranean Union gives up the "all except institutions" dear to Romano Prodi, for a "nothing except a la carte cooperation" recommended by Nicolas



Sarkozy.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Suwen Pan; Mark Welch; Samarendu Mohanty; Mohamadou Fadiga; Don Ethridge

**Welfare Analysis of the Dominican Republic-Central America-United States Free Trade Agreement: The Cotton Textile and Apparel Industries**

in *International Trade Journal*, Volume 22 Issue 2 , 188 - 217

This article studies the effects of the Dominican Republic-Central America-United States Free Trade Agreement (US-CAFTA-DR) on the world fiber market using a partial equilibrium modeling approach. We find the effect of the agreement on the U.S. cotton yarn and Caribbean cotton apparel industries to be positive while the U.S. cotton apparel industry suffers significant losses. Cotton apparel producers in the Caribbean region gain approximately \$80 million under US-CAFTA-DR while gains by the U.S. yarn industry average about \$120 million over current trade arrangements. The U.S. cotton apparel industry loses about \$40 million per year under US-CAFTA-DR.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Andreosso-O'Callaghan Bernadette , Nicolas Françoise

**What Scope for an EU—ASEAN Free Trade Agreement?**

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 42 Issue 1 , 105-128

The starting point of this article is that a free trade agreement will, sooner or later, be negotiated between ASEAN and the EU. As a result, the objective of the article is not to examine the rationale for such an agreement but to outline its possible scope.

Because the content of a potential agreement depends very much on the nature of the relationship between the two partners, the first section of the article examines briefly their characteristics. It highlights substantial disparities between the two partners (primarily in terms of economic size and internal homogeneity) and a strong asymmetry in their trade and investment relations. The section also shows that the greatest divergence in trade restrictiveness between the two regions arises in the service sector and through non-tariff barriers. Finally, past trade tensions further substantiate the hypothesis of large disparities in the two regions' competition policies and IPR protection.

After taking stock of existing free trade agreements (FTAs) negotiated on both sides, the second section concludes that a potential EU—ASEAN FTA can be expected to be quite broad, encompassing both goods and service liberalization as well as trade-related issues such as competition policy or IPR protection. Despite this relatively high level of ambition, realism must also prevail and the depth of the commitments can be expected to remain modest in a number of areas. Moreover, because of the differentiated levels of development and of regulatory capacity among the countries of the partnership, realism calls for some differentiation in the level of commitments, as well as in the timelines imposed on the various partners (within the limits provided by the World Trade Organization (WTO)). Finally provisions on technical assistance and trade-related capacity building should be an integral part of the future ASEAN—EU partnership agreement.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Denysyuk Vitaliy

**À la recherche d'une Communauté paneuropéenne de l'énergie: intégration de l'Ukraine dans la politique énergétique européenne, implications et contours**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 516, mars , 186-202

Energy is a central to Ukrainian authorities' concerns as the settlement of the political and financial issues that it poses is one of the major components of the country's economic growth. At the end of our study, the basic dilemma is that the cost of security sought by Ukraine, in relationship to its energy supplies. It is of an economic nature, protection is needed against volatile prices, and supplies need to be financed. It is also of an environmental nature, which leads to additional costs. Nonetheless there is an inescapable inter-dependence to be integrated. Removal of the weight of the Russian supplier is neither possible nor desirable. Contractual diversification and flexibility could be some of the answers to that dilemma. However, such diversification is relative, which only leads to relative security. External supply security will therefore remain a major problem on the medium and long term. However, institutional changes in the energy sectors, monopoly reorganisation or regional interconnections are potential guarantees of internal supply security.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Watts Ronald L.

**Federal Idea and Its Contemporary Relevance**

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 17th Issue, 1/2008

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Majeed Akhtar

**Federal Idea and Its Relevance for Diverse Societies**

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 17th Issue, 1/2008

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Rubin Edward L., Feeley Malcolm M.

**Federalism and Interpretation**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 38, Number 2, Spring , 167-191



The article offers a theoretical approach to federalism by defining a theoretical approach as a general account of the subject. It is general in that it applies in any political situation, at any time in history when political entities that are recognizable as nations existed. It is an account in being a systematic examination of the subject that is connected to the overall structure of analysis in one or more academic disciplines, in this case law and political science. Following this approach, we reach the conclusion that federalism must be understood as a matter of political identity. People's individual commitments in the political realm, their sense of who they are and where they belong, will determine the descriptive reality and the prescriptive necessity of federal arrangements.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Muraro Gilberto

**Federalismo e solidarietà**

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Nicholson-Crotty Sean

**National Election Cycles and the Intermittent Political Safeguards of Federalism**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 38, Number 2, Spring , 295-314

Scholars have challenged the notion of "political safeguards of federalism" in a large and well-developed body of work on the use of coercive policy tools by the federal government. This study suggests, however, that there may be some utility in re-examining the political factors that help to constrain the growth of national power. Specifically, it argues that the need to win votes from subnational constituencies makes national lawmakers less supportive of mandates, preemptions, and tax sanctions during election cycles and, thus, provides an intermittent safeguard of state authority. It tests and finds evidence for hypotheses related to that general argument in analyses of the passage of coercive federalist policies over the last thirty years.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Lash Kurt T

**On Federalism, freedom, and the founders' view of retained rights: a reply to Randy Barnett**

in *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 60, issue 4 , 969-988

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Beer Samuel H. , Bednar Jenna, Smith Troy, Strachan J. Cherie



## **Responses to Rubin and Feeley**

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 38, Number 2, Spring , 192-210

No abstract available

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### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

**The Federalist**

#### **Sovereignty and the European People**

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLIX, n. 3 , 157-160

The most complex issues associated with the possible creation of a European federation include the transferring of sovereignty to supranational level and, above all, the question of whether there exists a European people that could be considered the holder of this new sovereignty. In fact, whenever a European people looks as though it could manifest its presence, it becomes feasible to think in terms of the birth of an out-and-out federal state whose legitimacy will stem from that people; in all other situations, however, the federal state objective can seem quite impossible (or wrong, or even dangerous) precisely because it would take away the sovereignty of the only lawful holders of it, that is the national peoples, in order to create a power not founded on any legitimate consensus

Connected with these issues, which are nevertheless highly complex and much debated even within the ambit of the traditional doctrine of the state, there is also the question of the role of popular will in the process of European unification. In recent years, an extensive debate has grown up around this topic, stimulated particularly by the French and Dutch rejections of the European constitutional treaty and also, even before this, by the convening of the Convention entrusted with drawing up the text of this new treaty. In fact, many people saw this Convention as a body capable of giving voice to the constituent power of the European people, and thus of transferring sovereignty from the member states to the Union, even against will of the states themselves. For this reason they argued that it was the European people as a whole, rather than the citizens of the single states, that should be called upon to pass judgement, though referendum, on the text of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe

For anyone wishing to see the creation of a federal Europe, and thus the transformation of the European Union, which is basically a confederal organisation, into a political body equipped with sovereignty and with the capacity to act, it is essential to reflect upon these questions. And this reflection appears all the more urgent in the light of the difficulties that the European Union today finds itself up against. In fact, the possibility of realising the federal project depends on the support of public opinion, in some states at least, for the process of Europe's unification. However, this faith on the part of the citizens cannot be won unless Europe shows itself to be capable of coming up with concrete responses to the very real dangers, economic and social, to which the citizens feel exposed. Thus, if the crisis that the Union is going through cannot be overcome quickly through the creation of a European political power that can meet the citizens' needs, there is a risk that, faced with a European Union engaged in striving to establish difficult balances between the positions of the various member states rather than in the attempt to assume a role on the international stage, the faith of public opinion will drain away and the popular support essential for achieving the federal objective will cease to exist. On the other hand, it is essential to underline that only a clear definition of the objective to be reached — the European federation — will make it possible to clear the field of misunderstandings and of ambiguous uses of terms such as people, constituent power, and citizenship, which are often automatically transposed from the national context, in which they evolved, to the European one

Indeed, because of the hybrid nature of the European Union — the EU is a confederal entity, based on the existence of sovereign member states, but it has a federal vocation (albeit increasingly weak and shared by only a few states) —,





terms of great symbolic value have often, in the attempt to get the process of unification moving, been applied to phenomena that do not reflect their true meaning

Hence the term constitution, which refers to the body of norms crucial to the life and running of a state, i.e. of a political community equipped with sovereignty and with the capacity to set out its own fundamental rules, has been used in reference to a text, the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, which merely regulates the functioning of an organisation that has neither sovereignty nor the character of a state. The same applies to the institution of European citizenship. Citizenship, which binds single individuals by a sense of solidarity that derives from their belonging to the same political community, is a status traditionally associated with rights and obligations (paying taxes and defending the fatherland, for example). European citizenship, however, in the absence of a political power at European level and since the European Union does not exercise the competences that are the cornerstones of sovereignty, is by definition a flawed citizenship, associated with only a handful of rights established by the Community lawmaker. Finally, to define the Convention as the manifestation or voice of the constituent power of the European people is to fail to recognise that the exercising of constituent power implies a break with the existing rules, and that no norms can regulate constituent power or dictate how it should be exercised; the Convention, by remaining strictly within the mandate conferred on it — which did not call into question the existing power structure — and seeking to do no more than reform the Treaties in force, did not bring about a break of this kind. On the other hand, the very idea of a European people is meaningless in the absence of a political project with which the people can identify (as is the case within the framework of the EU), and if no decision has been taken to create a true political community (which thus remains as a concrete prospect). The fact is that the birth of the European federal people can come about only in conjunction with that of the European federal state. The growing interdependence and the deep integration that Europe has seen in recent decades provide the necessary objective conditions for this birth, but it will take a severe crisis (or the imminent threat of one) and, as a response to it, a solid proposal to create a European federal power, for the citizens of the member states to realise fully that they are the European people and can demonstrate their concrete support for this evolution

It goes without saying that should the Europeans actually manage to create a federal state, it would be history's first ever example of a supranational democracy and it would make it possible not only to overcome the present ambiguities, mentioned earlier, but also to give terms such as people, citizenship, and constituent power a richer meaning, more in keeping with the universal nature of the democratic values they express. A European federation founded on long-established states, like the European ones, would in fact be attributed only those competences (namely, in the fields of foreign policy and defence) that are the most typical expressions of sovereignty and which it would have to have in order to be able to respond to the needs of the citizens that can no longer be met at national level. What we are talking about, in other words, is a European federation founded on several levels of government, each of which would be assigned the competences it is equipped to exercise. In this way, citizenship would no longer be seen as a bond, based on a sense of belonging, with the nation-state alone; instead it would take on a multiple significance, denoting contemporaneous membership of several political communities, from the lowest level to European level. Equally, the co-existence of several levels of government and thus of various senses of identity and of belonging would show that the concept of people is not based on sameness, ethnic or linguistic, but on the shared belief in a common project and on the sense of being part of a political community capable of expressing universal values

These topics were discussed at the second international meeting entitled "Building a European Federal State in an Enlarged European Union" held in Pavia on February 26, 2007 and organised by the University of Pavia and the Mario and Valeria Albertini Foundation. The papers we publish in this issue of *The Federalist* do not claim to exhaust these enormously complex topics, but are intended to serve as a starting point for the process of reflection that anyone wishing to fight for the creation of a European political power must inevitably embark on.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Ypi Lea L.

**Statist Cosmopolitanism**

in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol. 16, Issue 1, March , 47-81

Free text:

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showFullText?submitFullText=Full+Text+HTML&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1467-9760.2008.00308.x>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Chabrot Christophe

**The foundations of European democracy**

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLIX, n. 3 , 161-182

[http://euraction.org/revfiles/3\\_07.pdf](http://euraction.org/revfiles/3_07.pdf)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Dubnov Arie

**A tale of trees and crooked timbers: Jacob Talmon and Isaiah Berlin on the question of Jewish Nationalism**

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 34, Issue 2, June , 220-238

This essay seeks to examine the history of the intellectual comradeship between J.L. Talmon and the philosopher, political thinker, and historian of ideas, Isaiah Berlin (1909–1997). The scholarly dialog between the two began in 1947, continued until Talmon's death in 1980, and is well documented in their private correspondence. I argue that there were two levels to this dialog: First, both Berlin and Talmon took part in the Totalitarianism discourse, which was colored by Popperian terminology, and thus I claim that their ideas should be examined as part of the Cold-War political discourse. The second level stemmed from their similar East-European origin, their mutual Jewish identity, and their attitude towards the Zionist movement.

At times the two levels of discourse conjoined commensurably, but in other cases the juxtaposition of the two created conceptual tensions. Examining Berlin and Talmon's thought from this dual perspective, I argue, can shed new light on the inner conflicts and conceptual tensions that each of them had to face. In particular, I claim that both thinkers tried to integrate their Anglophile liberal heritage with their support of National movements in general, and the Jewish National movement in particular. Nevertheless, the different approaches of Talmon and Berlin present two concepts of liberal Nationalism: While Talmon assumed that Zionism solved the Jewish individual's dilemmas by making Jews members of a commune attached to soil; Berlin sought to preserve the individual in an inviolable sphere and thus was more ambivalent in his attitude towards the state of Israel. In conclusion, I offer to see Talmon as a classic Zionist liberal and Berlin as a supporter of what I call "Diaspora Zionism", an approach, which would later provide the grounds for Berlin's



celebrated pluralism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Higson Robert

**Anti-consociationalism and the Good Friday Agreement: A Rejoinder  
in Peace, Conflict and Development**, Volume 12, Issue 12, May , pp. 17

Peace processes can have the effect of reinforcing ethnic divisions. This is done by the privileging of ethnonationalist actors throughout negotiations, the framing of a conflict in "groupist" terminology and the post-conflict structuring of ethnicized institutions. The unintended corollary is that post-conflict settlements can often give an institutional basis for ethnic identity. However, this essay argues that the Good Friday Agreement (1998) should not be seen within this trend. Whilst the Agreement is no ethnosectarian panacea, it has proved to have reduced the conflict potential of ethnicity. More importantly, the Agreement recognizes the resilience of ethnosectarian identification and prevents majoritarianism – which is the only way there can be a later decline in the salience of ethnicity in Northern Ireland.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Ramoneda Josep

**Archipel de l'exception**

in **Cultures & Conflits**, numero 68, hiver , 13-16

Free text available on-line at <http://www.conflits.org/index5143.html>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Asari Eva-Maria, Halikiopoulou Daphne, Mock Steven

**British National Identity and the Dilemmas of Multiculturalism**

in **Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 1, January 2008 , 1-28

Nationalism and multiculturalism are often perceived as polar opposites with the former viewed as the disease and the latter the cure. Contrary to this view, this article argues that a strong national identity, albeit of a particular kind, is prerequisite to a stable and functioning multicultural society. The article seeks to identify both the causes and the implications of the absence of an overarching, civic national identity in Britain, further to the goal of seeking a meaningful solution. It is our contention that the problem lies in the difficulty involved in reconciling current pressures on British identity with a coherent narrative of British history, especially its imperial past.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Maucourant Jérôme, Tinel Bruno**

**Capital and the national question**

in **Actuel Marx**, N°43 (avril 2008)

Nations are the forms of political organisation which peoples construct for themselves. It is a commonplace to state that globalisation tends (for the better) towards the end of nations. However the history of capitalism shows that such a hypothesis is questionable. Globalisation is merely a stage in the development of capitalism, which has always leaned on certain nations to secure its deployment: England in the past, the US today. The real question is thus that of the hegemony of one nation over other nations and, ultimately, the question of democracy, the sovereignty of peoples in the face of capital.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Sorek Tamir**

**Cautious Commemoration: Localism, Communalism, and Nationalism in Palestinian Memorial Monuments in Israel**

in **Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Volume 50, Issue 2, April , 337-368

In March 1998, the political leadership of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel was looking for ways to commemorate al-Nakba ("The Disaster," in Arabic), referring to the war of 1948, during which about 700,000 Palestinians were uprooted and hundreds of Palestinian villages were destroyed. This leadership, organized in the Follow-Up Committee (FUC), nominated a Nakba and Steadfastness Committee (NSC) chaired by the author Muhamad Ali Taha. Among the Committee's several initiatives, one gained front-page headlines in the Arabic media: a call for Arab municipalities to establish memorial monuments for the Palestinian martyrs (shuhada) of 1948.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Malinova Olga**

**Creating meanings and traps: competing interpretations of the idea of nation in the debates of Russian Slavophiles and Westernisers in the 1840s**

in **European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire**, Volume 15, Issue 1, February , 41-54

To use Benedict Anderson's metaphor, there are different ways to 'imagine' the nation. This means that in the same community there might be various competing interpretations of 'an idea of nation'. They contribute to some kind of 'repertoire of meanings', to which participants of nationalist discourses consciously or unconsciously appeal. If so, it is useful to explore the process of shaping and interaction of competing interpretations of 'an idea of nation', resulting in (terminal) domination of particular cohesions of meanings in the public discourses. This article offers a case study of the debates between Russian Slavophiles and Westernisers in the 1840s that are treated as the controversy between two distinct models of 'an idea of nation', the conservative-traditionalist and the liberal-progressivist. This distinction, familiar for many countries, was especially evident in Russia with regard to the problem of the preservation of 'the national self' in the context of 'catch-up' modernisation which took a significant place amongst the complex of issues that shaped the nationalist 'repertoire of meanings'



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Yanay Niza, Lifshitz-Oron Ruti

**From consensual reconciliation to a discourse of friendship**

in **Social Identities**, Volume 14, Issue 2, March 2008 , 275-292

When in multicultural states the concept of reconciliation is tied to national unity in order to institute consensus and stability, the outcome often is exclusion and oppression of those others who do not 'fit' or who 'disturb' the very consensus and unity reconciliation purports to form. The hidden side of violence embedded in consensual reconciliation is the main theme of this paper. Our aim is to problematize the relations between reconciliation and nationalism on the one hand, and to offer an alternative working concept of friendship on the other. Based on an ethnographic case study of conflict between religious and secular groups in Israel, we examine the language of reconciliation and its semiotic gestures, in order to demonstrate that sentiments of 'neither/nor' or 'either this or that', when rooted in nationalist ideology of unity, obfuscate identities for purposes of homogeneity, closing the social and cultural space for different others who are present but not included in the discourse of reconciliation. By contrast, a discourse of friendship signifies a movement (rather than diffusion) between social and cultural identities. Our concept of friendship is based on a civic idea of causing no harm to others as a way of life.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Fullilove Michael

**Il neonazionalismo della diaspora**

in **Aspenia**, n. 41, "I giochi di Pechino" , 125-129

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Zobel Katharina

**Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law**

in **Journal of the History of International Law**, Volume 10, Issue 1 , 167-171

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Molina A. de Cienfuegos Ignacio

**Integración y desintegración europea. Bélgica en la encrucijada**

in **Política Exterior**, 120



La pequeña y compleja Bélgica es una muestra a escala de las incertidumbres de la gran Europa. Sin una auténtica historia nacional compartida, sin lengua común y sin gobierno desde las elecciones de junio, 10 millones de ciudadanos se cuestionan la viabilidad de su Estado.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Desai Radhika

**Introduction: nationalisms and their understandings in historical perspective**  
in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 29 Issue 3 , 397 - 428

This introduction provides the historical and intellectual historical context for our thesis of the transition from developmental to cultural nationalisms. After settling issues of definition and periodisation in relation to nations, nationalisms and the international order, I outline how, in all the main phases in the three-century long birth of the international world out of one of empires, capitalist and precapitalist, in tandem with the spread of capitalism (and initially, imperialism), nations and nationalisms were understood and, often revealingly, misunderstood. Three main distorting factors accounted for the misunderstandings: 1) the implication of nations and nationalisms in the spread of capitalism was ignored; 2) their role, in comparison with imperialism, the other major geopolitical dynamic of the past few centuries, was underestimated; and 3) capitalism was understood, one-sidedly, as a universalising force, a prejudice reinforced by imperialism (especially when it was largely the imperialism of one country, England, in the 19th century). The universal Enlightenment intellectual temper also played a role and it is not surprising, in retrospect, that scholarship on nationalism burgeoned precisely at the time, in the last third of the 20th century, when attention to difference and particularity and the questioning of universal thinking became the leading intellectual trend. This scholarship, however, only accentuated the dominant tendency to understand nations culturally, in separation from political economy and it proved unable to stall the force of the mistaken 'globalisation' thesis about the decline of nations and nationalisms. Throughout this discussion critical insights which more-or-less escaped these distortions and detected the intertwining of culture and political economy in nationalism are noted.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Ohana David

**J.L. Talmon, Gershom Scholem and the price of Messianism**  
in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 34, Issue 2, June , 169-188

Gershom Scholem wrote his famous article, "Redemption through sin", in 1937, and J.L. Talmon gained the inspiration for his first book, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*, in the years 1937–1938 at the time when the Moscow trials revealed to the world the bitter reality of what was happening in the Soviet Union. Scholem and Talmon were contemporaries and witnesses of the transformation of communism in the Soviet Union from a vision of egalitarian and universal redemption into a bureaucratic and nationalistic despotism. The major scholar of the history of religious Messianism and the major scholar of the history of secular Messianism both widened the scope of their investigations—the first extending them into the history of Sabbataianism and the second into the French Revolution—and both reached a similar conclusion: both recognized, as Scholem put it, "the profound truth relating to the dialectics of history ... of the historical process whereby the fulfilment of one political process leads to the manifestation of its opposite. In the realization of one thing its opposite is revealed". The two great Israeli historians of





ideas plumbed the depths of one of the most fascinating and at the same time tragic manifestations of la condition humaine: the human challenge of bringing the heavenly city down to the vale of tears, and the price that men have to pay for their Messianic passion.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Hacohen Malachi H.

**Jacob Talmon between Zionism and Cold War Liberalism**

**in History of European Ideas**, Volume 34, Issue 2, June , 146-157

The paper focuses on the problematic relationship between Talmon's liberalism and Zionism. My argument is that Talmon's nationalism (Zionism included)—historicist, romantic, visionary—lived in permanent tension with his liberalism—empiricist, pluralist, pragmatic. His critique of totalitarian democracy, reflecting his British experience, emerged independently from his Zionism, grounded in Central European nationalism. The two represented different worlds. Talmon lived in both, serving as an ambassador in-between them, without ever bringing them together. The essay's first section describes the political education of the young Jacob Talmon (née Flajszer) and the making of *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*. It demonstrates the independence of Talmon's Cold War liberal project from his Zionism. The second section places Talmon in the context of Cold War liberal discourse, showing how integral his critique of revolutionary politics was to contemporary liberalism. The third illustrates the tensions between Talmon's view of Jewish history and his liberalism, between his Zionism and his critique of revolutionary politics. Focusing on Talmon's analyses of nationalism, it highlights the ambiguity of his Zionism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Mendelsohn Ezra

**Jacob Talmon between “good” and “bad” nationalism**

**in History of European Ideas**, Volume 34, Issue 2, June , 197-205

Jacob Talmon was a believer in nationalism, and in Jewish nationalism of the Zionist variety in particular. He was convinced of the moral right of Jews to establish their own state in Palestine/Eretz Yisrael. On the other hand, he was aware of the dangers inherent in nationalism, of its tendency toward chauvinism, intolerance toward “the other,” and violence. In the case of Zionism he contrasted the pre-1967 movement, which he believed was characterized by moderation in the spirit of his hero, Chaim Weizmann, and post-1967 Zionism, which took on the very characteristics he deplored in right-wing Polish nationalism and in the extreme national movements of other ethnic groups. This article analyzes his critique of Israeli ideology and policy in the post-1967 period, and asks whether the distinction he makes between “good” Zionism as formulated by the founders of the movement, and “bad” Zionism as personified by Menachem Begin and the leaders of religious Zionism, is justified.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**La geopolitica russa: dall'impero allo Stato-nazione**

**Jean Carlo**



in *Aspenia*, n. 40, "Elezioni globali" , 126-142

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Remiro Broton Antonio

**Kosovo, realismo y legitimidad**

in *Política Exterior*, 122

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

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Trenin Dmitri

**La Russia e l'Occidente: radiografia del nazionalismo**

in *Aspenia*, n. 40, "Elezioni globali" , 119-125

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Milosevich Mira

**La dimension internacional de la independencia de Kosovo. Un caso de autodeterminacion umanitaria.**

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Vol. 0 / 2007 / Nr. 15 , p. 163

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Laforest Guy

**La identidad política de Canadá y la cuestión de Quebec**

in *Política Exterior*, 120

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Spencer Vicki

**Language, history and the nation: an historical approach to evaluating language and cultural claims**



in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 14, Issue 2, April 2008 , 241-259

In contrast to the abstract commitment to individual rights found in liberal critics of Bill 101 and the equally ahistorical approach of multicultural theorists like Bhikhu Parekh, this paper proposes that the particular historical circumstances surrounding the current minority status of different groups is crucial in evaluating the legitimacy of one cultural group to promote its cultural needs over another group within existing states. When the culture of a group residing within a particular state is secure in a neighbouring jurisdiction, the issue at stake is not necessarily the survival of a unique culture but the cultural needs of particular individuals. It does not follow that they have no legitimate claims against the state. However, in examining the language policies in Quebec and the newly independent Baltic states, it is argued that they are different in kind to the rights due to long-standing communities struggling for linguistic survival.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Waechter Matthias

**Le jacobinisme : la fin d'une tradition politique ?**

in **Europe en formation (L')**, n. 3-4, décembre , 99-107

Free text available on-line: <http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/WAECHTER42007.pdf>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Mandi&#263; Danilo

**Myths and Bombs: War, State Popularity and the Collapse of National Mythology**

in **Nationalities Papers**, Volume 36, Issue 1, March 2008 , 25-54

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Berger Stefan

**Narrating the Nation: Die Macht der Vergangenheit**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 1-2, 2008 , 7-13

Inhalt

Einleitung

Ingredienzen der Nationalgeschichte

Ideologische und territoriale Gegenkonzepte

Renaissance der Nationalgeschichte



<http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/KW5JA4.html>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Tang W.F.

**Nationalism and Electoral Outcome in Taiwan: The Impact of Identity Fence-sitting on Voting Behaviour in China: an International Journal**, Volume 5 Issue 2 September , 481-496

National identity is a central issue within Taiwan's flourishing electoral politics. Scholarly attention focuses on the changing pro-Chinese/pro-Taiwanese identity patterns and their impact on electoral outcome. My article contributes further to literature on the topic by examining the third dimension of voter encompassed in the Taiwan national identity issue—the fence-sitter—and how it makes electoral decisions. Given the closeness of outcome in recent elections, fence-sitters have been instrumental in tilting the balance. Existing studies systematically examine the voting behaviour of those clearly identifying with the pro-China (blue) camp and the pro-Taiwan (green) camp.<sup>1</sup> But the voting behaviour of those mid-way between blue and green is less definable.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Green Abigail

**Nationalism and the 'Jewish International': Religious Internationalism in Europe and the Middle East c.1840–c.1880**

**in Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Volume 50, Issue 2, April , 535-558

Jewish cosmopolitanism has long assumed a central place in the ideology of anti-Semitism. Well before the publication of "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," the idea of international Jewish solidarity served as an argument against Jewish emancipation. In Britain, Sir Robert Inglis famously opposed granting the Jews political rights because "[t]he Jews of London have more sympathy with the Jews resident in Berlin or Vienna than with the Christians among whom they reside." Likewise, in 1840, the ultramontane Unvers saw international lobbying on behalf of Jews accused of ritual murder in Damascus as proof that "the Hebrew nationality is not dead ... What religious connection is there between the Talmudists of Alsace, Cologne or the East, and the Messrs. Rothschild and Crémieux?" That L'Unvers saw this cosmopolitan fellow-feeling as an expression of Jewish national identity is irrelevant. The point is rather that for anti-Semites Jewish 'nationalism' was an inherently international force.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Vhutuza Ephraim, Ngoshi Hazel

**Nationalism or Supra-nationalism in the 21st Century?**



in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 2, No. 1 - January

In the 21st century characterized by unprecedented information technology, mass communication, great strides in immigration and cultural differences, it is being argued that the world is moving towards larger units of human associations and global identities (supranationalism) which make nationalism with its defense of the local, wither away or at best continue to exist but in a minor and secondary role. The paper shall argue that although there are greater advances in information technology and mass communication, it is this same 'baggage' which nationalists over the world are using to instill and spread national values, sentiments and beliefs in their populations. Therefore, what we will continue to witness is not the supersession and transcendence of nations and nationalism but the interdependence of nationalism and supranationalism. These two will continue to feed into each other and the suggestion that nationalism is obsolete and fit for the dustbin of history is as fallacious as the notion that the 21st century is a 'post-national' age.

Nationalisme ou supranationalisme au 21ème siècle

Résumé: Au 21ème siècle caractérisé par une remarquable technologie de l'information, une communication de masse, et des avancées dans l'immigration et les différences culturelles, il est indiqué que le monde évolue vers des unités d'associations humaines et des identités globales élargies (supranationalisme) qui font que le nationalisme recule ou, continue à exister, mais de manière insignifiante. Le papier soutient que, bien qu'il y ait de profondes améliorations en technologie de l'information et en communication de masse, il est ce même 'slogan' que les nationalistes du monde emploient pour répandre des valeurs, des sentiments et des croyances nationales dans leurs populations. Par conséquent, ce que nous continuerons à être témoin n'est pas le remplacement ou la transcendence des nations et du nationalisme mais l'interdépendance du nationalisme et du supranationalisme. Ces deux continueront à s'impliquer, l'un dans l'autre, et la suggestion que le nationalisme est désuet et est convenable pour la poubelle de l'histoire est aussi fallacieux que la notion que le 21ème siècle est l'âge post-national.

[http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol%202%20No%201/Vhutuza\\_Ngoshi.pdf](http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol%202%20No%201/Vhutuza_Ngoshi.pdf)

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Chiriyankandath James

#### **Nationalism, religion and community: A. B. Salem, the politics of identity and the disappearance of Cochin Jewry**

in *Journal of Global History*, volume 3, Issue 01, March

This article considers how the existence of an ancient community, the Jews of Cochin on India's Malabar coast, was transformed by the force of two powerful twentieth-century nationalisms – Indian nationalism and Zionism. It does so through telling the story of a remarkable individual, A. B. Salem, a lawyer, politician, Jewish religious reformer, and Indian nationalist, who was instrumental in promoting the Zionist cause and facilitating the mass migration of the Cochin Jews to Israel. Salem's story illustrates how the prioritization and translation of kinds of identity into the public sphere is fluid and contingent upon a variety of circumstances, personal as well as the outcome of changes in the wider world.

[http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FJGH%2FJGH3\\_01%2FS1740022808002428a.pdf&code=d31373c66ea80299b1a15cd526574854](http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FJGH%2FJGH3_01%2FS1740022808002428a.pdf&code=d31373c66ea80299b1a15cd526574854)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Proccacci Giuliano

**Nazionalismi e questione della lingua**

in *Studi Storici*, a. 48, n. 3, 589-634

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Hellstrom Johan

**Partisan responses to Europe: the role of ideology for national political parties' positions on European integration**

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 15 Issue 2 2008

This article re-examines and evaluates several hypotheses regarding the way national political parties position themselves with respect to European integration. By using a pooled cross-sectional panel of data on references to Europe in the election manifestos of political parties in 16 West European countries between 1970 and 2003, I present further evidence that their stances on European integration are largely determined by their ideology, here measured by the locations of the parties within party families and their general orientation along the left/right ideological continuum. However, notable changes have occurred and the influence of ideology has diminished, as most parties have adopted more favourable positions towards the European project over time. Nonetheless, it is too early to disregard the connection between left/right and pro/anti integration, since many marginal parties are still taking oppositional stances that are strongly related to their ideological commitment.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Tendi Blessing-Miles

**Patriotic History and Public Intellectuals Critical of Power**

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 34, Issue 2, June, 379-396

This article focuses on the response of critical Zimbabwean public intellectuals to the ZANU-PF government's uses of Zimbabwe's liberation history in national politics from 2000 to 2004. The ZANU-PF master narrative is referred to as 'patriotic history'. This article examines the activities of the five most prominent critical public intellectuals in the Zimbabwean public sphere, namely Brian Raftopoulos, Masipula Sithole, John Makumbe, Elphas Mukonoweshuro and Lovemore Madhuku. It argues that these critical intellectuals were effective in deconstructing patriotic history's distinction between 'patriots' and 'sell-outs', and in underlining the role of land as one of several grievances causing Zimbabwe's liberation war. But the article highlights their failure to disentangle a local struggle for human rights and democracy from appeals to alleged 'democratic' and 'human rights respecting' western countries. It concludes that critical public intellectuals' challenge to patriotic history was largely ineffectual, and puts forward several explanations for this.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**





*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Dubnov Arie

**Priest or Jester? Jacob L. Talmon (1916–1980) on history and intellectual engagement**  
in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 34, Issue 2, June , 133-145

This essay provides a general introduction to the special number on Jacob L. Talmon (1916–1980). The essay sketches the outlines of Talmon's intellectual biography, beginning with his study of the origins of totalitarian democracy, moving through his analysis of nationalism and political messianism, and ending with his study of the ideological clash of the 20th century. The essay raises the question of whether Talmon should be seen as a thinker wishing to defend existing traditions (i.e. a "priest"), or as a radical anti-authoritarian skeptic (i.e. a "jester"). Moreover, being both an anti-nationalist liberal, and a Zionist at the same time, Talmon, the essay shows, was aware of the fact his own stance was problematic and at times even paradoxical. The last section of the essay presents the seven essays, which are included in the special issue.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Ganiel Gladys, Dixon Paul

**Religion, Pragmatic Fundamentalism and the Transformation of the Northern Ireland Conflict**  
in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 45, Number 3, May , 419-436

Since 11 September 2001, the religious dimension of conflict has been the focus of increasing attention. In *The Clash of Civilizations*, Huntington has identified the West in religious—cultural terms, as Christian with a dominant democratic culture emphasizing tolerance, moderation and consensus. The persistence of conflict in Northern Ireland among 'White' Protestant and Catholic Christians undermines this simplistic argument and demands a more subtle understanding of the role of religion and fundamentalism in contemporary conflict. Modernization theory — which is echoed among some theorists of globalization — had predicted the declining importance of religion as the world became industrialized and increasingly interconnected. This is echoed by those who argue that the Northern Ireland conflict is 'ethno-national' and dismiss the role of religion. On the other hand, others have claimed that the conflict is religious and stress the role of Protestant fundamentalism. This article draws on new evidence from Northern Ireland of the complex and subtle ways in which religion impacts on the conflict there, incorporating insights about the pragmatism of fundamentalist Protestants and how religious actors are contributing to conflict transformation. This analysis leads to three broader conclusions about understanding conflicts with religious dimensions. First, the complexity of religion must be understood, and this includes a willingness to recognize the adaptability of fundamentalisms to particular contexts. Second, engaging with fundamentalists and taking their grievances seriously opens up possibilities for conflict transformation. Third, governments and religious actors within civil society can play complementary roles in constructing alternative (religious) ideologies and structures as part of a process of transformation. In a world in which the impact of religion is persistent, engaging with the religious dimension is a vital part of a broader-based strategy for dealing with conflict.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Csergo Zsuzsa

**Review Essay: Do we need a language shift in the study of nationalism and ethnicity? Reflections on Rogers Brubaker's critical scholarly agenda**



in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 14, Issue 2, April 2008 , 393-398

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Hassner Pierre**

**Russia's Transition to Autocracy**

in **Journal of Democracy**, Volume 19, Number 2, April , 5-15

Under Putin's rule, Russian policy has considerably hardened both domestically and internationally. It has gone from a mixture of oligarchy, democracy, and anarchy to a regime of autocracy with some fascist features, and from an effort to imitate and join the West to a verbal aggressiveness towards the United States and an effort to reassert Russia's domination over its former empire. An important link between the two evolutions is to be found in the post-imperial nostalgia of the Russian population, in the neo-imperial ambition of its leaders, and in their fear of the spread of "color revolutions" among their neighbors.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Leibfried Stefan**

**Rückkehr des Staates?**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Mai, 2008 , 79-85

In den letzten 20 Jahren war es im politischen Spektrum links wie rechts geradezu Mode, das Ende des Staates zu behaupten – insbesondere das Ende des Sozialstaates. Auf der einen Seite standen die neoliberalen Befürworter von Privatisierung, Liberalisierung und Vermarktlichung der Politik, die im klassischen Nationalstaat die zentrale Ursache für viele wirtschaftliche Probleme wie hohe Inflation, hohe Arbeitslosigkeit oder hohe Verschuldung sahen.<sup>1</sup> Auf der anderen Seite ...

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Leith Murray Stewart**

**Scottish National Party Representations of Scottishness and Scotland**

in **Politics**, Vol. 28, Issue 2, May , 83-92

This article examines the representations of Scottishness and Scotland expressed within the Scottish National party (SNP) manifestos issued for British general elections from 1970 to 2005. It illustrates that while Scotland has remained a constant, Scottishness has been transformed from being somewhat ethnic and occasionally exclusive to being now civic and inclusive, with the territorial aspect almost solely emphasised. The article begins with a discussion of how manifestos are useful in illustrating such changes and then moves to the temporal analysis. It closes with a consideration of the political connotations of the changes.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Lyon James

**Serbia's Sandžak Under Milošević: Identity, Nationalism and Survival**

in *Human Rights Review*, Volume 9, Number 1 / March, 2008 , pp. 71-92

Sandžak has the largest Muslim Slav (Bosniak) community in the Balkans outside Bosnia–Herzegovina. In 1990, Sandžak Bosniaks organized a branch of the Party of Democratic Action (Alija Izetbegović's party) and began to agitate for regional autonomy. During the 1990s under Slobodan Milošević's regime, local Bosniaks became the victims of state terror that saw widespread official discrimination and the ethnic cleansing of entire villages. In spite of having a high birth rate, the Bosniak population of Sandžak declined by 7.88% in the years 1991–2002 entirely because of the Milošević regime's policies. Since the overthrow of Milošević, however, the Belgrade government has begun investing in the region's infrastructure and economy. As a result, the situation for Bosniaks of Sandžak has improved since 2001.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Yoon Sung-Won

**Sovereign Dignity, Nationalism and the Health of a Nation: A Study of China's Response in Combat of Epidemics**

in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* , Vol. 8, Issue 1, April , 80-100

This paper seeks to understand the role of nationalism in China's policy towards the combat of emerging infectious diseases. By locating nationalism as a factor which facilitates or impedes global governance and international collaboration, this paper explores how nationalism influences China's political decision-making. Given her historical experience, China has in its national psyche an impulse never to become 'the sick man of the East' again. Today, China's willingness to co-operate with international bodies emanates out of reputational concerns rather than technical-medical considerations. This was clearly manifested in her handling of two epidemics in recent years: the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) and HIV/AIDS episodes. This paper concludes that China's nationalism plays an inhibiting role in China's attempts to further incorporate herself into the architecture of global health governance in the long run.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Hagendoorn Louk, Poppe Edwin, Minescu Anca

**Support for Separatism in Ethnic Republics of the Russian Federation**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, n. 3, May , 353-373

This study examines popular support for separatism among Russians and non-Russian titular nationalities (titulars) in 10



ethnic republics of the Russian Federation: Karelia, Komi, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Udmurtia, Adygea, Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Sakha-Yakutia and Tuva. A survey was carried out in the urban regions of these republics in 1999 and 2000 in which 5,233 Russians and 4,703 titulars participated. We found that perceived negative inter-group relations significantly contribute to support for separatism among titulars, but reduce support for separatism by Russians. In contrast, indicators of prosperity of the republic and prior separatist elite-activism predict support for separatism among both titulars and Russians.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Israela Hedva Ben

**Talmon on nationalism**

**in History of European Ideas**, Volume 34, Issue 2, June , 189-196

Talmon's treatment of nationalism varies in his different writings. This study will try to characterize his views as expressed in his final work, *The Myth of the Nation and the Vision of Revolution*. Through most of the book Talmon's preference for dealing with the vision of revolution, its prophets and bearers is very conspicuous. Their total devotion to restructuring and refashioning the whole world in accordance with the socialist ideology fascinated Talmon before it provoked him into analyzing it to death. Nationalism, on the other hand, appears at best as a natural feeling of loyalty and at worst as a hateful, aggressive, and racist obsession. One of his outstanding interests in that book is in the internal debate among socialists about nationalism as a value and as a strategy, and in the tremendous prominence of Jews in this process. It is only towards the end of the book that Talmon presents his main thesis, the confrontation between the two totalitarian ideologies, Bolshevism and Fascism as deriving from socialism and nationalism, and embodying two kinds of determinism, economic and biological. Nationalism appears as an irrational phantasy, which had developed throughout the nineteenth century to its pivotal culmination in Nazism. This highly problematic thesis, though brilliantly expressed by captivating metaphors, should I think be explained and revised.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Roper Erich

**The Nation-State: a thing of the past. European peoples and States in the 21st century.**

**in Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)**, Anno XLIX, n. 3 , 183-198

[http://euraction.org/revfiles/3\\_07.pdf](http://euraction.org/revfiles/3_07.pdf)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Adamson Kevin, Johns Robert

**The Vlaams Blok, its electorate, and the ideological articulation of 'Europe'**

**in Journal of Political Ideologies** , Volume 13, Number 2 / June , 133-156

In this article we analyse the Vlaams Blok's ideological production on the issue of 'Europe', identifying a rhetorical



strategy of subverting the common equivalence between the 'EU' and 'Europe'. We then estimate the receptivity of Flemish voters to this strategy. Our study combines qualitative analysis of Vlaams Blok ideology with regard to 'Europe', the EU and immigration, and quantitative analysis of Flemish public attitudes towards those objects. Our research suggests that the party is applying a more 'cosmopolitan' veneer to its rhetoric on Europe, perhaps in a bid to win support from a wider pool of voters who identify as 'Europeans' and might recoil from overtly racist rhetoric. The ideological analysis shows that a positive image of Europe as a 'civilisation' is connected with the idea of Flanders as a 'European' nation, and the need to defend this civilisation provides the justification for rejecting 'non-European' immigration. Further, this positive outlook on 'Europe' is set in stark contrast to a negative portrayal of the EU, which is held responsible for the swamping of Europe under a tide of that 'non-European' immigration. Comparisons with public opinion show that Vlaams Blok ideological constructions find an echo in voter attitudes. When encouraged to evaluate 'Europe' independently of the EU, voters with extreme right attitudes are willing and able to do so, and many express a positive identification with 'Europe' while remaining strongly anti-EU. This applies especially to the party's target voters: those with anti-immigrant attitudes but who have not (yet) supported the Blok.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Milfull John

**The Zionist Paradox**

in **Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 54, Issue 1, March , 126-131

Free text available on-line

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28147+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1467-8497.2008.00488.x>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Duara Prasenjit

**The global and regional constitution of nations: the view from East Asia**

in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 14, Issue 2, April 2008 , 323-345

While the origins of nationalism are sought in global historical trends, few analysts have shown how nations themselves are constituted and re-shaped by circulating global power, ideas and models. The view from East Asia shows that these circulations are mediated by regional developments and interactions which bind these nations together in rivalry and interdependence. The histories of China, Japan and Korea have been closely tied together since the end of the nineteenth century and, with a gap of about thirty years during the Cold War, have intensified once again. The global and regional constitution of nations produces a dialectic between its global form and aspirations and misrecognition of this constitution arising from the self-perception of nationalism as historically immanent. This tension between the global constitution and national misrecognition contributes to the tenacity of nationalism. It also allows us to get a better grasp of the relationship between historical change and structure in nationalism and the relationship between state and popular nationalisms in the countries of the region.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Karner Christian

**The market and the nation: Austrian (dis)agreements**

in **Social Identities**, Volume 14, Issue 2, March 2008 , 161-187

This article relates contemporary Austria's much-discussed and internally contested identity politics to transnational socio-economic transformations and their far-reaching local/national effects. A qualitative analysis of (wide-ranging contributions to) current debates on the environment, food production, climate change, social inequality and welfare, higher education, art, migration, and unemployment reveals a recurring pre-occupation with expanding/encroaching markets, their advocated limits, assumed costs or promises. The negotiation of national identities is shown to unfold in relation to three inter-related phenomena: first, widening commodification; second, what Karl Polanyi termed the 'double-movement' between 'dis-embedded' economics and political counter-assertions; third, competing ideological visions of the relationship between economic activity/market forces and social order, group boundaries, solidarities and hence exclusions/inclusions.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Muller Jerry Z.

**Us and Them**

in **Foreign Affairs**, March/April 2008 Vol 87, Number 2

Americans generally belittle the role of ethnic nationalism in politics. But in fact, it corresponds to some enduring propensities of the human spirit, it is galvanized by modernization, and in one form or another, it will drive global politics for generations to come. Once ethnic nationalism has captured the imagination of groups in a multiethnic society, ethnic disaggregation or partition is often the least bad answer.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Mcewen Nicola, Lecours André

**Voice or Recognition? Comparing Strategies for Accommodating Territorial Minorities in Multinational States**

in **Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**, Vol. 46, issue 2 , 220 - 243

Like many Commonwealth countries, Canada and the United Kingdom have faced challenges to their territorial integrity from assertive minority nationalist movements, especially in Quebec and Scotland. Successive governments have faced the task of identifying strategies to accommodate these nations within the territorial framework of the existing state. The accommodation of national minorities is a central task of territorial management within multinational states, and essential to the state's survival. This article draws upon Hirschman's analysis of exit, voice and loyalty, as well as Taylor's emphasis upon the importance of recognition, to identify the contrasting accommodation strategies evident in Canada and the UK. It concludes by suggesting that successful territorial accommodation will depend upon the employment of strategies that provide for recognition of the status of national minorities as well as the expression of their distinctive voice within the multinational state

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Tranca Oana

**What Causes Ethnic Conflict Diffusion? A Study of Ethnic Conflicts in Azerbaijan and Macedonia in Peace, Conflict and Development**, Volume 12, Issue 12, May , pp. 36

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Madureira Nuno Luís

**When the South Emulates the North: Energy Policies and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century in Contemporary European History** , Volume 17, Issue 02, May , 1-21

Differences in natural endowments, in geographical conditions and in per capita income set up an historical bifurcation between northern states, with abundant renewable hydrological resources, and less well-endowed southern states. While the first embraced a model of electricity adding, with the embodiment of this form of energy in capital goods and intermediate goods, the second followed a path of electricity substitution, with mixed strategies of replacing inputs in established sectors of industry, public utilities, transport and private consumption. This article examines the different plans for and achievements of economic nationalism in the twentieth century and its consequences, discussing the possibility of reproducing in Portugal the pattern of the stimulus to industrial manufacturing of cheap electricity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Drakulic Slobodan

**Whence nationalism?**

**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 14, Issue 2, April 2008 , 221-239

There is widespread agreement that nationalism emerged in the historical fountainheads of modernity, and was subsequently diffused outwards. Contrary to that, there is a long standing view that nationalism precedes modernity even in the broadly accepted cradles of both modernity and nationalism, such as England or France, neither of which was modern when it engendered nationalism. Besides, some emergent nationalisms ran concurrent with their English or French counterparts, with little evidence of having been spawned by diffusion. Such early or protonationalisms often sprang from resistance to foreign conquest, putting in doubt the invention-diffusion hypothesis. I am therefore suggesting that nationalism has not emerged in few societies, but in many, and that it was engendered by social interactions, not by a particular social formation. While nationalism emerges within society, its genesis occurs in-between social groups and societies, making it a product of their interactions. That makes it u-topic, its cradles socially diverse, and its conception interactional, not gestational.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Bellon Christophe



**Aristide Briand et l'Europe au Parlement des Années folles. Quand la délibération prend le pas sur la diplomatie (1919-1932)**

in *Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique*, hors - série n. 3, février , 41-53

Avec la fin du premier conflit mondial, la question se pose aux acteurs politiques français de savoir si la libre délibération, astringent de la culture politique républicaine de la IIIe République, réduite un temps durant la guerre, doit être rétablie complètement. Il en va de la conduite du gouvernement. Il en va de la direction même de la diplomatie. Aristide Briand, dont l'avant-guerre a fait la carrière et les années 1915-1917 un président du Conseil durable, propose à ses collègues de rétablir le système délibératif de la « relation de majorité » leur permettant, de fait, une meilleure association à la prise de décision. La contrepartie – acceptée – est un inflexionnement des orientations diplomatiques françaises. Rester fidèle au traité de Versailles en l'améliorant, penser à la sécurité de la France tout en construisant la paix, tels sont les objectifs constants du ministre français des Affaires étrangères qui, président du Conseil en 1921-1922, travaille aux fondements de sa politique. Les années 1925-1932, qui le voient inamovible chef de la diplomatie française et plusieurs fois président du Conseil, lui permettent de mettre en œuvre ses desseins au nom d'un idéal – la paix –, d'une fidélité – la sécurité –, d'une discipline – la délibération.

Emerging from the First World War, the French MP's are quickly confronted with the issue of the future of the deliberative power of the Parliament. Hushed during the war, should it recover its full voice? The course of action of the government, as well as foreign policy, hinges on it. Aristide Briand, who has been a prominent figure during the pre-war and a respected "President du Conseil" in the years 1915-1917, makes a deal with the MP's : he renews the deliberative procedure through "la relation de majorité" that allows them to take some part in governmental decision. In exchange, MP's accept to change the orientation of the French Diplomacy. Keeping the treaty of Versailles by improving it, achieving French security by promoting peace, are the lines of conduct of the French Minister of foreign policy, also "President du Conseil" in 1921-1922. In 1925-1932, he is on the French political scene a permanent fixture, an enduring Minister of foreign policy and a many times "President du Conseil". All these years, he keeps on working for his ideal, Peace, all the time faithful to French national security and respectful of the parliamentary deliberation.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Kapossy Béla, Whatmore Richard**

**Emer de Vattel's *Mélanges de littérature, de morale et de politique* (1760)**

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 34, Issue 1, March , 77-103

Vattel's *Mélanges de littérature, de morale et de politique* (Thoughts on literature, morals and politics) was published at Neuchâtel by the Editeurs du Journal Helvétique in 1760 and this is the first English translation. It was republished under the title, *Amusemens de littérature, de morale et de politique* in 1765. Vattel's text provides evidence of his response to the issues facing Europe's states in the 1750s, and in doing so provides another perspective on his best known work, *Le droit des gens* (Law of Nations) of 1757. Vattel emerges as a reformer steeped in debates about the future of the European state system, and particularly Europe's small states and republics like Switzerland.

Free text available on-line (include Vattel's text)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Dean Richard

**Glasgow's Conception of Kantian Humanity**

in *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, Volume 46, Number 2, April 2008 , 307-314

In 'Kant's Conception of Humanity', Joshua Glasgow defends a traditional reading of the humanity formulation of the Categorical Imperative.<sup>1</sup> Specifically, he opposes taking good will to be the end in itself and instead argues that the end in itself must be some more minimal 'rational capacity'. Most of Glasgow's article is directed against some arguments I have given in favor of taking the end in itself to be a good will, or the will of a rational being who is committed to morality.<sup>2</sup> I will respond to some of Glasgow's counterarguments here, but I also will use the opportunity to suggest some more general interpretive points that I think are useful for further discussions of the humanity formulation. Glasgow devotes most of his attention to the implications of two of Kant's basic...

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Gilbert Mark

**Il futuro socialista dell'Europa. Gli intellettuali progressisti britannici e il federalismo europeo, 1935-1945**

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900* , n. 1, gennaio , 23-46

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Benoist de Alain

**Il pensiero ribelle**

in *Diorama*, n. 286, novembre - dicembre , 5 - 12

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Olree Andy G

**James Madison and legislative chaplains**

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, vol. 102, issue 1 , 145-222

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Mioche Philippe

**Jean Monnet, homme d'affaires à la lumière de nouvelles archives**



in **Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique**, hors - sèrie n. 3, février , 55-72

L'itinéraire qui conduit Jean Monnet du monde des affaires à des causes publiques, françaises puis européennes, est atypique. Pourtant, ses activités de consultant financier international sont mal connues. On s'attache ici à étudier la période allant de 1935 à la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, pendant laquelle il est notamment salarié par le groupe Solvay. L'étude des archives de cette société et la relecture de fonds déposés à la fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe permettent de mettre en évidence la transition progressive entre la période qu'il consacre à ses intérêts privés et celles dévolues à des activités publiques, jusqu'en 1926 à la Société des Nations, à partir de 1944 au service du Commissariat français de Libération nationale, du Gouvernement provisoire de la République française puis de la construction européenne, fort de son expérience.

Jean Monnet's path from business world first to French, then to European public affairs is atypical. His activities as international financial consultant are not widely known, yet. We examine here the period from 1935 to the end of the Second World War, while the group Solvay employed him. The study of the archives of this company and a new reading of the collections maintained at the Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe bring to light the progressive transition between the period dedicated to his private interests and those while, wiser of his experience, he devoted himself to public activities, until 1926 in the League of Nations, from 1944 to serve the French Committee of National Liberation, the Provisory Government of the French Republic, then the European construction.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Carpano Eric**

**Kant et l'Etat. Aux origines de l'Etat libéral**

in **Teoria del diritto e dello stato**, n. 1-2-3 - 2006 , 20-38

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Karolis Alex**

**Kant's Politics: Provisional Theory for an Uncertain World**

in **Contemporary Political Theory**, Vol. 7, n. 1, February , 111-114

Throughout his many versions of a theory of the effects of commonly held principles on collective life, and most important in his mature theory of the public sphere, Kant directs our attention to the dynamism between our world and our ideals (p. 10).

In Kant's Politics, Ellis provides a new and insightful look at Kant's political philosophy in light of the contemporary debate surrounding deliberative democracy and its critics. Ellis argues that Kant's work contains a priori concepts, which remain relevant to this day, and using an empirical contextual analysis — in the vein of Skinner's recent work on Hobbes — she examines what it was Kant wanted to achieve with his work. Ellis claims to have found in Kant's work — from his pre-critical philosophy through to his late political essays — an 'original theory of political transition that accounts for that



part of political change driven by the concrete effects of common political ideals' (p. x).

Ellis comprehensively dismisses the common mistakes made by previous attempts at reading Kant's political theory, and provides a reading that has its application in contemporary political problems. 'Either the reader underestimates the importance of Kant's formal, critical philosophy to the more pragmatical political work, or a reader may apply a mistaken version of this philosophy to Kant's politics' (p. 3). These mistakes take the common form of either a narrow rigoristic analysis of his ethics that lead to dogmatic stoicism without the application of his critical method, or the all too common replacement of Kant's epistemology with an ontological interpretation. Ellis has approached Kant's politics with a thorough and holistic interpretation providing a 'Kantian political theory [that] takes the provisional nature of political institutions seriously, focusing less on ideal outcomes than on the places where citizens gain the capacities needed to bring the promise of democratic freedom closer to reality' (p. 2). As far as Kant is concerned, all institutions must be judged according to the possibility of progress. Readers familiar with Kant's Perpetual Peace will be on common ground here.

In Chapter 2 'political judgment', Ellis sets out to free Kant's politics from its teleological ball and chain. As Ellis describes 'If Kant's political theory can be freed from its teleological blinders, then perhaps his very interesting account of freely willed human action in practice — his political theory as opposed to his moral philosophy — might help us improve our analyses of contemporary politics' (p. 42). By removing the 'teleological straitjacket' (p. 43), Ellis provides us with a new perspective, that of provisional right, which adds to Rawls' political theory. In Chapter 3, 'progress toward peace', Ellis examines Kant's famous work Perpetual Peace in some detail, using her examination to begin a more thorough analysis of Kant's 'provisional theory'. Ellis then goes on to confront that very theory with a detailed analysis of Kant's Rechtslehre in Chapter 4 'provisional right'. Ellis identifies Kant's notion of provisional right as the consistent theme throughout this important work. Ellis then uses pragmatic applications of this provisional right in the right of nations, revolution and human rights; thus bringing Kant's work well into the 21st century.

In Chapter 5 'the judging public', Ellis begins to tie in the notion of publicity and provisional right; 'In Kantian political theory, provisional right provides the standard by which really existing political institutions may be judged; the public sphere provides the mechanism by which actual institutions may be improved' (p. 155). In this chapter, Ellis tackles Kant's *The Conflict of the Faculties*, and shows how impressed Kant was by the public sphere's apparent lack of care for personal well-being in commenting on political events. Kant, as most readers are well aware, was thoroughly opposed to violence and revolution as a mechanism for change, and advocated change through gradual reform. However Kant — quite courageously — applauds the public sphere within Prussia for its open appreciation of the French revolution. For Kant the public sphere at work — the judging public — was 'evidence of the causality of freedom' (p. 167).

In the final part of the book 'conclusion: a Kantian theory of citizenship', Ellis applies her interpretation of Kant's political theory to the modern debate surrounding citizenship. She uses the book's reading to show Kant 'as a dynamic theorist of political change, rather than simply as a philosopher of magisterial, but static ethical principles' (p. 198). This concluding part of the book weighs heavily into the conversation surrounding liberal democratic notions of citizenship at a critical moment in this debate.

What Ellis hopes to achieve through her reworking of Kant's politics, is to find middle ground between deliberative democrats such as Gutmann and Thompson and critics of deliberative democracy such as Shapiro. By bringing Kant's conception of provisional right to the fore, Ellis argues that Kant provides us with a new conception for the transition toward enlightened governance. The mechanism for this transition is the institution of publicity. Ellis argues that Kant sympathizes with the arguments put forward by deliberative democrats for the importance of reasoned argument in the



public sphere. For Kant this public sphere works on a social, as opposed to individual level, and one in which change is brought about through the long-term effects of public discourse. It is in this distinction of a long-term effect of publicity that 'Kant's account of the mechanism of publicity contributes a possible resolution to the standoff between deliberative democracy theorists and their critics, one that preserves the originally liberal insights of the theory while remaining empirically viable' (p. 12).

Kant's conception of publicity and the way that publicity functions as a mechanism within the state is of vital importance to Ellis's interpretation of Kant's politics. There are a number of provisions within the institution of publicity that are made apparent through both an appreciation of Kant's philosophy and the empirical mechanisms for change available — that is the 'actual public sphere of the late eighteenth-century world of letters' (p. 14). For Kant, public discourse can only reach reasonable decisions when it is free of all outside interest. In other words, reasoned public debate must be performed in an environment completely free of any self-interest and any outside influence, including political influence. Kant 'seeks to carve out a public sphere free of state regulation in order to protect a realm dedicated to truth from the encroachments of political power' (p. 17). Ellis uses the argument that Kant's moral philosophy creates its own political theory through Kant's political commentary. There is, however, no difference between Ellis' creation of a political theory of transition and Kant's moral philosophy. Though Ellis does bring a new and interesting reading of Kant's political writings, she does not create an ostensibly new political theory — beyond the adaptation of Kant's categorical imperative to the idea of provisional right and the public realm.

Three themes dominate Ellis' conception of Kant's political theory; publicity, the judging public and provisional right. These themes attempt to elucidate from Kant a 'worldly and pragmatic' commitment to human freedom. Kant's notion of freedom — as opposed to nature, the teleological account of causal influence — is one free from politics. It is here that the pragmatic notion that Ellis strives for within Kant's political theory, finds a philosophical and ideological barrier. This notion of freedom stands in flagrant opposition to other notions of freedom as being specifically part of politics (Arendt, H. *The Human Condition*). For Kant freedom provides the essential ingredient to the strength of disinterested publicity and its use of reasoned thought. As Kant himself states; 'that a public should enlighten itself is more possible; indeed this is almost inevitable, if only it is left its freedom' (Kant, *What is Enlightenment?*). Thus freedom in a Kantian sense is the freedom given by the ruler(s) to their subjects, 'to make public use of their reason' (p.16). Ellis chooses not to recognize Arendt's key concept in political theory — 'The *raison d'etre* of politics is freedom, and its field of experience is action' (Arendt, H. *Between Past and Future*). Thus Arendt demonstrates the impotence of Kant's theory of freedom in the political realm.

Despite my reservations surrounding Kant's notion of freedom in the political realm, this book is a thoroughly researched and stunning contribution to neo-Kantian literature. Ellis has not only provided a fresh perspective on Kant, but has also stamped her opinion on the debate surrounding liberal democratic theories of citizenship and deliberative democracy more broadly. Those interested in deliberative democracy, the institution of publicity and the public realm, neo-Kantian political theory, or simply looking for an introduction to Kant's politics would be well served to consider *Kant's Politics: Provisional Theory for an Uncertain World*. Ellis is to be congratulated for being co-awarded the 'First Book Award' 2006 from the Foundations of Political Theory section of the American Political Science Association recently held in Philadelphia, USA.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Devin Guillaume**





### **Que reste-t-il du fonctionnalisme international ? Relire David Mitrany (1888-1975)**

in *Critique Internationale*, N°38 - Janvier / Mars

David Mitrany est connu pour être le fondateur du fonctionnalisme international. Son maître livre, *A Working Peace System*, date de 1943 et demeure d'une étonnante actualité. En défendant une conception globale de la sécurité et une interprétation libérale de la paix, les thèses soutenues sont au cœur des débats sur l'avenir du multilatéralisme. Elles ne sont pas sans faiblesses non plus. Un point de vue trop rationnel sur les conduites internationales et une croyance excessive dans la dynamique des nécessités communes finissent par faire croire que les conflits politiques pourraient se résoudre par des débats d'experts. Néanmoins, ces critiques assez classiques ne retirent rien aux intuitions de Mitrany, qu'il s'agisse de l'avènement de la « sécurité humaine » ou des limites du régionalisme politique. Plus encore, c'est la recherche d'une méthode pour « faire la paix » qui constitue l'apport le plus original du fonctionnalisme mitranien. D'inspiration pragmatique, elle constitue une démarche peu courante parmi les auteurs d'études sur les relations internationales. Véritable philosophie pratique, elle est également une leçon à méditer pour leurs travaux.

[What Is Left of International Functionalism? Rereading David Mitrany (1888-1975)]

David Mitrany is known as the founder of international functionalism. His seminal book, *A Working Peace System*, dates from 1943 and remains remarkably topical. In defending a global conception of security and a liberal interpretation of peace, his arguments are at the crux of debates on the future of multilateralism. But they also have their weaknesses. An overly rational viewpoint on international behavior and a disproportionate belief in the dynamics of common needs end up suggesting that political conflicts can be resolved by debates among experts. However, these rather standard criticisms in no way detract from Mitrany's intuitions, whether they pertain to the advent of "human security" or the limits of political regionalism. Even more so, it is the quest for a method for "making peace" that constitutes the most novel contribution of Mitrany's functionalism. Pragmatic in its inspiration, it constitutes an unusual approach among international relations scholars. A real practical philosophy, it is also a lesson for their research to study from.

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#### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Hedrick Todd**

#### **Race, Difference, and Anthropology in Kant's Cosmopolitanism**

in *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, Volume 46, Number 2, April 2008 , 245-268

Although current interest in Kant's cosmopolitanism is no doubt tied to the widespread attention being paid to his practical philosophy as a whole, surely the most decisive factor is that, at a time when the global interconnectedness of cultures, nations and economies is becoming all the more apparent and intensified, Kant appears to speak to both the promises and problems of our present condition.<sup>1</sup> His formulation of a cosmopolitan union of nations dedicated to perpetual peace and his vision of that union's development have struck many as a promising place to start thinking about the possibility of peaceful and just international relations without leveling the differences between the world's diverse cultures. Although Kant gives a number of permutations to his...

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#### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Colombo Arturo**

#### **Spinelli e il**



in *Politico (II)*, n. 217, anno LXXIII, gennaio-aprile

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Holmes Virginia Iris

**Was Einstein Really a Pacifist? Einstein's Forward-Thinking, Pragmatic, Persistent Pacifism**  
in *Peace & Change*, issue 2, vol. 33, april , 274-307

ABSTRACT: This article examines Einstein's pacifist convictions, as revealed by public and private statements throughout his life, with particular attention to two periods when his identity as a pacifist might be most challenged: (a) the start of the Nazi regime in Germany in 1933, when he continued to claim a pacifist identity but argued that refusal of military service was no longer appropriate or effective in current circumstances; and (b) the aftermath of the dropping of two atomic bombs on Japan in August 1945, when critics, including some Japanese, pointed to his early groundbreaking work in physics as having made the bomb possible and his efforts in 1939 to urge the United States government to produce such a bomb before Germany. The author argues that Einstein maintained a constant pacifist identity throughout his life, interweaving it with a commitment to social justice, insightful concerns about the relationship between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, and a core belief in supranational world government as the truly effective avenue to ending war. Although his sense of pacifism evolved significantly in response to historical developments, he thoughtfully and clearly articulated his reasoning behind these shifts.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Coleman Aaron N.

**“A Second Bounaparty?”: A Reexamination of Alexander Hamilton during the Franco–American Crisis, 1796–1801**

in *Journal of the Early Republic*, Volume 28, Number 2, Summer , 183-214

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Taylor, Jeannette

**Graduates' Views on Working in the Public Sector: A Comparative Analysis of the Three Tiers of Government**  
in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, Volume 67, Number 1 , 20-29

Why do university graduates choose to work for one level of government but not the others? This article examines the comparative appeal of government jobs across the three tiers of government - federal, state and local - in Australia. When asked to indicate their employer of choice, a majority of graduates in this case study ranked the federal and state governments close to each other. This article also compares and analyses the pre-employment views and motivations of the graduates with varying interests in working for the different tiers of government.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Jabareen Yosef

**A New Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Development**

**in Environment, Development and Sustainability**, Volume 10, Number 2, April , 179-192

A critical review of the multidisciplinary literature on sustainable development reveals a lack of a comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding sustainable development and its complexities. A critical review shows that the definitions of sustainable development are vague; there is a lack of operative definitions and disagreement over what should be sustained; the concept is unclear in terms of emotional commitment; and it "remains a confused topic", "fraught with contradictions". This article aims to theoretically synthesize the interdisciplinary literature on sustainable development, and then identify the results by broad categories. Therefore, this article uses conceptual analysis, which reviews multidisciplinary literature on sustainable development, which recognizes patterns and similarities within the literature, then it synthesizes the patterns to different categories and independent concepts, where each concept has distinctive meanings and represents close ideas on sustainability. The analytical process elaborates seven concepts that together assemble the theoretical framework of 'sustainable development' and each concept represents distinctive meanings of the theoretical framework.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Storm Lise

**An Elemental Definition of Democracy and its Advantages for Comparing Political Regime Types**

**in Democratization**, Vol. 15, n. 2, April , 215-229

The way democracy is studied today is confusing due to the many definitions applied. More importantly, it is also flawed in that several cases are excluded as they suffer from the unfortunate circumstances that they have undergone a particular sequence of democratic developments according to a pattern not recognized. This article attempts to spark a debate that will hopefully lead to a new definition of democracy - one that is neutral in its view of the different elements of democracy, can be applied to regimes across the globe, and which also facilitates comparative studies of all kinds. To begin the debate, the article examines previous definitions - and particularly the use of diminished subtypes - before putting forward an alternative: the so-called 'elemental definition'.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Podoksik Efraim

**Anti-totalitarian ambiguities: Jacob Talmon and Michael Oakeshott**

**in History of European Ideas**, Volume 34, Issue 2, June , 206-219

Jacob Talmon and Michael Oakeshott represent two opposite tendencies in the anti-totalitarian world view. Both thinkers share many central features of this broad intellectual trend, such as the equation between the Soviet and Nazi regimes, Anglophilia and the rejection of the utopian quest. Yet this basic agreement should not distract us from significant



differences in attitude and temperament. Talmon, like most other critics of totalitarianism, was strongly affected by the atmosphere of a profound intellectual and political crisis in Europe, and he regarded the danger of totalitarianism to be an inherent aspect of modernity itself. His liberalism was that of 'fear'. By contrast, for Oakeshott, who believed in the strength of liberal, and specifically British, civilisation, totalitarianism was merely a child of resentment, a parasitic force with no positive message of its own. He thus displayed a greater measure of confidence in the fortunes of liberal modernity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Poloni-Staudinger Lori M.**

**Are consensus democracies more environmentally effective?**

**in Environmental Politics**, Volume 17, Number 3, June , 410-430

Are consensus democracies more likely to enact environmentally friendly policies than majoritarian democracies? The relationship between democratic type and environmental effectiveness is more complex than previously assumed. What matters are not only institutions but also the nature of the policy issues, the types of institutions and veto players in the system. Four measures of effectiveness emerged from the data: mundane environmentalism; environmental taxation; conservation; and nuclear energy production. Environmental effectiveness in democratic systems differs depending upon which measure of effectiveness is examined and whether or not one looks at representational or organisational aspects of democracy.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Merkel Reinhard**

**Basic Principles of Law as Normative Foundations of, and Limits to, Military Enforcement of Human Rights Across State Boundaries**

**in Democratization**, Vol. 15, n. 3, June , 472-486

NATO's military campaign against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the summer of 1999, and more so the military responses of the United States in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, have considerably intensified discussion of the legal, that is to say enforceable, limits of internal state power. Humanitarian intervention violating state sovereignty for the sake of individuals under threat increasingly seems to be justifiable, even without a UN Security Council mandate. However, humanitarian intervention as a war of assistance in an emergency is only justifiable under two conditions. First, if a state threatens the life and physical integrity of its citizens on a large scale. Intervention in favour of positive rights, like the right to vote, would not be tolerable. And second, if no equally or higher ranked goods or interests of innocent third persons are sacrificed in the name of assisting threatened persons in an emergency caused by illegal attacks from their own state authorities. Intervention by an air bombing campaign favoured as a means to protect the lives of third-party soldiers would not be a legitimate means of warfare; and neither would large scale but avoidable 'collateral killings' of innocent civilians. The latter would be a 'war of coercion', not a humanitarian intervention.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*



Barany Zoltan

**Civil-Military Relations and Institutional Decay: Explaining Russian Military Politics**  
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, n. 4, June , 581-604

The Russian military's extraordinary decline is widely known. The changing political role of high-ranking officers and the different treatment they have been subjected to by Russian presidents has received relatively little scholarly attention, however. This article analyses this phenomenon—including the military elites' electoral participation, relationship to the executive, and opposition to state policy—and offers a method for explaining it. To generate a more penetrating understanding of Russian particularities while expanding our theoretical reach, the article combines the civil-military relations literature with that of the institutionalist approach, and more specifically, the concepts of path dependence and institutional decay.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Pennington Mark

**Classical liberalism and ecological rationality: The case for polycentric environmental law**  
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 17, Number 3, June , 431-448

Drawing on the perspective of classical liberalism, and developing a comparative institutions framework through which to evaluate alternative proposals for environmental improvement, the case is made for a system of polycentric environmental law. Within this context, contemporary theories that favour an extension of state regulation in order to address the trans-boundary nature of environmental goods are challenged. Problems arising from the complexity of social and ecological processes, the collective nature of environmental goods and the distributive consequences of environmental protection are unlikely to be met by a framework that emphasises greater unity in decisions. On the contrary, the principle of ecological rationality is more likely to be met within a classical liberal framework that facilitates market-like processes of competitive spontaneous order at multiple levels.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Eisenstadt S.N.

**Collective identities, public spheres, civil society and citizenship in the contemporary era - with some observations on the Israeli scene**  
in *Citizenship Studies*, n. 3, vol. 12, July , 203-213

ABSTRACT: This paper falls into two sections. In the first certain macro-social changes that have transformed the nature of collective identities in the modern period are considered. In the second, how these have had an impact on Israeli society is considered.

In the contemporary era there have been taking place in Europe - indeed throughout the world - far-reaching changes and transformation of public spheres, civil society and conceptions of citizenship, in close relation to the crystallization of new patterns of collective identity - processes which entail far-reaching transformations of some aspects of what has been envisaged as the 'classical' nation-state or the decomposition of some of its components.



These far-reaching changes, decline or transformation of the ideological and institutional premises of the modern nation state developed in a specific historical context. The most important characteristic of this new context was the combination of first, changes in the international systems and shifts of hegemonies within them; second, processes of internal ideological changes in Western societies; third, the development of new processes of globalization; and fourth, far-reaching processes of democratization, of the growing demands of various social sectors for access into the centers of their respective societies, as well as into international arenas.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Korostelina Karyna**

**Concepts of national identity and the readiness for conflict behaviour**

**in National Identities**, vol. 10, n. 2 , 207-223

This article examines the process of national identity formation among ethnic minorities in the Crimea - specifically, the moderation effects of concepts of national identity on interrelations between conflict indicators and readiness for conflict or compromise for two ethnic minorities in Crimea. Based on a survey in the Crimea, results show that concepts of national identity moderate the effects of ethnic identity, ethnocentrism and economic deprivation on individual conflict behaviour. Research show that civic concept of national identity significantly reduces readiness for conflict among ethnic minorities. The position of a minority within the nation regulates impact of ethnic and multicultural concepts on readiness to fight with other groups.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Jawad Pamela**

**Conflict Resolution through Democracy Promotion? The Role of the OSCE in Georgia**

**in Democratization**, Vol. 15, n. 3, June , 611-629

This article qualitatively and empirically analyses the OSCE's efforts to promote democracy after intra-state war in Georgia. This regional organization is rooted in a comprehensive approach to security that directly links security to democratic values. Therefore, the OSCE is a particularly appropriate subject for studying the issue of democracy promotion in the context of conflict-resolution processes. Georgia provides a difficult environment for such a goal. Given that its two secession conflicts are 'frozen', democracy can, especially in this context, be considered a well-suited means to indirectly contribute to conflict resolution. By contrasting the democratic development in Georgia with OSCE activities since 1992, this article will assess OSCE democracy promotion efforts. When these efforts are measured with regard to progress in peace and democratic quality, the effectiveness of external democracy promotion by the OSCE has to be called into question. However, the article argues that democratization is a long-term process in which internal factors play a decisive role. The OSCE, like other international organizations, can only reach its normative goals to the degree of the reform orientation and political will of the target state's government. The potential for impact is limited, but can be increased by commitment and context sensitivity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*





Marchat Philippe

**Coup d'œil sur l'Inde d'aujourd'hui... ed de demain...**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 515, février , 96-105

Ten years after China, India is undergoing an awakening after a long period of lethargy, that already makes it a superpower, playing in the league of major countries, with its 1.1 billion inhabitants, which, after increasing to 1.6 billion in 2030, should make its population the first and one of the youngest in the world. With its twenty seven States, that federal Republic also boasts the fact that it is the largest democracy. The regular growth of its economy, which was in the region of 9% in the past years, and the improvement of its basic criteria, result in the growth of its GDP and in the emergence of a significant middle class and of a set of Western-type services and distribution, without the gap between wealthy and "very wealthy" states and individuals and poor and "very poor" states and individuals disappearing or being even reduced. Owing to the reforms, the agriculture has been able to feed the annual excess of mouths to be fed, and the industry has developed, domestically - with a strong increase in both the number of cars and pollution - and abroad. This is demonstrated by the take over by Hindis of Western flagship companies such as British Steel, Arcélor, soon Jaguar or Land Rover undoubtedly, or the formation of significant cash reserves, whose use deserves some consideration, especially if exchanged into sovereign funds, whereas the financial markets are in a crisis. But as trees cannot reach the sky, such growth has its risks.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Dahinden Janine

**Deconstructing Mythological Foundations of Ethnic Identities and Ethnic Group Formation: Albanian-Speaking and New Armenian Immigrants in Switzerland**

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 34, n. 1 , 55-76

Scholars generally agree that ethnicity often serves as a vehicle for mechanisms of social inclusion or exclusion and is interwoven with the structures of nation-states. This article aims to contribute to the ongoing debate about ethnicity and highlights the inherent dilemma of essentialism using two empirical case studies—Albanian-speaking migrants living in Switzerland and newly arrived Armenian migrants who left Armenia after independence in 1991. By directing attention to the processes of boundary construction, as well as to the relative and situational character of ethnicity, the paper shows how representations of collective ethnic identities are formed, transformed, reformulated or shifted to other representations of collective identities. By analysing the degree of reification of ethnic identities, it becomes clear that the ladder from 'soft' to 'hard' essentialisation has many steps. Furthermore, the case studies reveal that, in contemporary Switzerland, other categories are relevant for social exclusion or inclusion as well, mainly the type of residence permit and professional qualifications—categories which are also interwoven with ethnicity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Merkel Wolfgang

**Democracy through War?**

in *Democratization*, Vol. 15, n. 3, June , 487-508

This article brings together three strands of democracy research which have thus far seldom been informed by one



another: the empirical research associated with the 'democratic peace' thesis, the juridical-normative questions of legality, and moral-philosophical reasoning about just war. Linking the statistical analysis of the democratic peace to the findings of comparative research on democratization and to the normative debates occurring in law and philosophy on just and legitimized wars, there is an inescapable conclusion that: jus ad bellum and jus post bellum criteria must be closely tied. The protection of people threatened by mass murder and brutal violations of human rights requires not only a short-term military intervention, but also the intensive support to establish sustainable rule of law and democracy. External actors intervening for humanitarian reasons equally have a duty to contribute to long-term sustainable state- and democracy-building. Forced regime change and an international trusteeship protectorate can become legitimate and necessary means to guarantee justice after war and to reconcile jus ad bellum principles with duties post bellum. A premature withdrawal of intervening forces, for example in Afghanistan or in Iraq, would amount to a flagrant violation of external actors' post-war duties.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Blitz Brad K.**

**Democratic Development, Judicial Reform and the Serbian Question in Croatia**  
**in Human Rights Review**, Volume 9, Number 1 / March, 2008 , pp. 123-135

In anticipation of Croatia's accession to the European Union, this article assesses the way in which the state has come to terms with the Serbian question and the practice of non-discrimination in the justice sector. The first part offers an historical review of the Serbian question in Croatia and the main laws that discriminated against non-Croats during the war and rule of President Franjo Tudjman (1991–1999). The second part evaluates the nature of judicial reform in light of the external demands placed on Croatia to improve relations with the Serbian minority and recent rulings from the European Court of Human Rights, which have questioned the capacity of the Croatian judiciary to provide an effective remedy in cases of human rights violations.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Zakosek Nenad**

**Democratization, State-building and War: The Cases of Serbia and Croatia**  
**in Democratization**, Vol. 15, n. 3, June , 588-610

The author explores the connection that exists between democratization, state-building and war in the cases of Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s. It is necessary to examine closely how these processes influence one another because state-building and democratization are not necessarily contradictory and even war might not be an obstacle for democracy. However, in Serbia and Croatia state-building and war influenced democratization negatively, but in different ways. In Serbia, the nationalist mobilization for a state-building programme prevented democratization, while in Croatia democratization was a precondition for state-building, which then impeded democratic consolidation. Further important differences are the lower level of institutionalization, incomplete state-building, and polarized party system in Serbia and a higher level of institutionalization, completed state-building, and moderate party pluralism in Croatia. The war also influenced Croatia directly, while Serbia was only indirectly affected by the wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina before the NATO intervention in 1999.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Koelble Thomas A., Lipuma Edward

**Democratizing Democracy: A Postcolonial Critique of Conventional Approaches to the 'Measurement of Democracy'**

in *Democratization*, Vol. 15, n. 1, February , 1-28

In most approaches to measuring democracy, the underlying assumptions are highly a-historical and a-cultural. This article is a critique of such approaches and provides the outline for an alternative interpretation. It argues that different histories and cultures produce different democracies. Conventional measuring paradigms are insufficient to adequately measure progress towards democracy in postcolonial settings. The article offers four arguments as to why democracy in the postcolony will not, and cannot, develop in a similar fashion to those in the North American and Western European settings. It focuses on the different historical trajectories of state construction; the limits of the postcolonial state in terms of its domestic capacities; the positioning of emerging market economies and democracies in the global financial system; and, finally, the variety of cultural conceptions of the proper relationship between community and individual. These four factors ensure that postcolonial democracies will differ in their trajectories from those of their Western counterparts. The article concludes that it is high time to 'democratize democracy', so that postcolonial attempts at creating democratic systems are given equal weight in the debates concerning progress towards democratic regimes and that different trajectories and conceptions of the meaning of democracy are take into account in Western democratic discourse.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kumar Suresh

**Diversity and Governance in India**

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 16th Issue, 2/2007

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Lindberg Staffan I., F. Clark John

**Does Democratization Reduce the Risk of Military Interventions in Politics in Africa?**

in *Democratization*, Vol. 15, n. 1, February , 86-105

This article investigates whether there is an association between a trajectory of political liberalization, democratization, and military interventions. In what is arguably the 'least likely case' region in the world, this study analyzes the experience of 55 regimes in Africa between 1990 and 2004 and finds a striking regularity. Liberalizing, and in particular democratic, regimes have a significantly different track record of being subjected either to successful or failed military interventions. The analysis suggests that democratic regimes are about 7.5 times less likely to be subjected to attempted military interventions than electoral authoritarian regimes and almost 18 times less likely to be victims of



actual regime breakdown as a result. Through an additional case study analysis of the 'anomalous' cases of interventions in democratic polities, the results are largely strengthened as most of the stories behind the numbers suggests that it is only when democratic regimes perform dismally and/or do not pay soldiers their salaries that they are at great risk of being overthrown. Legitimacy accrued by political liberalization seems to 'inoculate' states against military intervention in the political realm.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Huseby Robert**

**Duties and Responsibilities Towards the Poor**

**in Res Publica**, Volume 14, Number 1, March , 1-18

Thomas Pogge has argued that we have strong negative duties to assist the global poor because we harm them through our contribution to the global economic order. I argue that Pogge's concept of harm is indeterminate. The resources of any group will typically be affected by at least two economic schemes. Pogge suggests that the responsibility for any affected group's shortfall from a minimum standard ought to be shared between the contributing schemes. I argue that shared responsibility can be interpreted in two different ways. Unfortunately, both interpretations are problematic. Lastly, I suggest a strategy for amending this problem.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Palazzolo Daniel, Moscardelli Vincent G., Patrick Meredith, Rubin Doug**

**Election Reform after HAVA: Voter Verification in Congress and the States**

**in Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 38,n. 3, Summer - The State of American Federalism 2007–2008 , 515-537

Requiring voting machines to produce a voter-verifiable paper record (VVPR) has been the most prominent election reform issue in Congress and across the states since the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) of 2002. Whereas HAVA emerged from a bipartisan process that included cooperation and input from state and local government officials, VVPR legislation represents a more coercive brand of federalism that has divided the parties and evoked opposition by state and local government organizations. Meanwhile, twenty-nine states adopted the VVPR from 2003 to 2007. Using a logistic regression model, informed by a theory of state policy activism, we find that adoption of VVPR legislation was most likely in states with moralistic political cultures, election reform activists, and professionalized legislatures controlled by Democratic majorities.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Jackson Ashley**

**Empire and Beyond: The Pursuit of Overseas National Interests in the Late Twentieth Century**

**in English Historical Review (The)**, Volume 122, Number 499, December , 1350-1366

No abstract available



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Aubert Julien, Prost Yannick**

**Essai de modélisation tectonique du droit international public  
in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 1 - printemps**

S'il est risqué de parler de lignes de fracture entre civilisations, il est plus facile de discerner des conceptions, des traditions, des divisions juridiques. On peut identifier dans l'actuelle société internationale des blocs politico-juridiques caractérisés par quelques traits spécifiques: les principes juridiques, la perception de la place du droit dans les sociétés, les conceptions mêmes du droit. À partir de l'identification de ces blocs, plus ou moins puissants et plus ou moins stables, on peut évaluer les mouvements entre les plaques tectoniques qu'ils forment, et donc modéliser quelques évolutions possibles du droit international.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Brigg Morgan, Bleiker Roland**

**Expanding Ethnographic Insights into Global Politics  
in *International Political Sociology* , Vol. 2, Issue 1, March 2008 , 89-90**

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Grimm And Sonja**

**External Democratization after War: Success and Failure  
in *Democratization*, Vol. 15, n. 3, June , 252-549**

Abstract

In post-war societies external actors promote democracy within a broad framework of state- and nation-building, rule-of-law building, and economic development. But not all democracy promotion efforts succeed in an equal way. A closer look at cases of intervention and democratization since 1945 helps us to account for this variation. Cases of democratization can be differentiated according to their level of post-war socio-economic development, the level of social trust versus the level of inner-societal violence, the character of remaining stateness, the potential erosion of the nation, and the terms of peace. In order to explain the democratization successes of the post-World War II period on the one hand, and the apparent democratization failures of the 1990s and after 11 September 2001 on the other, the strategies external actors use in post-war transformation must be considered. Sometimes, external actors differ significantly in their ability and willingness to deal with the five issues mentioned above. Given differences in both structural conditions and actor engagement, external actors should be more careful when using some of the early democratization cases as blueprints for democracy promotion today.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Zia Akhtar

**Federal Law and Indian Rights**

in **International Journal of Human Rights (The)**, Volume 12, Issue 2 , 297-301

The conquest of the indigenous American is based on the notion that they are barbarians and have no prior claim to their ancestral land. The US authority dates back to the European colonial occupation and is itself based on the imperial doctrine of 'discovery'. The operation of this came with the arrival of Columbus and the two papal bulls of the fifteenth century, which served as its ideological underpinning. The subordinate status of Native Americans has allowed the US to designate them as political vassals and their claim as tribal nations is blinkered by laws that do not recognise real sovereignty. Will the impact of the UN declaration override the treaties which led to the determination that they are wards of the US government?

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Haglund David G.

**French connection? Quebec and anti-Americanism in the transatlantic community**

in **Journal of Transatlantic Studies** , vol. 6, n. 1, special issue , 79-99

In the past few years, much attention has been accorded to the evident spread of anti-American sentiment throughout large parts of the world. In particular, there has been a focus upon what some have termed 'friendly fire' anti-Americanism, associated with opposition to American policy within the transatlantic community, made up as it is of US allies and friends. Within that community, anti-American orientations have of late appeared especially pronounced in a part of North America once regarded as being decidedly pro-American, namely the Canadian province of Qubec. The apparent emergence of 'lite' anti-Americanism within Qubec society poses some interesting questions, none perhaps of more salience for transatlantic studies than the potential creation of a transnational epistemic community linking France and Qubec. This article seeks to determine whether, and to what extent, the recent change in Quebeckers' attitudes toward the United States might testify to the existence of a 'French connection'.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Bae Sangmin

**Friends Do Not Let Friends Execute: The Council of Europe and the International Campaign to Abolish the Death Penalty**

in **International Politics** , Volume 45, Number 2, March , 129-145

This article investigates the way in which the Council of Europe enforced the norm against capital punishment in Europe. The Council of Europe, through both moral persuasion and centripetal pressure, compelled its member states to adopt the regionally promoted human rights standard. Ukraine, where the very last execution in Europe took place, accepted the norm after a number of years of resistance and in the face of public opposition to abolition. It was possible because





of the adamant role of the Council of Europe in attempting to build a death penalty-free zone in Europe and Ukraine's strategic will to be integrated within the European regional community.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Koivurova Timo**

**From High Hopes to Disillusionment: Indigenous Peoples' Struggle to (re)Gain Their Right to Self-determination**

**in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights**, Volume 15, Number 1 , 1-26

This article will examine three international processes wherein the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples has been taken up: the process whereby the United Nations (UN) General Assembly adopted the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN Declaration), the intention to negotiate a Nordic Saami Convention (Draft Convention) and the practice of the Human Rights Committee (HRC) in monitoring the observance of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Covenant). All of these processes have enunciated indigenous peoples' right to self-determination, but any claim to such a right has met with resistance from the states, with the reasons for such resistance examined here. The aim is to study why it is so difficult to insert indigenous peoples into international law as category and, in particular, to have states accept their right to self-determination. In the conclusions, it is useful to ask whether the problems experienced in promoting the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples are mere setbacks or whether they contain elements that might inform the international movement of indigenous peoples more generally.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**LeDonne John P.**

**Geopolitics, Logistics, and Grain: Russia's Ambitions in the Black Sea Basin, 1737-1834**

**in International History Review (The)**, Vol. XXVII, n. 1

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Mavromatidis Fotis, Leaman Jeremy**

**German Influence in the Western Balkans: Hegemony by Design or by Default?**

**in Debate: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe**, Volume 16, Issue 1 , 5-29

The politico-economic relationship between Germany and the Balkan states was, from the end of the nineteenth century, one of unequal interdependence. The strategic value of the Balkan states for an export-dependent and resource-dependent industrial state like Germany was manifest in the Berlin-Baghdad railway project, two world wars and the close relationship with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The region's value to Germany's economic and political elites has been manifest more recently in the wake of Yugoslavia's disintegration and the subsequent transition towards the politico-economic "norms" of the European Union. This paper examines the degree to which it is possible to employ the concept of hegemony in relation to German involvement in the region. While a neo-realist understanding of



hegemony is inapplicable, neo-Gramscian conceptions of a hegemonic historic bloc, informed by the interests of Germany's political and economic elites but embedded in the institutions and norms of the EU, are shown to be a valuable tool for explaining the development of the successor states in the western Balkans. The strong presence of German corporations and their affiliates in Balkan trade, in foreign direct investment and transnational infrastructural projects in the region, like the Caspian pipelines, as well as the adoption of German models of political and corporate governance, would seem to confirm the unequal interdependence characteristic of hegemonic relationships.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Tronvoll Kjetil

**Human Rights Violations in Federal Ethiopia: When Ethnic Identity is a Political Stigma**  
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 15, Number 1 , 49-79

The objective of this paper is to probe the critique against Ethiopia regarding human rights violations along ethnic and racial lines recently raised by the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD). The article compares the Ethiopian government's stated policy on human and group rights with reported human rights violations in Ethiopia per ethnic regional-state for the purpose of identifying possible "ethnic" patterns of violations. The findings of this article partly question, from a methodological perspective, the categorical classification of "human rights violations along ethnic and racial lines" as expressed by CERD. Violations may certainly be interpreted within an ethnic framework; however, one should also make allowances for a non-ethnic approach to human rights abuses and view the two perspectives as mutually complimentary.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Xiaorong Li

**I diritti umani dopo i Giochi olimpici**  
in *Aspenia*, n. 41, "I giochi di Pechino" , 106-113

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Minolfi Salvatore

**Il presente come storia - Ideologie imperiali e nuovi sistemi di relazioni mondiali**  
in *Studi Storici*, a. 48, n. 3 , 711-739

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ulfelder Jay



### **International Integration and Democratization: An Event History Analysis**

in *Democratization*, Vol. 15, n. 2, April , 272-296

This article examines the relationships between transitions to and from democracy and membership in major intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), ratification of key human-rights treaties, and integration into the global economy while controlling for a variety of domestic factors. The findings show that for the most part, participation in the major IGOs and the United Nations' human-rights regime has made little difference to the chances that countries would attempt or sustain democracy. Participation in regional human-rights treaties in Africa and the Americas is linked to better prospects for democracy, but this association appears to stem from regional trends of which those pacts are emblematic, rather than mechanisms specific to the pacts themselves. Finally, entanglement in the global economy - as indicated by thicker trade flows and membership in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and then World Trade Organization (WTO) - seems to have had a stronger effect on the prospects for democracy than these other forms of international integration, but not always in the beneficent direction posited by liberal theorists. While participation in the GATT/WTO is associated with better prospects for the establishment and persistence of democracy, foreign trade itself is linked to the persistence of domestic political regimes of either stripe, democratic and non-democratic.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Jodoin Sébastien

### **International Law and Alterity: The State and the Other**

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 21, Issue 01, March , 1-28

This article argues that orthodox international law is committed to the state at the expense of the Other, that which is not the state, and, at a more philosophical level, to ontology at the expense of ethics. Drawing on the philosophy of Emmanuel Lévinas, it seeks a shift from ontology, focusing on Being, to ethics, constituted by our responsibility to the Other. Section 1 argues that international law assumes the natural existence of a Being of the State and that this ontology of statehood constitutes the ontology of international law. Section 2 explains how the ontology of statehood having been transformed into an epistemology ultimately leads to the violent suppression of alterity. Section 3 proposes a number of projects and strategies through which we may pursue the ethics of alterity in international law. The article concludes with a discussion of three tensions within international law: statehood–alterity, ontology–ethics, and law–politics.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ralf Emmers

### **International Regime-Building in ASEAN: Cooperation against the Illicit Trafficking and Abuse of Drugs**

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Vol. 29, n. 3, December

In the context of its 40th anniversary, this paper analyses how the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has sought to deal with the problem of drug production, trafficking and consumption in Southeast Asia. Reviewing more than three decades of cooperation, it asks whether an international regime against the illicit trafficking and abuse of drugs has



been established in the region under the auspices of ASEAN. In particular, the paper discusses the ASEAN and China Cooperative Operations in Response to Dangerous Drugs (ACCORD) as an attempt to create a framework of multilateral cooperation. It argues however that it is still premature today to characterise existing regional consultations as a working anti-drug regime. The existing cooperative structure has remained a loose forum for information sharing despite the strong Chinese involvement that has deepened consultations since the late 1990s.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Mcdonagh Ecaterina**

**Is Democracy Promotion Effective in Moldova? The Impact of European Institutions on Development of Civil and Political Rights in Moldova**

**in Democratization**, Vol. 15, n. 1, February , 142-161

The main focus of this study is an analysis of the impact on civil and political rights of democracy promotion strategies applied by the European Union, the Council of Europe, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in Moldova in the 1990s to early the 2000s. Nowadays, democracy promotion is at the top of the agenda of policy-makers around the globe. The results of these democracy-promotion activities are quite mixed: some of them seem to work in certain cases, others to have no effect whatsoever. There is also a lack of consensus regarding the effectiveness of various democracy-promotion strategies in the scholarly literature. This study aims to contribute to the existing literature by expanding the analysis to a new case (Moldova), focusing on one sector (civil and political rights), and comparing the effects of the two types of democracy promotion strategies (incentive-based and socialization-based). The study argues that domestic actors in Moldova tended to respond more to incentive-based democracy-promotion strategies than to socialization-based ones, and it also shows through qualitative analysis and process-tracing of the data that the absence of membership conditionality does not necessarily presuppose the failure of incentive-based methods.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Margiotta Costanza**

**Kosovo: il dilemma politico e giuridico dell'Europa**

**in Aspenia**, n. 40, "Elezioni globali" , 210-219

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Boccalatte Silvio**

**L'assistenza sanitaria nel sistema federale: profili di esclusione e di integrazione dell'immigrato alla luce dei valori fondamentali della società canadese**

**in Quaderni Regionali** , N. 3

No abstract available



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Cristiano D'Orsi

**L'intégration du droit international dans l'ordre juridique interne des pays d'Afrique Sub-saharienne**

in *Revue de Droit international de sciences diplomatiques et politiques* , Volume 85 / No 3 - Septembre-décembre

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Marc-Lipiansky Mireille

**L'écologie, nouvelle idéologie du XXIe siècle ?**

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 3-4, décembre

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Iurlano Giuliana

**La concezione delle relazioni internazionali negli scritti di George Washington**

in *Clio - Rivista trimestrale di studi storici*, a. 44, n. 1 , 5-28

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Rahola Federico

**La forme-camp. Pour une généalogie des lieux de transit et d'internement du présent**

in *Cultures & Conflits*, numero 68, hiver , 31-50

This article deals with the meaning of camps, these temporary places that end up becoming permanent territories for those who have to live there. The paper also focuses on the political space to which these camps are to be linked. We have reached a point of non-return where exile – seen as a specifically individual experience of persecution linked to individual trajectories – deals with something that we no longer are. The individual status of those who are “displaced” tend to often fades away to be systematically redefined through globalising categories that correspond, according to the lexicon of international and humanitarian law, to a handful of truisms: “internally displaced”, “asylum seekers”, “temporary refugees” or “prima facie” refugees (individuals who are objectively persecuted in their homeland and who obtain a temporary asylum), and migrants who are “economic” or not, , economically motivated or not, “regular” or not; to the point the lexicon seems to lose its pretentious procedural character as it employs the more connotative “illegal aliens”. Those are but words, but these definitions end up producing what they name.



Free text available on-line: <http://www.conflicts.org/index5213.html>.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ogien Albert

**La gouvernance ou le mépris du politique**

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n. 32

Les innovations lexicales doivent toujours être prises au sérieux, même si cela ne dispense pas de se demander si elles tiennent uniquement à la fantaisie du moment ou si elles répondent à une exigence sémantique que la langue ne comble pas encore.

Le mot "gouvernance" est une de ces innovations, venue récemment enrichir le vocabulaire politique. Il est cependant difficile de dire exactement de quel genre elle relève. Si certains s'appliquent à reprendre ce substantif anglais parce qu'il sonne plus moderne que des verbes apparemment dépréciés (administrer, gouverner, diriger) ou qu'il est plus concis que l'expression qu'il remplace (les règles de fonctionnement d'une institution ou d'une entreprise), d'autres utilisent le terme parce qu'il n'en existe pas d'autre pour se référer à de nouvelles pratiques. La gouvernance nomme en effet l'activité qui consiste, d'une part, à consigner, dans des "codes" ou des "chartes", les critères d'évaluation auxquels il convient de soumettre la gestion des groupes multinationaux pour qu'elle puisse être approuvée par son actionnariat organisé ; et, d'autre part, à réformer le fonctionnement administratif des organismes internationaux (Union Européenne, Organisation Mondiale du Commerce, Organisation des Nations Unies, etc.) et de leurs instances de décision, ou à introduire, dans la négociation des adhésions à ces organismes comme dans l'allocation de leurs crédits, des conditions d'éligibilité qui intègrent des règles de "bonne gouvernance"...

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

García Roca Francisco Javier

**La muy discrecional doctrina del margen de apreciación nacional según el Tribunal Europeo de Derechos Humanos: soberanía e integración**

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, n. 20 , 117-143

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Arias-King Fredo

**Latin America and European "soft power" geopolitics**

in *European View* , vol. 7, n. 1, June , 7-14

This article argues for the refocusing of EU engagement in Latin America away from appeasement of the emerging





illiberal regimes and towards active support for liberal forces, consistent with the EU's founding philosophy, economic goals and geopolitical future.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Abbott, E.B.

**Law, Federalism, the Constitution, and Control of Pandemic Flu**  
in *Asia-Pacific Law and Policy Journal* , Volume 9, Issue 2

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Leffler Melvyn P.

**Le lezioni del Piano Marshall**  
in *Aspenia*, n. 40, "Elezioni globali" , 220-227

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ward Hugh

**Liberal democracy and sustainability**  
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 17, Number 3, June , 386-409

Although theory strongly suggests that liberal democracies should perform better than autocracies on sustainability indicators, the empirical evidence is unclear. Using multivariate statistical techniques, political factors such as the stability of the system, public opinion, the nature of the party system and other institutional features such as presidentialism are considered. Liberal democracy is given qualified endorsement: it typically promotes weak sustainability, and stable core autocracies perform worse on strong sustainability measures than stable core democracies. Presidentialism generally is bad for sustainability. However, there is no compelling evidence that public opinion matters, even allowing for the intervening effects of the party system and institutional structure, which raises questions about the nature of the democratic process.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kolsto Pal

**Living with Non-recognition: State- and Nation-building in South Caucasian Quasi-states**  
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, n. 3, May , 483-509

The dissolution of the Soviet Union led to the establishment of several non-recognised statelets, three of



which—Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh—are located in the South Caucasus. This article sets aside the question of whether these quasi-states ought to be internationally recognised, and focuses on whether they exist as functioning state entities. To what extent are the authorities in these would-be states able to provide the populace with the services expected of contemporary states—like internal and external security, basic infrastructure and welfare? All three insist that they are not only functioning states, but also nation-states that command the allegiance of their population. We thus also discuss their claim to embody real nationhood.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Hay Colin, Smith Nicola

**Mapping the political discourse of globalisation and European integration in the United Kingdom and Ireland empirically**

in *European Journal of Political Research*, issue 3, vol. 47, may , 359-382

ABSTRACT: Recent years have seen growing interest in the political power of ideas, especially in debates about globalisation and European integration. As is now widely noted, constructions of globalisation and European integration may play a powerful causal role in shaping policy prescriptions across Europe. Yet, while a substantial body of theoretical literature has pointed to the need for sustained empirical analysis of such discourses, little systematic and comparative analysis has been undertaken into policy makers' attitudes towards globalisation, European integration and the relationship between the two. This article presents the initial findings of a survey of elite political attitudes to globalisation and European integration in the United Kingdom and Ireland. The authors develop and apply a theoretical schema for the classification and mapping of such discourses. Their analysis reveals, on the one hand, the range and diversity of discourses of globalisation and European integration among elite political actors and, on the other, the continued prevalence of specific conceptions (and indeed misperceptions) of globalisation in particular that have now been challenged empirically. They identify a series of core tensions and contradictions within elite political discourse in both the United Kingdom and Ireland. This suggests a certain frailty in the prevalent understanding of globalisation to which elite political actors would otherwise seem committed when confronted with its distributive consequences.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Gilbert Mark

**Narrating the Process: Questioning the Progressive Story of European Integration**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 3, June 2008

Underlying scholarship on the EU is the conviction that the institutions of the EU are the outcome of a historical process whereby national institutions are being superseded and replaced by supranational ones. The article criticizes this tendency, for two reasons. First, it argues that the progressive conception has led to the story of the EU being told in over-simplified and unhistorical ways. Second, it suggests that the progressive conception has blinded authors to the possibility that alternative narratives of European integration are possible and that these may come to predominate if the European project loses its aura of success.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kennedy Dane

**On the American Empire from a British Imperial Perspective**  
in *International History Review (The)*, vol. XXIX, n. 1

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Johnston Timothy

**Peace or Pacifism? The Soviet `Struggle For Peace in All the World', 1948-54**  
in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 86, n. 2, April , 259-282

This article examines the Soviet `Struggle for Peace in All the World' between 1948 and 1954. The `Struggle for Peace' was a vital arena in the early Cold War within which a new image of the Soviet relationship with the outside world was forged. `Peace' emerged in this context as a shorthand for the USSR's muscular and moral patronage of the oppressed peoples of the world. Soviet citizens responded to the `Struggle for Peace' with great enthusiasm. This enthusiasm has been cited as evidence that the Soviet population were naively duped into accepting a harsh post-war settlement in return for peace. In reality, Soviet citizens were not so passive in their engagement with the late-Stalinist state. Drawing on Kotkin's description of the `little tactics of the habitat' this article suggests that some participants in the Peace Campaigns creatively reappropriated them as a platform for the articulation of their personal grief from the past war and their pacifist sentiments. It also offers some provisional suggestions about how the `tactics' employed by Soviet citizens in relation to the government changed after 1945. The Soviet government could mobilize its population to `Struggle for Peace', but it could not guarantee that they shared its understanding of what `peace' meant.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Pettman Ralph

**Power and morality: a misleading dichotomy**  
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 21, n. 2, June , 235-251

This article critically addresses E H Carr's dichotomy of power and morality by demonstrating that all analytical languages used to articulate world affairs systematically refer to both power and morality, albeit in a different manner. The distinction between the two concepts is an analytical one, rather than a dichotomy of the kind that Carr constructs. Although Carr's dichotomy has recently resurfaced as a distinction between 'communitarianism' and 'cosmopolitanism', such an interpretation of his work remains problematic. This is demonstrated through a case study of President Jimmy Carter—whose policies manifest both realist and liberal approaches and combine power-centred concerns with moralistic ones. Therefore, in practical world affairs, there is no power-morality dichotomy; there are only different accounts of what both power and morality entail.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*



Kleingeld Pauline

**Romantic Cosmopolitanism: Novalis's 'Christianity or Europe'**

in *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, Volume 46, Number 2, April 2008 , 269-284

German romanticism is commonly associated with nationalism and seen as antithetical to cosmopolitanism. This is due not only to the nineteenth-century romantics' embrace of nationalism and their appropriation by later German nationalists, but also to the romantics' outspoken critique of the cosmopolitan Enlightenment. The early German romantics criticize the Enlightenment for failing to appreciate the most essential components of truly human life: love, emotional bonds, beauty, shared faith, and mutual trust. They claim that the Enlightenment emphasis on reason, abstract principles, and rights overlooks these crucial aspects of human existence. Their approach makes for a very radical *Zeitkritik*, but this does not mean that the early German romantics are...

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ziegler Charles E.

**Russia and the CIS in 2007: Putin's Final Year?**

in *Asian Survey* , Volume 48 Number 1 January/February , 133–143

Russia in 2007 moved further away from a constitutional order governed by the rule of law as President Vladimir Putin's second term drew to a close and the country prepared for parliamentary and presidential elections. High oil and gas prices buoyed the economy, but little progress was made in addressing Russia's serious social problems. In foreign policy, confrontation with the West was balanced by excellent relations with most of Asia.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Carter Stephen G.

**The "Historical Solution" versus the "Philosophical Solution": The Political Commentary of Christopher Dawson and Jacques Maritain, 1927–1939**

in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 69, Number 1, January , 93-115

This article compares and contrasts the interwar political commentary of the English historian Christopher Dawson (1889-1970) and the French philosopher Jacques Maritain (1882-1971), two of the most widely read Catholic writers of the 1930s. The reasons for the similarities and differences between their perspectives on democracy, fascism, and the Spanish civil war are discussed. The article concludes with a brief evaluation of how their views were reflected in post-World War Two Catholic thought, and a summary of their legacies as twentieth-century Catholic intellectuals.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Janmaat Jan Germen

**The Civic Attitudes of Ethnic Minority Youth and the Impact of Citizenship Education**

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 34, n. 1 , 27-54



This paper compares the civic attitudes of migrant and native youth in five West European countries, and explores the effect of citizenship education on the civic orientations of migrant children. Use is made of data from the IEA Civic Education survey. This survey involved a large study among 14-year-olds in 28 countries. The paper finds that migrant youth generally are at least as supportive of civic values as the ethnic majority. They do not embrace the civic notions of patriotism, institutional trust and gender equality to the same extent as the dominant group, though. Differences between the two groups on gender equality and to some degree also on institutional trust disappear, however, when social background variables are controlled for. It is concluded that differences between the allochthonous and autochthonous groups in the espousal of civic values are mostly a reflection of social differences and that migrant cultures are not obstructing the adoption of these values. This contradicts the conservative notion that civic values are specific to Western cultures and therefore incompatible with migrant cultures of other origins. It is further concluded that ethnic minority youth are likely to benefit more from citizenship education than the majority group.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Mazzucato Valentina**

**The Double Engagement: Transnationalism and Integration. Ghanaian Migrants' Lives Between Ghana and The Netherlands**

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 34, n. 2, Africa-Europe: Transnational Linkages, Multi-Sited Lives , 199-216

A transnational perspective is used in the analysis of the lives of Ghanaian migrants based in the Netherlands to answer two questions: how do migrants contribute to their home country, and do they also participate in the economy where they reside? An analysis of spending patterns of migrants both in the Netherlands and in Ghana shows that migrants are doubly engaged. In Ghana they invest in housing, business and education, contributing to the daily expenses of people back home and investing in their and their extended family's reputation by donating generously at funerals. At the same time they participate in the Dutch economy at the neighbourhood, city and national level. They devise various strategies for juggling their objectives between these two countries. However, Ghanaian migrants' contribution to both countries is hampered by the high costs of identity documents both in the formal and informal economy. The paper thus links Dutch migration policies with the consequences for the lives of people back in Ghana. As such, it demonstrates the relationship between two areas that are usually kept separate in both academic and policy discourses: development in the Third World and the integration of migrants in industrialised countries

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Behrent Michael C.**

**The Mystical Body of Society: Religion and Association in Nineteenth-Century French Political Thought**

in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 69, Number 2, April , 219-243

In this paper I explore the history of the notion that to believe in religion is to believe in society by tracing instances in which, in the discourse of this current within nineteenth-century French republicanism, the term religion entered into the same semantic field as the notions of society and association. I analyze several groups and individuals who sought to define religion by invoking "association" and "society": the Saint-Simonians, P.-J.-B. Buchez, Pierre Leroux, Jean-Marie Guyau, and Emile Durkheim. I conclude by suggesting that this way of thinking about religion not only illuminates the intellectual context in which Durkheim's religious sociology emerged, but also highlights a distinctly French social



imaginary.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Favell Adrian

**The New Face of East-West Migration in Europe**

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 34, n. 5, "The New Face of East-West Migration in Europe", 701-716

In order to contextualise the papers in this special issue, this paper presents an overview and framework for understanding the importance of East-West migration in Europe associated with the EU enlargement process. The new patterns and forms of migration seen among East European migrants in the West—in terms of circular and temporary free movement, informal labour market incorporation, cultures of migration, transnational networks, and other phenomena documented in the following papers—illustrate the emergence of a new migration system in Europe. Textbook narratives, in terms of standard accounts of immigration, integration and citizenship based on models of post-colonial, guestworker and asylum migration, will need to be rethought. One particularly fertile source for this is the large body of theory and research developed in the study of Mexican-US migration, itself a part of a regional integration process of comparative relevance to the new European context. While the benefits of open migration from the East will likely triumph over populist political hostility, it is a system that may encourage an exploitative dual labour market for Eastern movers working in the West, as well as encouraging a more effective racial or ethnically-based closure to immigrants from South of the Mediterranean and further afield.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Okamoto Dina G., Wilkes Rima

**The Opportunities and Costs of Voice and Exit: Modelling Ethnic Group Rebellion and Emigration**

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 34, n. 3, 347-369

Minority group members who face threats to their security have a number of options: they can stay in their country of origin and fight for social and political change; they can choose to emigrate, finding comfort and safety across an international border; they can participate in insurgency activities and leave their country of residence; or they can take no purposive action and hope that improvements in their home country will eventually take place. In this paper, we use a two-stage selection model to understand the conditions under which minority groups use different strategies for survival. First, we draw upon the cross-national literatures on refugee flows and ethnic conflict to examine factors affecting whether minority groups will take any form of group action. We then use Hirschman's theoretical insights on exit, voice and loyalty to examine whether the costs and opportunities associated with exit and voice are important in understanding why group members participate in emigration, rebellion or both types of action as a response to the state. Our results suggest that opportunities for exit and voice are more important in distinguishing between the different types of group action than are the costs of exit and voice.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Anscombe Frederick F





**The Ottoman Empire in Recent International Politics -- I: The Case of Kuwait**  
in *International History Review (The)*, vol. XXVIII, n. 3

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Anscombe Frederick F.

**The Ottoman Empire in Recent International Politics -- II: The Case of Kosovo**  
in *International History Review (The)*, vol. XXVIII, n. 4

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Nisley Thomas Jay

**The Pugnacious and the Pacific: Why Some Democracies Fight Wars**  
in *International Politics*, Volume 45, Number 2, March, 168-181

In his article in *International Politics*, Harald Müller (2004) attempts to explain why some democracies fight wars through the development of two ideal types of democracy, one that adopts the stance of militant liberalism and the other of pacifist liberalism. This article offers a critique of Müller's argument and his classification of militant and pacifist democracies. As an alternative explanation I turn to empirical uniformities on war that have been identified through quantitative, data-based research as increasing the probability of the onset of war. These factors include power status, duration of independence, number and type of borders, the presence of enduring rivalry, and the level of economic development. I will demonstrate that these factors are more important in explaining the warlike nature of some democracies.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

McConnell Deirdre

**The Tamil people's right to self-determination**  
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 21, n. 1, March, 59-76

This article provides an overview of the crisis in Sri Lanka and states why an armed conflict has developed in the northern and eastern parts (north-east) of the country. The Tamils' accusations—of discrimination, denial of the right to self-determination, abrogated agreements and violations of international human rights and humanitarian law amounting to genocide by successive Sri Lankan governments—are supported by specific evidence given by international human rights and legal experts, international human rights non-governmental organizations and other relevant entities. The democratic parliamentary efforts and the non-violent resistance struggle of the Tamil people prior to the outbreak of war are traced over several decades. The article includes an outline of social and law and order achievements in the



north-east under the de facto administration of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and concludes with some current international dimensions of the situation.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Chua Christian

**The conglomerates in crisis: Indonesia, 1997-1998**

in *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)*, Volume 13 Issue 1 , 107-127

The crisis in 1997/1998 unravelled Indonesia's successful business model of close state-business relations. Without the authoritarianism, centralism, and protectionism of the former regime, the conglomerates - predominantly owned by ethnic Chinese - had to deal with a new political environment that brought them to the brink of financial and political collapse. This paper analyses the impact of the Asian crisis and outlines the new challenges for the business groups in a more democratic, decentralized, and deregulated economy.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Henriksen John B.

**The continuous process of recognition and implementation of the Sami people's right to self-determination**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol. 21, n. 1, March , 27-40

This paper explores the status of the recognition and implementation of the Sami people's right to self-determination. The Sami are the indigenous people of Finland, Norway, Sweden and the Kola Peninsula in the north-western region of Russia. They are one people residing across national borders, enjoying a distinctive identity, language, history, culture and social structure, as well as unique traditions, livelihoods and aspirations. Their distinctiveness has given rise to their claim to self-determination based on conventional principles and instruments of international law. But where their right to self-determination has been gradually recognized by Finland, Norway and Sweden, Russia remains reluctant. And where Sami self-determination has been implemented through indigenous Sami parliaments, in Nordic states, the process of recognizing and implementing their right within these states has only taken place incrementally within existing democratic and constitutional mechanisms. It is a continuous process without a predefined outcome.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Shalev Eran

**The missing revolution: The totalitarian democracy in light of 1776**

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 34, Issue 2, June , 158-168

During much of his prolific career, the late historian Jacob Talmon was preoccupied with revolutionary movements, and was especially unsettled by, and attracted to, the force displayed by the French and Russian Revolutions. The young United States' long and bloody war against the British Empire, followed by the creation of a republican *novus ordo seclorum*, supposedly fitted Talmon's revolutionary model and narrative. Hence, it is hard to account for the complete absence of the American Revolution from Talmon's extensive and celebrated trilogy.



This paper examines how Talmon understood revolutions and how the major historiographical schools interpreting the American Revolution could not accommodate, for different reasons, Talmon's paradigm of the nature and essence of revolutions. The paper further demonstrates how not only the failings of different historical interpretive schemes convinced Talmon to ignore the American Revolution. Rather, since the American Revolution could be conceived either as Lockean or Machiavellian, but in any event not as Rousseauian, Talmon overlooked its Atlantic nature; he chose to focus solely on messianic Europe. The paper will thus analyze the meaning and consequence of the fact that Talmon left the examination of the pursuit of happiness to Americanists, and chose to leave 1776 out of his corpus. Indeed, a missing revolution.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Emden Christian

**The uneasy European**

in **Journal of European Studies** , n. 1, vol. 38, march , 27-51

ABSTRACT: Friedrich Nietzsche's later philosophical writings have rarely been examined in the context of the political culture that marks late nineteenth-century Germany. But once we accept the inherently political nature of these writings, a purely philosophical interpretation seems limited. This article explores the way in which Nietzsche's understanding of a possible European identity is embedded in his reaction to the political culture of Imperial Germany. It is against this background that Nietzsche begins to form an idea of Europe as an alternative to the status quo of contemporary political culture, but at the same time his vision of Europe remains too vague to constitute a real political alternative.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Pfohl Eva

**Tibet: perchè sì all'autonomia**

in **Aspenia**, n. 41, "I giochi di Pechino" , 99-105

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Alcantara Christopher

**To Treaty or Not to Treaty? Aboriginal Peoples and Comprehensive Land Claims Negotiations in Canada**

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 38, Number 2, Spring , 343-369

Although the federal comprehensive land claims (CLC) process has become an almost hegemonic paradigm of government–Aboriginal relations in Canada, this article argues that Aboriginal groups should consider abandoning the CLC process if they have not been able to make significant progress towards completing treaties. Previously, many Aboriginal groups had no better option but to negotiate CLC treaties to achieve their goals. Now, however, a number of institutional developments have given Aboriginal groups a range of other options that are worth pursuing instead of CLC treaties. These developments are: Two judicial decisions handed down in 2004 and the emergence of three policy



instruments outside of the treaty process: Self-government agreements, bilateral agreements, and the First Nations Land Management Act.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Mancini Matthew J.**

**Too Many Tocquevilles: The Fable of Tocqueville's American Reception**

in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 69, Number 2, April , 245-268

Robert Nisbet's influential "Many Tocquevilles" is shown to be lacking in evidence for its contentions about Tocqueville's reputation from 1870 to 1940 and about American intellectuals' interpretations of his works after 1940. The uncritical reception accorded to "Many Tocquevilles" led to distortions of Tocqueville's thought and an erasure of an important part of the historical record, resulting in significant harm to the field. Nisbet made his unsupported assertions to bolster conservative political positions. Tocqueville was widely read between 1870 and 1940. No evidence exists for Nisbet's claims about interpretations of Tocqueville's works supposedly made by subsequent American commentators.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bithas Kostas**

**Tracing operational conditions for the Ecologically Sustainable Economic Development: the Pareto optimality and the preservation of the biological crucial levels**

in *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, Volume 10, Number 3, June , 373-390

The operational designing of Environmentally Sustainable Economic Development (ESED) emerges as an urgent and demanding task. Even though ESED has paved the way for thought-provoking and constructive scientific dialogue, appeal for designing an operational ESED is still lagging behind the needs of contemporary societies, leaving much to be desired. With this in mind, the present paper will aim at delineating principles for the operational application of ESED. First, the preservation of crucial properties of environmental functions and ecosystems, emerges as a prime condition of ESED. The second condition concerns the provision of the economic process with sufficient natural inputs; in this context, the paper intends to trace certain operational tenets governing the use of natural resources. Finally, the appropriate institutional settings for the operational design of ESED are traced.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**He Baogang**

**Un approccio confuciano alle minoranze**

in *Aspenia*, n. 41, "I giochi di Pechino" , 93-98

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Nguyen Vu Tung

**Vietnam's Membership of ASEAN: A Constructivist Interpretation**

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Vol. 29, n. 3, December

Vietnam's membership of ASEAN was driven by pragmatic reasons of economic growth, political independence and regime survival in a post Cold War environment. But in fact the learning process — which made Vietnamese decision-makers through their first-hand experiences more aware of convergent domestic and foreign policy goals between Vietnam and ASEAN — was instrumental in Vietnam's decision to seek ASEAN membership as quickly as possible. The case of Vietnam joining ASEAN then shows that the process of socialization and interactions between Vietnam and ASEAN countries helped improve the awareness of commonalities and promoted cooperative relations. And this is one of the main arguments in the constructivist approach to international cooperation based on the self-other internalization. In this connection, Vietnam joining ASEAN was also part of a broader process in which the country forged a new state identity in the post-Cold War era: Vietnam opted for ASEAN membership to overcome an identity crisis and political isolation. The ideational approach, therefore, offers an additional and more plausible explanation for Vietnam's decision to join ASEAN. Moreover, it helps explain Vietnam's continued satisfaction with and commitment to membership of ASEAN.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Heckelman Jac C., Dinan John J.

**Voting on voting with the feet: a cross-county analysis of the Tennessee popular referenda to secede from the union**

in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 18, Number 2 / June, 2007

We analyze a unique case of voting on voting with the feet, when Tennessee twice considered secession from the Union in 1861 by popular referenda. The initial votes to hold a convention, and to send disunion delegates to a convention, failed, but after the Confederate states adopted a new constitution and the bombing of Fort Sumter took place, a second set of votes to separate from the union, and to join the confederacy, passed. Regression results support the importance of both economic interests and political tendencies, along with regional differences, in explaining the variation in votes across counties. Class distinctions were not found to be significant.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Grimm And Sonja, Merkel Wolfgang

**War and Democratization: Legality, Legitimacy and Effectiveness**

in *Democratization*, Vol. 15, n. 3, June , 457-471

Promotion of democracy in post-war and post-conflict societies became a hot topic during the 1990s. External actors linked their peace-building efforts to the promotion of democracy. Four modes of promotion of democracy by external actors can be distinguished: first, enforcing democratization by enduring post-war occupation (mode 1); second, restoring an elected government by military intervention (mode 2); third, intervening in on-going massacres and civil war with military forces ('humanitarian intervention') and thereby curbing the national sovereignty of those countries (mode



3); and fourth, forcing democracy on rogue states by 'democratic intervention', in other words, democracy through war (mode 4). In this special issue we consider the legality, legitimacy, and effectiveness of the four modes where the international community of states not only felt impelled to engage in military humanitarian or peace-building missions but also in long-term state- and democracy-building. All cases analysed here suggest that embedding democratization in post-war and post-conflict societies entails a comprehensive agenda of political, social, and economic methods of peace-building. If external actors withdraw before the roots of democracy are deep enough and before democratic institutions are strong enough to stand alone, then the entire endeavour may fail.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Ferejohn John, McCall Rosenbluth Frances**

**Warlike Democracies**

in **Journal of Conflict Resolution**, n. 1, vol. 52, february , 3-38

ABSTRACT: Classical republican theories are monadic in the sense of seeing in each political regime a set of typical operating characteristics. There is disagreement as to what those characteristics are and specifically whether republican governments are more likely to be aggressive or peace loving. We group these two views as (democratic) mobilization theory versus (republican) checks theory and argue, first, that each can help us understand the finer structure of republican government; second, that they are not contradictory but can be combined in various ways in the same institutions; and third, that they offer the prospect of deepening our understanding of what is called the democratic peace proposition.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Beckman Ludvig**

**Who Should Vote? Conceptualizing Universal Suffrage in Studies of Democracy**

in **Democratization**, Vol. 15, n. 1, February , 29-48

This article offers a critique and reconceptualization of the notion of universal suffrage as it is used by scholars measuring the extension of democratic rights in the world today. Although the general perception seems to be that universal suffrage is almost universally recognized, it remains true that every political system upholds restrictions on the right to vote. In this article the various conceptual strategies employed in measuring the extension of the suffrage are analysed. Minimalist, conventionalist, and maximalist definitions of universal suffrage are distinguished and evaluated with respect to the criteria of concept formation. The argument advanced is that much confusion is caused by the failure to keep distinct the descriptive and normative components. Rather than defining democratic universal suffrage as consistent with a vast array of exclusions, the article argues that measuring the extension of the vote should be more carefully distinguished from arguments about how inclusive the suffrage ought to be. Only then could we estimate the inclusiveness of democratic systems empirically without invoking potentially controversial views about how the right vote should eventually be distributed.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ifversen Jan

**Who are the Westerners?**

in **International Politics** , Volume 45, Number 3, May , 236-253

The West used to be one of those stable concepts that oriented the Westerners in their various activities around the world. Today it is a concept challenged from several sides. Through an overview of the basic historical meanings of the concept, this article focuses on the points of contestation and possible changes regarding the concept of the West. The most important challenge to the concept has been made by a debate over the actual status of the transatlantic relationship. Whereas the existence of a political West is strongly questioned within the debate over a possible transatlantic divide, there seems to be a parallel move in the reverse direction when the concept is used in opposition to Islam. Although the idea of a clash of civilizations is dismissed by many, it still plays an important role in reviving the West as a cultural and civilizational entity. We are thus witnessing an internal dismantling of the West alongside an external rearming of the concept.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Moses Joel C.

**Who has led Russia? Russian regional political elites, 1954 - 2006**

in **Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 60, n. 1, January , 1-24

Quantitative measures are used to compare the age, tenure, gender and change of political elites in 18 Russian regions from 1954 to 2006. The study finds more similarities than differences between regional elites from the Soviet era and from the post-Soviet Russian era. The Russian regional political elite since 1992 is actually older than the Soviet elite and resembles it quite closely in terms of years in office and turnover, comparing both the total time spans of the elites of each era and at 10-year intervals from 1956 through to 2006. Even in relation to differences by region and gender since 1992, there has been a re-emergence of a regional political establishment in a similar pattern to that of the Soviet era.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Humblet Jean-Émile

**Éléments pré-fédéraux d'origine huguenote en Occitanie (1562-1598)**

in **Europe en formation (L')**, n. 3-4, décembre

No abstract available