



Bulletin n. 2/2007 - October 2007

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"Our Federal System": States' Susceptibility to Challenge When Applying Federal Affirmative Action Law in University of Chicago Law Review, Vol. 74 n. 2 , 687 - 710

No abstract available

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Davidson N. M.

Cooperative Localism: Federal-Local Collaboration in an Era of State Sovereignty in Virginia Law Review, Vol. 93 n. 4

Direct relations between the federal government and local governments—what this article calls “cooperative localism”—play a significant and underappreciated role in areas of contemporary policy as disparate as homeland security, law enforcement, disaster response, economic development, social services, immigration, and environmental protection. Despite the ubiquity of this practice, a jurisprudential conflict threatens this important facet of intergovernmental relations. Historically, courts have allowed local governments to invoke federal authority as a source of local autonomy, despite the prevailing view of local governments as powerless instrumentalities of the state. The Supreme Court is increasingly suggesting, however, that state control over local governments is a fundamental aspect of state sovereignty triggering judicial limits on federal power. When this confrontation comes to a head, limiting federal authority to empower local governments would be a mistake. This article instead proposes a new framework for conceptualizing federal empowerment of local governments that is not only consistent with the Court’s contemporary view of federal structure, but in fact advances the Court’s normative and pragmatic goals. The core concerns animating the Court’s current move to devolve and decentralize power are forcefully served by enhancing the autonomy of local governments in the constitutional structure. In short, the very values of federalism on which the Court has relied to enhance state sovereignty provide a compelling localist grounding for the particular exercise of national power represented by cooperative localism.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Zakharov Andrei

Empire and Federation

in Russian politics and law, Volume 45, Number 2 / March-April , 26 - 41



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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Meyer T.

Federalism and Accountability: State Attorneys General, Regulatory litigation and the New federalism
in *California Law Review*, Vol. 95 n. 3 , 885 - 914

No abstract available

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Nasser Nicola

Federalism: A Solution More for Israel than for Iraq
in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 15th Issue, 1/2007

No abstract available

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

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Wanna John

Improving Federalism: Drivers of Change, Repair Options and Reform Scenarios
in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, Volume 66, Number 3 , 275-279

No abstract available

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Caron Jean-François

L'héritage républicain du fédéralisme. Une théorie de l'identité nationale dans les fédérations multinationales
in *Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique*, Vol. 25, no 2-3

L'évaluation du fédéralisme à la lumière des aspects qui ont mené à la création de la fédération américaine permet de situer ce système politique dans la tradition républicaine de la liberté. Par une historiographie des idées qui ont précédé la révolution américaine et l'établissement du pacte fédéral de 1789, ce texte vise à démontrer en quoi l'idée moderne du fédéralisme est d'abord et avant tout un système politique dont l'objectif consiste à empêcher la domination. À partir de cette historiographie, le présent article vise à établir un cadre normatif pour les politiques identitaires des fédérations multinationales.

Abstract.



The evaluation of federalism in light of the elements that led to the creation of the American federation allows us to situate this political system within the republican tradition of liberty. Through a historiography of the ideas that preceded the American Revolution and the federal pact of 1789, this text seeks to demonstrate that the modern idea of federalism is first and foremost that of a political system whose objective is to prevent domination. Based on that historiography, this article aims to establish a normative framework for the politics of identity of multinational federations.

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Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Accetto Matej

On Law and Politics in the Federal Balance: Lessons from Yugoslavia.

in Review of Central & East European Law, Vol. 32 Issue 2 , 191-231

In trying to build a supranational polity while paying heed to member states' autonomy concerns, modern supranational 'projects' such as the European Union find themselves where others have been before. This article explores a surprising but pertinent 'ancestor' that, albeit in sharply different societal arrangements, had grappled with the same challenges of balancing integration and autonomy: the former Yugoslavia. The author starts by tracking the development of Yugoslav federalism through its several constitutional incarnations: from the meager federal features of the 1946 Constitution and the similarly centralistic constitutional developments in the 1950s and the 1960s to a stronger federalization of Yugoslavia that culminated with the 1974 Constitution. After a general outline of the constitutional development, the article focuses on the relationship between law and politics in maintaining the federal balance, highlighting the role of the federal Constitutional Court in achieving a proper balance between the centrifugal and the centripetal forces in the federation. Finally, the main theories on the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the role of the federal Constitutional Court are briefly analyzed. In the conclusion, the author attempts to draw out the lessons that the Yugoslav experience may offer contemporary polities faced with the same challenges, focusing on the role of the judicature and the relationship between law and politics in safeguarding the federal bargain.

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Hollander Robyn, Patapan Haig

Pragmatic Federalism: Australian Federalism from Hawke to Howard

in Australian Journal of Public Administration, Volume 66, Number 3 , 280-297

The article explores the nature of Australian federalism by examining four major themes in the period from Hawke to Howard. The investigation of these themes - Australian conceptions of federalism; the role of party in shaping federalism; the way problems and politics have influenced policy-making and thereby federalism; and the nature of federal judicial review - suggests that Australian federalism can most accurately be characterised as pragmatic. It appears as a federalism shaped by pressing problems, specific policy agendas and the prevailing political dynamic, rather than by overarching conceptions of federalism derived from political theory or articulated in party ideology. This pragmatic federalism explains important aspects of Australian federalism, especially the trend towards centralisation of authority



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Fenna Alan

The Malaise of Federalism: Comparative Reflections on Commonwealth-State Relations

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, Volume 66, Number 3 , 298-306

The High Court's decision in the 'Work Choices' case expanding further the scope of the Commonwealth's enumerated powers is the latest reminder of the highly centralised nature of Australian federalism. The division of powers traditionally forming the essence of a federal system has become increasingly difficult to discern and the roles and responsibilities of the two levels of government have become entangled. While for a good part of Australia's history divided jurisdiction was deplored as an obstacle to progress in government, today the decay of the system is most likely to be lamented. Discussion of options for reform presupposes an understanding of the forces that have led to the present condition. This article examines the Australian experience in a broader comparative and historical perspective and suggests that those forces are endemic and substantial.

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Harmes Adam

The Political Economy of Open Federalism

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 40, issue, 02, June , 417-437

This article examines the federal Conservative party's notion of "open federalism" from a political economy perspective. In doing so, it argues that open federalism will appeal to business interests and not to unions and social activists, because it is consistent with the neoliberal approach to federalism which seeks to lock in free market-oriented policies. To demonstrate this point, the article draws on the work of neoliberal intellectuals—including Nobel laureates Friedrich von Hayek, Milton Friedman and James Buchanan—on "market-preserving federalism" and compares it with the key principles of open federalism and those advocated by business lobby groups and think tanks.

Résumé. Cet article examine la notion de « fédéralisme ouvert » adoptée par le Parti conservateur fédéral dans une perspective d'économie politique. Il avance que le fédéralisme ouvert plaira au milieu des affaires et déplaira aux syndicats et aux militants sociaux parce qu'il concorde avec la conception néolibérale du fédéralisme qui vise à instituer des politiques compatibles avec l'économie de marché. La démonstration s'appuie sur les travaux de penseurs néolibéraux—notamment les lauréats du prix Nobel, Friedrich von Hayek, Milton Friedman et James Buchanan—sur le concept d'un fédéralisme qui préserve le marché (market-preserving federalism) et compare ce concept aux principes de base du fédéralisme ouvert et à ceux que prônent les groupes de pression et les analystes du milieu des affaires.

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Beaulie Jimu

A new Constitution for Iraq - How Federal?

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 15th Issue, 1/2007

No abstract available

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Fromont M.

La réforme du fédéralisme allemand de 2006

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 70 , 47 - 83

No abstract available

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Alberti Enoch

Le nouveau statut d'autonomie de la Catalogne

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, N. 121-122 , 145-160

The article deals with Catalonia's new Statute of autonomy, approved in July 2006. It replaces the 1979 Statute, which gave Catalonia political independence according to the 1978 Spanish constitution and the new territorial structure of the state it outlined. The article first analyses the situation that brought about and justified the reform, as well as the function of Autonomy Statutes in the constitutional system of Autonomies in force in Spain, including the present debate around this decisive issue. It goes on to analyse the main options contained in the new Statute, such as the overprotection of competences, state participation in European affairs, as well as the funding of Autonomy. The article also discusses aspects pertaining to national identity and its symbolic recognition, as well as the regulations governing the new institutions provided for by the new Statute.

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Hrbek Rudolf

The Reform of German Federalism: Part I

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 3 - Issue 02 , 225-243

Constitutional reform in Germany – Modernization of the German federal system is only a first step – Why reforming German Federalism was necessary – Steps and factors in the constitutional reform process – Substance – Issues and agenda for future reform on financial relations.



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

Howlett Michael

Analyzing Multi-Actor, Multi-Round Public Policy Decision-Making Processes in Government: Findings from Five Canadian Cases

in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique, Volume 40, Issue 03, September , 659-684

This paper begins the analysis of complex multi-actor, multi-round decision-making processes in Canadian public policy formation. After setting out the notion of a decision-making style and its constitutive elements, the paper identifies research into complex multi-actor, multi-round decisions as a serious lacuna in the literature on public policy decision-making, despite the fact that this type of decision-making is very common in public policy-making circumstances. The paper advances research in this area through the analysis of several hypotheses raised in recent European studies concerning the conditions under which such processes are likely to successfully conclude in a decision, rather than an impasse. These hypotheses are tested against evidence taken from five cases of multi-round decision-making in Canada over the period 1995–2005: amendments to the Indian Act, the creation of Species-at-risk legislation, alterations to the Bank Act, the extension of Privacy legislation to the private sector and efforts to develop a Free Trade of the Americas Agreement (FTAA). Data on actor interactions in these five areas gleaned from on-line newspaper and media index services reveals that Canadian results do not match those arrived at in European studies, showing both different patterns of government and non-governmental activity and less volatility in actor behaviour as rounds evolve over time.

Résumé. Cet article amorce l'analyse des processus complexes des prises de décisions comportant des acteurs et des séries multiples dans l'élaboration des politiques publiques canadiennes. Après avoir établi la notion d'un style de processus décisionnel et ses éléments constitutifs, l'article avance que le manque de recherche sur les décisions complexes à acteurs et séries multiples est une sérieuse lacune dans la littérature sur le processus décisionnel des politiques publiques, alors que ce type de processus décisionnel est pratique courante dans les situations de prises de décisions en politiques publiques. L'article contribue à la recherche dans ce domaine par l'analyse de plusieurs hypothèses proposées dans de récentes études européennes concernant les conditions dans lesquelles de tels processus ont des chances d'aboutir à une décision, plutôt qu'à une impasse. Ces hypothèses ont été testées dans cinq études de cas de processus décisionnels à séries multiples au Canada entre 1995 et 2005 : les amendements de la Loi sur les Indiens, la création de la législation sur les espèces en péril, les modifications de la Loi sur les banques, l'extension au secteur privé de la législation relative à la protection de la vie privée et la conception de l'accord sur la Zone de libre-échange des Amériques (ZLEA). Les données sur les interactions des acteurs dans ces cinq domaines - données obtenues de services de journaux en ligne et de sommaires médiatiques - révèlent que les résultats canadiens ne correspondent pas à ceux des études européennes : elles montrent à la fois des différences dans les formats d'action gouvernementale et non-gouvernementale et moins d'instabilité dans les comportements des acteurs à mesure que les séries évoluent avec le temps.



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Zimmerman Joseph F.

Congressional Preemption During the George W. Bush Administration

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 37, Number 3, Summer , 432-452

President Bush approved 64 preemption acts during 2001–2005. Fifteen acts were responses to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, and five acts extended sunset provisions. The other acts removed specified powers from states in the fields of banking, commerce, energy, environmental protection, finance, foreign commerce, health, intellectual property, safety, taxation, telecommunications, and transportation. Only the two Internet taxation prohibition acts have a major impact on state governments by depriving them of billions of dollars in tax revenues that could be used to exercise their reserved powers. The other acts are minor ones on the periphery of state exercised powers compared to laws enacted in the period 1964–1999.

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Rabe Barry

Environmental Policy and the Bush Era: The Collision Between the Administrative Presidency and State Experimentation

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 37, Number 3, Summer , 413-431

The Bush administration entered office in 2001 pledging to support active collaboration with states in environmental protection and pursued this approach in some early initiatives and appointments. This emphasis was rapidly abandoned, however, in favor of an effort to recentralize oversight in a manner consistent with historic attempts to establish an administrative presidency model. In response, states have demonstrated that they are not prepared to take a back seat to the federal government, probing for areas to pursue innovative opportunities at the same time that they challenge any instances of federal overreach or disengagement that they deem problematic. The result has been a steady increase in intergovernmental conflict from the previous decade.

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Derthick Martha

Going Federal: The Launch of Medicare Part D Compared to SSI

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 37, Number 3, Summer , 351-370

This essay compares early experience with implementing two strongly centralizing acts in the field of social welfare, one the Supplemental Security Income program in 1974 and the other Medicare Part D, the prescription drug program for the aged and disabled, in 2006. It contrasts the administrative chaos that characterized the launch of SSI with a smoother transition in Part D, arguing that there was less dislocation in the assignment of key administrative responsibilities in the later case. The main findings for federalism are common to the cases: both culminated in a residual, purely supplemental role for the state governments, which the federal government treated as "subordinately useful." Yet,



individual state governments were able to negotiate successfully with federal administrative agencies for favorable treatment within the new regime.

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Macioce Fabio

I confini della reale collaborazione fra i poteri: spunti per una analisi filosofica

in *Teoria e diritto dello Stato*, Vol. 3 / 05

No abstract available

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State Law as "Other Law": Our Fifty Sovereigns in the Federal Constitutional Canon

in *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 120 · April 2007 · No. 6 , 1670-1690

No abstract available

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Allard Scott W.

The Changing Face of Welfare during the Bush Administration

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 37, Number 3, Summer , 304-332

Full text available: <http://publius.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/full/37/3/304>

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

Parkin Andrew, Anderson Geoff

The Howard Government, Regulatory Federalism and the Transformation of Commonwealth-State Relations

in *Australian Journal of Political Science*, n. 2, vol. 42, june , 295-314

ABSTRACT: Various initiatives enhancing Commonwealth power relative to the States have been a feature of the Howard government that has surprised many observers. These developments need to be understood in the context of longer-term political, financial and regulatory changes that are challenging established features of Commonwealth-State relations. The Howard government's allocation of Goods and Services Tax (GST) revenue has offered the prospect of greater State-level financial and policy autonomy. But the Howard government has also inherited, and in some policy domains has significantly enhanced, the further development of a Commonwealth-State regime best described as 'regulatory federalism'. Its effect, in contrast to the effect of the GST initiative, is to constrain the States' scope for policy autonomy. A similar impact is emerging from the Commonwealth's efforts to ensure that its conditional grants to the



States better serve Commonwealth policy goals and priorities. And a raft of Commonwealth initiatives is bypassing the States altogether. Although the Howard government has clearly enhanced the role of the Commonwealth, it remains constrained by aspects of the federal system that are structurally entrenched and that continue to make intergovernmental collaboration, rather than confrontation, a sensible strategy.

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Posner Paul

The Politics of Coercive Federalism in the Bush Era

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 37, Number 3, Summer , 390-412

During the period of the Bush Presidency, the federal government proceeded to centralize and nationalize policy in major areas formerly controlled by states and localities. The extension of federal goals and standards to such areas as education testing, sales tax collection, emergency management, infrastructure, and elections administration were among the areas of significant mandates and preemptions. The continuation of policy centralization in areas under a conservative and unified political regime shows how strong and deep the roots are for centralizing policy actions in our intergovernmental system.

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Arvind Subramanian

The evolution of institutions in India and its relationship with economic growth

in **Oxford Economic Papers**, Volume 59, Number 4 , 196-220

This paper examines the evolution in a few public institutions over time in India. It presents three types of evidence: on institutional outcomes (such as losses in power generation, backlogs in disposal of court cases); on perceptions-based measures of governance, some going back to the 1960s; and, finally, on customs administration and whether it has been more effective at detecting evasion over time. All the evidence suggests that institutional quality has not improved over time. It then addresses the two-way relationship between growth and institutions in terms of two apparent paradoxes. The first is why growth has turned around so dramatically in India despite the relatively limited nature of reforms, especially compared with other countries. The second paradox is why, despite nearly 30 years of rapid growth, institutions have not improved. The paper offers some explanations that might help explain these paradoxes.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Saxena Rekha

The Rajya Sabha : A Federal Second or Secondary Chamber?

in **Indian Journal of Federal Studies**, 15th Issue, 1/2007

No abstract available



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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Congressional Restrictions on the President's Appointment Power and the Role of Longstanding Practice in Constitutional Interpretation

in *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 120 · May 2007 · No. 7 , 1914-1935

No abstract available

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Subsection 5. The executive branch

MacKinnon Ari D.

Counterterrorism and Checks and Balances: The Spanish and American Examples

in *New York University Law Review* , Vol. 82 n. 2 , 602-655

full text available at: <http://www.law.nyu.edu/journals/lawreview/issues/vol82/no2/NYU206.pdf>

Although the United States' so-called "War on Terror" has entailed significant military action, it has also involved the augmentation of the executive's law enforcement powers. The result has been the emergence of a distinct "counterterrorism" model of coercive government action, falling between the traditional models of war and criminal law enforcement. This Note seeks to place the U.S. counterterrorism model within a larger international context by comparing it with that of another Western democracy, Spain. The author contends that the U.S. model evinces less respect for customary checks and balances than does the Spanish. Nonetheless, the author questions whether the Spanish model's greater relative commitment to checks and balances has in practice prevented government overreaching. The author concludes that both the Spanish executive and Parliament have overstepped the bounds of their constitutionally prescribed counterterrorism competences, despite the existence of checks and balances. In addition to suggesting that these excesses may be partially attributed to the institutional heritage of Francoist Spain, the author surmises that government overreaching may be endemic in any regime, such as the Spanish, that transparently vests special counterterrorism competences in the executive and legislative branches.

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Conlan Tim, Dinan John

Federalism, the Bush Administration, and the Transformation of American Conservatism

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 37, Number 3, Summer , 279-303

Most recent Republican presidents have proposed signature federalism initiatives intended to devolve power or sort out federal and state functions. The Bush administration has not propounded an explicit federalism policy of this sort, but its



approach to federalism can be gleaned from analyzing presidential advocacy of legislation and constitutional amendments, fiscal policies, administrative actions, and judicial policies. What emerges from this analysis is an administration that has been surprisingly dismissive of federalism concerns and frequently an agent of centralization. In one sense, Bush is merely the latest in a string of presidents who have sacrificed federalism considerations to specific policy goals when the two have come in conflict. However, the administration's behavior is somewhat surprising, given the president's background as a governor and the fact that he has been the first Republican president to enjoy Republican control of Congress since 1954. Our explanation for the Bush approach begins with the president's lack of any philosophical commitment to federalism and explores the changing status of federalism concerns within conservative ideology. Any explanation for the Bush approach should account for this shifting political dynamic, which has seen Republicans in recent years become increasingly supportive of exerting federal authority on behalf of their economic and social objectives, encouraging Democrats at times to become more supportive of state authority.

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Benton J. Edwin

George W. Bush's Federal Aid Legacy

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 37, Number 3, Summer , 371-389

No abstract available

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Milkis Sidney M., Rhodes Jesse H.

George W. Bush, the Party System, and American Federalism

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 37, Number 3, Summer , 478-503

George W. Bush's presidency presents two major puzzles. The Republican Party has traditionally stood for "limited government," but Bush's principal legacy for federalism is centralization of power in the federal government and the executive branch. Most modern presidents have neglected their partisan duties, but Bush has been a uniquely vigorous party leader. Here, we show that Bush's puzzling lack of attention to federalism issues is in large part the result of his efforts to strengthen the Republican Party to cope with the political and electoral challenges characteristic of the contemporary political context. We explain why the Bush administration's strategy for redressing the Republican party's shortcomings has presupposed the deprecation of federalism, and consider the implications of our argument for the development of federal arrangements.

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Presidential Seat or Padishah's Throne?: The Distinctive Features of Supreme Power in Central Asian States

in *Russian politics and law*, Volume 45, Number 4 , July-August , Kurtov Adzhar



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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Curry Brett

Institutions, Interests, and Judicial Outcomes. The Politics of Federal Diversity Jurisdiction
in *Political Research Quarterly*, n. 3, vol. 60, september , 454-467

ABSTRACT: Since 1789, diversity of citizenship jurisdiction has been a staple of the American judicial system. After presenting a general theory of jurisdictional change and reviewing diversity jurisdiction's development, the author undertakes a quantitative analysis of congressional activity vis-à-vis diversity jurisdiction. That analysis provides evidence that both administrative concerns and attention to federal judicial outcomes have impacted legislative decisions concerning the scope of diversity jurisdiction. These findings also suggest that members of Congress are selective in dealing with the jurisdiction of federal courts and that approaches to jurisdictional oversight vary in response to the salience of the legal issues at hand.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Nicholson-Crotty Sean

State Merit Amicus Participation and Federalism Outcomes in the U.S. Supreme Court
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 37, Number 4, Fall , 599-612

Research suggests that merit amicus curiae participation correlates with Supreme Court decision making and that states make frequent and effective use of this tool. To date, however, no study has adequately examined the relationship between state amicus participation and the federalism values reflected in the Court's decisions. This article dev"Lelops and finds evidence for the assertion that, when they cooperate in the amicus process, state participation is associated with an increase in the likelihood of rulings favoring state rather than national government power.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Collins jr. Paul M.

Towards an Integrated Model of the U.S. Supreme Court's Federalism Decision Making
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 37, Number 4, Fall , 505-531

Disputes involving the boundaries of state versus federal power make up a substantial portion of the U.S. Supreme Court's docket and have undergone extensive analysis. Yet, the conventional wisdom regarding the justices' choices in these cases is that they are highly inconsistent. I argue that this is primarily a function of the failure of scholars to develop a comprehensive model of the justices' federalism decision making. To remedy this, I introduce an integrated model of the individual justices' choices in these cases, which is then subjected to empirical testing in the Rehnquist Court era (1986–2004). I explore a host of determinants of the justices' decision making, including attitudinal, institutional, legal, and personal attributes, as well as the role of organized interests in the Court. The findings reveal that the choices justices make in these cases are not as discordant as most commentators suggest. Rather, they are relatively predictable through the application of an integrated model of judicial choice.



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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Mikesell John

Changing State Fiscal Capacity and Tax Effort in an Era of Devolving Government, 1981–2003

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 37, Number 4, Fall , 532-550

The American system of fiscal federalism requires that state and local governments finance the bulk of their budgets from own-source revenues, not transfers. This article analyzes state total taxable resources from 1981 to 2003 to evaluate how state fiscal capacity has changed in that time and how it has been affected by national recessions, to examine the extent to which fiscal capacity differs among states and whether capacity has converged, and to consider whether states have responded to service demands by changing tax effort and whether tax effort has converged in the face of interstate competition and other harmonizing forces. Because the capacity measure employed here can be compared across years, something impossible with major alternative indices, the analysis provides insights important to the analysis of fiscal federalism and of the implications of revenue devolution not previously possible.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Akai Nobuo , Nishimura Yukihiro , Sakata Masayo

Complementarity, fiscal decentralization and economic growth

in **Economics of Governance**, Volume 8, Number 4 , 339-362

Theories of the voluntary provision of public goods and development economics have clarified that complementarity in the production process is a crucial ingredient to understanding how alternative economic environments affect economic performance. This paper examines how the structures of intra- and inter-regional complementarity affect the relationship between economic growth and fiscal decentralization. We provide a theory that describes how fiscal decentralization affects economic growth under various structures of regional complementarity. Our empirical analysis, based on a panel data set of the fifty states of the United States over the period of 1992–1997, supports our theoretical specification of the production function. Also, we observe a hump-shaped relationship between fiscal decentralization and economic growth that is consistent with our theoretical result. Our analysis also shows that the optimal degree of fiscal decentralization conducive to economic growth is higher than the average of the data in some cases, and hence further decentralization is recommended for economic growth

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Masciandaro Donato

Divide et impera: Financial supervision unification and central bank fragmentation effect

in **European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 23, Issue 2, June 2007

This paper analyses how the role of the central bank can influence the unification of the overall financial supervision architecture. We claim that the policymaker's choices can be viewed as a sequential process in which the institutional status quo matters. The degree of unification in supervision is decided based on the position of the central bank. If the



central bank involvement in supervision and its reputation are high, the unification level is likely to be low, and vice versa. The central bank fragmentation effect can be explained through the three possible channels of moral hazard, bureaucracy, and reputation endowment effects. The empirical analysis—performed with ordered logit and probit functions on a dataset of 89 countries—confirms the robustness of the central bank fragmentation effect.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Gaign Carl, Riou Stéphane

Globalization, Asymmetric Tax Competition, and Fiscal Equalization

in *Journal of Public Economic Theory*, Vol. 9 Issue 5 , 901–925.

Trade integration and the increasing mobility of firms have raised the need for international coordination in corporate tax. In this paper, we study the ability of fiscal equalization to avoid the misallocation of capital across asymmetric countries arising from tax competition. Such a reform respects the principle according to which the tax decision is entirely left up to the nation and links nations engaged in strategic tax policy by transfers. We use a model of trade and location where firms produce under imperfect competition. Our analysis suggests that falling trade costs increase the distortion created by tax competition in the international allocation of production. However, we show that fiscal equalization based on differences in tax revenues or tax base can implement a more efficient tax wedge and spatial allocation of the tax base.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Girón Reguera Emilia

La incidencia de la reforma de los Estatutos de Autonomía en la financiación autonómica.

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 80

No abstract available

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Jorio Ettore

La perequazione nel ddl delega di attuazione del federalismo fiscale licenziato dal Governo il 3 agosto 2007

in *Federalismi*, Anno V , n. 18

No abstract available

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Salerno Giulio M.

Le Regioni ad autonomia speciale e il federalismo fiscale: una questione da affrontare



in *Federalismi*, Anno V, n. 12

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Jorio Ettore

Le contraddizioni e i limiti applicativi dell'art. 119 della Costituzione

in *Federalismi*, Anno V - n. 14

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Bouvier Michel

Repenser la solidarité financière entre collectivités locales : les nouveaux enjeux de la péréquation

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, N. 121-122 , 75-78

In France, introducing equalization into the constitution is fully justified on condition we recognize that local financial autonomy is rooted in fiscal autonomy and accept the consequences. However, the legal definition of equalization is now in need of interpretation: a contemporary concept of financial equalization cannot disregard global trends in public financial management, in particular the notion of responsibility. From that point of view, equalization understood in a strict sense as a way to compensate for inequalities does not favour a sense of responsibility on the part of those who benefit from it – rather it is a source of dependence and therefore in contradiction with the principle of self-management and autonomy of decision. To avoid this weakness, equalization has to exist in a financial culture characterised today by the replacement of the former means rationale by a results rationale. Equalization should be reconsidered today in the context of the good governance of a complex local and national financial system.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Revelli Federico , Tovmo Per

Revealed yardstick competition: Local government efficiency patterns in Norway

in *Journal of Urban Economics*, Volume 62, Issue 1 , 121-134



This paper investigates whether the production efficiency of Norwegian local governments exhibits a spatial pattern that is compatible with the hypothesis of yardstick competition. In order to check whether yardstick competition is really responsible for the observed spatial pattern and rule out alternative theoretical explanations, the paper exploits unique information from a survey on local politicians' attitudes towards comparative evaluation of local bureaus' performances against other jurisdictions' (benchmarking). Merging the latter information with the observed interdependence in efficiency, the paper provides evidence that comparative performance evaluation generates positive spatial auto-correlation in local efficiency indicators.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Dubois Eric , Leprince Matthieu , Paty Sonia

The Effects of Politics on Local Tax Setting: Evidence from France

in Urban Studies, Volume 44 Issue 8 , 1603 - 1618

This paper investigates the hypothesis that local politics has an impact on local taxation in the French public sector by using a cross-sectional dataset on departments in 1999. Political variables are included in a tax-setting equation to provide empirical evidence whether local governments in France adopt business taxation behaviour closer to the Leviathan government hypothesis, with higher tax rates when political competition decreases, or to the partisan government hypothesis, with differences in tax rates according to partisan variables. It is shown that the wider the seat's margin, the lower the tax rates, and that this cut is weaker in the case of a left-wing local majority than a right-wing majority. It is therefore concluded that the partisan government hypothesis is more supported by the French data than the Leviathan one, even after controlling for tax interdependencies between departments.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Hallerberg Mark, Strauch Rolf, Hagen Jürgen von

The design of fiscal rules and forms of governance in European Union countries

in European Journal of Political Economy, Volume 23, Issue 2, June 2007

This paper uses a new data set on budgetary institutions in Europe to examine the impact of fiscal rules and budget procedures in EU countries on public finances. It briefly describes the main pattern of budgetary institutions and their determinants across the EU 15 member states. Empirical evidence for the time period 1985–2004 suggests that the centralisation of budgeting procedures restrains public debt. In countries with one-party governments or coalition governments where parties are closely aligned and where political competition among them is low, this is achieved by the delegation of decision-making power to the minister of finance. Fiscal contracts that require countries to set multi-year targets and that reinforce those targets increase fiscal discipline in countries with ideologically dispersed coalitions and where parties regularly compete against each other.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Garcia-Valiñas María Angeles

What level of decentralization is better in an environmental context? An application to water policies



in **Environmental & Resource Economics**, Volume 38, Number 2, October , 213-229

This paper analyses the optimal division of environmental policymaking functions among the different levels of government. Using fiscal federalism theory, we identify the most appropriate level of decentralization in each case. The paper focuses on water resources policies, with an application to Spanish regions during the 1996–2001 period. A simulation allows the implementation of more efficient policies in the context of water resources. The results of the empirical exercise show that a decentralized scenario is preferred under strong differences among preferences.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Staikouras Panagiotis, Staikouras Christos, Agoraki Maria-Eleni

The effect of board size and composition on European bank performance

in **European Journal of Law and Economics**, Volume 23, Number 1 , 1-27

Banks are “special” financial institutions generating distinct corporate governance challenges. The present paper examines the relationship between two of the most pertinent corporate governance factors—that is, the size of the Board of Directors and the proportion of non-executive directors—and firm performance on a sample of 58 large European banks over the period 2002-2004. The empirical analysis embraces a number of bank-specific variables. Our results reveal that bank profitability is negatively related to the size of the Board of Directors, while the impact of Board composition, although positive in all models, is, in most cases, insignificant. The results are robust after controlling for firm-specific variables.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Helmut Stix

Impact of Central Bank Intervention during Periods of Speculative Pressure: Evidence from the European Monetary System

in **German Economic Review**, Vol. 8 Issue 3 , 399–427

This paper studies the effects of Banco de España and Banque de France interventions during the 1992–93 European Monetary System crises. In particular, a Markov Switching model is estimated where interventions influence the probabilities of transition between a calm and a turbulent regime. Furthermore, we analyze the impact of intervention on the expected rate of realignment. On balance, the results are consistent with the view that publicly known interventions but not secret interventions increased both the probability of switching to the turbulent regime as well as the expected realignment rate.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Ullrich Katrin

Introducing Instruments of Central Bank Accountability in a Monetary Union

in **Open Economies Review**, Volume 18, Number 3 , 239-262



With an increasing number of independent central banks, accountability of central banks is also getting more attention. This paper analyses the possibility of introducing instruments of central bank accountability in a monetary union. In our model, monetary policy is influenced by the governments of the member states according to the degree of independence granted to the central bank. Instruments of democratic accountability are introduced which generate different expected losses for a government. The amount of the expected loss will determine the approval of a government to the implementation of a particular mechanism. We show that the agreement between the governments will only be unanimous for the definition of the inflation target of the central bank.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Surico Paolo

The Monetary Policy of the European Central Bank

in **Scandinavian Journal of Economics**, Vol. 109 Issue 1 , 115–135

The first six years of ECB monetary policy are examined using a general framework that allows central bankers to weight differently positive and negative deviations of inflation, output and the interest rate from their reference values. The empirical analysis on synthetic euro-area data suggests that the objective of price stability is symmetric, whereas the objectives of real activity and interest-rate stabilizations are not. Output contractions imply larger policy responses than output expansions of the same size, while movements in the interest rate are larger when the level of the interest rate is relatively high. The hypothesis of M3 growth-rate targeting is rejected.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Sauer Stephan, Sturm Jan-Egbert

Using Taylor Rules to Understand European Central Bank Monetary Policy

in **German Economic Review**, Vol. 8 Issue 3 , 375–398

Over the last decade, the simple instrument policy rule developed by Taylor has become a popular tool for evaluating the monetary policy of central banks. As an extensive empirical analysis of the European Central Bank's (ECB) past behaviour still seems to be in its infancy, we estimate several instrument policy reaction functions for the ECB to shed some light on actual monetary policy in the euro area under the presidency of Wim Duisenberg and answer questions like whether the ECB has actually followed a stabilizing or a destabilizing rule so far. Looking at contemporaneous Taylor rules, the evidence presented suggests that the ECB is accommodating changes in inflation and hence follows a destabilizing policy. However, this impression seems to be largely due to the lack of a forward-looking perspective in such specifications. Either assuming rational expectations and using a forward-looking specification, or using expectations as derived from surveys result in Taylor rules that do imply a stabilizing role of the ECB. The use of real-time industrial production data does not seem to play such a significant role as in the case of the United States.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Mitchneck Beth



Governance and land use decision-making in Russian cities and regions

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 59, Issue 5 July , 735 – 760

Using results of an elite survey from the late 1990s, this study examines various arguments to explain the roots of the slow pace of land marketisation in Russia. These include three arguments that focus in turn on structural impediments, resource generation opportunities provided by land ownership, and domineering local governments. The study also analyses two other explanations of spatial differences: the impact of local economic and demographic structure and urban governance. Findings offer some support for each of the dominant approaches but little evidence to support the importance of local economic structure. However, an analysis of governance and social practices are found to be useful in highlighting the relationship between beliefs, practices, and land allocation

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Furmankiewicz Marek

International Co-operation of Polish municipalities: Directions and Effects

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 98, Issue 3, July , 349-359

The paper describes and discusses the outcomes of the cross-border and international co-operation (CIC) of Polish local governments in the years 1990–2004 (before Polish accession to the European Union), indicated by local government officers in a questionnaire survey, and finally it gives some general conclusions as to future CIC support policy. In 2004, nearly half of all existing 2,500 Polish municipalities participated in CIC. They achieved most frequently non-material local effects of co-operation in euroregions and in town-twinning (citizen and professional exchange, etc.). The economic effects such as investments, equipment purchases, innovative management, etc. were achieved to a lower degree, but they were important in improving local public services in dozens of urban municipalities. In general, CIC enhanced mainly European integration in creating links between communities and helping to overcome negative national prejudices, but to a lesser degree integration interpreted as levelling economic differences.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Aragón Reyes Manuel

La organización institucional de las Comunidades Autónomas

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 79

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Merloni Francesco

Le funzioni sovracomunali tra Provincia e Regione

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 5 suppl. , 45 - 60



No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Carrillo Marc

Los derechos, un contenido constitucional de los Estatutos de Autonomía

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 80

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Ferrara Antonio

Questione settentrionale. Dalla grande alla piccola secessione: la migrazione territoriale dei comuni come istanza di specializzazione in deroga ai principi del federalismo fiscale

in *Federalismi*, Anno V - n. 15

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Rhéaume Jacques

Québec : une société communautaire ?

in *Esprit Critique*, Vol. 10, N° 01, Automne 2007

<http://www.espritcritique.fr/Dossiers/article.asp?t03code=67&varticle=esp1001article07&vrep=1001>

L'action communautaire recouvre un ensemble de pratiques sociales allant de l'organisation de collectivités locales à l'économie sociale et solidaire. Une clarification des notions autour du « communautaire » en contexte nord-américain s'impose, montrant comment l'action communautaire s'inscrit dans un mouvement social important de la société civile visant la promotion de la qualité de vie et de la défense des droits des citoyens. Une présentation des grands moments historiques de l'action communautaire au Québec des années 1950 à aujourd'hui permet de montrer la diversité des référents théoriques et pratiques d'un tel mouvement.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Suksi Markku

Sub-National Issues: Local Government Reform, Re-Districting of Administrative Jurisdictions, and the Åland



Islands in the European Union

in *European public Law*, Volume 13 (2007) Issue 3 , 379-406

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Caamaño Domínguez Francisco

Sí, pueden (Declaraciones de derechos y Estatutos de Autonomía).

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 79

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Krane Dale

The Middle Tier in American Federalism: State Government Policy Activism During the Bush Presidency

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 37, Number 3, Summer , 453-477

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Clemente di San Luca Guido

Titolarità ed esercizio della funzione amministrativa nel nuovo assetto del sistema autonomistico locale

in *Federalismi*, Anno V , n. 18

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Belloubet-Frier Nicole

Vers un modèle européen d'administration locale ?

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, N. 121-122 , 5-18

Building a European model of local administration would seem out of the question, given the very different historical backgrounds of individual states and their particular forms of political and administrative organisation. Nonetheless, one wonders if it might not be possible. Although processes of setting up local autonomy have resulted in marked disparities in the delegation, transfer and devolution of competences, as well as in the organisation of controls,



resistance to a single model does not preclude some very real convergences: the emphasis on decentralisation in all European countries including those of the east, supported by the European Council in the aim of ensuring democratic stability, the harmonisation of fundamental competences, the search for ways to find the necessary financial resources, and finally, equalization ensured by a responsible state. These principles of local autonomy could be said to underlie a shared idea for a future European model of local administration, in its first stages of construction.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Bull Martin, Pasquino Gianfranco

A long quest in vain: Institutional reforms in Italy

in West European Politics, n. 4, vol. 30, september , 670-691

ABSTRACT: The perceived need for institutional and constitutional reform has figured prominently in the Italian political debate over the past three decades, yet the outcome has been characterised by continual failure. The most recent failure - the rejection of the centre-right's proposed root and branch overhaul of the Constitution in a referendum held in June 2006 - offers a valuable prism through which to analyse the main institutional deficiencies (as apparently perceived by the political class) of the Italian political system, and the attempt to overcome them in the past 15 years: executive-legislative relations (and notably the powers of the Prime Minister and bicameralism), devolution, and (formally beyond the Constitution but inseparable from its functioning) the electoral system. The decisive rejection of the centre-right's proposals in 2006 increases the dilemma confronting the Italian political system in its quest to secure constitutional reform by precluding certain types and methods of reform while failing to quash aspirations for its achievement amongst politicians and the public.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Del Duca Louis F. , Del Duca Patrick

An Italian Federalism?--The State, Its Institutions and National Culture as Rule of Law Guarantor

in American Journal of Comparative Law, vol. 54 - n. 4 , 799 - 842

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Zenobi Laura

Autonomia e democrazia nella transizione spagnola. La "questione catalana" come fattore di definizione della Spagna democratica

in Spagna Contemporanea, Anno XV, n. 30 , 113-136

No abstract available



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Staiano Sandro

Autonomie al centro - Sedi e forme della rappresentanza territoriale

in *Federalismi*, Anno V , n. 18

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Chanie Paulos

Clientelism and Ethiopia's post-1991 decentralisation

in *Journal of Modern African Studies* , Volume 45, Issue 03, September , 355-384

This article addresses the question of why Ethiopia's post-1991 decentralisation reform is not taking the desired direction of matching diverse needs with available resources and creating accountable, responsive and autonomous regional governments. Given regional governments' relatively diverse socio-economic positions, the intention of the reform to create autonomous regions with devolved administrative, fiscal and political power is appropriate. Nonetheless, the implementation of the elements of the reform – expenditure assignment, revenue assignment, intergovernmental fiscal transfer and sub-national borrowing – is flawed. Existing studies that question the effectiveness of Ethiopia's devolution focus on political or fiscal aspects, and fail to link the de facto centre-region political power relationship with intergovernmental fiscal relations. This article, based on detailed field research in three regional governments, argues that the flawed intergovernmental fiscal relations reform is best explained by the clientelistic relationship between central and regional political parties.

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Brunazzo Marco

Da "policy-taker" a "policy-shaper". L'europeizzazione della politica regionale dell'Italia

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XXXVII, Numero 2, Agosto

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Blitz Brad

Decentralisation, Citizenship and Mobility: Residency Restrictions and Skilled Migration in Moscow



in **Citizenship Studies**, n. 4, vol. 11, september , 383-404

ABSTRACT: This study explores the effects of political restructuring on citizenship in contemporary Russia by examining the impact of decentralisation on freedom of movement in Moscow. It seeks to explain why, in spite of the change of regime and delegation of authority from federal to regional government, there has been a marked continuity in the practice of residency controls that restrict freedom of movement. It investigates the conditions for skilled migrants who wish to settle in Moscow and examines how the deconcentration of authority over residency policy has produced new inequalities such as access to essential services, employment, and the property market which have effectively created new classes of citizenship based on differentiated options for mobility. The range of options is determined by geographical location, place of residence, occupational status, and political engagement, and is illustrated by three types of citizenship: (1) full Muscovite status; (2) conditional subjects; and (3) resident participants. The empirical basis for this study draws upon data gathered during field visits to Moscow in January 2005 and winter 2006 when interviews (n = 36) and focus groups (four) were conducted with migrants from other regions and employers.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Baral Nabin, Heinen Joel T.

Decentralization and people's participation in conservation: a comparative study from the Western Terai of Nepal

in **International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology**, Volume 14, Number 5, October , 520-531

Nepal formally embarked on decentralized participatory conservation programmes in 1990. To assess who participates in and benefits from such programmes, stratified random questionnaire surveys of 234 households and interviews with 29 user group chairs were conducted in the buffer zones of two protected areas of the Nepalese Terai: Bardia National Park and Suklaphanta Wildlife Reserve. The Poisson regression shows that gender, education, household affluence, and conservation attitudes were significant predictors of people's participation in decentralized conservation programmes, while family size, ethnicity and resource dependency were not. The benefits of participation outweighed the costs based on respondents' estimates. The performance of grassroots organizations and levels of participation were correlated. Nepal's decentralized participatory conservation has achieved efficiency, relative equity and effectiveness to some extent. Yet the central government should devolve more power to local communities to sustain the achievements as well as to provide more equitable benefits to residents to ensure the effectiveness and sustainability of conservation programmes.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Hamer John H.

Decentralization as a Solution to the Problem of Cultured Diversity: An Example from Ethiopia

in **Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute**, Volume 77, Number 2 , 207-225

The failure of the nation state in sub-Saharan Africa has been a topic of great concern in recent years. In this article I explore in detail the historical experience of one ethnic group in the Horn of Africa, the Sidama, and show how the nation state has had a comparatively negative effect upon another group in southern Ethiopia, the Maale. For the Sidama, historic disparagement by the state, though discouraged by the present Ethiopian government, is shown



to continue into the present in regard to dispute settlement and policy making by the elders. The Maale, though different in culture and social structure, experienced similar distrust and disparagement in Ethiopia's revolutionary period (1974-91). In the case of the Sidama, indications are that this has continued into the post-revolutionary period of state-sponsored parliamentary democracy. As a solution I propose the 'indirect state' as a means not simply of maintaining the past culture of the Sidama, but also of encouraging the people to originate change for themselves. Rather than institutional edicts being imposed from above by the nation state, the people will, in conjunction with other ethnic groups, negotiate both vertically and horizontally to reach consensual agreements for change.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Schwanengel Wito

Die Modernisierung des deutschen Bundesstaats zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit

in *Teoria e diritto dello Stato*, Vol. 3 / 05

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

López Alba Nogueira

Dévolution de compétences du niveau régional vers le niveau local : décentralisation, asymétrie et concertation

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, N. 121-122 , 161-174

The article studies the processes by which competences are devolved from regional to local institutions. As devolution involves an extension of the latter's competences, it requires however an appropriate context for the exercise of competences. It also supposes the reinforcement of a regional structure in all Europe, a structure which in some cases is based on demands of a political and historical nature and in others on economic and Community integration considerations. In many states, rather than a process of devolution, various mechanisms allow local institutions to collaborate with and participate in state and regional decision-making processes, which also strengthens local powers.

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Gomez Enriqueta Exposito

El principio de leal colaboración en el sistema regional español

in *Teoria e diritto dello Stato*, Vol. 3 / 05

No abstract available

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

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Moraski Bryon J., Reisinger William M.

Eroding Democracy: Federal Intervention in Russia's Gubernatorial Elections
in *Democratization*, Vol. 14, n. 4, September , 603-621

Under some conditions, electoral politics may undermine democratization, even when the elections themselves adequately meet the usual standards. To illustrate this point, the article examines the dynamics of gubernatorial elections held in the 89 regions that comprise the Russian Federation during the first term of President Vladimir Putin. The analysis considers whether pressure from the federal executive and strategic changes in election timing influenced the results of these elections. The study contends that Putin's experience with gubernatorial elections led him to question their value and, ultimately, to eliminate them. Meanwhile, several of Russia's governors sent clear signals that they did not value free and fair elections. Since governors presiding over Russia's poorest regions were also the ones most likely to be insulated from public accountability, voters saw little value in defending the institution of gubernatorial elections. This helps explain the lack of public outcry following Putin's decision.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Barrera A.

Estado, sociedad y territorio. El debate actual sobre descentralización y autonomías en la región andina
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 210 , 189 - 202

Since the late eighties, the Andean countries have undergone decentralization processes which, in some cases, have increased the capacities of their territories and regions. However, despite these advances, the processes of constitutional reform in Bolivia and Ecuador, where what is at stake is not a simple administrative transformation but rather a broader reformulation of the State as an «imaginary unit», suggest that the theme is by no means exhausted. This article argues that during recent years the territorial disparities within each of the countries have increased and suggests an agenda for the construction of a decentralized State which is also participative, inclusive and democratic.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Murphy Mary C.

Europeanization and the Sub-National Level: Changing Patterns of Governance in Northern Ireland
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 17 Issue 3 , 293 - 315

Like all sub-national units of the European Union (EU), Northern Ireland is subject to the 'Europeanizing' influences of the EU policy process. This influence became more profound and emphatic in the period after 1999 when powers were devolved to new sub-national political institutions. New institutional structures, evolving formal and informal linkages and changed policy mechanisms, have been subtly influenced by a process of Europeanization. The process, however, has been constrained by the resilience of the community political divide and the sensitivity that surrounds identity in Northern Ireland. The impact of the Europeanization process has not, therefore, diminished the distinctiveness of the Northern Ireland sub-national unit nor is it resulting in any significant degree of sub-national homogenization with the EU



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Vandelli Luciano

Formes et tendances des rapports entre États et collectivités territoriales

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, N. 121-122 , 19-34

The article gives a broad description of relations between States and territorial authorities in Europe: the principle of cooperation, relations between national and regional lawmakers, between national and regional governments, between territorial authorities on the one hand, regions and States on the other, from the point of view of forms of collaboration, which can be very diverse – preventive consultations, concertations, common agencies and entities, obligatory information exchanges. In addition to matters of form and procedure, the article also discusses basic issues, such as going beyond a rigid distribution of competences, or the different aims that can be achieved by cooperation among public entities – aims related to the general good, such as the coordination and harmonisation of certain public services, or political aims, as opposition to the majority in power at the centre.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Ferry Martin

From Government to Governance: Polish Regional Development Agencies in a Changing Regional Context

in *East European Politics and Societies*, Volume 21, Number 3, August , 447-474

This article charts the evolving role of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) in Poland. It argues that changes to regional institutional and policy environments, linked to processes of regionalisation, EU accession, and the administration of European Union structural funds, have prompted increasing diversification of RDA activities. Moreover, questions of democratic accountability and economic efficiency are becoming increasingly pointed. Has regionalisation boosted the democratic accountability and regional orientation of agencies? Has administrative reform simplified agencies' delivery of development programmes? What influence has the administration of structural funds had on this? The article explores these issues, stressing generally that theoretical analyses of RDA activities must take increasing account of agency "positioning," i.e., their role and purpose in an increasingly crowded and complex regional policy arena. Future scenarios for the evolution of RDAs in Poland are also outlined.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Andrews Christina W. , de Vries Michiel S.

High expectations, varying outcomes: decentralization and participation in Brazil, Japan, Russia and Sweden

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , September 2007, Volume 73, No. 3 , 424-451

In the past 20 years, decentralization has been proposed as a strategy for enhancing public participation. Aid-providing



organizations, such as the World Bank, stimulated decentralization processes in several countries in the hope that this would promote civic empowerment, diminish corruption, enhance efficiency, and improve public service delivery. This assumption forms the basis for a comparative analysis into the relation between decentralization and participation at the local level in Brazil, Japan, Russia and Sweden. A multi-level regression analysis using the data of the Democracy and Local Governance Project was undertaken in order to test the 'one size fits all' and the 'diversity in development' hypotheses. The results show that the second hypothesis was corroborated. Perceived autonomy had a different impact on openness to participation depending on the country considered; in one country (Japan), perceived autonomy diminished public officials' willingness to be open to public participation.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Giovannetti Pierangelo

Il futuro delle autonomie regionali: riforme e tentazioni secessioniste

in *Mulino (il)*, n. 5, settembre-ottobre, 2007 , 866-873

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Barbati Carla

La mobilité des compétences

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, N. 121-122 , 49-60

Mobility of competences refers to a dynamic mechanism through which certain competences are shifted from the level at which they are normally implemented to the one where they are most appropriate. The impact of this mechanism on institutional systems and its relations with the rationale behind decentralisation depend on the nature of the context – the assumed realities and conditions that enable such a mechanism to be put in place. Other important factors are the relations it may or may not have with other elements enabling such a "displacement" of competences; the space that systems assign to "areas of uniformity", of which it is an instrument, and how the different levels of government define their own roles and attributions.

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

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Bin Roberto , Ruggiu Ilenia

La rappresentanza territoriale in Italia. Una proposta di riforma del sistema delle Conferenze, passando per il definitivo abbandono del modello Camera delle Regioni



in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 6 , 903 - 955

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Autin Jean-Louis

La relance du processus français de décentralisation

in *Teoria e diritto dello Stato*, Vol. 3 / 05

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Santaolalla Lopez F.

La representación territorial y el Senado. En torno a la propuesta del Consejo de Estado

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 79 , 47 - 82

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Cole Alistair

La territorialisation de l'action publique au Royaume-Uni

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, N. 121-122 , 131-144

Devolution refers to the process of transferring legislative and/or regulatory authority to directly elected regional parliaments or Assemblies. The UK has adopted a model of asymmetrical devolution which has produced variable outcomes. There is full legislative devolution in Scotland, an intermittent power sharing executive in Northern Ireland, 'executive' devolution in Wales, but no directly elected regional institutions in England. Devolution has fundamentally reshaped the constitutional map in important respects and the process is likely to continue. Though a change of government in London would undermine existing patterns of co-ordination, it would probably encourage a more explicit codification relations between the UK central government and the devolved authorities. codification is necessary given the prospect of diverging constitutional futures.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Duque Villanueva



Las conferencias sectoriales

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 79 , 113 - 153

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Le Lidec Patrick

Le jeu du compromis. L'État et les collectivités territoriales dans la décentralisation en France

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, N. 121-122 , 111-130

France has recently legislated important transfers of competences from the state to local authorities. These transfers have often been presented as the result of a unilateral strategy to lessen the administrative burden on the state by shifting it to the local authorities. The article questions this simplistic approach, showing that from the time it was put on the agenda to the time it was elaborated and the reform put in place, decentralisation has been a matter of compromise between the state and territorial authorities.

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

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Yoder Jennifer A.

Leading the Way to Regionalization in Post-Communist Europe: An Examination of the Process and Outcomes of Regional Reform in Poland

in *East European Politics and Societies*, Volume 21, Number 3, August , 424-446

This article examines Poland's process of regionalization since the late 1990s. It identifies several factors that led Poland to introduce self-government at the regional level both earlier and to a greater extent than its neighbors in East Central Europe. The analysis then turns to the competences and financing of the Polish regions, or voivodeships. Although Poland has taken steps to decentralize, it remains a unitary state.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Hoorens Dominique , Chatrie Isabelle

Les évolutions institutionnelles et financières du secteur public territorial européen entre 2000 et 2005

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, N. 121-122 , 61-74

The furthering of decentralisation in Europe has brought about a great deal of institutional reorganisation over the past years. Due to the extension of competences transferred by central administration and growing needs for local public services, the public expenditure of the 89,250 infra-national European entities has steadily increased. Everywhere in Europe, the



territorial public sector has become the main actor in public investment, representing nearly 70% of the total. To back up these trends, financial reforms have been introduced to enable local and regional authorities to diversify and increase their income from taxes. This decentralisation has not upset the main financial equilibriums of the infra-national sector : on the whole, debts and local public deficits have remained under control.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Rolla G.

Lo sviluppo del regionalismo asimmetrico e il principio di autonomia nei nuovi sistemi costituzionali: un approccio di diritto comparato.

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1-2 , 387 - 399

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Depussay Laurent

L'unité étatique au moyen des asymétries institutionnelles

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, N. 121-122 , 35-48

The statutory diversification of territorial entities, regions in particular, is increasing within traditionally unitary States. The development of these institutional asymmetries raises the question of whether the unitary state should be maintained, abandoned, or redefined. This question is often approached solely from the point of view of horizontal asymmetries – between authorities – a situation favourable to a territorialisation of law, considered detrimental to the unity of the State. On the other hand, if we resituate this somewhat rapid analysis in the more global, often neglected perspective of vertical asymmetries – between the authorities and the State – the diversity of territories then becomes a vector of territorial unity.

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

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Stegmann Mccallion Malin

Multi-Level Governance in Sweden?

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 17 Issue 3 , 335 - 351

This article examines whether multi-level governance (MLG) as a practice has been established in Sweden. It does so by dividing multi-level governance into vertical and horizontal dimensions. The article argues that there is a multi-level policy process within Swedish regional policy and that a degree of network governance has been introduced in Sweden through the Regional Growth Programmes and regional partnerships. Regional partnerships also demonstrate how the horizontal and vertical aspects of MLG have become inter-twined. However, the article concludes that vertical MLG has not yet been fully introduced in Sweden because there is no new regional level. However, with the recommendations of



the Committee on Public Sector Responsibilities, a new regional level in Sweden may not be too distant.

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

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Hazell Robert

Out of Court: Why Have the Courts Played No Role in Resolving Devolution Disputes in the United Kingdom?

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Volume 37, Number 4, Fall , 578-598

The U.K. is an outlier in comparative terms in having experienced no litigation about the division of powers following the introduction of devolution in 1998. Conventional wisdom ascribes this to the coincidence of Labour-led governments in London, Scotland, and Wales. But other factors are also at work, which are informative about the flexible nature of the British constitution and the British approach to devolution. These include the continuing sovereignty of the U.K. Parliament, the limited extent of devolution in the U.K., elaborate checks to ensure devolved legislation remains within competence, and adjustment mechanisms built into the original devolution settlement. The absence of litigation has obvious advantages, but also disadvantages, in that the interpretation of the division of powers under devolution remains secret law.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Taylor Mark Zachary

Political Decentralization and Technological Innovation: Testing the Innovative Advantages of Decentralized States

in Review of Policy Research , Vol. 24 Issue 3 , 231–257

Are politically decentralized states better at fostering long-run technological innovation than centralized states? Societies with decentralized governments are widely seen as agile, competitive, and well structured to adapt to innovation's gale of creative destruction. Meanwhile, centralized states, even when democratic, have come to be viewed as rigid and thus hostile to the risks, costs, and change associated with new technology, or prone to cling too long to foolhardy or outdated technological projects. Therefore government decentralization is often perceived as a necessary institutional foundation for encouraging long-run technological innovation. However, in this article, I analyze data on international patent activity, scientific publications, and high-technology exports, and show that there exists little evidence for an aggregate relationship between government structure and technological innovation.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Moore Carolyn

The Impact of Devolution on EU-Level Representation: British Regional Offices in Brussels

in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 17 Issue 3 , 275 - 291

Devolution has had a substantial impact on the way in which UK regions organize their representative activity in the EU. The model of stakeholder partnerships, focused largely on economic development issues, has been complemented by a set of devolved regional actors. Relations between the new representative offices in Brussels have been configured in



such a way as to maintain the primacy of the UK negotiating stance; a framework of incentives links the new executive bodies to the UK's Permanent Representation, UKREP, in an effort to prevent the mediation of multiple policy positions. Nevertheless, the recent establishment of regional parliamentary representative offices alongside the executives of the devolved territories increases the complexity of British interest mediation in Brussels, and offers potential for fracturing of the existing system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Belém Lopes Dawisson

A ONU tem autoridade? Um exercício de contabilidade política (1945-2006)

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , Vol. 50 - No. 1/2007

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Scheipers Sibylle

Civilization vs toleration: the new UN Human Rights Council and the normative foundations of the international order

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 10, Number 3, September , 219-242

This article aims to explain the institutional design of the new United Nations (UN) human rights organ, the Human Rights Council (HRC). During the negotiation phase, it was contested between the North and the South: while the former opted for an exclusive body with a high membership threshold, the latter pressed for an inclusive structure and cooperative mechanisms. The eventual institutional design of the HRC features a moderate membership threshold. Both hegemonic stability theory and domestic-level approaches have difficulties explaining that outcome. I will argue that the institutional design of the HRC can be explained as the outcome of a discursive struggle between the North that promoted the paradigm of civilization and the South that endorsed the paradigm of toleration. The institutional design of the HRC, it will be argued, can be interpreted as a compromise between both paradigms in that it features a reflexive structure: the membership rules of the HRC contain the proviso that its members have to live up to the very standards that the HRC seeks to promote before they can legitimately place other states under scrutiny.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Cerone J. P.

Dynamic Equilibrium: The Evolution of US Attitudes toward International Criminal Courts and Tribunals

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 18 n. 2 , 315 - 335

This article examines the seemingly dynamic relationship between the United States and international criminal courts. Its scope is limited to a description of the attitude of the US government toward international criminal courts and tribunals,



both at present and historically, and how that attitude has evolved. The article surveys US attitudes toward all of the major international criminal courts created or proposed over the past century. The US attitude is influenced by a range of factors, including such variables as ideological leanings of those in power and the strength of certain personalities (proponents or opponents). The impact of such variables tends to be moderated over time. The survey also reveals certain consistent themes underlying US attitudes toward international criminal courts. One consistent element would appear to be the (un)likelihood of prosecution of US nationals. The US has tended to support international criminal courts where the US government has (or is perceived by US officials to have) a significant degree of control over the court, or where the possibility of prosecution of US nationals is either expressly precluded or otherwise remote. If the US is assured that US nationals will not be prosecuted (or, at least, not without its consent), it will engage in a balancing of interests to determine its level of support or opposition. Ideological leanings will of course colour this balancing of interests and at times define some of those interests. To the extent that an administration's ideological strain in favour of accountability is stronger than its ideological strain opposed to the creation of international authority, the prospect of US support of a given international criminal court increases.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sanwal Mukul

**Evolution of Global Environmental Governance and the United Nations
in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 7, Number 3, August , 1-12

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Pattison James

**Humanitarian Intervention and International Law: The Moral Importance of an Intervener's Legal Status
in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Vol. 10, n. 3, September , 301-319

Although states have recently agreed that there is a universal responsibility to undertake humanitarian intervention to protect populations from egregious violations of human rights, it is unclear who exactly in the international community should intervene. One option, favoured by many, is that intervention should be undertaken by those interveners whose action would be legal according to current international law. This article considers this option by assessing the moral importance of an intervener's legal status. I begin by suggesting that according to the current international law on humanitarian intervention, UN Security Council authorisation is required for an intervener's action to be legal. Then, in the main part of the article, I critically examine four reasons for treating an intervener's legal status as morally significant. Specifically, I argue that it is significantly less morally important that an intervener have UN Security Council authorisation, and therefore be legal, than is commonly assumed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Fanchiotti Vittorio

Il processo davanti alla Corte penale internazionale: principi e garanzie



in *Questione giustizia*, n.1 , 93-104

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Drieskens Edith, Marchesi Daniele, Kerremans Bart

**In Search of a European Dimension in the UN Security Council
in *International Spectator (The)***, Vol. XLII, n. 3, July-September

Both Belgium and Italy want to give their current mandate in the UN Security Council a European dimension. Yet, the conclusion that they are natural partners in doing so may be premature. Before focussing on Belgian and Italian objectives, the article presents the current state of the ongoing reform processes in Brussels and New York and of EU actorness in the Security Council more generally, as both are critical for estimating the prospects for a stronger European profile. It concludes by discussing the possibilities and constraints that the non-permanent members face within this framework.

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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jeet Chandra

**International Criminal Justice. Issues and Perspectives
in *International Studies***, n. 3, vol. 44, july , 253-263

ABSTRACT: The establishment of ad hoc international criminal tribunals for former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, the coming into force of the permanent International Criminal Court (ICC) and recent attempts to prosecute former dictators and tyrants for gross violations of human rights, and the growing salience of international humanitarian law have led to the growth of literature on what is popularly known as international criminal justice. The book under review has resulted from an international conference on 'From a Culture of Impunity to a Culture of Accountability' organized by the United Nations University and the Netherlands Institute of Human Rights (SIM) in Utrecht in November 2001. As the book contains revised and edited papers presented at the conference, it lacks a thematic and sequential presentation of issues. Chapters appear to be disconnected and it is hard to comprehend the rationale behind categorizing chapters in separate parts of the book.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Plancarte Francisco, Naranjo Garcia

**Legal Basis of the Integral Review of the San Francisco Charter of 1945
in *Federalist Debate (The)***, Year XX, n. 1, February , 9-11

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

M.I. Franklin

**NGOs and the "Information Society": Grassroots Advocacy at the UN—A Cautionary Tale
in Review of Policy Research**, Vol. 24 Issue 4, 309–330

This article looks at the United Nations-brokered World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) in light of nongovernmental organization participation as a full partner in consultations and decisions. Combining participation-observation fieldwork, interviews, and eye-witness accounts with a selective content analysis of key WSIS documentation, official and dissenting, the article presents the occupational hazards of this sort of encounter between civil society participants, government, and business sectors as global information and communication technologies (ICTs) and media agenda-setting partners. It focuses on the hazards of key word strategies in what are now irrevocably computer-embedded domains for action and access. Hyperlinked textual production and related key word search functionalities are now, I argue, integral to global agenda-setting in the intertwined areas of ICT, media, and sociocultural policy. This formal encounter between multilateral institutions and social justice and ICT advocacy, online and on the ground, raises new questions for policy research in these domains, questions that require fresh approaches.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chesterman Simon

**Ownership in Theory and in Practice: Transfer of Authority in UN Statebuilding Operations
in Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding**, Volume 1 Issue 1, 3 – 26

The language of 'ownership' is commonly used in statebuilding operations, but it is not clear that the term has either consistency or substance. It certainly does not have its literal meaning, in the sense of rights of possession either of property or a formal stake in an organization, such as shares in a corporation. Instead ownership tends to be used figuratively - much as 'buy-in' in this context usually does not suggest an actual financial transaction - to refer in a more vague way to the relationship between stakeholders, with meanings ranging from a sense of attachment to a programme or operation, to (rarely) actual controlling authority. This essay explores how ownership emerged as a shibboleth of the development community and how it has influenced UN statebuilding operations. The emphasis will be on rule of law institutions, but the critique of ownership applies to post-conflict operations more generally.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Rubin Barnett, Jones Bruce

**Prevention of Violent Conflict: Tasks and Challenges for the United Nations
in Global Governance**, n. 3, vol. 13, july-september



ABSTRACT: In endorsing the recommendations of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, then UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan committed to strengthening the organization's function to prevent armed conflict. A review of the UN's track record in the three types of conflict prevention—operational, structural, and systemic—shows its success has been limited to cases of interstate conflict between smaller powers. Serious political and institutional obstacles will continue to thwart the UN in preventing wars between powerful states or managing internal conflicts. However, the renewed prevention agenda offers an opportunity to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and his team to refocus the UN's efforts to take advantage of the organization's potential as a catalyst and strategic center of political action while keeping a realistic view of its capabilities to implement conflict prevention in different contexts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Müller Daniel

Procedural Developments at the International Court of Justice

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), n. 1, vol. 6 , 221-232

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Schrijver Nico

Reforming the UN Security Council in Pursuance of Collective Security

in Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Volume 12, Number 1, Spring , 127-138

In many circles, the most ideal composition of the UN Security Council is a popular subject of discussion, which, by now, could easily be turned into a party game. Such discussions have generated a host of ideas on the most suitable composition of the Council, taking into account geopolitical realities. Notwithstanding all of this, the September 2005 World Summit could only agree to disagree on the issue of Security Council reform as evidenced by the notably vague paragraph requesting the General Assembly to 'review progress' on this matter by the end of 2005.¹ This article purports to assess the need for, and modalities of, Security Council reform. Obviously, the most appropriate size and composition of the Security Council depends on its tasks. This issue will be addressed in Section 1. The second section highlights the Charter criteria for the composition of the Council, while the third section reviews the various reform proposals. Lastly, Section 4 discusses some alternative ideas and concludes with some final observations.

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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Klabbers Jan

Reforming the United Nations: The Struggle for Legitimacy and Effectiveness
in *International Organizations Law Review*, n. 1, vol. 4, 145-147

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Deller Nicole

Responsibility to Protect: Engaging Civil Society
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XX, n. 2, July, 37-39

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Terlingen Yvonne

The Human Rights Council: A New Era in UN Human Rights Work?
in *Ethics and International Affairs*, n. 2, vol. 21, summer, 167-178

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Strieder Dominique

The Security Council and War in the Twenty-First Century
in *Peace Review*, n. 2, vol. 19, april, 197-205

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kaasa Stine Madland

The UN Commission on Sustainable Development: Which Mechanisms Explain Its Accomplishments?
in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 7, Number 3, August, 107-129

The UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) has been criticized for lack of effectiveness since its establishment in 1993. The main objective of this article is to describe and explain the mechanisms that affect the work



of the CSD, in order to understand how it would be possible to enhance the potential for effectiveness. The study aims to apply the perspectives of “distribution of capabilities” and “institutional design” to evaluate the CSD's accomplishments during its first ten-year period. I conclude that the CSD has achieved some results in monitoring and reviewing the process on the implementation of Agenda 21 and promoting dialogue and building partnerships for sustainable development, due to the role of the secretariat and nongovernmental organizations. However, the member states' positions and interests have contributed to the CSD's low goal attainment, especially in the area of policy guidance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Klabbers Jan

The United Nations Security Council in the Post-Cold War Era: Applying the Principle of Legality in *Netherlands International Law Review*, n. 1, vol. 4 , 153-156

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

van Haersolte-van Hof Jacomijn J.

The revitalization of the permanent Court of Arbitration in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 54, Issue 2 , 395-413

After decades of virtual inactivity, the PCA's workload has significantly increased since the early eighties. In particular, the last few years have seen significant development. The nature of the PCA's work is diverse. In its capacity as designating authority under the UNCITRAL Rules, it deals with cases of a commercial and sometimes of a mixed state/non-state nature. Where it acts as Registry, the PCA's cases are usually of a mixed nature, and include several investment arbitrations. For the future, additional responsibilities on the basis of the revised UNCITRAL Rules would be a welcome development. A focus on specific niches, such as mass claims, would set the PCA apart from alternative institutes, which would further ensure a continuing role over the next decades.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Roscini Marco

Threats of armed force and contemporary international law in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 54, Issue 2 , 229-277

The present article analyses threats of armed force by states against other states. After determining what conduct amounts to a ‘threat of force’, the current status of its prohibition is investigated. In particular, this article contends that the prohibition of the threat of force contained in Article 2(4) of the UN Charter reflects customary international law. The



fact that only a few states have supported the legality of threats for certain law enforcement purposes prevents the prohibition of any threats of force from being qualified as *jus cogens*. This status should be limited to the prohibition of threats of aggression, which constitutes the common denominator of the practice and *opinio juris* of all states.

The consequences of threats of force under the law of treaties, the law of state responsibility and international criminal law are then discussed, in particular treaties, the conclusion of which has been obtained by the threat of force in violation of the UN Charter are void *ab initio*. Article 41 of the ILC Articles on State Responsibility could also entail a duty of non-recognition of situations procured by the threat of aggression. On the other hand, threats of aggression (let alone threats of less serious forms of the use of force) cannot be qualified as international crimes entailing individual responsibility.

As to remedies at the disposal of the victim state, armed responses to threats of force would be lawful only within the limits of self-defence, and only if the threatened armed attack is imminent enough to meet the Caroline requirements. On the contrary, coercive responses to non-imminent armed attacks are still prohibited under contemporary international law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Goldberg Jörg

"Doing Business" mit der Weltbank

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Juli, 2007 , 885-887

„Schock-Bericht der Weltbank – Deutschland sozialistischer als China“, so titelte die „Bild“-Zeitung. Sie kommentierte damit den „Doing-Business- Report 2007“ der Weltbank-Tochter International Financial Corporation (IFC), der seit 2003 jährlich eine Rangfolge jener Länder aufstellt, in denen private Unternehmen den geringsten Beschränkungen unterliegen. Je weniger Regelungen, desto besser für das Geschäftsleben – so die schlichte Weisheit des Berichts. Die Meldung der ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Abbott Frederick M

A New Dominant Trade Species Emerges: Is Bilateralism a Threat?

in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 10, Number 3 , 571-583

Over the past decade, government trade and finance ministries have increasingly turned toward negotiating bilateral and regional trading arrangements, and away from negotiations in multilateral forums like the WTO. There are several reasons for this shift, including changes in the global political environment and negotiating obstacles encountered by the multinational business community at the multilateral level. This shift appears to be an embedded phenomenon. Positive and negative aspects of preferential trading arrangements (PTAs) are in evidence. Trade creation-trade diversion economic analysis suggests the results may be net global welfare enhancing, although such analysis does not readily



assess distributional effects. The global economy is enjoying a period of sustained—and widely distributed—economic growth, suggesting that the PTA phenomenon is not an immediate economic threat. On the negative side, the PTAs lead to administrative complexity, and may be somewhat destabilizing as businesses are encouraged to relocate. Some countries may suffer if left out, but this risk is ameliorated by the wide availability of potential negotiating partners. The PTA negotiating environment strongly favors powerful economic actors like the United States and European Union, which are largely dictating terms to developing (and developed) countries. Developing countries, particularly the less economically powerful, are losing autonomous decision-making authority. The consequences of this are difficult to quantify, and may raise questions better attuned to moral philosophers than economists. The WTO continues on its way, relegated to a less central status. A return to the WTO might reinvigorate the role of less powerful actors, but such return does not appear an immediate prospect. The PTA phenomenon, on balance, does not appear aggressively threatening. We may, however, be underestimating the positive role of multilateralism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Blázquez Navarro I.

Cumplimiento del Derecho Internacional en el sistema de solución de diferencias en la OMC

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional*, Vol. 58 n. 1 , 175 - 204

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Trachtman Joel P.

Embedding mutual recognition at the WTO

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 14, Issue 5 August 2007 , pages 780 - 799

Mutual recognition is a useful tool for international liberalization in particular contexts. However, it poses two important types of risk. First, it could jeopardize a satisfactory level of prudential regulation. In order to address these risks, mutual recognition should be limited to initiatives that can be supported by satisfactory essential harmonization that can protect a satisfactory level of prudential regulation. Second, mutual recognition could disadvantage poor states, either de jure through closed recognition among developed states or de facto through harmonization or equivalence conditions that are excessive, or excessively costly, for poor states. In order to address these risks, mutual recognition initiatives should be designed to be accessible to poor states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Schaefer Matthew

Ensuring that Regional Trade Agreements Complement the WTO System: US Unilateralism a Supplement to WTO Initiatives?

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 10, Number 3 , 585-603

In the mid-1990s, the policy debate within the WTO focused on whether regional trade agreements (RTAs) were building



blocks or stumbling blocks for the WTO system, essentially questioning whether regionalism was appropriate at all from an economic policy perspective. Given the proliferation of RTAs since that time and the inability to roll back the clock, that policy debate has been replaced by a search for strengthened constraints on RTA activity that might ensure it complements the WTO system. Three major controversies within many existing RTAs are the exclusion of agriculture from coverage, complex and restrictive rules of origin, and varied treatment of the application of trade remedies. Despite some competing policy considerations, it is likely, on balance, that the WTO system would benefit if agriculture was required to be included in RTA coverage, if RTA rules of origin were simplified and liberalized, and if the controversy surrounding RTA treatment of trade remedies was cleared up. However, the search for constraints within the WTO system to achieve these results, either through the Doha negotiations or the dispute settlement system seems unlikely to succeed in the near future. Accordingly, enhanced and extended efforts by the US, either unilaterally or in conjunction with its RTA partners utilizing its negotiating leverage, may be a necessary supplement to efforts within the WTO in ensuring a more harmonious relationship between RTAs and the WTO system

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Garcia Frank J.

Global Justice and the Bretton Woods Institutions

in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 10, Number 3 , 461-481

Together with the WTO, the Bretton Woods Institutions are the preeminent international institutions devoted to managing international economic relations. This mandate puts them squarely in the center of the debate concerning development, inequality and global justice. This essay explores how justice criteria might apply to the ideology and operations of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Using the Rawlsian model of egalitarian justice adapted to international institutions by the author in connection with the WTO, this essay asks what difference it would make for the Bank and Fund if an explicit justice framework informed their international lending activities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Aseema Sinha

Global Linkages and Domestic Politics. Trade Reform and Institution Building in India in Comparative Perspective

in **Comparative Political Studies** , Vol. 40 n. 10 , 1183-1210

This article examines how the World Trade Organization (WTO) affects institutional development and policy responses in India. India is a country traditionally resistant to external pressures but in which participation in an international organization stimulated a transformation in trade policy processes and procedures and unleashed a new bureaucratic politics, institutional innovation, and activation of policy—expert linkages. The author argues that we go beyond zero-sum assumptions in understanding the relationship between globalization and national state institutions. Key rules of international organizations increase transaction and sovereignty costs for states, which may catalyze new domestic capacities and create the impetus for new governance mechanisms. The author demonstrates this argument with an analysis of India's engagement with the WTO and with illustrative evidence of the interaction of China, Brazil, Japan, and United States with the WTO. The evidence is drawn from 18-month fieldwork in India, Washington, D.C., and Geneva; a newspaper database; and reliance on 100 interviews.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

He Baogang , Murphy Hannah

Global social justice at the WTO? The role of NGOs in constructing global social contracts in *International Affairs* , issue 4, vol. 83, july , 707–727.

Over the past decade, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been contesting the neo-liberal economic order in international politics by campaigning for normative conditions to bring about what Richard Falk calls 'humane governance'. However, the degree to which NGOs have contributed to the formation of global social contracts remains controversial. While NGO activists and various scholars advocate the establishment of such contracts, empirical testing of this normative argument is underdeveloped. Drawing upon this lack of empirical support, critics dismiss the global social contract concept and question the roles played by NGOs in international politics. This article addresses the controversy through a review, refinement and application of global social contract theory and an empirical study of two prominent international NGO campaigns directed at the World Trade Organization (WTO), an institution that represents a 'hard test case'. It explores the ways in which NGOs and their networks are challenging the neo-liberal basis of WTO agreements and contributing to the emergence of global social contracts. The article concludes that in some circumstances, NGOs have the capacity to inject social justice into international economic contracts and there is some basis for optimism regarding the formation of global social contracts involving NGOs, nation-states and international organizations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Esty Daniel C.

Good Governance at the World Trade Organization: Building a Foundation of Administrative Law in *Journal of International Economic Law* , Volume 10, Number 3 , 509-527

Good governance lies at the heart of both the effectiveness and legitimacy of collective decision-making. In this essay, Professor Esty argues that, if the World Trade Organization (WTO) is to be successful in its designated role of promoting trade liberalization and helping to manage international economic interdependence, it needs a deeper commitment to good governance, advanced through a more refined structure of administrative rules and procedures. He identifies 14 core elements of good governance and traces how administrative law might promote each one in the WTO context. While acknowledging the difficulty of bringing administrative law to the supranational level, Esty concludes that there exists an emerging consensus around many of the underpinnings of good governance—and therefore places value in trying to build these elements in to the WTO policy-making process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Teichman Judith

Multilateral Lending Institutions and Transnational Policy Networks in Mexico and Chile



in *Global Governance*, n. 4, vol. 13, october-december

ABSTRACT: The impact of economic globalization for the countries of Latin America was profoundly shaped by the impact of the debt crisis of the early 1980s. For these countries, the emergence of transnational policy networks involving multilateral and domestic technocrats was instrumental in ushering in market reforms. By 2007, a variety of factors would seem to place middle-income countries such as Mexico and Chile beyond the policy reach of multilateral lending institutions. I argue, however, that the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank have, in fact, become closely entangled in the development of conditional cash transfer programs through closed transnational policy networks. The nature and extent of that involvement has been shaped by the different institutional legacies and cultures of the two institutions. While both multilaterals tended to bolster the objectives of domestic policymakers and the exclusion of civil society organizations from the policy process, the greater rhetorical commitment of the World Bank to civil society participation did allow civil society organizations to pry open a small space for policy inclusion in the Chilean case.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Petersmann Ernst-Ulrich

Multilevel Judicial Governance of International Trade Requires a Common Conception of Rule of Law and Justice

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 10, Number 3 , 529-551

Since the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice in 1922, governments have consented to, and actively used, an ever larger number of international and transnational courts, quasi-judicial dispute settlement bodies and ad hoc arbitral tribunals for the settlement of disputes over the interpretation and application of rules of international law. Such judicial clarification of disputed interpretations of incomplete, intergovernmental agreements reduces not only the negotiation costs of governments by delegating the clarification of contested facts and legal claims to independent third-party adjudication. Judicial decision-making at intergovernmental, transnational, national and private levels also supplements rule-making and offers citizens judicial remedies for defending their rights and interests. Modern international economic law increasingly complements intergovernmental, legislative, and administrative governance by multilevel 'judicial governance' so as to protect rule of law more effectively for the benefit of citizens (Section I). This contribution criticizes the one-sidedly power-oriented perceptions of WTO law as 'international law among states' (Section II) and the related perceptions of international judges as dependent agents of states (Section III). Civil society, parliaments and democratic governments should encourage national and international judges to cooperate in their legal task of interpreting citizen-oriented international economic law 'in conformity with principles of justice and international law', as explicitly prescribed in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (VCLT). The legal coherence of multilevel judicial governance depends on protecting principles of procedural as well as substantive justice and a common conception of 'rule of law' not only in intergovernmental relations among states, but also vis-à-vis their citizens engaged in, and benefiting from, international trade (Sections IV–VIII).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Louis Olivier



OMC: un nouvel équilibre Nord-Sud?

in *Politique Etrangère*, n.3 - Autumn

L'Organisation mondiale du commerce n'est pas un club occidental. De plus en plus, les pays en développement y affirment leur poids. En dépit d'intérêts divers et parfois contradictoires, ils arrivent à soutenir un front commun. Pourtant, si la négociation de Doha échoue, ce sera moins en raison de ce "front" que du fait d'une absence de volonté d'aboutir qui touche tous les camps.

WTO: a New Balance in North/South Issues

Developing countries do not want to destroy the multilateral trading system, but to find what they think is their right place in it. In the present round of negotiations, they have built a united front, much stronger than expected. They demand from the developed countries effective improvements on agricultural trade (by slashing internal subsidies, banning subsidies on exports and lowering imports duties), and are not ready to open their own markets as much as asked by the developed countries. It is therefore much more difficult to find a comprehensive agreement than it was during the previous rounds – the only players were developed countries. WTO has not become a battlefield between the North and the South, and the possible failure of the round should not be assigned to the North/South divide. What is missing is the political will of both developed and developing countries to move forward.

http://www.ifri.org/files/politique_etrangere/PE_3_2007_Louuis.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Cottier Thomas

Preparing for Structural Reform in the WTO

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 10, Number 3 , 497-508

The structure and operation of the WTO have not been at the forefront of attention of negotiations ever since the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was introduced in 1947. The modus operandi of negotiations has essentially remained unchanged despite the turn towards non-tariff barriers in complex operations of treaty-making ever since the Kennedy Round. The note argues that the evolution and introduction of the two-tier system of dispute settlement in 1995 marks the most profound structural change, but is not able on its own to deal with all of the challenges of tackling non-tariff barriers in the WTO. Today, the Organization forms part of a complex system of multilayered governance, both horizontally and vertically. It calls for more appropriate structure–substance pairings. The note addresses the need to review negotiating processes in the field of non-tariff barriers. It suggests establishing a proper balance with dispute settlement and case law, and rendering the function and role of the Secretariat of the WTO more transparent. The creation of a two-tier system is suggested, with a Consultative Committee and a Standing Committee on Legal Affairs within the WTO in order to support and initiate a long overdue structural debate in the WTO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Torres Hector R.

Reforming the International Monetary Fund – Why its Legitimacy is at Stake

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 10, Number 3 , 443-460



The International Monetary Fund was designed to promote international monetary cooperation and foreign exchange stability, so as to facilitate international trade, high levels of employment and real income, and the development of the productive resources of all its members. However, the Fund's capacity to influence its key members' policies through its advice, and to give confidence to potential borrowers by offering opportune and meaningful financial assistance in case of trouble, has been seriously put into question. Its governance structure is inconsistent with its multilateral nature and is dysfunctional to its purposes. There is also an ideological bias in its policy advice that prevents the Fund from being responsive to citizens' concerns and challenges posed by globalization. The ongoing reform process is tinkering on the margins and if not redressed will fail to bring additional credibility and effectiveness to the Fund.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Steger Debra P.

The Culture of the WTO: Why it Needs to Change

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 10, Number 3 , 483-495

The WTO is an international organization with its own distinctive culture, which is derived from the practice and experience of the GATT. The WTO, however, is not the old GATT. The multilateral trading system was transformed into an international organization in 1995, and today, the WTO also administers a host of agreements that contain detailed rules regulating international economic activity. The membership of the WTO has grown to 150, the vast majority of which are developing countries. Most importantly, the trading system, which was once bi-polar, driven by the United States and the European Union, has changed dramatically to become multi-polar, with the large emerging economies, such as China, India and Brazil, becoming major economic powers in their own right. The WTO needs major surgery in order to respond effectively to the new political realities in the international economic system. The current impasse in the Doha Round is in large part due to the great transformation in geopolitical power relationships taking place in the world today. If the Round fails, it will not be the end of the WTO. On the contrary, it might provide a useful 'time out' for the multilateral system to find its new stride. A related problem is that the mandate of the WTO is no longer clear. This article suggests that WTO Members work together to define the new purpose and mandate of the WTO to make it relevant to governments, companies and people in the 21st century. Institutional reform of the WTO is needed to provide it with the architecture and decision making machinery that will allow it to become a vibrant, responsive and accountable organization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Srinivasan T. N.

The Dispute Settlement Mechanism of the WTO: A Brief History and an Evaluation from Economic, Contractarian and Legal Perspectives

in *World Economy*, Volume 30, Number 7 , 1033-1068

Any rule-based system has to include a mechanism for the enforcement of its rules and a means for settlement of disputes about alleged violation of rules. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), concluded in 1947, and its successor the World Trade Organisation (WTO) that subsumed it in 1995, embody rules governing the global trading system as specified in various agreements that their members have entered into over time. Naturally, both had a dispute settlement mechanism (DSM). It was a primarily political one in the GATT and was transformed into a largely legalistic



one in the multilateral agreement that established the WTO. This paper reviews the history and evaluation of the two DSMs and examines their efficiency based on appropriate criteria. It views them from three alternative and overlapping perspectives: political-diplomatic, legal-economic and social. It concludes with a discussion of the unresolved problems in the operation of the WTO's DSM and the prospects of resolving them in the ongoing Doha Round of multilateral trade negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bird Graham

The IMF: A Bird's Eye View Of Its Role And Operations

in **Journal of Economic Surveys**, Vol. 21 Issue 4 , 683–745

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is the world's premier international financial institution with 184 member countries and active programmes in a significant number of them at any one time. The Fund attracts a great deal of attention, much of it critical. But the discussion is often polemic in style. Strongly held, but frequently opposing, views are expressed. This survey attempts to examine, in an objective way, the theory and evidence relating to the Fund's operations. Many aspects of the empirical research are relatively recent and a universal consensus is yet to emerge; as a consequence there is scope for disagreement to persist. However, the research is also gradually clarifying many important issues. The format for the survey is to examine the life cycle of IMF arrangements. What makes a country turn to the Fund for assistance? Should the IMF be lending? What influences the outcome of negotiations and the design of programmes? Are IMF programmes effective? And why do some countries make prolonged use of IMF resources? For completeness there is also some discussion of the history of the IMF, the extent to which Fund policies have been influenced by advances in economic theory and the Fund's systemic role. Important organisational and governance issues are also covered briefly. Although primarily adopting an economist's perspective, the survey reflects the growing recognition that in order to understand the IMF's operations, economics has to be combined with politics. Examining the IMF is an exercise in applied political economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Weir Kimberly A.

The State Sovereignty Battle in Seattle

in **International Politics** , Volume 44, Number 5, September , 596-622

The World Trade Organization Millennium Round meetings held in Seattle, Washington in late 1999 provide a unique way to examine changes in the post-Cold War system. This case uses the intergovernmental organization to consider the ongoing debate over the effect of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) on state sovereignty. The expected outcome of NGO activity is erosion of state sovereignty, as private citizens across political boundaries unite for a common cause. Paradoxically, however, the outcome in this case is one where NGO activity actually serves to reinforce state sovereignty, fortifying the control, legitimacy, and autonomy of states in both the global north and south in a variety of ways.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hansen Peter

The World Bank Administrative Tribunal's External Sources of Law: A Retrospective of the Tribunal's First Quarter-Century (1981-2005)

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, n. 1, vol. 6 , 1-87

The jurisprudence of the World Bank Administrative Tribunal has grown and evolved dramatically over its first quarter-century. Mr. Hansen's study comprehensively surveys the numerous doctrinal contributions provided by external sources during this time. Organized under rubrics suggested by Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, which sets out that Court's sources of law, Mr. Hansen's study reviews: (i) the roles of the contract of employment, Bank rules, international treaties and national laws in the composition of the pactum established between a staff member and the Bank; (ii) the development of binding custom from the practices of the Bank, other institutions and national governments; (iii) the Tribunal's use of general legal principles drawn from other legal systems; and (iv) the Tribunal's use of international and domestic tribunal precedents. Extensively footnoted, Mr. Hansen's study is intended for both academics and practitioners specializing in international administrative law and dispute settlement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Fouret Julien

The World Bank and ICSID: Family or Incestuous Ties?

in *International Organizations Law Review*, n. 1, vol. 4 , 121-144

This article attempts to clarify the different issues regarding the links and the possible conflicts of interest between the World Bank, the parent institution, and the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), the child. Structural issues, philosophical problems concerning the possible bias when judging World Bank's policies, and the involvement of former Bank officials in ICSID tribunals will be considered in turn. The amendment of the Arbitration Rules in April 2006 raised many hopes but fell short of solving some of the practical problems that result from the close ties between these two Washingtonian institutions. Some necessary structural changes should thus be envisaged for ICSID.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Weaver Catherine

The World's Bank and the Bank's World

in *Global Governance*, n. 4, vol. 13, october-december

ABSTRACT: Who or what shapes and drives the policy and operational behavior of the World Bank? The objective of this introductory essay is to lay the conceptual and empirical framework for this special issue. I begin by constructing a synthetic theoretical model³ drawing from principal-agent models and sociological institutionalism⁴ to delineate the set



of external and internal factors shaping Bank behavior. I then lay the empirical groundwork by exploring the most salient characteristics of the “world’s Bank,” taking special note of the Bank’s relationship with the United States, borrowing states, and nongovernmental organizations. In the second half, I focus on the “Bank’s world,” investigating the internal bureaucratic politics and culture of the Bank. Specifically, I examine the sources and nature of the Bank’s “intellectual culture” (characterized by its economic, apolitical, and technical rationality), its “operational culture” (portrayed as driven by approval and disbursement imperatives), and the dynamics of bureaucratic politics that pervades the hierarchy of the Bank.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Thomas M. A.

The governance bank

in *International Affairs* , issue 4, vol. 83, July , 729–745.

While the cancellation of a number of high-profile loans because of corruption concerns has made headline news, the World Bank's principal approach to poorly governed countries is lending in order to support reforms. Although designed to be an apolitical technocratic development financier, increasingly the Bank has focused its attention and resources on promoting good governance in its borrowers. Bank lawyers and presidents have attempted to hive off apolitical aspects of governance by arguing a distinction between the rule of law and the political character of government, but this distinction is illusory. The Bank's inability to address the political embeddedness of poor governance in neo-patrimonial governments skews risk assessments and impedes the formation of effective strategies. Reform of the charter would not eliminate the Bank's bureaucratic and political constraints.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Chang Seung Wha

WTO for Trade and Development Post-Doha

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 10, Number 3 , 553-570

The WTO Members’ negotiations under the Doha mandate on special and differential treatment (‘SDT’) and development issues have made little progress. The gap between developed countries and developing countries in this regard seems too wide to be bridged. This gap originates from a fundamental difference in their basic stances on cross-cutting issues. In principle, without prejudice to currently available SDT under individual WTO Agreements, developing countries should be given flexibilities in implementing WTO rules, which may result in the rebalancing of rights and obligations of WTO Members but only when policy measures at issue can contribute to particular developing countries’ development needs and no alternative less-trade restrictive measures are reasonably available. After reviewing WTO Members’ discussions since the adoption of the Doha Ministerial Declaration, this article suggests a ‘measure-specific ex ante approach’ for a workable solution to bridging the gap between developed countries and developing countries on SDT and development issues.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Vlcek William

Why worry? The impact of the OECD harmful tax competition initiative on Caribbean offshore financial centres in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 96, Issue 390 - June , 331-346

The economies of small states are vulnerable to a variety of external factors - economic, political and environmental. One economic/financial factor confronting those small states with offshore financial centres has been the effort by the OECD to eliminate tax arbitrage (harmful tax competition). A related initiative to eliminate money laundering and combat the financing of terrorism has increased the regulatory responsibilities and costs to these small jurisdictions and represents an example for the potential consequences of the OECD project. Using economic data from several Caribbean jurisdictions, this article investigates the direct impact of these international programmes to increase financial regulation upon their financial services industries. Two specific outcomes are demonstrated: a reduction in employment opportunities and a decline in government revenues. At present this situation bodes ill for the continued operation of offshore financial centres as a method towards achieving economic development

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Nassauer Otfried

Das Ende der Abrüstung

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Juni, 2007 , 645-648

<http://www.blaetter-online.de/artikel.php?pr=2577>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Paternò Maria Pia

Europa ed America nell'occidente diviso

in **Democrazia e diritto**, Anno XLIV, n. 4

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Oelsner Andrea

Friendship, Mutual Trust and the Evolution of Regional Peace in the International System

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Vol. 10, n. 2, June , 257-279

International Relations scholars have been reluctant to engage with questions of friendship in the international system. This may be a consequence of the predominance of (neo)realism in IR and its implications - to view the international



arena as an anarchic, self-help system, where states are trapped in the security dilemma. However, over the last six decades, some regions have overcome the security dilemma and states have constructed peaceful relationships based on mutual trust and confidence, resembling friendship at the interstate level. Building upon securitization theory, this essay distinguishes between different perceptions that states may have of their own security, and links them with different types of regional peace. It proposes a two-phase process whereby relationships may move from negative to positive peace, suggesting different mechanisms for each phase. It illustrates this model by examining the Argentine-Brazilian détente of the late 1970s and the determination to build a zone of positive peace in Latin America's Southern Cone.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Rossi Miriam

L'adesione dell'Ungheria al Patto Atlantico

in *Nuova Storia Contemporanea*, Anno XI, n. 4, luglio-agosto, 77-104

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Rubio Pío A. R.

La marginación de la Osce

in *Nueva Revista de Política Cultura y arte (España)*, n. 112

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Harnisch Sebastian

Minilateral Cooperation and Transatlantic Coalition-Building: The E3/EU-3 Iran Initiative

in *European Security*, Volume 16, Number 1, March, 1-27

The article examines the factors that led to the establishment and evolution of the minilateral cooperation among France, Germany, the United Kingdom (and eventually the High Representative for CFSP) vis-à-vis Iran. The analysis brings together two theoretical approaches, institutional design and role theory. It posits that minilateral cooperation in the Iranian case and security affairs in general do not easily translate into multilateral cooperation. It finds that in contrast to the trade and economic realm, the course of security minilaterals is strongly shaped by rivaling formal institutions, specific characteristics in the non-proliferation regime (lack of specificity in central norms) and the role behaviour of the United States. European minilateral cooperation started (as in the case of the Middle East Quartet and Six-Party Talks) when the US rejected bilateral engagement. The initiative successfully mediated a temporary suspension of Iran's enrichment activities as long as Tehran believed that the EU-3 could bring the US to the table and commit the Bush Administration to a comprehensive negotiated settlement, including US security guarantees. Since the EU-3 and the subsequent P-5 (the permanent five members of the UNSC) plus Germany/EU High Representative for



CFSP multilaterals have been incapable of forming a resilient transatlantic coalition of policy makers to negotiate a comprehensive settlement, another serious split could occur if Washington pursues a punitive course without having fully supported a cooperative solution to the crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Mattair Thomas R.

**Mutual Threat Perceptions in the Arab/Persian Gulf: GCC Perceptions
in Middle East Policy**, Volume 14, Issue 2, June , 133-140

Ful text available: <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/toc/mepo/14/2>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Pfaff William

NATO-Grab Afghanistan

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Juli, 2007 , 799-800

In Afghanistan schaufelt sich die NATO wahrscheinlich ihr Grab. Dieser Friedhof ist allerdings schon ziemlich überfüllt. Die Sowjetunion wurde hier bereits begraben. Ebenso das Britische Empire, das hier geschlagen wurde. Anderen Invasoren erging es nicht anders, ausnahmslos – bis zurück zu Alexander dem Großen, dessen Glück im dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr. in den Sandwüsten Belutschistans und Afghanistans zerrann. Die NATO – genauer gesagt: einige ihrer getreuesten ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Giegerich Bastian

Navigating differences: transatlantic negotiations over Galileo

in **Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Vol. 20, n. 3, September , 491-508

The European global navigation satellite system, Galileo, entered its development phase in 2002 and is scheduled to become operational in 2012. Since its inception, Galileo has been yet another contentious issue in transatlantic negotiations. American concerns spanned economic and security-related issues, but, despite considerable tensions, a comprehensive agreement was entered into in 2004. This paper analyses the roots of the transatlantic dispute, as well as the negotiations that led to its resolution. It points out the vital and wide-ranging lessons that may be gleaned from this case. The European Commission has become a notable actor in the security realm via dual-use items such as Galileo. Technological progress has, in itself, become a bargaining instrument whereas time-honoured negotiation tactics have failed. Galileo sheds light on the ongoing recalibration of the transatlantic partnership in which autonomy has become a powerful motivation for European policy-makers. Constructive engagement, triggered by shared interests, only occurred when parties accepted each other as equals.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Pouliot Vincent

Pacification Without Collective Identification: Russia and the Transatlantic Security Community in the Post-Cold War Era

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 44, Number 5, September , 605-622

Does the emergence of a security community require a collective identity? This constitutive relationship has been hypothesized by prominent scholars from Deutsch to Adler & Barnett. Yet the Russian—Atlantic case shows that collective identification is not a necessary condition for a nascent security community to emerge. In less than two decades, the relationship between Russia and the transatlantic community has quickly transformed from a deep-seated rivalry structured by the specter of mutual assured destruction to a partnership in which the possibility of military confrontation has undeniably receded. Although bones of contention and power struggles continue to abound, empirical indicators attest to the emergence of a nascent Russian—Atlantic security community. But survey data also show that Russian and Western peoples do not meaningfully identify with one another. While the lack of we-ness certainly helps explain the striking instability of the post-Cold War rapprochement between Russia and the transatlantic community, it also recalls the need for constructivists to pay attention to other variables than mutual representations in the study of international peace. As a way forward, the article advocates a practice turn in the study of security communities: peace exists as a social fact when diplomacy becomes the self-evident practice among security elites to solve interstate disputes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Obama Barack

Renewing American Leadership

in **Foreign Affairs**, July/August 2007 Vol 86, Number 4

After Iraq, we may be tempted to turn inward. That would be a mistake. The American moment is not over, but it must be seized anew. We must bring the war to a responsible end and then renew our leadership -- military, diplomatic, moral -- to confront new threats and capitalize on new opportunities. America cannot meet this century's challenges alone; the world cannot meet them without America.

COMMON SECURITY FOR OUR COMMON HUMANITY

At moments of great peril in the last century, American leaders such as Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and John F. Kennedy managed both to protect the American people and to expand opportunity for the next generation. What is more, they ensured that America, by deed and example, led and lifted the world -- that we stood for and fought for the freedoms sought by billions of people beyond our borders.

As Roosevelt built the most formidable military the world had ever seen, his Four Freedoms gave purpose to our struggle against fascism. Truman championed a bold new architecture to respond to the Soviet threat -- one that paired military strength with the Marshall Plan and helped secure the peace and well-being of nations around the world. As colonialism crumbled and the Soviet Union achieved effective nuclear parity, Kennedy modernized our military doctrine, strengthened our conventional forces, and created the Peace Corps and the Alliance for Progress. They used our strengths to show people everywhere America at its best.



Today, we are again called to provide visionary leadership. This century's threats are at least as dangerous as and in some ways more complex than those we have confronted in the past. They come from weapons that can kill on a mass scale and from global terrorists who respond to alienation or perceived injustice with murderous nihilism. They come from rogue states allied to terrorists and from rising powers that could challenge both America and the international foundation of liberal democracy. They come from weak states that cannot control their territory or provide for their people. And they come from a warming planet that will spur new diseases, spawn more devastating natural disasters, and catalyze deadly conflicts.

To recognize the number and complexity of these threats is not to give way to pessimism. Rather, it is a call to action. These threats demand a new vision of leadership in the twenty-first century -- a vision that draws from the past but is not bound by outdated thinking. The Bush administration responded to the unconventional attacks of 9/11 with conventional thinking of the past, largely viewing problems as state-based and principally amenable to military solutions. It was this tragically misguided view that led us into a war in Iraq that never should have been authorized and never should have been waged. In the wake of Iraq and Abu Ghraib, the world has lost trust in our purposes and our principles. After thousands of lives lost and billions of dollars spent, many Americans may be tempted to turn inward and cede our leadership in world affairs. But this is a mistake we must not make. America cannot meet the threats of this century alone, and the world cannot meet them without America. We can neither retreat from the world nor try to bully it into submission. We must lead the world, by deed and by example.

Such leadership demands that we retrieve a fundamental insight of Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy -- one that is truer now than ever before: the security and well-being of each and every American depend on the security and well-being of those who live beyond our borders. The mission of the United States is to provide global leadership grounded in the understanding that the world shares a common security and a common humanity.

The American moment is not over, but it must be seized anew. To see American power in terminal decline is to ignore America's great promise and historic purpose in the world. If elected president, I will start renewing that promise and purpose the day I take office.

MOVING BEYOND IRAQ

To renew American leadership in the world, we must first bring the Iraq war to a responsible end and refocus our attention on the broader Middle East. Iraq was a diversion from the fight against the terrorists who struck us on 9/11, and incompetent prosecution of the war by America's civilian leaders compounded the strategic blunder of choosing to wage it in the first place. We have now lost over 3,300 American lives, and thousands more suffer wounds both seen and unseen.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kelly Phil, Pérez Luisa

Sudamérica come una "zona de paz" Facilitando un modelo geopolítico

in **Geosur : publicacion mensual** , Vol. 29 n. 325-326 , 26-37

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Keller Patrick



The Future of NATO: Between Overstretch and Irrelevance
in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Vol. 29, Issue 3 , 207-217

This article elucidates the debate between traditionalists and expansionists about the future of NATO, provides insights into analyzing the argument, identifies the Atlantic Spirit as NATO's animating force, and proposes a future for the organization based on prudent choices and confident leadership.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Vion Antoine

The Institutionalization of International Friendship

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 10, n. 2, June , 281-297

International friendship is often neglected in international relations. The purpose of this paper is to analyze international friendship empirically as a result of the construction of multiple institutional facts. Two main fields are investigated in this study: the development of city twinnings and cultural institutes. Paying attention to emotions, rituals, and unusual events, allows in which to understand the ways friendship is socially constructed. Studying international friendship as a pattern of institutional facts invites attention to the specific contexts in which they emerge. In Europe, after World War II, the embeddedness of friendship politics in local communities has partly gone through a process of invention of communal traditions. European communal history has been a major symbolic resource in this process. The embeddedness of international friendship in local communities has favoured the longstanding relations. Governmental initiatives might have big impacts, but rarely go on without local support or relief. Yet, achieving friendship might not favour a broad and open community but, on the contrary, favour a dense network of closed communities. This is what we may call Tocqueville's paradox.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Gause III F. Gregory

Threats and Threat Perceptions in the Persian Gulf Region

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 14, Issue 2, June , 119-124

Full text available: <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/toc/mepo/14/2>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Chivvis Christopher S.

Visions américaines de l'OTAN

in *Politique Etrangère*, n.3 - Autumn

L'Alliance demeure centrale dans les perceptions stratégiques de l'élite américaine. Les partenariats qui pourraient élargir son champ d'influence sont souvent vus comme nécessaires, même si leur étendue reste discutée. Quant à la PESD, elle n'effraie pas vraiment outre-Atlantique, dans la mesure où elle ne conduit pas l'Europe à se détourner de



l'Alliance. Mais c'est à l'aune du conflit en Afghanistan, et de l'engagement des Européens dans ce pays, que les Américains jugeront du futur de l'OTAN.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Russell James A.

Whither Regional Security in a World Turned Upside Down?

in Middle East Policy, Volume 14, Issue 2, June , 141-148

Full text available: <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/toc/mepo/14/2>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jaeger Hans-Martin

'Global Civil Society' and the Political Depoliticization of Global Governance

in International Political Sociology , Vol. 1, Issue 3, September 2007 , 257-277

Activists, officials, and academics alike have often linked observations about an emerging global civil society to an incipient democratization of world politics. Global civil society is assumed to bring public scrutiny and "bottom-up" politics to international decision making "from outside" formal political institutions. Based on an analysis of uses of the concept of global civil society in 1990s global governance discourse (especially related to the major UN world conferences), this paper argues that the presumed democratization of world politics is better understood in terms of a double movement: on the one hand, "global civil society" depoliticizes global governance through the promotion of "human security" and "social development"; on the other hand, the emerging international public sphere (in the UN context) operates as a subsystem of world politics rather than opposing the system from outside. Practices of depoliticization are thus part of the political logic of (neo-)liberal global governance. The argument draws on Luhmann's systems theory and Foucault's analysis of governmentality.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Segesser Daniel

'Unlawful Warfare is Uncivilised': The International Debate on the Punishment of War Crimes, 1872-1918

in European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire, Volume 14 - Issue 2 - June , 215 - 234

The issue of the punishment of war crimes has had a long history of debate in the twentieth and even already in the twenty-first century. Not much, however, is known about the debate on the issue before and during the First World War. This article tries to explore the debate among Western European jurists and publicists on the issue in the period between 1872 and 1918, linking it to the idea of civilised behaviour in wartime, as many jurists and publicists of the time



believed that civilised states would in general not violate the laws of war. If that was nevertheless the case these violations were considered to be the consequence of an uncivilised behaviour, which was the more problematic the more the power concerned had been considered a part of the international community of civilised states. Crimes committed by nations that had been considered fully civilised before 1914 were therefore highlighted in the debate, whereas crimes committed in so-called semi-civilised or uncivilised areas of the world were only taken up if specific political or propagandistic reasons made it seem appropriate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Incisa di Camerana Ludovico

Alla ricerca dell'ordine globale

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXIX, n. 155 , 542-553

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mosconi Antonio

An International Conference to Govern Globalization. Stiglitz and the WFM

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XX, n. 2, July , 40-43

The 24th Congress of the World Federalist Movement, held in London in 2002, passed the resolution A New Bretton Woods for a new International Economic Order, proposed by Guido Montani. For the first time since the creation of the Bretton Woods institutions, a new currency, the euro, was challenging the dollar in its role of international currency. Monetary unification had become a concrete goal to be pursued by regional organizations in Asia, Latin America and Africa. The Bretton Woods institutions, the market and the national states were proving unable to cope with the global financial problems and to assure a sustainable and equitable world development. In such a context, the WFM committed itself to support the creation of regional forums with the task of working out proposals for the creation of a world economic and monetary union, provided with limited, but real, taxation powers, which could stabilize international economy and further a sustainable development and a just international economic order.

Alfonso Iozzo and myself put forward, with the aim of putting that resolution in practice, a proposal published in this review on June of last year¹. I summarize its main points: the current, fundamental malfunctions of the financial system are not sustainable; the redistribution of weights in the world economy makes it unthinkable to replace one national currency with another (as happened in the passage from the pound to the dollar) in the role of international currency; globalization of the economy requires a multilateral and cooperative system of economic governance, founded on a world unit of account (an embryo of a single currency) linked to a basket of currencies where each currency is to be weighed according to the significant economic and human-development-related parameters of the area using it; the dollar reserves should be convertible into world units of account, upon payment of an exchange fee to be assigned to the UN; the International Monetary Fund, once so reformed as to give democratic representation to all regional areas of the world and to ensure that decisions are taken by a qualified majority, should carry out the functions of a UN (it too to be made more democratic) Council of Economic Ministers; the Bank of International Settlements should carry out the peculiar functions of a world monetary system; the World Bank should become the UN Agency for human development



and environmental sustainability; new institutions should see to the evaluation of global risks and to overseeing the financial institutions and markets at the global level.

On the eve of the 25th Congress of the WFM, it may be useful to briefly consider some recent facts and new ideas that make it even more necessary and topical today to convene an international conference for the reform of the world financial system. Among the facts, a special importance have the continuous worsening of the dollar's position abroad; the signs, on the part of important countries and areas, of unilateral strategies aiming to abandon it, and the creation of a special advisory group at the IMF. Among the ideas, Stiglitz'2 proposal envisaging a reform of the global economic system and the emission of "global greenbacks" stands out.

The IMF (at the Singapore meeting of September 2006) has instituted a special advisory group on the fundamental malfunctions, with the aim of adopting concerted measures for relieving them. Members of the group are the United States and its main creditors: Saudi Arabia, China, Japan and the euro area. This decision is significant in many aspects.

It officially acknowledges a dangerous situation, kept for some time under severe scrutiny by the circles most interested in the economic policy choices made urgent by the enduring and worsening of those malfunctions³. The deficit of the US current-account balance has reached in 2006 the amount of 850 billion dollars, or 6.5% of its GDP; the net foreign indebtedness has thus grown to about one third of GDP, and continues to rise unchecked despite the dollar's devaluation. Decades of neo-liberist policies, instead of fostering an increase of savings, as forecast by the all-too-celebrated Laffer's curve, have produced an excess consumption financed by the luring of savings from the rest of the world. The tax cuts to higher incomes and the increase of military expenditure have caused a negative saving for the government, while family savings too have decreased to zero. The continuous expansion of the dollar as international currency, after the declaration of the dollar's non-convertibility into gold in 1971, was founded, so to speak, on the oil convertibility guaranteed by the US military supremacy in the cold-war context, which was freezing the emergence of other groups of countries and the rise of a multipolar-system configuration. Today, things have changed. The crisis of the US hegemony has created the space for the emergence of new economic powers and the formation of ever more autonomous regional areas. As resources are absorbed by the military industrial establishment, the provision of world public goods, vital for the globalization process to be physically supported and socially accepted, is impeded. The US deficit is no longer spontaneously financed by the markets, but by governments, in particular the Chinese and those of the other countries and areas called upon to be members of the IMF special advisory group.

This highlights another significant aspect of the IMF decision, the political one. The IMF control is shifting, for the first time, from the excessive indebtedness of poor countries to the financial situation of the superpower, and does so by creating an official consultation site among debtors and creditors in the IMF context. Moreover, for the first time the euro area is invited as a unitary participant in the advisory group, despite the continuing division of its national representatives in the Fund's decision-making bodies. Such novelties can be interpreted on the one hand as the beginning of the end of unilateralism, at least in the economic field, and a signal of a tendency to look for cooperative solutions at regional (in the wake of the euro) and world level. On the other, the significance of such novelties is greatly diminished by the advisory nature of the group and by its composition: the fact that only China, among the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China), is part of the group brings to mind the procedures of a preliminary agreement, rather than the spirit of a conference aiming to create a new international economic order. The creditor countries of the group, although they have initiated regional financial-unification processes that in due time could produce effects comparable to those already accomplished in Europe, are at the same time putting in place unilateral and bilateral strategies of the kind "every man for himself". For example, China, after having unpegged the yuan from the dollar in 2005, has now instituted a Fund for investing and diversifying part of its monetary reserves. A wise decision, considering that US investments abroad



(mostly direct investments) yield an average return of 7% and tend to reevaluate themselves, while foreign investments in the USA (mostly bonds) yield a meager 2.5% and suffer heavy devaluations. A risky decision, if one recalls Japan's painful experience: development model Borderless Debate: Globalization and World Federalism based on exports, dollar accumulation and then dollar devaluation, portfolio diversification through real-estate investments in the USA and then burst of the real-estate bubble, huge investments in Wall Street and then collapse of the stock exchange market, with the result of years of recession from which just now an exit may be glimpsed. Anyway, China's is a unilateral decision, that will affect the value of the dollar and the other currencies used in the international scene, and in the end will also affect the competitiveness and the real economy of countries that have to bear the burden of global interdependence with no possibility to participate in its governance. From the unilateral decisions to create "baskets of reserve currencies", unjustified fluctuations of exchange rates are produced, which are not coherent with the goal to make macroeconomic regulations, remained national, correspond to the needs of the economy undergoing a globalization process. Examples are the euro's appreciation despite its area does not contribute to create the fundamental malfunctions, the pound's revival despite Great Britain is supporting the US in creating the fundamental malfunctions with a current-account deficit of 4.5% of its GDP, the yen's depreciation despite Japan's trade surplus. More in general, the proliferation of unilateral and bilateral initiatives contribute to increase uncertainty and the distrust in multilateral institutions, and to intensify the search for ways of better insuring oneself, as demonstrated by the increasing of currency reserves by all countries, the in-advance reimbursement of debts to the IMF, and the diversification process of reserves, implying the reducing of one's dollar-denominated holdings. Therefore, it seems ever more urgent to create institutions and instruments that allow: to avoid that the decline of the dollar's international role produces a financial crisis and an economic recession at the global level; to harmonize national macroeconomic regulations; to favor a proper use of the planet's resources and their allocation to an equitable and sustainable development; to guarantee an adequate production of those public goods lacking which the world market would greatly suffer. This is what an international monetary conference, a "new Bretton Woods", should deal with.

There is, as Stiglitz' reflection points to, to make globalization work. On the one hand, globalization has brought with it a withdrawal of (national) public action in the fields of regulation, redistribution, correction of "market's failures", prevention and solution of financial crises. On the other, the crisis of national states and the delay in the creation of supranational institutions (similar to those that were set up to favor the formation of national markets) are by now compromising the globalization process. We are faced with the possibility and the necessity to bring about a U-turn. The attempt to exercise a unilateral governance of the global economy, of which market fundamentalism is the ideological guise, has failed. Market fundamentalists apply their "perfect competition" model as if that would exist in real life, whilst the actual free-exchange is characterized by power and information asymmetries, by cartels, oligopolies and monopolies, by non-rational choices. However, we must avoid that the rejection of unilateralism and fundamentalism brings with it attitudes of refusal of globalization, and nationalist regressions. In order to avoid that globalization fails, it must be governed.

Stiglitz won the Nobel prize for economics precisely for his studies on asymmetries, and at the same time he knows from within the mechanism of governance, having been Clinton's advisor at the White House and Senior Vice-President and Chief Economist at the World Bank, a post he left in protest against how the Asian crisis was managed. It is no surprise then that it is him to provide the first great systematic contribution to the solution of the problems posed by globalization of the economy. In his work, concrete reforms of trade regulations, the book-keeping and use of natural resources, environment protection and an equitable sharing of its costs and benefits, the control of multinational companies, the management of debt of poor countries and the guidelines for how to allocate funds are systematically arranged by integrating all of them through a clever use of existing organizations and mechanisms, the play of incentives and disincentives, and the creation of international tribunals. For the purpose of this article, suffice it to highlight Stiglitz'



proposals presented in the last part of his book: "a reform of the global reserve system"⁴, and "a democratic globalization"⁵.

All countries accumulate reserves in order for them to escape, should monetary difficulties arise, the conditions imposed by the "Washington Consensus" rules. The reserves-to-imports ratio has shot up after the Asian crisis. Such a form of risk protection, Stiglitz observes, is, first of all, too costly: at the end of 2005, world reserves amounted to 4500 billion dollars and were invested at a 1-2% interest rate, whilst the possible return from investments in developing countries could have been as high as 10-15%; secondly, it produces a lower, insufficient global demand; finally, it creates monetary instability, instead of constituting a protection from it. Thus he proposes to replace the present system, based on the dollar (in addition to which the euro is beginning to be used), with "global greenbacks". Should the US refuse to support the new system, which would make it lose its privilege of getting indebted in the same currency it has the power to issue, the other countries should go on with a concerted diversification of their reserves, so as to make it necessary for the US to get indebted in the global currency instead of dollars. Stiglitz'plan, to be carried out under the auspices of the UN, contemplates biennial 100 billion dollar-worth emissions of "global greenbacks"; they are to be added to the 100 billion dollar yield of the Carbon Tax, proposed in another part of his book, and to the 300-400 billion dollars coming from a better use and the decrease of global reserves: all these resources should be earmarked for the production of global public goods and for the realization of a better social justice to make globalization sustainable. At the international level, democratic public institutions should be created, as necessary to make globalization work, starting with several reforms of the existing institutions.

In sum, the international monetary system is on the brink of ruin and only decisions taken in Beijing, in China's national interest, are so far preventing it from falling into it. Keynes suggested in the 1930s and 1940s the necessary corrections for the survival of the national systems of political economy. Similarly, Stiglitz is suggesting today the corrections necessary to make the global economic system sustainable. We have once again a "practical visionary"⁶, but there must be a strong political initiative for convening an international conference that avoids more unilateral steps and gives origin to a multilateral governance of globalization. The WFM should take upon itself the task to promote it.

1 - Alfonso Iozzo, Antonio Mosconi, The Foundation of a Cooperative Global Financial System. A new Bretton Woods to confront the crisis of the international role of the US dollar, in *The Federalist Debate*, Year XIX, Number 2, June 2006

2 - Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*, 2006

3 - The most enlightening analyses, in my opinion, are those of the Institute for International Economics in Washington, DC, directed by Fred Bergsten, and of the Center for European Policy Studies in Brussels, Belgium, directed by Daniel Gros. Of the former I suggest in particular the study, covering several foreseeable scenarios, by William R. Cline, *The United States as a Debtor Nation*, Washington, DC, 2005. Of the latter: Daniel Gros, Thomas Mayer, Angel Ubide, *A World out of balance?*, Brussels, 2006

4 - *Ibid.*, Ch. IX

5 - *Ibid.*, Ch. X

6 - So is Keynes defined by his biographer Robert Skidelsky

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rosenberg Justin



And the Definition of Globalization Is ? A Reply to 'In at the Death?' by Barrie Axford

in *Globalizations* , Volume 4, Issue 3 September 2007 , 417-421

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Patomäki Heikki

Back to the Kantian 'Idea for a Universal History'? Overcoming Eurocentric Accounts of the International Problematic

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, n. 3, vol. 35, september , 575-595

ABSTRACT: International theory remains Eurocentric. The implicit assumption is that all relevant modern concepts, practices, technologies and capacities are essentially European. Modernity - including the Industrial Revolution - originates exclusively in Europe, and with it, the modern international problematic. In this paper I argue that it is possible to take steps towards correcting this far-reaching bias with the help of works in the new global history. I develop the idea that there are different layers of time, in which counterfactual possibilities play out in different ways. The Industrial Revolution could also have taken place elsewhere in the Eurasian continent, most plausibly in East Asia (China), with far-reaching world-historical consequences. However, at a deeper level of world-historical time, and at a higher level of abstraction, the modern international problematic would most likely have emerged anyway. Paradoxically, it thus seems that attempts to overcome the Eurocentrism of international theory will lead to a version of universal stages of history along the lines of classical political economy and a universal learning process along the lines of Kant. Finally, I argue that an adequately multi-sided understanding of global history is essential for a global security community and for global democratisation. It grounds an ethical mode of responsiveness that is both open to the accidental historical trajectories layered in one's self and, at the same time, universalisable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rabe Barry G.

Beyond Kyoto: Climate Change Policy in Multilevel Governance Systems

in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 12, n. 4, October , 423-444

Climate change policy has commonly been framed as a matter of international governance for which global policy strategies can be readily employed. The decade of experience following the 1997 signing of the Kyoto Protocol suggests a far more complex process involving a wide range of policy options and varied engagement by multiple levels of governance systems. The respective experiences of the United States and Canada suggest that formal engagement in the international realm of policy is not a good indicator of domestic policy development or emissions reductions. The different contexts of intergovernmental relations, varied resources available to subnational governments for policy development and implementation, and role of subnational leaders in policy formation have emerged as important factors in explaining national differences between these North American neighbors. Consequently, climate change increasingly presents itself as a challenge not only of international relations but also of multilevel governance, thereby creating considerable opportunity to learn from domestic policy experimentation.



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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gilber Douglas

Bordering on Peace: Democracy, Territorial Issues, and Conflict

in *International Studies Quarterly*, issue 3, vol. 51, september , 509-532

ABSTRACT: I argue that democracy and peace are both symptoms—not causes—of the removal of territorial issues between neighbors, and in this sense the "empirical law" of democratic peace may in fact be spurious. As democracies tend to stabilize their border relations prior to becoming democratic, democracy as an independent variable in conflict studies captures the effects of an absence of territorial issues. States without these issues are less prone to disputes prior to regime type, and I show that, after controlling for the presence of stable borders, joint democracy exercises no pacifying effect on conflict behavior from 1946 to 1999.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Benner Thorsten

Bringing the world's international organisations to heel

in *Europe's World*, Issue 7, Autumn

Instead of bewailing the "democratic deficits" of the EU, UN, IMF and World Bank, we should invest in expanding our toolkit for holding them to greater account, says Thorsten Benner, who argues that for international institutions to respond only to their member governments is neither politically satisfactory nor practically workable

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=b173190e-1523-42c4-bcd1-f2d146d5760e>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brock Gillian

Caney's Global Political Theory

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 3, Issue 2, August 2007 , 239-254

In this critical discussion of Simon Caney's global political theory, I focus on two broad areas. In the first area, I consider Caney's suggestions concerning global equality of opportunity and note several problems with how we might develop these ideas. Some of the problems concern aggregation, while others point to difficulties with what equality of opportunity means in a culturally plural world, where different societies might value, construct, and rank goods in different ways. In the second broad area of criticism I argue that Caney has been unfair to contractarians and I rally to their defense.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Marchetti Raffaele

**Cosmo-Federalism as a Response to International Exclusion
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XX, n. 1, February , 47-50

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Reader Soran

Cosmopolitan Pacifism

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 3, Issue 1, April 2007 , 87-103

In this paper I argue that cosmopolitanism prohibits war and requires a global approach to criminal justice. My argument proceeds by drawing out some implications of the core cosmopolitan intuition that every human being has a moral status which constrains how they may be treated. In the first part of this paper, I describe cosmopolitanism. In the second part, *Cosmopolitanism and War*, I analyse violence, consider the standards cosmopolitanism sets for its justification, and argue that war fails to meet them. In the third part, *Cosmopolitanism and Criminal Justice*, I argue that cosmopolitanism implies a moral obligation to deal justly with human wrongdoing wherever it occurs. *Cosmopolitan pacifism* follows: war is prohibited, and a consistent global criminal justice system is required. In the fourth part, *Why No Cosmopolitan Pacifists?*, I consider why cosmopolitans tend not to identify as pacifists, and in the final part, *Objections*, I discuss some objections.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dobson Andrew

Cosmopolitismo spesso

in **Filosofia e Questioni Pubbliche**, Volume XII (2007), n. 1 , 85-107

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Solana Javier

Countering globalisation's dark side

in **Europe's World**, Issue 7, Autumn

Europe's key task in the first half of this century, says Javier Solana, will be to help create a new system of global governance that can resolve the growing frictions in our increasingly inter-dependent world

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=71786e5e-c751-42d9-a80d-c83ccda87c1a>



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schoenfeld Heather, Levi Ron, Hagan John

Crises extrêmes et institutionnalisation du droit pénal international

in *Critique Internationale*, N°36 - Juillet / Septembre

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Peluso Rosalia

Critica e “governance” della complessità: “La pensabilità del mondo” di Sebastiano Maffettone

in *Ragion Pratica*, numero 1, giugno 2007 , 277-284

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Singh Jsijt, Sethi Manpreet, Jacobs Garry

Dangerous knowledge: Can nuclear weapons be abolished?

in *Futures*, issue 8, vol. 39, october , 963-972

ABSTRACT: The end of the Cold War spurred significant and encouraging steps towards the abolition and eradication of nuclear weapons. After the breakthrough discussions between Gorbachev and Reagan at Reykjavik in 1986, the substantial cut-backs in Russian and American nuclear warheads agreed to under the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) negotiations, successive initiatives at the United Nations (UN) and the review conferences of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Canberra Commission's report in 1995, the 1996 advisory opinion of the World Court, the New Agenda Coalition, Middle Powers Initiative and other efforts by governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) raised hope that the world may soon be rid of this menace. After 1997 the momentum of progress slowed and then turned from optimism to increasing frustration, pessimism and despair. The possession of nuclear weapons serves not only military and political but economic and social functions, elevating the prestige of the select nuclear group to a special status in world affairs that none will be anxious to relinquish voluntarily. Yet in spite of the setbacks and the obstacles, there is ample scope for constructive action. Most promising is a renewed effort to establish international law prohibiting the use, threat of use or possession of nuclear weapons, along the lines of the Chemical Weapons Convention that has very effectively stopped the use of these weapons in all but one instance since 1925. At the root of the nuclear problem, a Cartesian dualism in our thinking about ourselves and the world fosters a sense of detachment, complacency and inactivity regarding an issue that holds our very lives in the balance. The finite zero-sum game of competitive international security needs to be replaced by an infinite win-win game of global cooperative security like that now unfolding on a model scale in Europe.



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Benhabib Seyla

Democratic Exclusions and Democratic Iterations: Dilemmas of "Just Membership" and Prospects of Cosmopolitan Federalism

in European Journal of Political Theory, Vol. 6, n. 4, October , 445-462

In my book, *The Rights of Others*, I developed a discourse-theoretic approach to questions of political membership in liberal democracies, which include practices of citizenship, as well as of immigration, refuge and asylum. This article revisits five issues in response to various criticisms. How can we justify democratic exclusions? Is there a 'right to membership' and how can it be reconciled with the different practices of various constitutional democracies? Is there a distinction between normatively acceptable and normatively problematic restrictions on political membership? Does the concept of 'democratic iterations' describe normative or empirical processes? How plausible is the binarism of the national and the global? I argue that democratic exclusions can be justified by not discriminating against would-be citizens and immigrants on the basis of ascriptive criteria. Ascriptive characteristics, like one's sex and skin colour, are not the product of one's voluntary doings. Democratic iterations are empirical processes which can be judged in the light of normative criteria deriving from discourse theory. Furthermore, while the binarism of national and global is problematical, alternative configurations of political membership at the present are not more defensible.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hannerz U.

Foreign Correspondents and the Varieties of Cosmopolitanism

in Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol. 33 n. 2 , 299 - 311

Newsmedia foreign correspondents are among the most celebrated transnational migrants of our times. Drawing on an extensive anthropological multi-sited study of this occupational group, its organisation, background and working conditions, as well as its reporting, this article discusses its relationship to notions of cosmopolitanism - both in terms of the personal orientations and experiences of the practitioners and their contribution to the shaping of informed citizens of the world in their audiences. Variations in correspondent mobility patterns are delineated in terms of a contrast between spiralists and long-timers, and current changes in newsmedia foreign coverage are noted.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Moldenhauer Oliver

G8 - Zu Risiken und Nebenwirkungen

in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Juni, 2007 , 672-675

<http://www.blaetter-online.de/artikel.php?pr=2585>



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Arneil Barbara

Global Citizenship and Empire

in *Citizenship Studies*, n. 3, vol. 11, July, 301-328

ABSTRACT: Global citizenship is a concept that has been both propounded and critiqued on a number of grounds in recent scholarship, but little attention has been paid to what it might mean in an age of empire. Beginning with an analysis of American empire, the author argues that there has been an important shift in the meaning of imperial rule from what was initially a "realpolitik" version of empire in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 to what has become a more "liberal" form of imperial power since late 2003. Whereas the former sought national security in a seemingly anarchical and hostile world, the latter has sought to spread a particular kind of globalized citizenship to the world, particularly in the Middle East. The author argues that the ideological grounding for such an imperial "civilizing mission" needs to be challenged through an alternative theorization of global citizenship. Thus, the second half of the article suggests a new theory of global citizenship rooted in two basic principles: social rights (in order to address the least well off) and shared fate (in order to draw the links between the north/south and east/west). Taken together, they provide a starting point for an alternative theory of global citizenship that speaks not simply against empire but to it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Logister Louis

Global Governance and Civil Society. Some Reflections on NGO Legitimacy

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 3, Issue 2, August 2007, 165-179

Today civil society groups are important actors on the international stage. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have taken roles that traditionally have been the sole province of states or intergovernmental institutions. NGOs are not bound to act in the public interest. Neither are their actions justified by formal democratic procedures, as is the case with states. Therefore, questioning the legitimacy of their actions is a crucial thing to do. This article presents the results of empirical research on the legitimacy of internationally operating NGOs (INGOs). From the interview data seven types of legitimacy are distinguished. These do not give us a comprehensive categorisation of sources of legitimacy; rather they provide tools to counterbalance existing views of legitimacy. The aim is to develop concepts for evaluating the legitimacy of INGO activities which are grounded in theory as well as in practice. Before analysing the empirical results concerning NGO legitimacy, some views on civil society will be discussed with a focus on the problem of legitimacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dupuis-Déri Francis

Global Protesters Versus Global Elites: Are Direct Action and Deliberative Politics Compatible?

in *New Political Science*, n. 2, vol. 29, June, 167-186

ABSTRACT: In this article I examine the legitimacy of direct action in relation to liberal deliberative norms and global institutions (World Bank, World Trade Organization, etc.). Because the deliberative processes of these institutions are illegitimate according to the theory of deliberative politics, the activists of the movement for global justice are legitimate



to confront these institutions. Moreover, confrontational action in itself may have a deliberative value for at least seven reasons: (1) initiating deliberation (agenda-setting); (2) enlarging participation; (3) enlarging representation; (4) disseminating information and arguments (publicity); (5) stimulating imagination; (6) pushing for action; (7) re-opening deliberations. Finally, social movements such as the movement for global justice may be seen themselves as deliberative arenas. Thus, those who seek to evaluate the legitimacy of direct actions need to take into consideration the deliberative nature of the process through which activists decide which means may be more efficient in order to repair defects in the official deliberative process, and promote equality, liberty, and justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wolfensohn James

Goodbye to the North-South gap: Hello to something worse

in *Europe's World*, Issue 7, Autumn

In a complex world divided into four different stages of development rather than the familiar rich North, poor South, former World Bank President James Wolfensohn argues that Europe must play an increasingly important role as the driver of new development strategies

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=5456d2ce-ad71-4b34-92ff-4b6f886642b1>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Törnquist-Chesnier Marie

How the International Criminal Court Came to Life: The Role of Non-governmental Organisations

in *Global Society*, Volume 21, Issue 3, July, 449 - 465

The negotiations which led to the adoption of the International Criminal Court Statute in Rome in July 1998 owe much to non-governmental organisations' (NGOs) activism. These non-state actors developed professional skills enabling them to match state diplomats and experts. They developed particular strategies of mobilisation and thereby achieved a double goal: not only does the Rome Statute bear their mark but also their role is consecrated both within the text itself and in their relations with institutional actors. Although one has to nuance the scope of the participation of non-state actors in international negotiations and to balance it in the light of the interlocutors they have to face, this case study analyses the expertise gained by NGOs and their growing role in law-making processes

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lanchester Fulco

Il concetto di rappresentanza in campo politico e i problemi della integrazione sovranazionale e della globalizzazione

in *Filangeri (il) - rivista di diritto pubblico*, Quad. 2006, 19-38

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bohman James

Institutional Reform and Democratic Legitimacy: Deliberative Democracy and Transnational Constitutionalism
in *Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto*, volume XLV, 136 , 95-110

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bearcy David, Bondanella Stacy

Intergovernmental Organizations, Socialization, and Member-State Interest Convergence
in *International Organization*, issue 4, vol. 61, october , 703-733

ABSTRACT: This article explores the constructivists' institutional socialization hypothesis, positing that intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) make member-state interests more similar over time, thus promoting interest convergence. We first show how this hypothesis can be tested systematically using relatively new data on dyadic interest similarity and joint structured IGO membership, and then we conduct a series of empirical tests. Our results show strong statistical support for the institutional socialization hypothesis, using both global and more restricted regional samples. We also demonstrate how our results are consistent with a longer-term socialization process and cannot be explained by the short-term effect of institutional information. Finally, we show some limits to the institutional socialization hypothesis. Unstructured IGOs reveal no effect in promoting member-state interest convergence. Following recent theory arguing that great powers in the international system often use IGOs for coercive means, we find that institutional socialization gets weaker as the power imbalance within the dyad grows.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cohen Daniel

Introduction. Pistes pour une régulation mondiale à inventer
in *Esprit*, n. 335, juin 2007 , 6-13

<http://www.esprit.presse.fr/review/article.php?code=14076>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Moore Margaret R.

Justice Within Different Borders: A Review of Caney's Global Political Theory
in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 3, Issue 2, August 2007 , 255-268

This essay examines the central claim of Caney's book, viz., that there is no reason to treat the global sphere differently



from the domestic sphere. It suggests that there is much that is valuable in having relatively autonomous, differentiated political communities, which both versions of Caney's scope argument ignore. This insight is explored via a critical assessment of both versions of Caney's scope argument; version 1, which is focused on civil and political rights (and argues that that they should be universalized) and version 2, which applies to theories of distributive justice (particularly Caney's global equality of opportunity principle).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Caney Simon

Justice, Borders and the Cosmopolitan Ideal: A Reply to Two Critics

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 3, Issue 2, August 2007 , 269-276

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schoppengerd Stefan

Kleine Geschichte der G8. Von Rambouillet bis Heiligendamm

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2007 , 677-685

Der G8-Gipfel 2007 findet zurückgezogen im Hinterland von Mecklenburg- Vorpommern statt: Das kleine Dorf Heiligendamm, das neben knapp 300 Einwohnern auch das luxuriöse Kempinski Grand Hotel beherbergt, ist bereits seit Monaten auf einer Länge von zwölf Kilometern eingezäunt und wird permanent polizeilich überwacht. Während des Gipfels wird ein gigantisches Aufgebot an Polizei und Militär in der Region sein, um den störungsfreien Ablauf des knapp dreitägigen Treffens der „sieben ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Santarius Tilman

Klimawandel und globale Gerechtigkeit

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 24, 2007

http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/D64CEY,0,Klimawandel_und_globale_Gerechtigkeit.html

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bush Marc

Overlapping Institutions, Forum Shopping, and Dispute Settlement in International Trade

in *International Organization*, issue 4, vol. 61, october , 735-761



ABSTRACT: Preferential trade agreements offer members an alternative to dispute settlement at the World Trade Organization. This gives rise to forum shopping, in that complainants can file regionally, multilaterally, or not at all. What explains this choice of forum? I argue that complainants strategically discriminate among overlapping memberships: on a given measure(s), some prefer to set a precedent that bears only on a subset of their trade relations, others a precedent that bears on all their trade relations, while still others prefer not to set a precedent. Thus, the key to forum shopping is not simply which institution is likely to come closest to the complainant's ideal ruling against the defendant, but where the resulting precedent will be more useful in the future, enabling the complainant to bring litigation against other members, rather than helping other members bring litigation against the complainant. I consider disputes over Mexican brooms and Canadian periodicals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Meierhenrich Jens

Perpetual War: A Pragmatic Sketch

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, Volume 29, Number 3, August 2007

This article analyzes the promise—and limits—of pro-democratic intervention in international law. It revisits Immanuel Kant's influential prescription for peace, developed in *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795), which has served as the foundation for democratic peace theory. This article emphasizes the unintended consequences of pro-democratic intervention in the international system. It finds arguments for the promotion of democratic entitlements deserving, but evidence for the existence of a right to democratic governance in international law wanting. The analysis, which incorporates evidence from cases, and synthesizes insights from scholarship in international law and international relations, casts doubt on the morality of democracy in the pursuit of international peace and security. It demonstrates that international lawyers have insufficiently appreciated the fact that democracy, if not handled with care, can underwrite democratic war—rather than democratic peace. This article argues that if the international community, however defined, truly aspires to realize the Kantian imperative of perpetual peace, it must enshrine democratic rights in unfamiliar cultures with more circumspection. Otherwise democratic rights become democratic wrongs, and policies of perpetual peace become prescriptions for perpetual war.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Paehlke Robert

Post-Iraq Global Politics

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XX, n. 1, February , 18-21

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Papadopoulos Yannis

Problems of Democratic Accountability in Network and Multilevel Governance

in *European law journal*, July 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 4 , 469–486



Most studies converge on the growth of processes of 'multilevel governance' (MLG) in policy making, related to the often combined trends towards supranationalism and regionalism. Such processes are usually analysed under the angle of their efficiency, while their impact on the quality of democracy is neglected. This article first defines the concepts of multilevel governance and accountability, and then identifies the various dimensions of the latter. It further argues that MLG generates novel forms of accountability, but undermines its democratic dimension mainly for the following reasons: the weak visibility of MLG networks, their selective composition and the prevalence of peer over public forms of accountability.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Seroussi Julien

Si loin, si proche : la légitimité de l'enquête dans les affaires de compétence universelle

in *Critique Internationale*, N°36 - Juillet / Septembre

Quand un juge d'instruction est chargé d'enquêter sur des crimes commis à l'étranger, non seulement ses marges de manœuvre sont plus réduites que dans les enquêtes menées sur le territoire national, mais la légitimité même de sa démarche est mise en cause par les avocats de la défense, qui cherchent à prouver l'incompétence du tribunal. Comment le juge d'instruction peut-il retrouver sa capacité d'action ? Doit-il s'appuyer sur les données que lui apportent les ONG, qui, souvent, disposent de plus de moyens que lui ? Et ce qu'il gagne en documentation ne le paye-t-il pas en perte d'indépendance ? À partir de l'examen de deux affaires de compétence universelle, l'affaire Habré et l'affaire des « quatre de Butare », l'auteur se demande comment l'appui logistique offert par les ONG influe sur la crédibilité d'une enquête internationale.

So Far, So Near: The Legitimacy of Investigation in Universal Jurisdiction Cases

When an examining magistrate has to investigate crimes committed abroad, not only is the margin for maneuver slimmer than in investigations on the national territory, but also the very legitimacy of the procedure is challenged by the defense, which seeks to prove that the court is invalid. How can examining magistrates recover their freedom of action? Should they rely on evidence supplied by NGOs, which often enjoy more extensive means than they? On the basis of two case studies in universal jurisdiction, the Habré case and the "Butare four" case, the author considers how the logistic support offered by NGOs influences the credibility of an international investigation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Whitaker Chico

The Challenge of the World Social Forum : The Other World, Beyond Capitalism

in *Actuel Marx*, N°42 (octobre 2007)

In this interview Gérard Duménil and Michaël Löwy ask Chico Whitaker to expound on his latest book, Changing the



World: The New World, A User's Guide, and more generally, on the meaning of the World Social Forum project. What, in his view, is the meaning and implication of alterglobalisation, and what is the role which Latin American is playing within it? And how does the project tie in with the critique of capitalism? Or with what critique of capitalism? How can it contribute to the redefinition of the strategy of struggle and to the organisation of the collective destinies the aim of which is to change the world? These are the principal questions which are here put to Chico Whitaker.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Thompson Grahame F.

The Fate of Territorial Engineering: Mechanisms of Territorial Power and Post-Liberal Forms of International Governance

in International Politics , Volume 44, Number 5, September , 487-512

Does there exist a genuine threat to the continuation of a broadly liberal international (and domestic) order, driven by the re-emergence of religious and secular fundamentalisms? This article assesses this issue in the context of first the rise of territorial power and then its fate in a period of globalization and the revival of religious intolerance. The twin concepts of sovereign-power and bio-power are deployed to investigate the emergence of territorial engineering in the 17th century. A key feature of modern fundamentalisms is that they promote and trade on the deterritorialization of social, political, cultural and economic activity. It is argued that this is a manifestation of a new form of 'spirited martial power'. The risks associated with these developments should not be over-exaggerated but they exist nonetheless. If this is the case, the problem becomes one of how to re-territorialize the activities and disputes engendered by this reappearance and re-emergence of spirited martial power in the international system, with all its attendant links to religious fundamentalisms. Here the argument is that this requires a re-examination of the nature of international borders, and indeed a re-emphasis on their role, not just in respect to containing disorder and restoring the capacity for governance, but also as a way of re-configuring international toleration and of righting a wrong.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cabrera Luis

The Inconveniences of Transnational Democracy

in Ethics and International Affairs, n. 2, vol. 21, summer , 219-238

ABSTRACT: Despite some limited moves toward openness and accountability, suprastate policy formation in such bodies as the World Trade Organization remains fundamentally exclusive of individuals within states. This article critiques the "don't kill the goose" arguments commonly offered in defense of such exclusions. It highlights similarities between those arguments and past arguments for elitist forms of democracy, where strict limitations are advocated on the participation of nonelites in the name of allowing leaders to act most effectively in the broad public interest. Advocated here is movement toward a strongly empowered WTO parliamentary body that would be guided in practice by a principle of democratic symmetry, attempting to match input to the increasing impacts of WTO governance. A parliament with codecision powers broadly similar to those of the European Parliament is offered as a long-term institutional ideal.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Newman Edward

The International Civil Service: Still a Viable Concept?

in *Global Society*, Volume 21, Issue 3, July, 429 - 447

If relative cohesion exists in the international structure, if forms of action are better organised, if the international organisation is able to resist the assaults of adverse forces from all quarters, this is due to the discreet and persevering work of the international civil servant. He embodies the institutionalisation of international cooperation.¹

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Neumann Iver, Sending Ole Jacob

The International' as Governmentality

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, n. 3, vol. 35, september, 677-701

ABSTRACT: In traditional power analysis, 'the international' is a characteristic of the states system - an anarchic realm, qualitatively different from the domestic. To traditional norms analysis, the international is increasingly a realm of shared value allocation, akin to other political realms. Given this bifurcation in the literature, privileging power incurs the cost of not being able to study systemic change of the international, whereas privileging norms incurs the cost of not being able to study power. We argue that extant conceptualisations of the international hail from Weber via Morgenthau, for whom international politics was an ideal type applied to the realm between states. Building on Mike Williams's work, we perform a new reading of these two scholars. We find that Morgenthau's identification of the political as an ideal-typical sphere has room for social theoretical insights as found in constructivist theory. Indeed, by his own Weberian lights, Morgenthau's specific ideal type of international politics is in need of updating. We try to rise to the challenge by drawing on Michel Foucault's work in order to forge an understanding of the international as governmentality. The result is a conceptualisation of the international as a socially embedded realm of governmentality. It is a structure (defined by relations of power) that generates different and changing practices of political rule (defined as governmental rationality) and agencies (for example, polities).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cox Robert

The International' in Evolution

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, n. 3, vol. 35, september, 513-527

ABSTRACT: The 'international' today should be approached in an evolutionary way. The fixed categories of neo-realism that served well in the past for analysis of the Cold War are no longer adequate in the fluidity of change today. Nor does the Cartesian perspective of an objective world observed by the analyst correspond to reality. In the evolution of world order, the self-organization of social and political power relations has to be understood as a process of evolving



consciousness - the ways in which people understand the world they live in and communicate with each other about it. The greatest danger in this process of transformation of mentalities lies in the absolutist thinking encouraged in the extreme versions of monotheistic religion. The evolving historical structures of (American) 'Empire', the pluralism of civilizations in the surviving state system and the movement in civil society towards the creation of new forms of structuring social power compete in the process of self-organization of global governance. Legitimacy is the weak point. Efforts at imposing order through 'passive revolution' are doomed to fail for lack of legitimacy. A legitimate world order would have to achieve consensus on stopping the destruction of the material, ecological basis of human life; it would have to be based on acceptance of the fact that different world views can coexist; and to gain legitimacy it would have to work towards moderating the existing disparities in life opportunities among peoples so as to give a material basis for coexistence in diversity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Albert Mathias, Reuber Paul

The Production of Regions in the Emerging Global Order - Perspectives on 'Strategic Regionalisation' in Geopolitics, Vol. 12, n. 4, October , 549-554

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bauböck Rainer

The Rights of Others and the Boundaries of Democracy
in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 6, n. 4, October , 398-405

Benhabib argues that the tension between universal human rights and democratic self-determination cannot be resolved. Distinguishing between the principle of rights, on the one hand, and context-specific 'schedules of rights', on the other hand, helps, however, to specify the scope of both norms. I show that applying this idea to questions of citizenship requires further elaboration in three respects: (1) Benhabib's argument for porous rather than open borders, which does not fully address the challenge of global distributive justice; (2) norms for access to citizenship, which need to cover also transnational affiliations between sending states and their external populations; and (3) necessary constraints on democratic self-determination. I suggest replacing the principle of self-determination with a principle of self-government that does not include a unilateral right to determine the territorial or membership boundaries of the polity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ivanova Maria, Gordon David, Roy Jennifer Roy

Towards Institutional Symbiosis: Business and the United Nations in Environmental Governance
in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 16, Issue 2, July , 123-134



This article analyses the potentially symbiotic role of business and the United Nations (UN) in global environmental governance. Contending that a stronger and more coherent UN in the realm of the environment is in the interest of the business community, we focus on three main issues: what the UN needs to become stronger in environmental affairs; what business could provide on this behalf; and how business could benefit from a strengthened UN. We consider the current structural dilemmas of the UN environmental system, including concerns about institutional multiplicity and how these may affect business engagement. After reflecting on perceived and actual challenges and opportunities for business participation, we conclude with three substantive solutions towards more efficient collaboration. These solutions centre on the continuation of an interactive database begun by the Global Environmental Governance Project, a joint initiative of the Yale Center for Environmental Law and Policy and the College of William and Mary.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fox Coleen A., Sneddon Chris

Transboundary river basin agreements in the Mekong and Zambezi basins: Enhancing environmental security or securitizing the environment?

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 7, Number 3, September , 237-261

Multilateral agreements are emerging as important mechanisms for structuring cooperation in politically and ecologically complex transboundary river basins around the world. While such agreements are offered and legitimized as a means to advance ecological and human security, they instead often promote state-centric environmental securitization. As a result, seemingly progressive agreements grounded in international law are likely to precipitate and mask environmental degradation until it becomes serious or even irreversible, creating both ecological and human security crises at a variety of scales. Case studies of wetland ecosystems in both the Zambezi and Mekong basins reveal the material and discursive linkages between international agreements and security. By drawing on critical approaches that acknowledge both the socially constructed and the multi-dimensional nature of sovereignty, this paper exposes significant institutional barriers to ecologically sustainable transboundary cooperation in the two basins.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fraser Nancy

Transnational Public Sphere: Transnationalizing the Public Sphere: On the Legitimacy and Efficacy of Public Opinion in a Post-Westphalian World

in *Theory, Culture & Society*, Volume 24, n. 4, July , 7-30

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Grigorescu Alexandru

Transparency of Intergovernmental Organizations: The Roles of Member States, International Bureaucracies and Nongovernmental Organizations

in *International Studies Quarterly*, issue 3, vol. 51, september , 625-648



ABSTRACT: As intergovernmental organizations (IOs) have grown in number and influence, there has been an increase in calls for their accountability, not just to governments but also toward the general public. One of the principal ways they can improve their accountability is by becoming more transparent, that is, offering more information to the public. Over the past decade, some IOs have adopted official policies and changed their practices concerning public access to information, while others have not. This study asks which IOs are likely to be transparent. To answer this question, it derives several hypotheses based on the existing international relations literature as well as the literature explaining government transparency in the domestic realm. The hypotheses focus on the roles of the principal actors affecting access-to-information from IOs: member states, IO bureaucracies and international nongovernmental organizations. This study tests these hypotheses across 72 IOs by using three newly developed measures of transparency. It finds that some of the main factors that explain IO transparency are analogous to those that have affected government transparency at the domestic level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rey Jean-Jacques

Vers une monnaie mondiale

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 1, mai , 29-37

Full text available: <http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/JJ%20Rey12007.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Matutinović Igor

Worldviews, institutions and sustainability: An introduction to a co-evolutionary perspective

in International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology, Volume 14, Number 1, February , 92-102

This work analyzes hierarchical and causal relationship between worldview, institutions, technology and economic behaviour under conditions of informational uncertainty.

In our pursuit of sustainable living, institutions function both as constraints and as primary instruments of change of socio-economic behaviour. The process of radical institutional change is contingent upon prior change in the dominant worldview, while its dynamics resembles that of a paradigm change in political and scientific arenas. Therefore, the timely and adaptive outcome of institutional change with respect to global environmental problems remains intrinsically uncertain.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fortuna Biato Marcel

¿Qué está haciendo Brasil por la gobernabilidad global? Desafíos del multilateralismo afirmativo

in Nueva Sociedad, n. 210 , 17-27

Full text available at: http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3438_1.pdf



Historically, Brazil, like the rest of Latin America, understood multilateralism in a defensive way, as a means for avoiding the interference of the developed countries and preserving a degree of autonomy. But this has changed. The new paradigm of Brazil's foreign policy includes initiatives designed to improve global governance, from the coalitions with countries such as South Africa, China and India, to the efforts to reform the United Nations' Security Council or to convince the industrialized countries to abandon their subsidies for agriculture. This is reflected in a change in the national development paradigm and in a renewed emphasis on South American regional integration.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Michaels Ralf, Jansen Nils

Private Law Beyond the State? Europeanization, Globalization, Privatization.
in *American Journal of Comparative Law*, vol. 54 - n. 4 , 843-890

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Albert Mathias

'Globalization Theory': Yesterday's Fad or More Lively than Ever?
in *International Political Sociology* , Vol. 1, Issue 2, June 2007 , 165-182

This article argues that while globalization theory is far from being past its most productive phase, as some of its critics claim, it does exhibit a number of shortcomings, particularly when it comes to identifying a clear point of reference for what is taken to be globalized and applying theoretical concepts developed in the analysis of national societies to a global level. This article argues that globalization theory stands on solid ground in that globalization theory has developed four strands of research, which are fairly well developed and which distinguish it as a separate field of inquiry, these four strands being the understanding of globalization as inherently varied globalization, global governance research, global history, and global/world society research. It argues that in order to redress some of the problems of globalization theory, it is necessary to build on these four strands and merge them with the traditional sociological concepts of functional differentiation and rationalization as well as with insights from complexity theories.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Brown Andrea G., Stern Robert M.

Concepts of fairness in the global trading system
in *Pacific Economic Review*, August 2007 - Vol. 12 Issue 3 , 293-318

We first discuss why fairness is a condition of the agreements among governments that form the global trading system. We then suggest that fairness can best be considered within the framework of two concepts: equality of opportunity and distributive equity. We thereafter discuss what these mean as applied to market access and its supporting rules as well as to dispute settlement and trade remedy measures. Finally, we make some comments about fairness in the Doha



Development Round.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Martin Philippe

Convergences des richesses, cumul des handicaps : les effets de la mondialisation sur les territoires

in *Esprit*, n. 335, juin 2007 , 29-45

L'accélération des échanges à l'échelle internationale ne provoque pas une homogénéisation des territoires. Tout au contraire, c'est un mouvement de dualisation qui se produit : d'un côté des pôles liés aux échanges globaux ; de l'autre des espaces périphériques, cantonnés à la sous-traitance et coupés de l'innovation. Comment organiser de la cohésion dans une telle géographie ?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cohen Robin

Creolization and Cultural Globalization: The Soft Sounds of Fugitive Power

in *Globalizations* , Volume 4, Issue 3 September 2007 , 369-384

In this article, I provide a comparative discussion of Creoles and creolization. The core concept centres on the cross-fertilization between different cultures as they interact. When creolization occurs, participants select particular elements from incoming or inherited cultures, endow these with meanings different from those they possessed in the original cultures, and then creatively merge these to create new varieties that supersede the prior forms. While discussions of creolization are common in linguistics, studies of popular culture, and historical studies of certain plantation societies, I use the notion here as a contemporary and general sociological term. I argue that creolization is a key aspect of cultural globalization and provide more detailed discussion of new understandings of creolization in Brazil, South Africa, and the US. I contrast manifest and strident forms of 'monocultural' power in the reassertion of nationalism, narrow ethnicities, and religious affinities with the more subtle but pervasive forms of 'fugitive power' found in the construction and affirmation of creolized identities. Creolization is only one aspect of fugitive power, but it is one with an intriguing past, an increasingly visible present and, I will suggest, a promising future.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bader V.

Defending Differentiated Policies of Multiculturalism

in *National Identities*, Vol. 9 n. 3 , 197 - 215

Affirmative action and multicultural (MC) policies are being challenged by egalitarian liberals, as well as republicans, in theory and politically in recent years. In this article, the author focuses on MC policies, the common core of which is to recognise serious ethno-cultural inequalities under conditions of equal civil and political rights, and find legal and political solutions to address these inequalities. The author argues that egalitarian liberal critics need not reject MC policies as



long as such policies are properly conceived and implemented. This, however, requires that their normative justifications and practical implementations be reconsidered.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sassen Saskia

Die Dialektik von Welt und Nation. Zur Transformation von Territorium, Autorität und Recht
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2007 , 695-704

Wir leben in einer Zeit epochaler Transformationen – epochal selbst dort, wo es lediglich um Teiltransformationen geht. Manche sprechen von „Globalisierung“, um diesen Wandel auf den Begriff zu bringen. Sie betrachten ihn als einen Wettkampf national vs. global. Andere konzentrieren sich auf den „Antiterrorkrieg“ und den „Ausnahmestand“, der Regierungen, wie sie hervorheben, zum legalen Missbrauch ihrer Befugnisse ermächtigt. Es gibt noch eine Reihe weiterer Versuche, das Wesen der ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Parenteau Danic

Diversité culturelle et mondialisation

in *Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique*, Vol. 26, no. 1

Plan de l'article

Diversité culturelle et mondialisation

La double origine conceptuelle du principe de la diversité culturelle

Quelles menaces pour la diversité des cultures sur la planète ?

Repenser le concept de la diversité culturelle face à la menace de la mondialisation

Conclusion

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Benhabib Seyla

Ein anderer Universalismus. Einheit und Vielfalt der Menschenrechte

in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 55. Jahrgang, Heft 4, 2007 , 501-519

Das Projekt des „okzidentalen Universalismus“, so die Bezeichnung von Edmund Husserl und Max Weber, ist in Verruf geraten. Heute spricht man lieber über Menschenrechte. Der Aufsatz will zeigen, dass sowohl bei der Begründung als auch bei der Bestimmung des Inhalts der Menschenrechte das Universalismusproblem wiederkehrt. Es wird ein diskurstheoretisches Modell der Begründung der Menschenrechte vorgeschlagen, welches den Arendtschen Begriff „das Recht, Rechte zu haben“ mit dem Begriff der „kommunikativen Freiheit“ verbindet.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

James Hrold

Empire and Its Alternatives

in *Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs*, n. 3, vol. 51, summer

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Le Goff, Pierrick.

Global Law: A Legal Phenomenon Emerging from the Process of Globalization

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, Volume 14, Issue 1, Winter , 119-145

This article addresses the following question: Is Global Law merely a trendy theory, or are there concrete and factual elements allowing submission of irrefutable evidence of a movement toward the creation of a stand-alone international legal system? In this piece, Le Goff explores the idea of global law, and whether a harmonized scheme based on converging national laws and practices, international custom and values, among others, is emerging in the global economy. The first part of the article attempts to define the notion of global law, and to distinguish global law from other disciplines claiming a direct link to or regulatory effect over international matters, such as the *lex mercatoria*. The second part of the article looks at the process of creating global law through an analysis of the role played by international institutions and law practitioners in shaping its contents. Included is discussion concerning whether global law meets the formality criteria required to qualify as a self-standing legal field.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rehbein Boike

Globalisierung, Sozialkulturen und Sozialstruktur. Einige Konsequenzen aus der Anwendung von Bourdieus Sozialtheorie in Südostasien

in *Soziale Welt*, Jahrgang 58, Heft 2, 2007 , 189-204

The paper summarizes a few consequences to be drawn after applying Pierre Bourdieu's social theory to Laos. A small country of the Asian periphery, which is transformed by processes of globalization, seems very remote from Bourdieu's work. Hence, an application of his theory to Laos does call for a revision of its concepts and claims. With regard to Laos, the frame of the nation state, the uniformity of society, the economism and the identification of culture and structure inherent in Bourdieu's theory cannot be upheld. The paper argues that these shortcomings are not only relevant for Southeast Asia but for a contemporary,



globalizing world. Thus, a confrontation of Bourdieu's theory with Laos may lead to consequences that are useful for a globalized sociology. The paper claims that classical sociology is valid merely for a limited historical and geographical setting. In consequence, it argues for a 'configurational dialectic' with concepts such as the division of work (not labour), social structure and socioculture at its core.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Peters Guy B.

Globalización, gobernanza y Estado: algunas proposiciones acerca del proceso de gobernar in Reforma y democracia (Venezuela), N. 39

The prevailing assumption of much of the globalization literature has been that the increasing power of external actors and forces has reduced the capacity of governments to govern.

This paper will attempt to nuance that discussion and to examine ways in which States can govern, and indeed need to govern, in the face of external pressures.

The differentiations will depend upon the nature of the States, the nature of policy areas, and the strategies that are involved in governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mallavarapu Siddharth

Globalization and the Cultural Grammar of 'Great Power' Aspiration in International Studies, n. 2, vol. 44, april , 87-102

ABSTRACT: Treating globalization as an initial point of departure to examine how cultures may have a bearing on great power ambitions, one can identify and challenge seven popular fallacies surrounding the concept. Available histories of globalization amply demonstrate that it is not a new phenomenon and secondly, that it must not be simplistically equated with everything western. Further, ongoing processes of globalization suggest that conceptions of what constitutes 'culture' and similarly what constitutes 'greatness' are complicated and of crucial consequence in ascertaining any correlations between culture and predispositions to great power standing. One should not assume that greatness in conventional international relations usage is inevitably a generic predisposition of all cultures. The notion of an essentialist national culture is highly contentious as there is likely to be considerable divergence of opinion amongst diversely socially positioned domestic constituencies with regard to both the content of greatness and cultural inclinations to greatness as understood in the dominant international relations idiom.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Ridgeway Sharon

Globalization from the Subsistence Perspective

in *Peace Review*, n. 3, vol. 19, september , 297-304

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Blaazer David

Globalization, Markets and Historiographical Perspective

in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 42, No. 3 - July , 505-514

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mariotti S.

Globalizzazione e città: le lepri del capitalismo

in *Stato e mercato*, n. 1 , 79 - 108

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rosenberg Justin

International Relations — The 'Higher Bullshit': A Reply to the Globalization Theory Debate

in *International Politics* , Volume 44, Number 4, July , 450-482

This article replies to an earlier forum (*International Politics* (42.3) on 'Globalization Theory: a Post Mortem'. Whereas the 'Post Mortem' had criticized Globalization Theory largely for its neglect of Classical Social Theory's achievements, the current paper emphasizes its reproduction of one of Classical Social Theory's greatest limitations: the failure to incorporate 'the international' into its theorization of historical development. This limitation, it is argued, may be overcome using the idea of 'uneven and combined development', an idea which is first reformulated (in order to re-connect the premises of social and international theory), and then used as a vantage point from which to respond to criticisms of the 'Post Mortem'. 'The international', it turns out, is not the fading reality postulated by Globalization Theory but rather a fundamental dimension of social existence that IR, uniquely among the social sciences, encounters as its core subject matter.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Andonova L., Mansfield E.D., Milner H.V.



International Trade and Environmental Policy in the Postcommunist World
in *Comparative Political Studies* , Vol. 40 n. 7 , 782 - 807

This article examines whether commercial openness has affected environmental policy in the postcommunist countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States. During the Cold War, these countries had closed trade regimes combined with little environmental regulation and poor environmental quality. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the breakup of the Soviet Union, many postcommunist countries have engaged in extensive trade liberalization. Some countries, however, have been slower to open their markets, and others have maintained highly protectionist trade policies. Have countries that opened up to global markets improved their environmental policies, or has increasing exposure to the international trading system undermined efforts to improve environmental policy? The results indicate that trade openness undermined a key element of environmental policy in the region by reducing governments' ability to collect environmental taxes and support environmental investments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bellocchio Luca

L'inevitabile unilateralismo

in *Democrazia e diritto*, Anno XLIV, n. 4

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Descamps Christian

La régulation, les États et la vie bonne

in *Esprit*, n. 337, août/septembre 2007 , 17-28

L'économie contemporaine, transnationale, déterritorialisée, s'émancipe de l'encadrement pensé au niveau national sous la forme de l'État-providence. Pour imaginer des régulations adaptées à la mondialisation, la relecture des classiques de l'économie politique permet de raviver la question de la finalité du vivre-ensemble, sous la forme de la vie bonne.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cohen Daniel

Le débat sur les choix politiques est esquissé (entretien)

in *Esprit*, n. 335, juin 2007 , 13-19

La campagne présidentielle française n'a vraiment traité de la mondialisation qu'à travers trois sujets : le rôle des PME, la sécurisation des parcours professionnels, la relance d'une politique de la recherche et de l'enseignement supérieur. Pourquoi ces sujets sont-ils stratégiques ? Comment peuvent-ils se relier à une conception plus systématique des choix appelés par la mondialisation ?



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mongin Olivier

Le décentrement du monde

in *Esprit*, n. 335, juin 2007 , 54-62

L'approche économique ne suffit pas, à elle seule, à rendre compte de la mondialisation. C'est pourquoi il faut en observer les multiples facettes mais aussi interpréter avec lucidité le décentrement historique qu'elle provoque pour l'ensemble des pays occidentaux.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Eckardt F.

Multiculturalism in Germany: From Ideology to Pragmatism - and Back?

in *National Identities*, Vol. 9 n. 3 , 235 - 245

Multiculturalism has become an important focus in debates in Germany over the last twenty years, especially in relation to issues of nationality. As Germany still does not define itself officially as an immigrant society, the presence of ethnic diversity presents a number of challenges. Populist and official definitions of citizenship and nationality have still not been extended to cultural minorities and immigrants. In this article, the recent debates and political changes during the Schröder Government (1998-2005) are explored. The article argues that many policies, especially at the local level, have sought to address cultural conflict through pragmatic, but limited, options. It is unclear, however, whether the overall discourse in Germany will turn from a universalist perspective to a 'politics of recognition' of cultural difference.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jarvik Lawrence

NGOs: A 'New Class' in International Relations

in *Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs*, n. 2, vol. 51, spring

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Johnston Ron, Glasmeier Amy

Neo-Liberalism, Democracy and the State: Temporal and Spatial Constraints to Globalisation

in *Space and Polity*, Volume 11, Number 1 / April , 1-33

Most discussions of the role of the state in an emerging neo-liberal, globalised world pay little or no attention to the



constraints on state action linked to the operation of liberal representative democratic regimes. A discussion of the nature of representative democracy identifies those temporal and spatial constraints, and illustrates them with examples from four policy areas: freedom of labour movement; exporting jobs; subsidising and protecting producers; and promoting places. Those constraints are much more effective in some types of country than others, however, and in some it has proved possible to circumvent them by moving policy decisions outside direct government purview.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

O'Connell P.

On Reconciling Irreconcilables: Neo-liberal Globalisation and Human Rights
in *Human Rights Law Review*, Vol. 7 n. 3 , 483 - 509

This article examines the tensions between the presently dominant form of globalisation, which will be referred to as neo-liberal globalisation, and the protection of human rights. The argument developed and defended here, in essence, is that one cannot be committed to the protection of fundamental human rights and at the same time acquiescent in the dominant model of globalisation. Consequently, it is argued that advocates for human rights, be they grassroots campaigners, academics or members of the global human rights officialdom, must take a strong stance against prevailing orthodoxies in order to genuinely advance and entrench a culture of human rights protection. A large element of the argument presented here will be that conventional discourse on human rights and globalisation has misunderstood the nature of globalisation. In contrast to the standard narrative in this field, I will posit my own understanding of globalisation, that is neo-liberal globalisation, and then argue that this model is inimical, both in theory and practice, to the protection of human rights. Having done this, I will then go on to argue that all human rights advocates are faced with a choice (not an easy choice, but a necessary one) between acquiescence in a process which is inherently inimical to the protection of human rights, or utilising human rights to challenge and overcome the dominant model of globalisation

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jakubowicz A.

Political Islam and the Future of Australian Multiculturalism
in *National Identities*, Vol. 9 n. 3 , 265 - 280

How can complex and diverse societies ensure the survival of core democratic values and the allegiance of all citizens, while respecting cultural difference? In the Australian context, these issues have been foregrounded by the presence of Muslim communities. This article argues that the discourses about Muslims and discourses by Muslims can work to reveal the dynamics for negotiating social cohesion. The political projects of mainstream Muslim communities can play a critical role in knitting together fragmented elements, and offering broader fronts through which a more integrated multicultural society can evolve. However, the potential for integration can be undermined in two ways: a) by political decisions in the dominant society that reject such projects, rather than engaging with them in creative and constructive directions; and b) by marginal groups within Muslim communities gaining greater leverage over younger people in a period of heightened apprehension occasioned by world events and Australian government reactions.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Spence Edward H.

Positive Rights and the Cosmopolitan Community: A Rights-Centered Foundation for Global Ethics

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 3, Issue 2, August 2007 , 181-202

The recent transnational wave of destruction that was caused by the earthquake-induced tsunamis in South East Asia has raised the issue of global justice in terms of the rights of victims to expect aid relief and the moral responsibility of the rest of the world to provide it. In this paper I will discuss the issue of global ethics in terms of positive rights that people have to assistance from others when they cannot provide such assistance themselves. The main object of the paper is to demonstrate that positive rights are universal and global in scope and cannot therefore be restricted by any national, religious, cultural or other social boundaries. Such rights provide a rational and ethical foundation for global justice that is cosmopolitan. The argument for the position offered in the paper will be broadly based on the moral philosophy of Alan Gewirth.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hooper Barbara, Kramsch Olivier

Post-Colonising Europe: The Geopolitics of Globalisation, Empire and Borders: Here and There, Now and Then

in **Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)** , Volume 98, Issue 4, September , 526-534

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Aksikas Jaafar

Prisoners of Globalization: Marginality, Community and the New Informal Economy in Morocco

in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 12, Number 2, July , 249-262

The so-called informal economy dominates everyday life in contemporary Morocco. An overwhelming majority of the urban population operates outside the 'formalized national economy' in which it is either unable to participate or can participate only under unequal and demeaning terms. The aim of the present article is two-fold. First, it seeks to interrogate the very notion of 'informality'. As a social phenomenon, the 'informal economy' is real enough, but what does it refer to exactly? And what is the nature of the relationship between formal and informal economic activities? Second, the article seeks to discuss the implications of the globalization of capitalism for the complex 'informal' economic sectors in Morocco. More specifically, how has the launching of so-called structural adjustment policies in the early 1980s further marginalized those in the already marginal areas of the economy? At another level, how has globalization contributed to the growth and invigoration of marginal economic activities and structures? And, finally, what are some of the cultural and political implications of the so-called informal economy?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Marc-Lipiansky Mireille

**Procès de l'aide au développement et de la mondialisation (II)
in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 2, juillet , 55-64

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hobson John M.

**Reconstructing International Relations Through World History: Oriental Globalization and the Global–Dialogic
Conception of Inter-Civilizational Relations**
in **International Politics** , Volume 44, Number 4, July , 414-430

In this article, I seek to move the agenda for historical sociology of international relations (HSIR) onto the next stage of research by considering how both international relations (IR) and HSIR can benefit from entering into a dialogue with World History and, more specifically, with what I call the 'new global history'. This is necessary because much of IR — and ironically, the vast majority of HSIR — suffers from ahistorical Eurocentrism. In this article, I begin the process of reconstructing IR by drawing on a range of non-Eurocentric arguments that are furnished in the new global history. My overarching framework explores how 'Eastern agency' and 'Oriental globalization' have informed many of the developments in world politics that are conventionally assumed to have Western origins. More specifically, I show how various global–dialogic relationships conducted between Eastern and Western agents have shaped the modern world, in particular capitalist modernity and the rise and spread of the sovereign state. In the final part of the article, I argue that great power politics under Oriental globalization differed fundamentally from Western hegemony/imperialism, thereby debunking the myth that great power politics can be universalized through time and place. In the conclusion, I suggest various areas of future research that could propel both IR and HSIR out of their ahistorical Eurocentric impasse.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dalby Simon

Regions, Strategies and Empire in the Global War on Terror
in **Geopolitics**, Vol. 12, n. 4, October , 586-606

The often overlooked economic dimensions of the current American national security strategy bridge the military policies of the neo-conservative Bush doctrine with the neo-liberal tendencies of economic globalisation. They do so by explicitly extending control into the "dangerous periphery" of the global economy by strategies that attempt to integrate these regions into the global economy. Reading recent official American defence documents in parallel with commentaries on the war on terror by popular authors Thomas Barnett and Robert Kaplan suggests a broad complementarity of geopolitical categories that link imperial military action directly with neo-liberal globalisation. Both rely on a dichotomous mapping of the world into civilised core and dangerous periphery, categories that reprise earlier imperial mappings of the world and replicate the violent practices of empire.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ferdinand Peter

Russia and China: converging responses to globalization

in *International Affairs* , issue 4, vol. 83, july , 655–680

This article compares the impact of globalization on the political systems and political economy of Russia and China since the beginning of their respective reform periods. Overall, it argues that both should now be viewed within the paradigm of 'developmental states'. The article first presents some comparative economic statistics on the changes that have taken place. Second, it looks at the converging attitudes of the two regimes towards industrial restructuring and privatization, highlighting the continued role that they both reserve for state direction. This includes an orientation towards national industrial champions. Third, the evolution of policies of both states towards guided democratization are discussed leading to an assessment of the importance of nationalism in their responses to globalization, particularly in the recent doctrine of 'sovereign democracy' of Putin's United Russia party. Finally, the article argues that a greater wariness towards western recipes for political and economic development will frame the efforts of both states to construct a more cooperative bilateral relationship.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hsiao Michael Hsin-Huang, Wan Po-San

The Experiences of Cultural Globalizations in Asia-Pacific

in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Volume 8, Issue 3, December , 361-385

This paper explores the common and different cultural globalization experience of the public's everyday lifestyles in seven societies in Asia-Pacific, focusing on the following aspects: connectivity with the world through personal encounters and digital media, English language capacity, support for the forces of globalization, global thinking and concern, the Internet's influences on sociopolitical opinions, appreciation of international food, and national vs. transnational identity. An analysis of survey data is used to contrast public experience of global thinking, global exposure, global diet, and global feelings in two separate developmental states with higher and lower HDI measures in seven Asia-Pacific societies. We demonstrate that individual globalization manifested in everyday life should be understood under a comparative societal perspective as citizens' global experiences are not only a simple matter of personal choice, but are also more a reflection of complex societal conditions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Strüver Anke

The Production of Geopolitical and Gendered Images through Global Aid Organisations

in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 12, n. 4, October , 680-703



In looking at micro-mechanisms of the production of regionalisations in global governance discourses, this article argues that definitions of global disparities between regions are an outcome of representations. Against the background of "critical geopolitics" and conceptualising representations as space-producing practices, the contribution examines the ways how global aid organisations (re-)produce regionalisations in their campaigns' spatial representations in relation to images of gender.

Since critical geopolitics do not provide a consistent methodical research framework, the article also provides a reflection on interpretative approaches in combination with a poststructuralist background as a methodological guide to study spatial representations. In the last section this is exercised in exemplary fashion on illustrative examples in order to deconstruct dominant mechanisms of territorial differentiation and regional order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wan Ming

The United States, Japan, and the European Union: comparing political economy approaches to China in *Pacific Review* (The) , Volume 20, Number 3, September , 397-421

This paper examines US, Japanese, and European political economy approaches to China, and their effect on US-Japan and US-EU relationships. Great powers with a greater security concern in dealing with another major country care more about power while those with less of a concern are preoccupied with calculations for wealth. China's rise and its actions have posed a far greater security challenge to the United States and Japan and are driving the two countries closer together. The political economy game involving China reveals a dominant welfare motive among the advanced market economies. The ambition to transform China politically has diminished. China's integration into the global market makes a relative gains approach difficult to implement. Globalization simply limits the ability of a state to follow a politics-in-command approach in the absence of actual military conflict, which explains why the political economy approaches of the United States, Europe, and Japan are not that different in the scheme of things. China's own grand strategy to reach out to the world to outflank the US-Japan alliance has also contributed to a divergent European policy toward China although there are severe limitations to Beijing's ability to drive a wedge between the United States and Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ghemawat Pankaj

The World's Biggest Myth

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 163, November / December

It happens every time there's a global credit squeeze, an international trade dispute, or an outsourcing outrage. Like clockwork, the two opposing forces of the enduring globalization debate go to battle on the world's oped pages, in policyshop salons, and sometimes in the streets. The proglobalizers talk of leveling playing fields and freeing markets to spread wealth to every corner of the world. The antiglobalizers claim rich countries and corporations have set up the rules of the game in their favor, profiting from the hard work and low expectations of most of the world's poor.

These two sides of the debate agree on almost nothing, with one exception: They both believe globalization leads to



more market share for fewer players. In fact, they couldn't be more wrong. This perspective can be traced back at least to Karl Marx, who wrote more than 100 years ago that "one capitalist always kills many . . . [leading to] the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Obydenkova Anastassia

The international dimension of democratization: testing the parsimonious approach

in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 20, n. 3, September , 473-490

This article examines the importance of the international context on regime change. It provides evidence that geographic proximity to the European Union (EU) does not result in the spread of democracy. In contrast, communication and cooperation between EU actors and sub-national regions contributes significantly to the development of democracy in these regions. Considering the role of EU projects, investments and trade in regime transition - measured through indicators of civil society, political openness, freedom of speech and economic liberalization - this article demonstrates that international context may have a positive influence on the diffusion of democracy at a regional, sub-national level. This finding has substantial implications for the literature on international relations and globalization studies. It suggests that the emergence of 'new' regions through communication and cooperation takes place through two seemingly contradictory but mutually reinforcing processes: regionalization (territorial disintegration/federalization) and integration (through communication and cooperation).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Crook Clive

Think Again: Europe

in Foreign Policy, Issue 161, July / August

False. Undeniably, Europe's governments put on a good show. They sign the Kyoto Protocol—a treaty that commits them to do little about global warming, and whose terms they then flout—while righteously deploring the United States' refusal to join in. They call for a bold new round of trade negotiations to address the plight of the world's poor, and then sink it with their refusal to dismantle their own agricultural subsidies. When it comes to foreign policy, they are entirely preoccupied—and most likely always will be—with their own internal, intra-European machinations. Making a hash of the "European Project" generally requires their full attention. But that is all right, because as far as external threats are concerned, the instinct of Europe's leaders is to appease and deny, which requires little commitment of resources, multilateral or otherwise. Europe's Iran policy is only the most recent instance: Never confront, just keep talking, and all will turn out well in the end. Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, for one, certainly endorses that approach.

On occasion, the maintenance of global order requires a willingness to use military power, which in turn requires a prior investment in military hardware. Europe's good global citizens apparently have more pressing priorities (such as those farm subsidies). The entire European Union (EU) spends about half as much on defense as the United States. That's just as well because, when it comes to projecting force, the task can be left to those deplorable, unilateralist, gungoting...



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Amin Samir

Weltmacht Indien? Der Subkontinent zwischen kolonialem Erbe und globalem Aufstieg

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Juni, 2007 , 705-716

Mit mehr als einer Milliarde Einwohnern – einer Bevölkerungszahl, die der chinesischen nahe kommt – und einer über dem Weltdurchschnitt liegenden wirtschaftlichen Wachstumsrate gilt Indien heute vielen als eine der kommenden Großmächte des 21. Jahrhunderts. Dieser Artikel soll derartige Prognosen hinterfragen, denn ob Indien die Voraussetzungen dafür erfüllt, eine moderne Großmacht zu werden, erscheint mir ausgesprochen fraglich. Meine Zweifel erwachsen aus der – entscheidend ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Deacon Roger

'Pacifying the Planet: Norbert Elias on Globalization'

in **Theoria**, 113 (August 2007)

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Inoguchi Takashi

Are there any theories of international relations in Japan?

in **International Relations of the Asia-Pacific**, Volume 7, Number 3, September , 369-390

This article argues that there are theories of international relations (IR) in Japan and that these theories are mostly of middle range type. I first give a brief survey of IR studies in Japan and its disciplinary backgrounds. On that basis, then I focus on the three outstanding cases of fledgling theories of IR as developed in the 1920s and 1930s, namely Nishida as an innate constructivist, Tabata as an international law theorist presupposing the natural freedom of individuals, and Hirano as an economist placing regional integration higher than state sovereignty, to develop the argument that there are indeed theories of IR in a fledgling form already before World War II.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Behrens Kristian, Gagné Carl, Ottaviano Gianmarco I.P., Thisse Jacques-François

Countries, regions and trade: On the welfare impacts of economic integration

in **European Economic Review**, Volume 51, Issue 5, July 2007



We study the impact of falling international trade costs and falling national transport costs on the economic geography of countries involved in an integration process. Each country is formed by two regions between which labor is mobile, whereas there is no international mobility. Goods can be traded both nationally and internationally at positive, but different, costs. A decrease in trade costs and/or in transport costs has a direct impact on prices and wages, which allows us to account for the impact of changes in these parameters on the economic geography and welfare of each country. We show that, as trade barriers fall, the benefits of integration come after its costs. We also show that national transport policies are of the beggar-thy-neighbor type. On both counts, policy coordination is required in the process of economic integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Baier, Scott L., Bergstrand, Jeffrey H., Vidal Erika

Free Trade Agreements In the Americas: Are the Trade Effects Larger than Anticipated?
in *World Economy*, Volume 30, Number 9 , 1347-1377

This paper argues that the 'competitive liberalisation' of national governments of the past several decades reflects national governments' expectations of larger trade impacts from regional economic integration agreements (EIAs) than typical ex ante economic models have suggested. Moreover, we show that previous (typically cross-section) ex post empirical evaluations of the effects of EIAs on trade have seriously over- or underestimated the effects, partly due to ignoring the (endogenous) self-selection bias of country pairs into EIAs. Accounting for this bias, we find that economic integration agreements in the Americas have had much larger impacts on trade over the period 1960-2000 than previously found and the ex post estimates are less fragile than those in earlier cross-section analyses. The results shed further light on understanding the causes and consequences of the growth of regionalism in the world.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Duttagupta Rupa, Panagariya Arvind

Free Trade Areas And Rules Of Origin: Economics And Politics
in *Economics and Politics*, Vol. 19 Issue 2 , 169-190.

Incorporating an intermediate input into a simple small-union general-equilibrium model, this paper first develops the welfare economics of preferential trading under the rules of origin (ROO) and then demonstrates that ROOs can improve the political viability of Free Trade Agreements (FTAs). Two interesting outcomes are derived. First, a welfare-reducing FTA that was rejected in the absence of ROOs can become feasible in the presence of these rules. Second, a welfare-improving FTA that was rejected in the absence of ROOs can be endorsed in their presence, but upon endorsement it can become welfare inferior relative to the status quo.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Kemp Murray C.

Normative comparisons of customs unions and other types of free trade association
in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 23, Issue 2, June 2007



In the present paper it is shown that the Kemp–Wan proposition concerning customs unions can be extended to cover free trade associations other than customs unions and that sense can be made of the common conjecture that a customs union is more beneficial or less harmful to the world economy than a comparable but distinct free trade association that is not also a customs union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Kessler Oliver, Helmig Jan

Of Systems, Boundaries, and Regionalisation

in Geopolitics, Vol. 12, n. 4, October , 570-585

For the analysis of regionalisation processes, this contribution calls for a mutual engagement between systems theory and critical geopolitics. Based on Luhmann's systems theory, the contribution proposes a framework based on the idea of a world society. This framework points to a changing mode of differentiation where there is an increasing overlap and collision between territorial and functional boundaries. Emphasising the concept of functional differentiation, a multiplicity of overlapping regional logics and forces appears where functional systems create their own 'image' of space. As a consequence, regions are not characterised by their physical or cultural boundaries but by collisions of different rationalities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Pascha Werner

The role of regional financial arrangements and monetary integration in East Asia and Europe in relations with the United States

in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 20, Number 3, September , 423-446

Regional financial arrangements and monetary integration in East Asia and Europe have made considerable progress in recent years. This paper discusses whether governments in both regions, Japan and Germany as the most advanced regional economies in particular, can use the new dynamics as levers to raise their status vis-à-vis the United States. It will be argued that activities are defensive rather than offensive, aiming at protecting the respective region from financial risk. Japan, in particular, would find it difficult to raise its status vis-à-vis the United States significantly by promoting regional financial and monetary integration, principal reasons being actor heterogeneity, the role of China, hesitation to bear burden and risk, and the historical legacy of a bank-oriented system.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Cooper Scott

Why doesn't regional monetary cooperation follow trade cooperation?

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 14 Issue 4 2007 , pages 626 - 652

Conventional theories in political economy argue that monetary cooperation is more likely in regions with trade interdependence. In practice, however, regional trade cooperation usually does not lead to monetary cooperation. I



argue that this disparity results from different political economy logics in the two issue areas. In contrast to trade cooperation, the domestic actor that sacrifices the most in a regional monetary agreement is the government itself, which loses a significant tool for domestic economic adjustment as well as an important political symbol. Thus, monetary cooperation is only likely if there are direct benefits to the government to compensate for its lost monetary control. Benefits to the aggregate economy or to particular economic sectors are usually insufficient compensation. Experience with earlier monetary institutions, however, can in some cases reduce the costs to governments enough to make cooperation feasible.

I explore these arguments with two sets of case studies: Central America and West Africa. Central America has had the highest level of trade cooperation in the developing world, but never successfully implemented monetary cooperation. West Africa, by contrast, developed a strong regional currency despite its very low intra-regional trade. West Africa did have, however, experience with prior regional monetary institutions that lowered the costs of new cooperation for newly independent African governments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Frederiksen Harald D.

A Federation of Palestine and Jordan: A Chance for Peace?

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 14, Issue 2, June , 30-43

Full text available: <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/toc/mepo/14/2>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kotzé Hennie

African Elites, NEPAD and Institutional Confidence: Findings from a Seven Nation Survey

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Number 1, April , 58-97

The important role that needs to be played by African elites in implementing developmental initiatives such as the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the African Union (AU) has been widely recognized. This article focuses on the confidence which African elites have in NEPAD and the AU, as well as in the state institutions which are ultimately responsible for the successful implementation of these initiatives. Data is obtained from a study of elite perceptions conducted in 2002 by the Centre for International and Comparative Politics at the University of Stellenbosch in seven African countries. Our analysis shows that there is a significant discrepancy between high levels of elite confidence in the AU and NEPAD and their low levels of confidence in state structures. It is shown that the relatively low confidence levels in the state are directly correlated with low levels of confidence in civil society. If Africa places its hopes on the AU and NEPAD to point it in the direction of political stability and growth, she will have to create a political climate where confidence in the state can grow significantly. In this context, the role which civil society can play in bringing about greater state accountability and thereby increasing state capacity should not be underestimated.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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



Franke Benedikt

Competing Regionalisms in Africa and the Continent's Emerging Security Architecture
in *African Studies Quarterly*, issue 3, vol. 9, spring

ABSTRACT: While the relationship between the United Nations and Africa's various regional and sub-regional organisations has already been the subject of much debate, hardly any attention has been paid to the relationships these African organisations maintain with each other and the way they impact on the continent's emerging security architecture. Consequently, this article aims to shed some light on both the evolution of competing regionalisms in Africa as well as their impact on the prospects and chances of today's security institutions. It thereby argues that the ongoing proliferation of intergovernmental organisations and the resultant competition for national and international resources, political influence and institutional relevance threatens the viability of a continental approach to peace and security by duplicating efforts and fragmenting support. It further contends that the often uneasy coexistence of these organisations is symptomatic of the deep divisions, nationalist tendencies and regional imbalances underlying the multiple processes of regionalisation in Africa. More optimistically, however, the article concludes that, even though some of these divisive factors seem here to stay, the African Union has taken a number of noteworthy steps to harmonise the continent's numerous security initiatives. Both, the creation of regionally based multinational brigades as part of an African Standby Force as well as the decision to limit official cooperation to seven organisations are meant to prevent needless duplication of effort and to ensure that the continent's limited resources are applied to areas of real need. By basing its security architecture on regional pillars and incorporating existing initiatives as building blocs and implementation agencies into its continental policy, the AU has made important steps towards establishing a common front and reversing what Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah had so fearfully termed the "balkanisation of Africa".

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Williams Paul D.

From non-intervention to non-indifference: the origins and development of the African Union's security culture
in *African Affairs*, Volume 106, Number 423, April , 253-279

This article employs the concepts of security culture and norm localization to explore some of the cultural dimensions of the African Union's (AU) security policies. After providing an overview of constructivist accounts of norm socialization in international relations, I use these insights to analyse the origins and development of the AU's security culture. The final two sections explore the ongoing process of norm localization in relation to the two most recent tenets of the AU's security culture: intolerance of unconstitutional changes of government and the responsibility to protect principle. An awareness of the uneven and contested nature of this process helps account for the fact that although these two transnational norms have been institutionalized in the AU Charter and endorsed by the United Nations, they have been internalized unevenly by the AU's member states. External advocates of these two norms would thus do well to help the continent's norm entrepreneurs build congruence between these norms and the AU's security culture.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Mkwezalamba Maxwell M., Chinyama Emmanuel J.



Implementation of Africa's Integration and Development Agenda:

in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 1, No. 1 - January

Africa faces several challenges in its endeavors to implement her integration and development agenda. This paper outlines these challenges in four broad categories, namely, peace and security, governance, economic and social issues. It also seeks to provide solutions to these challenges. The paper then discusses the important roles that the African Union (AU), Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Member States should play in addressing the challenges. It concludes by arguing that Africa's sustainable development and poverty reduction will not be achieved unless these challenges are addressed.

Mise en OEuvre du Programme de l'Intégration et du Développement de l'Afrique - Défis et Perspectives

Résumé: L'Afrique fait face à plusieurs défis dans ses tentatives de mise en oeuvre de son programme d'intégration et de développement. Ce papier esquisse ces défis dans quatre domaines, à savoir, la paix et la sécurité, la gouvernance, les problèmes économiques et sociaux. Il propose également des solutions à ces défis. Par ailleurs il met en lumière les rôles importants que doivent jouer: l'Union africaine (AU), les Communautés Economiques Régionales (CERs) et les Etats Membres, pour relever ces défis. Il conclut en soulignant que le développement durable et la réduction de la pauvreté en Afrique ne seront pas atteints sans que l'on ne trouve une solution à ces défis.

<http://www.africa-union.org/root/UA/Newsletter/EA/Vol.%201,%20No.%201/Mkwezalamba%20&%20Chinyama.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Agbodji Akoété Ega

Intégration et Échanges commerciaux Intra Sous-régionaux:

in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 1, No. 1 - January

En présence des échanges transfrontaliers non enregistrés importants, quels sont les impacts isolés de l'union monétaire et économique sur les échanges intra-UEMOA ? Nous tentons à travers cette étude de répondre à cette interrogation. Avec un modèle de gravité dynamique amélioré qui comporte une variable indicatrice des incitations à la fraude dans les échanges transfrontaliers, l'étude a montré à travers les résultats que l'appartenance à la zone monétaire commune et la mise en oeuvre des réformes économiques ont eu des effets significatifs en termes de détournement des importations et des exportations. Toutefois, les distorsions économiques, considérées comme des incitations aux échanges commerciaux frauduleux, ont significativement réduit les échanges commerciaux bilatéraux formels dans l'Union.

Intra Sub-regional Integration and Commercial Exchange:

Case of WAEMU



With an important unrecorded cross-border trade, what are the isolated impacts of monetary and economic union on intra-WAEMU trade? This study tries to answer this question. Using a dynamic augmented model of gravity which contains a variable representing the incentives to smuggle, the study, through its results, displayed that the membership of common monetary zone and the implementation of the economic reforms have had significant effects in terms of imports and exports diversion. However, the economic distortions, considered as incentives for trading through unofficial channels, significantly reduced official bilateral trade in the Union.

<http://www.africa-union.org/root/UA/Newsletter/EA/Vol.%201,%20No.%201/Agbodji.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Gibb Richard

Regional Integration in Post-Apartheid Southern Africa

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 98, Issue 4, September , 421-435

Regional integration is a fashionable, but far from novel phenomenon, in southern Africa. This paper compares regional integration during the apartheid period with that which has occurred subsequently. South Africa's regional strategy has consistently been the single most important factor affecting the nature, character and evolution of regional integration. It was only after South Africa's successful all-race election in April 1994 could southern African regionalism move away from the politics of separation to integration. Since 1994, all the regional institutions in southern Africa have changed their institutional structures and integrative ambitions in order to respond to changed national, international and regional environments. There is no doubt that the policy environment affecting regional integration in post-apartheid southern Africa has changed beyond all recognition when compared to the late-apartheid period. However, a central contention of this paper is that many of the key challenges facing southern African regionalism remain fundamentally the same as in the apartheid period; intra-regional trade remains imbalanced and limited, regional inequalities continue to be intense and the institutional structure of regional integration is complex, confusing and contradictory.

Full text available: <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/full/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2007.00412.x>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Wang Jian-Ye, Masha Iyabo, Shirono Kazuko, Harris Leighton

The Common Monetary Area in Southern Africa: Shocks, Adjustment, and Policy Challenges

in *IMF Policy Discussion Papers*, July 2007 , Working Paper No. 07/158

This study assesses the experience of the Common Monetary Area (CMA) based on available empirical evidence over the last two decades. It pays particular attention to member countries' adjustment to economic shocks in recent years and the inter-country linkages, including the spillover effects of policies. The paper draws the main lessons from the CMA experience, identifies key policy challenges, and discusses the issues facing the member countries in their efforts to achieve sustained growth. Implications for further economic integration in a broader regional context are also noted.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

N'Guettia Kouassi Rene

The Itinerary of the African Integration Process:

in African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration, Vol. 1, No. 2 - July

Abstract: This article provides an overview of the initiatives undertaken by African leaders to carry out the economic and political integration of the continent. It examines in turn the Lagos Plan of Action and Final Act of Lagos, the Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, the African Union and the NEPAD. Beforehand, it clarifies the important initiatives such as the Monrovia Symposium, the Addis Ababa Declaration of 1973, and the Kinshasa Declaration of 1976, which indicated the political good-will of the African leaders to deal with the economic and political destiny of the continent and which resulted in the adoption in the Lagos Plan of Action, which in turn had partly been the origin of other initiatives. In addition, the article reveals that in spite of the multiplicity of these initiatives, the process of the economic and political integration of Africa remains an important concern to date.

L'itinéraire du processus d'intégration africaine:
un aperçu des étapes historiques

Cet article passe en revue toutes les initiatives entreprises par les dirigeants africains pour réaliser l'intégration économique et politique du continent. Il examine tour à tour le Plan d'Action et l'Acte final de Lagos, le traité d'Abuja instituant la Communauté Economique Africaine, l'Union africaine et le NEPAD. Mais auparavant, il met en lumière les initiatives importantes telles que la Conférence de Monrovia, la Déclaration d'Addis Abéba en 1973, la Déclaration de Kinshasa en 1976, qui traduisaient la volonté politique des dirigeants africains de prendre en charge le destin économique et politique du continent, et qui ont abouti à l'avènement du Plan d'Action de Lagos qui à son tour a été, en partie, à l'origine des autres initiatives. Par ailleurs, l'article révèle que malgré la multiplicité de ces initiatives, le processus d'intégration économique et politique de l'Afrique demeure encore aujourd'hui une importante préoccupation.

<http://www.africa-union.org/root/UA/Newsletter/EA/Vol.%201,%20No.%202/Kouassi.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Jefferis Keith R.

The Process of Monetary Integration in the SADC Region

in Journal of Southern African Studies, Volume 33, Issue 1, March , 83-106

The African Union has agreed, in principle, to implement monetary union and a single currency in Africa by 2021. This would be based upon the prior formation of regional monetary unions, including one in the SADC region. This article considers the economic prerequisites and implications for a monetary union and, in the light of this, whether a SADC monetary union is feasible. After reviewing the existing monetary union within SADC (the rand-based Common



Monetary Area) and current SADC macroeconomic convergence initiatives, the article examines the extent to which key economic and monetary variables - inflation, interest rates and exchange rates - are converging within SADC. It concludes that there is a core 'convergence' group comprising the CMA countries - South Africa, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland - plus Botswana, Mauritius, Mozambique and Tanzania whose macroeconomic performance satisfies some of the criteria for monetary union. The remaining SADC countries - Angola, DRC, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe - make up a 'non-converging' group that cannot yet be considered potential candidates for monetary union. However, even within the convergence group, countries remain far from satisfying the other prerequisites for monetary union, including significant intra-regional trade, and full capital and labour mobility. There are also major political constraints, making the AU monetary union proposals and timetable highly ambitious.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Magliveras Konstantinos

The Southern African Development Community - The Organisation, its Policies and Prospects

in *International Organizations Law Review*, n. 1, vol. 4, 148-152

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Martijn Jan Kees, Tsangarides Charalambos G.

Trade Reform in the CEMAC: Developments and Opportunities

in *IMF Policy Discussion Papers*, June 2007

This paper provides an update on the main elements of the reform agenda concerning the CEMAC trade regime as well as a tentative quantitative assessment of selected effects on tariff revenues and trade patterns. Notwithstanding data limitations, the key messages from the analysis are as follows. First, there is a need for a renewed political commitment to regional integration. In addition, key measures for improving compliance with the requirements for a customs union need to be introduced, including limiting tariff exemptions, phasing out remaining surcharges, strengthening the determination of products' country origin, and enhancing customs administration. There is also a need to improve transportation infrastructure and organization. Finally, there is a strong case for tariff reduction, with or without an EPA. Trade liberalization would help boost economic growth and poverty alleviation and limit risks of trade diversion with an EPA. Tariff reform should be complemented by improvements in domestic revenue mobilization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Royalty Kent W., Ross Dianna

NAFTA Chapter 11:

in *International Trade Journal*, Volume 21 Issue 3, 299 - 327

This article provides a solution to the concerns that NAFTA is not currently able to protect Foreign Direct Investment



while safeguarding the environment. Concerns, NAFTA provisions, and potential solutions to the conflict are discussed as follows.

Why Protection Is Needed for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

The upside and the downside of FDI

How NAFTA Protects FDI

Article 1110: Expropriation and Compensation

The Investor-State Dispute Mechanism

How NAFTA Protects the Environment

Chapter 11, The Preamble, and the Environmental Side Agreement

Concerns about NAFTA Protection

How Are the NAFTA Tribunals Doing?

Can NAFTA Protect Both Investor and Environment?

Good, Better and Best Solutions to the FDI-Environment Conflict

NAFTA Choice #1: Do Nothing

NAFTA Choice #2: Exemption

NAFTA Choice #3: Remove the "Tantamount to Expropriation" Clause

NAFTA Choice #4: Follow the US Law of Regulatory Taking

NAFTA's Best Choice: Extrinsic Interpretive Guidance

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Romalis John

NAFTA's and CUSFTA's Impact on International Trade

in Review of Economics and Statistics, Volume 89, Issue 3 , 416-435

This paper identifies NAFTA's effects on trade volumes and prices using detailed trade and tariff data. It identifies demand elasticities from the additional wedges driven between consumption patterns in NAFTA versus non-NAFTA countries caused by tariff reductions. Supply elasticities are identified using tariffs as instruments for observed quantities. Analysis of worldwide trade data for 5,000 commodities shows that NAFTA had a substantial impact on international trade volumes, but a modest effect on prices and welfare. NAFTA increased North American output and prices in many highly protected sectors by driving out imports from nonmember countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Gantz David A.

Settlement of Disputes Under the Central America–Dominican Republic–United States Free Trade Agreement *in Boston College International and Comparative Law Review*, Vol. 30 n. 2 , 331-410

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

M. Genna Gaspare , Hiroi Taeko

Brazilian Regional Power in the Development of Mercosul

in Latin American Perspectives: a Journal on Capitalism and Socialism , Volume 34, No. 5 , 43-57

President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government presided over three critical junctures in the development of the Common Market of the South (Mercosul): the attempted military coup in Paraguay in 1996, the devaluation of the Brazilian real in 1999, and the Argentine economic crisis in 2002. Its responses to these events were critical to the development of Mercosul because of Brazil's unique position as the largest country in the bloc. Many theories of free trade and regional integration hold that economic integration requires a regionally preponderant power that acts as a core provider of collective goods for member states. When such a power provides benefits, satisfaction among the member states increases and the likelihood of integration is increased. An examination of the Cardoso government's policies during the three critical junctures suggests that regional integration declined when Argentina incurred costs during the Brazilian currency crisis and increased when Cardoso's government provided aid during the Argentine economic crisis and helped defeat the attempted coup in Paraguay

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Griffin C. E.

CARICOM: Confronting the Challenges of Mediation and Conflict Resolution

in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, Vol. 45 n. 3 , 303 - 322

This paper seeks to accomplish the following objectives: 1) to identify the current and latent conflicts that affect CARICOM countries; 2) to examine the role and strategies of CARICOM in the area of conflict resolution; 3) and to explain why CARICOM has been largely unsuccessful in bringing about long-term solutions to conflicts within member countries, among member countries, and between members and non-members. The central argument is that CARICOM'S political culture is the most serious impediment to its effectiveness in resolving conflicts. Subsidiary arguments relate to the problems posed by an increasingly interventionist CARICOM currently organisationally and operationally ill equipped to play the role of mediator - its preferred mode of intervention. Remedial adjustments are proposed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Martínez Vial María José

El Banco del Sur. Lógica o desafío?

in Política Exterior, 119

La creación de un banco suramericano protagoniza el último episodio de la rivalidad entre Brasil y Venezuela por el liderazgo regional.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

García Francisco

El proceso de socialización y debate del DR-CAFTA, favorece su aprobación
in *Panorama centroamericano : reporte politico* , n. 212 , 26-30

Full text available at: <http://www.incep.org/boletin/b212.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Portela de Castro Maria Silvia

El sindicalismo frente al Mercosur
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 211 , 66-80

Full text available at: http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3457_1.pdf

The Coordinadora de Centrales Sindicales del Cono Sur [Coordinator of the Trade Union Centrals of the Southern Cone] has contributed to the development of Mercosur. Instead of assuming a defensive posture, limited to the specific themes of work and social protection, it has adopted a broad strategy which includes documents, proposals and actions designed to promote productive integration and the development of a supranational institutionality. However, it has advanced little in the implementation of concrete plans for protecting the worker: for instance, there is no Mercosur program for monitoring labor conditions. There is a need to give priority to the theme in the trade unions of each of the participant countries, advance in articulating the relations between the respective trade union centrals and design appropriate strategies for confronting the multinational firms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Freitas Couto Leandro

O horizonte regional do Brasil e a construção da América do Sul
in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , Vol. 50 - No. 1/2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Kellogg Paul

Regional Integration in Latin America: Dawn of an Alternative to Neoliberalism?
in *New Political Science*, n. 2, vol. 29, june , 187-209

ABSTRACT: At the turn of the century, it seemed inevitable that regional integration in Latin America would occur under the rubric of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and US hegemony. But 2005 - the year the FTAA was to have been launched - has come and gone, and the whole FTAA project is in tatters. This article will examine two regional



integration initiatives, which have emerged in its wake - the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) and the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA). Both represent a challenge to US-led integration. However, the Venezuelan-centered ALBA is potentially a much more radical challenge to neoliberalism than the Brazilian-centered UNASUR.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Fryba Christensen Steen

The influence of nationalism in Mercosur and in South America - can the regional integration project survive?
in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , Vol. 50 - No. 1/2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Tow William T.

Australia-Taiwan relations: the evolving geopolitical setting
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 61, n. 3 / September , 330-350

Compared to its relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC), Australia's relations with Taiwan are often underrated. As a substantial trading partner and as a polity that has transformed into a robust 'Asian democracy', Taiwan constitutes a significant if highly complex dimension of evolving Australian foreign policy. A workshop was convened at the Australian National University in early May 2007 to consider the evolving geopolitical, economic and socio-cultural dimensions of bilateral relations between these two regional actors. Among the basic themes emerging from workshop deliberations were how the growth of Chinese power would effect stability in the Taiwan Straits and throughout maritime Asia; how Chinese power would shape future order-building in the region and any role that Australia and/or Taiwan might play in that process; how Taiwanese democracy would factor into any future regional order and what Australia's future Taiwan posture should be given that that country is committed to a 'one China policy' acknowledging the PRC as China. Among the conclusions reached were that Australia must intensify its diplomatic efforts toward both Beijing and Washington to ensure that potential Sino-American differences over Taiwan do not escalate into military conflict and that time and generational change may work to facilitate a peaceful solution to this protracted security dilemma*.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ho Chung Jae

China and Northeast Asia: A Complex Equation for 'Peaceful Rise'
in *Politics*, Vol. 27, Issue 3, October , 156-164

This article tackles the question: has China become more proactive and willing to resolve regional problems unilaterally, bilaterally or multilaterally? It suggests that, while China has clearly become more proactive in facilitating regional stability and co-operation, it still has to overcome certain perceptual hurdles and constrain its impulse to be the 'centre'



of the world. Consisting of three sections, this article first discusses the nexus between post-Mao China's 'new' diplomacy and Beijing's proactive posture towards Asia and notes the troublesome nature of the regional dynamics in Northeast Asia. It then explores three case studies in which China's activism has varied in resolving intricate regional and inter-state problems: namely, Sino–Japanese discord, the Koguryo controversy between South Korea and China and the North Korean nuclear conundrum. The final section offers some concluding observations regarding China's diplomacy towards Northeast Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Zhang Yongjin

China and the emerging regional order in the South Pacific

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 61, n. 3 / September , 367-381

As China rises, it has become increasingly aggressive in applying its soft power in the Pacific. What does China's arrival mean for the emerging regional order in the Pacific? What is it up to in the strategic backwater of the Pacific, which has traditionally been regarded as an 'American lake' and Australia's 'special patch'? Setting my analysis in the broad context of China's new global diplomacy, I argue that the pattern of China's assertive behaviour in the Pacific is no different from its approach to other regions in the global South. I further argue that with only limited strategic, diplomatic and economic investment in the Pacific, China has become a regional power by default. The arrival of China, therefore, is unlikely to provoke any new round of great power competition. Rather, it offers opportunities for the world's second most formidable development challenge.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Jones David Martin, Smith Michael L. R.

Constructing communities: the curious case of East Asian regionalism

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 33, Issue 1, January , 165-186

The prevailing scholarly orthodoxy regarding recent diplomatic initiatives in the Asia-Pacific assumes that East Asia is evolving into a distinctive regional community. The orthodoxy attributes this development to the growing influence of the diplomatic practices espoused by the Association of Southeast Asian States (ASEAN) and its related institutions. However, a paradox remains, namely: despite the failure of ASEAN's distinctive practice to fulfil its rhetorical promise in Southeast Asia both immediately prior to and in the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis in 1997, it is nevertheless considered sufficient to validate the projection of ASEAN defined norms onto a wider Pacific canvas. This study analyses how an academic preference for constructivism has misinterpreted the growth in official rhetoric extolling East Asian regionalism since 1997 in a way that has helped produce and reinforce this paradox. By contrast, we contend that government declarations of a developing East Asian identity actually serve to obscure the continuation of traditional interstate relations and do not herald any wider, let alone inexorable, movement towards an integrated regional community.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Li Haizheng, Xu Zhenhui

Economic Convergence in Seven Asian Economies

in Review of Development Economics, Volume 11, Number 3 , 531-549

The impressive economic growth in a select group of Asian economies in the last several decades prompts some to argue that authoritarianism helps rapid economic growth while democracy hampers it. In this paper, we used the panel data approach to test this hypothesis for seven Asian economies, including South Korea, Singapore, and China. Our results reject the strong version of this hypothesis but fail to reject the weak version of it. Specifically, we found insignificant impacts of political freedom but significant effects of economic freedom on advancing economic convergence in these economies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Mahinda Siriwardana, Jinmei Yang

Effects of Proposed Free Trade Agreement between India and Bangladesh

in South Asia Economic Journal, Volume 8:1

There have been substantial efforts to intensify economic interactions between India and Bangladesh in recent times. Despite these, trade imbalance remains a key feature in their bilateral trade. India maintains a huge trade surplus against Bangladesh and the trade policy negotiators are hopeful that an FTA between the two countries may address this issue. For instance, Indian investment in Bangladesh can enhance new supply and export capacities under free trade arrangements. This paper examines the possible effects of proposed FTA between India and Bangladesh using the GTAP model. The analysis highlights the possible costs and benefits to the two nations in the event that the FTA is negotiated.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kim Inkyoung

Environmental cooperation of Northeast Asia: transboundary air pollution

in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 7, Number 3, September , 439-462

The puzzle of why Northeast Asian countries do not have any environmental cooperation comparable to Europe's successful regulatory regime even though both regions have borne similar conditions of the atmospheric problem has been explored. In order to answer this question, the author shed light on some of the conditions in Northeast Asia that would be necessary for regional cooperation to take place, by examining the factors that shape the environmental foreign policy of sovereign states. The success of Europe's regional cooperation in dealing with acid rain has been investigated, through the lens of interest-based and epistemic community approaches. The interest-based approach provides two factors – ecological vulnerability and economic cost – to show why some countries have taken more active



positions than others. In addition, the author argues that one more factor is necessary, the existence of an epistemic community, out of the knowledge-based community perspective, because even self-interested states have difficulties in defining their interests due to high uncertainty and complexity about developing goals and preferences. After applying the two perspectives to the cooperation of Northeast Asian countries, it is found that lack of domestic and regional consensus on ecological vulnerability to transboundary acid deposition and the high economic costs of reducing emission have contributed to slow development of the cooperation of Northeast Asia. In addition, the lack of solid expert communities in Japan, as a leading country, could hinder Northeast Asian countries from speeding up the transition toward regulatory regime formation from the current information sharing cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Faure Guy

La Banque asiatique de développement et l'intégration régionale en Asie

in *Etudes Internationales*, 2, Juin 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Montison Jean Michel, Stubbs Richard

Le pouvoir des plus faibles : l'ANASE et le projet de coopération régionale en Asie de l'Est

in *Etudes Internationales*, 2, Juin 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Jones David Martin, Smith Mark L.R.

Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order

in *International Security*, n. 1, vol. 32, summer

Since the Asian financial crisis of 1998, regional scholars and diplomats have maintained that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) represents an evolving economic and security community. In addition, many contend that what is known as the ASEAN process not only has transformed Southeast Asia's international relations, but has started to build a shared East Asian regional identity. ASEAN's deeper integration into a security, economic, and political community, as well as its extension into the ASEAN Plus Three processes that were begun after the 1997 financial crisis, offers a test case of the dominant assumptions in both ASEAN scholarship and liberal and idealist accounts of international relations theory. Three case studies of ASEAN operating as an economic and security community demonstrate, however, that the norms and practices that ASEAN promotes, rather than creating an integrated community, can only sustain a pattern of limited intergovernmental and bureaucratically rigid interaction.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Hughes Christopher

New Security Dynamics in the Asia-Pacific: Extending Regionalism from Southeast to Northeast Asia
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLII, n. 3, July-September

This article explains the emerging security dynamics in the Asia-Pacific in the context of the project to establish an "Asian Community". Although the model of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been constrained by a post-colonial attachment to sovereignty, new processes of domestic democratisation, taking in new members and dealing with non-traditional security threats have led to an acceptance of the need to deepen its social and political pillars. The real test for this project, however, will be whether it can be extended to Northeast Asia, where relations between states are still characterised by traditional power-balancing and rising nationalism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Shirono Kazuko

Real Effects of Common Currencies in East Asia
in *IMF Policy Discussion Papers*, July 2007, Working Paper No. 07/166

Since the 1997 Asian currency crisis, new interest has emerged in the formation of a common currency area in East Asia. This paper provides estimates of trade and welfare effects of East Asian currency unions, using a micro-founded gravity model. Counter-factual experiments to assess the effects of various hypothetical currency arrangements for East Asia suggest that an East Asian currency union will double bilateral trade in the region, but the resulting welfare effects will be moderate. However, if Japan, a major trade partner for East Asia, is included in the union, welfare effects increase substantially. The evidence thus suggests that certain regional currency arrangements in East Asia will stimulate regional trade rigorously and can generate economically significant welfare gains.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Rolfe James

Regionalism and Globalization in East Asia: Politics, Security and Economic Development
in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, n. 2, vol. 29, August

Review Article

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Tilton Mark

Seeds of an Asian European Union? Regionalism as a hedge against the United States on telecommunications



technology in Japan and Germany

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 20, Number 3, September , 301-327

Germany and Japan have both used regionalism as a hedge against American power in the area of telecommunications, but this strategy has taken very different forms. Germany's regionalism is within the European Union. Since 2002 Japan has developed an ad hoc technology alliance in telecommunications with China and South Korea. Both the European Union and Northeast Asian countries have used industrial policy to promote telecommunications technology and both regional organizations have expressed concern about American dominance in telecommunications. Both Germany and Japan have looked to their lower income neighboring countries for investment opportunities in telecommunications, but each has taken a different approach. Japanese telecommunications firms have not been very successful in investing in other countries or in exporting Japan's very sophisticated and expensive telecommunications equipment. The Japanese government and business organizations have taken the lead in trying to promote joint research and pursue development of joint standards. Germany's Deutsche Telekom has been much more active than Japanese firms in international investment. The European Union differs from the Northeast Asian group in that it has pressed Germany to keep its domestic telecommunications market open and to make Deutsche Telekom compete internationally. It is surprising that China, Japan and South Korea have reached out to each other to cooperate on technology and standards development despite longstanding mutual antagonisms. The Northeast Asian agreements on telecommunications recall the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) of 1952, an initiative that also sought to link economically states divided by deep resentments. Like the ECSC, the current Asian initiative targets some of the most important economic sectors of the day. However, strong market pressures tend to undermine cooperation, and it is uncertain how much impact the agreements on telecommunications will really have.

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Gilson Julie

Strategic regionalism in East Asia

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 33, Issue 1, January , 145-163

The US, China and Japan are often portrayed as three giant states dominating the region of East Asia in perpetual potential conflict. This article proposes that such assessments should be tempered in the light of changing regional and global dynamics and, in particular, in view of the growing centrality of the region of East Asia itself for foreign policy agendas. Adopting a framework underpinned by the concept of strategic regionalism, this article focuses upon the developing collective identification of region, and assesses the possibility for joint leadership in East Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Hamer Chris

The Case for a Pacific Islands Union

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XX, n. 1, February , 30-33

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Suh J. J.

War-like history or diplomatic history? Contentions over the past and regional orders in Northeast Asia
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 61, n. 3 / September , 382-402

Northeast Asian countries have been engaged in disputes over history. While their historical contentions have caused suspicion and friction among them, I argue that they have also served as a medium of dialogue that helps establish a common understanding about the individual countries' contemporary reality and future direction. Historical contentions contribute to such a dialogue if and only if two conditions are met: regional actors recognise each other as legitimate participants in a dialogue about the salient past; and they contend over the past within a common framework of meaning. Northeast Asia, through historical contentions in the 1980s and 1990s, produced an embryonic form of a regional public sphere that made possible transnational communications about the region's future and each nation's desires, but it now stands at a fork between strengthening the regional public sphere and fracturing it into a contentious regional sphere.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lesueur Jean - Thomas

'Europe absente d'elle-même : Identité et altérité dans la conscience européenne contemporaine
in *Revue des deux mondes*, Septembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kaunert Christian

"Without the Power of Purse or Sword": The European Arrest Warrant and the Role of the Commission
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 29, Number 4 / September , 387-404

The 'area of freedom, security and justice' in the EU has experienced significant developments during the Tampere programme (1999-2004). This article makes two significant points. First, European integration is possible in areas of 'high politics', despite all expectations. Secondly, the Commission can (though not always does) play a significant role in this process - the role of a supranational policy entrepreneur. This empirical twin-argument reveals shortcomings of intergovernmental understanding of European integration. The article analyses the high-profile case of the European arrest warrant, its legal and political construction, and demonstrates the significance of the Commission in the political adoption process.

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Bijsmans Patrick, Altides Christina

'Bridging the Gap' between EU Politics and Citizens? The European Commission, National Media and EU Affairs in the Public Sphere

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 29, Number 3 / July , 323-340

Information about political processes is an important prerequisite for debates in the public sphere, which can strengthen the legitimacy of decisions. This article analyses how far both Commission communication and media news coverage contain information on (a) policy issues, (b) the policy process and (c) the actors involved and the positions they take. Data have been gathered through a qualitative content analysis of Commission communication output and the news coverage in two Dutch and two German newspapers with regard to two specific policies: the sustainable use of natural resources and wastes and the accession process leading up to the Eastern Enlargement. The results suggest that the Commission and the national media emphasize different aspects of the EU political process. This could pose problems in terms of the legitimacy of EU policies and the Commission's role therein.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Van Gorp Bouke, Renes Hans

A European Cultural Identity? Heritage and Shared Histories in the European Union

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 98, Issue 3, July , 407-415

Do the people in the European Union share a cultural identity? One important aspect of cultural identity is shared histories or common memories. Such histories can be presented by heritage. Heritage is those traces of the past a society chooses to preserve. Heritage is therefore also a way of defining oneself. To this day, the European Union has not yet compiled its own list of heritage. This paper analyses the World Heritage Sites of EU member states: sites that are considered to be of universal value. When taken together, what image of European history do these sites represent?

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dervis Kemal

A European "identity" is no answer to the EU's ills

in *Europe's World*, Issue 7, Autumn

EU efforts to foster a new European identity will not resolve the local or global problems that face its citizens. Kemal Derviş, Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme and Turkey's former Economics Minister, makes the case for a very different approach

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=1bde5c38-1181-4297-999f-55fc61ccb4f8>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vermeersch Peter



A Minority at the Border: EU Enlargement and the Ukrainian Minority in Poland

in *East European Politics and Societies*, Volume 21, Number 3, August , 475-502

This article examines the impact of the eastward enlargement of the European Union (EU) on the position of the Ukrainian minority in Poland. The enlargement process has set two conflicting developments into motion that both may have a serious influence on patterns of minority activism in countries at the peripheral borders of the enlarged EU. On one hand, there is a development toward increased protection of the external borders of the EU. On the other hand, a new trend has become perceptible within the EU toward increased political, security, economic, and cultural cooperation with the new neighboring countries in the east. Applying concepts from research on social movements and using statements by Ukrainian minority activists as the basis for an empirical analysis, this article explores how these two opposite developments have affected Ukrainian minority activism in Poland.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Blavoukos Spyros, Bourantonis Dimitris, Pagoulatos George

A President for the European Union: A New Actor in Town?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 45, Issue 2, June 2007 , 231-252

In the post-Constitution EU, the rotating Presidency would be replaced by a hybrid system combining a rotating component with the establishment of a permanent President for the European Council. Using a principal-agent framework, we look at the supply and demand for formal leadership in the new system, accounting for the substantial institutional change in the format of the Presidency. We then examine the President's effectiveness and efficiency and discuss whether the President, as a new institutional actor, has the potential to evolve into an autonomous political actor in the EU. Our analysis suggests a discernible though by no means unconditional strengthening of the President's potential for an autonomous political role in the new EU institutional architecture.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Leinen Jo

A President of Europe is not Utopian, it's practical politics

in *Europe's World*, Issue 6, Summer

Europe may still be reeling from the effect of its constitutional debacle, but Jo Leinen, Chairman of the European Parliament's Constitutional Affairs Committee, says that what the EU really needs now is a two-chamber European Parliament and a "real European government"

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Vreese, Claes H.

A Spiral of Euroscepticism: The Media's Fault?



in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 271-286

It is common wisdom in political communication research that the media matter for democratic processes and citizens' political attitudes. However, we have only limited knowledge about the role of the media in understanding support for European integration and virtually no knowledge about their role in relation to the emergence and consolidation of Euroscepticism. Drawing on experimental data and evidence from panel surveys in two countries, this article demonstrates how news media, by framing Euro-politics as an arena for strategically operating, self-serving politicians, can fuel public cynicism and scepticism. However, this effect is conditional upon the level of strategic news framing and in a situation with limited strategically framed news about the European Union, exposure to news reverses this process and reduces public cynicism. The article demonstrates that a spiral of media-driven Euroscepticism is neither true for all media nor for all individuals.

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Karakas Cemal

A compromise solution for Turkey's EU ambitions

in *Europe's World*, Issue 6, Summer

Turkey's EU accession negotiations have become so highly charged, says Cemal Karakas, that it would be better for both parties to stand back and consider a totally new approach. His compromise suggestion is "Gradual Integration", less than membership but more than the privileged partnership proposed by some

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=484231ad-1757-4341-8f2b-2a1e1e8d3dc8>

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Benz Arthur

Accountable Multilevel Governance by the Open Method of Coordination?

in *European law journal*, July 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 4 , 505–522

In multilevel governance arrangements policies are coordinated across levels, usually in negotiations or networks of executives and representatives of special interests. Actors committed in such arrangements can hardly be held accountable by parliaments or citizens, and this is one of the main reasons for the democratic deficit of the EU. With the open method of coordination (OMC) the EU introduced a new mode of multilevel governance. The article focuses on the question whether problems of accountability can be solved by this mode. It is argued that the OMC framework includes two types of coordination. Whereas the dominating 'deliberative' mode does not improve accountability, the 'competitive' mode seems to be more promising. It supports transparency, reduces the costs of control for parliaments and stimulates public discussion on policies. However, multilevel coordination by policy competition at the lower levels of government does not work effectively under all conditions, and this therefore has to be carefully investigated.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kaeding Michael

Administrative Convergence Actually - An Assessment of the European Commission's Best Practices for Transposition of EU Legislation in France, Germany, Italy, Sweden and Greece

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 29, Number 4 / September , 425-445

In light of the mid-term review of the European Union's Lisbon strategy, the study's general concern is to explore how member states have converged around the European Commission's administrative best practices for the transposition of EU legislation. Embedded in the broader institutional change literature and the Europeanization literature in particular, this study examines the Europeanization of public administration in five member states. It evaluates whether national administrative settings in France, Germany, Sweden, Greece and Italy have converged around the most efficient solution to the European transposition problem. The study finds new evidence for converging tendencies towards the recommended administrative model in the EU. Since 2004, developments in member states show that national coordination models for transposition have been adjusted, coordination mechanisms created, and special processes and procedures in line with the Commission's recommended best practices established. Transposition data from 1995 to 2006, however, display that the EU's transposition problem does not seem to be solved yet, which puts the use of European Commission recommendations and the Lisbon strategy more generally at stake.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martinez Oliva Juan Carlos

Aiutare l'Europa ad aiutare se stessa: il piano Marshall e la cooperazione economica europea

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno VI, n. 13

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Strozzi Girolamo

Alcune riflessioni sul Trattato che adotta una Costituzione per l'Europa

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno I, n. 2 , 229-257

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fioramonti Lorenzo, Olivier Gerrit

Altruism or Self-Interest? An Exploratory Study of the EU's External Image in South Africa

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 12, Issue 3 , 401-419



This article provides an exploratory analysis of how the European Union is perceived in South Africa by public opinion, political elites, civil society organizations and the mass media. The EU's image in South Africa is rather distant, if not marginal: it is scarcely known to the South African public at large and vastly ignored by the country's media. In terms of public opinion polls, the EU is one of the least known international institutions, despite being South Africa's biggest donor of development aid and largest trading partner. In official government documents, the EU is portrayed as an opportunity for the African continent and a model of regional integration, while civil society organizations criticize the EU for imposing developmental policies that are detrimental to the developing world. In view of the substantial diplomatic and financial investment the EU has made in South Africa over the years, and because of South Africa's leadership role in Southern Africa, the findings of this article are likely to provide important insights into the external image of the EU as a global developmental actor.

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Petrini Francesco

Americanismo e privatismo. La Confindustria e il piano Marshall

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno VI, n. 13

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Davis Cross Mai'a K.

An EU Homeland Security? Sovereignty vs. Supranational Order

in *European Security*, Volume 16, Number 1, March , 79-97

Since the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, and particularly since 9/11, the current path of European integration may mean the difference between a strong and secure Europe and the disintegration of a grand, idealistic experiment. This is especially true in light of a growing transatlantic divide, and the need for new security policies to combat terrorism. As Europe grapples with this security issue, will strongly held beliefs about sovereignty cede ground to an untested supranational order? This article provides evidence that this process is already occurring, in large part because of the influential role of transnational experts in security technology. In the context of Europe, the possibility of a kind of EU Homeland Security is at the core of its future security role in the world.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bovens Mark

Analysing and Assessing Accountability: A Conceptual Framework

in *European law journal*, July 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 4 , 447-468

It has been argued that the EU suffers from serious accountability deficits. But how can we establish the existence of accountability deficits? This article tries to get to grips with the appealing but elusive concept of accountability by asking three types of questions. First a conceptual one: what exactly is meant by accountability? In this article the concept of



accountability is used in a rather narrow sense: a relationship between an actor and a forum, in which the actor has an obligation to explain and to justify his or her conduct, the forum can pose questions and pass judgement, and the actor may face consequences. The second question is analytical: what types of accountability are involved? A series of dimensions of accountability are discerned that can be used to describe the various accountability relations and arrangements that can be found in the different domains of European governance. The third question is evaluative: how should we assess these accountability arrangements? The article provides three evaluative perspectives: a democratic, a constitutional and a learning perspective. Each of these perspectives may produce different types of accountability deficits.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ahrens Joachim, Meurers Martin, Renner Carsten

Beyond the Big-Bang Enlargement: Citizens' Preferences and the Problem of EU Decision Making

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 29, Number 4 / September , 447-479

Given the increasing heterogeneity regarding economic structures, political interests, social preferences and financial constraints, governance problems in the EU will increase significantly. Based on a theoretical model of fiscal federalism, the question on which governance level political competencies should be located is addressed for the case of a heterogeneous union. The model suggests a distinct allocation of competencies in different policy fields depending upon the degree of country heterogeneity and the size of spillover effects of government services. Additionally, citizens' preferences regarding centralization and decentralization of policy prerogatives are analysed empirically. It is investigated whether the preferences are consistent with the theoretical implications, to what extent there are controversies within the groups of old and new EU members, and whether the scope for controversies changes within an enlarged union. Moreover, the preference distribution is used to simulate voting outcomes in the EU Council regarding the question of centralization. Finally, propositions are developed for a more flexible integration strategy that might help avoid a misallocation of political competencies.

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Ward Ian

Bill and the Fall of the Constitutional Treaty

in *European public Law*, Volume 13 (2007) Issue 3 , 461-488

The European Union, and before it the Community, has always seemed to lack a bit of pizzazz. Twenty years ago, the Adonnino Committee ventured the case for European flags and hymns and orchestras and so on. And the sentiment clearly resonated with those who were tasked with the need to shape a new European Constitution for the twenty-first century. To this end, amongst the trinkets recommended by the Convention and depicted in Article I-8 of the Constitutional Treaty was a Europe Day, to be celebrated on 7 May each year. The date was chosen because it would also serve to celebrate the original Schuman Declaration of 1950. The felt need for such a day, and such a celebration, lies at the heart of this article, which further seeks to address the wider debates which continue to oscillate around the



nature of constitutions and constitutionalism in the new Europe. These debates, for obvious reasons, have become all the more intense following the various setbacks experienced as a result of the serial refusal of the Union's citizens to ratify the proposed Constitutional Treaty. As we consider the deeper anxieties which pervade this current debate, we will also endeavour to investigate a further related issue which continues to haunt the new Europe, that of narrative and history, or its lack. And, by way of coincidence – which like so many coincidences is not entirely one at all – we shall do this in the context provided by Tim Luscombe's recently produced play, *The Schuman Plan*. Schuman, it seems, haunts the European Union.

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Cohn-Bendit Daniel

Breaking out of the vicious circle of EU politics

in *Europe's World*, Issue 7, Autumn

How cynical and manipulative are the EU's national leaders in the European Council? Daniel Cohn-Bendit, co-president of the Greens/Free European Alliance Group in the European Parliament, charts the twists and turns of their commitment to the European ideal, and prescribes treatment for their bouts of political amnesia

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=e48bb1d3-1dcd-411c-8eec-1662c6ae85f4>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Schmidt Wolf

Can our common history be a basis for a European identity?

in *Europe's World*, Issue 6, Summer

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=87cfdb4a-416a-483b-ad2c-dabe1d2ffbda>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dastoli Pier Virgilio

Chi ha paura di un super-Stato europeo

in *Mulino (il)*, n. 4, luglio-agosto, 2007 , 727-740

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peruzzi Roberto, Poletti Arlo, Shuangquan Zhang

China's Views of Europe: A Maturing Partnership

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 12, Issue 3 , 311-330



China–EU affairs have acquired a new quality and depth. The growing institutionalization of cooperation between the two bears are witness to this dynamism. These developments have been subject to growing attention from academic and research institutions. However, only a few studies have been carried out with the specific aim of providing an outline of how the EU is perceived in China. This article seeks to start filling this gap by offering an outline of how the EU is perceived by China's press, political elites and civil society. The article argues that the dynamism with which China and the EU approach each other is a clear signal that both sides see each other as potential allies in a variety of contexts. The absence of hard security conflicts is an important facilitating factor of this process of convergence. However, the USA continues to play an important role in this context both as a stimulating and constraining factor. Therefore, it is appropriate to think of China and the EU as two actors experiencing a more mature relationship in a changed systemic environment.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jacobs Francis G.

Citizenship of the European Union—A Legal Analysis

in *European law journal*, September 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 5 , 591–610

The aim of this article is to present a legal analysis of the concept of citizenship of the EU. This concept was considered by some to be embryonic in the original Community Treaties, but was first expressly incorporated into the Treaties by the Treaty on European Union, signed at Maastricht on 7 February 1992. In the case-law of the European Court of Justice, which has given citizenship a content going beyond the express Treaty provisions, the concept is closely related to other basic concepts, including free movement of persons, the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of nationality and the protection of fundamental rights. This article seeks to review the case-law, to disentangle citizenship from other related concepts, and to determine what added value citizenship has brought to the Treaties and what the potential and the proper limits of the concept might be.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Allegretti Umberto

Come reinventare l'Europa

in *Democrazia e diritto*, Anno XLIV, n. 4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Häge Frank M.

Committee Decision-making in the Council of the European Union



in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 8, n. 3, September , 299-328

Committees of national officials play a major role in the decision-making of the European Union's main legislative body, the Council of Ministers. The study investigates the conditions under which bureaucrats decide on legislative dossiers without direct involvement of ministers. A statistical analysis is performed to examine this question, using an original data set of 439 legislative proposals. The results of the analysis indicate that formal institutional features such as the voting rule in the Council and the involvement of the European Parliament affect committee decision-making, whereas no effects of committee socialization and preference divergence among member states are identified. The results diminish concerns about the democratic legitimacy of Council decision-making to some extent, as the findings demonstrate that bureaucrats tend to decide only the less salient and more complex proposals.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Berglund Sara

Complying with Europe: EU Harmonisation and Soft Law in the Member States

in **Acta Politica**, Volume 42, Number 1, April , 103-106

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Antiseri Dario

Considerazioni del 'destino unitario' dell'Europa

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno I, n. 2 , 225-228

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fois Paolo

Dalla CECA all'Unione europea. Il declino della sovranazionalità

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno I, n. 3 , 479-490

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Louis Jean-Victor

De Messine à Berlin



in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 1-2 , 9-18

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Hughes Hallett Andrew, Lewis John

Debt, deficits, and the accession of the new member States to the Euro

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 23, Issue 2, June 2007

Price and output level convergence between new member states and the existing EU economies necessarily implies inflation and growth divergence for many years to come. This complicates the conditions for accession to the Euro. In this paper, we focus on debt dynamics for the eight new member states from Central and Eastern Europe. We find that the nominal Maastricht criteria are at best irrelevant, and may be damaging for the duration of the catch-up process and well past any likely dates for Eurozone entry. There are also strong indirect effects of nominal criteria, which make it more difficult to achieve the fiscal criteria. Our results therefore suggest all countries would find it harder to restrain debt growth under the Maastricht criteria. However, this effect varies substantially across countries. If the nominal criteria are suspended, the policy instruments required to achieve Euro convergence are in the hands of the individual member states. This implies that the principle of subsidiarity could be applied to Euro membership.

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Auel Katrin

Democratic Accountability and National Parliaments: Redefining the Impact of Parliamentary Scrutiny in EU Affairs

in *European law journal*, July 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 4 , 487–504

The question of strengths and weaknesses of national parliaments in EU affairs, one of the most salient in the debate on the democratic legitimacy of the EU, is generally answered by assessing formal parliamentary powers which can influence their governments' EU policy. Such an evaluation, however, is flawed: Formal mandating rights are usually incompatible with the overall logic of parliamentary systems, which explains why most national parliaments make very little use of them. Even more importantly, it unduly reduces parliamentary functions to the legislative or policy-making function. Drawing on agency theory, it will instead be argued that the functions of public deliberation and of holding the government publicly to account are at least as important and therefore need to be included in a redefined concept of parliamentary strength. In particular, the article proposes a distinction between two different elements of accountability—monitoring and political scrutiny—which recognises parliamentary majority and opposition as two distinct agents of the electorate.



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Lord Christopher

Democratic Control of the Council of Ministers

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2007/2 , 125-138

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

This paper assesses the notion of 'dual representation' and its implied claim that individual Council Members can be accountable to their national parliaments, whilst the Council of Ministers as a whole is checked and balanced by the European Parliament. The paper evaluates a number of possible constraints on the capacity of national parliaments to control the behaviour of their own governments in the Council of Ministers, including the decision rules of the Union, the non-transparency of the Council, asymmetries of information and the shape of domestic political systems. As far as the European Parliament is concerned, the paper argues that limits on its powers follow directly from the very notion that it should check and balance, and not control, the Council. To the extent those limits, in turn, discourage the politicisation of the Parliament, and its election on the basis of competition and choice relevant to the operation of the Union, 'dual' representation is itself a constraint on the evolution of 'direct' representation in the European Union arena.

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Holzhaecker Ronald

Democratic Legitimacy and the European Union

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 29, Number 3 / July , 257-269

This is an introduction to a Special Issue that first considers representative and deliberative conceptions of democratic legitimacy in the EU, and then presents empirical research on how the institutions of the EU are attempting to increase the democratic legitimacy of the multi-level political system. The first three articles concern central democratic concepts and use political theory and institutional analysis. The second set of three articles turns to an empirical analysis of the institutions and institutional processes of the EU and the member states, including the European Commission and the media, the European Parliament and the Open Method of Coordination. It is concluded that both representative and deliberative mechanisms within each of the member states and the EU institutions need to be improved in order to increase the democratic legitimacy of the EU among the citizens.

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Auberger Tobias, Iszkowski Krzysztof

Democratic Theory and the European Union: Focusing on 'Interest' or 'Reason'?

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 29, Number 3 / July , 271-284

Liberalism and deliberative democracy constitute two contradictory theoretical paradigms of contemporary politics. This contradiction has an impact on the ways of assessing the democratic qualities of the European Union (EU). This article traces back the tenets of both approaches to concepts of 'interest' and 'reason' and arrives at two sets of democratic



thresholds that European institutions should meet. Since both rationales are incompatible, they can hardly be combined in empirical research. This explains why the debate on the democratic quality of the EU has so far led to a mere co-existence of various normative theoretical approaches. The article concludes by sketching out general guidelines as to how to translate both normative paradigms into empirical research on the EU.

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Brie André

Die Linke und Europa

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2007 , 985-994

Nachdem Ende März bereits die Parteitage zugestimmt hatten, entschieden sich im Mai auch die Mitglieder von Linkspartei.PDS und WASG in Urabstimmungen mit überwältigenden Mehrheiten für die Bildung der neuen gemeinsamen Partei. Zeitgleich zog „Die Linke“ bei den Bremer Wahlen erstmalig in ein westdeutsches Landesparlament ein, und das gleich mit 8,4 Prozent; in bundesweiten Umfragen liegt sie inzwischen konstant bei über zehn Prozent. Seit dem Vereinigungsparteitag im Juni mehren sich ...

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Maurer Andreas

Die Zukunft der Präsidentschaft im Ratssystem der Europäischen Union

in **Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , 2007/2 , 139-156

THE FUTURE OF THE PRESIDENCY IN THE EU COUNCIL SYSTEM

This contribution examines reasons and basic conditions for the reform of the system of rotating presidencies in the Council of the European Union and the European Council. The problem is put into the larger context of the EU's system and institutional reform as well as the ongoing mutations of the internal EU Council system. Given the perspective of the EU as a dynamic, polyarchic, multi-level and multi-actor system, any attempts for reforming the Council's presidency must be analysed in a set of overlapping contexts: first with regard to the intra-institutional Council system, secondly with regard to the EU's inter-institutional framework, thirdly with regard to the relations between the EU institutions and those of the member states and fourthly with regard to the relations between the EU member states. The paper therefore firstly explores the discursive arguments "in the field" as well as the empirical evidence on the (mal)functioning of the Council system within the EU structure. Only in a second step the contribution analyses which reforms of the Council Presidency system may accommodate the normative challenges of a more efficient and effective EU. The contribution closes with an independent suggestion for reforming the Council Presidency system.

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Tichy-Fisslberger Elisabeth

Die österreichische EU-Ratspräsidentschaft im Überblick

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2007/2 , 167-184

THE AUSTRIAN EU COUNCIL PRESIDENCY: An Overview

The most important items on the agenda were: the constitutional treaty and the debate on the future of the Union; enlargement, foreign policy, crisis management; energy policy, growth and employment, internal market; finances of the Union; area of freedom, security and justice; sustainable development. The domestic agenda of the semester was marked by a series of horizontal issues including growth and employment, energy, migration and security - solid routine work rather than watershed decisions. In terms of foreign policy the semester was characterized by a series of unexpected challenges, all of which suggest that the EU's role at the international stage is likely to remain an issue of paramount importance. New ground was broken with regard to energy policy and crisis management.

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Fioramonti Lorenzo

Different Facets of a Strategic Partnership: How the EU is Viewed by Political and Business Elites, Civil Society and the Press in India

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 12, Issue 3 , 349-362

This article presents the main findings of an empirical analysis of how Indian political and business elites, civil society and the press perceive the global role of the EU. This analysis is mainly based on a systematic review of newspaper articles available on the Lexis Nexis and Proquest databases from January 2005 to October 2006, as well as a number of official documents and publications. The analysis reveals that, in spite of the existence of a strategic partnership with India, the EU is a rather minor theme in the Indian social, political and cultural debate. When looking in detail at what issues are generally associated with the EU, this article argues that the Indian political elites' discourse is rather focused on the rhetorical reference to the 'common values' shared by the India and the Europe, while business elites focus primarily on the financial opportunities provided by EU-India economic relations. On the other hand, civil society organizations highlight the negative effect of the EU's trade and agricultural policies, while the press reports more broadly on the EU's diplomatic missions and humanitarian assistance.

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Bauer Michael W., Knill Christoph, Pitschel Diana

Differential Europeanization in Eastern Europe: The Impact of Diverse EU Regulatory Governance Patterns in Journal of European Integration, Volume 29, Number 4 / September , 405-423

When analysing processes of domestic institutional and political change in Central and Eastern Europe, political scientists frequently refer to the concept of Europeanization. This article focuses the policy-analytical framework as one central Europeanization approach and addresses the question of whether this approach is applicable to explain



domestic change beyond the core of EU member states. The policy-analytical approach systematically analyses the impact of different modes of EU governance on process and outcome of national institutional and policy change. The article demonstrates that in distinguishing the different potential of compliance, competition and communication to trigger domestic adjustments, the policy-analytical approach proves to be a useful tool for predicting domestic change in states outside the EU. It helps generate differentiated hypotheses about the potential impacts of EU policies in Central and Eastern European candidate countries that are likely to join the EU in the foreseeable future and in non-member states with only minimal or no accession prospects.

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Weßels Bernhard

Discontent and European Identity: Three Types of Euroscepticism

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 287-306

In the last decade, support for European integration has declined and euroscepticism has risen. Using Easton's concept of political support, this paper studies the interrelationship between euroscepticism and European identity. Starting from the hypothesis that identity as a central element of political community serves as a buffer against system-threatening euroscepticism, I develop a hierarchical model of euroscepticism. My results demonstrate that there are three types of eurosceptics, two of which hold opposite implications for European integration — demand for improvement vs a halt to or even an abolishment of European integration. The difference between both types is that the first group has a European identity, while the other does not. I conclude that the large size of the eurosceptic camp challenges European integration.

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König Thomas

Discontinuity

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 8, n. 3, September , 411-432

This study evaluates discontinuity induced by the two-stage law-making process of EU directives, which is discussed in the jurisprudential literature as another source of democratic deficit. Directives must be transposed into national law, but lengthy deadlines raise normative questions about the extent to which governments of today can politically and reliably commit domestic majorities of tomorrow. The potential for discontinuity is analysed using transposition data in 15 member states and preference indicators over the last 20 years. The findings reveal that parliaments are largely excluded from this process and that the preferences of the previous and the newly elected representatives often differ considerably, particularly in countries where public support for European integration has declined in recent years.

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Rumford Chris



Does Europe Have Cosmopolitan Borders?

in *Globalizations* , Volume 4, Issue 3 September 2007 , 327-339

Current thinking on Europe's borders is characterised by a tension between, on the one hand, the idea of 'network Europe', in which the importance of internal borders is much reduced as a result of the flows and mobilities characteristic of the single market and the 'four freedoms', and, on the other, the idea that Europe is being 'rebordered' as the result of security concerns over the threat of terrorism, illegal immigration, trafficking in drugs and people, and so forth. As a result there is a tension between the idea of Europe as a space of networked mobility and a 'fortress Europe' of securitized threats. It is argued that cosmopolitanism can offer another perspective on Europe's borders that takes us beyond debates on networks and territorial security. A cosmopolitanism perspective focuses on the importance of borders and border crossings in our daily lives and argues that borders and mobilities are not antithetical: borders also facilitate connectedness and mobility, albeit in a selective way. What is a border to some is a gateway to others. The paper will focus on the multiplicity of borders in contemporary Europe: the dispersal of borders throughout society alluded to by Balibar; the idea of 'borderlands' as new spaces of EU governance; and the mobility of borders themselves. The paper will also deal centrally with the question of 'who borders?', arguing that in contemporary Europe (and elsewhere) bordering is no longer the preserve of nation-states: societies, citizens, advocacy groups, and supra-national institutions are also implicated in processes of bordering and rebordering.

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Hooghe Liesbet, Huo Jing Jing, Marks Gary

Does Occupation Shape Attitudes on Europe? Benchmarking Validity and Parsimony

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 329-351

Occupation lies behind many models of individual economic interest, and individual economic interest lies behind most rational accounts of preferences. This article investigates the causal influence of occupation for Euroscepticism. Employing data from the 2003 International Social Science Survey Program, we find that (a) identity and occupation exert independent effects, (b) estimates of the total effect of these variables vary across countries in an explicable way, (c) political framing by political parties influences whether Euroscepticism is related to occupation or identity, and (d) reliability is a serious issue in measuring occupational location.

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Chandler David

EU Statebuilding: Securing the Liberal Peace through EU Enlargement

in *Global Society*, Volume 21, Issue 4, October

This paper suggests that the liberal peace, secured by state capacity building in the process of EU enlargement to the Balkans, hides a dual process taking place within the political establishment of the European Union. On the one hand, the European Union seeks to project its power into what is perceived to be a vacuum in the region, on the other hand, it seeks to avoid the direct political responsibilities associated with empire. This exercise of power and avoidance of responsibility is driven by the European Union's own lack of confidence in its expansion to the east, particularly with



regard to its ability to legitimate this project to the citizens of EU member states. However, the consequences of the policies which seek to deny the power exercised by the European Union are destabilising ones for the Balkan states, where the relations of power are separated from relations of accountability. This tends to create weakened states which have international legal sovereignty but lack genuine mechanisms for politically integrating society. The pre-existing fragility of state-society relations in this region means that these relations of domination risk exposing the weakness and external dependency of political elites and the discrediting of the European project.

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Landfried Christine

EU ohne Bürger

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2007 , 913-916

Die Erleichterung war groß, als die europäischen Staats- und Regierungschefs in der Nacht vom 22. auf den 23. Juni doch noch eine Einigung über die gemeinsame Zukunft der Europäischen Union zustande brachten. Allen nationalistischen Widerständen zum Trotz war es damit gelungen, wenigstens den Stillstand in der EU zu beseitigen und einen neuen Anfang zu wagen. Und dennoch wurde ein grundsätzlicher Fehler dabei nicht behoben. Die Bürgerinnen und Bürger der EU ...

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Bayoumi Soha

Egyptian Views of the EU: Pragmatic, Paternalistic and Partnership Concerns

in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, Volume 12, Issue 3 , 331-347

This paper examines some significant trends in the Egyptian perception of the European Union. In this framework, some of the most important stances of the Egyptian government, civil society, press and public opinion towards the European Union are considered from different points of view. It is argued here that, from the Egyptian standpoint(s), three main concerns, related to pragmatic interests, a true belief in the potential of entertaining a partnership with the European Union and a rejection of paternalistic interference, are key dimensions in understanding the Egyptian perception of the EU. These aspects are discussed in the light of various issues, such as EU–Egypt cooperation, the EU's role in the resolution of regional conflicts, the international role of the EU and the EU as a 'normative power'.

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Ayala José Enrique de

El mejor tratado posible

in **Política Exterior**, 118

Reflejo de las tensiones en la UE, el 23 de junio de 2007 el Consejo Europeo acordó un Tratado de Reforma.



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CASTRO-CONDE CRISTINA ARES

El sistema de alerta temprana para el control del principio de subsidiariedad en la Unión Europea y los Parlamentos Autonómicos: diagnosis y prognosis

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, n. 136, 213-250

No abstract available

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Roloff Ralf

Elargissement de l'UE, PESD, OTAN: vers une géométrie variable?

in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 2 - été

La présidence allemande de l'Union européenne souhaite concentrer ses efforts sur deux espaces : les Balkans occidentaux et la région de la mer Noire, pour y appliquer la stratégie d'exportation de stabilité de l'Union européenne. Le concept de géométrie variable, tel qu'il est déjà développé, de fait, dans le cadre de la PESD, devrait être adopté comme référence : il autorise à dépasser le débat sur l'élargissement et ses impasses, et peut aider à définir une nouvelle entente transatlantique.

EU Enlargement and the Implications for ESDP and NATO

What are the implications of EU enlargement for the European security architecture and what are the implications of stopping it? ESDP is already defined by flexible integration and structured co-operation in several areas. That variable geometry is not only a sensible concept for constructing an effective and capable ESDP within the EU-27: including European Neighboring Policy countries in ESDP activities and missions is also a useful approach. It is thus also suitable for the revival of transatlantic burden sharing within NATO and for an improvement of EU-NATO relations.

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Guyader Maurice

Elargissements et intégration dans l'Union

in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 2 - été

Jusqu'ici, les élargissements de l'UE se sont toujours accompagnés d'approfondissements. Les difficultés de certaines opinions à accepter les derniers élargissements, et la perspective de l'ouverture aux Balkans occidentaux, voire à la Turquie, obligent à repenser la question de la capacité d'intégration de l'Union, et à réviser les politiques de l'UE et ses institutions. Pari à la fois politique et économique, l'élargissement demeure néanmoins une perspective nécessaire pour l'Union.

Enlargements and Integration Capacity of the European Union



Before any further enlargement, the EU will have to decide on the scope and substance of the institutional reforms in order to be able to continue financing its policies in a sustainable manner—with the budgetary aspects and the increased economic dynamism generated by accessions. One of the pillars of the enlargement strategy is conditionality. Good preparation by candidate countries facilitates their smooth integration. A closer link between progress in political reforms and the overall pace of negotiations has to exist.

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Rizzo Alfredo

Elementi di approfondimento e sviluppo del diritto comunitario e dell'Unione europea nel processo di allargamento

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno I, n. 2 , 281-307

No abstract available

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Schneider Christina J.

Enlargement processes and distributional conflicts: The politics of discriminatory membership in the European Union

in *Public Choice*, Volume 132, Numbers 1-2 , 85-102

This paper examines discriminatory membership in the European Union from a game-theoretical perspective. I argue that discriminatory membership enables the enlargement of international organizations with heterogeneous member states. EU members impose discriminatory measures on new members to redistribute enlargement gains from new members to particularly negatively affected EU members as to render expansion pareto-efficient. The empirical findings of a probit analysis on the EU accession negotiations and outcomes of all five EU enlargement rounds support the theoretical claim. The EU grants acceding states restricted membership rights if distributional conflicts emerge. Moreover, the candidate's bargaining power and the possibility of alternative compensation schemes influence the enlargement outcomes.

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Angel Benjamin

Euro fort, Euro faible: phantasmes et réalités

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 510, juillet-août , 439-443

The article firstly describes the framework applicable to the Euro exchange policy, by comparing it with that of the United States and of Japan, and explains why there is no real management policy for the external value of the European currency. It analyses then the impact of the exchange rate variation between the Euro and the dollar and underlines the



little effect that it has had so far on the European economy, whose trade surplus with the United States has increased threefold, for instance, since 2000. The article analyses the reasons for those unobvious results and concludes with the need to bring the significance of exchange variations into perspective.

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Atienza G.

Europa en la cumbre?

in *Nueva Revista de Política Cultura y arte (Spagna)*, n. 112

No abstract available

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Ferrara Alessandro

Europe as a "Special Area for Human Hope"

in *Constellations*, Vol. 14, Issue 2 June , 315-331

No abstract available

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Kaufmann Bruno

Europe needs not more, but better referendums

in *Europe's World*, Issue 6, Summer

There's nothing wrong with popular referendums or plebiscites as a means of deciding Europe's future, argues Bruno Kaufmann. He sets out the case for simultaneous Europe-wide referendums that would bring genuine democracy to EU decision-making

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=1047be84-e94b-4981-84c7-5754489dbb2d>

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Goodhart Michael

Europe's Democratic Deficits through the Looking Glass: The European Union as a Challenge for Democracy

in *Perspectives on Politics*, issue 3, vol. 5, september , 567-584

ABSTRACT: Despite widespread disagreement about democratic deficits in the European Union (EU), most critics begin by conceiving democracy as a problem for the EU. Seeing the EU as undemocratic or insufficiently democratic, they devise institutional innovations to democratize it. These innovations seem to require breaking the traditional link between



democracy and the nation-state, which in this context appears outmoded or inappropriate. This article challenges that approach, arguing that it gets the relationship between democracy and the sovereign state wrong—or at least, incomplete—by stressing modern democratic theory's empirical ties to the state while underestimating their normative significance. The complex interdependence of normative and empirical assumptions informing modern democratic theory means that detaching democracy from the state is much less straightforward than critics often imagine. The essay argues instead for conceiving the EU as a problem for democratic theory. Doing so reveals that democratic theory is ill-equipped to address recent changes in the configuration of rule and new structures of governance associated with Europeanization, European integration, and globalization more broadly. This change in perspective highlights important limits in recent democratic theorizing about the EU and clarifies the role of European debates in reinterpreting and reconstructing democracy in the age of globalization

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Sutherland Peter D.

Europe's Place in the World in the 21st Century

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XX, n. 2, July , 6-9

In light of probable increasing threats to Europe during the 21st century, we need a more coherent and effective EU as an actor on the international stage. None of the 25 nation states of the EU (even the most powerful) can be truly effective or sometimes even relevant acting alone. Our publics seem to grasp this point better than our politicians. Eurobarometer polls across Europe highlight strong support for "more Europe" in foreign and security policy. There is an expectation among our international partners also that Europe should assume greater global responsibilities. On some global issue such as Kyoto and the international criminal court, the EU has already provided leadership, showing what can be done when we are united and speaking with one voice. There remains, as Christopher Hill wrote some years ago, an "expectation-capabilities gap" in EU foreign policy.

The world is likely to become more dangerous for Europe. The security, economic and demographic trends are not encouraging. Europe will continue to grow modestly - in GDP and perhaps membership - but such technological advantage as it may have in areas as information technology, biotechnology, and nanotechnology will be eroded. Europeans will by 2025 comprise a mere 6% of the world population, while Africa and the Middle East will see a high population growth. The prognosis is for tensions and strong migratory pressures in the regions around Europe, at a time when Europe is becoming increasingly dependent on the rest of the world, especially for energy. It is forecast that by 2030 Europe will be externally dependent for 90% of its oil and 65% of its gas. China and India will drive global energy demand, and seek new sources in Central Asia, Africa and the Middle East. In this and other ways, European security interests may be directly or indirectly challenged by tensions arising not only in the near neighbourhood but also further afield.

Europe has the potential to rise to these challenges and to share in the new opportunities created by emerging markets and globalisation more generally but can only do so by continuing to adapt and develop institutionally.

From the very beginning the Treaty of Rome recognized that there could be no internal market without a customs union that, in turn, could not survive without a common trade policy. Today it is even more clear that internal and external policies are interdependent, especially in a world of open markets and free capital movements. Economic and monetary union has led to the emergence of the euro as the world's second most important international reserve and trade



currency, giving increased influence to the EU globally.

Most of the internal policies of the EU have substantive international implications. For example, the completion of the internal market has led to the adoption of EU standards in key technologies around the world (China's motor industry, food safety, mobile communications and so on). EU competition policy not merely provides an important internal regulatory instrument, but addresses issues such as international cartels or abuses by dominant undertakings that may affect global markets. There are also strong demands from third countries to cooperate with EU programmes like research policy, education and transport. The fast development of EU policy in the area of justice and home affairs is reflected in the external dimensions of these issues.

In many of these areas policy is a shared responsibility between the EU and the Member States and this presents particular challenges in achieving coherence. The inaccurately named constitutional treaty tried to deal with these problems. In part this was by proposing a new position of EU foreign minister that would have given the EU - so it was hoped - more coherence, more consistency and more visibility. These were and remain good proposals. I deeply regret the lack of progress on them during the current "pause for reflection". It seems to me that we have too much pause, and too little reflection. However cautiously, we must continue a process of giving responsibility to the Commission to develop policies in the common interest rather than relying purely on dialogue between capitals. We should recognise that intergovernmentalism has generally not worked in the past and is not the answer for the future. The euphemism used for this intergovernmentalism is often the word "cooperation", but co-operation between sovereign states is not enough. This is essentially the failed model that gave rise to the need for the EU in the first place.

One of the main reasons for the EU's success has been adherence to the rule of law. This fact of supranational law at its base distinguishes the EU from all other intergovernmental associations of states. Member States have accepted that they will sometimes be outvoted in the Council in some vital economic and social matters because the EU is a community of law. All Member States are equal before the law. Governments may protest and procrastinate, but in the end the system works because all members accept the primacy of Community law. This law-based approach also characterises the EU's approach to foreign policy. It is sometimes excessively obsessed with agreements, rules and regulations. But I think there is great merit in the EU championing a rules-based approach to the international system.

From its inception, the EU has worked for the gradual opening of global markets and a rules-based international trading system. Had there been no EU there would be no WTO and Europe today would consist of a number of fragmented and protectionist areas totally incapable of contributing to globalisation.

The reason for our success in international trade is that we have adopted a supranational approach to decision-taking. We have a corps of highly professional and coherent officials in Brussels that produce timely and relevant policies taking into account a genuine EU perspective on issues. This allows the Commissioner to speak with the full authority of 25 member states in trade negotiations. Our partners may on occasion not like our policies but they do respect us as a major player.

There are important lessons we can learn from how we operate in the trade field that are equally applicable to foreign policy. The Union could be as effective in other policy areas if it wanted to, simply by providing for a single representation. The aim must be for the future EU foreign minister to speak under a similar mandate in the CFSP field where there is an agreed policy or common strategy. Member States would thus continue to enjoy bilateral relations with third countries but they would not discuss EU policy towards them in areas of agreed EU policy. Solana is already accepted as a spokesman in some key areas of foreign policy, for example in the recent nuclear talks over Iran, but the



situation is complicated by the fact that the 'big three' EU Member States tend to operate separately in fields such as this. Other Member States are suspicious of this model, which resembles a *directoire* rather than a real common policy. I see nothing wrong with smaller task forces being established, under a Council mandate, to deal with particular issues. However, these groups should be under strict reporting requirements to the whole Council and be subject to its ultimate authority when acting on behalf of the EU.

The foreign policy machinery works badly at present. European foreign policy has always been overly bureaucratic. There are numerous squabbles over issues of competence and too many actors involved - the Member States, the Council, the High Representative, the Special Representatives, the Commission, the Parliament, each with their bureaucracies, interests and ambitions. Some improvements have been made as a result of Solana's appointment, yet he operates with woefully inadequate resources. The situation is further confused by the six-monthly rotating Presidency, often setting its own (national) priorities. A plethora of different legal bases for external action in different fields further complicates the picture, as does the fact that the EU itself has no clear legal personality, which would have been remedied by the Constitution.

In light of the challenges facing Europe we cannot continue to allow all decisions to be taken on the basis of the lowest common denominator. I recognise that you cannot have Qualified Majority Vote for military action, but for the vast majority of foreign policy issues there should be no insuperable problem in introducing majority voting. This could be done in stages. First, with an 'emergency brake' to provide for consultations at the European Council in the event of a major disagreement; second, moving to a super qualified majority; and then, some day, in a third stage, to the normal QMV procedures. I understand the Quai d'Orsay carried out a survey last year seeking decisions since 2000 where France would have been outvoted in foreign policy. With the notable exception of Iraq (and here military action was involved) there were no cases. I rather suspect there would be a similar result if the same assessment was made in the United Kingdom or Germany.

Whilst I believe we must move steadily towards QMV in foreign policy, I also recognise that this itself is not a panacea for an improved foreign policy and will take time to achieve. This is why I think there has to be action on a number of other issues. These include the designation of an EU foreign minister (combining the roles of High Representative and Vice President of the Commission), the creation of a European diplomatic service, legal personality for the EU, and the end of the rotating Presidency role in foreign affairs. Some of these improvements require changes in existing Treaty provisions. That may take time. If necessary, I think we can make the first two of these improvements without a new Treaty. These proposals were all in the constitutional treaty and I do not wish to underestimate that fact.

We need to go much further and consider what could be done even before any new treaty is ratified. One priority must be to enhance the complementarity of various policies and to reconcile different objectives (for example in trade, agriculture, development, environment or migration). There is already a high level of consensus on the broad framework of the EU's external objectives. What is missing is a more systematic approach to setting strategic objectives and political priorities at both geographical and thematic level so that policy objectives guide the choice of policy instruments (rather than the reverse). There should also be improved up-stream co-ordination to promote consensus on issues of EU relevance that are subject to discussions in multilateral organisations, fora of global governance, and regional organisations.

Even when the EU has clear objectives and an agreed course of action, the impact and effectiveness of our action is often hampered by mixed messages as well as slow and complex implementing procedures. The EU therefore needs to ensure that once a policy decision has been taken by the EU, all actors integrate this into their diplomatic and public



messages as well as in their own policy development. This implies reinforced coordination in Brussels as well as better use of the EU's diplomatic capacities to convey clear, single messages to partners.

There is considerable scope for Member States to co-operate more effectively in third countries. Jointly the EU and the Member States dispose by far the largest diplomatic machinery in the world. The EU has ten times more missions and three times more personnel at its disposal than the US. But is Europe as effective as the US in foreign policy? Are we using the human and material resources which we collectively invest in foreign policy in the most effective way? If foreign ministries do not ask the question, finance ministries will certainly ask why there needs to be 25 separate EU Member State missions, plus a Commission delegation, in countries x, y and z, when the EU is supposed to operate a common foreign policy. We must also ask ourselves what kind of people should we be recruiting to serve Europe's interests. European diplomacy needs more experts on climate change, inward investment, migration and terrorism.

There is also much that could be done to improve co-operation between Council and Commission. There should be increased sharing of intelligence and a greater exchange of diplomats and officials between the Member States and the EU institutions. A major increase in the tiny CFSP budget is also necessary if the EU is to make any progress towards fulfilling its global ambitions. At the same time, there needs to be clarity as to responsibility for different budget lines. Defence ministers also need to become more involved in EU affairs. It is surely time that there was a European defence white paper rather than 25 separate papers. Finally, I am convinced that it will be important to enlist the support of the European public, through the involvement of the European Parliament and national parliaments as well as the media and NGOs, for the goals of the EU in foreign policy.

In conclusion, the EU has developed steadily as an international actor during the past decade. Much has been achieved but the record could have been better if we had acted quicker through strengthened institutions. The proposals I have outlined would be seen in some capitals as being at the modest end of the spectrum, but if implemented they could lead to a significant improvement in the EU's external performance. Of course, foreign policy remains a sensitive area and Member States are keen to retain their historic prerogatives and traditional links. Foreign ministries are also reluctant to negotiate themselves into a reduced role while there remain unanswered questions about legitimacy and significant differences of foreign policy culture, experiences and expectations. But if we are to meet the challenges of the 21st century we have to recognise that the adoption of the Community method would bring significant advantages. In the short-term, individual actors and institutions may see advantages in the freedom of manoeuvre that comes from exercising their responsibilities in an autonomous way, but in the medium and long term, the global influence of the EU will depend upon the ability of the Member States to speak with one voice - and to take the necessary decisions in a timely manner.

Excerpts from the Charlemagne Lecture - 22nd November 2006

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Heine Sophie, Magnette Paul

Europe, les identités troubles

in Politique Etrangère, n.3 - Autumn

Le projet européen n'a jamais visé à défaire les nations pour faire l'Europe, mais plutôt à transformer les relations entre États –cette signification de la construction européenne s'est perdue dans ses succès. Il est difficile de décrire



aujourd'hui les composantes d'un "modèle européen". Le sens du projet européen n'est ni civilisationnel ni moral, mais politique: c'est donc à travers des politiques concrètes que les opinions pourront se le réapproprier.

Europe has always been subject to nationally – and ideologically – based dissensions. But despite such intrinsic tensions, a specific European identity exists. Indeed, the political – rather than ethno-cultural – nature of the European project has managed to preserve national diversity. Every nation has thus been able to integrate the European idea in its national tradition. The dialectical nature of European identity also appears through the debates on the “European social model:” most political forces agree on the existence of such a model, but not on its definition. Those inherent tensions are more and more discussed in the public opinion. This is a noteworthy evolution, which reveals a growing ownership of the European project by its citizens

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Morgan Glyn

European Political Integration and the Need for Justification

in *Constellations*, Vol. 14, Issue 3 September , 332-346

No abstract available

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Kostakopoulou Dora

European Union Citizenship: Writing the Future

in *European law journal*, September 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 5 , 623–646

EU citizenship has matured as an institution, owing to a number of important interventions by the European Court of Justice and legislative initiatives, such as the Citizenship Directive 2004/38/EC, which has recently entered into force. In this article, I critically examine minimalist and cosmopolitan conceptions of European citizenship and argue that once we dispense with the preoccupation of assigning primacy to a specific level of citizenship and establishing some kind of hierarchy among them, we can begin to address the questions and issues that really matter. Among these are the future governance of citizenship and the design of a more inclusive, multilayered and multicultural conception of citizenship. European citizenship entails a number of fruitful ideas for a more ambitious transition to a post-national tableau and can be the prototype for institutional experimentation on citizenship on a global scale.

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Kutan Ali M., Yigit Taner M.

European integration, productivity growth and real convergence

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 51, Issue 6, August 2007



This paper derives a stochastic endogenous growth model to investigate the impact of European Union (EU) integration on convergence and productivity growth. The theoretical model implies both temporary and permanent positive effects of the integration process. The empirical part of the analysis uses structural break tests and data envelopment analysis to examine the accession process of five recent members to the EU15. The results show (i) endogenously identified accession dates as structural breaks, (ii) improved rates of productivity growth after accession over and above the Union benchmark level, and (iii) increased pace of overall growth due to capital accumulation as a result of institutional features of the Union such as Structural and Cohesion Funds. These findings support the theoretical model, implying that economic integration is beneficial for member countries, especially from a long-run perspective, and Cohesion and Structural funds help the new members catch up with the core-EU members' standard of living.

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Llamazares Iván, Gramacho Wladimir

Eurosceptics Among Euroenthusiasts: An Analysis of Southern European Public Opinions
in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 211--232

This article analyses the factors leading to Eurosceptic views among the publics of three Southern European countries (Greece, Portugal, and Spain). Analyses in this article show that Eurosceptic views are strongly conditioned by sociotropic judgements and by fears that the European Union (EU) threatens national cultures. General associations between the EU and other positive objects (such as prosperity, democracy, and national influence) also affect the probability of holding Eurosceptic orientations. By contrast, party cues affect Eurosceptic opinions only in the case of Spain. Analyses on the causes of sociotropic judgements show that these perceptions are affected by egocentric views, social class (working class individuals being more Eurosceptic than members of the upper classes) and, in Spain and Portugal, by left-right preferences (individuals leaning to the left being more Eurosceptic than those leaning to the right). The fact that Euroscepticism can be traced to both culturally exclusivist and economically redistributive preferences suggests that there are strong constraints on the political articulation of Eurosceptic orientations in the Southern European party systems.

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Evans Geoffrey, Butt Sarah

Explaining Change in British Public Opinion on the European Union: Top Down or Bottom Up?
in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 173-190

Party-driven and voter-driven models of EU attitude change are compared using British survey data over 20 years. The dealignment of EU attitudes from the left-right politics dimension and growing magnitude of the effect of EU attitudes on Labour vs Conservative voting is consistent with an increasingly voter-driven process as the EU became more salient in the 1990s. The balance of influence would appear to have shifted from party-driven to voter-driven during the period under observation, though this probably results from the actions of the parties as well as external political events. The effective reversal of the position of the main parties during the 1980s followed by a period of intra-party division helped provide the conditions under which voter preferences on the EU were less constrained by elite signals.



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McLaren Lauren

Explaining Mass-Level Euroscepticism: Identity, Interests, and Institutional Distrust

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 233-251

This paper tests several hypotheses on mass-level Euroscepticism, including whether it is driven by: (a) feelings about national institutions, (b) distrust of supra-national institutions, (c) fears about the loss of national identity, and (d) personal interest-based utilitarianism. In contrast to prior research, I find that attitudes to European integration appear driven by feelings about EU institutions rather than attitudes to national institutions. Furthermore, a perceptual measure of utilitarianism appears to be a stronger predictor of support for European integration and European institutions than previous analyses have claimed. But I also find that, consistent with past research, exclusive national identity biases Europeans against European integration. Finally, the paper investigates the causal linkages across these key constructs.

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Ramiro Fernández V.

Explorando las limitaciones del nuevo regionlismo en las políticas de la Unión Europea: Una perspectiva latinoamericana

in *EURE - Revista latinoamericana de estudios urbano regionales*, Vol. 33 n. 98

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Benvenuti Andrea

Facing the Inevitable: Britain's Entry into the European Community and Australia's Policy, 1970-72

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 53, Issue 2, June , 251-266

While Australia's response to Britain's 1961-63 bid to join the European Community has been examined in almost every possible detail, Australian policy towards Britain's 1970-72 application has drawn very little scholarly attention. This article therefore aims to fill this gap by drawing on newly released archival material from the National Archives of Australia in Canberra and the National Archives in London. In doing so, the article examines the impact of Britain's 1971-72 application to join the EC on Australian policy and the Anglo-Australian relations. It argues that while far from provoking the same widespread uproar as the Macmillan government's original application in 1961, Britain's final bid had important political and economic implications for Australian foreign policy.

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Acocella Nicola, Bartolomeo Giovanni, Tirelli Patrizio

Fiscal Leadership and Coordination in the EMU



in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 18, Number 3 , 281-289

We analyze the role of fiscal-monetary policy interactions and fiscal coordination in EMU under the assumption of strategic wage setting in unionized labour markets. We find that production subsidies and real wage distortions are strategic complements. The literature on macroeconomic stabilisation policies and policy games usually neglects this point and reaches overoptimistic conclusions about the desirable effects of accommodating fiscal policies. Central bank preferences also affect the desirability of fiscal coordination in a monetary union. In fact, contrary to Beetsma and Bovenberg (1998), we find that fiscal coordination improves outcomes in the case of a conservative central banker, whereas it leads to worse outcomes with a populist one

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Laming Richard

For Routes to the New Europe

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XX, n. 1, February , 25-29

No abstract available

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Salvemini Maria Teresa

Fostering Economic Growth through a "European" Debt

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLII, n. 3, July-September

Economic growth in the EU area is one of the European Union's tasks and the Union's budget should be used to finance actions aimed at development. It is hard to imagine that an increase in budget revenues or a significant reduction in spending in other areas can provide the resources for this purpose. The proposal put forward is to allow for debt financing of investment spending and to downgrade the current constitutional status of the rule regarding a balanced budget. A "European" debt, it is suggested, could strengthen the international role of the euro. If such a reform were not to find consensus within the Union as a whole, it could, alternatively, be adopted in the Eurogroup.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Toulemon Robert

France and Europe

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XX, n. 2, July , 14-18

No abstract available

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Hörber Thomas, Leishman Chad

France's Colonial Distractions. The Impact of French Indochina, Algeria and Suez on France's role in the European integration process

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 2, juillet, 37-54

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet Gisela

Frankreich: zurück in Europa, aber mit welchem Kurs?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 38, 2007

http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/WC5ARX,0,Frankreich%3A_zur%FCck_in_Europa_aber_mit_welchem_Kurs.html

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Hayes-Renshaw Fiona

From Procedural Chore to Political Prestige: Historic Development and Recent Reforms of the Presidency of the Council

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 2007/2, 107-124

The Council presidency was conceived in the 1950s as an administrative chore to be shared on the basis of strict equality among the member states of the then European Communities. Today, it is a politically prestigious office, carrying with it important rights and responsibilities in a wider and deeper European Union, although many of the office's rights and responsibilities are constrained both formally and informally. This article tracks the changes which have occurred to the office over time as a result inter alia of the weakening of the Commission, the burgeoning role of the European Council, changes in voting rules, deviations from the so-called 'Community method', enlargement and new transparency rules. The historic development and recent reforms of the office are traced by examining its four main functions (administration and coordination, the setting of political priorities, mediation, and internal and external representation) and the organisation of the presidency from the point of view both of the EU as a whole and of the member state in the chair. The preoccupation of recent presidencies with issues of publicity and information may be an attempt to help the public to distinguish one presidency from another.

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Gerds Michael

Gli obiettivi della presidenza tedesca dell' Unione europea: 'Insieme per il successo dell' Europa'

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 74, n. 1, gennaio-marzo, 13-18



No abstract available

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Amato Giuliano

How and why Europe must embrace ethnic diversity

in *Europe's World*, Issue 7, Autumn

These are confusing times for Europeans as they grapple with the problems of ethnic and cultural diversity and their own demographic realities. Giuliano Amato, Italy's Interior Minister, advocates long-term strategies that EU countries should adopt

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=adc5d2ed-954f-48fc-963b-95080a3c8959>

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Magnette Paul

How can one be European? Reflections on the Pillars of European Civic Identity

in *European law journal*, September 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 5 , 664–679

The citizenship of the EU is not only a set of rights, but also of civic behaviours and representations. In this article, I analyse these moral and sociological foundations of EU citizenship, stressing the limits of classic interpretations in terms of 'identification to' or 'support for' the EU. Instead, I suggest reading the evolution of EU citizenship as a process of political recognition. Such an analytical framework, inspired by recent works of Axel Honneth and Paul Ricoeur, leads one to understand this process as a threefold evolution: critical assessment of one's own national identity; transformation of the perception of other nationalities; and identification to the EU. Such a reading also compels us to pay attention to the limits of these processes: mutual recognition is an unending process which does not exclude the persistence of nationalistic reactions, hegemonic temptation and the revival of xenophobic attitudes vis-à-vis other Member States and third countries. I conclude that any project to render EU identity thicker needs to take care of the risk of jeopardising the fragile acquis.

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AA.VV.

I rapporti di Regioni e Lander con L'unione Europea

in *Amministrare*, n. 1-2 , 79 - 163

No abstract available



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Seidenfaden Tøger

If EU referendums are tabou, what then?

in *Europe's World*, Issue 7, Autumn

The lessons of the constitutional crisis and the new Reform Treaty are that Europe's national electorates may have to be by-passed if the EU is to progress, argues Tøger Seidenfaden, editor-in-chief of Danish newspaper Politiken. But he proposes ideas for ways they can still have an important say on future reforms

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=cbc0d0a6-6a84-4412-9a83-472d40d676f5>

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Donno Michele

Il piano Marshall e la «parabola terzaforzista» del Partito socialista dei lavoratori italiani

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno VI, n. 13

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Varsori Antonio

Il piano Marshall: un dibattito storiografico concluso?

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno VI, n. 13

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sappino Sara

Il rilancio del processo d'integrazione europeo visto da Washington (1955-1957)

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 74, n. 1, gennaio-marzo, 51-70

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Longo Francesca

Il ritorno della "Grand Théorie" nello studio dell'Unione europea

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XXXVII, Numero 2, Agosto



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Eising Rainer

Institutional Context, Organizational Resources and Strategic Choices

in European Union Politics , Vol. 8, n. 3, September , 329-362

Drawing on a survey of 800 business associations, the article seeks to explain why interest groups lobby the EU institutions and what groups maintain contacts with them. Rooted in organizational theory, it argues that four main dimensions influence access patterns — institutional context, resource dependencies, interest group organization, and strategic choices. The empirical analysis demonstrates that all dimensions are relevant. Nonetheless, contacts between EU policy-makers and interest groups display only a few general traits: they are shaped by the political mobilization of groups in response to EU regulation, the division of labour among EU and national associations and the importance of organizational resources. Beyond these general influences, the interactions vary profoundly in the segmented institutional context.

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de Vries Catherine, van Kersbergen Kees

Interests, Identity and Political Allegiance in the European Union

in Acta Politica, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 307-328

We take up a longstanding question within the field of European Union (EU) studies: What explains the variation in public support for European integration? There are two dominant explanations: the utilitarian self-interest and the national identity perspectives. The former viewpoint stresses that citizens are more likely to support European integration, if it results in a net benefit to their economy or pocketbook, while the latter perspective argues that identity considerations predominantly influence EU support. Drawing on the concept of double allegiance, we argue that these perspectives should be combined into one single explanatory framework rather than framed as alternatives. Using a multilevel model, we empirically substantiate the claim that interest- and identity-based explanations capture different sides of the same coin, as the more citizens perceive integration to threaten their (economic and social-psychological) security and well-being, the less likely they will support the EU.

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Warkotsch Alexander

Internationale Institutionen als Sozialisationsinstanzen? Die Europäische Union im postsowjetischen Raum

in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 17. Jahrgang (2007), Heft 2 , 333-356

International Institutions as Agents of Socialization?



The European Union in the Post-Soviet Space

The article draws on two generic social mechanisms – strategic calculation and normative suasion – to explain the limits of international socialization to liberal human rights and democracy norms in the post-Soviet space. In doing so, it examines the socializing role of the European Union in Belarus and Uzbekistan. It is argued that the EU's inability to provide tangible material incentives as well as the target states' autochthon culture and institutions impede successful socialization dynamics. Recommendations to increase Europe's leverage on the region concentrate on a better understanding of the incumbent elites' cost-benefit assessment as well as a more responsive attitude towards traditional institutions in the EU's democratization policy.

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Skjærseth Jon Birger, Wettestad Jørgen

Is EU enlargement bad for environmental policy? Confronting gloomy expectations with evidence

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 7, Number 3, September , 263-280

As the EU expands to include the Central and East European (CEE) countries, its capacity to adopt and implement environmental policy will be negatively affected—this has been a widely held assumption. The CEE countries have been expected to be laggards, slowing down, weakening or even reversing progress in environmental policy-making. More than 2 years have now passed since the enlargement, and the new member-states have begun to make their mark on EU decision-making and implementation. This article confronts gloomy expectations with evidence in three issue-areas: genetically modified organisms, air pollution and climate change. The main conclusions are, first, that there is no indication that enlargement will result in any breakdown of EU environmental policy. Second, the consequences vary across issue-areas. The new member-states have strengthened the group that favours strict regulation of genetically modified organisms, weakened the implementation of the EU emission trading directive and have affected EU air policy hardly at all. These results can give an indication of what is to come. On the other hand, only a short time has passed since enlargement, and the picture may change with regard to other issue-areas.

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Müller Jan-Werner

Is Europe Converging on Constitutional Patriotism? (And If So: Is It Justified?)

in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Vol. 10, n. 3, September , 377-387

In public justifications, but even more in state practice, it is argued that European countries are converging on a notion of membership and political attachment that is best theorized in terms of the category of constitutional patriotism. What once appeared as a highly idiosyncratic construct for the very specific situation of post-war West Germany is now becoming an accepted norm and practice across Western Europe at least. A number of specific empirical research questions are suggested that would allow this thesis to be tested. However, regardless of whether there is any convergence on constitutional patriotism empirically, it is argued that normatively such a convergence would be justified.



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Bitsch Marie-Thérèse

Jacques Delors, président de la Commission, 1985-1995

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 74, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 37-50

No abstract available

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Sissenich Beate

Justification and Identity in European Integration: Comments on Morgan and Ferrara

in *Constellations*, Vol. 14, Issue 3 September , 347-354

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Padis Marc-Olivier

L'Europe par les gouvernements?

in *Esprit*, n. 337, août/septembre 2007 , 218-219

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Phelps Edmund, Aus dem Moore Nils

L'Europe qui tombe

in *Politique internationale*, n°116 - ÉTÉ

US economist Edmund Phelps, winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics in 2006, has for years worked on the theory of "dynamics", leading him to examine the factors that make the US and European economies different from one another. Phelps believes that Europe suffers from outmoded structures, the legacy of the corporatist system established between the two wars. In this system, labor unions and large corporations co-exist in a managed economy with a government whose role is calming conflicts and preventing change. This is what creates the widespread rigidities that prevent Europe from advancing at the same pace as the rest of the world. These barriers, combined with a noxious politicization of decisions, widen the gap between Europe and a United States where entrepreneurial structures are much freer to innovate. As a result, unless things are really shaken up, Europe will be condemned to weaker growth and will slip into a long-term process of decline.



http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=116&id=647&content=synopsis

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L'Europe qui renait

in *Politique internationale*, n°116 - ÉTÉ , Heuzé Richard, Prodi Romano

an interview with Richard Heuzé, the head of the Italian government lays out his vision for Europe and suggests ways to extract the EU from the crisis into which it was thrown by the French and Dutch referendums in 2005. Whether the designation is "mini treaty" or "simplified treaty", any solution is worth considering, the pragmatic Romano Prodi insists, so long as the proposal includes the fundamental points that will allow Europe to move forward. Foremost among these points, he says, are abandoning veto rights, creating a stable presidency of the EU Council and naming a European minister of foreign affairs. If things remain blocked, he does not exclude heading a small group of countries determined to advance through "deeper cooperation". As for the Mediterranean union imagined by Nicolas Sarkozy, Romano Prodi is especially enthusiastic since the idea fits very nicely with the policy he himself attempted to implement-albeit with little success-during his stint on the Commission in Brussels.

http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=116&id=648&content=synopsis

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Buonocore Mauro

L'Ue scopre i sondaggi informati

in *Reset*, Numero 103, Settembre / Ottobre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Schmidt Vivien A.

L'Union européenne crée-t-elle ou détruit-elle la démocratie?

in *Politique Etrangère*, n.3 - Autumn

La construction européenne crée de la démocratie au niveau supranational, tout en perturbant profondément le fonctionnement des démocraties nationales. Il reste donc à inventer les moyens de ressouder les deux niveaux: par des réformes institutionnelles certes, par une meilleure représentation des sociétés civiles, mais aussi par un profond changement des discours entretenus dans la plupart des grands pays européens sur la construction européenne elle-même –ceci, au premier chef, en France.

Is Europe Strengthening or Weakening Democracy?



The EU, as a result of its very presence, has had a disruptive impact on the traditional workings of national democracy. The main problem, however, is not so much that the EU alters national governance practices as that national leaders have developed neither new ideas and discourse to legitimate the changes in practice nor new practices to reinvigorate national democracy. The article makes this case by answering three questions: 1) What is the EU? 2) How has the EU strengthened democracy at the supranational level? 3) Why and how has the EU weakened its member-states' national democracies? It concludes with a fourth question: can we solve the problem of the weakening of national democracy by further strengthening EU democracy?

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Guastafarro Barbara

L'Unione europea e la sineddoche democratica. Riflessioni sull'Unione europea quale democrazia composita.
in *Filangeri (il) - rivista di diritto pubblico*, Quad. 2006 , 195-230

No abstract available

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Allemand Frédéric

L'adoption de l'Euro par Chypre et Malte: le dernier élargissement de la zone Euro avant la pause?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 511, septembre , 505-512

The accession of Cyprus and Malta to the Eurozone from the 1st January 2008, after that of Slovenia on the 1st January 2007, has been interpreted by various political representatives of the new member States as an indication that the Euro is reserved for "rich" countries. On a more basic level, the ambivalence of the notion of convergence held in the treaties (i. e. article 121, paragraph 1 of the EC treaty) has come in for criticism: in addition to the respect of the nominal criteria (inflation, budgetary situation, stability of exchange rate against the Euro, interest rate in the long term), this notion equally supposes the realisation of an actual level of convergence. However, the measure of this last notion remains a delicate exercise. Many elements are fuelling the fears of an eviction of the new member States from the Eurozone, taking into account the lag in their economic development in comparison with the European Union average. After having specified that which is covered by the term "sustainable convergence", notably through the Cypriote and Maltese examples, this article attempts to demonstrate that no mention has been made by the Community's institutions of any single differentiated treatment between the member States.

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Bourrinet Jacques

L'impact de la monnaie unique sur les outre-mers de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 510, juillet-août ,



444-451

The Economic and Monetary Union plan drawn up in the early nineties and implemented since 1999 in consistent technical and economic conditions has shown that a non optimum monetary zone could be made viable both by the closer economic and trade links between its members and by the convergence sought by the economic and social cohesion policies of such a zone. The criteria of an optimum monetary zone are endogenous. They allow the inclusion of overseas districts in the Euro zone with the benefits and requirements inherent to such an option. The benefits of the Euro include the promotion of monetary stability as a priority goal, the end of floating exchanges and the removal of exchange costs within the Euro zone, an access to the world market made easier by the use of a new international currency. The requirements that come with the adoption of the Euro include the abrogation of specific monetary regimes, the constraints of a central monetary policy and the constraints resulting from the Euro zone's exchange policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Larrabee F. Stephen

L'élargissement et ses opposants

in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 2 - été

Les élargissements de l'Union ont été d'incontestables succès politiques et économiques, mais ils sont mal vécus en Europe même. Les futures étapes risquent d'être longues. D'où le risque d'une rupture entre les processus européen et otanien d'élargissement, l'Alliance privilégiant déjà l'ouverture à la Géorgie ou à l'Ukraine. Le divorce, ou le nouveau rapprochement, des deux élargissements dépendra de la conception même qu'ont leurs membres du rôle et de l'avenir de ces deux organisations.

Enlargement and its Discontents

The enlargements of the European Union have been a true economic and political success, but are not popular in Europe. The next step may take time. A breakup between the European and NATO enlargement processes is likely, the Alliance already favoring the opening to Georgia and Ukraine. The separation, or the new rapprochement, of these two processes will depend on the idea that their members have of the role and the future of these two organizations.

http://www.ifri.org/files/politique_etrangere/Larrabee_gb.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Starace Vincenzo

La Costituzione per l'Europa non trasforma l'Unione europea in unione costituzionale

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno I, n. 1 , 9-18

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Triggiani Ennio

La cittadinanza europea per la utopia sovranazionale

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno I, n. 3, 435-477

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Giovanni Biagio

La democrazia fra Unione europea e Stati nazionali

in *Filangeri (il) - rivista di diritto pubblico*, Quad. 2006, 3-18

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kymlicka W.

La evolución de las normas europeas sobre los derechos de las minorías: los derechos a la cultura, la participación y la autonomía

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, n. 17, 11 - 50

Durante los últimos 15 años hemos sido testigos de una gran expansión de los esfuerzos para desarrollar normas internacionales sobre los derechos de las minorías, tanto en el ámbito global como en el regional. Estos acontecimientos parecen prometer protección ante graves injusticias a algunos de los grupos más vulnerables del mundo contemporáneo. A las minorías étnicas no les ha ido demasiado bien en el sistema westfaliano de "estados-nación" soberanos. Las minorías han sido objeto de numerosas políticas de asimilación y exclusión en pos de la construcción de estados-nación homogéneos, al tiempo que, históricamente, la comunidad internacional ha hecho caso omiso a estas injusticias. Hoy en día, sin embargo, existe un compromiso creciente con la resolución de este problema, y la idea de que el tratamiento de las minorías es una cuestión que merece una auténtica atención y supervisión internacional goza de un creciente apoyo. Como mínimo, estas normas en evolución establecen límites en los medios que los estados pueden emplear para lograr sus objetivos de homogeneización nacional. Pero además, al menos implícitamente, ofrecen una visión alternativa del Estado que incorpora la tolerancia como valor nuclear, y de acuerdo con la cual la diversidad constituye una realidad ineludible y tozuda y una característica definitoria del sistema político. Desde este punto de vista, la tendencia a codificar las normas internacionales sobre los derechos de las minorías es, seguramente, deseable y progresista. No obstante, no por ello deja de generar varios dilemas y ambigüedades morales. En este artículo se exploran algunos de estos dilemas después de un análisis exhaustivo de algunos intentos recientes de codificar los llamados "derechos de las minorías nacionales" en Europa. La experiencia europea constituye un experimento fascinante, aunque imperfecto, de desarrollo de normas internacionales sobre derechos de las minorías que tiene implicaciones en



otros contextos.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stephanou Constantin A.

La nouvelle gouvernance européenne : bilan et perspectives

in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 5-6 , 569-580

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Liñán Nogueras, Diego J.

La política exterior y de seguridad común de la Unión Europea: la subordinación permanente

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno I, n. 2 , 211-224

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cangelosi Rocco Antonio

La scelta europea e gli interessi nazionali dell'Italia

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXIX, n. 155 , 554-568

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Civiletti Carlo

La sicurezza europea e l'ordine internazionale

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXIX, n. 155 , 574-581

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Demuro Gianmario

Las relaciones entre la Corte de Justicia de las Comunidades Europeas y la Corte Europea de Derechos



Humanos

in **Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional**, N. 17 Julio-Diciembre 2007 , 53-83

This paper studies the difficult relation between the European Court of Human Rights of Strasbourg and the European Communities Justice Court located in Luxemburg, about their competence and resolutions on human rights. The author concerns for predictable problems in Europe due to the existence of two judicial institutions deciding about human rights. It is a conjunction related to possibilities of decisions concerning not the same rule but the same content in specific subjects, and it could provoke different opinions between both tribunals, at least in meaning and scope of the rights they are involved.

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Chaltiel Florence

Le "Traité modificatif" peut-il être un traité ambitieux? À propos du Conseil européen de juin 2007

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, numero 510, juillet-août , 413-422

A last minute agreement was found after more than 36 hours of negotiation at the June 21 and 22, 2007, European Council. The crisis is about to come to an end. An honourable end? Nothing is less certain. Though one can acknowledge the compromise effort that draws Europe out of two years of stagnation, the conclusion text is as telling as its footnotes. The overall text leads to mixed feelings, between true progress, pretences and obvious setbacks.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Echinard Yann, Farvaque Étienne, Laurent Alain

Le Fonds européen d'ajustement à la mondialisation: présentation et analyse

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, numero 511, septembre , 491-497

The European Globalisation Adjustment Fund (EGF): Presentation and analysis.

Globalisation has resulted in a ceaselessly increasing growth of the commercial and financial flows in comparison to that of the respective domestic national outputs. This opening up of economies is not simply the reserve of developed nations. One of the characteristics of this second wave of globalisation (after that of the late 19th century) is the introduction of emerging markets in international economic relations. The countries of the South are competing with the countries of the North and are pushing the latter to restructure, most often via a process of deindustrialisation. This specialisation inevitably poses problems in terms of distribution of wealth both on the global level as well as within each country itself. To put it crudely, there are winners and there are losers. It consequently appears important to put mechanisms into place which allow the redress of this inequality in treatment. This article presents the EGF aiming to confront the negative effects of globalisation and analyses the methods of intervention.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Raducu I., Levrat N.

Le metissage des ordres juridiques europeens

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, Vol. 43 n. 1-2 , 111 - 148

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Leonardis Massimo

Le molte anime dell'eupeismo. Processo di integrazione europea e dialettica fra europeismo e atlantismo

in *Nuova Storia Contemporanea*, Anno XI, n. 4, luglio-agosto , 5-16

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Derrida Jacques

Le souverain bien – ou l'Europe en mal de souveraineté. La conférence de Strasbourg du 8 juin 2004

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n. 30

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

McElroy Gail

Legislative Politics as Normal?: Voting Behaviour and Beyond in the European Parliament

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 8, n. 3, September , 433-448

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pridham Geoffrey

Legitimizing European Union Accession?

in *Party Politics*, Volume 13, Number 5, September , 563-586

There is growing attention to problems of European Union (EU) legitimacy and, in particular, the lack of affective links between the political elites engaged in integration and public opinion. Political parties are in an influential position for helping to solve this problem. With the EU's largest ever enlargement in May 2004, it is important to establish whether



these problems are likely to be magnified or not. Although there was a strong vote in favour of EU membership in the referenda of 2003 in post-Communist countries, this constituted more formal than substantial legitimacy for the EU. Taking the case of Latvia, it is already clear that some difficulties evident in the older member states are being repeated, notably with respect to mass opinion and European integration, as illustrated by the referendum of 2003 and European elections of 2004. On the one hand, there is a political elite now versed in EU affairs but, on the other, public opinion remains largely ignorant of what membership entails. In addition, Latvia also reveals a serious public mistrust towards the political elite, which is common in post-Communist countries, and this inhibits parties there from developing an intermediary role over European affairs. It therefore remains to be seen whether positive developments in the future linking benefits from EU membership and the achievement of democratic consolidation move Latvia towards a solution of these problems.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Derisbourg Jean-Pierre

**Les chances de la Turquie dans trois directions
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 2, juillet , 65-68**

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

**Les rapports de système entre le droit constitutionnel et le droit européen. Développements récents
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 509, juin , 361-372**

Constitutional and European law are now on one level at the summit of the norms hierarchy. The interaction of both jurisdictions, which were initially clashing, is becoming more and more harmonious. The judges' dialogue, initially merely profitable, is getting more and more successful. The prudence of national judges' jurisprudence responds to the boldness of that of the European Court. The primacy of European law is becoming the rule; the reservation of sovereignty revolves around a hard core of fundamental rights, with boundaries that are still malleable.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Berger Françoise

**Les relations entre les sidérurgies française et allemande de 1870 à la CECA
in Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande, 39 (2007), 2**

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Balaguer Callejón F.

Los tribunales constitucionales en el proceso de integración europea
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 7 Anno 4

This article tries to connect the relationship “European Court of Justice - Constitutional Courts” with the competences that are attributed to these judicial organs and with the structural conditions in which they develop their activities. The relationship between Constitutional Justice and integration process take us to the main questions that same integration process must face. The Constitutional Court, in every state that has got one, develops their functions according to the juridical order that it shall interpret and apply. That is the reason because the relation between the European order and national orders is based on the relation between the European Court and Constitutional Courts. The fear of the Constitutional intervention at the European debate is compressible because until now the integration process has historically been conducted by member states under a functional way. The integrations process made possible to avoid the national constitutional controls because the responsibility lays on European level. The voice of the Constitutional Courts was not defending the state prerogatives or the state powers, as it has been said. To defend the constitutionality of public powers activities is not to defend the state powers, to defend the constitutionality of public powers activities is to defend that public powers activities must be submit under juridical limits. These juridical limits are nowadays disappeared despite of the transition of national decision power to the European level. Anyway, the Constitutional Court resistance has given a false view of Constitutional Courts and also of Constitution. The apparent opposition between “Constitution” and “Integration”, which appears during the integration process, is an explanation for the incomprehensible erosion of the value of Constitution. As a result of initial configuration of the integration process, the European jurisdiction and the constitutional jurisdiction have used different languages, despite of their respective functions. While the European Courts used basically the “European law language” the Constitutional Courts used mainly the “Constitutional law language”. The bringing of those two languages has been a natural process. However, the European Court needed to assume constitutional techniques to realize its function and the Constitutional Courts must incorporate the European logic. Nevertheless, some isolation and some difficulties to establish a productive dialectical relation were inevitable. The European Court-Constitutional Courts relation will be really productive when both parts speak the same juridical language, the “European constitutional law language”. This article analyses the difficulties of the dialectical relation between European Court and national Court, and also the methods which can help the development conditions of a productive interaction between both jurisdictions. To reach this positive interaction is needed to make national constitutional law more European and European Law more constitutional.

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Cassen Bernard

L’avenir de l’Europe

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Mai

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2007/05/CASSEN/14738>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ray Leonard

Mainstream Euroskepticism: Trend or Oxymoron?



in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 153-172

This paper asks where Euroskepticism can be found in the party systems of the European Union. The literature suggests that anti-European parties are generally parties of the opposition, on the ideological fringes, or relatively small. A cross-national analysis of party positions confirms that Euroskepticism is primarily a fringe phenomenon, concentrated on the ideological extremes and among opposition parties. The results suggest that the post-Maastricht decline in public support for the EU has not led to a general adoption of Euroskeptic positions by the major governing parties of Europe. Important exceptions to this generalization do, however, exist. Euroskepticism is unusually strong among the center-right parties in the UK, France, and Poland. Given that decisions in the EU are often made by procedures that permit single states, or fairly small coalitions, to block action, any introduction of Euroskepticism into the mainstream of any party system can have serious consequences for the entire union.

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Mårtensson Moa

Mixed Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 29, Number 3 / July , 285-302

A central critique against the European Union's (EU's) system of representation is that it strikes an uneven balance between the three traditional channels of representation. Directly elected representatives are said to be uniquely powerless in relation to territorial representatives and representatives of organized interests. In the article, this argument is scrutinized within a comparative framework, using a selection of existing data on democratic systems from around the world. The study confirms that the EU's system of representation attributes great importance to territorial representation. However, the main finding is that it is not unique in this regard. Moreover, organized interests at the European level do not seem exceptionally powerful, in terms of their capacity to act collectively to influence policy. These findings are interpreted in the light of current research on the EU's legitimacy, resulting in two additional conclusions. While the EU's formal legitimacy would be enhanced by a push towards electoral politics at the European level, its social legitimacy hinges on a continued existence of territorial representation. Striking the proper balance between channels of representation at the European level stands out as a future challenge to researchers and political actors.

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Arregui J.

Modelos de negociación en el proceso legislativo de la Unión Europea

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, n. 17 , 83 - 111

Este artículo analiza el tipo de mecanismos que estructuran los procesos de negociación y de toma de decisiones de la Unión Europea (UE). Para ello presentamos tres modelos de negociación que representan mecanismos explicativos distintos. Estos modelos son confrontados con datos empíricos sobre los procesos de negociación y de toma de decisiones. La base de datos utilizada incluye el análisis de 28 propuestas legislativas de la Comisión relacionadas con el proceso de negociación y 66 propuestas legislativas relacionadas con el proceso de toma de decisiones. El análisis muestra que tanto el proceso de negociación como el proceso de toma de decisiones se estructuran principalmente en términos de



compromisos e intercambios políticos entre actores.

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Angeloni Ignazio, Flad Machael, Monelli Francesco Paolo

Monetary Integration of the New EU Member States: What Sets the Pace of Euro Adoption?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 45, Issue 2, June 2007 , 367-409

How fast should the new Member States of the European Union (NMS) relinquish their domestic monetary and exchange rate autonomy? While the Maastricht convergence criteria are attracting significant attention (particularly the inflation and deficit criteria), we think the debate should also examine the status of their economic structures and the progress of integration within the EU. Diverse aspects of the monetary integration of the NMS into the euro area are examined. We find less structural convergence is associated with less income convergence. The exchange rate regimes have a bearing on the speed of real convergence: for some NMS, and for some more time, exchange rate flexibility may still serve as a useful shock absorber.

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Bofinger Peter, Mayer Eric

Monetary and Fiscal Policy Interaction in the Euro Area with Different Assumptions on the Phillips Curve

in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 18, Number 3 , 291-305

In this paper we apply a static version of a New Keynesian macromodel to a monetary union (see Bofinger et al., *J Econ Educ*, 37:98-117 (2006), Walsh, *J Econ Educ*, 33:333-346 (2002)). We show in particular that a harmonious functioning of a monetary union critically depends on the correlation of shocks that hit the currency area. Additionally a high degree of integration in product markets is advantageous for the ECB as it prevents national interest rates from driving a wedge between macroeconomic outcomes across member states. In particular small countries are in need for fiscal policy as an independent stabilization agent with room to breath.

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Vink Edwin

Multi-level Democracy: Deliberative or Agonistic? The Search for Appropriate Normative Standards

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 29, Number 3 / July , 303-322

This article compares two contrasting conceptions of deliberative supranationalism, which together suggest a third alternative. All three draw on both the practical and idealizing aspects of communication theory, but each proposes a different view of the European constitutional model, the normative principles on which the European Union (EU) is to be based, and the Constitution for Europe. The first, by Joerges & Neyer, defends a 'non-majoritarian' view in which democratic legitimacy is based primarily upon mutual recognition and Europe's 'multiple demoi'. The second, by Eriksen



& Fossum, proposes a 'majoritarian' scheme based upon a European hierarchy of law, direct accountability to a 'general public' and 'one constitutional demos' as the ultimate source of European democratic legitimacy. The article concludes with a non-consensual 'complex majoritarian' approach to multi-level democracy aimed at combining the advantages of the first, polycentric and non-hierarchical model with agonistic freedoms of citizens in a polity which finds its sources of democratic legitimacy in various modes of democratic representation as well as multiple access points and communication channels that open up EU decision making to European publics.

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Scheipers Sibylle, Sicurelli Daniela

Normative Power Europe: A Credible Utopia?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 45, Issue 2, June 2007 , 435-457

Studies on the international identity of the EU have stressed the normative feature of European foreign policy. At the same time, scholars have pointed out that the inconsistency between the EU's rhetoric and behaviour and the lack of reflexivity undermines its credibility. How does reflexivity affect collective identity? To what extent does the EU's utopian rhetoric affect its credibility as a normative power? In order to address these questions, we investigate the self-representation of the EU as an international actor, the extent to which this self-representation provides a basis for reflexivity and, finally, the impact of the EU's identity narratives on its credibility. We focus on the normative power of the EU in the institutionalization of the International Criminal Court and in the elaboration and ratification of the Kyoto Protocol.

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Villani Ugo

Osservazioni sulla tutela dei principi di libertà, democrazia, rispetto dei diritti dell'uomo e stato di diritto nell'Unione europea

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno II, n. 1 , 27-42

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ciuta Felix

Parting the Black Sea (Region): Geopolitics, Institutionalisation and the Reconfiguration of European Security

in **European Security**, Volume 16, Number 1, March , 51-78

This article examines critically one of the most active regional dynamics of European security, centred on the Black Sea. Recently, the Black Sea region has received increased attention from a variety of political actors, who seek to increase the profile of the region in order to develop a common regional identity and an integrated approach to the security problems of the Black Sea region. This resurgence of the Black Sea region can be understood as the combined product of local interests, European integration and the 'global war on terror'. The main argument of the article is that Black Sea



security integration is characterised by a fundamental contradiction between two different logics of security - geopolitical and institutional. Three other problems - transposition, fragmentation, and duplication - are also discussed. In the conclusion, the article examines the significance of the efforts to build the Black Sea region for the future of regional integration in European security.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ciancio A.

Partiti politici e gruppi parlamentari nell'ordinamento europeo

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 2 , 153 - 173

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Auvachez Élise

Penser la citoyenneté européenne. Du Livre blanc sur la gouvernance au projet de Traité constitutionnel

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 40, issue, 02, June , 343-365

Dans les discours politiques comme dans la littérature universitaire sur la construction européenne, la dernière décennie du 20^{ème} siècle a été celle de la citoyenneté. Toutefois, la prolifération des théories autour de la citoyenneté européenne s'est brusquement arrêtée en 2001. Ce silence chez les théoriciens européenistes doit-il laisser conclure à une absence de développements en matière de citoyenneté européenne ces dernières années? Dans cet article, nous démontrons que la citoyenneté européenne doit être examinée à la lumière des développements politiques dont l'Union a fait l'objet ces dernières années. La comparaison du Livre Blanc sur la gouvernance européenne (2001) et du projet de Traité constitutionnel (2004) montre une certaine tension dans le discours institutionnel contemporain sur la citoyenneté européenne. L'article propose une nouvelle grille d'analyse pour appréhender cette tension et penser la citoyenneté européenne aujourd'hui; ce nouveau prisme est fondé sur la distinction entre « citoyenneté de gouvernement » et « citoyenneté de gouvernance ».

Abstract. In political discourse as well as scholarly research on the European Union, the last decade of the 20th century was the decade of citizenship. But, despite numerous unresolved questions, there has been a virtual silence on the matter since 2001. Does this mean that there have been no major developments in European citizenship over the past few years? The answer is clearly negative. Via a comparison of the White Paper on European Governance (2001) and the draft Constitution (2004), this article documents a certain tension in the institutional discourse about European citizenship. It proposes a new theoretical model to grasp this tension and to understand European citizenship as it is conceived nowadays. This analytic prism is based on the distinction between "government citizenship" and "governance citizenship."



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Tosato Gian Luigi

Per un rilancio dell'Europa. Le ragioni della flessibilità

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno II, n. 1, 7-26

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hilz Wolfram

Perspektiven der 'neuen' deutsch-französischen Beziehungen

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 38, 2007

http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/V73VH2,0,Perspektiven_der_neuen_deutschfranz%F6sischen_Beziehungen.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rémond René

Point de vue – L'héritage chrétien de l'Europe : retour sur une controverse historique

in *Vingtième Siècle*, n. 95

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Political Economy and the Study of Britain and European Integration: A Global-National Perspective

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, Vol. 9, Issue 3, August, 461-476

An extensive range of evidence and analysis has been employed to understand the complex relationship between Britain and the process of European integration. This article builds on a body of work within the study of European integration that examines British economic interests in European policy-making. However, I show that a comprehensive explanation of this relationship requires the application of a politico-economic analysis on national articulations of global and transnational processes. It is, I propose, Britain's distinctive insertion into the global economy that enables us to understand and explain Britain's problematic relationship to the processes of European integration. This is explored through an analytic narrative of Britain's historical relationship to the process of European integration. From a broad comparative perspective, I emphasise the exceptional character of Britain's globalised political economy.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Roger Christine

Politique étrangère, sécurité et défense en Europe : instruments et ambition

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Septembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Eichenberg Richard C., Dalton, Russell J.

Post-Maastricht Blues: The Transformation of Citizen Support for European Integration, 1973-2004

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 128-152

Macroeconomic forces have influenced aggregate citizen support for European integration in the past, but no study analyzes historical data beyond the early 1990s. This gap is lamentable, because public support for integration has moved in precisely the opposite direction that past research would predict. We analyze data on support for the EU during the period 1973-2004 for eight long-term member states. Four conclusions emerge from the analysis. First, there has been considerable cross-national convergence in citizen support for integration. Second, although economic factors influence citizen support over the entire 1973-2004 period, these impacts are much weaker than reported in past research. Third, the effect of inflation and trade concentration essentially disappeared in the aftermath of the Maastricht Treaty. Fourth, citizen support for integration of specific policy areas, such as foreign policy, social security, and monetary policy, suggests that the precipitous decline in support that began in 1991 was a reaction to Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and its budgetary implications. We argue that the politics of European integration are now animated by distributive concerns as well as by evaluations of absolute economic performance. This argument has important implications for the study of European integration.

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Merusi Fabio

Quel che nessuno dice sull'euro... L'Europa e l'impero dopo la pace di Westfalia

in *Diritto dell'economia (il)*, n. 2 , 221-230

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Autret Florence

Quelle organisation pour l'Europe spatiale?

in *Politique Etrangère*, n. 2 - été

La politique spatiale des Européens se développe dans diverses institutions, aux géométries variables (Union



européenne, Agence spatiale...). L'expérience récente des deux programmes menés dans le cadre de l'Union (Galileo et GMES) semble plaider en faveur d'une structuration plus exigeante, susceptible d'incarner une véritable stratégie conjointe européenne dans le domaine spatial. C'est là un enjeu de puissance central pour l'Europe.

How Can the Europe of Space Be Reorganized?

The European space policy develops in various institutions, with different focuses (European Union, European Space Agency, etc.). The recent experience with the two programs taken in European Union's framework (Galileo and GMES) seems to argue in favor of a more exigent structuring, likely to represent a true European concerted strategy in the space field. For Europe, this is a major issue of power.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Foucher Michel

Quelles frontières et quel projet pour l'Union ?

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Mai

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2007/05/FOUCHER/14718>

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Erk Jan

Real Constitution, Formal Constitution and Democracy in the European Union

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 45, Issue 3, September 2007 , 633-652

The European integration experiment might be sui generis in many ways, but this does not mean that one could not import theoretical insights from other fields of study that seek to understand the workings of political unions where unity and diversity coexist. In particular, the literatures on comparative federalism, political theory and constitutional politics can help set the study of the European Union in a broader context. One point that emerges from this theoretical cross-fertilization is the absence of a shared language space that could function as the forum for European democratic deliberation. As a result, democracy in Europe by default functions through the underlying real constitution of national demoi instead of a pan-European demos. Similar experiences in multination federations suggest that in such cases formal constitutions will inevitably come to reflect the deep differences between the constituent units. In this context, some degree of constitutional ambiguity might be not only unavoidable but also desirable.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Trenz H.-J.

Reconciling diversity and unity. Language minorities and European integration

in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 7 n. 2 , 157 - 185

Language minorities can be found as evidence of unfinished nation building in relatively closed territorial settlements all over contemporary Europe. From a comparative perspective, different paths of accommodating linguistic diversity can



be followed, resulting in very dissimilar regimes of legal, political and cultural recognition. In recent years, standardization of minority protection has taken place, with a new emphasis on the values of linguistic diversity, non-discrimination and tolerance. As will be argued, the expanding rights of language minorities must be understood in relation to a re-structuration of nation states in Europe and a re-evaluation of difference in the course of European integration. The confrontation with internal diversity and the confrontation with a Europe of deep diversity are closely interlinked, setting the conditions for the unfolding of a new politics of recognition towards language minorities. This changing minority—majority relationship and the related processes of Europeanization of opportunity structures for the political and cultural mobilization of language minorities will be analysed with reference to specific case studies from Germany, France and Spain.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Häge Frank M., Kaeding Michael

Reconsidering the European Parliament's Legislative Influence: Formal vs. Informal Procedures
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 29, Number 3 / July , 341-361

More and more legislative decisions are reached in early stages of the co-decision procedure through informal negotiations among representatives of the EU institutions. This study argues that the European Parliament has an advantage in such negotiations relative to the Council due to the latter's limited organizational resources to handle the increased legislative workload under the co-decision procedure. The main implication of this theoretical argument is that the Parliament's impact on the content of legislation should be higher when informal negotiations are conducted rather than when agreement is reached at the end of the procedure in conciliation. To examine this claim, a quantitative comparative study of the success of the Parliament's amendments in two legislative decision-making processes in the field of transport was conducted. The results reveal that the EP's influence during co-decision is indeed larger in the case of an early agreement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ulltveit-Moe Karen Helene

Regional policy design: An analysis of relocation, efficiency and equity
in *European Economic Review*, Volume 51, Issue 6, August 2007

Despite substantial regional expenditure at both national and community level, European regional policies do not appear to deliver. Evidence suggests that neither efficiency gains nor reduced regional inequalities result. If there is any positive impact at all, then it is at most a redistributive one. If transfers are mainly redistributive in nature, would policies based on non-distortive financing be a better route to follow? We consider the alternatives to a distortive regional policy that forces the delocation of activities. Are non-distortive policies always relatively more efficient than distortive ones? We analyse these questions employing a new economic geography model, which also takes into account the importance of knowledge spillovers for productivity, industry location and policy. We show that the effectiveness of different regional policies depends on (i) intra-industry knowledge spillovers, (ii) inter-industry knowledge spillovers and (iii) trade costs. Our analysis suggests that the European approach to the elimination of regional inequalities may, relatively, be the more costly alternative.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

D'Atena A.

Regionalismo e integración supranacional desde una perspectiva europea y comparada

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 7 Anno 4

The present article describes de regionalization or decentralization process which has taken place in the Member States and the progressive taking into account of regions and municipalities by the European Union and the Member States. After the initial reduction of the competitions of the regions which the cession of competitions to a supranational organization by the Member States meant, the article exposes the evolution in the nationals and community legal orders to grant a suitable participation of the regions in the decision making (ascent phase of the Communitarian Right), by means of their participation on the Council and on the European Comitee of the Regions, as long as in the implementation of the Community Right (descendent phase).

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de Vries Catherine E.

Sleeping Giant: Fact or Fairytale?

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 8, n. 3, September , 363-385

Do attitudes towards European integration influence vote choice in national elections — a phenomenon I refer to as European Union (EU) issue voting? Evidence concerning EU issue voting is thus far mixed. Some scholars conclude that an electoral connection exists between European and national politics, whereas others claim that European integration has had very few observable effects on national elections. A resolution emerges when the conditional nature of EU issue voting is acknowledged. Specifically, EU issue voting is more likely to occur in elections in which both the extent of partisan conflict over European integration and the degree of EU issue salience among voters are high. Using a conditional logit model, I illustrate the conditional nature of EU issue voting by comparing UK, Danish, Dutch and German elections between 1992 and 2002.

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Raunio Tapio

Softening but Persistent: Euroscepticism in the Nordic EU Countries

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 191-210

The Nordic region is known for its Euroscepticism. Norwegians have twice rejected European Union (EU) membership in a referendum, Denmark and Sweden have opted out of the single currency, leaving thus Finland as the only pro-integrationist Nordic EU country. However, while the levels of public Euroscepticism are relatively similar across the three Nordic EU countries, only the Danish and Swedish party systems display strong support for Eurosceptical parties.



Focusing on government-opposition dynamics, this article explains variation in party-based Euroscepticism in the Nordic EU countries, and argues that we will continue to see strong — but nonetheless declining — partisan Euroscepticism in the Nordic region.

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Hooghe Liesbet, Marks Gary

Sources of Euroscepticism

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 119-127

What leads citizens and political parties to oppose the principles, institutions, or policies of the European Union? This double special issue brings together specialists on public opinion, political parties, and media to answer this question. We examine economic interest and identity as sources of Euroscepticism among Europe's citizens and we analyse how public opinion is cued by media and political parties.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Leinen Jo

Strong European Political Parties for a Democratic EU

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XX, n. 1, February , 22-24

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brummer Klaus

Superficial, not Substantial: The Ambiguity of Public Support for Europe's Security and Defence Policy

in *European Security*, Volume 16, Number 2, June , 183-201

Surveys such as the European Commission's Eurobarometer regularly reveal high levels of public support for European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). This paper argues, however, that public support for ESDP is only superficial, not substantial. First, there is no homogeneous 'European' public support for ESDP. Second, security and defence, as covered by ESDP with its focus on global crisis-management, rank very low among Europeans' priorities. Third, Europeans are very sceptical about the appropriateness of military means, and hence a core element of ESDP, as a legitimate instrument in international affairs. These reservations are likely to have constraining effects on ESDP's future development. At the same time, there are compelling reasons for the further development of ESDP. Therefore, Europe's political elites should initiate a public diplomacy campaign inside the EU in which the case for Europe's further evolution as a strategic security and defence actor is made. ESDP operations are the most promising starting points as they illustrate both the normative and the 'realist' necessities of European engagement in global security affairs.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giorgio

Tendenze nazionalistiche e prospettive di rilancio della costituzione europea

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno I, n. 1, 19-22

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Croci Osvaldo, Tossutti Livianna

That Elusive Object of Desire: Canadian Perceptions of the European Union

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 12, Issue 3, 287-310

The paper first gives an historical review of the evolution of the relationship between Canada and the EU. It then looks at Canadian governmental perceptions of the EU through an analysis of parliamentary debates, reports of House of Commons and Senate committees, official papers released by the ministries of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the election platforms of five federal political parties. Finally, it examines the perceptions of the non-governmental sector, which includes an analysis of the content of three newspapers, commercial and academic public opinion polls as well as documents and press releases from Canada's principal business and labour organizations, and the research archives of non-partisan think tanks. The picture that emerges from this review is that, in Canadian eyes, the EU is primarily an important international economic actor with large and attractive markets of which Canadian companies have yet to take full advantage. In the absence of a transatlantic free trade deal, however, it is likely that Canada, while continuing to solidify its relationship with the USA, will begin looking with more interest to Asia.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alves Rui Henrique, Afonso Oscar

The "New" Stability and Growth Pact: More Flexible, Less Stupid?

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 42, Number 4 / July, 2007

The doubts and criticisms with regard to the fiscal discipline imposed by the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) have been many and varied, and the SGP was revised as a result. The following paper evaluates the changes contained in the "new" SGP by considering the properties for ideal fiscal rules put forward by Kopits and Symansky. The analysis points towards a clear increase in flexibility together with the probable emergence of new enforcement problems. In this context, the need for new improvements within the European framework for the definition and implementation of national fiscal policies is discussed.

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Benedetto Giacomo, Quaglia Lucia

The Comparative Politics of Communist Euroscepticism in France, Italy and Spain

in *Party Politics*, Volume 13, Number 4, July, 478-499



In this work, we compare the Euroscepticism of three West European parties from the same party family: the Communists. We address the questions of how the parties of France, Italy and Spain have adapted to the process of European integration and also the factors that have affected their different responses over time. The French and Italian parties have moved away from Euroscepticism to softer or even pro-integration approaches, whereas the Spanish Communists (PCE) have never been Eurosceptic. Party response to Europe is affected by international, national and party-specific factors, which have different degrees of explanatory power. During the early decades of European integration, international factors, first and foremost the relationship with Moscow, contributed to the Euroscepticism of Western Communists. Nevertheless, as with other party families and types, the Communists have responded to vote- and coalition-seeking opportunities.

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Benedetto Giacomo, Hoyland Bjorn

The EU Annual Budgetary Procedure: The Existing Rules and Proposed Reforms of the Convention and Intergovernmental Conference 2002–04

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 45, Issue 3, September 2007 , 565-587

This article analyses the proposed reform of the annual budgetary procedure of the European Union (EU) during the 2002–04 Convention and Intergovernmental Conference (IGC). We offer two findings. First, the European Parliament already has the power to reduce agricultural and fisheries spending subject to support from a blocking minority in the Council. Hence, a reduction of the Union's spending on agriculture and other areas of compulsory expenditure is not dependent on a reform of the budgetary procedure. Second, the proposal from the Convention would have increased EP budgetary powers while the procedure adopted by the IGC strengthens the hand of the Council, removing Parliament's right to overrule it. In constitutional bargaining, we see that Parliament gains in a deliberative forum where unanimity is not required, while it loses in a closed IGC.

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Schmit Nicolas

The EU constitution's "yes" countries should push ahead regardless

in **Europe's World**, Issue 6, Summer

As Europe's leaders try to get to grips with the impasse over the EU's constitutional treaty, Nicolas Schmit, Luxembourg's Delegate Foreign Affairs Minister, surveys the options open to them and puts the case for an EU-18 coalition of the willing

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Poletti Arlo

The EU for Brazil: A Partner Towards a 'Fairer' Globalization?



in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, Volume 12, Issue 3 , 271-285

Since the early 1990s, Brazil and the European Union have come to realize that their commercial, economic and political synergies offer vast opportunities for cooperation that are worthy of further exploration. This article aims to develop a better understanding of the role of the EU as both a political and economic actor by providing an outline of how the EU's image is perceived in Brazil. Elaborating upon existing data and analyses at the levels of political elites, public opinion and the print media, the article argues that while the EU is regarded both as an opportunity and a challenge, the former perception is more structurally grounded in Brazil's public discourse. In addition, the article suggests that some of the crucial elements of the academic and self-representation of the Union as an international actor have produced similar depictions within Brazil. However, in this particular country study, the social–solidaristic themes typical of the EU's self-representation appear much less relevant in shaping the EU's image than part of the literature on the EU's 'international identity' suggests.

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Nugent Neill

The EU's Response to Turkey's Membership Application: Not Just a Weighing of Costs and Benefits

in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 29, Number 4 / September , 481-502

In October 2005 the European Union opened accession negotiations with Turkey even though the governments of several member states harboured doubts about the wisdom of so doing. This article examines why the EU agreed to the opening of the negotiations, given the existence of reservations and the fact that the decision needed the approval of the governments of all twenty-five member states. It is argued that whilst a rationalist approach goes a long way in explaining the decision, political pressures and rhetorical actions provide important additional dimensions of explanation.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Neve Jan-Emmanuel

The European Onion? How Differentiated Integration is Reshaping the EU

in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 29, Number 4 / September , 503-521

This paper provides an up-to-date overview of the gradual development of differentiated integration and the ensuing changes in the nature of European integration. It considers the dynamics of deepening and widening of the EU and proposes the metaphor of a 'European Onion' that is designed to capture the bigger picture. Further, this paper expands upon the centripetal effects of differentiated integration and shows its potential to generate more cooperative public opinion in future enlargement rounds. Finally a state of play in European integration theory is offered that incorporates differentiated integration.

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Lucarelli Sonia



The European Union in the Eyes of Others: Towards Filling a Gap in the Literature

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 12, Issue 3 , 249-270

Building on François Duchêne's concept 'civilian power Europe', a growing number of scholars have asserted the EU's distinctiveness as an international actor. This has resulted in a lively debate among supporters of the thesis and sceptical scholars. What this literature has failed to investigate so far is the extent to which the EU is (or is not) regarded as a distinctive world power by other international actors. This is precisely what this article aims to do. Building on the results of a survey on The External Image of the European Union, coordinated by the author in the framework of the Network of Excellence GARNET, the article sums up the prevalent images of the EU in Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Egypt, Japan, India and South Africa, and at the level of NGOs and Commission delegations.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Postel-Vinay Karoline

The Historicity of the International Region: Revisiting the "Europe and the Rest" Divide

in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 12, n. 4, October , 555-569

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andresen Nicolau

The Salazar Regime and European Integration, 1947-1972

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 14 - Issue 2 - June , 195 - 214

This article provides a portrait of the Salazar regime and its relations with European integration. It begins with a description of the Salazar regime (1933-1974) and explains the objections of the dictator to supranational projects. It then examines the Portuguese institutional set-up and its deficiencies in dealing with European affairs. Next it focuses on the reaction to the Marshall Plan and explains the decision-making process of the Portuguese government that evolved from OEEC membership. Finally, it argues that the Portuguese government was relatively successful in Europe (EFTA membership in 1960 and EC trade agreement in 1972) due to a flexible negotiating policy.

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Hänsch Klaus

The Spirit of the Time: A Reply to Roman Herzog and Lüder Gerken

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 3 - Issue 02 , 219-224

Integration in the European Union jeopardizes our democracy; the European Constitution will not stop the substantial erosion of the constitutional institutions of the member states, in particular the parliaments. It will not put an end to the lack of democracy and of separation of powers, nor to inappropriate centralization. Its rejection in France and the Netherlands creates the opportunity to assign to the Union appropriate and transparent structures close to the citizens.



This is heavy stuff. It is presented to us by authors who are not known to be Euro-phobes or populists. They don't lose themselves in well-meaning clouds of criticism concerning the length of the Constitution, or in putting the blame on 'the people in Brussels'. Their concerns have to be taken seriously. That is why their suggestions need to be addressed, both as to principle and detail.

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Herzog Roman, Gerken Lüder

The Spirit of the Time: Revise the European Constitution to Protect National Parliamentary Democracy
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 3 - Issue 02 , 209-218

Without doubt, the European Union has come to a crossroads. Following the failure of the proposed Constitution in the referendums in France and The Netherlands, it is now vital to take stock of the situation in order to develop an overall concept for how European integration can and should progress from this point. Germany's EU Council Presidency provides an opportunity to hold this discussion. However, the fair-weather talk about Europe, currently being heard from all political sides, is no help at all. People are ill-at-ease and increasingly reserved and sceptical about the European Union, because they can no longer make sense of the integration process, because they can't shake off the feeling of an ever stronger, increasingly inappropriate centralisation of competencies, and because they cannot see who is responsible for which policies. These concerns must be taken very seriously, particularly because they are not simply imaginary.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Levi Lucio

The Unaccomplished Way Toward the European Unity
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XX, n. 1, February , 4-5

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paladini Luca

The contribution of the Security Policy to the coherence of the European Union's external action



in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno II, n. 1 , 111-142

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baczynski Jerzy

The flaws in Europe's democracy

in *Europe's World*, Issue 7, Autumn

Europe's economic model may not be highly exportable, but its democratic values are widely appreciated. Jerzy Baczynski, Editor-in-Chief of *Polityka* in Warsaw, looks at the reality of democracy in the EU's formerly communist countries and assesses both the democratic "deficit" and democratic "fatigue"

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=240c604b-84bb-4d96-be9f-334a05fc65a8>

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cassetti Luisa, Birkinshaw Patrick

The future of the European Union: from the Treaty establishing a Constitution to the Reform of the Treaties,

in *Federalismi*, Anno V , n. 18

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pappa Evi, Vassilatos Vangelis

The unbearable tightness of being in a monetary union: Fiscal restrictions and regional stability

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 51, Issue 6, August 2007

We study how constrained fiscal policy can affect macroeconomic stability and welfare in a two-region model of a monetary union with sticky prices and distortionary taxation. Both government spending and taxes can be used to stabilize regional variables; however, the best welfare outcome is obtained under some tax variability and constant regional inflations. We use a variety of rules to characterize constrained fiscal policy and find that strict fiscal rules coupled with a monetary policy that targets union-wide inflation result in regional inflation stability and the welfare costs of such rules are not as unbearable as one would expect. Fiscal authorities can enhance welfare by targeting the regional output gap, while targeting regional inflation is less successful since inflation stability is guaranteed by the central bank.

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Giuliani Jean-Dominique

There's a brave new Europe to be glimpsed in the Reform Treaty

in *Europe's World*, Issue 7, Autumn

Much of the EU's economic and monetary integration is now accomplished, says Jean-Dominique Giuliani, so the challenge is bringing about a form of political union that respects national identities. He warns that it will demand political dexterity and chutzpah

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=5f44724b-cffe-469c-a14e-bdec87e392fa>

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Andreas Føllesdal

Toward Self-Sustaining Stability? How the Constitutional Treaty Would Enhance Forms of Institutional and National Balance

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 17 Issue 3 , 353 - 374

The Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe (CT) strengthens some of the federal features of the future European political order and, hence, makes it more appropriate to apply standards of assessment from federal thought. Stable and legitimate federal political orders require multiple forms of balancing. Many of the changes in the CT are improvements on the Nice Treaty in these regards, and the CT would therefore go some way toward creating a European political order more likely both to merit and facilitate trust and trustworthiness. Such trust is crucial if the institutions are to foster willing support and 'dual loyalty' among the citizenry and authorities toward both one's own member state and toward the union as a whole.

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Gouzy Jean-Pierre

Traités de Rome : memento

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 1, mai , 5-27

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Herrera garcia J.A.

Tribunal constitucional y Unión Europea: el caso español a propósito de la sentencia 58/2004 y de la fase actual de la integración constitucional de Europa

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 16 , 405 - 434

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicolaïdis Kalypso

Trusting the Poles? Constructing Europe through mutual recognition

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 14, Issue 5 August 2007 , pages 682 - 698

European integration has been and will continue to be flawed with conflicts, conflicts of interests embedded in broader conflicts of identity. I argue that these conflicts and the bargains they require exhibit similar patterns across a wide array of issues, as struggles around 'mutual' recognition where mutuality plays a crucial role. Indeed, the challenges and perils of recognition are universal. But Europe can be seen as an experimental polity where, more formally than elsewhere, actors debate the contours of a norm which has migrated from regulatory praxis to mode of governance, and beyond, to political principle. If the 'Polish plumber' has come to serve as the emblem for the denial of recognition in the EU, mutual recognition is no less conflictual when it comes to the status of refugees, Bosnians or cartoonists. Normatively, if 'managed mutual recognition' is to serve as a blueprint beyond international political economy, we need to better analyse the relationship between recognition and trust, blind and binding trust, deferential and interventionist recognition.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fischer Joschka

Turkey's Admission to Europe Would Defeat Jihadists

in *New Perspectives Quarterly* , Vol. 24, Issue 3, Summer , 16-21

In this age of confrontation, the secular Turkish model has been seen as a bridge between Islam and the West as well as the link between Europe and Asia. Now that model faces the most severe test in its history. How the current crisis is settled will frame future relations between Islam and the West no less than the events of 9/11.

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Sen Amartya

Turkey: Not About Islamic vs. Western Values

in *New Perspectives Quarterly* , Vol. 24, Issue 3, Summer , 24-27

In this age of confrontation, the secular Turkish model has been seen as a bridge between Islam and the West as well as the link between Europe and Asia. Now that model faces the most severe test in its history. How the current crisis is settled will frame future relations between Islam and the West no less than the events of 9/11.



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Merlini Cesare

Un ruolo nel mondo per l'Unione

in **Mulino (il)**, n. 4, luglio-agosto, 2007 , 741-749

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Prodi Romano

Un'avanguardia per fare l'Europa

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XXXIX, n. 155 , 468-471

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duparc Portier Pascale, Masson Antoine

Une meilleure gouvernance linguistique est-elle possible dans l'Union Européenne?

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, numero 509, juin , 349-360

European Union law has been protecting various freedoms for quite some time. However, the requirements of EU laws regarding the freedom of movement of workers have created an apparent conflict with the linguistic requirements of some national jurisdictions in the contexts of, for example, consumer protection, access to employment or the exercise of a profession. This paper explores, first, whether and to what extent a set of EU language rights exists, and second, whether the European Court of Justice rulings in this area are satisfactory. Finally, it proposes some approaches to resolve the issues arising from the perceived conflict between EU freedoms and national language rights.

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Gendusa Vincenzo

Universal jurisdiction: a European opportunity?

in **Europe's World**, Issue 6, Summer

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=0e38b394-c150-43c4-b16e-81c912da9b3e>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Krouwel André, Abts Koen

Varieties of Euroscepticism and Populist Mobilization: Transforming Attitudes from Mild Euroscepticism to Harsh Eurocynicism

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Numbers 2-3, July , 252-270

Eurosceptics may differ in intensity, and in their arguments for opposing the European Union (EU), by focusing their critiques on different political targets and/or aspects of Europeanization. The generic label of Euroscepticism may incorporate sceptical, cynical or oppositional attitudes. We try therefore to develop a two-dimensional conceptualization by combining both the targets and the degree of popular discontent towards the EU and European integration. The first axis differentiates between attitudes towards the authorities, the regime and the community, while the second axis differentiates attitudes according to their degree of reflexivity and negativism. Investigating simultaneously both dimensions of political discontent, we can chart different types of Euroscepticism on a sliding scale of political attitudes, which runs from trust, over scepticism to political distrust, cynicism and alienation. In the final section, we show how political entrepreneurs are able to tap into mass attitudes towards the EU and European integration. Given that most citizens do not have fixed views on Europe, populism is capable of feeding a downward spiral from Euroscepticism to more diffuse discontent like Eurocynicism.

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Simon Dieter

Verfassungspatriotismus auf Europäisch

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juli, 2007 , 816-824

Die deutsche Sprache verfügt über eine Eigenschaft, die sie mit nur wenigen anderen Sprachen teilt: Sie kann zusammengesetzte Substantive bilden. Dadurch ist sie in der Lage, jederzeit und nach Bedarf neue Wörter zu erzeugen. Häufig gelingen treffsichere Bezeichnungen, die sich sofort durchsetzen, selbstverständlich werden, ihren Benutzern als immer schon vorhanden Gewesene gelten. Manchmal entstehen Wendungen, die man wegen ihrer vielgliedrigen Schwerfälligkeit belächelt oder ob ihrer ...

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Schratzenstaller Margit

Vom Tanktourismus zur EU-Verbrauchssteuer

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, September, 2007 , 1143-1145

Anders als bei den direkten Steuern hat die Europäische Union im Bereich der indirekten Steuern eine sich aus dem EG-Vertrag ergebende legislative Kompetenz: Gemäß Artikel 93 sind die Rechtsvorschriften über die Umsatzsteuer, die Verbrauchsabgaben (und sonstige indirekte Steuern) zu harmonisieren, um das Funktionieren des Binnenmarktes nicht zu gefährden. Doch wie bereits der grassierende Alkoholschmuggel und „Tanktourismus“ belegen, sind die bisherigen Regelungen völlig ...



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Gerken Lüder, Herzog Roman

We must cure Brussels of its centralising fever

in Europe's World, Issue 6, Summer

The inappropriate centralisation of political power by the EU is one of the main reasons people mistrust it, argues former German President Roman Herzog. He and Lüder Gerken prescribe four curative measures to cure the ailment

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Chopin Thierry

What France must do to regain centre-stage in Europe

in Europe's World, Issue 7, Autumn

Ambivalent attitudes to the EU among the French political elite have cost Paris its leadership role and much popular support for Europe. Thierry Chopin sets out a new agenda that President Sarkozy

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=4eff3e35-e873-4ece-ae17-ad3b2a7a4abb>

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Daianu Daniel

What the EU must do to overhaul its economic policymaking

in Europe's World, Issue 6, Summer

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=426c6b57-5159-4c53-8b7e-c50f24f8b60d>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dougan Michael

When worlds collide! Competing visions of the relationship between direct effect and supremacy

in Common Market Law Review, issue 4, vol. 44, 931-963

ABSTRACT: This article examines two different models for understanding the relationship between direct effect and supremacy. The "primacy model" argues that supremacy is capable of producing independent "exclusionary effects" within the national legal orders, where a provision of domestic law is incompatible with Community law; direct effect is only relevant if "substitutionary effects" are at issue, where Community law is invoked as a novel source of rights or



obligations not already recognized under national law. By contrast, the “trigger model” asserts that, for any provision of Community law to produce an independent effect within the national legal system (whether exclusionary or substitutionary), it must satisfy the threshold criteria for having direct effect; the principle of supremacy is thus a consequence of and dependent upon that of direct effect. The choice between these two competing models can have important practical implications, for example, in the debate about the “incidental effects” of unimplemented directives, or the potential legal effects of Third Pillar framework decisions. This article examines the conceptual underpinnings of the two models, then explores how far they are supported by the caselaw. It is argued that recent rulings such as Pfeiffer and Berlusconi undermine support for the “primacy model”; but older cases such as CIA Security and Unilever Italia remain difficult to reconcile with the “trigger model”. It is concluded that perhaps the ECJ itself has vacillated over its own understanding of the proper relationship between direct effect and supremacy, making it difficult for commentators to construct any coherent and descriptively accurate theory.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jensen Christian B., Slapin Jonathan, König Thomas

Who Calls for a Common EU Foreign Policy?

in European Union Politics, Vol. 8, n. 3, September, 387-410

What drove the preferences over institutional choices of EU Constitutional Convention delegates in the area of foreign policy? We examine delegate preferences and find strong evidence that partisan identity rather than government positions drove delegates' preferences for both the role of the Commission and the voting rule in the Council. We also find evidence that delegates' party positions on an are better predictors than delegates' personal preferences of their preferred role for the Commission and the voting rule in the Council. If government and national interests would dominate any policy area, it would be foreign policy. We contend that our finding in this critical case underscores the importance of partisan effects in European integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bachtler John, Mendez Carlos

Who Governs EU Cohesion Policy? Deconstructing the Reforms of the Structural Funds

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 45, Issue 3, September 2007, 535-564

This article re-assesses the multi-level governance debate and specifically the ‘renationalization thesis’, with respect to EU cohesion policy. It focuses on two of the principles of decision-making under the structural funds: concentration (decisions on where the money is spent) and programming (decisions on how it is spent). The analysis takes a longitudinal approach, examining each of the policy phases from 1988 until the recent debate on the 2007–13 period. The article concludes that the role of national governments (relative to the European Commission) in key decisions on the implementation of cohesion policy has been exaggerated in the literature and that important arguments underpinning the ‘renationalization thesis’ are flawed.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Westlake Martin

Why Presidencies Still Matter

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2007/2 , 157-166

WHY PRESIDENCIES STILL MATTER

One of the innovations of the Constitutional Treaty would be the creation of a permanent Presidency of the European Council. A less-remarked upon provision in the Treaty is for the continuation of the traditional rotating presidency for all Council configurations except the future Foreign Affairs Council. In reality, most of the Treaty's provisions in this context have already been quietly implemented through changes to the Council's rules of procedure. This article examines why, even in a Union of 27 or more member states, the traditional presidency, with six-monthly rotations (grouped together into eighteen-month partnerships), still matters. It goes on to consider how, in effect, the traditional presidency's role, particularly with regard to coordination, would become even more important if the permanent Presidency of the European Council were to be established.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Byford Grenville

Why Turkey's "Islamists" are the West's best friends

in *Europe's World*, Issue 7, Autumn

When Western journalists describe Turkey's ruling AK Party as "Islamist", and its Kemalist and military opponents as "secular", these terms are often taken to imply that AKP is less in tune with the West than its opponents. Grenville Byford argues that it is the other way around.

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=c604e457-fce1-45ba-9f3d-96ff0735dd9b>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kelemen R. Daniel, Menon Anand

You thought we've got an EU single market? Think again!

in *Europe's World*, Issue 6, Summer

Forget Europe's constitutional crisis or disputes over enlargement. EU member governments' failure to complete the single market is the greatest threat argue R. Daniel Kelemen (left) and Anand Menon



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cheneval Francis

'Caminante, no hay camino, se hace camino al andar': EU Citizenship, Direct Democracy and Treaty Ratification

in *European law journal*, September 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 5 , 647–663

This article argues that obligatory, simultaneous, and simple Treaty ratification by referenda is the next step in the consolidation of the political core of European citizenship. In the first part, general remarks about the special nature of EU citizenship highlight the relevance of referenda on EU Treaties for EU citizenship. In the second part, the normative and empirical case in favour of direct democracy is put forward. It is followed by the assessment of direct democracy in European integration as we have known it so far. The practice is irreversible and gaining in momentum. But it is in need of substantial reform due to procedural dysfunctions and discriminatory consequences for the citizens. Section V relates this result to a legal analysis of EU citizenship. The suppression of the discriminatory consequences of the Treaty ratification procedure is necessary from a legal point of view, but it cannot be expected from the 'judicial incrementalism' that has characterised the development of EU citizenship regarding free movement and residence. In section VI, the conclusions of the previous sections are drawn into the final proposal of obligatory, simultaneous and simple Treaty reform by referenda in all Member States. At the end, five counter-arguments to the proposal are discussed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaban Natalia, Kauffmann Marco

'East is East, and West is West': A Survey of EU Images in Japan's Public Discourses'

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 12, Issue 3 , 363-384

The world's leading economy, the EU, is emerging as an influential political power on the world stage. In particular, the EU's steady and profitable trade relations with Asia are being balanced increasingly with the growing political involvement of the EU in Asia. In this context, the EU's relations with the most powerful players in the Asian region (Japan specifically) is of a paramount interest to the political practitioners and scholars. This paper aims to provide a systematic account for the perceptions and images of the EU existing in Japan's public discourses of news media, national policy- and decision-makers, the business community and civil society. The reputable Japanese news media are found to portray the EU using neutral-to-positive assessments depicting it as a similarly thinking international partner, an important economic counterpart and a model to be critically considered for replication. Yet, the study argues a split in perceptions of the EU between Japan's political and business elites on the one hand, and the general public and civil society sector on the other, with the EU consistently 'slipping off the radars' of the latter.

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ALDE

“I believe a lot of the constitution will be maintained. Minimal changes are more likely to command support”
in *Europe’s World*, Issue 6, Summer

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=29aa9158-2840-4453-b901-535ac61d737c>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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ALDE

“Only by acting together can Europe tackle its long-term challenges”
in *Europe’s World*, Issue 7, Autumn

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=11efec03-99d1-4729-bbe3-55d349879d28>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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PPE

“Our aim must be to meet Europe’s three main global challenges”
in *Europe’s World*, Issue 7, Autumn

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=ea095e82-7b72-4dd7-8162-b1f6b8ff64e5>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

PSE

“The European Union has much to be proud of”
in *Europe’s World*, Issue 7, Autumn

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=1d83132b-61a5-4b40-95f7-64accab727f2>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

PPE

“The New IGC should retain as much of the draft Constitution as possible, and finish this year”
in *Europe’s World*, Issue 6, Summer

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=62088150-7db8-413a-9a14-7612f6c0bc09>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



PSE

“We need a clear division of competences between member states and the EU, QMV and co-decision“
in *Europe´s World*, Issue 6, Summer

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=f079bac0-9546-49ca-bc54-b99ec26e5cfe>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Berdot Jean-Pierre, Léonard Jacques

Évaluation de l'intégration des marchés d'action dans la zone Euro: choisir le bons moments?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 511, septembre , 498-504

Many analysts consider, with good reason, that the integration of capital markets within the eurozone is, even today, relatively imperfect in spite of the institutional adjustments and techniques that have been in operation for many years. Nevertheless and particularly regarding stock markets, the process of integration leading progressively towards their unification is well underway even if certain inequalities exist between national characteristics of risk return. Exploring the criteria governing investment choices on these markets, this study proposes to verify the relevance of taking into account stages three and four in understanding the trade-off mechanism. The first part aims at establishing the situation regarding integration of stock markets on the basis of the principal characteristics of return and the associated risk bonuses. Beginning with the apparent inadequacy of traditional theory, the second part describes the usual responses to the two main empirical questions asked: abnormal return distribution and revealed non-quadratic preferences of investors. The third part proposes, to resolve the apparent contradiction noted between the maintenance of significant characteristic differentials and the price of risk on the one hand and stronger and stronger correlations between national markets and European indices on the other.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Richez-Baum Béatrice

30 avril 2007: le retour du dialogue transatlantique sur la scène internationale

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 509, juin , 345-348

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Garcia F.

Acuerdo de asociacion, un salto de calidad en las relaciones economicas y politicas con Europa

in *Panorama centroamericano : reporte politico* , n. 213 , 3 - 15

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Balbis J.

**Algo más que un TLC? El Acuerdo de Asociación Centroamérica - Unión Europea
in Nueva Sociedad, n. 209 , 4 - 12**

The negotiations between the European Union and Central America for the signing of an Association Agreement prompts fears and expectations on both sides. The project is presented as something more than a traditional Free Trade Treaty: it includes provisions for political dialogue and cooperation beyond merely economic relations, it will be negotiated by the two blocks (and not country by country) and it may well include an important participation of civil society. But there are still many doubts. In order to overcome them, the Central American countries need to advance towards a more effective integration, the only way the Association Agreement can contribute to a more just and competitive insertion within the international scene.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Slocum-Bradley Nikki

**Constructing and De-constructing the ACP Group: Actors, Strategies and Consequences for Development
in Geopolitics, Vol. 12, n. 4, October , 635-655**

This article examines how the African-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) Group is constructed and deconstructed in discourse. Positioning Theory is introduced as a theoretical and analytical framework for understanding how social reality is discursively constructed. The article analyses how the ACP Group and other actors are generated and given meaning within various discursive contexts. This discourse is compared with other practices, and the positionings engendered through each are compared. The concept of discursive space is introduced as a mechanism to explain how positionings influence people's actions, and actual and potential consequences for development of the analysed discourses are discussed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

García Francisco

**II Foro de la Sociedad Civil Unión Europea y Centroamérica (Perspectivas hacia un Acuerdo de Asociación)
in Panorama centroamericano : reporte politico , n. 213 , 16-20**

Full text available at: <http://www.incep.org/boletin/b213.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Di Paola Giampaolo

Il Mediterraneo, l'Iniziativa 5+5 e la Presidenza italiana



in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXIX, n. 155 , 582-587

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Arceneaux, Craig L., Pion-Berlin David,

Issues, Threats, and Institutions: Explaining OAS Responses to Democratic Dilemmas in Latin America
in *Latin American Politics & Society*, Vol. 49, Nr. 2

Over time, the Organization of American States has become institutionally and normatively more capable of defending democracy in the region. Yet the OAS is as selective in its interventions on behalf of democratic promotion today as it was in the early 1990s. To explain this puzzle, this study disaggregates democratic dilemmas according to issue areas, threats, and contingencies. It finds that the OAS responds more forcefully when the problem presents a clear and present danger both to the offending state and to other members. As threats become weaker or more ambiguous, the OAS tends to act more timidly, unless domestic constituencies cry out for its assistance or the United States puts its full weight behind the effort. Case study capsules provide empirical evidence to illustrate these arguments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Yakemtchouk Romain

L'Union européenne et le Japon

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 510, juillet-août , 430-438

In spite of the setting up in 1974, of an official European Community Representation in Japan, for many years, that Representation favoured bilateral relations with European countries, and it was only gradually that the EEC managed to achieve normal relations with the top second economic power in the world. It was essential, considering the constant increase in Europe's trade deficits. On several occasions, the community's authorities requested a rebalancing of exchanges, the opening of the Japanese market to European companies, as well as the settling of the investment problem: whereas Europe remain in 2006, the number one destination for Japanese investments, European investments in that country still face many obstacles. Though lately there was a degree of standardisation in the European-Japanese relationships, a common strategy of the EU member countries towards the Land of the Rising Sun is highly advisable: actually, it is essential.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Carrau Álvaro Padrón

Los acuerdos de asociación entre América Latina y la Unión Europea: el papel del movimiento sindical
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 211 , 81-97



Full text available at: http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3458_1.pdf

Central America, the Andean Community of Nations and Mercosur are currently negotiating association agreements with the European Union. Although each of them has its particular characteristics, they are all based on broadly-concieved understandings which, beyond economic aspects, include cultural and political themes, together with general problems of cooperation. The Latin American trade union movement has opted for participating in these processes with a view to influencing the outcome. But for its proposals to be taken into account, it must abandon a vision strictly limited to labor questions, present concrete proposals and build broadly-based alliances with trade union organizations in this continent and on the other side of the Atlantic.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Shamsie Yasmine

Moving Beyond Mediation: The OAS Transforming Conflict in Guatemala in Global Governance, n. 3, vol. 13, july-september

ABSTRACT: In 1995–1996 the hemisphere’s multilateral forum, the Organization of American States, launched a conflict prevention and management program in Guatemala entitled “Culture of Dialogue: Development of Resources for Peacebuilding in Guatemala.” The overarching goal was to help Guatemalans address ongoing tensions and political disputes, particularly related to the implementation of the historic peace accords. This article provides a detailed account of this OAS attempt to prevent and diffuse conflict, suggesting that it represents a novel effort that draws heavily on the conflict transformation approach to conflict management. Still, it argues that, at the conceptual level, there appears to be a disconnect between this approach to conflict prevention and the Organization’s broader approach to peacebuilding, which embraces a free-market path to development, including the implementation of market-oriented economic reforms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Stumbaum May-Britt

Opportunities and Limits of EU-China Security Cooperation in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLII, n. 3, July-September

In its European Security Strategy, the European Union defined the People's Republic of China (PRC) as a strategic partner and envisaged comprehensive cooperation with it, including in the security sector. China and the EU often use the same terms, but the connotation of these terms differs due to fundamentally different security concerns. This article critically assesses the possibilities, prospects and difficulties from a European point of view of pursuing Sino-European cooperation in security matters. It concludes that given basic differences in perception, cooperation is likely to be successful in such fields as environmental disasters and pandemics, but will remain limited in such areas as non-proliferation, the fight against terrorism and energy security.



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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Auplat Claire

Redefining the comparative advantage of the Commonwealth as a conditional organization

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 96, Issue 388 February , 51-56

If you are a voluntary conditional organization which can only spend about two pence per year on each citizen of your member countries, if you face growing competition for attention from other institutions, innovation in the management of all your assets, and particularly of your human capital, is absolutely vital for your survival. This article suggests building on the well established capacities of the Commonwealth to create a new form of networking. This includes a complete revision of the role of the Commonwealth Foundation so that the Commonwealth can harness the forces of civil society, and not only of Commonwealth NGOs, to the pursuit of the organization's goals.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bourne Richard

The Commonwealth: Problem solving in our globalized Era

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 96, Issue 388 February , 29-36

The Commonwealth is often ignored or neglected by current students of international relations, yet the suggestion is that it can play a big role in an increasingly uncertain and confused world. Its achievements are far greater than it is given credit for, especially in the areas of business, ethical norms, the environment, conflict resolution, education and other features of a globalized yet disintegrating world. Where the Commonwealth needs to improve is in the areas of continuity of diplomatic personnel and follow-up. It now has a chance after the Kampala 2007 CHOGM to restructure and refocus itself as a forum which has a greater South and Southeast Asian emphasis, in line with developments in global politics and economics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Borrmann Axel, Busse Matthias

The Institutional Challenge of the ACP/EU Economic Partnership Agreements

in Development Policy Review , Volume 25 Issue 4 , 403-416

The Economic Partnership Agreements between the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries and the European Union should serve as an opportunity to accelerate ACP global and regional trade integration and as an important tool for development and the eradication of poverty. There are, however, a number of preconditions. This article argues that institutional quality plays a key role in successful trade liberalisation. In fact, only countries with high-quality institutions, partly in the form of good government regulation, are likely to benefit from trade. Unfortunately, the vast majority of African countries have excessive regulation that hinders them from taking advantage of trade. The necessary reforms to resolve this problem pose significant challenges, implying major risks for these countries in the EPA process.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Lippert Barbara, Kempe Iris, Kratochvíl Petr, Attinà Fulvio, Karakas Cemal

The Neighbourhood Policy of the European Union

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 42, Number 4 / July, 2007

The European Neighbourhood Policy aims at creating a ring of stable, friendly and democratic countries surrounding the European Union. While this aim is generally accepted across the Union, major differences persist as to how it should be achieved. Where does the ENP stand today? What is its profile, potential and perspective?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kaul Mohan

The future of the Commonwealth: Good governance, economic empowerment, and respect for diversity

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 96, Issue 392 - October , 551 - 553

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ingram Derek

Twenty Commonwealth steps from Singapore to Kampala

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 96, Issue 392 - October , 555-563

The 2007 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Uganda faces several critical issues - among them, the situations in Pakistan and Bangladesh. The venue is politically controversial and the leaders will also find they can no longer ignore the situation in Zimbabwe. In Kampala they will elect the fifth Commonwealth Secretary-General and decide on whether the association's membership should be widened. The author, a long-time member of The Round Table Moot, has covered 19 CHOGMs as a journalist. He looks at the prospects for Kampala and gives some personal views on the future development of the Commonwealth.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ingram Derek

Twenty Commonwealth steps from Singapore to Kampala

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 96, Issue 392 - October , 555-563

The 2007 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Uganda faces several critical issues - among them, the situations in Pakistan and Bangladesh. The venue is politically controversial and the leaders will also find they can no longer ignore the situation in Zimbabwe. In Kampala they will elect the fifth Commonwealth Secretary-General and decide on whether the association's membership should be widened. The author, a long-time member of The Round Table Moot, has covered 19 CHOGMs as a journalist. He looks at the prospects for Kampala and gives some personal views on the future development of the Commonwealth.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Trein Franklin, Guerra Cavalcanti Flávia

Uma análise crítica do acordo de associação estratégica entre a União Européia e a América Latina e o Caribe - a Cúpula de Viena

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , Vol. 50 - No. 1/2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gomart Thomas

Union européenne/Russie: de la stagnation à la dépression

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 510, juillet-août , 423-429

In the wake of the Samara Summit (May 2007), it is necessary to evaluate the state of Russian-European relations. In effect these are not limited to the renewal of the Partnership and Co-operation Agreement (PCA) which will expire in November 2007. EU-Russian relations are currently in a stage of profound depression which can be principally explained by the tougher stance of Russia and by the division of member states regarding the type of partnership that should be constructed with Moscow. This article places the interchanges in an enlarged framework, which includes notably the transatlantic background and Russia's protection of power, while identifying nine points of tension between the two parties.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Doctor Mahrukh

Why Bother With Inter-Regionalism? Negotiations for a European Union-Mercosur Agreement

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 45, Issue 2, June 2007 , 281-314

The article examines why a decade of inter-regional negotiations failed to result in an EU-MERCOSUR agreement, notwithstanding motivating factors at the international, national and societal level. It focuses on inter-regional trade and investment flows to underline the practical value of any agreement, but also considers strategic and ideational issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Daguzan Jean-François

Why Sarkozy's Mediterranean plan looks worth a try

in *Europe's World*, Issue 7, Autumn



The once-promising relationship between the European Union and the Mediterranean neighbours is floundering badly. Jean-François Daguzan traces the reasons for its decline over the last 10 years and suggests the policy mix needed to get it moving again

<http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=53d04a2b-304a-4ad6-a5cb-16bc65504916>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Carnevali Giorgio

Alla ricerca del federalismo (frinteso)

in *Teoria Politica*, Vol. 23, Fascicolo 2

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Baumeister Andrea

Diversity and Unity: the Problem with "Constitutional Patriotism"

in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 6, n. 4, October , 483-503

Although Habermas's sophisticated conception of constitutional patriotism successfully avoids the charge of trying to ground patriotism in a set of principles that is too thin and abstract to sustain a real sense of solidarity and belonging, his optimism regarding the prospect in modern pluralist societies of building a genuinely shared political culture is misplaced. The march of modernization as rationalization is neither as relentless nor as inevitable as Habermas assumes. Hence the rational consensus on liberal constitutional principles that is to provide the basis for a shared political culture remains elusive. However, while Habermas's solution to the 'solidarity gap' that confronts many contemporary liberal democracies remains problematic, he is right to point to the importance of a shared identity that is strong enough to turn strangers into fellow citizens. The challenges that cultural diversity and value pluralism pose for contemporary states cannot be resolved via a procedural approach that focuses solely on political legitimacy. Yet the difficulties that surround Habermas's conception of 'constitutional patriotism' suggest modern states will struggle to build a collective political identity that can generate a genuine sense of solidarity. If this is so, modern pluralist states face a more profound challenge than writers such as Habermas assume.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Levy Jacob

Federalism, Liberalism, and the Separation of Loyalties

in *American Political Science Review*, issue 3, vol. 101, august , 459-477

ABSTRACT: Federalism, when it has not been ignored altogether in normative political theory, has typically been



analyzed in terms that fail to match the institution as it exists in the world. Federations are made up of provinces that are too few, too large, too rigid, too constitutionally entrenched, and too tied to ethnocultural identity to match theories based on competitive federalism, Tiebout sorting, democratic self-government, or subsidiarity. A relatively neglected tradition in liberal thought, based on a separation of loyalties and identifiable in Montesquieu, Publius, Constant, Tocqueville, and Acton, however, holds more promise. If the purpose of federalism is to compensate for worrisome tendencies toward centralization, then it is desirable that the provinces large enough to have political power be stable and entrenched and be able to engender loyalty from their citizens, such as the loyalty felt to ethnoculturally specific provinces. Separation of loyalty theories and the bulwark theories of which they are a subset match up with federalism as it exists in the world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Bernardi Luigi, Pugliesi Riccardo

Federalismo democratico e comitati interlivelli

in *Politica economica*, 1, aprile 2007 , 5-28

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Cepa Leonardo

Habermas: diritto costituzionale versus diritto egemonico

in *Teoria Politica*, Vol. 23, Fascicolo 2

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ramsamy Edward

Between Non-racialism and Multiculturalism: Indian Identity and Nation Building in South Africa

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 98, Issue 4, September , 468-481

The paper examines the rhetoric of nation-building in South Africa with particular reference to the incorporation of South Africans of Indian descent into the post-1994 political order. During its years as a protest movement, the ANC came to embrace 'non-racialism', a doctrine emphasising a common South African identity, in order to provide a counter-rhetoric to the racially exclusive doctrine of apartheid. However, the organisation had difficulty in garnering support from the Indian and Coloured communities during the transition to democratic rule. It increasingly adopted a multiculturalist conception of the South African nation and promoted the idea of the 'rainbow nation' in order to foster a sense of unity among South Africa's diverse population groups. This multicultural conception of the South African nation has met with some success. The majority of Indians voted for the ANC in the 2004 elections, shifting their political loyalties from the National and Democratic Parties in previous elections. This trend demonstrates an increasing identification among Indians with the African majority government. However, in spite of the ANC's success in courting the Indian vote in the



2004 elections, Indian-African tensions have been fuelled by recent anti-Indian rhetoric. The paper argues that a multiculturalism that does not address the material conditions that fuel class antagonisms will prove to be shallow in the present neo-liberal policy climate.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

De Giovanni Biagio

Classe e nazione nella democrazia europea

in **Pensiero Politico (II)**, anno XXXIX, n. 2, maggio-agosto 2006 , 290-299

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Arero Hassan Wario

Coming to Kenya: Imagining and Perceiving a Nation among the Borana of Kenya

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 1, Issue 2, July , 292-304

Studies of nations and nationalisms are as complex as they are diverse. Post-colonial African nation-states epitomise many of the problems inherent in the definition of 'nation', 'national identity', and 'nationalism'. All these notions have been deeply contested. There are cultural, political and above all historical explanations for failure to bond a national identity. This article considers these explanations through an examination of the ethnic perception of the Kenyan nation held by a minority ethnic group known as the Borana. Using the example of a group of town-dwelling Borana ('Urban Borana'), it is argued that in the highly ethnicised social and political context of the Kenyan nation minority communities such as the Borana will always find themselves on the periphery. And on the periphery, Urban Borana migrants are marginalised even further. The article outlines the events that have shaped the experiences of the Urban Borana in relation to the 'core' Borana ethnic groups found in northern Kenya, with reference (in part) to written historical records, but drawing heavily upon oral sources and on ethno-history, that is, 'the history of a localised group of people, at that time without historians and academics'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ipperciel Donald

Constitutional democracy and civic nationalism

in **Nations and Nationalism**, Vol. 13, Issue 3, July 2007 , 395-416

This article seeks to bring to the fore the intrinsic link between constitutional democracy and the civic nation, relying on Jürgen Habermas's theory of democracy. This theoretical framework will serve as the basis for a communicative understanding of civic nationalism, underscoring the notable role played by language. Attention will be given to the normative dimension that allows for the legitimisation of national divisions of a civic space bound by universal rights. The prime motivation behind this article is thus political-philosophical, although empirical examples, drawn particularly from the French revolutionary discourse, will be brought to bear. And since a civic nation construed in communicative terms



has necessary linguistic implications, cases of multilingual and multinational states will be examined.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Stanley Liz, Dampier Helen

Cultural Entrepreneurs, Proto-Nationalism and Women's Testimony Writings: From the South African War to 1940 *

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 33, Issue 3, September , 501-519

Women cultural entrepreneurs were busy in promoting the development of proto-nationalism in South Africa in the aftermath of the 1899-1902 South African War. The work of some key cultural entrepreneurs who solicited and published women's testimonies about the wartime concentration camps instituted by the British military provides the focus of discussion. Boer testimonies were presented as factual 'I-witness' statements; they also followed a proto-nationalist line and were published and distributed in women's nationalist networks, playing an important part in everyday forms of state formation from 1902 to 1940. During this period, the making of Afrikaner ethnic identity was symbiotic with the making of proto-nationalism and then nationalism with cultural politics mapping closely on to state formation. Within this, women's role as cultural entrepreneurs and political brokers was crucial, with the centrality of the concentration camp deaths within a mythologised 'history of Afrikanerdom' resulting from their activities rather than being provided by masculine nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bélanger Louis , Duchesne Érick, Paquin Jonathan

Democratic Norms Remain Stronger than Ethnic Ties: Defending “Foreign Interventions and Secessionist Movements”

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 40, Issue 03, September , 749-757

This article is a response to Stephen Saideman's criticism of our research findings on third state intervention in secessionist crises, which was published in this journal in 2005. Here we defend our methodology and the validity of our results. We also explain why, in our view, Saideman's criticisms and the alternative research design that he offers are seriously questionable. More specifically, our reply focuses on his problematic case selection and on his measurement of ethnic ties, which is methodologically inconsistent and biased.

Résumé. Cet article constitue une réponse à la critique de Stephen Saideman concernant nos résultats de recherche, paru dans cette revue en 2005, sur les interventions des États tiers dans les crises sécessionnistes. Nous défendons ici notre méthode et la validité de nos résultats. Nous expliquons aussi pourquoi, selon nous, il est possible de remettre en question les critiques et le devis de recherche de Saideman. Plus précisément, notre réponse se concentre sur sa sélection de cas douteuse et sa mesure des liens ethniques, puisque nous jugeons celle-ci méthodologiquement incorrecte et biaisée.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Hughes Emma

**Dissolving the nation: Self-deception and symbolic inversion in the GM debate
in Environmental Politics**, Volume 16, Number 2, April , 318-336

This contribution examines print media coverage of the cultivation and consumption of genetically modified (GM) crops in the UK press. It draws on arguments from Beck and Bauman to consider how the GM debate undertakes the discursive regeneration of security, purity, order and certainty through the invocation of the modernist categories of nation and boundary. A combination of in-depth textual analysis of national newspaper coverage and interviews with key media sources was used to explore how discourses of nation are promoted by different actors, and how the UK press then mediate these different viewpoints according to their own news values and reportage categories. In particular the contribution explores how the symbolic power invested in the concept of nation is an example of individual and societal self-deception; for in the globalised world we now inhabit, new technologies like genetic modification cannot be controlled by old frontiers like nation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Barclay Linda

**Equality respecting nationalism and the relevance of culture
in Nations and Nationalism**, Vol. 13, Issue 3, July 2007 , 505-521

Will Kymlicka and David Miller both have defended the value of national self-determination and have argued that a properly organised self-determining nation respects rather than undermines the equal treatment of all of its members, including ethnic, religious and cultural minorities. I argue that their respective attempts to defend national self-determination and the equal treatment of all members of the nation are saddled with a serious tension. It is actually quite difficult to coherently argue both that (a) national self-determination fulfils ethically valuable ends, and that (b) a self-determining nation can treat all members equally. The equality-respecting requirement is in tension with the claim that nations secure ethically valuable goods for their members.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Schmidt Georg

**Friedrich Meinecke's Kulturnation. Zum historischen Kontext
in Historische Zeitschrift**, Band 284 Heft 3 (Juni 2007) , 597-622

Mit dem Begriff „Kulturnation“ kennzeichnet Friedrich Meinecke die angeblich weniger auf Geschichte und Verfassung als auf gemeinsam erlebtem Kulturbesitz gründende Genese des deutschen Nationalstaates. Diese ideengeschichtliche Fundierung eines deutschen Sonderwegs in Abgrenzung zu den westeuropäischen



Staatsnationen wird hier unter Verweis auf eine seit dem 16. Jahrhundert präsente, einerseits auf den komplementären Reichs-Staat, andererseits auf die Sprachgemeinschaft bezogene Nationsvorstellung zurückgewiesen. Sie spielt auch bei den von Meinecke prominent berücksichtigten Weimarer und Jenaer Denkern um 1800 eine zentrale Rolle, denn deren kreativer Umgang mit der Reichs- und Nationstradition führt sie wiederum zu föderativen Projektionen für Staat, Nation und Weltbürgertum. Das ihnen von Meinecke unterlegte Deutungsmuster in nationalstaatlicher Absicht erweist sich somit als Facette der um 1800 häufig geäußerten Einsicht, daß die föderative und damit eine an den politischen Gegebenheiten orientierte Ordnung der Dinge den deutschen Verhältnissen angemessen ist.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Aaslestad Katherine, Hagemann Karen, Miller Judith A.

Gender, War and the Nation in the Period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars — European Perspectives
in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 37, No. 4, October , 501-506

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Conversi Daniele

Homogenisation, nationalism and war: should we still read Ernest Gellner?
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 13, Issue 3, July 2007 , 371-394

Is homogenising nationalism a consequence of industrialisation? This view has been most forcefully and systematically advanced by Ernest Gellner. The article contests this approach by focusing instead on militarism and militarisation. It therefore identifies the key role of the mass army as presaging the era of mass nationalism and cultural homogenisation. Drawing on a range of authors from history, sociology and political science, the relationship is found to be reciprocal and symbiotic. A preliminary exploration on the possibility of early modern (or pre-modern) forms of cultural homogenisation is preceded by a critical assessment of Gellner's interchangeable use of the terms culture, language and ethnicity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kelly Bob, Bening R. Bagulo

Ideology, Regionalism, Self-Interest and Tradition: An Investigation into Contemporary Politics in Northern Ghana
in *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute*, Volume 77, Number 2 , 180-206

This article focuses on three concerns: (1) the historical and contemporary distinctiveness of the 'north' from the rest of Ghana; (2) the extent to which the 'north' is itself a distinct and united political entity; and (3) the relevance to the area of competing analyses of Ghanaian politics which emphasize:

- the continuing importance of a distinct 'northern' political consciousness;



- the role of competing Ghanaian political traditions based on ideology and related socio-economic divisions;
- the growth of conscious 'self-interest' on the part of individual voters;
- and the continued significance of local loyalties and rivalries, many of which pre-date the arrival of the British to the area in the final decades of the nineteenth century.

The article argues that while no monocausal analysis of northern politics is adequate, longstanding internal divisions and rivalries, and distinct local issues, have been highly significant in determining the characteristics of its politics. It further suggests that whilst individual self-interest and ideological and related socio-economic differences have some role in determining the political sympathies and allegiances of members of the political elite, their independent role in determining voting patterns at the local level is limited. Longstanding local divisions and patterns of loyalty may vary in their intensity and impact from time to time, but nevertheless continue to have the potential to shape general political and specific electoral behaviour. Such an analysis is not peculiar to the north, with areas in the south and east also having significant traditional rivalries. It is, however, of particular significance in the north because of its history and the prevalence of common assumptions about the north's having a distinct political identity.

Much of this article focuses on evidence gleaned from the 2004 elections, but it must be remembered that there are potentially serious limitations on the value of this source. In the first place it may be that electoral malpractice and various forms of vote rigging provide a distorted picture of what actually took place. While there were certainly attempts to buy votes in constituencies throughout the north, shooting incidents in Bawku and Tamale, and assaults and attempted assaults on election officials in at least three constituencies, the general impression was of a free, fair and credible election. Of more real significance, however, are the implicit features of an election – votes are aggregated so that we do not know the motivation behind individual voters' selections, and indeed each individual may have conflicting pressures and interests which have to be balanced into a single vote. It is certainly the contention here that underlying issues and actual electoral issues are not congruent; it is argued that only in a limited number of areas in the north did the underlying issues dominate the electoral outcome. It is, however, the potential for longstanding local divisions and loyalties to do so that is still significant today – and likely to remain so in the foreseeable future.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Armillotta Giovanni

Il problema dell'indipendenza del Còssovo

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXIX, n. 155 , 601-619

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Patriarca Silvana

Il sesso delle nazioni: genere e passioni nella storiografia sul nazionalismo

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900* , n. 3, luglio , 353-360

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Gómez López-Egea R.

Los nuevos mitos del nacionalismo expansivo.

in *Nueva Revista de Política Cultura y arte (Spagna)*, n. 112

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Champion C. P.

Mike Pearson at Oxford: War, Varsity, and Canadianism

in *Canadian Historical Review (The)*, Volume 88, Number 2, June , 263-290

The connection between Oxford University and Canadian nationalism is often cited but has been little explored. Oxford appears to have been something of an epiphany, a rite of passage from which the Canadians returned confident of their equality and distinctiveness, determined to be colonial no longer. It was, after all, a circle of Oxford alumni who presided over so great a symbol of independent nationhood as Lester Pearson's Maple Leaf flag of 1965, based on a design submitted by George Stanley. Still, if Pearson and his contemporaries gained a new consciousness of themselves as Canadians, it tends to be overlooked that Oxford reinforced their Britishness as well as their Canadianism. The flag was fundamentally an expression of British-Canadianism that can be traced, in part, to Oxford where Pearson and Stanley earned their 'blue' playing hockey. It was a fulfilment, rather than a rejection, of British liberal imperialism. The 'Res Canadiana' (as distinct from the Res Britannica) was the product of a British world, and post-1965 Canadianism cannot be understood without reclaiming and deciphering the Britishness underneath.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Baraki Matin

Nation-building in Afghanistan

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 39, 2007

http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/PJ760Y,0,Nationbuilding_in_Afghanistan.html

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Özkirimli Umut, Grosby Steven

Nationalism Theory Debate: The Antiquity of Nations?

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 13, Issue 3, July 2007 , 523–537

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Schutter Helder de

Nations Beyond Nationalism

in *Inquiry*, Volume 50, Issue 4, August 2007 , 378-394

Is the project of liberal democracy dissociable from nationality? In this paper I outline and defend the main components of a recent and emerging answer to this question, which I term the "national pluralism" approach. I distinguish national pluralism from both national neutrality and liberal nationalism. In contrast to national neutrality, national pluralism holds that there is an important link between liberal democracy and nationality. In contrast to liberal nationalism, it pleads for pluralistic ways of accommodating multiple national identities within the same political community. Moreover, national pluralism accords no special standing to existing nations. If new national identities emerge, such as an overarching national identity in multinational states or a European national identity, then these should be accordingly recognized. In addition, it can be argued from within this approach that there are also non-identity reasons for pursuing nation-building practices at supranational levels.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Winter Elke

Neither 'America' nor 'Québec': constructing the Canadian multicultural nation

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 13, Issue 3, July 2007 , 481–503

Although researchers have deconstructed the myth of stark social differences between the various North American sub-societies, an assimilating American melting pot and an ethnically oppressive monocultural Québec are still popular representations within Canadian majority discourses, such as the English-language mainstream media and parts of academia. In this paper, I argue that images of 'America' and 'Québec' play important roles for the multicultural reconstruction of Canadian nationhood. Examining selected op-ed articles from two Toronto-based mainstream newspapers during the 1990s, I develop and exemplify a theoretical understanding of how national identities are constituted and transformed within inter- and intra-national relations of power and alterity. I pay special attention to the particularisation of Canada through the confrontation with American nationhood, the ambiguities of recognising the distinctiveness of Québec inside Canada, and the consequences of projecting Québec's supposedly 'ethnic' nationalism outside the boundaries of Canadianness.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Chilosi David

Old wine in new bottles: civic nation-building and ethnic nationalism in schooling in Piedmont, ca. 1700–1861

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 13, Issue 3, July 2007 , 417–436

Gellner (1983: 35) equates nationalism with 'the organisation of human groups into large, centrally educated, culturally homogeneous units'. As the theorist of nationalism argues, and as recent and not so recent historical research shows, the modernisation of schooling is a defining moment in this process. The objective of this article is twofold: first, to show



that during the Risorgimento schooling in Piedmont became nationalist; and second, to explain why that was the case. In doing so, it is argued that: (a) the modernisation of schooling reflected the rise of laissez faire liberalism, industrialisation and the enfranchisement of the middle class; and (b) the leadership of the Risorgimento revived pre-modern ethnic symbols of patriotism to legitimate inequality and state formation under conditions of individualism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Campos Nauro F., Kuzeyev Vitaliy S.

On the Dynamics of Ethnic Fractionalization

in **American Journal of Political Science**, Vol. 51, Issue 3 , 620-639

Does fractionalization change over (short periods of) time? If so, are there any substantial implications for economic performance? To answer such questions, we construct a new panel data set with measures of ethnic, linguistic, and religious fractionalization for 26 former communist countries covering the period from 1989 to 2002. Our fractionalization measures show that transition economies became more ethnically homogeneous over such a short period of time, although the same did not happen for linguistic and religious diversity. In line with the most recent literature, there seems to be no effect of (exogenous) diversity on macroeconomic performance (that is, on per capita GDP growth). However, we find that dynamic (endogenous) ethnic diversity is negatively related to growth (although this is still not the case for linguistic and religious diversity). These findings are robust to different specifications, polarization measures, and instrument sets as well as to a composite index of ethnic-linguistic-religious fractionalization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Georgiades Savvas Daniel

Public Attitudes Towards Peace: The Greek-Cypriot Position

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 44, Number 5, September , 573-586

In 1974, Turkey divided Cyprus by military force into the north and south, giving the Turkish Cypriots full control of the north. Since then, the United Nations (UN) has attempted to resolve the Cyprus problem, but diplomatic efforts have always fallen short. In 2004, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan proposed a plan that would reunify Cyprus. In a public referendum that followed, about two-thirds of Turkish Cypriots voted for the plan; however, three-quarters of Greek Cypriots rejected the plan. To help illuminate Greek-Cypriot public opinion, a telephone survey is conducted with 150 randomly selected Greek-Cypriot citizens (with a response rate of 87%). Results demonstrate that about four-fifths of respondents do not mistrust Turkish Cypriots and believe they can peacefully coexist with them. Still, 43% of respondents report that Greek Cypriots as a group are not very well prepared to reunify with Turkish Cypriots. Perception of ethnocentrism for both sides is found to be at comparable, mediocre levels. Narrative analyses suggest that the Annan Plan be revised to assure, among other things, (1) complete and timely demilitarization of the island, (2) removal of all Turkish settlers, (3) containment of extremist elements from both sides, and (4) fiscal backing from the international community to the Turkish-Cypriot side. The social and political implications of the findings, study limitations,



and some future research needs are highlighted.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Seglow Jonathan

Quatre théories d'acquisition de la nationalité

in *Raisons politiques*, N°26, mai

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

O'Donnell M.

Review Debate: We need human rights not nationalism 'lite'. Globalization and British solidarity.

in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 7 n. 2 , 248 - 269

The article explores the relationship of multiculturalism to social solidarity. The multicultural nature of Britain is accepted as a welcome reality but certain problems in relation to the development of multiculturalism in Britain are acknowledged. Various approaches to buttress or replace multiculturalism are reviewed. These are: a strengthened and/or reconstituted nationalism ('Britishness'); human rights; and social equality. The issue of citizenship recurs throughout. It is argued that a combined emphasis on human rights and greater social equality offer a better basis than nationalism for strengthening solidarity in Britain, especially in the longer term. Sociological theory offers a fruitful if strangely neglected starting point for understanding social solidarity. I draw critically on Durkheim and Marx to obtain some objective perspective on this controversial matter.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Seymour Michel

Secession as a Remedial Right

in *Inquiry*, Volume 50, Issue 4, August 2007 , 395-423

Allen Buchanan holds that nations do not have a general primary unilateral right to secede. However, nations could legitimately secede if there were a special right to do so, if it were the result of negotiations and, more importantly, if some previous injustice had to be repaired. According to Buchanan, the three kinds of injustice that allow for unilateral secession are: violation of human rights, unjust annexation of territories, and systematic violations of previous agreements on self-government. I agree that nations only have a general remedial right to unilateral secession. But I argue that nations also have a general primary right to self-determination not held by other cultural groups. In virtue of this general primary right, nations also have a primary right to internal self-determination. I will then argue that the "past injustices" should include a failure to comply with internal self-determination. I also want to show that this alternative version of the Remedial Right Only theory meets the constraints, imposed by Buchanan himself, upon any satisfactory institutionalization of the principles governing secession. In the end, it will appear that my own version fares much better than Buchanan's in meeting these constraints.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Mansbach Richard, Rhodes Edward

The National State and Identity Politics: State Institutionalisation and "Markers" of National Identity in Geopolitics, Vol. 12, n. 3, July , 426-458

Nationality has been a key identity in international relations for much of the modern period, and the marriage of "nation" and "state" produced a powerful polity - the national state - that dominated global politics. This article investigates the forces that "pushed" and "pulled" nations and states together and explores the factors associated with violent identity politics. It argues that while recent decades have witnessed increasing instances of divorce between "nation" and "state" and a simultaneous proliferation of identity conflicts, the likelihood that identity conflicts will be expressed violently depends both on the character of the state (the timing of state institutionalisation relative to the construction of national consciousness, the democratic or non-democratic nature of the state, and the national or non-national basis for the legitimation of state authority) and on the principal "marker" used to construct national identity (blood, language, culture, religion, or citizenship).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Barnes Cedric

The Somali Youth League, Ethiopian Somalis and the Greater Somalia Idea, c.1946-48 in Journal of Eastern African Studies , Volume 1, Issue 2, July , 277-291

From 1946 to 1948 the Somali Youth Club (SYC) grew from a small Mogadishu based urban self-help group into a burgeoning nationalist organisation calling for the unification of all the Somali-speaking lands into Greater Somalia, changing its name to the 'Somali Youth League' (SYL) in the process. The reason for this rapid expansion and radicalisation was a conjuncture of several factors, but it is most immediately attributable to the international deliberations over the future of the Italian East African Empire. In 1946 the international community began to address the future of the Italian Empire, and the British raised the possibility of creating a Greater Somalia administration (under British trusteeship) as a basis for future independence. The SYC, which had until then concentrated on a more limited and arguably more achievable political programme for the furtherance of Somali interests in ex-Italian Somalia, became mesmerised by the idea of Greater Somalia. Greater Somalia became a popular rallying call for the expanding nationalist project. However, as this article argues, although the Greater Somalia project galvanised the SYC into a mass nationalist organisation (the SYL), the expansion of its activities into the greater Somalia hinterland, such as the Ethiopian Ogaden region, brought different priorities and perspectives to project. The differing histories of clans and regions dissipated the cohesion, discipline and aims of the SYL at a crucial historical juncture. Ultimately the SYL was unable to create a Greater Somalia, nor prevent the repartition of the Somali-lands and the return of former colonial and imperial powers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Saideman Stephen M.



Ties Versus Institutions: Revisiting Foreign Interventions and Secessionist Movements

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 40, Issue 03, September , 733-747

This article is a response to one published by Louis Bélanger, Érick Duchesne and Jonathan Paquin challenging existing accounts for the patterns of external support for secessionist movements. They assert that regime type—democracy—provides a better explanation than either vulnerability or ethnic ties. I take issue with their operationalization of my arguments along with other aspects of their work. Here, I replicate their study first using their data and importing my variable measuring not just ethnic affinity with the secessionists but the possibilities of a country having ties with either or both sides of an ethnic conflict. Then, using my data, I again replicate their analyses. I find that ethnic ties, properly measured, not only better accounts for the international relations of secession but of ethnic conflict in general.

Résumé. Ce texte est une réplique à l'article de Louis Bélanger, Érick Duchesne et Jonathan Paquin, qui conteste les explications usuelles des variations dans l'appui international aux mouvements sécessionnistes. Selon eux, plus que la vulnérabilité ou les liens ethniques, c'est le type de régime – soit la démocratie – qui explique mieux le phénomène. Je remets en question leur façon d'opérationnaliser mes arguments, ainsi que plusieurs autres aspects de leur recherche. Afin de tester leurs résultats, je reproduis d'abord leur étude en utilisant leurs données et en y ajoutant ma variable qui mesure non seulement les affinités ethniques avec les sécessionnistes, mais également l'éventualité qu'un pays entretienne des relations avec l'un ou l'autre des protagonistes d'un conflit ethnique. Puis, je reprends leur analyse en utilisant mes propres données. Il en ressort que, lorsqu'elle est mesurée correctement, la variable des liens ethniques fournit une meilleure compréhension non seulement des relations internationales du phénomène de sécession, mais également des conflits ethniques en général.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Christie James

"I am a Federalist..."

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XX, n. 1, February , 44-46

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Borowiak Craig

Accountability Debates: The Federalists, the Anti-Federalists, and Democratic Deficits

in *Journal of Politics (The)*, issue 4, vol. 69, november

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Paolini Edmondo

Altiero Spinelli e il metodo costituente per l'unità dell'Europa

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno I, n. 3 , 491-504

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Devetak Richard

Between Kant and Pufendorf: humanitarian intervention, statist anti-cosmopolitanism and critical international theory

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 33, S1, April , 151-174

Immanuel Kant and Samuel Pufendorf were both exercised by the relationship between politics, morality and lawful authority; a relationship that goes to the heart of the sovereign state's existence and legitimacy. However, while Kant defended the authority of the moral law, believing morality provides higher authoritative norms than the sovereign state, Pufendorf defends the political morality of authority, believing the sovereign state should submit to no higher moral norms. The rivalry between these two positions is reprised in current debate between cosmopolitanism and statism over humanitarian intervention. Arguing against statism, this article defends a Habermasian-style critical international theory which affords a 'cosmopolitanism without imperialism'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Ward Michael D., Siverson Randolph M., Cao Xun

Disputes, Democracies, and Dependencies: A Reexamination of the Kantian Peace

in *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 51, Issue 3 , 583-601

Militarized interstate disputes are widely thought to be less likely among democratic countries that have high levels of trade and extensive participation in international organizations. We reexamine this broad finding of the Kantian peace literature in the context of a model that incorporates the high degree of dependency among countries. Based on in-sample statistical tests, as well as out-of-sample, predictive cross-validation, we find that results frequently cited in the literature are plagued by overfitting and cannot be characterized as identifying the underlying structure through which international conflict is influenced by democracy, trade, and international governmental organizations. We conclude that much of the statistical association typically reported in this literature apparently stems from three components: (1) geographical proximity, (2) dependence among militarized interstate disputes with the same initiator or target, and (3) the higher-order dependencies in these dyadic data. Once these are incorporated, covariates associated with the Kantian peace tripod lose most of their statistical power. We do find that higher levels of joint democracy are associated with lower probabilities of militarized interstate dispute involvement. We find that despite high statistical significance and putative substantive importance, none of the variables representing the Kantian tripod is associated with any substantial



degree of predictive power.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Petschen Santiago

El pensamiento de los europeístas españoles

in *Política Exterior*, 118

Un modelo de Europa que supere lo económico y englobe lo político. Pese a la variedad de discursos respecto a las fronteras de la UE, la defensa o los ámbitos estatal y supranacional, juristas, intelectuales, políticos y periodistas españoles coinciden en la idea de 'más Europa'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Rivera Garcia Antonio

El republicanismo liberal español: libertad, democracia y asociación en el pensamiento republicano del siglo XIX

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XV, n. 30 , 49-70

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Brückner Thomas

Europa organisieren. Zu den Anfängen der Schweizer Europabewegung

in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Band 57, Heft 2 , 174-187

Switzerland has witnessed one of the earliest and a highly active European movements that goes back as far as to the early 30's of the previous century. This article aims at asking about the origins and motives which lie behind the beginning of the European movement in Switzerland. It looks at the social networks which were established by the activists and the notional building blocks of the anticipated Europe. The movement found its main support among liberals and social democrats and spread with some 3000 members across the whole country. The relative strength of the movement reflected the economic and social crisis both in Switzerland and Europe. Visionary as the claim to unify Europe was, the activists were mainly driven by the attempt to strengthen Switzerland as a nation. The political system of Switzerland and its federalism were taken as the "Swiss example" for the envisaged order in Europe. With reference to the history of the European integration after the Second World War, however, this Swiss example has mainly been taken as a reason to justify why Switzerland did not become a member of the various supranational institutions. Thus, the argument to unify Europe after "the Swiss model" can also be understood as part of a European scepticism which has come to the fore on different occasions after the Second World War.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Lakatos Artur

**Federation Projects in Central Europe in the period 1848-1914
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XX, n. 1, February , 13-17

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Miller Tiffany Jones

**James Madison's Republic of "Mean Extent" Theory: Avoiding The Scylla and Charybdis of Republican
Government**

in Polity, Volume 39, Issue 4, October , 545-569

Most scholars believe Madison embraced the extended republic merely as a means of reducing the majority's influence over government; they thus view his turn to the Republican party—a party dedicated to the mobilization of a national majority—as rejection of that theory. Careful attention to Madison's explanation of the extended republic shows, however, that his turn to the party was consistent with this theory. From the beginning, Madison believed a republic of "mean extent" was the key to striking a balance between unjust majorities and unjust rulers. Striking this balance required extending the sphere far enough to suppress majority faction without extending it so far as to prevent the majority from uniting in defense of its rights, thereby effectively enabling the government to escape its dependence on the people. Understanding that protection against unjust majorities comes at the expense of the ease with which the people can check unjust rulers, Madison embraced the Republican party as a means of preserving the government's dependence on the people in a context and time when it was in doubt.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Prichard Alex

**Justice, Order and Anarchy: The International Political Theory of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865)
in Millennium: Journal of International Studies**, n. 3, vol. 35, september , 623-645

ABSTRACT: Despite penning nearly 2000 pages on international politics, the works of the anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon simply do not feature in either the historiography or the study of contemporary IR theory. I argue that this is unjustified by illustrating his compelling and enduring insights into the history and nature of 'the international'. Proudhon employed a sociological and psychological theory of justice; he saw war and conflict as the motors of change in society; and he saw order as emergent from the deep anarchy of (global) society. The paper provides a contextualised reading of his works to illustrate its historical importance, and demonstrates its potential to contribute to current IR theory through a comparison with contemporary Critical Theory.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Höffe Otfried

Kants universaler Kosmopolitismus

in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 55. Jahrgang, Heft 2, 2007 , 179-191

Kant, the epistemic cosmopolitan from Königsberg, develops a universal cosmopolitan philosophy, which is highly relevant in today's age of globalization. It combines intercultural validity with a right to cultural difference. The cosmopolitanism of Kant builds not only on knowledge and morality but also includes the education, philosophy of history and law, teleology, and aesthetics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Foisy-Geoffroy Dominique

Le Rapport de la Commission Tremblay (1953-1956), testament politique de la pensée traditionaliste canadienne-français

in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, Volume 60, numéro 3, hiver

Plan de l'article

- 1 - La personnalité intellectuelle du Rapport Tremblay
- 2 - L'art de gouverner : une conception « classique-chrétienne » de la politique a) Les fondations : loi naturelle et personnalisme b) Une politique finaliste c) État, communautés humaines et subsidiarité d) Prudence et art politique
- 3 - Une pensée fédéraliste a) Fédéralisme politique et juridique b) Fédéralisme social
- 4 - Contre l'étatisme centralisateur a) Un manque de « prudence » b) Un amoindrissement de la personne
- 5 - Le Canada et la Confédération

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Albertini Mario

Le radici storiche e culturali del federalismo europeo

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLIX, n. 2 , 125-149

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Mosconi Nicoletta

Mario Albertini teorico e militante

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLIX, n. 2 , 77-124



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Ward Lee

Montesquieu on Federalism and Anglo-Gothic Constitutionalism

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 37, Number 4, Fall , 551-577

The common perception that Montesquieu is not a major theorist of federalism is due both to the peripheral nature of his account of confederate republics and his praise of the unitary British Constitution in the Spirit of the Laws. This study challenges this view by arguing that, despite his endorsement of the separation of powers, Montesquieu had serious reservations about England's highly centralized system of parliamentary sovereignty. Moreover, his most significant reflections on federalism were not contained in his brief treatment of confederate republics, but rather in his lengthy consideration of Gothic constitutionalism. I conclude that Montesquieu's complex constitutional theory involves two distinct dimensions including both the separation of powers exemplified in England and the federal principles in the decentralized Gothic system of medieval France.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Rofe John Simon

Prescription and remedy: Lord Lothian's influence upon the tensions in Anglo-American relations in early 1940

in **Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 96, Issue 389 - April , 155-175

Abstract

The aim of this article is to consider the approach to, and solution adopted by, Lord Lothian, British Ambassador to Washington, to what President Roosevelt referred to at the end of January 1940 as a "minor crisis" in Anglo-American relations. His prescription reflected a long held Atlanticist belief that saw cooperation between the USA and Great Britain as a guarantor of security, a carefully managed profile, and an understanding of American public opinion. The ambassador's remedy to the 'minor crisis' over US perceptions of British abuse of neutral rights meant utilizing personable relationships with key figures in Washington and explaining British policy in straightforward terms. Crucially also for the resolution of the minor crisis, Lothian was able to articulate that importance of American opinion to those making British foreign policy in London. That his views were heeded in London is testament to his efforts and the pertinence of his prescription, which saw him become the pre-eminent conduit in Anglo-American relations during the first half of 1940.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Schwarz Michael

The Great Divergence Reconsidered: Hamilton, Madison, and U.S.–British Relations, 1783–89

in **Journal of the Early Republic**, Volume 27, Number 3, Fall , 407-436



The "Great Divergence" between Alexander Hamilton and James Madison remains one of the most puzzling phenomena in the history of the Early Republic. As members of the Confederation Congress, delegates to the Constitutional Convention, and principal authors of The Federalist Papers, Hamilton and Madison worked together throughout the 1780s to strengthen the impotent national government. Yet by the early 1790s Madison appeared to have renounced his earlier nationalism, embraced a more limited construction of federal power, and joined with Thomas Jefferson in opposition to Hamilton and his Federalist supporters. The question of why Madison suddenly changed course has for two centuries produced a variety of answers, the overwhelming majority of which have focused almost exclusively on Madison's words and deeds. But Madison maintained to the end of his life that it was not he who had abandoned Hamilton but rather Hamilton who had abandoned him. Though few scholars have taken Madison seriously, there is evidence to suggest that from a certain point of view his contention qualifies as highly plausible. If we focus on the important issue of U.S.-British relations, and if we subject Hamilton's words and deeds to the same kind of scrutiny once reserved for Madison, we find that on matters relevant to Anglo-American affairs Madison had good reason for believing that Hamilton had abandoned him.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Gouzy Jean-Pierre

The birth of the UEF

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XX, n. 1, February , 51-52

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Hesse Reinhard

Über Kants vermeintlichen Wandel vom Friedensutopisten zum Kriegsapologeten

in **Kant-Studien**, Jahrgang 98, Heft 2, 2007 , 218-222

In seinem Aufsatz „Immanuel Kant und die Reichweite der Kanonen. Die Abkehr von der Illusion eines ewigen Friedens“, in: *Internationale Politik*, Heft 11–12, Berlin 2004, 155ff. stellt Heinz Kluss, ehemaliger Direktor des Ausschusses für Verteidigung und Sicherheit der Parlamentarischen Versammlung der NATO, drei eingängige Thesen auf.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gordon Uri

Anarchism reloaded

in **Journal of Political Ideologies** , Volume 12, Number 1 / February , 29-48

The contemporary re-emergence of anarchism on a global scale deserves serious attention from students of ideology. As the defining orientation of prominent activist networks, anarchism today is the principal point of reference for radical



social change movements in the North, and represents a mature and complex genre of political expression. This article offers a synchronic and diachronic analysis of contemporary anarchist ideology, based on participant research on large-scale ideological expression in anarchist movement networks. I identify and discuss three major conceptual clusters which mark contemporary anarchism's stable ideological core: (a) the construction of the concept of 'domination' and the active opposition to all its forms and systems, (b) the ethos of direct action as a primary mode of political engagement, both destructive and constructive, and (c) the open-ended, experimental approach to revolutionary visions and strategies, which endorses epistemological pluralism and is strongly grounded in present tense action. From a diachronic point of view, it is argued that these three elements are the product of network- and ideological convergence among ecological, feminist, anti-war and anti-neoliberal movements, associated with the multi-issue politics of alternative globalization and local grassroots politics. The re-emergence of anarchism thus highlights the continuity between movement networks, political culture and ideological articulation, and draws attention to important processes in the life-cycles of ideological formations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ruiz Vieytez Eduardo J.

Constitución y multiculturalismo. Una valoración del artículo 27 de la Carta Canadiense de Derechos y Libertades

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 80

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Allegretti Umberto

Democrazia partecipativa e controllo dell'amministrazione

in *Democrazia e diritto*, Anno XLIV, n. 4

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bobbio Luigi

Dilemmi della democrazia partecipativa

in *Democrazia e diritto*, Anno XLIV, n. 4

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Peters Marie



Early Hanoverian Consciousness: Empire or Europe?

in *English Historical Review (The)*, Volume 122, Number 497, June , 632-668

A major current concern of eighteenth-century historiography is the impact on Britain of its imperial expansion. This article engages particularly with the culturally inclined work of Kathleen Wilson. Its main purpose is to establish a multi-faceted context in which to interpret British public 'consciousness' of 'empire'. The article first systematically surveys a selection of metropolitan periodicals for twenty years before the Seven Years War. This survey reveals a paradox: when Britain's connections beyond Europe were proliferating the content of the periodicals remained determinedly European, their interest in 'empire' incipient. When, in the article's second part, these results are interpreted in light of a broader selection of works specifically concerned with Britain's interests beyond Europe, some explanation emerges. These works were concerned overwhelmingly with trade: trade which took the whole world as its theatre and was directed not primarily to prosperity per se, still less to territorial dominion, but to power, power to compete with other European states. So interest in empire rose when competition intensified, especially in war. It gelled into a more lasting collective consciousness with the Seven Years War - a process which can be precisely charted in the periodicals. Yet in the spate of works on 'empire' in the latter part of the century the view remains steadfastly European-dominated, indeed metrocentric. The difficulties of sampling and reaching conclusions about attitudes from printed works and the relevance of other sources are acknowledged. Yet, it is contended, the rapidly growing centrality of print culture makes conclusions drawn here from its impact inescapable - when that impact is precisely traced and related to politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Porter James

Empire to commonwealth - a cultural dimension

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 96, Issue 391 - August , 435-446

This article reviews the contribution of the Imperial Institute and the Commonwealth Institute to the cultural understanding of the Empire and Commonwealth. It traces the shift in the focus of the Imperial Institute from the triumphal display of the British Empire at the end of the 19th century to the gradual portrayal of the life of individual countries in the first part of the 20th century. A new Commonwealth emerged from the struggle of the colonies for freedom and democracy. As a result, the Commonwealth Institute replaced the Imperial Institute in 1962. Although funded by the British government, it became closely associated with the aspirations of the newly independent Commonwealth nations and became a major centre for them to share their new cultural dynamism. In 2004 the Trustees decided to fund a Centre for Commonwealth research and training in the University of Cambridge. As a result the Institute building closed and its future use remains uncertain.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Canizares - Esguerra Jorge

Entangled Histories: Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes?

in *American Historical Review*, Vol. 112, n. 3, June , 787-799



<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/112.3/canizaresesguerra.html>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lake David A.

**Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics
in International Security**, n. 1, vol. 32, summer

Despite increasing attention, scholars lack the analytic tools necessary to understand international hierarchy and its consequences for politics and policy. This is especially true for the informal hierarchies now found in world affairs. Rooted in a formal-legal tradition, international relations scholars almost universally assume that the international system is a realm of anarchy. Although the fact of anarchy remains a truism for the system as a whole, it is a fallacy of division to infer that all relationships within that system are anarchic. Building on an alternative view of relational authority and recent research on the practice of sovereignty, a new conception of international hierarchy is developed that varies along two continua defined by security and economic relations. This construct is operationalized and validated, and then tested in a large-n study of the effects of international hierarchy on the defense effort of countries. The principal finding is that states in hierarchical relationships spend significantly less on defense relative to gross domestic product than states not in such relationships. In short, hierarchy matters and subordination pays; states appear to trade some portion of their sovereignty for protection from external security threats.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vayssière Bertrand

**Europe et souveraineté : la notion d'État, des penseurs classiques aux réalités actuelles
in Vingtième Siècle**, n. 95

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gissel Line E.

**From links of iron to slender rope: Essays in the Empire and Commonwealth Essay Competition
in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 96, Issue 388 February , 37-49

Focusing on young peoples' articulation of modernity in the imperial and the postcolonial contexts, this paper compares the winning essays submitted to the 1920s Empire Essay Competition with the 21st century entries in the Commonwealth Essay Competition. While the early essays articulate a universal notion of progress as the road to Anglo-Saxon state- and nationhood, the essays of today critically assess and critique modernity. The article argues that today's young people are engaged in a project of negotiating and redefining the modern, essentially a search for a historically and culturally particular modernity. In this way, the young writers become the producers of their own modernity, rather than the consumers of a Western modernity



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dannreuther Roland, Kennedy James

Historical Sociology in Sociology: British Decline and US Hegemony with Lessons for International Relations in International Politics , Volume 44, Number 4, July , 369-389

While historical sociology (HS) has declined in the UK, its position in the United States is much more secure. This article analyses the divergent paths of HS in both the UK and the US in order to provide some lessons for international relations (IR) in both countries. The article argues that HS in the US has been more successful in defining its particular contribution — the pursuit of important, macro-oriented research. The main benefit that HS can bring to IR is the provision of this 'intellectual space' allied to an engagement with 'big issues'. The article traces such a contribution in three areas: the state, civil society and democratization; nationalism and ethnic conflict; and Islam and the Middle East. The article concludes by arguing that the adoption of HS may have the added benefit of transcending the exigencies of the present-day and the parochialism of Western and Eurocentric concerns found in much contemporary IR.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Diskin Abraham, Eschet-Schwarz André, Felsenthal Dan S.

Homogeneity, Heterogeneity and Direct Democracy: The Case of Swiss Referenda

in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique, Volume 40, issue, 02, June , 317-342

The general question addressed in this study is whether voting behaviour in referenda conducted in a pluralistic society tends to reflect more the heterogeneous or the homogeneous characteristics of this society. In order to answer this question we investigated, mainly by means of factor analysis, all 538 federal referenda conducted in Switzerland since the foundation of the Swiss Confederation in 1848 until the end of 2005. Based on the extensive Swiss experience, the answer to our question seems quite clearly to be that the use of referenda as tools of direct democracy in a pluralistic society tends to reflect much more the homogeneous characteristics of that society than its heterogeneous ones.

Résumé. Le thème général de l'étude est le suivant: le comportement des votants qui participent aux référendums dans une société pluraliste est-il influencé par les caractéristiques hétérogènes ou homogènes de la société en question? Afin de répondre à cette question nous avons examiné, par analyse factorielle, 538 référendums fédéraux tenus en Suisse depuis la création de la Confédération suisse en 1848 et jusqu'en 2005. Le résultat de notre recherche montre clairement que l'utilisation des référendums comme instrument de démocratie directe dans une société pluraliste a tendance à refléter davantage les caractéristiques homogènes que les caractéristiques hétérogènes de la société.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Axtmann Roland

Humanity or Enmity? Carl Schmitt on International Politics

in *International Politics* , Volume 44, Number 5, September , 531-551

This article reviews Schmitt's analysis of international politics from the period of the Weimar Republic to the early years of the German Federal Republic. It highlights the importance of Schmitt's opposition to Woodrow Wilson's policies and 'liberal' universalism more generally for his understanding of and engagement with international politics. Confronted with the decline of the state (the *Ende der Staatlichkeit*), Schmitt develops a concept of the political that is not tied in with the existence of the state. Schmitt embraces the fascist *stato totalitario* as a model for a 'qualitatively' strong state and the distribution of the earth into hegemonic *Grossräume* as the new *nomos*.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

O'Neill, Daniel I.

John Adams versus Mary Wollstonecraft on the French Revolution and Democracy

in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 68, Number 3, July , 451-476

This article is the first in-depth analysis of the direct intellectual engagement between one of America's most important Founding Fathers, John Adams, and the work of the leading modern feminist, Mary Wollstonecraft. It draws on the first complete transcription of Adams's marginalia in his copy of Wollstonecraft's *French Revolution* to argue that these two thinkers disagreed profoundly in their respective assessments of the watershed event of political modernity due to their divergent interpretations of the relationship between human nature, history, and Revolutionary violence on the one hand, and the appropriate structure of political and social institutions on the other.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fumaroli Marc

La Repubblica delle lettere e l'identità europea

in *Intersezioni : Rivista di storia delle idee*, numero 2, agosto 2007 , 157-168

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Valvidares Suárez Maria

La creación de un Estado europeo jurisdiccional en los proyectos de paz perpetua

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 80

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tournès Ludovic

La fondation Rockefeller et la naissance de l'universalisme philanthropique américain

in *Critique Internationale*, N°35 - Avril / Juin

Le présent article examine le développement historique de l'universalisme américain, en partant de l'hypothèse selon laquelle les grandes fondations philanthropiques, en raison de leur projection internationale précoce, en sont l'un des lieux de cristallisation. C'est à partir des années 1890 que les États-Unis possèdent les moyens de leur ambition internationale, et que se forge, dans les nouvelles élites dont la grande philanthropie est l'émanation, un universalisme fondé sur la certitude que les États-Unis portent en eux l'avenir de l'Humanité. Il mûrira entre les années 1890 et l'entre-deux-guerres, avant de se manifester dans toute sa force après 1945, à la faveur du statut de superpuissance acquis par les États-Unis. C'est dans cette perspective que doit être replacée l'action des fondations : dès le début du XXe siècle, les plus grandes d'entre elles élaborent une politique mondiale liant étroitement la certitude d'incarner l'intérêt général et la volonté de diffuser un modèle américain. C'est ce que montre le cas emblématique de la fondation Rockefeller.

The Rockefeller Foundation and the Birth of American Universalism

This article examines the history of the development of American universalism starting from the premise that the major philanthropic foundations, having emerged early on the international scene, are a locus where it crystallizes. Starting in the 1890s, the United States possessed the means to achieve their international ambition. This is also when universalism was forged among the new elites, of which the large philanthropic societies are an emanation, which is based on the certainty that the United States held the key to the future of humanity. It matured between the 1890s and the interwar period, to demonstrate its full force after 1945, due to the superpower status the U.S. had then acquired. The action of foundations should be resituated in this perspective: with the early 20th century, they devised a world policy that closely combined the certainty of embodying the general interest and a desire to spread the American model. The Rockefeller Foundation demonstrates this in emblematic fashion

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Zarka Yves Charles

Le souverain vorace et vociférant

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n. 30

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bouchard Carl

Les lauréats de la paix. Les concours américain et français pour la paix de 1923-1924

in *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, a. 54, n. 3, 118-137



En 1924, alors que les troupes franco-belges occupent la Ruhr et que se tient sous les auspices de la SDN le débat autour d'un traité d'assistance mutuelle, se déroule le Concours européen pour la paix. Financé par l'homme d'affaires bostonnais Edward Filene et inspiré d'une initiative similaire aux États-Unis, le concours, lancé simultanément en France, en Grande-Bretagne, en Allemagne, et en Italie, est un franc succès: plus de 15000 personnes y participent, le tiers provenant de France. Ces manifestations témoignent, de part et d'autre de l'Atlantique, de l'intérêt populaire pour les questions de paix. Cet article analyse le point de vue du jury ayant examiné les plans soumis en France et le contenu de ceux qu'il a primés. Le concours recèle un lot de lieux communs mais aussi des propos originaux: l'historien peut y trouver, en étant conscient des limites propres à ce type de sources et de l'inévitable parti pris des jurys, un instantané des valeurs de paix dans un temps et un espace donnés. Cinq ans après la fin de la Grande Guerre, comment une certaine opinion publique perçoit-elle la paix, la sécurité, la prospérité française et européenne?

In 1924, while Franco-Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr region and League of Nations members discussed the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, Boston businessman Edward Filene launched the European Peace Contest (EPC). Inspired by a similar competition held the previous year in the United States, the EPC was simultaneously launched in France, Great Britain, Germany and Italy. Popular response was impressive: in all, more than 15,000 plans were submitted, a third of them in France alone. These contests confirmed, on both sides of the Atlantic, people's continuing interest in peace issues since the end of the Great War. The EPC revealed that there was much common ground regarding peace, as well as innovative suggestions; in that respect, it is a useful source for understanding peace values at a particular time and place. This article examines both the reflections of the French jury who assessed the plans and the contents of the winning proposals. Five years after the end of World War I, how did the contestants envision French and European peace, security and prosperity? How did they express their "will to heal" the scourge of war?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

de Beco G.

National Human Rights Institutions in Europe
in *Human Rights Law Review*, Vol. 7 n. 2, 331 - 370

Since the 1990s, the number of national human rights institutions (NHRIs or 'national institutions') has been growing in Europe. The aim of these institutions is to help implement international human rights at the national level and narrow the gap between government and civil society. After discussing the history and role as well as the advantages of creating national institutions in European states, this article analyses the different models of composition and the principal competences of NHRIs in light of the Paris Principles that provide guidelines for these institutions. The NHRIs also create networks at national and regional levels. The article highlights how NHRIs in Europe can contribute to the implementation of human rights and what structure, functions and relationships they may adopt in order to ensure their effectiveness.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cullen Carlos A.

Patriotas o cosmopolitas? Los dilemas de la subjetividad ciudadana
in *Metapolitica : revista trim. de teoría y ciencias de la política*, Num. 53, mayo - junio 2007



El autor parte de la idea de un malestar con el entendimiento de la formación ciudadana en sus versiones esencialista y moderna. Por ello construye un concepto en el que destacan la pertenencia, la identidad, el cuidado de sí, Y que encuentra su sustento ético en la responsabilidad.

Nuestra naturaleza de “animales políticos” exige un trabajo de formación de la subjetividad política, que no es dada por naturaleza, sino que es el resultado más el proceso de convertirnos en “ciudadanos”. No sólo las teorías contractualistas distinguen un estado de naturaleza de un estado “civil” o “político” (según hablemos en latín o en griego), sino que ya Aristóteles (como lo ha recordado recientemente Agamben, 2003) distingue la “mera vida natural” (zoé), que compartimos con todos los vivientes, del “modo de vida” (bios), propio de un ser que tiene logos (palabra y entendimiento). El modo de vida se forma socio-históricamente, y nos convierte en “ciudadanos”. De ahí su intrínseca relación con la educación.

Sin duda que la ciudadanía es parte de la socialización y de la cultura y, en este sentido, tiene el costo pulsional que proviene de la renuncia a la omnipotencia del deseo, y es lo que Freud el malestar en la cultura. Pero aquí queremos ocuparnos de la especificidad política de este malestar, que tiene que ver más con el poder que con el deseo, con la libertad más que con la necesidad, y con la interpelación ética del otro más que con la soledad gnoseológica de la totalidad.

¿Nos sentimos bien como ciudadanos? Ocurre, con mucha frecuencia, que la condición de ciudadanos nos coloca ante dilemas que atraviesan nuestra subjetividad y la perturban. ¿Se trata de derechos o de obligaciones?, ¿es algo que nos define estructuralmente, o es algo que nos acontece esporádicamente, en tiempos electorales, por ejemplo, o al firmar documentos civiles o comerciales, o en viajes que exigen mostrar nuestra “ciudadanía”? ¿por qué ciudadanos, si la “ciudad” nos asusta (aunque nos atraiga), nos resulta agresiva (aunque supuestamente nos protege), o simplemente la vemos extraña (porque vivimos en el campo, o en la montaña o a orillas del río)? Cuando algunos dicen que hablan o votan o deciden algo en nombre de nosotros, ¿nos sentimos realmente “representados”, o simplemente “usados” o “manipulados”?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rivière Ciavaldini Laurence

Pax apolyptica : un modèle politique européen au Moyen Âge ?

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Septembre

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ripsman Norrin M.

Peacemaking and Democratic Peace Theory: Public Opinion as an Obstacle to Peace in Post-Conflict Situations in Democracy and Security, Volume 3, Issue 1, January , 89-113

Democratic Peace Theory rests on several assumptions. Structural variants assume that, in all states, the public is more peaceful than its leaders and that, in democratic states, institutional checks and balances restrain bellicose leaders. Normative variants assume that democratic peoples and their leaders share norms encouraging the peaceful resolution of disputes with other democracies and respect for the wishes of other free peoples. These assumptions are challenged,



however, by the experience of post-conflict peacemaking by democratic states. When negotiating peace, public opinion tends to be more bellicose than its leaders, even when the former enemy has become either democratic or quasi-democratic. This paper examines the post-war peace processes between France and the Federal Republic of Germany from 1949-1954 and between Israel and the Palestinian Authority since 1992. It argues that the logic of democratic peace theory might apply to states with no past history of war, but not to states which have recently been to war.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Coeckelbergh Mark

Principles or Imagination? Two Approaches to Global Justice

in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 3, Issue 2, August 2007 , 203-221

What does it mean to introduce the notion of imagination in the discussion about global justice? What is gained by studying the role of imagination in thinking about global justice? Does a focus on imagination imply that we must replace existing influential principle-centred approaches such as that of John Rawls and his critics?

We can distinguish between two approaches to global justice. One approach is Rawlsian and Kantian in inspiration. Discussions within this tradition typically focus on the question whether Rawls's theory of justice (1971), designed for the national level, can or should be applied to the global level. Can and should Rawls's Difference Principle be globalized, as Thomas Pogge argues? Is this proposal superior to Rawls's Law of Peoples (1999)? Another approach to global justice has been developed by Martha Nussbaum in *Cultivating Humanity* (1997), *Poetic Justice* (1995), and other work. I will construct her view and critically examine it by looking at her arguments about the relation between empathy, literature, and global justice.

At first sight, these two approaches seem to be opposed. The former puts an emphasis on principles, universal reason, and the moral aspects of institutions and their policies, whereas the latter is rather concerned with the relation between imagination and justice, with the particular, and with the individual moral development. But is this necessarily so? I will show that both approaches could benefit from each other's insights to strengthen their own position. Moreover, I will argue for middle way between, or an integration of the two approaches that combines principles and imagination. In this way, we can move towards a more comprehensive account of global justice.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mashaw J.L.

Reluctant nationalists: Federal Administration and Administrative Law in the republican Era 1801 - 1829

in Yale Law Journal (The), Vol. 116 n. 8 , 1636 - 1741

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jenne Erin K., Saideman Stephen M. , Lowe Will

Separatism as a Bargaining Posture: The Role of Leverage in Minority Radicalization



in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 44, Number 5, September , 539-558

Why do some minorities seek affirmative action while others pursue territorial autonomy or secession, given similar conditions at the substate level? This article attempts to unpack the puzzle of minority radicalization, focusing on group claim-making as an important dynamic that has been overlooked by much of the recent quantitative literature on ethnic conflict. To address this gap, the authors introduce a new 'claims' variable, which codes the demands made by groups in the Minorities at Risk dataset for three five-year periods from 1985 to 2000. The authors examine the relationship between minority claim-making and rebellion and conclude that they are similar but distinct forms of group mobilization. Groups use claims as a means of bargaining with the center; relative power, therefore, has a critical influence on the extremity of demands that groups advance against the government. The authors test this model against alternative arguments using ordinal logit analysis and find that factors related to strategic power — including a history of autonomy, outside military support, and territorial concentration — are all positively correlated with a group's propensity to advance more extreme demands. This study shows that minorities with greater power vis-à-vis the center are more likely to both rebel and mobilize around separatist demands. However, minority rebellion — unlike separatist claims — may also be triggered by group deprivation, indicating that violent resistance may be driven by grievances as well as opportunities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Michael Michális S.

The Cyprus Peace Talks: A Critical Appraisal

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 44, Number 5, September , 587-604

Despite three decades of persistent efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement, the small island of Cyprus still remains physically and demographically divided. Failure of the 2004 Annan Plan has compounded the need for a thorough reassessment of the Cyprus peace process with a view to ascertaining the reasons for its collapse. Drawing on the findings of research that attributes the failure of earlier negotiations to the negative balance between impeding influences and facilitating factors, the author examines the manner and the extent to which the Annan initiative internalized the lessons learned from these past failures. Was the collapse of the Annan initiative best explained in terms of the shortcomings of the mediating strategy, or did it fail because of the continuing intractability of the conflict (i.e. the two sides remain too far apart on the fundamentals for any mediating strategy to work)? This article examines how the Annan strategy sought to change the imbalance between impeding and facilitating factors, asking, in particular, where it made headway, where did it not, and why. It goes on to characterize the overall impeding/facilitating balance in the post-Annan period and advances a number of propositions on how the imbalance may be shifted in a more positive direction.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wilde Lawrence

The Ethical Challenge of Touraine's 'Living Together'

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 3, Issue 1, April 2007 , 39-53

In *Can We Live Together?* Alain Touraine combines a consummate analysis of crucial social tensions in contemporary societies with a strong normative appeal for a new emancipatory 'Subject' capable of overcoming the twin threats of



atomisation or authoritarianism. He calls for a move from 'politics to ethics' and then from ethics back to politics to enable the new Subject to make a reality out of the goals of democracy and solidarity. However, he has little to say about the nature of such an ethics. This article argues that this lacuna could usefully be filled by adopting a form of radical humanism found in the work of Erich Fromm. It defies convention in the social sciences by operating from an explicit view of the 'is' and the 'ought' of common human nature, specifying reason, love and productive work as the qualities to be realised if we are to move closer to human solidarity. Although there remain significant philosophical and political differences between the two positions, particularly on the role to be played by 'the nation', their juxtaposition opens new lines of inquiry in the field of cosmopolitan ethics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lane Philip, Schmukler Sergio

The Evolving Role of China and India in the Global Financial System

in Open Economies Review, Volume 18, Number 4 , 499-520

Three main features characterize the international financial integration of China and India. First, while only having a small global share of privately-held external assets and liabilities, these countries are large holders of official reserves. Second, their international balance sheets are highly asymmetric: both are "short equity, long debt." Third, China and India have improved their net external positions over the last decade although neoclassical models would predict them to be net borrowers. We argue that domestic financial policies are key to understanding these patterns and the future role of China in the international financial system.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Näsström Sofia

The Legitimacy of the People

in Political Theory , Volume 35, n. 5, October , 624-658

In political theory it goes without saying that the constitution of government raises a claim for legitimacy. With the constitution of the people, however, it is different. It is often dismissed as a historical question. The conviction is that since the people cannot decide on its own composition the boundaries of democracy must be determined by other factors, such as the contingent forces of history. This article critically assesses this view. It argues that like the constitution of government, the constitution of the people raises a claim for legitimacy. The failure to see this is what makes many theorists run into the arms of history. They submit the legitimacy of the people to the arbitrary and asymmetrical forces of the present.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Piiparinen Touko

The Lessons of Darfur for the Future of Humanitarian Intervention



in **Global Governance**, n. 3, vol. 13, july-september

ABSTRACT: The emergence of post–September 11 military operations in the context of the global fight against terrorism in general and the Iraq war in particular has overshadowed humanitarian interventions conducted by multilateral institutions. However, the threat posed by genocidal governments deserves the continuing attention of global governance because their draconian policies and mobilization capacities constitute the actual weapons of mass destruction against civilian populations. The tardy response of the international community to atrocities in Darfur has been widely regarded as a backlash of the emerging norm in international society which attributes a responsibility to protect civilians targeted by génocidaires. This article, however, will argue that the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, and NATO have in fact devised and implemented two innovative peacekeeping strategies in Darfur that have set more optimistic precedents for humanitarian intervention, namely, a new division of labor between regional and international organizations and a pragmatic turn in peacekeeping. By dint of these new strategies, intervening organizations have an opportunity to counterbalance the deep-seated problems that routinely affect peacekeeping operations, namely, the body-bag syndrome and the rigidity of bureaucratic norms that regulate PKOs.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Warkotsch Alexander

The OSCE as an agent of socialisation? International norm Dynamics and political change in Central Asia
in **Europe-Asia Studies**, Volume 59, Issue 5 July , 829 – 846

This article uses both rationalist and constructivist approaches to explain the OSCE's potential to socialise Central Asia to the norms of liberal human rights and democracy. Whereas from a rational point of view socialisation consists of a process of reinforcement, and its effectiveness depends on the balance between the international and domestic costs and benefits of norm compliance, the constructivist pathway emphasises the legitimacy and domestic resonance of the international norms, and the identity and cognitive prior attitudes of the target actors. By examining the explanatory factors for successful socialisation suggested by both mechanisms it is found that the prospects for domestic change are bleak and hampered by Central Asia's autochthon culture and institutions as well as the OSCE's ineffectiveness in providing tangible material and political incentives. Recommendations concentrate on a better understanding of the cost - benefit calculations of incumbent elites and on a more responsive attitude to Central Asia's non-European political culture.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Weiman David F., James John A.

The Political Economy of the US Monetary Union: The Civil War Era as a Watershed
in **American Economic Review**, Vol. 97, No. 2, May 2007 , 271-275

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Phuong C.

The Relationship Between the European Court of Human Rights and the Human Rights Committee: Has the 'Same Matter' Already Been 'Examined'?

in *Human Rights Law Review*, Vol. 7 n. 2 , 385 - 395

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Donnelly Jack

The Relative Universality of Human Rights

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, Volume 29, Number 2, May 2007

The Relative Universality of Human Rights

Human rights as an international political project are closely tied to claims of universality. Attacks on the universality of human rights, however, are also widespread. And some versions of universalism are indeed theoretically indefensible, politically pernicious, or both. This essay explores the senses in which human rights can (and cannot) be said to be universal, the senses in which they are (and are not) relative, and argues for the "relative universality" of internationally recognized human rights.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Davidson Stewart

The Troubled Marriage of Deep Ecology and Bioregionalism

in *Environmental Values*, Volume 16, Number 3, August , 313-332

Bioregionalism is often presented as the politics of deep ecology, or deep ecology's social philosophy. That the ties uniting these doctrines are rarely explored can be put down to a perception amongst commentators that such links are self-evident and therefore unworthy of closer examination. By arguing that the bonds between deep ecology and bioregionalism are more tenuous than has often been assumed, this paper addresses this theoretical lacuna. There is nothing exclusive to the central tenets of deep ecology which provides us with a coherent rationale for a specifically bioregional form of decentralisation. However, deep ecology has nonetheless had an appreciable impact on bioregional thinking. In this context it is argued that bioregionalism's assimilation of aspects of deep ecology, and particularly an emphasis upon cross-species identification, undermines the project in various ways.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rush Mark

Voting Power in Federal Systems: Spain as a Case Study



in **Political Science and Politics**, issue 4, vol. 40, october , 715-720

ABSTRACT: Spain occupies a prominent position in the teaching of comparative politics. It is a paradigmatic example of a successful transition to and consolidation of democracy, as well as an intriguing study in constitutional development, federalism, and a host of other topics. I have found that it is particularly useful when discussing electoral systems and representation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kono Daniel

When Do Trade Blocs Block Trade?

in **International Studies Quarterly**, issue 1, vol. 51, march , 165-181

ABSTRACT: Because the gains from international cooperation typically rise with the number of countries involved, the ideal international agreement is often multilateral. In practice, however, the modal agreement is not multilateral but regional or bilateral. The prevalence of "minilateralism" begs the question: Do minilateral agreements help or hinder multilateral cooperation? I investigate this question by examining the impact of regional free trade agreements (FTAs) on multilateral trade liberalization in 30 countries from 1988 to 1998. I find that FTAs have important but contradictory conditional effects: they promote multilateral liberalization when members' intra- and extra-FTA comparative advantages are similar but impede such liberalization when these comparative advantages are different. FTAs can thus, depending on the circumstances, either help or hinder broader trade liberalization. My findings have important implications, not only for the relationship between FTAs and multilateralism, but also for the political consequences of customs unions and nontrade minilateral agreements.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ghani Ashraf , Lockhart Clare

Writing the History of the Future: Securing Stability through Peace Agreements

in **Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding**, Volume 1 Issue 3 , 275 – 306

Building effective states is crucial to global stability and prosperity, but this priority has yet to be translated into a consistent approach embraced by a community of practice. Various factors have constrained the emergence of such a community, including a lack of consensus on the range of functions that states should perform. Peace agreements are implicitly exercises in statecraft but have not been systematically analysed as such. Systematic analysis of peace agreements reveals seven foci of statecraft. This analysis in turn reveals seven key building-blocks that peace agreements, as exercises in statecraft, must address in laying the foundations for a durable, inclusive political, social and economic order.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Voigt Rüdiger



Zwischen Leviathan und Res Publica – Der Staat des 21. Jahrhunderts

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 54, Heft 3, 2007

Hobbes' Leviathan is a mortal god who is the ultimate guarantor for security. With such an almighty state, however, the existence of a liberal society becomes more and more inconceivable. Do these predicaments dissolve in face of the fact that the state should have become obsolete due to globalization, European integration and the dominion of political parties? Contrary to political scientists focusing on constitutional law, such as predominantly political lawyers, younger political scientists express and advocate a universal prevalence of the political sphere. Resorting to Gramsci's theory of hegemony as well as contemporary French philosophy, they perceive their political theorems as political interventions; sovereignty and a state's monopoly of power are projected as the greatest evils possible. The paper confronts the reader with a diametrically opposed view, Cicero's view in fact, who regarded the state a matter of the people. He calls for a republic consisting of and incorporation self-assured republicans, who make the state their very own and ultimate concern. Both the democratic legal state and the constitutional social welfare state, vitally depend upon self-confident citizens who do not merely (passively) consume 'politics', but who are ready, willing and prepared to (actively) participate in political processes, who shape the overall design by bringing their own decisions and thus make their own contribution to the political stage.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

D'Agata Raffaele

«Sinistra europea» e relazioni transatlantiche nei primi anni Settanta: ideologia e politica

in *Studi Storici*, anno 47, n. 3

No abstract available