Bulletin n. 2/2009 - October 2009

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Barrios Suvelz Franz Xavier
El lastre cognitivo del par conceptual "Unitario vs. Federal"
in **Reforma y democracia (Venezuela)**, n. 44

Scholars have dauntlessly adopted the unitary versus federal antagonism as a frame concept when analyzing decentralization. Nevertheless, this is a confused idea and has to be substituted for a new binomial which allows an accurate understanding of the complex territorial transformations of our time. This essay offers a new conceptual binomial based on the disclosure of the ultimate cause of territorial structuration, namely, the territorial law making power, which has also been currently overlooked. It can be assessed the richness of territorialization within the so called "unitary" State, and also it can be seen the non-federal alternatives to overcome the unitary model.

While until now both federal and non-federal models (like the Spanish model born in 1978) drew on a power sharing between the national and the meso level, this work describes a new alternative built on three levels. This comes about due to the constitutional enhancing of the municipal level, without diminishing the demands for autonomy of the meso level, and at the same time consolidating the national level as a strategic instance. Through a new system of concepts like the breaking of national monopoly on legislation, State dissociation, municipal unlock, constitutional equipotency between levels, and territorial segmentation, a new theoretical frame is sketched in permanent test against comparative constitutional law and classical State law. Finally, the approach is applied in showing how deconcentration of the State has been neglected in the conventional analysis.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Pacillo Vincenzo
Federalism and religions in the swiss confederation's institutional dynamics
in **Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito**, n. 16 , 120-138

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
Kammerhofer Jörg
Kelsen – Which Kelsen? A Reapplication of the Pure Theory to International Law
in **Leiden Journal of International Law**, Volume 22, Issue 02, June , 225-249

Hans Kelsen is known both as a legal theorist and as an international lawyer. This article shows that his theory of international law is an integral part of the Kelsenian Pure Theory of Law. Two areas of international law are analysed:

first, Kelsen's coercive order paradigm and its relationship to the bellum iustum doctrine; second, the Kelsenian notion of the unity of all law vis-à-vis theories of the relationship of international and municipal law. In a second step, the results of Kelsenian general legal theory of the late period – as interpreted and developed by the present author – are reapplied to selected doctrines of international law. Thus is the coercive order paradigm resolved, the unity of law dissolved, and the UN Charter reinterpreted to show that the concretization of norms as positive international law cannot be unmade by a scholarship usurping the right to make law.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Volkmann Uwe
Leitbildorientierte Verfassungsanwendung
in Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts , Band 134, Heft 2, April 2009 , 157-196

The article puts forward the thesis that the application of the German constitution - and most likely of a number of other constitutions too - is often directed by implicit or explicit guide-images (,,Leitbilder") which have grown to be more important for this application today than the classical techniques of grammatical, historical, systematical and teleological interpretation. These images fill the sentences, principles and institutes of the constitution with content and substance, so that they themselves have become part of the legal order and are able to deploy a specific effect on it. In addition, they function as a bridge to empirical study as well as to the shared convictions of justice with in a society, which thus become relevant for the daily processing of law itself. The article deals with this thesis in four steps. At first, it gives a description of the concepts of democracy, public opinion making and political parties the way they have been shaped by the Federal Constitutional Court, since they can serve as an example for the development on the whole. In a second step, the respective images are distinguished from similar concepts, particularly from constitutional principles and values, and their characteristics are specified. In a following third step the assets and drawbacks of working with them are analyzed: On the one hand, the recurrence to such images legitimizes constitutional decisions and increases the acceptance of the constitution altogether. On the other hand, the constitution loses a part of its former normativity while being merged with the society's assumptions of justice and appropriateness. At the same time the results of the application of the law become more variable at will and harder to predict. Considerung this, in a fourth and last step possibilities to rationalize the handling of guide-images and to put them on a more reliable basis are searched. As a summary of the results it can be said that by dealing with and frequently recurring to these images the constitution itself today appears at its basis as a communicative structure that only exists in what is noticed of it, thought about and put into words.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Leo Christopher , Augusta Martine
The Multilevel Governance of Immigration and Settlement: Making Deep Federalism Work
in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique, Volume 42, Issue 02, June , 491-510

This study addresses the question of how best to ensure that national immigration policies are appropriately adjusted to

meet the disparate requirements of different communities. We argue that this is the core objective of multilevel governance, which, however, has become freighted with competing ideological objectives, objectives that are perhaps best expressed in Hooghe and Marks's distinction between type I and type II governance, the former oriented to collective decision making and the latter embodying market-oriented approaches to governance. Our argument is that these competing sets of ideologically driven objectives divert multilevel governance away from its core objective of appropriateness to community circumstances. An accompanying article (Leo and Enns, 2009) explores problems posed by ideologically driven, type II multilevel governance in Vancouver. The current article takes up a contrasting case, that of the Canada-Manitoba Agreement on Immigration and Settlement, focusing especially on Winnipeg. We find that in this case the provincial government chose an approach to multilevel governance that did not hew to either type I or type II governance templates, but drew on both to build an impressively successful system of immigration and settlement, carefully tailored to meet the requirements of disparate Manitoba communities. Success was built not on the application of a preconceived template for good governance but on resourcefulness and flexibility in working out ways of making national policies fit local circumstances.

Résumé. La question que pose cette étude est la suivante : comment s'assurer que les politiques nationales concernant l'immigration et l'insertion sociale correspondent parfaitement aux besoins disparates des communautés différentes? Nous prétendons que c'est précisément la raison d'être de la gouvernance multipalier. Or, celle-ci est présentement surchargée de préoccupations idéologiques opposées et contradictoires qui trouvent leur meilleure expression dans la distinction que Hooghe et Marks ont faite entre le type I et le type II de gouvernance; l'un s'oriente vers la méthode collective de décision, l'autre incarne les approches de la gouvernance déterminées par les contraintes du marché. L'essentiel de notre argument est que ces approches idéologiques opposées entravent et contredisent l'objectif principal de la gouvernance multipalier, qui est de rendre les politiques gouvernementales sensibles aux circonstances particulières des communautés. Un article connexe (Leo et Enns, 2009) aborde les difficultés que pose, à Vancouver, la gouvernance multipalier de type II déterminée par des contraintes idéologiques. Le présent article aborde un cas tout à fait contraire, soit celui de l'Entente Canada-Manitoba sur l'immigration et l'insertion, centré sur Winnipeg. Nous constatons que, dans ce cas, le gouvernement provincial a opté pour une approche de la gouvernance multipalier qui ne cadrait pas avec les modèles de gouvernance de type I ou II, mais qui s'est inspirée des deux pour bâtir un modèle d'immigration et d'insertion qui est d'autant plus impressionnant et bien réussi qu'il est méthodiquement conçu en fonction des besoins disparates des communautés manitobaines. Ce succès provient non pas de l'application d'un modèle préconçu de bonne gouvernance, mais d'une quête ingénieuse et flexible des moyens qui permettent de concilier les politiques nationales et les circonstances régionales.

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

Subsection 1.The theory of federation

Bulman-Pozen Jessica, Gerken Heather K.

Uncooperative Federalism

in Yale Law Journal (The), Vol. 118, n. 7, May , 1256-1310

This Essay addresses a gap in the federalism literature. Scholars have offered two distinct visions of federal-state relations. The first depicts states as rivals and challengers to the federal government, roles they play by virtue of being autonomous policymakers outside the federal system. A second vision is offered by scholars of cooperative federalism, who argue that in most areas states serve not as autonomous outsiders, but supportive insiders—servants and allies

carrying out federal policy. Legal scholarship has not connected these competing visions to consider how the state's status as servant, insider, and ally might enable it to be a sometime dissenter, rival, and challenger. The literature has not developed a vocabulary for describing how states use regulatory power conferred by the government to resist federal policy, let alone a full account of the implications of this practice. It has thus neglected the possibilities associated with what we call "uncooperative federalism." In this Essay, we provide an initial descriptive and normative account of this undertheorized aspect of our federalism. We also explore what a strong commitment to uncooperative federalism would mean for the doctrines on commandeering and preemption, offering some counterintuitive conclusions about the ways in which weakening the protections for state autonomy might push states to engage in stronger forms of dissent.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Raadt Jasper de
Contested Constitutions: Legitimacy of Constitution-making and Constitutional Conflict in Central Europe
in East European Politics and Societies, vol. 23, n. 3, Summer , 315-338

What were the effects of constitution-making procedures on the acceptance of the new "rules of the political game" in postcommunist Central Europe? This article sets out to scrutinise the increasingly popular claim among politicians and scholars of democratisation that inclusiveness and popular involvement in constitution-making processes enhance a constitution's legitimacy. The concept of constitutional conflict, referring to political contestation over the interpretation and application of constitutional relations among state institutions, is introduced as a way to assess constitutional acceptance among politicians. The investigation concentrates on constitutional conflict patterns during the five years following constitution-making in seven Central European countries: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia. Constitution-making procedures varied substantially among the cases, as did the intensity and timing of constitutional conflict. The article finds that differences in constitution-making procedures do not necessarily determine the legitimacy of constitutions among political elites. Instead, ambiguity on the allocation of formal competencies among political actors and increasing political tensions between pro-reform and anti-reform parties during the early 1990s proved to be more important triggers of constitutional conflict. Accordingly, studies on constitution-making and democratisation should focus less on procedural aspects and take into account the fuzziness of important constitutional provisions and the extent to which constitutions can survive periods of intense political polarisation.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Morrone Andrea
Lo "spettacolo" dopo la riforma del titolo V: idee per una legge generale
in Regioni (Le), n.1 , 47-78

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Skodvin Tora, Andresen Steinar

An agenda for change in U.S. climate policies? Presidential ambitions and congressional powers

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 9, Number 3, August , 263-280

The U.S. membership in the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate (APP) constituted an important element in the Bush administration's voluntary and non-committing 'soft-law' approach to climate change. With the inauguration of President Barack Obama, the U.S. has embarked on a shift in its climate policy towards a legislative, 'hard-law' strategy. Obama's approach implies that the distribution of interests in Congress becomes more significant. In this article, we assess the rules and procedures governing the relationship between the president and the Congress embedded in the U.S. Constitution and explore implications of a stronger congressional involvement in U.S. climate policies for President Obama's ability to realise his climate policy ambitions at both the domestic and the international levels. We argue that the strong relationship between natural resource dependence (coal and oil) and opposition to climate policies is a constant feature of the U.S. climate policy debate. In order to succeed, Obama must break the enduring gridlock characterising congressional debate in this policy area by designing policies that, through compromise and compensation, can mobilise the support of oil- and coal-state representatives in Congress. The acceptability of an international climate treaty in Congress, moreover, depends inter alia on the resolution of the difficult issue of developing country participation. Success may be enhanced by using the APP and the Major Economies Initiative as informal arenas for negotiation and sector-based cooperation, thus providing a much-needed supplement to the UN-based negotiation process.

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

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

Daphne Ngar-yin Mah and Peter Hills

Central-local Relations and Pricing Policies for Wind Energy in China

in China Review (The), Volume 8, Number 2, Fall

No abstract available

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

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

Christensen Robert K. , Wise Charles R.

Dead or Alive? The Federalism Revolution and Its Meaning for Public Administration

in Public Administration Review, September/October - Volume 69 Issue 5 , 920-931

Federalism jurisprudence shapes the powers that public administrators have to achieve policy priorities. Federalism, however, is neither static nor simplistic as a concept, and a proper understanding of the environment in which public administrators work rests on a careful analysis of U.S. Supreme Court decisions. The authors review claims that a 2005 decision, Gonzales v. Raich, terminated a federalism revolution that had been ushered in a decade earlier. Does Raich in fact mark the end of the Supreme Court's federalism doctrine? Analysis of this question clarifies whether the past and current Court has articulated any direction touching on administrators' powers at both the national and state levels. The authors argue that before the federalism revolution is declared dead or alive, public administration can better understand the realities of the Supreme Court's doctrinal boundaries by examining a more detailed analysis of jurisprudence for what is says about the foundations of federalism such as the commerce clause, Fourteenth Amendment, Tenth

Amendment, Eleventh Amendment, spending clause, and statutory interpretation issues.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Holste Heiko
Die Bundestagswahl und das verfassungswidrige Wahlgesetz
in **Recht und Politik**, 45. Jahrgang, Heft 3, 2009 , 152-157

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Davison Leigh M.
EU competition policy: Article 82 EC and the notion of substantial part of the common market
in **Intereconomics**, Volume 44, Number 4 / July, 2009 , 238-245

EU competition policy acts as an important buttress to the Single European Market, with Article 82 EC specifically prohibiting the abuse of a dominant position in the common market or a substantial part of it. Therefore the substantial part notion acts as a boundary or subsidiarity test, determining whether the alleged abuse falls under Article 82 or member state law. This paper contends that two different and potentially competing substantial part tests have been legally sanctioned, namely the territorial test and the economic relativism approach. It further reveals that court rulings have been instrumental in determining not only how the two tests are to be applied in practice but also their respective usage pattern.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Ávalos Tenorio Gerardo
El Estado Mexicano en disolución
in **Metapolitica : revista trim. de teoria y ciencias de la politica**, Num. 66, septiembre - octubre 2009

La reorganización del Estado mexicano, forzada por la crisis del Estado fordista y el ulterior tránsito hacia el Estado de competencia global (vid. Hirsch, 1996; Hirsch, 2001; Hirsch y Ávalos, 2007), ha llegado a tal punto que lo que se juega hoy en día, en realidad, es su propia constitución en cuanto Estado. No es exagerado este juicio si por “Estado” no se entiende únicamente al gobierno o sólo al aparato administrativo de poder público. La mera subsistencia de un grupo gobernante amparado por el poder militar no significa que se preserve el principio de la estatalidad que es el de la justicia y el consenso entre los diferentes miembros de una asociación o comunidad con intereses encontrados. En el intento de convertir al Estado obeso en un Estado modesto y eficiente, el bloque dominante se ha excedido y ha puesto en entredicho la propia convivencia políticamente organizada para garantizar la vida y la libertad de los individuos, pues es a eso a lo que respondería la existencia de un Estado. En las líneas que siguen apuntaré algunas de las razones por las cuales considero que existe una clara tendencia hacia la conversión del Estado mexicano en algo diferente a un Estado, sin que quede claro en que ha de resultar tal proceso.

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Melish Tara J.
From Paradox to Subsidiarity: The United Statesand Human Rights Treaty Bodies
in **Yale Journal of International Law (The)**, Volume 34, N. 2 , 390-462

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences
Ginsburg Tom
International delegation and state disaggregation
in **Constitutional political economy**, Volume 20, Numbers 3-4 / September, 2009 , 323-340

Following Voigt and Salzberger (Kyklos 55:281–310, 2002) this paper considers the tradeoff between international and domestic delegation devices, and argues that the two are largely complements rather than substitutes. It then explores the domestic separation of powers as an explanatory factor in understanding different levels of international delegation across states. It argues that the domestic separation of powers is a driving factor in propensity to delegate, and provides some empirical evidence in this regard. Federal states and those with bicameral legislatures are more likely to sign treaties and join international organizations. Presidential systems, however, are no more likely to do so than parliamentary ones.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Carlson Ann E.
Iterative Federalism and Climate Change
in **Northwestern University Law Rewiev**, Vol. 103, issue 3 , 1097–1162

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences
Godinho Rodrigo de Oliveira
Norms and redistribution: a case study of international influences over policies against racial discrimination in Brazil
in **Revista Brasileira de Política internacional** , vol.52 - No.1/2009 , pp. 71-88

This paper analyzes how the State acceptance of international norms may influence the implementation of redistributive

policies, based on a case study of policies against racial discrimination in Brazil, from 1995 to 2005. It argues that the preparation of and the follow-up to the Durban Conference would have increased the political feasibility of affirmative action policies in Brazil.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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McCusker Claire
The Federalism Challenges of Impact Litigation by State and Local Government Actors
in **Yale Law Journal (The)**, Vol. 118, n. 7, May , 1557-1570

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences
Konisky David M.
The Limited Effects of Federal Environmental Justice Policy on State Enforcement
in **Policy Studies Journal**, Vol. 37, Issue 3, August , 475-496

The federal government adopted several measures during the mid-1990s to address concerns about race-based and class-based disparities in environmental protection. This article examines whether these measures affected the pattern of state enforcement of three federal pollution control laws. Using differences-in-differences models to estimate the effects of the federal policy adoption, I find evidence of increases in state enforcement of the Clean Air Act in large African-American communities, but declines in enforcement in communities with large poor and Hispanic populations. Similarly, there is evidence that state enforcement of the Clean Water Act decreased in poor and African-American communities, but there were no real changes in enforcement of facilities regulated under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act. Collectively, the analysis suggests that the federal policy had minimal positive effects on state regulatory enforcement.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Benvenisti Eyal, Downs George W.
Toward global checks and balances
in **Constitutional political economy**, Volume 20, Numbers 3-4 / September, 2009 , 366-387

The rapid growth and importance of intergovernmental coordination in the regulation of markets, transportation and communication, the environment, and national security poses numerous challenges for democratic accountability within participating states. Direct public participation in the intergovernmental regulatory bodies is generally modest or absent. Information regarding their deliberations is limited. And the multiple oversight mechanisms and supervisory processes that exist at the domestic level of developed democracies that can scrutinize intergovernmental regulatory decisions tend to be lacking. This lack of accountability raises legitimacy concerns, the most prominent of which is the fear executive branch officials will delegate controversial policy decisions to intergovernmental bodies in order to escape democratic deliberation. In this paper we survey the ways that different review venues (other international institutions

and national courts) are attempting to cope with these accountability related issues: we argue that national courts may prove to be the most effective venue for promoting democratic accountability. This is not because they are more reliably representative of their domestic constituency or possess a more cosmopolitan perspective than the bodies whose decisions they are reviewing. Rather their relative advantage lies in: (1) the increasing acceptance on the part of domestic courts that inter-judicial coordination is a prerequisite for their continued ability to fulfill their judicial review function; and (2) the visibility that the decisions of these courts possess. Acting together these two forces have the potential to foster greater transparency and public deliberation than most rival venues.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 4.The legislative branch
Klaus-Jurgen Nagel
Elections in Bremen, Germany's Smallest Land: Test Laboratory for Germany, or City State Particularism?
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 19 Issue 3 , 459 - 469

As the only Land election in 2007, the Bremen election was understood by the main German political parties as a test for the state of federal-level politics. As expected, both coalition parties lost heavily, and the opposition profited. But the outcome of a red-green coalition looks unlikely in any other Land. The particularities of the electoral law of Bremen favoured extreme-right and populist parties, while the success of the Linkspartei appears to reflect federal-level issues, as refracted through the lens of Bremen politics.

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Menniti Ippolito Antonio
La democrazia intelligente. Le elezioni indiane del 2009
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3

No abstract available

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Subsection 4.The legislative branch
Fernández Miranda Campoamor Alfonso
Reflexiones sobre una improbable reforma del sistema electoral del Congreso de los Diputados
in Revista de derecho politico, n. 74 , 17-46

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 4.The legislative branch
Jäger Thomas, Oppermann Kai, Höse Alexander, Viehrig Henrike
The Salience of Foreign Affairs Issues in the German Bundestag
in Parliamentary Affairs , Volume 62, Number 3, July , 418-437

There is an institutional as well as a cognitive dimension to the Bundestag's ability to shape German foreign policy. Existing analyses, however, have disregarded the cognitive preconditions for the Bundestag members to make use of their institutionalised powers. We have operationalised the cognitive dimension of parliamentary influence through the concept of issue salience, which refers to the importance an actor ascribes to an issue on the political agenda. The article presents the results of two consecutive surveys among all Bundestag members in which we have measured the salience of foreign policy issues with respect to three points of reference: the salience of (1) substantive issue areas, (2) Germany's bilateral relationships and (3) Germany's relations to international organisations.

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Subsection 4.The legislative branch
Valencia. Laura
Élites parlamentarias y profesionalización legislativa en México
in El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual , n. 155

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 5.The executive branch
1427–1460
Guaranteeing a Federally Elected President
in Northwestern University Law Rewiev, Vol. 103, issue 3 , Feeley Kristin

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 5.The executive branch
H.V. Pant
Indian Foreign Policy Challenges: Substantive Uncertainties and Institutional Infirmities
in Asian Affairs, Volume 40, Issue 1 , 90 - 101

India is on the threshold of great power status but it has yet to match up to the accompanying foreign policy challenges. The approach followed by Nehru and Mrs Gandhi is not appropriate for a uni-polar world, not least because their approach lacked the underpinning of a coherent strategic analysis. That in turn demands an institutionalisation of the formulation of foreign policy. The creation of a National Security Council was supposed to remedy this deficiency, but so far it has not functioned as intended. India still needs a coherent foreign policy strategy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 5.The executive branch

Lee Jung Wook, Rainey Hal G. , Chun Young Han

Of Politics And Purpose: Political Salience And Goal Ambiguity Of Us Federal Agencies

in Public Administration, September - Volume 87 Issue 3 , 457-484

As scholars have observed, government agencies have ambiguous goals. Very few large sample empirical studies, however, have tested such assertions and analysed variations among organizations in the characteristics of their goals. Researchers have developed concepts of organizational goal ambiguity, including 'evaluative goal ambiguity', and 'priority goal ambiguity', and found that these goal ambiguity variables related meaningfully to financial publicness (the degree of government funding versus prices or user charges), regulatory responsibility, and other variables. This study analyses the influence of the external political environment (external political authorities and processes) on goal ambiguity in government agencies; many researchers have analysed external influences on government bureaucracies, but very few have examined the effects on the characteristics of the organizations, such as their goals. This analysis of 115 US federal agencies indicates that higher 'political salience' to Congress, the president, and the media, relates to higher levels of goal ambiguity. A newly developed analytical framework for the analysis includes components for external environmental influences, organizational characteristics, and managerial influences, with new variables that represent components of the framework. Higher levels of political salience relate to higher levels of both types of goal ambiguity; components of the framework, however, relate differently to evaluative goal ambiguity than to priority goal ambiguity. The results contribute evidence of the viability of the goal ambiguity variables and the political environment variables. The results also show the value of bringing together concepts from organization theory and political science to study the effects of political environments on characteristics of government agencies.

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Subsection 6.The judiciary branch

McGinnis John O., Rappaport Michael B.

Original Methods Originalism: A New Theory of Interpretation and the Case Against Construction

in Northwestern University Law Rewiev, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 751–802

No abstract available

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Subsection 6.The judiciary branch

Treanor William Michael

Against Textualism

in Northwestern University Law Rewiev, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 983–1006

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6.The judiciary branch

Solum Lawrence B.

District of Columbia v. Heller and Originalism

in Northwestern University Law Rewiev, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 923–982

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Stokes Paulsen Michael
Does the Constitution Prescribe Rules for Its Own Interpretation?
in Northwestern University Law Rewiev, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 857–922

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Skinner Gwynne
Federal Jurisdiction Over U.S. Citizens' Claims For Violations Of The Law Of Nations In Light Of Sosa
in Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law , Volume 37, Number 1, 2008 , 53-114

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Balkin Jack M.
Framework Originalism and the Living Constitution
in Northwestern University Law Rewiev, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 549–614

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Pinelli Cesare
Il dibattito sulla legittimazione della Corte Suprema
in Rivista di diritto costituzionale, 2008 , 3-36

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Kay Richard S.

Original Intention and Public Meaning in Constitutional Interpretation
in **Northwestern University Law Rewiev**, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 703–726

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Koppelman Andrew
Phony Originalism and the Establishment Clause
in **Northwestern University Law Rewiev**, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 727–750

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Donnelly Tom
Popular Constitutionalism, Civic Education, and the Stories We Tell Our Children
in **Yale Law Journal (The)**, Vol. 118, issue 5 , 948-1001

This Note analyzes a set of constitutional stories that has not been the subject of focused study—the constitutional stories we tell our schoolchildren in our most widely used high school textbooks. These stories help reinforce a constitutional culture that is largely deferential to the Supreme Court, limiting references to popular resistance to the Court and often linking such popular resistance to the actions of self-interested politicians, at best, and historical villains, at worst. Our textbooks are especially critical of blunt institutional checks on the Court (like judicial impeachment and “court-packing”), but are sometimes receptive to subtler, longer-term checks (like social mobilization and judicial nominations). If judicial supremacy does run rampant, as popular constitutionalists claim, it would appear as though our public schools are complicit in its entrenchment.

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Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
McGinnis John O., Rappaport Michael B.
Reconciling Originalism and Precedent
in **Northwestern University Law Rewiev**, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 803–856

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Hoffman Joseph L. - King Nancy J.
Rethinking the Federal Role in State Criminal Justice
in **New York University Law Review** , Vol. 84, n.3 , 791-849

This Essay argues that federal habeas review of state criminal cases squanders resources that the federal government should be using to help states reform their systems of defense representation. A 2007 empirical study reveals that federal habeas review is inaccessible to most state prisoners who have been convicted of noncapital crimes and offers no realistic hope of relief for those who do reach federal court. As a means of correcting or deterring constitutional error in noncapital cases, habeas is failing and cannot be fixed. Drawing upon these findings as well as the Supreme Court's most recent decision applying the Suspension Clause, the authors propose that Congress eliminate federal habeas review of state criminal judgments except for certain claims of actual innocence, claims based on retroactively applicable new rules, or death sentences. The federal government should leave the review of all other state criminal judgments to the state courts and invest, instead, in a new federal initiative to encourage improved state defense services. This approach can deter and correct constitutional error more effectively than any amount of habeas litigation ever could.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Cornell Saul
St. George Tucker's Lecture Notes, the Second Amendment, and Originalist Methodology: A Critical Comment
in Northwestern University Law Rewiev, Vol. 103, issue 3 , 1541–1552

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Barnett Randy E.
The Misconceived Assumption About Constitutional Assumptions
in Northwestern University Law Rewiev, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 615–662

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Calabresi Steven G., Fine Livia
Two Cheers for Professor Balkin's Originalism
in Northwestern University Law Rewiev, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 663–702

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

Anjini Kochar, Kesar Singh, Sukhwinder Singh

Targeting public goods to the poor in a segregated economy: An empirical analysis of central mandates in rural India

in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume 93, Issues 7-8 , 917-930

While local governments are increasingly being vested with control over funds for public goods, concern over the capture of decentralized funds by local elites has led decentralization to be combined with central mandates which require a certain proportion of funds to directly benefit the poor. If local capture is pervasive, however, central mandates may not be effective. Despite the popularity of this combination of decentralization and centralized control, there is little empirical evidence which separately identifies their effect on investment in public goods, and hence assesses the effectiveness of central mandates. This paper provides such evidence, using data collected by the authors for the North Indian state of Punjab, an economy where economic conditions facilitate such an analysis. We find that central mandates are effective, enhancing intra-village equality in expenditure on public goods. This finding informs the debate on the equity effects of centralized versus decentralized programs.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Renski Henry

A new era of federal involvement in regional economic development? The case of the WIRED initiative

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 27, Issue 4, August , 593-611

In November 2005 the US Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration announced a bold new initiative—Workforce Innovations in Regional Economic Development (known as WIRED). In its first iteration the WIRED initiative awarded thirteen three-year regional planning and development grants to assist regions in integrating their workforce and economic development systems to better serve emerging technologies and high employment growth sectors. In this paper I discuss the WIRED initiative as a model for federal involvement in regional economic development. Despite a sound basis in regional development theory, the implementation of WIRED fell short of its original goals that, in many cases, stymied regional attempts at innovation. The difficulties experienced by first-generation WIRED recipients led to a stark revision of the federal WIRED concept and a reversion to more traditional workforce development approaches. To be truly effective, future federal endeavors in regional economic development must overcome the persistent institutional divisions, legal impediments, and political pressures that work contrary to the desired goal of a flexible and competitive regional development strategy.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Porena Daniela

All'esame della Camera il nuovo ddl sul federalismo fiscale. i cambiamenti che si profilano per la finanza locale

in **Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza**, n.6 , 707-716

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
Vezzoso Giovanni
Aspetti problematici del federalismo fiscale
in Quaderni Regionali , n. 1

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
Bin Roberto
Che ha di federale il "federalismo fiscale"?
in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 5 , 525-530

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Kumar Surender, Managi Shunsuke
Compensation for environmental services and intergovernmental fiscal transfers. The case of India
in Ecological Economics, Volume 68, Issue 12, 15 October , 3052-3059

This paper studies mechanisms to compensate local government for the public provision of environmental services using the theory of optimal fiscal transfers in India. Especially, we analyzed the role of intergovernmental fiscal transfers in achieving the environmental goal. Simply assigning the functions at appropriate levels does not ensure optimal provision of environmental services. Optimality in resource allocation could be achieved by combining the assignment system with an appropriate compensation mechanism. Intergovernmental fiscal transfers would be a suitable mechanism for compensating the local governments and help in internalizing the spillover effects of providing environmental public goods. Illustrations are also provided for India.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Baker Lynn A.
Constitutional Ambiguities and Originalism: Lessons from the Spending Power
in Northwestern University Law Rewiev, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 495–548

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
HindriksJean, Lockwood Ben
Decentralization and electoral accountability: Incentives, separation and voter welfare
in European Journal of Political Economy, Volume 25, Issue 3, September 2009 , 385-397

This paper provides a systematic analysis of fiscal decentralization on the quality of government by studying jointly its effects on electoral discipline and selection, in a setting where, realistically, voters only have limited information about fiscal policy in other jurisdictions, ruling out yardstick competition. Fiscal centralization reduces the extent of electoral discipline, as a corrupt (rent-seeking) incumbent can target good behavior only at a “minimum winning coalition” of regions (selective rent-diversion) in order to retain office, but thus makes it more profitable for bad incumbents to pool with good ones, thus increasing the probability of electoral discipline occurring at all. Voters tend to prefer centralization when politicians are low quality i.e. more likely to be corruptible. Centralization with uniform taxes can dominate both unconstrained centralization and decentralization, explaining why uniform taxes are so widely observed.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Varsha Venugopal, Serdar Yilmaz
Decentralization in Kerala: Panchayat government discretion and accountability
in Public Administration and Development, Volume 29 Issue 4 , 316 - 329

Kerala is regarded as one of the most decentralized states in India. Through a big bang approach, Kerala implemented a significant fiscal decentralization program and then built the capacity of its local governments. We employ a diagnostic framework to analyze its local government discretion and accountability in political, administrative and fiscal domains. We find that Kerala's local governments have a very high degree of discretionary power accompanied by a high degree of accountability towards citizens. But the areas of administrative accountability and financial management need to be strengthened. Also there may have been excessive focus and investment on social accountability mechanisms at the cost of local government discretion and formal public sector accountability mechanisms.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Monica P. Escaleras and Peter T. Calcagno
Does the Gubernatorial Term Limit Type Affect State Government Expenditures?
in Public Finance Review, Volume 37, No. 5 , 572-595

Political institutions within a society often serve to create the rules governing economic actions, to establish norms of economic behavior, and ultimately to help explain the relative economic performance of society. Institutions like budgetary constraints, party ideology, term limits, and voting methods have been analyzed with emphasis on the interplay of politics and economics. Within this field, we believe that the study of term limits is of particular importance. Hence, this article empirically investigates the link between the different types of gubernatorial term limits and state expenditures, after controlling for political institutions. Using panel data from thirty-seven U.S. states between 1971 and 2005, we find that all three types of term limits (weak, moderate, and strong) have a positive impact on gubernatorial spending. However, only weak and moderate term limits are statistically significant, suggesting that the more lenient is

the constraint on the governor the greater is the impetus to spend.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Phaup Marvin
Federal Use of Implied Guarantees: Some Preliminary Lessons from the Current Financial Distress
in Public Administration Review, July/August - Volume 69 Issue 4 , , 651-659

The U.S. financial crisis and recession that began in 2007 poses profound challenges for public policy and administration. It also provides useful information about the effects of economic policies. This paper considers the implications of current developments for the use of implied guarantees as an instrument of public policy. It draws on experience with Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac to argue that implied federal guarantees have a severe disadvantage. Their costs are largely unmeasured, unrecognized in the budget, and unmanaged. Yet their use appears to be increasing in the current crisis. To minimize the costs of the expanded financial safety net, government should measure and manage those costs more effectively. To that end, this paper proposes new budgetary treatments of federal implied guarantees.

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

Fiscal Decentralization and Public Sector Employment
in Public Finance Review, Volume 37, No. 5 , 539-571

his paper investigates the relationship between public sector employment and fiscal decentralization. We develop a theoretical framework modeling the interactions between the central and subnational executives regarding the level of public employment at the central and subnational government levels. In our empirical work, based on a large cross-country dataset, we find that, ceteris paribus, the level of total public sector employees in a country increases with its level of fiscal decentralization. Even though central government employment decreases with decentralization, this is more than fully offset by the increase in employment at the subnational level accompanying decentralization. Our empirical results also indicate that the relationship between GDP per capita and public sector employment is not monotonic but quadratic, that total public sector employment is higher in unitary countries vis-à-vis federal countries, and that public employment increases with the country's international economic openness.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Nicole Bolleyer, Evelyn Bytzek
Government Congruence and Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Systems
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 19 Issue 3 , 371 - 397

Intergovernmental arrangements in federal systems are important instruments to co-ordinate policy making between subnational governments. We argue that the capacity of these arrangements to guide government behaviour is shaped

by the arrangements' institutionalization, which is affected by the programmatic differences between the governmental parties embedded in them. This paper presents first a measure of government congruence, which captures the programmatic differences between subnational governments. Secondly, it explores the impact of government congruence on intergovernmental arrangements' institutionalization across six countries.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Jiawen Yang, Hossein Askari, John Forrer, Lili Zhu
How Do US Economic Sanctions Affect EU's Trade with Target Countries?
in World Economy, Volume 32 Issue 8 , 1223 - 1244

We investigate the impact of US economic sanctions on EU's trade using a panel data approach expressed in a two-level framework. Both multilateral and unilateral sanctions involving the US and the EU have a negative impact on EU trade (total, imports and exports). We argue that unilateral sanctions, if extensive in nature, would have a depressing impact on target countries' trade, especially in the stage after sanctions have been imposed. Over time, both multilateral and unilateral sanctions lead to an increase in a target country's exports to the EU, lending support to the third-country effect of sanctions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Queijo von Heideken Virginia
How Important are Financial Frictions in the United States and the Euro Area?
in Scandinavian Journal of Economics, Volume 111, Number 3 , 567-596

This paper aims to evaluate whether frictions in credit markets are important for business cycles in the United States and the euro area. I modify the DSGE financial accelerator model developed by Bernanke, Gertler and Gilchrist (1999) by adding such frictions as price indexation to past inflation, sticky wages, consumption habits and variable capital utilization. When estimating the model using Bayesian methods, I find that financial frictions are relevant in both areas. According to the posterior odds ratio, the data clearly favor the model with financial frictions, both in the United States and the euro area. Moreover, financial frictions are larger in the euro area.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Buglione Enrico
Il finanziamento delle regioni nella legge delega in materia di federalismo fiscale: alcune prime osservazioni
in Rassegna parlamentare, n. 2 , 465-480

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

Cabras Daniele
Il processo di attuazione della legge delega in materia di federalismo fiscale: il ruolo del Parlamento
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 12

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Caramanico Lisa
L'attuazione del federalismo fiscale in Italia. Riflessioni e spunti dall'ordinamento tedesco e spagnolo alla luce dei principi di solidarietà e sussidiarietà
in Archivio giuridico, n. 1 , 111-144

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
Rivosecchi Guido
La legge delega sul federalismo fiscale tra buone intenzioni e occasioni mancate
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Valeria Mazzantini
La liberalizzazione dei servizi pubblici locali alla luce del federalismo funzionale: il caso dei servizi energetici
in Economia Pubblica, Fascicolo 3-4

The theory of FOCJ (Functional, Overlapping, Competing Jurisdictions) introduces a notion of functional federalism in which each jurisdiction is responsible for the provision of a specific class of public goods. In other terms, in the model citizens can choose some local public goods without moving from one jurisdiction to another, as Buchanan's and Tiebout's theories would require. This theory appears especially suitable to explain and illustrate the evolution of the Italian case, in which the liberalisation of the energy sector has enabled the consumers to choose their own gas and electricity supplier. This could be achieved detaching the production and marketing of the service from the management of the related network. In this way, it is possible to introduce for the first time a real competition between suppliers of local public goods and to break off the monopolies of the local incumbent: citizens addressing the same seller, belong to the same «functional jurisdictions», while citizens living in the same area can belong to different jurisdictions. In the future, we can foresee the emergence of two kinds of jurisdiction: small jurisdictions, highly localized, where the supplied service is highly specialized and customised; and bigger jurisdictions, characterized by the exploitation of economies of

scale, in which the supplied service is undifferentiated and cheaper

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Cento Bull Anna
Lega Nord: A Case of Simulative Politics?
in South European Society & Politics, Volume 14, Issue 2, June , 129-146

In contrast to recent research on the Lega Nord, which has focused upon the party's political discourse and propaganda, this paper re-examines the Lega's success among a specific socio-economic and territorial constituency (industrial districts), in the light of the results of the 2008 political elections. The paper applies the concept of 'simulative politics' to explain the revival of the Lega's electoral fortunes in its traditional strongholds, in the context of deep and unsettling socio-economic changes and growing feelings of (di)stress among both producers and residents. The analysis concludes that the success of the Lega Nord today can be best understood as a case of 'simulative politics'.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Srinivasan R.
Mission Accomplished: Centralization of State's Fiscal Powers
in Indian Journal of Federal Studies, Issue 20

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
Andreu Orte, Alex Wilson
Multi-level Coalitions and Statute Reform in Spain
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 19 Issue 3 , 415 - 436

Between 2003 and 2007 six regional statutes of autonomy were reformed in Spain. These are Organic Laws that form part of the 'constitutional bloc' in Spain and determine the characteristics of state decentralization, so contain high thresholds for revision in the regional and Spanish parliament. Statutes are a flexible component of 'non-institutional federalism' in Spain and their negotiation highlights both centripetal and centrifugal dynamics in state design. Existing empirical studies have compared the content of these reforms. This article compares the political dynamics of statute reform, in light of existing literature on coalitional bargaining. It argues that statute reform is a competitive two-level game (regional and central), which requires parties to form single-issue 'statute coalitions'. Statute coalitions require varying degrees of inter-party co-operation, and can distort more permanent governing or parliamentary coalitions between statewide and non-statewide parties. They can exacerbate intra-party tensions, but may also be useful for 'coalitional experimentation' in multi-level arenas. Statute negotiations are unbounded because Spanish parties exploit them for electoral advantage and not merely to secure their policy preferences. This article contains two case studies of statute reform (Catalonia, Valencia) which illustrate these complex and varied dynamics, and suggests comparative avenues for further research on constitutional reform in multi-level systems

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Daniel Bochsler
Neighbours or Friends? When Swiss Cantonal Governments Co-operate with Each Other
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 19 Issue 3 , 349 - 370

Intergovernmental co-operation among Swiss cantons is considered to be much more intensive than in many other federal states. This article investigates different explanations for when and why subnational entities co-operate with each other, and tests them on the Swiss case. In the Swiss case, co-operation seems to be closely connected to the small-scale structure of subnational units. Swiss cantons are fairly small, often smaller than the relevant areas for the provision of public services. This means that cantons need to co-operate with their neighbours and proximate cantons. Further, in the absence of an administrative level that unifies areas with a common language, concordats are a means to co-ordinate policies among German-speaking and French-speaking cantons. The different partisan colours of the cantonal governments only marginally hinder them from co-operating with each other.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Cassell Mark K., Hoffmann Susan M.
Not All Housing GSEs Are Alike: An Analysis of the Federal Home Loan Bank System and the Foreclosure Crisis
in Public Administration Review, July/August - Volume 69 Issue 4 , , 613-622

While the financial crisis of 2008 ultimately affected the range of U.S. financial institutions, it began with practices in home ownership finance. The Federal Home Loan Bank (FHLBank) System was the first instrumentality created by the U.S. government, in 1932, to sustain affordable home ownership finance. In this article, the authors ask what role, if any, the FHLBanks played in the subprime lending and securitization practices that precipitated the current crisis. The authors analyze publicly available FHLBank financial data in terms of a framework focused on the System's assets: advances; mortgage loans acquired from members; and investments, particularly in mortgage-backed-securities. They conclude that the FHLBanks did not contribute significantly to problematic practices. Nonetheless, they recommend consideration of three reforms to the FHLBanks to ensure a return to effective regulation and responsible, affordable home ownership finance.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Brancasi Antonio, Merloni Francesco
Politiche statali, politiche regionali e autonomia politico-amministrativa e finanziaria degli enti territoriali
in Regioni (Le), n.1 , 9-46

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
Jorge P. Gordin
Regionalizing Patronage? Federal Resource Allocation and Party Politics in Spain
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 19 Issue 3 , 399 - 413

Does federalism enhance patronage practices? To the degree that subnational governments are responsible for significant portions of total public spending in politically decentralized systems, the study of the institutional facilitators of patronage can be fruitfully advanced by mapping out the territorial distribution of political and economic resources. Using data from intergovernmental transfers in Spain—an often-cited case of patronage-driven electoral mobilization—we find that, unexpectedly, Spanish regions that have a regional-party dominant system do not necessarily 'over-fish' patronage resources. This apparent inconsistency is explained by the fact regionalist parties are more likely to flourish in economically advantaged regions, which are normally more interested in deepening fiscal co-responsibility (which makes the reliance on patronage and pork-barrelling less likely).

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Pietro Alessandrini, Michele Fratianni
Resurrecting Keynes to Stabilize the International Monetary System
in Open Economies Review, Volume 20, Number 3 , 339-358

We adapt the basic principles of the Keynes Plan and argue for the creation of a supranational bank money (SBM) that would coexist along side national currencies and for the establishment of a new international clearing union (NICU). These principles remain timely because the fundamental causes of the instability of the international monetary system are as valid today as they were in the early forties. The new supranational money would be created against domestic earning assets of the Fed and the ECB and its quantity would be demand-driven. Our proposal is not an agreement on exchange rates, which while possible is not essential to the functioning of the SBM. NICU would not hold open positions in assets denominated in national currency and consequently would not bear exchange rate risk. NICU would be more than an office recording credit and debit entries of the supranational bank money. The financial tsunami that hit the world economy in 2007–2008 provides a unique opportunity for a coordinated strategy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Marongiu Gianni
Riflessioni a margine del progetto di “federalismo fiscale”
in Quaderni Regionali , n. 1

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
Vanni Mario

Riflessioni in tema di federalismo fiscale, responsabilità politica e tetti massimi di incremento da parte dello Stato
in **Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 5 , 531-540

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Wing Leong Teo
Should East Asia's currencies be pegged to the yen? The role of invoice currency
in **Journal of the Japanese and International Economies**, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 283-308

Growing concern that a dollar peg exposes East Asian economies to fluctuations in the dollar–yen exchange rate has stimulated research on currency basket regimes as alternatives for these economies. However, existing studies have mostly ignored an important characteristic of East Asia, i.e., most of its international trade is invoiced in the U.S. dollars. This paper investigates how the preponderance of dollar invoicing affects optimal currency basket regimes for East Asian economies. I develop a three-country center-periphery sticky-price dynamic stochastic general equilibrium model for the analysis. The model is solved numerically by taking second-order approximations to the policy functions with the expected lifetime utility of households chosen as the welfare criterion. Contrary to the conjecture of existing literature, I show that predominance of dollar invoicing implies that the dollar should receive a smaller weight than suggested by bilateral trade shares between emerging markets in East Asia and the United States. The results hinge on the interaction of different degrees of pass-through implied by the choice of invoice currency and endogenous responses of monetary policies in the center countries.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Tiago Neves Sequeira and Alexandra Ferreira-Lopes
Should the Federal Government Reallocate Funds within Federal Transfers?
in **Public Finance Review**, Volume 37, No. 5 , 596-612

It is recognized that one of the goals of federal transfers is to provide the states with some financial leverage during recessions. Federal transfers in the United States comprise such components as retirement and disability payments for individuals, other direct payments for individuals or organizations, grants, procurement contracts, and salaries and wages. Is the composition of the federal transfers' budget having an optimal effect on the business cycle or should the federal government reallocate some expenditure? In this article, we argue that the federal government may improve its role in stabilizing the business cycle if some reallocation is made from procurement contracts and payments for other than individuals to direct payments for individuals, grants, and disability and retirement payments.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Diana Pitsche, Michael W. Bauer

Subnational Governance Approaches on the Rise—Reviewing a Decade of Eastern European Regionalization Research

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 19 Issue 3 , 327 - 347

This article reviews the past decade of decentralization and regionalization research on the new Eastern European member states of the EU (EU-10). We classify the existing literature according to focus of analysis, explanatory programme and methodological preferences, and propose a distinction between three different research agendas: system transformation, EU conditionality and subnational governance. We argue that with respect to the EU-10, scholarly interest in the perspectives of state transformation and conditionality is waning. By contrast, the subnational governance approach is growing in relevance because it represents the cornerstone of a multi-level governance perspective that is able to integrate what have up to now been separate debates about regionalism in Eastern and Western Europe.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Emmanuel Remi Aiyede

The Political Economy of Fiscal Federalism and the Dilemma of Constructing a Developmental State in Nigeria

in **International Political Science Review** , vol. 30, n. 3, june , 249-269

ABSTRACT: The relationship between federalism and development needs to be investigated in the context of values of governance and state—society relations, especially citizenship. This helps to uplift the discourse on the African state by situating it within the historiography and political economy of federalism. This article explores the institutional and political foundations of the fundamentally distributive orientation of Nigeria's fiscal federal system: the values that underlie governance and the character of state—society relations expressed in the demarcation of fiscal federalism from citizenship privileges and duties. It argues that a fragmented citizenship sustains predatory rule, which undermines the developmental content of federalism.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Nelson Marconi, Paulo R. Arvate, João S. Moura Neto and Paulo E. M. Palombo

Vertical transfers and the appropriation of resources by the bureaucracy: the case of Brazilian state governments

in **Public Choice**, Volume 141, Numbers 1-2 , 65-85

The purpose of this study is to explore whether the transfers received by state governments in Brazil are being appropriated by the bureaucracy as wages. The wage differential between the public and private sectors was used as a measure of this appropriation, following the technique for wage decomposition proposed by Oaxaca. Our results show that transfers stimulate appropriation by the bureaucracy, but that private groups existing within the states contend for these resources. The results also indicate that the resources appropriated are distributed uniformly between the various groups composing the bureaucracy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)
Dimicoli Yves
Pas d'Europe sociale sans réorientation de la BCE
in Pensée (La), Fascicule 2009/359 , 5-17

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)
Jeong Gyung-Ho, Miller Gary J., Sobel Andrew C.
Political Compromise and Bureaucratic Structure: The Political Origins of the Federal Reserve System
in Journal of International Economics, Volume 79, Issue 1, September 2009 , 472-498

What is the origin of the structural independence of the Federal Reserve System? Unlike existing explanations on central bank independence, we show that the structural independence of the Fed is not the result of intentional design but a product of compromise among disparate groups. Using agenda-constrained ideal point estimation techniques to estimate both the preferences of senators on key questions of Fed structure and the locations of alternative forms of the bill with respect to those preferences, we show that the structural features of the Fed in the final bill differed markedly from the original preferences of legislators representing competing groups. The result was a compromise that offered the prospect of significant independence for the new agency. The Fed case shows that political compromise can provide useful bureaucratic insulation when the short-term incentives of political principals promote unstable, self-seeking policy choices

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)
Corder J. Kevin
The Federal Reserve System and the Credit Crisis
in Public Administration Review, July/August - Volume 69 Issue 4 , , 623-631

The Federal Reserve System struggled to maintain order in U.S. credit markets as rapid declines in home prices led to huge write-downs in the value of mortgage-backed securities held by financial institutions. The Fed could have taken a number of steps—in the mortgage market or through broader regulatory actions—to either preempt or mitigate the impact of this market disruption. Broader regulatory actions—in the mortgage market, of risk taking by financial institutions, or in the form of actions to limit the contagion of crisis—imply fundamental changes at the Fed. The network of actors with a stake in broader regulatory action is powerful and highly resistant to regulatory scrutiny. The statutory mission of the Fed—especially its commitment to stable prices—could be jeopardized by a broad and explicit mandate to provide liquidity to a wide range of vulnerable financial institutions.

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

Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)

Patrick J. Raines, Heather R. Richardson, Charles G. Leathers

Where Bernanke is taking the Federal Reserve: a Post Keynesian and institutionalist perspective

in **Journal of Post Keynesian Economics**, Volume 31, Number 3 , 367 - 382

We develop a perspective on where Bernanke is taking the Federal Reserve by drawing from Paul Davidson's Post Keynesian analyses of the current financial crisis and the Federal Reserve as an effective market maker and Thorstein Veblen's perception that the Federal Reserve was supporting creditinflation by large investment banks in the 1920s. New Deal legislation restricted the ability of investment banks to create credit-inflation and left the Federal Reserve with only an indirect relationship with investment banks. Financial deregulation and financial derivatives resulted in a new and larger form of credit-inflation by underwriter-bank conglomerates. Bernanke's responses to the inevitable financial crisis are bringing the Federal Reserve into an even closer relationship with underwriter-bank conglomerates than Veblen envisioned.

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Torrecuadrada Soledad

El derecho a voto de los extranjeros en las elecciones municipales de España

in **Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile**, Vol. 41 / 2009 / Nr 162 , 85

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Geser Hans

Rising Tides of Ideological Simplifications: A Comparative and Longitudinal Analysis of Local Parties

in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 15, Number 2, Summer 2009 , 241-280

This article explores the strength and causal determinants of ideological thinking within Swiss local political parties. The concept of “ideologization” refers to (1): “horizontal couplings”, as they are manifested in intercorrelations between different opinions, and to (2) “vertical couplings” of specific opinions to abstract concepts of “left” and “right”. Results show high ideologization on the left-center section of the LR-scale, especially in the vertical dimension. On both sides of the spectrum, ideological constraints are significantly higher in larger communities than in than in smaller ones. Only in rather small communities, does ideologization correlate positively with the educational level, the modern occupational background of party members and the number of other local parties with which they have to compete. In communities of given size, ideological thinking is more pronounced when parties possess a small share of political power. Finally, it is found that ideological constraints have increased somewhat between 1989 and 2002.

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

del Campo García Esther, Haro González Ana

A la búsqueda de una gobernanza responsable: descentralización y mecanismos de rendición de cuentas en los municipios bolivianos

in Reforma y democracia (Venezuela), n. 44

As stated by Victor Bekkers and other authors (in a document edited in 2007), throughout the decade of 90's, the management of public resources has suffered a paradigm change, from a classical one of government to the new paradigm of governance. With this transformation, the government (understood in a classical sense) has stopped to be the only actor who can influence in the development of societies; governmental interventions falls rather on public policy network, in which the power, the dependence on the resources, and the behaviour strategies, become vital elements. Therefore, we are talking of a polycentric management, where the discussion, the design and the control of public management are carried out jointly between institutional and non institutional actors.

This new governance takes place, particularly, in the participation spheres of local governments. The authors of this article understand that the efficiency and, consequently, the legitimacy of both public institutions and management of public resources, is reinforced by the formation of social networks and institutional decision-making closer to citizens. In this sense, the local goverment is the ideal space to develop those participatory practices, since the smaller the realm, the greater is the potential for direct involvement of citizens. Also because the need to strengthen the direct social control of institutions often coincides with the implementation of decentralization processes of political power. However, in this local area is especially obvious the lack of the mechanisms of horizontal and vertical accountability. Under these assumptions, this paper attempts, first, to discuss the instruments and mechanisms of accountability that were developed in the case of Bolivia, when the Popular Participation Law was passed, and secondly, to evaluate whether these mechanisms have a positive impact on the governance and legitimacy of public policies or not. In sum, it looks forward to verify the extent to which interests and demands of the Bolivian people have been included in the final product.

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Parvin Phil

Against Localism: Does Decentralising Power to Communities Fail Minorities?

in Political Quarterly , Volume 80, Issue 3, July-September 2009 , 351-360

ABSTRACT

The continued decline in levels of political engagement among British citizens has led many politicians, commentators and academics from across the political spectrum to advocate a move toward a more direct form of democracy via some kind of localism. The claim is that citizens feel increasingly estranged from the democratic process, and from those organisations on which they have historically relied to represent them within the political system. Consequently, localists argue, there now exists a gap between the people, the institutions which are supposed to work on their behalf, and the decisions made in their name, so the system needs to be reformed in such a way as to give individuals and local

communities more of a direct input into the decision-making process. Calls for a more direct form of democracy via localism are popular among members of the progressive left and the 'new Conservative' right, and have become so dominant in political discourse that it is often suggested that 'we are all localists now'. This article raises questions about the localist agenda, and suggests that the adoption of a more direct form of democracy in Britain may not only fail to address the decline in political engagement, but may also result in the exclusion, marginalisation, and oppression of minority groups.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Leubolt Bernhard, Novy Andreas, Becker Joachim
Changing patterns of participation in Porto Alegre
in **International Social Science Journal** , Volume 59, Issue 193-194, September 2008 , 435-448

ABSTRACT
This article aims at understanding local capabilities for empowerment, dealing with the potential for progressive political movements at the local level. Applying an analytical approach to urban governance that is sensitive to path, context and scale, this article discusses participatory governance in Porto Alegre, the capital city of Rio Grande do Sul, the most southern state of Brazil. Porto Alegre's participatory budget is an international best practice model of urban governance. In recent years it has been referred to as an exemplar of pro-poor participatory governance and has been adopted by many other cities and international organisations. In this article we give special emphasis to recent transformations which we characterise as a change from a radical democratisation project towards a model of consensual governance. The former conception – linked to the administration of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (1989–2004) – tended to be a project of social transformation where conflicts were dealt with openly and democratically and the local level was treated as a space of experimentation for political up-scaling projects. Its implementation led to remarkable social progress. The latter conception – implemented by the new mayor after 2005 – has stronger links to mainstream concepts of good governance, focusing on consensual arrangements and private–public partnerships.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Padovani Emanuele, Scorsone Eric
Comparing local governments' performance internationally: a mission impossible?
in **International Review of Administrative Sciences** , June 2009, Volume 75, No. 2 , 219-237

While some attempt has been made to address cross-national trends in performance measurement systems (PMSs) in local governments, very few systemic efforts have been attempted to uncover similarities and differences. This article seeks to advance the understanding of the variables researchers should consider when comparing the adoption characteristics and process of PMSs across countries at the local level. Specifically, a framework is constructed to argue that the intersection of the level of performance regime, the types of intergovernmental relationships and the focus of PMS in use on the different types of measure, shape a specific `performance measurement context' that affects

comparability. The framework is then empirically motivated by a comparison between Italy and Michigan, USA. For practitioners and analysts, the framework is a tool to guide effective comparisons across service areas for applied research and organizational learning purposes.

Points for practitioners While benchmarking has become an increasingly used practice by local governments for various purposes — e.g. disclosure to citizens, definition of targets in budgeting processes, personnel evaluation — its domain is usually limited to comparisons within the same country. This article seeks to advance the understanding of the variables practitioners should consider when comparing local governments across countries at the local level. They are: the level of performance regime, the types of intergovernmental relationships and the focus of performance measurement systems in use including the different types of measures. These are discussed in the article and are the basis of a conceptual framework that will assist practitioners in understanding the comparability of local governments' performance systems across countries.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Surender Naik D.
Dalit Perspective on Communalism
in Indian Journal of Federal Studies, Issue 20

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Urpelainen Johannes
Explaining the Schwarzenegger Phenomenon: Local Frontrunners in Climate Policy
in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 9, Issue 3, August , 82-105

The surge of local climate policy is a puzzling political-economic phenomenon. Why have local policy-makers, incapable of mitigating global warming through individual emissions reductions, adopted ambitious policies while national governments refrain from action? I construct a game-theoretic model of two-level climate policy with incomplete information over political benefits. In equilibrium, the government selects a lax national regulation, and local policy-makers with private information on high local benefits choose more ambitious policies despite incentives to free ride. The analysis also suggests that even though local policy-makers prefer not to reveal information to the government, they must do so to pursue short-term political gains. Counterintuitively, new information can lead to more ambitious national regulation even if the government learns that the local political benefits are likely lower than expected. As an empirical application, I study the evolution of climate policies in the United States.

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

Financial autonomy and consistency of central government policy towards local governments
in **International Review of Administrative Sciences** , June 2009, Volume 75, No. 2 , 311-332

raditionally, empirical assessment of local government financial autonomy has concentrated on the different income sources available to local governments. In this article we extend such evaluation to the expenditure autonomy side and combine these two dimensions of autonomy into a comprehensive evaluation of local government financial autonomy. The operationalization of financial autonomy offers a basis for an evaluation of the consistency of central government policy towards local governments. Our approach is then used for a comparison of two countries — Finland and Poland.

Points for practitioners

Key implications in our approach are the systematic evaluation of both income and expenditure autonomy of local governments, and combining these two dimensions of autonomy into a comprehensive evaluation of local government financial autonomy. The measurement of financial autonomy which is developed can be used as a management tool in central government policy towards local governments.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Edigheji Omano
Globalization and Evolving Local Governance in Norway
in **Globalizations** , Volume 6, Issue 2, June 2009 , 207-223

Abstract
Has local governance in Norway escaped the forces of globalization? In grappling with this question, and using the case of Trondheim Municipality, I argue that local government reform in Norway is predicated on the dominant paradigm of public sector reform in the age of globalization, namely, new public management (NPM). This has had corrosive effects on the capacity of the local states in Norway to provide basic services to their citizens. Consequently, the Norwegian welfare regime is being undermined by the new reform agenda. However, while local governance in Norway is predicated within the dominant global paradigm, it deviates from the global trend as there is increasing centralization as opposed to decentralization as the national government uses various mechanisms to regulate and control municipalities.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Delledonne Giacomo , Martinico Giuseppe
Handle with Care!: The Regional Charters and Italian Constitutionalism's ‘Grey Zone’
in **European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 5 - Issue 02 , 218-236

Founding principles and rights in new Statuti (fundamental regional charters) – Expression of sub – national constitutionalism? – Constitutional court: Statuti not regional constitutions – Provisions on founding principles and rights ‘cultural statements’ lacking any legal effect – Tertium Genus in addition to ‘prescriptive’ and ‘programmatic’ norms? –

Various scenarios for potential legal conflicts between the national Constitution and the ‘cultural statements’

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Camarda Lorenzo
I primi passi verso il federalismo
in Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza, n. 13-14 , 1490-1491

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Camarda Lorenzo
Il disegno di legge Calderoli: sblocco dello stallo
in Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza, n. 11 , 1306-1307

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Fabrizzi Federica
L'eliminazione delle province: più dubbi che certezze. riflessioni a margine dei lavori parlamentari
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 17

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Frosina Laura
La Città autonoma di Buenos Aires nel federalismo multilivello argentino - Il singolare status costituzionale della capitale federale
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 10

No abstract available

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

La crisi delle autonomie locali
in **Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza**, n. 7-8 , 841-842

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Italia Vittorio
La negazione delle autonomie locali
in **Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza**, n. 11 , 1305-1306

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Ferruccio Ponzano
La secessione delle province in Italia
in **Economia Pubblica**, Fascicolo 3-4

The secession of Italian provinces is an institutional phenomenon that affects our country from North to South since the 90s and is far from a conclusion. The aim of this paper is to analyse this institutional change, starting from the Constitutional and legislative contexts (articles 114 and 133 of the Constitution and the 267/2000 law). After a brief description of the eight new provinces that were born in 1992 and a survey of the related literature, I consider the presence of an «organizing committee» of the secession that makes a sunk investment to obtain a benefit from the rent of the new offices. I use a model of rent-seeking neglecting any implication for citizens

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Meloni Guido
La semplificazione istituzionale-amministrativa e la riforma costituzionale
in **ItalianiEuropei**, n. 3

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Ruiz Vieytez Eduardo J.
Las Recomendaciones de Bolzano/BOZEN sobre Minorías Nacionales en Relaciones interestatales
in **Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales**, Número 17/ 2009

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Italia Vittorio
Le funzioni fondamentali dei comuni
in Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza, n. 13-14 , 1489-1490

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Frosini Tommaso E.
Modifica del Titolo V e ruolo delle province
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 17

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
S. Kristiansen; A. Dwiyanto; A. Pramusinto; E.A. Putranto
Public Sector Reforms and Financial Transparency: Experiences from Indonesian Districts
in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs, Volume 31, Number 1, April , 64-87

As in many Asian, African, and Latin American countries, democratization and devolution reforms have characterized the recent development of public management in Indonesia. This article analyses the current development of “good governance” in Indonesian local government. The main objective is to assess the level of transparency, the mechanisms for hiding, and the extent of corruption in district budgeting and accounting. The empirical data consists of 200 in-depth interviews with members of the executive, legislative and civil society institutions in six districts. The article concludes that national systems and traditions of politics and bureaucracy have a strong negative impact on local administrative procedures, leaving only marginal space for regional variance and improvements. There is a remarkable lack of transparency, and checks and balances in public financial affairs are largely absent in all districts.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Groppi Tania
Soppressione delle province e nuovo Titolo V
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 16

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Anne Mette Kjær
Sources of local government extractive capacity: The role of trust and pre-colonial legacy in the case of Uganda
in Public Administration and Development, Volume 29 Issue 3 , 228 - 238

Local government extractive capacity, as measured by the amount of graduated personal tax (GPT) collected relative to district wealth and population and, more qualitatively, as reflected in the nature of enforcement, varies considerably in Uganda. This article explores the reasons for this variation, first by investigating aggregate data at the cross-district level, using data on taxation as well as survey data from the Afrobarometer, second, by a focussed comparison of two districts, one with high- and one with low-extractive capacity. I find that generalised trust can explains some of the variation in extractive capacity across districts. The case studies trace the differences in trust and extractive capacity back to pre-colonial rule; the better performing district having had centralised rule, a tradition of tax-payment and a higher degree of social cohesion, while the poorer performing district had a more fragmented and less cohesive history of governance. The article thus points to the importance of understanding institutional path dependencies when assessing the feasibility of reform

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Bailey Stephen, Elliott Mark
Taking Local Government Seriously: Democracy, Autonomy And The Constitution
in Cambridge Law Journal (The), Volume 68, Issue 02, July , 436-472

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Sweeting David
The institutions of ‘strong’ local political leadership in Spain
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 27, Issue 4, August , 698-712

In this paper I examine local political leadership in Spain. Spanish mayors are examples of ‘strong mayors’—that is, they have considerable executive authority and discretion in municipal affairs. Yet little detailed research exists on the formal and informal institutional bases of their position. I fill this gap by presenting empirical research on two Spanish municipalities. Using a new institutionalist theoretical perspective, I examine the rules around the appointment and

removal of the mayor, the composition of the cabinet, the role of the full council, and the conventions around the role of the mayor in the municipality. Legal powers, a culture of individualised leadership, and councillor representation based on support for the party are all important for maintaining the mayor's position. Some formal rules around the mayor in the case-study municipalities are 'latent'—that is, they exist but are not used.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Piper Laurence, Deacon Roger
Too Dependent to Participate: Ward Committees and Local Democratisation in South Africa
in Local Government Studies, Vol. 35, issue 4 , 415 - 433

Will participatory local government structures help deepen democracy in South Africa? That is the proclaimed purpose of the ward committee system, the centre-piece of post-apartheid local government reform, intended to facilitate deliberative democratic decision making. Drawing on a case study of the Msunduzi municipality, it is argued here that ward committees, as yet barely functional seven years since first being established, have from the outset been caught up in relations of dependency with ward councillors, political parties and the municipality itself, and that these relations threaten to undermine the democratic dividends that the committees are expected to yield.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Orr Kevin, Vince Russ
Traditions Of Local Government
in Public Administration, September - Volume 87 Issue 3 , 655-677

This article explores local government traditions in the UK. This task is an important one for scholars who wish to understand and appreciate the rich cultural complexity of local government organizations. In local government settings, traditions can be used in the study and evaluation of political and managerial practices. They provide lenses through which the routines, structures and processes of management and politics may be viewed. The delineation of multiple traditions heightens the sense that local government is not a unified homogeneous organizational entity, but rather a melange of voices, interests and assumptions about how to organize, prioritize and mobilize action. They can be used to engage practitioners with the idea that different traditions inform political and managerial practices and processes in local councils. The approach embraces the significance of participants' constitutive stories about local government rather than the search for essential truths about the politics and management of the public sector

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
De Martin Gian Candido
Un ente strategico, ancorché misconosciuto: la provincia
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 17

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Balboni Enzo
Un ruolo innovativo per le autonomie funzionali nel nuovo statuto della Regione Lombardia
in **Impresa & Stato**, Ottobre/Dicembre N.85/2008 , 78-80

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Jouve Bernard
Urban governance: towards the emergence of a new policy instrument?
in **International Social Science Journal** , Volume 59, Issue 193-194, September 2008 , 343-357

ABSTRACT
Over the past 20 years in the academic world and the political sphere urban governance has come to represent both a new framework of analysis for urban policies and a tool for government used by a variety of international organisations, states and urban institutions. The term refers to two major observations: on the one hand, modern states are being transformed – and the role played by urban policies in this transformation can be vital. On the other, one must not overestimate the capacity of democratically elected institutions alone to regulate the economic and social problems they face. It is therefore necessary to consider more fully the role of civil society stakeholders in the formulation and implementation of urban policies. This article aims to show how the success of urban governance can be explained by the convergence of three processes from different social, institutional and political spheres: one from the social sciences, which analyses the transformations of the welfare state; one from the great international organisations in charge of development policies in the big cities in the South and one from the urban institutions of developed countries, particularly western Europe. What follows, then, is a concise report, with regard to the nature and exercise of urban power, on the implementation of what seems at first glance to be a new instrument for public action, which has replaced the mode of urban government based on monopolistic planning by various administrative bodies (international, national and local) and the local political elite.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Kreutzmann Marko
Bürokratische Funktionseliten und politische Integration im Deutschen Zollverein (1834–1871)
in **Historische Zeitschrift**, Band 288 Heft 3 (Juni 2009) , 613-647

Zusammenfassung

Die Gründung des Deutschen Zollvereins im Jahr 1834 setzte zwischen den beteiligten Staaten neben den

wirtschaftlichen auch politische Integrationsprozesse in Gang. Eine entscheidende Rolle spielte dabei die wachsende bürokratische Verflechtung. Die für den Zollverein tätigen
höheren Beamten konstituierten sich durch ihre gemeinsame Arbeit zu einer überstaatlichen, an den übergeordneten Interessen des Zollvereins orientierten Funktionselite. Obwohl die höheren Zollvereinsbeamten eine eher lose vernetzte Gruppierung ohne gemeinsames Programm
oder eine koordinierte Handlungsstrategie blieben, entwickelten sie eine zunehmend auf den Zollverein bezogene Handlungslogik. Dabei emanzipierten sie sich von der bloßen Vertretung einzelstaatlicher Interessen. Dies galt sowohl in den kleineren und mittleren Zollvereinsstaaten
als auch in Preußen, das aufgrund wechselnder Machtverhältnisse in leitenden Regierungspositionen keineswegs eine kontinuierliche Zollvereinspolitik betrieb. Demgegenüber erwies sich das Eigengewicht der über ein spezifisches Fachwissen verfügenden Beamtenschaft ähnlich wie auf der europäischen Ebene im 20. Jahrhundert als wichtiger Faktor der überstaatlichen Integration. Der fachliche Wissensvorsprung der höheren Zollvereinsbeamten ließ nur begrenzte personalpolitische Eingriffe der Regierungen zu. Zur Identifikation der Beamten
mit der neuen Institution trugen vermutlich auch die hier gebotenen beruflichen Aufstiegschancen bei. Die höheren Zollvereinsbeamten traten dabei oft nicht nur für die Modernisierung von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft ein, sondern sympathisierten auch mit dem politischen Liberalismus. Die bürokratische Integration im Zollverein begünstigte
also keineswegs einseitig die obrigkeitsstaatlich geprägte, politische Partizipationsansprüche zurückdrängende Reichsgründung von 1871.
Vielmehr konnten die höheren Zollvereinsbeamten ihre meist an den Forderungen des liberalen Bürgertums orientierten Konzepte in den Prozeß der Nationsbildung einbringen.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Yuen Yuen Ang
Centralizing treasury management in China: The rationale of the central reformers
in Public Administration and Development, Volume 29 Issue 4 , 263 - 273

The Chinese central government, spearheaded by the Ministry of Finance, launched a bold reform of the treasury management system in 2001, centralizing the disbursement of budgetary funds. This article analyzes the rationale of institutional reform from the perspective of the central reformers. Traditionally, governmental bank accounts in China were fragmented between and within levels of government, hindering budget implementation and intergovernmental transfers, as well as fomenting corruption. The centerpiece of China's treasury reform is the establishment of the Treasury Single Account (TSA), which serves to both strengthen expenditure controls and improve cash management. However, while the treasury reform promises to make significant strides in improving fiscal control and countering the misuse of public funds, its implementation remains imperfect and incomplete.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Abbay Alemseged
Diversity and democracy in Ethiopia
in Journal of Eastern African Studies , Volume 3, Issue 2, July , 175-201

This paper, which sees democracy as an incremental habituation of a political culture that societies with modern economy entertain, argues that Ethiopia's current politics can only be understood as a transition from a totalitarian to a democratic culture. However, the transition to full-fledged liberal democracy is struggling to overcome two hurdles: the absence of a formidable middle class and the prevalence of a tenuous national identity. Even if liberal democracy appears a distant dream, the current hybrid political culture will not allow the country to backpedal to a blatant authoritarianism. The political culture, which is undergoing a permanent change, is en route to liberal democracy, albeit incrementally.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Graham Pearce, Sarah Ayres
Governance in the English Regions: The Role of the Regional Development Agencies
in Urban Studies, Volume 46, No. 3 , 537-557

In the absence of regional government, New Labour has pursued a process of administrative decentralisation in the English regions outside London, including the appointment of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), charged with stimulating economic modernisation and assisting in reducing regional economic disparities. They have acquired a key position as strategic power-brokers situated between the agendas of Whitehall and the demands of sub-national interests. RDAs operate, however, within complex, competing structures, tied to meeting nationally determined targets and too little attention has been given to capturing their overall effectiveness. Reflecting New Labour's rejection of the need for a more even spread of economic activity between regions, RDAs also lack sufficient resources to make a significant impact on economic disparities. Treasury-led reforms could see the agencies taking responsibility for preparing single regional strategies, but there are contradictions between their remit to increase economic growth and deliver social and environmental objectives.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Mangiameli Stelio
Il principio cooperativo nell'esperienza italiana (del primo e del secondo regionalismo)
in Teoria del diritto e dello stato, n. 1 - 2007 , 57-104

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
Bifulco Raffaele
Il regionalismo tra processi federali e sistema dei partiti
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Firman Tommy
In search of a governance institution model for Jakarta Metropolitan Area (JMA) under Indonesia's new decentralisation policy: old problems, new challenges
in Public Administration and Development, Volume 28 Issue 4 , 280 - 290

This study explores a possible governance model for Jakarta Metropolitan Area (JMA) under Indonesia's new Decentralisation Policy. At present the management of JMA development is coordinated by Badan Koordinasi Pembangunan Jabodetabekjur (BKSP) - Coordinating Board for JMA Development, but this agency is ineffective and powerless to perform its tasks because of lack of authority and power. The establishment of JMA governance model should take into account the existence of the BKSP which has been politically accepted by all provincial and local governments in the region. Involvement of central government in JMA governance is very important. A mixed model of urban governance is most suitable for the JMA. Thereunder the central government should have authority to plan and develop major physical infrastructure for the whole JMA, while the provincial and local governments retain their respective general administrative functions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Abal Medina Juan Manuel
Intergovernmental Cooperation in Argentina: Better State and Better Democracy
in Reforma y democracia (Venezuela), n. 44

During the 1990's in Argentina, after the process of State reform, decentralization and privatization, provincial and municipal governments became fundamental actors of the country's democratic life, taking an active role in solving citizen's demands that until then remained in the national sphere.

To a certain extent, this was a worldwide phenomenon. Due to globalization, the nation-State had to redefine the way and the scope of its intervention, so the "devolution" of faculties towards lower levels of government was seen by some analysts as an appropriate mechanism to apply a new way of managing public affairs. Local governments do have the ability to establish a tighter bond with the citizens, giving them an important role in the process of deliberation, definition and monitoring of public policies. Therefore, it is no surprise that in the last few years subnational levels of government have experienced with different tools of participative democracy.

Nonetheless, in Argentina, the process of decentralization towards subnational government did not intend to change the political representation, but -basically- to "reduce" the national government. There was no democractic theory behind the reforms of the 1990's. Thus, neither provinces nor municipalities were equipped with the necessary tools to undertake the responsibilities that the national government abandoned so abruptly.

A critical revision of that experience helps to better understand the way intergovernmental relations have evolved. This paper advocates for a different mode of interaction between the national, provincial and municipal governments. The challenge is to develop mechanisms of cooperation and coordination among the different levels, so that each one can

develop its full potential. The role of the Federal Councils as a response to the process of decentralization, and particularly the role of the Federal Council of Civil Service, are analysed in detail.

The main conclusion is that intergovernmental cooperation allows to improve public management quality and also democracy at all levels of government, building institutions that are open and transparent for social control and citizen participation

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
García Morales María Jesús
La colaboración a examen. Retos y riesgos de las relaciones intergubernamentales en el Estado autonómico
in Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional, n. 86

Intergovernmental relations are an important element in any politically decentralised system. But in the autonomic State there is a generalised perception that these relations present important deficits. The new Statutes of Autonomy and the changes carried out outside these reforms, like the appearance of the Conference of Presidents, bring up old and new problems regarding these relations in our system, which are even more remarkable in the light of Comparative Law and the experiences of neighbouring countries with a similar level of decentralization. The objective of this article is to identify the challenges and risks for intergovernmental relations in the face of the (current) developments of the Statutes of Autonomy and the possibility of a (eventual) scenery of constitutional reform.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Cascajo Castro José Luis
Observaciones sobre la denominada función constitucional del Estatuto
in Teoria y realidad constitucional, n. 23 , 133-147

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
Shiufai Wong and Martin Painter
Regulating Decentralization in China
in China Review (The), Volume 8, Number 2, Fall

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
Schmitt Nicolas
The Ratification of the Swiss Federal Constitution in 1848, a Model of

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXII, n. 2, July , 48-51

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
Jorge Martinez-Vazquez, Baoyun Qiao and Li Zhang
The Role of Provincial Policies in Fiscal Equalization Outcomes in China
in China Review (The), Volume 8, Number 2, Fall

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
Meldolesi Luca
Una nota per la riforma dello Stato: quarta libertà e federalismo democratico
in Rivista trimestrale di scienza dell'amministrazione, fasc. 1

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
Tijmstra Sylvia A. R.
Uniquely Scottish? Placing Scottish devolution in theoretical perspective
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 27, Issue 4, August , 732-746

The existing literature on the Scottish devolution process tends to stress the unique aspects of the case. I make a contribution to this literature by placing the insights that have emerged in case-study research within the context of more general theorising. Combining concepts found in the literature on political legitimacy with intuitions derived from veto player theory, I provide a structured and theoretically grounded framework of devolution decisions and nondecisions. This approach helps to place the process that eventually led to the creation of a Scottish Parliament in a wider context.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Cayet Thomas
Travailler à la marge : le Bureau International du Travail et l'organisation scientifique du travail (1923-1933)
in Mouvement Social (Le), n°228, juillet-septembre , 39-56

Albert Thomas, le premier directeur du Bureau International du Travail (BIT), favorisa le développement d'une compétence spécifique concernant les problèmes de modernisation économique et leurs conséquences sociales. S'intéresser à l'« organisation scientifique du travail » ou à la « rationalisation » était une manière de mieux saisir les

transformations qu'impliquait le développement d'une production et d'une consommation de masse. La création d'un Institut International d'Organisation Scientifique du Travail (IOST), grâce à l'aide d'une fondation américaine, le Twentieth Century Fund, permit la constitution, en marge de la Société des Nations, d'une espace original de discussion et d'appropriation de ces idées tayloristes. Cet Institut favorisa, un temps, le dialogue entre différents acteurs internationaux sur la question controversée de la conciliation de ce processus de modernisation économique avec la mise en place de réformes sociales. Cette approche générale conduisit l'IOST à s'interroger sur les différentes formes que pourrait prendre un Social Economic Planning. Même si l'IOST dut fermer ses portes en 1934, ses travaux influencèrent les études et la politique du BIT dans les années 1930 et même après la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

Albert Thomas, the first director of the International Labor Office (ILO), promoted the development of specific competencies addressing the problems of economic modernization and its social consequences. His interest in "Scientific Management" or "Rationalization" was a means to better understand the transformations produced by the development of mass production and consumption. The creation (thanks to the aid of the American-based Twentieth Century Fund) of an International Management Institute (IMI) created a novel place for the discussion and appropriation of Taylorist ideas in proximity to the League of Nations. For a while, this Institute developed a dialogue between various international players concerning the controversial question of how economic modernization could be reconciled with the implementation of social reform. This general approach led the IMI to reflect on various forms of "Social Economic Planning". Even though the IMI was forced to close its doors in 1934, its work influenced ILO research and politics in the thirties and even after the Second World War.

Plan de l'article • Une stratégie d'intégration progressive des problèmes d'organisation industrielle dans le système sociétaire— Le développement entravé d'une expertise économique
— Un lien transatlantique d'après-guerre, le scientific management
— La création controversée de l'Institut International d'Organisation Scientifique du Travail
• Une stratégie d'influence entre revendications sociales et justifications managériales— Une « rationalisation » possible des « relations industrielles » ?
— Les liens faibles d'un réseau atypique
— Du scientific management au social economic planning : une action internationale impossible ?
• Conclusion

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Neumayer Eric
A New Moral Hazard? Military Intervention, Peacekeeping and Ratification of the International Criminal Court
in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 46, Issue 5, September , 659-670

The newly established International Criminal Court (ICC) promises justice to the victims of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Past offenders can be punished, while future potential offenders may be deterred by the prospect of punishment. Yet, justice is no substitute for intervention for the benefit of people at acute risk of being victimized. The Court may create a new moral hazard problem if the promise of ex post justice makes it easier for states to shy away from incurring the costs of intervention. This article indirectly tests for the relevance of this potential problem

by estimating the determinants of ratification delay to the Rome Statute of the ICC. If the Court represents an excuse for inaction, then countries that are unwilling or unable to intervene in foreign conflicts should be among its prime supporters. Results show instead that countries that in the past have been more willing to intervene in foreign civil wars and more willing to contribute troops to multinational peacekeeping missions are more likely to have ratified the Statute (early on). This suggests that the Court is a complement to, not a substitute for intervention.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Sweeney Gareth, Saito Yuri
An NGO Assessment of the New Mechanisms of the UN Human Rights Council
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 9, n. 2 , 203-223

The inauguration of the universal periodic review (UPR) and the Advisory Committee in 2008 as the two new mechanisms of the UN Human Rights Council marked a significant step towards the finalisation of the Council's institution-building process.1 The following article provides a critical assessment of the first two sessions of the UPR Working Group and the first session of the Advisory Committee. It also looks at the treatment of the reports of these two bodies by the Human Rights Council in June and September 2008, respectively. Particular attention is given to the contribution of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and ‘other stakeholders’ throughout the process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Kritsiotis Dino
Close Encounters of a Sovereign Kind
in European Journal of International Law, Vol. 20, n. 2 , 299-330

This article considers the prominence that threats of force have had in international political life since the end of the Cold War, and how we tend to overlook these threats in favour of the actual uses of force. Security Council Resolution 678 of November 1990 is one such example. Emblematic of the rule of law and its New World Order, it is often invoked for the ‘authorisation’ it gave to Member States of the United Nations ‘co-operating with the Government of Kuwait ... to use all necessary means to uphold and implement resolution 660 (1990) and all subsequent resolutions and to restore international peace and security in the area’ – but this provision was made contingent upon whether ‘Iraq on or before 15 January 1991 fully implements [previous] resolutions’. We examine the range of circumstances in which threats of force have arisen and find that these go beyond the archetypal ‘close encounter’ between states – such as the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 and the ‘threats of force’ directed against Iraq prior to Operation Desert Fox (1998) and Operation Iraqi Freedom (2003). Making use of the jurisprudence of the International Court of Justice from its Nuclear Weapons advisory opinion (1996), we advance the idea of a prohibition of the application of force, and consider the logistics of its operation in state practice; first, in the recent relations between the United States and Iran and, then, through a modern reprise of the facts of the Corfu Channel Case of April 1949. We allude to the importance of the legislative background and purpose behind this prohibition, constantly reflecting upon the intricacies of state relations in which this provision of the United Nations Charter seeks to make its mark.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Boerefijn Ineke
Establishing state responsibility for breaching human rights treaty obligations: avenues under UN human rights treaties
in **Netherlands International Law Review**, Vol. 56, issue 2 , 167-205

United Nations human rights treaties dealing with specific concerns contain provisions in terms of obligations for states, rather than individual rights. This has consequences for the assessment by treaty monitoring bodies of the level of compliance by States Parties. While human rights norms generally impose obligations on states, the opposite is not always the case; not all obligations in human rights treaties contain corresponding rights for individuals. While the ILC Articles on State responsibility address the establishment of state responsibility in contentious procedures established by the regional human rights conventions; they do not take into account other monitoring procedures that exist, in particular under United Nations human rights treaties. These instruments create different mandates for treaty monitoring bodies, under which they can and do examine treaty implementation in much more general terms than would be possible under the contentious procedure. The individual complaint procedure under some of the treaties, the inquiry procedure and the reporting procedure offer possibilities to assess whether states' non-compliance with treaty obligations. This article examines these possibilities in the light of the ILC Articles on state responsibility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Capla Gabrielle
Etat de siège
in **Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Septembre

http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2009/09/CAPLA/18157

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
De Soto Alvaro
Il ruolo delle Nazioni Unite nel processo di pace in Medio Oriente
in **ItalianiEuropei**, n. 3

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Rodman Kenneth A.
Is Peace in the Interests of Justice? The Case for Broad Prosecutorial Discretion at the International Criminal Court
in **Leiden Journal of International Law**, Volume 22, Issue 01, March , 99-126

The argument against factoring peace processes into the discretion of the ICC Prosecutor is based on the premise that

international law can be decontextualized from international politics and that in doing so will have superior consequences in terms of deterring atrocity and in consolidating peace. This view is at odds with the history of international criminal tribunals and the cases currently under review by the ICC. Those episodes demonstrate that the effectiveness of international criminal justice and its impact on peace are shaped and constrained by the political strategies of conflict resolution used by states and intergovernmental organizations to end criminal violence. Hence the Prosecutor should construe his discretion broadly to take account of the political context in which international criminal law has to operate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Passadakis Alexis, Müller Tadzio
Kopenhagen: Der Gipfel des Scheiterns
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, November, 2009 , 26-28

Der Direktor des Potsdam-Instituts für Klimafolgenforschung, Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, erklärte jüngst die UN-Klimakonferenz im Dezember zur „vielleicht bedeutendste[n] Konferenz der Menschheitsgeschichte“. Ähnlich bezeichnete der Ökonom Nicholas Stern sie als „die wichtigste internationale Konferenz seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg“. Demgegenüber spricht der bisherige Verhandlungsstand eine ganz andere Sprache. Dutzende Bereiche eines Abkommens über die zweite ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Quirico Ottavio
La théorie de la négligence criminelle et le Statut de la Cour pénale internationale
in Revue générale de droit international publique, Vol. 113, n. 2 , 333-364

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Capla Gabrielle
Lutte des places
in Monde Diplomatique (Le), Septembre

http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2009/09/CAPLA/18156

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Fassassi Idris

L'examen périodique universel devant le Conseil des droits de l'homme des Nations unies
in Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme, N° 79 - Juillet

La mise en place de l'examen périodique universel constitue l'innovation majeure de la réforme de 2006 au terme de laquelle fut créé le Conseil des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies, en remplacement de la Commission des droits de l'homme. Mécanisme ambitieux d'examen de la situation des droits de l'homme au sein de l'ensemble des Etats membres des Nations Unies, il n'en demeure pas moins soumis à de véritables défis conditionnant sa réussite. S'il est trop tôt pour tirer des conclusions définitives, les premières sessions qui se sont tenues à Genève au cours de l'année 2008 fournissent déjà certains enseignements.

The Universal Periodic Review is the most innovative feature of the United Nations Human Rights Council, which replaced the former Commission on Human Rights in 2006. It is an ambitious mechanism under which the human rights situation in all United Nations member states is reviewed. This new procedure has to face real challenges and, even if no final conclusions can be drawn at present time, some lessons can already be drawn from the first sessions of the UPR working group held in Geneva in 2008.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Wilson Barbara
Quelques réflexions sur l'adoption du Protocole facultatif se rapportant au Pacte international relatif aux droits économiques, sociaux et culturels des Nations Unies
in Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme, N° 78 - Avril

L'adoption du Protocole facultatif au Pacte international relatif aux droits économiques, sociaux et culturels marque un grand pas vers l'effacement des frontières entre les droits civils et politiques, d'une part, et les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels, d'autre part. Fruit d'un compromis équilibré, il introduit un système de communications individuelles devant le Comité des droits économiques, sociaux et culturels. Il est à souhaiter que son application apporte enfin une amélioration sensible aux conditions de vie de milliers de personnes dans le monde.

Defined by the United Nations' High Commissioner for Human Rights as historic, the adoption of the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 2008 makes great strides towards breaking down the barriers between civil and political rights, on the one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights, on the other. The Protocol is destined to play an important role in consolidating economic, social and cultural rights by introducing a system of individual communications to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights for violation of the UN Covenant. Hopefully, the implementation of the Protocol will lead to a considerable improvement in the living conditions of many thousands of people in the world and, in particular, those of vulnerable groups.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Cross Matthew E. , Williams Sarah
Recent Developments at the ICC

in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 9, n. 2 , 267-287

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Hwang Phyllis
Reform of the Administration of Justice System at the United Nations
in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 8, n. 2 , 181-224

ABSTRACT: For nearly six decades, the administration of justice system at the United Nations has been comprised primarily of the Joint Appeals Boards, the Joint Disciplinary Committees and the UN Administrative Tribunal. In July 2009, these bodies will be dismantled and replaced with an entirely new system. This article will first describe the basic features of the administration of justice system at the United Nations that existed prior to July 2009. It will then review the history of efforts to reform the system, leading up to the proposals of the Redesign Panel issued in August 2006. It will also look at similar initiatives implemented by other intergovernmental organizations to reform their own internal justice systems in recent years. Finally, the article will highlight the main elements of the new administration of justice system, as approved by the General Assembly in 2007-2008, and examine its implications for UN staff members in the future.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Piiparinen Touko
Related powers of the United Nations: reconsidering conflict management of international organisations in Ontological light
in Review of International Studies (The), Vol. 35, Issue 3, July , 675-699

The mainstream literature on the UN has been underlain by a methodological individualist philosophy, according to which all social phenomena, and particularly the functioning of all social institutions, should always be seen as resulting from the decisions of individual actors, as if the whole (organisation) was never more than the sum of its parts (members of an organisation). Such a fallacy has been denounced by social constructivist approaches which account for the existence of certain emergent properties of the UN, such as collective identity, which cannot be reduced to its constituent units, namely, states. These accounts, however, have offered a partial picture of the holistic understanding of the UN, as they have failed to comprehend, or perhaps simply ignored the causal powers of such emergent properties. This article enhances constructivist approaches by dint of the critical realist models of Synchronic Emergent Powers Materialism and Transformational Model of Social Activity. The value added of these two models in comprehending the powers associated with the UN Security Council lies in their ability to function as instructive metaphors; they allow for the independent and irreducible existence of certain mechanisms by which the Council controls international conflicts but nevertheless recognises that these can only emerge from the mutual interaction between agents (states) and structure (UN institutions).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system

Katz Cogan Jacob

Representation and Power in International Organization: The Operational Constitution and Its Critics

in **American journal of international law**, Vol. 103, issue 2 , 209-163

After World War II, representation in international organizations evolved through the use of formal and informal arrangements that reconciled conflicting representational principles and interests. This “operational constitution” sometimes moderated regional tensions but most often rewarded power. After elucidating this regime, the author examines contemporary stresses placed on it by those who assert that it does not reflect current power dynamics and those who repudiate informality and preferences, and considers the operational constitution’s future in light of these challenges.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system

Zani Mamoud

Réflexion sur le Conseil des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies

in **Revue de Droit international de sciences diplomatiques et politiques** , Vol. 86, no. 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system

Capla Gabrielle

Révolte silencieuse pour sauver l’Unesco

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

http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2009/09/CAPLA/18155

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system

Majinge Charles

The International Criminal Court and the question of alternative justice system in Africa: A case of be careful of what you wish for?

in **Verfassung und Recht in Ubersee**, vol. 42, issue 2 , 151-172

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system

Van de Graaf Thijs, Lesage Dries

The International Energy Agency after 35 years: Reform needs and institutional adaptability

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 4, n. 3, september , 293-317

ABSTRACT: Despite the mounting scholarly interest in processes of institutional change in international organizations, still very little is known about how and when such evolutionary dynamics occur. This article hopes to contribute to this young, yet growing body of literature by process-tracing the changes that have occurred in the institutional setup of the International Energy Agency (IEA). Founded during the first oil crisis of 1973–74, the IEA has had to deal with major environmental changes over its lifetime. In response, the agency has diversified away from its original raison d'être, namely managing an emergency oil sharing mechanism, to become a more proactive policy adviser guiding its member governments toward sustainable energy economies. The article seeks to explain the observed patterns of change and inertia, using a theoretic paradigm that builds on theories of "new institutionalism." The paper argues that the agency's institutional flexibility can only be fully explained by taking into account a combination of factors: (1) the member states' choices, in particular the impulses of the G8-members of the IEA; (2) path dependency, especially the institutional link with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); and (3) agency by the secretariat and the executive bureau of the IEA.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system

Peterson Ines

The Natural Environment in Times of Armed Conflict: A Concern for International War Crimes Law

in Leiden Journal of International Law, Volume 22, Issue 02, June , 325-343

Article 8(2)(b)(iv), second alternative, of the Statute of the International Criminal Court lists as a war crime the launching of an attack that may cause excessive damage to the natural environment. The incorporation of this offence into the ICC Statute appears to be a great achievement, as it is the first time that such conduct has expressly been declared to entail individual criminal responsibility under an international treaty. It is, however, submitted that Article 8(2)(b)(iv), second alternative, of the ICC Statute, suffers from a serious lack of definition. In addition, the provision depends on an extremely high damage threshold which further complicates its application in practice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system

Talmon Stefan

The Responsibility Of Outside Powers For Acts Of Secessionist Entities

in International & Comparative Law Quarterly , Volume 58 - Issue 03 , 493-517

In August 2008, Georgia instituted proceedings against the Russian Federation before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to establish its international responsibility for alleged acts of racial discrimination against the ethnic Georgian population in South Ossetia and Abkhazia by 'the de facto South Ossetian and Abkhaz separatist authorities […] supported by the Russian Federation'. In order to establish the international responsibility of an outside power for the

internationally wrongful conduct of a secessionist entity, it must be shown, inter alia, that the acts or omissions of the secessionist entity are attributable to the outside power. International tribunals usually determine the question of attribution on the basis of whether the authorities of the secessionist entity were 'controlled' by the outside power when performing the internationally wrongful conduct. Attribution thus becomes a question of how one defines 'control'. The test of control of authorities and military forces of secessionist entities has become perhaps the most cited example of the fragmentation of international law. The ICJ, the Appeals Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and the European Court of Human Rights have all developed and applied their own tests in order to establish whether a secessionist entity has been 'controlled' by an outside power. There is a lot of confusion about the various tests, usually referred to as the 'effective control', 'overall control' and 'effective overall control' tests. This article sets out the various control tests, their requirements and areas of application, and asks which test or tests should be applied to attribute the internationally wrongful conduct of a secessionist entity to an outside power

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Anderson Kenneth
The Rise of International Criminal Law: Intended and Unintended Consequences
in European Journal of International Law, Vol. 20, n. 2 , 331-358

The rise of international criminal law has been one of the remarkable features of international law since 1990. One of the less-explored questions of international criminal law is its social effects, within the international community and the community of public international law, in other parts and activities of international law. In particular, what are the effects of the rise of international criminal law and its emerging system of tribunals on the rest of the laws of armed conflict? What are the effects upon apparently unrelated aspects of humanitarian and human rights law? What are the effects upon other large systems and institutions of public international law, such as the UN and other international organizations? As international criminal law has emerged as a visible face of public international law, has it supplanted or even 'crowded' other aspects and institutions of public international law? This brief article offers a high-altitude, high-speed look at the effects of international criminal law on other parts of public international law and organizations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Keller Helen- Fischer Andreas
The UN Anti-terror Sanctions Regime under Pressure
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 9, n. 2 , 257-266

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Boyle Kevin
The United Nations Human Rights Council: politics, power and human rights
in Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly, Vol. 60 - No. 2 , 121-134

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Tams Christian J.
The Use of Force against Terrorists
in European Journal of International Law, Vol. 20, n. 2 , 359-397

Whether states can use force against terrorists based in another country is much discussed. The relevant provisions of the UN Charter do not provide a conclusive answer, but have to be interpreted. The present article suggests that in the course of the last two decades, the Charter regime has been re-adjusted, so as to permit forcible responses to terrorism under more lenient conditions. In order to illustrate developments, it juxtaposes international law as of 1989 to the present state of the law. It argues that the restrictive approach to anti-terrorist force obtaining 20 years ago has come under strain. As far as collective responses are concerned, it is no longer disputed that the Security Council could authorize the use of force against terrorists; however, it has so far refrained from doing so. More controversially, the international community during the last two decades has increasingly recognized a right of states to use unilateral force against terrorists. This new practice is justified under an expanded doctrine of self-defence. It can be explained as part of a strong international policy against terrorism and is part of an overall tendency to view exceptions to the ban on force more favourably than 20 years ago. Conversely, it has led to a normative drift affecting key limitations of the traditional doctrine of self-defence, and increases the risk of abuse.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Ranney James
World Peace Through Law. Rethinking an Old Theory and a Call for a UN Peace Force
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXII, n. 2, July , 18-23

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Fouilleux Ève
À propos de crises mondiales… Quel rôle de la FAO dans les débats internationaux sur les politiques agricoles et alimentaires ?
in Revue française de science politique, Volume 59, Numéro 4, Août

Cet article s'intéresse à l'Organisation des Nations unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture (FAO) et aux positions qu'elle défend dans le débat sur les politiques agricoles et alimentaires pour le développement. Principale organisation internationale spécialisée dans le domaine de l'agriculture et de l'alimentation, elle pâtit pourtant d'un déficit de crédibilité et de légitimité. Visant à expliquer cette situation, notre étude fait l'hypothèse d'une défaillance de la FAO dans l'utilisation de ses ressources analytiques et discursives, qui s'explique par trois catégories de déterminants : culture organisationnelle, cloisonnements bureaucratique et problèmes de leadership tout d'abord, paralysie liée aux

luttes d'influence internes entre États membres ensuite, et grandes difficultés à tisser des alliances avec l'extérieur enfin, que ce soit avec les organisations paysannes ou le monde académique.

About global crises : The FAO's role in international agricultural and food policy debates

This article looks at the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the standpoints it takes in debates over food and agriculture policies for development. Though it is the leading international organization in the field of food and agriculture policy, the FAO suffers from a credibility and legitimacy deficit. By way of explanation, our study posits a failure on the FAO's part to make the most of its analytical and discursive resources, which in turn may be due to three types of determinants : first of all, its organizational culture, bureaucratic partitioning and leadership problems ; then, paralysis caused by internecine power struggles between Member States ; and, finally, major difficulties in forging outside alliances, whether with peasant organizations or in academia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Eriksen Silja, de Soysa Indra
A Fate Worse Than Debt? International Financial Institutions and Human Rights, 1981—2003
in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 46, Number 4, July , 485-503

Some report that human rights are likely to be violated when poor countries sign up to structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). These violations apparently occur because ordinary people revolt against the neo-liberal policies that SAPs push. This study examines the effect of the actual flow of finances from the World Bank and the IMF, holding constant all other bank-based financial flows, on government respect for human rights. The authors find that pay-in periods are beneficial for human rights, whereas loan dry-ups correlate with violations. Loan dry-ups are likely to occur because of noncompliance with SAPs rather than implementation, since the international financial institutions (IFIs) release loans in tranches to solve the time inconsistency problem. The overall level of indebtedness is robustly related to human rights abuses, but the higher the stock of debt owed to IFIs relative to total debt, the lower the human rights violations. Accumulating debt to IFIs, thus, seems to improve the level of human rights. Additionally, a higher government consumption to GDP ratio reduces human rights, a result that does not suggest that governments that are capable of commanding a higher share of the country's wealth are less likely to face threatening social dissent. Moreover, a proxy for neo-liberal policies, the index of economic freedom, correlates strongly with better human rights. These results do not square well with the view that neo-liberal policy reforms and the attendant austerity measures drive dangerous dissent.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Espinoza Alvaro

Algunas reflexiones sobre la solución de controversias en la OMC
in **Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile**, Vol. 41 / 2009 / Nr 162 , 63

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Dooley Michael, Folkerts-Landau David, Garber Peter
Bretton Woods II still defines the International Monetary System
in **Pacific Economic Review**, Volume 14 Issue 3 August 2009 , 297-311

In this paper we argue that net capital inflows to the USA did not cause the financial crisis that now engulfs the world economy. A crisis caused by such flows has been widely predicted but that crisis has not occurred. Indeed, the international monetary system still operates in the way described by the Bretton Woods II framework and is likely to continue to do so. Failure to properly identify the causes of the current crisis risks a rise in protectionism that could intensify and prolong the decline in economic activity around the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Tijmes-Lhl Jaime
Consensus and majority voting in the WTO
in **World Trade Review**, Volume 8, Issue 3, July 2009 , pp 417-437

This article's subject is the implications that consensus/unanimity and majority voting might have for the World Trade Organization's (WTO) decision-making system. First it looks at some consequences that replacing the consensus rule with majority voting might have for the WTO, including justice concerns, legitimacy, homogeneity of WTO membership, and international enforcement. Second, it summarizes some solutions found in the European Union (EU) for coping with unanimity and majority rule, including constructive abstention, reallocation of contractual responsibilities, and the Luxembourg compromise. Finally, it considers some reform options for the WTO and offers some conclusions, namely expanding majority voting on certain areas only, redefining competences, multi-speed proposals (rethinking the single undertaking, constructive abstention, and the scheduling approach), redefining consensus, combining consensus and majority voting, and issuing interpretations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Sjöberg Ola
Corporate Governance and Earnings Inequality in the OECD Countries 1979–2000
in **European Sociological Review**, Volume 25, Number 5, October 2009 , 519-533

The purpose of this article is to analyse the role of corporate governance in explaining cross-national differences and trends in earnings inequality in a sample of OECD countries between 1979 and 2000. It is argued that since corporate

governance is fundamentally a question of in whose interest corporations are run, it will have important consequences for how the returns from production are distributed among the parties with a stake in the corporation. The article outlines an institutional approach to corporate governance and its cross-national variation as well as formulates a number of mechanisms whereby corporate governance may influence earnings inequality. The empirical assessment indicates that central aspects of these institutions, such as the role of the stock market in channelling capital to corporations, the extent of mergers and acquisitions, and protection of minority shareholders are all related to cross-national differences and trends in earnings inequality (as measured by the p90/p10 ratio). The conclusion is that corporate governance institutions and their respective managerial practices can make a significant contribution to our understanding of fundamental stratification processes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Aaditya Mattoo, Arvind Subramanian
Currency Undervaluation and Sovereign Wealth Funds: A New Role for the World Trade Organization
in World Economy, Volume 32 Issue 9 , 1135 - 1164

Two aspects of global imbalances – undervalued exchange rates and sovereign wealth funds – require a multilateral response. For reasons of inadequate leverage and eroding legitimacy, the International Monetary Fund has not been effective in dealing with undervalued exchange rates. This paper proposes new rules in the World Trade Organization to discipline cases of significant undervaluation that are clearly attributable to government action. The rationale for WTO involvement is that there are large trade consequences of undervalued exchange rates, which act as both import tariffs and export subsidies, and that the WTO's enforcement mechanism is credible and effective. The World Trade Organization would not be involved in exchange rate management, and would not displace the International Monetary Fund. Rather, the authors suggest ways to harness the comparative advantage of the two institutions, with the International Monetary Fund providing the essential technical expertise in the World Trade Organization's enforcement process. There is a bargain to be struck between countries with sovereign wealth funds, which want secure and liberal access for their capital, and capital-importing countries, which have concerns about the objectives and operations of sovereign wealth funds. The World Trade Organization is the natural place to strike this bargain. Its General Agreement on Trade in Services already covers investments by sovereign wealth funds, and other agreements offer a precedent for designing disciplines for these funds. Placing exchange rates and sovereign wealth funds on the trade negotiating agenda may help revive the Doha Round by rekindling the interest of a wide variety of groups.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Busch Marc L., Reinhardt Eric, Shaffer Gregory
Does legal capacity matter? A survey of WTO Members
in World Trade Review, Volume 8, Issue 4, October 2009 , pp 559-577

Previous studies of WTO dispute settlement have sought to evaluate whether a Member's legal capacity influences its odds of bringing litigation before the multilateral trade regime. Because direct measures of legal capacity are elusive, these studies have had to use indirect proxies, such as per capita income or number of delegates in Geneva. Yet, the reliability of these measures is questionable. To gauge legal capacity more directly, we surveyed all WTO Members, posing questions concerning their professional staff, bureaucratic organization at home, bureaucratic organization in

Geneva, experience handling general WTO matters, and involvement in WTO litigation. Using responses from this survey, we constructed an index of Members' WTO legal capacity that speaks more fully to the challenges of dispute settlement than do commonly used proxies, none of which are strongly correlated with our measure. We supplemented this survey with over three dozen semi-structured interviews with Members' representatives in Geneva, the results of which bear out the importance of properly measuring legal capacity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Bermelo Romualdo, Garciandía Rosana
El Fondo Monetario Internacional ante la crisis financiera actual
in Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales, Número 17/ 2009

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Germain Randall
Financial order and world politics: crisis, change and continuity
in International Affairs , vol. 85, issue 4, july , 669-687

ABSTRACT: Many insist that the world economy today is in the grip of the most severe financial crisis since 1931. Although the origins of this crisis are in dispute, the extent and scale of the changes prompted by it are becoming clear. Among these changes are a recalibration of the relationship between public and private authority, a reconfiguration of the regulatory responsibilities and capacities of the state with respect to the financial system, and a rebalancing of relations of power among states. While the financial crisis has generated points of stress along all of these axes of change, we should be wary of expecting an entirely new global financial order to emerge from the carnage. The complex links between financial order and world politics suggest that this financial crisis will result in an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary transformation in the world's financial order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Funabashi Yoichi
Forget Bretton Woods II: the Role for U.S.—China—Japan Trilateralism
in Washington Quarterly (The), volume 32, n, 2, april

http://www.twq.com/09april/docs/09apr_Funabashi.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Young Margaret A.

Fragmentation or interaction: the WTO, fisheries subsidies, and international law
in **World Trade Review**, Volume 8, Issue 4, October 2009 , pp 477-515

Subsidies to the fishing sector have trade and ecological consequences, especially for fisheries that are over-exploited. In response, WTO members are negotiating to clarify and improve the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures. Yet significant legal challenges constrain this ongoing effort because fisheries conservation and management matters are often addressed by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, instruments of the Food and Agriculture Organization, and other legal regimes to which some WTO members have not consented. This article analyses modes of learning and information exchange within the WTO regime, and compares the proposed use of standards, benchmarks, and peer review in the draft fisheries subsidies rules with existing arrangements between the WTO and organizations such as the OECD and product standard-setting bodies. It argues that novel deliberative strategies of regime interaction are more important in resolving the challenges posed by international law's fragmentation than adherence to strict mandates or legal hierarchies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Eichengreen Barry
From the Asian crisis to the global credit crisis: reforming the international financial architecture redux
in **International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 6, Number 1 / June, 2009 , 1-22

2008 was marked by the tenth anniversary of the Asian crisis and the debate over how to reform the international financial architecture but also by the outbreak of the most serious global credit crisis in generations. This paper reviews the debate over how to strengthen the international monetary and financial system in this light.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Daugbjerg Carsten, Swinbank Alan
Ideational Change in the WTO and its Impacts on EU Agricultural Policy Institutions and the CAP
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 31, Number 3 / May , 311-327

This paper argues that the Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture (URAA) introduced the market liberal paradigm as the ideational underpinning of the new farm trade regime. Though the immediate consequences in terms of limitations on agricultural support and protection were very modest, the Agreement did impact on the way in which domestic farm policy evolves. It forced EU agricultural policy makers to consider the agricultural negotiations when reforming the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The new paradigm in global farm trade resulted in a process of institutional layering in which concerns raised in the World Trade Organization (WTO) were gradually incorporated in EU agricultural institutions. This has resulted in gradual reform of the CAP in which policy instruments have been changed in order to make the CAP more WTO compatible. The underlying paradigm, the state-assisted paradigm, has been sustained though it has been rephrased by introducing the concept of multifunctionality.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Monti Mario
Il nuovo patto strategico
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 29-33

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Amato Giuliano
Keynes aveva ragione?
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 34-38

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Tremonti Giulio
La crisi come cambiamento
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 23-28

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Maddalon P.
Les faits économiques dans les rapports de l'organe d'appel de l'OMC
in Revue générale de droit international publique, Vol. 113, n. 2 , 305-331

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Rothstein Paul
Moving All-In With The World Trade Organization: Ignoring Adverse Rulings And Gambling With The Future Of The Wto
in Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law , Volume 37, Number 1, 2008 , 151-180

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Savona Paolo
Per un nuovo accordo monetario
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 39-46

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Urra Francisco Javier
Por una nueva arquitectura financiera multilateral
in Politica Exterior, 129

Considerados en principio inmunes a la crisis actual, Asia, América Latina y África ya están afectados. Las instituciones financieras internacionales deben hacer frente a un doble reto: por un lado, dar respuesta a economías hasta hace poco caracterizadas por su dinamismo y salud

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Natalizia Gabriele
Quanti paesi contano dopo il G8?
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 15

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Camdessus Michel, Messarovitch Yves
Refonder le FMI
in Politique internationale, N° 123, Printemps

A former Treasury Director and Governor of the Bank of France, Michel Camdessus was Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) from 1987 to 2000. With a number of other experts, he was recently called on to study reform of the IMF to ensure that poor and emerging countries have a larger say; to strengthen instruments of political control; and to broaden the IMF's scope of expertise to include surveillance of financial transactions. In this interview with Yves Messarovitch, he says that if this reform had happened sooner, the current crisis could have been

avoided. In the meantime, he recommends special drawing rights, which would provide the liquidity the world needs as quickly as possible. These rights could prefigure the global currency that Michel Camdessus also advocates.

http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=123&id=800&content=synopsis

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Carlo Jean
La NATO è morta, viva la NATO
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 222-230

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Ortiz Antonio
La OTAN tras la cumbre de Estrasburgo-Kehl
in Politica Exterior, 129

Durante años, los aliados se han sustraído a la necesidad de mantener un debate estratégico de fondo sobre la identidad de la OTAN y su finalidad política en el siglo XXI. En la cumbre del 60º aniversario, la Alianza Atlántica ha empezado un complejo proceso de reflexión sobre su razón de ser

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Michta Andrew A.
NATO Enlargement post-1989: Successful Adaptation or Decline?
in Contemporary European History , vol. 18, n. 3, August – Special Issue , 363-376

NATO enlargement after the cold war contributed to the democratic transformation of post-communist states. It failed, however, to generate a larger consensus on the shared mission and to provide the requisite military capabilities. Today, notwithstanding the rhetoric of unity after the 2008 Bucharest summit, NATO struggles to reconcile the out-of-area experience of the Balkan wars with its post-9/11 tasks and the renewed territorial defense concerns raised by the 2008 Russo-Georgian war. Paradoxically, the more NATO has expanded to foster the military–political security of the new democratic states of eastern and south-eastern Europe, the less it seems capable of dealing with real security threats such as Afghanistan. Facing the possible strategic failure of its ISAF mission, NATO needs to re-evaluate the policy track chosen post-1989.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Lafraie Najibullah

NATO in Afghanistan: perilous mission, dire ramifications
in **International Politics** , Volume 46, Issue 5, September , 550-572

This paper focuses on analysing NATO's involvement in Afghanistan, a current issue in the interaction between two main constituents of the West, the United States and Europe, with a part of the Muslim world. NATO forces in Afghanistan are engaged in one of the severest battles in the organisation's history. A failure in Afghanistan will have great implications for the transatlantic relationship as well as for the relations between the Muslim world and the West. The Alliance has been able to successfully deal with numerous challenges in the past. Would it be able to overcome the latest challenge? The aim of this paper is to examine this question. The paper starts with analysing the dynamics through which NATO reinvented itself in the 1990s, and then focuses on the post-9/11 era and the deployment of NATO forces in Afghanistan. The challenges posed by the resurgence of the Taliban insurgency are examined next, followed by a discussion of the internal rifts within NATO in general and regarding Afghanistan in particular. The conclusion assesses the chances of NATO's success and makes some policy recommendations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Nobuyasu Abe
Rebuilding the Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Regime in the Post-US-India Deal World
in **Asia Pacific Review**, Volume 16, Issue 1 , 56 - 72

The US-India deal on civil nuclear cooperation, in spite of the Indian non-proliferation commitment, has potential adverse impacts on global non-proliferation undermining the basic bargain behind the NPT. In order to overcome such adverse impacts the author proposes to move towards a “universal nuclear disarmament” under which every nuclear weapon holder will be asked to make contributions towards nuclear disarmament. The US, for example, will be asked to ratify CTBT, negotiate a successor to the START I Treaty and engage in strategic dialogues with Russia and China.
The author proposes to apply a proportionate reduction of nuclear warheads weighted according to the size of each arsenal. This way, while the US and Russia will be asked to drastically reduce their arsenals, the other holders will also be asked to start reducing their warheads even in a symbolic manner of by just a few bombs each.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Grand Camille
Sarkozy’s three-way NATO bet
in **Europe´s World**, Issue 13, Autumn

France’s return to full military membership of NATO inevitably raised fears that the first casualty might be the European defence project. But Camille Grand argues that far from weakening ESDP, President Sarkozy’s move intends to strengthen it while at the same time hastening NATO’s reform.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21486/Default.aspx

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Thompson Eric V.
The Iraqi Military Re-enters the Gulf Security Dynamic
in Middle East Policy, Volume 16, Issue 3, Fall , 28-40

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Kramer Mark
The Myth of a No-NATO-Enlargement Pledge to Russia
in Washington Quarterly (The), volume 32, n, 2, april

http://www.twq.com/09april/docs/09apr_Kramer.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Kamp Karl-Heinz
Towards a New Strategy for NATO
in Survival, vol. 51, n. 4, august , 21-27

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Prins Gwyn
Addio Kyoto
in Aspenia, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 217-225

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Dutt Kuheli
Governance, institutions and the environment-income relationship: a cross-country study
in Environment, Development and Sustainability, Volume 11, Number 4, August , 705-723

This paper examines the environment-income relationship in the context of the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC), and explores the possible role that factors like governance, political institutions, socioeconomic conditions, and

education play in influencing this relationship. The results suggest that the EKC exists for carbon dioxide emissions for cross-country data over the period 1984–2002. However, there is nothing automatic about this relationship; policies designed to protect the environment may be responsible for this phenomenon. Two other significant findings are: one, countries with better quality of governance, stronger political institutions, better socioeconomic conditions and greater investment in education have lower emissions; and two, only around 15% of the countries in the dataset have reached income levels high enough to be associated with an unambiguous decline in emissions. The implications of these results are discussed within the context of the international environmental policy arena and the Kyoto Protocol. One of the main objectives of this paper is to bridge the gap between studies conducted on the EKC and developments in the international environmental policy arena. As a final note this paper emphasizes that one needs to connect the body of knowledge on the EKC hypothesis to the international environmental policy arena, despite the apparent difficulty of doing so. One hopes that future studies will further build on this line of thought.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Palombella Gianluigi
Il Rule of law oltre lo Stato
in Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico, n. 2 , 325 ff.

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Bordino Giampiero
A "World Vision" for the Globalization Era
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXII, n. 2, July , 15-17

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Schneider Lambert
A Clean Development Mechanism with global atmospheric benefits for a post-2012 climate regime
in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 9, Number 2, May , 95-111

The Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) under the Kyoto Protocol allows the crediting of emission reductions from greenhouse gas (GHG) abatement projects in developing countries. The CDM is an offsetting mechanism and, in principle, a zero game to the atmosphere: emission reductions achieved from CDM projects allow industrialised countries to increase their emissions, respectively. The article explores how the CDM could be moved beyond a pure offsetting mechanism in a post-2012 climate regime by crediting only a fraction of the emission reductions from CDM projects, thereby providing a net atmospheric benefit. Potential implications on the carbon market are assessed in a qualitative manner and different design options for such a reform to the CDM are discussed. An important conclusion is that the effects on carbon market depend considerably on whether the use of the CDM is limited through caps or not.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Brassett James
A Pragmatic Approach to the Tobin Tax Campaign: The Politics of Sentimental Education
in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 15, n. 3, september , 447-476

ABSTRACT:The article provides a critical analysis of the campaign for a Tobin Tax. A popular view that global civil society can act as an agent for ethics is interrogated by appeal to the dilemmas and political contests which pervade the campaign. Problems with financial and institutional universalism undermine any unambiguous ethical appeal in the Tobin Tax by imposing a set of limits on thinkable avenues of reform. However, and drawing on the philosophical pragmatism of Richard Rorty, it is argued that the campaign can be celebrated for its role in ongoing practices of 'sentimental education'. By illustrating the harm that financial markets cause, the Tobin Tax involves larger, more diverse, audiences in a conversation about global finance; technical and sentimental discourses blur. Moreover, those very contests that pervade the campaign can act to interrupt the totalizing aspects of the proposal, thus making alternatives thinkable. Engaging the 'politics of sentimental education', in this way, allows a contingent celebration of what is ethically useful in the Tobin Tax, while leaving an area of contest that is potentially antithetical. Rather than plump for an either/ or position, the difficult, but ethical, challenge is to do both-and. The article concludes by suggesting how this 'politics of sentimental education' might bear upon existing knowledge about the theory and practice of global civil society.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Padoan Pier-Carlo
A global formula for tackling the global crisis
in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

With policymakers increasingly aware of the dictum "never waste a good crisis", OECD's Deputy Secretary General Pier Carlo Padoan sets out his proposals for global architectures that would create a more resilient world economy.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21484/Default.aspx

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Bartle Ian
A strategy for better climate change regulation: towards a public interest orientated regulatory regime
in Environmental Politics, Volume 18, Issue 5, September , 689-706

The theory and analysis of regulation provides an understanding of climate change regulation and its limitations leading to the identification of political strategies to improve such regulation by orientating it more towards public interest objectives. Public interest and private interest theories of regulation are considered together with regime theory, which

understands regulatory regimes as dynamic interactions of a variety of forces that can be altered by external pressure. One possible pressure is governmental action to increase regime transparency. UK and EU climate change regulation is used to consider whether increased transparency, in particular focused around a carbon price-based instrument with quantified emissions reductions, can shift the climate regime towards meeting the public interest. This runs up against difficulties of sociocultural plurality and the one-dimensional nature of the price mechanism. More successful strategy requires a price-based instrument coupled to transparent complementary policies and regulations that address sociocultural pluralities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Hoffler Harriet
An interview with Phil Shiner
in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 5, Issue 2, August 2009 , 163-168

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Verbruggen Aviel
Beyond Kyoto, plan B. A climate policy master plan based on transparent metrics
in Ecological Economics, Volume 68, Issue 12, 15 October , 2930-2937

Many scholars analyze the Kyoto–Copenhagen process, and offer corrective suggestions for identified flaws in the present design. Based on various proposals in the literature, this article adopts a global master-plan perspective, leaving executive architecture to sovereign participants. Transparent, flexible and fair top-down rules must synchronize the numerous bottom-up initiatives while addressing the diversity of national circumstances in the drastic transformation of the world's energy economies.
Plan B refutes absolute emission reduction targets on old or speculative baselines. It criticizes global tax and permit trade instruments for being ineffective, inefficient and unfair when uniformly applied on a tremendous differentiated world. Plan B is built on three annually observed variables measuring percentage progress against rolling baselines (the variables' values in the previous year): the ratio of net climate tax revenues to GDP, the commercial energy intensity of GDP, and the carbon intensity of commercial energy use. The three variables together indicate countries' progress affecting emissions per person, a metric that must converge to lower bands when climate change is addressed seriously. Long-term scenarios of global convergence “funnels” serve as guidance to frame near-term actions rich and poor countries individually propose to take. The global regime is common for all countries, and is ranked by GDP per person to determine whether a nation is a donor or a beneficiary in a Global Climate Transfer Fund. Fund payments and drawing rights depend on that ranking but also on the performances of the countries in realizing committed progress. The transparent mechanisms of the design and of the fund persuasively invite countries to participate in a fair, self-enforcing agreement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Quadrio Curzio Alberto
Come l'Unione europea può evitare che il G20 diventi G2
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Reeves Eric
Darfur and International Justice
in Dissent, summer, 2009

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Ferrara Pasquale
Dopo il G8: verso un gruppo per il consenso globale?
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Romano Angela
Détente, Entente, or Linkage? The Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union
in Diplomatic History, vol. 33, n. 4, September , 703-722

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Vihma Antto
Friendly neighbor or Trojan Horse? Assessing the interaction of soft law initiatives and the UN climate regime
in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 9, Number 3, August , 239-262

Current global climate governance is characterized by increasing institutional proliferation. Within the last 5 years

several non-legally binding initiatives have emerged, including (i) the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate and various other public–private partnerships working on the policy implementation level and (ii) the Group of Eight Gleneagles Dialogue on Climate Change, Clean Energy and Sustainable Development, and Major Economies Meeting on Energy Security and Climate Change as high-level political processes. As a first step toward analyzing the relationship between these parallel initiatives and the UN climate regime, this article looks at the negotiations of four UN-hosted climate meetings in 2007–2008, providing an examination of the interaction of 'soft law' climate initiatives and the 'hard law' UNFCCC/Kyoto Protocol process. The methodology of the study is based on participatory observations in the negotiations and document analysis of country and stakeholder positions. The analysis shows that the current multitude of processes in global climate governance entails potential institutional interaction. Deliberations of the key actors give some support to the claims of non-UN soft law being used to exert influence on the negotiations on a future climate regime within the UN context.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Marzo Federica
G8 e Africa: cosa ci insegna la crisi?
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Fassina Stefano
G8: l'agenda riformista per le democrazie delle classi medie
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Bauböck Rainer
Global Justice, Freedom of Movement and Democratic Citizenship
in European Journal of Sociology, Volume 50, Issue 01, April 2009 , 1-31

Abstract

The article discusses three liberal arguments about freedom of movement: immigration as a remedy for global injustice in the distribution of opportunities, freedom of movement as an integral aspect of individual autonomy, and immigration control as implied in democratic self-determination and citizenship. The article shows how these apparently irreconcilable stances can be reconstructed as partially overlapping once we realize that liberal citizenship provides not only reasons for closure but entails a bundle of mobility rights and is open for access by migrant stakeholders.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Palmujoki Eero
Global principles for sustainable biofuel production and trade
in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 9, Number 2, May , 135-151

This article examines international attempts to regulate the production of and trade in biofuels by establishing criteria and indicators and certification schemes. It focuses on the norms underlying the criteria and the community constructed on the basis of them. The theoretical approach here rests on a discussion of these norms and on their constitutive role. This role creates a community and gives an institutional basis for the global public domain. Accordingly, different norms create the network on which environmental governance is based. It is assumed that commonly accepted criteria form a common norm. The article analyses eleven criteria and indicator systems and compares the criteria adopted. Eight were created for biofuels and bioenergy and three are used in forest certification. Comparison reveals that the criterion aiming to reduce greenhouse gas emissions is used in Northern systems, whereas commonly accepted environmental criteria are biodiversity and minimization of pollution. The web of norms on which biofuel production and trade is based comprises environmental norms together with the general norm of sovereignty and the norms of the market economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Smith Nicola J.
Global social justice as a 'question of human survival': an interview with Clare Short
in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 5, Issue 2, August 2009 , 155-161

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Haarstad Håvard
Globalization and the New Spaces for Social Movement Politics: The Marginalization of Labor Unions in Bolivian Gas Nationalization
in Globalizations , Volume 6, Issue 2, June 2009 , 169-185

Abstract
This article aims for a critical engagement with the new spaces for social movement politics. Recent literature focusing on the relationship between globalization and these spaces foregrounds the new opportunity structures for political practices. Yet amid talk of 'grassroots globalization' and 'globalization from below', it is important to remain sensitive to how certain forms of practice and organization, particularly those of labor unions, are marginalized within the political spaces of globalization. This paper investigates how the political spaces of globalization shaped the nationalization of gas resources in Bolivia. Nationalization was achieved by new social movements partly negotiating within political spaces opened by globalization. Yet the interests and demands of labor unions were significantly marginalized in implementation. 'Actually existing' nationalization can best be described as a pragmatic renegotiation of contracts, in

response to a dual pressure from new social movements and from economic globalization. Bolivian nationalization of gas illustrates how union politics around issues of work are constrained within the political spaces of globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
McGlade Jacqueline
Greening the brown economy
in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

The combined effects of financial crisis, climate change and energy concerns mean that we must overhaul our ideas on governance and harness public opinion, argues Jacqueline McGlade, executive director of the European Environment Agency.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21494/Default.aspx

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
McKeown Timothy
How U.S. decision-makers assessed their control of multilateral organizations, 1957–1982
in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 4, n. 3, september , 269-291

ABSTRACT: Although quantitative studies have identified relationships between the interests of powerful, wealthy states and the lending patterns of international financial institutions, they do not illuminate influence processes that give rise to these patterns. Three closely held internal assessments by the U.S. government of its influence over decisions in various international organizations are now declassified; they provide information about internal processes unlikely to be obtained through interviews of current officials or observation of public behavior. Their findings overlap to some degree academic research on this phenomenon, but also reveal hitherto unsuspected facets of U.S. diplomacy as well as candid internal assessments of U.S. successes and failures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Davies Thomas
How the Rome Statute Weakens the International Prohibition on Incitement to Genocide
in Harvard Human Rights Journal, vol. 22, issue 2 , 245-270

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schirm Stefan A.

Ideas and interests in global financial governance: comparing German and US preference formation

in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 22, n. 3, September , 501-521

Financial crises underline the necessity for more effective global governance. Despite the creation of the Basel II Accord, no agreement has been reached on the reform of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Why do governments only selectively agree to reform global governance? I argue that convergence and divergence of governmental positions cannot be explained solely by the logic of the international system, institutions or globalization. Instead, they strongly reflect domestic ideas and interests. Furthermore, the ability of governments to compromise internationally is influenced by the different impact of domestic ideas and interests. With regard to their prevalence in domestic preference formation, ideas prevail when governance affects lobby groups diffusely and poses fundamental questions on the role of politics in governing the economy. Interests prevail when lobby groups are affected directly and new governance concerns a specific distribution of costs. These arguments are tested on the preference formation of the United States and German governments on the IMF and Basel II.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Carraro Carlo

Il G8 e le risposte alla crisi climatica

in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hovi Jon, Sprinz Detlef F., Underdal Arild

Implementing Long-Term Climate Policy: Time Inconsistency, Domestic Politics, International Anarchy

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 9, Issue 3, August , 20-39

As a quintessential long-term policy problem, climate change poses two major challenges. The first is to develop, under considerable uncertainty, a plan for allocating resources over time to achieve an effective policy response. The second is to implement this plan, once arrived at, consistently over time. We consider the second of these two challenges, arguing that it consists of three interrelated, commitment problems—the time inconsistency problem, the domestic politics problem, and the anarchy problem. We discuss each of these commitment problems in some detail, explore how they relate to climate policy, and suggest institutional designs that may help limit their adverse impact. While each of these commitment problems is difficult to tackle on its own, climate change requires us to cope with all of them at once. This is likely one major reason why we have so far made only modest headway on this vital issue.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kay Adrian, Ackrill Robert

Institutional Change in the International Governance of Agriculture: A Revised Account

in **Governance**, Vol. 22, n. 3, July , 483-506

This article traces the evolution of the international governance of agriculture as a sequential process, in which the negotiation of new trading and enforcement rules interacts with legal disputes over the interpretation of existing rules. The interaction between negotiation and litigation has produced a governance trajectory from vague to precise commitments and a strengthened dispute settlement process. We contest standard histories, which identify the Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture as the singular event that established agriculture for the first time under the auspices of the World Trade Organization and which claim this represents the legalization of the agricultural trade regime. The case of agriculture contains important lessons for broader debates on international governance by articulating: (1) dynamic feedback processes, challenging the view that bargaining and enforcement aspects of international agreements are concluded simultaneously, and (2) key mechanisms underlying the greater precision of institutional commitments that tend to emerge over time.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sutch Peter

International justice and the reform of global governance: a reconsideration of Michael Walzer's international political theory

in **Review of International Studies (The)**, Vol. 35, Issue 3, July , 513-530

Walzer has recently updated his just war theory to take account of terrorism, humanitarian military intervention and new interpretations of the doctrine of self-defence, pre-emptive and preventative warfare The ethical considerations that underwrite Walzer's most recent work invite us beyond the routine citation of his work to a proper consideration of the moral parameters of international politics. Beyond Just and Unjust Wars Walzer has a wealth of insight into the key questions of international theory. His work on toleration, the nature of universality or on the role of social criticism has always been the basis of his insight in to the hard questions of international ethics. Despite being heavily criticised for being communitarian or conservative (both charges that need serious re-evaluation) Walzer's ideas offer a real alternative to the dominant neo-Kantian cosmopolitan tradition and a workable ethical framework for thinking about the challenges of contemporary international politics and international law. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the final essay of Arguing About War. The essay, entitled ‘Governing the Globe’ offers a radical vision of a reformed international society inspired by the principles that underpin Walzer's development of his just war theory and it is vital that we take notice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Compston Hugh

Introduction: political strategies for climate policy

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 18, Issue 5, September , 659-669

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Islam Md Rizwanul
Is the Doomsday of International Law Looming Around in the Twenty-First Century?: A Response to the Sceptics of Efficacy of International Law
in Nordic Journal of International Law, vol. 78, issue 3 , 293-308

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Goldsmith Jack, Levinson Daryl
Law For States: International Law,Constitutional Law, Public Law
in Harvard Law Review, Vol. 122 · May 2009 · No. 7 , 1791-1868

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Procacci Giovanna
Le nuove sfide della cittadinanza in un mondo di immigrazione
in Rassegna italiana di sociologia, numero 3, luglio-settembre , pp. 409-432

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Cumberlege,Sean
Leonard V.B. Sutton Award - Multilateral Environmental Agreements: From Montreal To Kyoto -- A Theoretical Approach To An Improved Climate Change Regime
in Denver Journal of international law and policy, volume 37, issue 2 , 303

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Diamantopoulou Anna
Let's use this crisis to re-think global governance
in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

There's a growing consensus that global problems ranging from recession to climate change require an internationally-agreed response. Anna Diamantopoulou, a former EU social affairs Commissioner, sets out her seven-point agenda for change.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21470/Default.aspx

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Nuruzzaman Mohammed
Liberal Institutionalism and International Cooperation after 11 September 2001
in International Studies, vol. 45, n. 3, july-september , 193-213

ABSTRACT: Liberal institutionalism has traditionally emphasized the need for institutional arrangements to initiate and sustain cooperation among states. The theory regenerated much interest in the capacity and potential of international institutions, particularly the United Nations, for sustained international cooperation and peace in the post-cold war world. A good number of recent developments, particularly the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on America and the resurgent neoconservative agenda in American foreign policy to wage the endless 'war on terror' and to extend the zone of freedom and democracy through force, run counter to the basic premises of liberal institutionalism. This article analyzes the impact of the neoconservative foreign policy agenda on wider forms of international cooperation and argues that the unilateral US invasion of Iraq in 2003 has created an international environment of conflict and insecurity where rival and hostile states view each other with deep suspicions and prefer not to cooperate on important international peace and security issues. The prevailing international environment of insecurity has seriously undermined, the potential of international institutions, particularly the United Nations, to hold the post-September 11 world together and get states on board to cooperate on a sustained basis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Koukouzelis Kostas
Liberal internationalism and global social justice
in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 5, Issue 2, August 2009 , 97-108

Abstract
Theories of global justice have moved from issues relating to crimes against humanity and war crimes or, furthermore, 'negative duties' with respect to non-citizens, towards problems of distributive justice and global inequality. Thomas Nagel's Storrs Lectures from 2005, exemplifying Rawlsian internationalism, argue that liberal requirements concerning duties of distributive justice apply exclusively within a single nation-state, and do not extend to duties of this nature between rich and poor countries. Nagel even argues that the demand for global equality is not a demand of justice at all. In the present article I will try to offer a normative basis for the criticism of such a view. Following Kant and more recently

Philip Pettit, I locate this normative basis on political freedom conceived as non-domination. Such a conception opens up the possibility of a political cosmopolitanism, which is based not on an empirical interdependence among people at a global level, but on a normative interdependence. Subsequent cosmopolitan duties extend both to the elimination of domination everywhere in the world and to the equal enjoyment of non-dominated choice. Thus, it will be argued that modern republicanism is falsely identified with a particular, bounded community, but supports a political, not simply a moral, cosmopolitanism. This kind of cosmopolitanism conceives of sovereign states neither as useless constructions, nor as mere instruments for realizing the pre-institutional value of justice among human beings. Instead, their existence is what gives the value of justice its application. Cosmopolitanism is not after all about the abolishment of all boundaries, but about the essential capacity to draw and redraw them infinitely under conditions of global justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Sprinz Detlef F.
Long-Term Environmental Policy: Definition, Knowledge, Future Research
in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 9, Issue 3, August , 1-8

Considering the long-term is not new, yet we seem to be overwhelmed by the long-term nature of many of our environmental policy problems. Following a definition of long-term policy problems, this editorial introduces the contributions to this special issue of Global Environmental Politics and outlines three major challenges for future research, including the time inconsistency problem, the effect of democratic and decentralized governance on problem-solving, as well as institutional designs to prevent or recover from unwanted long-term policy outcomes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Massari Maurizio
L'Italia, il G8 e il futuro della governance
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Jäckle Sebastian, Bauschke Rafael
Lässt sich Reformfähigkeit messen? Eine kritische Würdigung der Sustainable Governance Indicators
in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 19. Jahrgang (2009), Heft 3 , 359-386

Is Measuring Reform Capacity Possible? A Critical Appraisal of the Sustainable Governance Indicators

While benchmarks and indicators are being used in many areas of comparative politics, no such measure has been

available to assess the ability and capacity of political systems regarding the planning and implementation of reforms. The paper evaluates a newly designed approach to measure the reform capacity of OECD countries, the Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI), by using criteria tested extensively in the field of measurement of democracy. The analysis reveals several problems regarding the conceptualization, measurement and aggregation used by the SGI. Especially the inclusion of democracy as a constitutive element of reform capacity proves to be a key problem, negatively impacting on all three levels. Furthermore a statistical ex-post evaluation finds no clue that the SGI really measure a countries' capacity to implement reforms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Gehring Thomas, Plocher Isabel
Making an Administrative Trustee Agent Accountable: Reason-Based Decision Making within the Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism
in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 53, issue 3, september , 669-693

ABSTRACT: Decisions within the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) of the Kyoto Protocol are made by an expert body that acts as a trustee agent of the member states. Trustee agents help overcome the credible commitment problems of their principals and promise reason-based decisions. In contrast to traditional principal-agent settings, trusteeship relations are typically triadic. Beside the preferences of the principals and the trustee, decision criteria provide an external point of reference. They reflect the principals' long-term interest and define the trustee's decision rationale. The triadic structure helps protect the autonomy of trustees and allows for making them accountable for their decisions. Accountability mechanisms intend to ensure that a trustee's decisions are in line with established decision criteria. Against this backdrop, we explore the incentives created by the existing institutional arrangement for the making of CDM decisions and examine selected cases. We conclude that CDM arrangements provide a model for nonpartisan international regulation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Pauly Louis W.
Managing Financial Emergencies in an Integrating World
in Globalizations , Volume 6, Issue 3, September 2009 , 353-364

Abstract
Financial risks as well as opportunities now flow more freely across the borders of all but the poorest countries in the world. But globalizing finance became an observable fact before appropriate political structures were in place to steer it. The basic proposition that robust financial markets both rested on and reinforced the legitimacy of state power was decisively tested during the Great Depression. It is being tested again today. Two outcomes define the spectrum of policy choices in the medium run. One would return us to a version of the post-1945 order characterized by renewed barriers around national markets and strengthened home-country control of tightly regulated financial intermediaries. The second would entail the grand irony of states transcending one of the last bastions of sovereignty as traditionally conceived, namely autonomous fiscal authority. During the crises of 2007-2008, there were surprising, if opaque, moves in the latter direction.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Chiti Edoardo
Organizzazione europea ed organizzazione globale: elementi per una comparazione
in Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico, n. 2 , 359 ff.

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Ramachandran Vijaya, Rueda-Sabater Enrique J., Kraft Robert
Rethinking Fundamental Principles of Global Governance: How to Represent States and Populations in Multilateral Institutions
in Governance, Vol. 22, n. 3, July , 341-351

International politics are undoubtedly in transition along recognizable lines. The resulting disruptive effects on the international institutions founded after World War II are no less evident. Such times demand a principled basis to guide the politics of structural choice for global governance. This article provides a heuristic argument about the most general issues of structural choice, focusing on how to designate the constituencies of the global governance system and the mode of their representation. A concrete illustration of this heuristic argument is provided to demonstrate its plausibility as a starting point for deliberation about the structure of a global governance system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
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Stone Randall W.
Risk in International Politics
in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 9, Issue 3, August , 40-60

Representative governments under-invest in public goods that provide insurance against risk, The combination of inequality and risk aversion guarantees that the payoffs to insurance are skewed, so the median voter prefers a sub-optimally low level of investment. The problem is exacerbated by supermajority requirements or the need for international coordination. This accounts for some of the characteristic shortcomings of domestic public policy and represents an important obstacle to international cooperation. The argument is illustrated with reference to the Kyoto Protocol and the International Monetary Fund. The argument implies that delegation to international organizations with risk-averse preferences may be welfare enhancing.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Trenin Dmitri
So far purely economic, G20 could one day cover security too

in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

Right now it's hard to see how, but with economic stability and geopolitical stability so intertwined, Dmitri Trenin looks his crystal ball and speculates on the more inclusive grouping's future role.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21483/Default.aspx

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Paquerot Sylvie
Société civile, acteurs, espaces dans la globalisation: Ce que nous apprend le débat mondial sur l'eau
in Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique, Volume 28, numerò 2 , pp. 25-51

Le concept de société civile mondiale représente-t-il un outil analytique utile quand il s'agit de comprendre les dimensions politiques de la mondialisation ? À travers l'étude de l'évolution des normes dans le domaine de l'eau douce sur le plan mondial, il nous est apparu difficile d'interpréter la réalité qui se déploie à cette échelle à partir de catégories construites pour décrire et comprendre la réalité de sociétés politiquement instituées, à la fois à cause des contours flous de la sphère politique à cette échelle et des ambigüités liées aux contours délimitant la société civile elle-même par rapport à la sphère économique. En ce sens, nous proposons, d'une part, d'accorder notre attention à l'analyse de ces actions en tant que telles, plutôt qu'à la qualification et à la classification des acteurs et, d'autre part, de porter une attention accrue aux articulations diverses qui se déploient au sein même de la sphère économique, afin d'en arriver à une meilleure précision des contours de cette dernière.

Abstract
Is global civil society a useful concept to help us understand the political dimension of globalization ? Studying the normative evolutions in the field of freshwater resources at the global level, we had been confronted to a serious difficulty in the interpretation of theses evolutions with conceptual tools which had been conceived to understand political communities institutionally well structured. The unclear delimitation of political realm at the global level, as well as the ambiguity of the limits between economic/market realm and civil society realm, make theses categories quite useless to understand actors' contribution to these normative evolution. For these reasons, we propose to focus the analysis on actions rather then on actor's classification. We also suggest giving more attention to the ways in which we are considering and defining the economic realm, to get a clearer picture of the limits between that realm and actors we consider as part of global civil society.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Mckeever David
The Contribution of the International Court of Justice to the Law on the Use of Force: Missed Opportunities or Unrealistic Expectations?
in Nordic Journal of International Law, vol. 78, issue 3 , 361-396

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Ronzoni Miriam
The Global Order: A Case of Background Injustice? A Practice-Dependent Account
in Philosophy and Public Affairs, Volume 37, Issue 3, Summer 2009 , 229-256

Is the global order unjust? And if so, why? The paper argues that the central question to be asked within the debate on global distributive and economic justice is not whether the global order is characterized by the presence of an (unjust) global institutional structure, but rather whether the conditions that trigger the requirement to establish one obtain. I argue that Rawls's concept of background justice can be helpful in this respect, for it can show when and under what circumstances the interaction between different agents requires institutional regulation in order to be justified. I contend that, in the global as in the domestic case, there might be a problem of justice when agents (individuals and states) interact against background conditions that are not justifiable (or instance, when their power and bargaining positions are not balanced), and that in such scenarios institutional regulation is required to maintain background conditions fair. The paper then briefly discusses three potential examples of global background justice between state and non-state actors: tax competition, escalating tariffs, and company relocations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Ssenyonjo, Manisuli
The International Criminal Court and the Warrant of Arrest for Sudan's President Al-Bashir: A Crucial Step Towards Challenging Impunity or a Political Decision?
in Nordic Journal of International Law, vol. 78, issue 3 , 397

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Goodhand Jonathan, Walton Oliver
The Limits of Liberal Peacebuilding? International Engagement in the Sri Lankan Peace Process
in Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, Volume 3, Issue 3, November , 303-323

This essay explores international engagement in the Sri Lankan peace process between 2002 and 2008. The internationalization of peacebuilding in Sri Lanka is analysed as part of a broader international shift towards a model of 'liberal peacebuilding', which involves the simultaneous pursuit of conflict resolution, liberal democracy and market sovereignty. The essay provides a detailed and disaggregated analysis of the various exporters, importers and resisters of liberal peacebuilding, with a particular focus on the contrasting ways in which the United National Front (UNF) and the United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA) regimes engaged with international actors. It is argued that an analysis of the Sri Lankan case provides a corrective to some of the core assumptions contained in much of the literature on liberal peacebuilding. Rather than viewing liberal peacebuilding as simply an hegemonic enterprise foisted upon countries

emerging from conflict, the essay explores the ways in which peacebuilding is mediated through, and translated and instrumentalized by, multiple actors with competing interests - consequently liberal peacebuilding frequently looks different when it 'hits the ground' and may, as in the Sri Lanka case, lead to decidedly illiberal outcomes. The essay concludes by exploring the theoretical and policy implications of a more nuanced understanding of liberal peacebuilding. It is argued that rather than blaming the failure of the project on deficiencies in its execution and the recalcitrance of the people involved, there is a need to look at defects in the project itself and to explore alternatives to the current model of liberal peacebuilding.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Schaffer Teresita C.
The United States, India, and Global Governance:Can They Work Together?
in Washington Quarterly (The), volume 32, n. 3, july

http://www.twq.com/09july/docs/09jul_Schaffer.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Sethi Vivan
The docoupling theory
in World Affairs, Vol. 13, n. 2, Summer

VIVAN SETHI's paper outlines the nature of US economic power since the end of World War Two, the structural changes in the American economy and their symbiotic relationship with the global economy. It summarises the evolution of the US dollar from an instrument backed by the largest gold reserves and productive capacity in the world, to one supported by a paper denomination of commodity resources, vendor financed consumption and the increasing use and threat of military power. The paper also deals with the limitations imposed on large nations trapped in the “money empire” and the steps that might be taken to assert economic and monetary freedom from a fatally weakened “credit emperor”.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Bhagwat Niloufer
The financial implosion of dominant economic centres
in World Affairs, Vol. 13, n. 2, Summer

The current American leadership has had to admit that long-term US policies are mostly to blame for the current global financial and economic crisis. It is therefore necessary to review the process that led to this meltdown of the system supported by the Bretton Woods Institutions, understand the motivations of the main actors and work for the creation of a sound and fair international multipolar economic and political order, writes NILOUFER BHAGWAT.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Palombella Gianluigi
The rule of law beyond the state: Failures, promises, and theory
in **International Journal of Constitutional Law**, Vol. 7, n. 3 , 442-467

Resorting to the "rule of law" within the traditional environment of international law generates difficulties, especially when circumstances require us to square the circle by accommodating normative claims with state legal orders, fundamental rights, and democracy. Unsurprisingly, in recent cases brought before supranational courts, such as the European Court of Justice (Kadì and Al Baarakat, for example), or domestic courts, such as the United States Supreme Court (Hamdan, for example), the import and notion of the rule of law have been interpreted in ways that reveal the uncertainty surrounding the concept and the rather idiosyncratic or instrumental uses to which it is put. Through the analysis of such instances, this article proposes a restatement of the rule of law that better explains its use beyond state borders. Then, it shows how the relation between different orders, as a factual matter, does not obey some monist hierarchy and does not even reflect the logic of the "dualism" of self-contained systems. Given that the autonomy of legal orders is a vital contemporary reality, confrontation between them and with international law appears to be replacing the formal primacy of sources as well as blind or dogmatic closure by content-dependent constitutional assessments. In this connection, a road taken in the European environment shows that communicative pluralism can embark on a practice of giving reasons inherently capable of producing common standards, the rule of law, and thin lines of principle. All of these factors are ingredients that might finally evolve further into a rule of recognition for the international legal order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Birol Fatih
The time has come for a world energy revolution
in **Europe´s World**, Issue 12, Summer

Our energy supply and consumption patterns are unsustainable environmentally, economically, socially, says Fatih Birol, the International Energy Agency's Chief Economist. What we now need is nothing short of an energy revolution.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21427/Default.aspx

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Schäferhoff Marco, Campe Sabine, Kaan Christopher
Transnational Public-Private Partnerships in International Relations: Making Sense of Concepts, Research Frameworks, and Results
in **International Studies Review**, vol. 11, issue 3, september , 451-474

ABSTRACT: Transnational public-private partnerships (PPPs) have become a popular theme in International Relations (IR) research. Such partnerships constitute a hybrid type of governance, in which nonstate actors co-govern along with state actors for the provision of collective goods, and thereby adopt governance functions that have formerly been the

sole authority of sovereign states. Their recent proliferation is an expression of the contemporary reconfiguration of authority in world politics that poses essential questions on the effectiveness and the legitimacy of global governance. In this article, we critically survey the literature on transnational PPPs with respect to three central issues: Why do transnational PPPs emerge, under what conditions are they effective, and under what conditions are they legitimate governance instruments? We point to weaknesses of current research on PPPs and suggest how these weaknesses can be addressed. We argue that the application of IR theories and compliance theories in particular opens up the possibility for systematic comparative research that is necessary to obtain conclusive knowledge about the emergence, effectiveness, and legitimacy of transnational PPPs. Furthermore, the article introduces the concept of complex performance to capture possible unintended side effects of PPPs and their implications on global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Schmidt Rudolf
Völkerrecht und Zukunft. Zuruf eines Außenseiters
in Zeitschrift für Politik, Jahrgang 56, Heft 2, 2009

Abstract
The planet earth is, according to modern science, a self-regulating system that has developed and preserved the conditions for the evolution of life. Human beings, too, are dependent of these conditions. But they have, beginning with industriailation, begun to disturb this system. They could destroy it if they will not modify their behaviour. As a result a new understanding of man in his environment and a new ethical imperativ are taking shape. Under its influence a new kind of law is developing that does not regulate relations between state, but the common managing of the planet in order to preserve the conditions of life. The new view of the earth requires a new understanding of global order: The system of sovereign states and of traditional international law are not adequate to preserving the earth system which until now has garanteed the conditions of human life. At the conference on the human environment of 1972 it was recognized for the first time that man is responsible to protect and impove the environment for present and future generations. The first steps toward the development of a new kind of law were undertaken to protect the atmosphere: Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer (1985) and Protocol of Montreal (1987); Framework Convention on Climate Change (1992) and Protocol of Kyoto. From the ethical imperative to preserve genuine human life results the duty to create rules for the common management of the earth. As a consequence the sovereignty of states will be limited. Other tasks for the new kind of law include e. g. regulations for the common management of water resources and for the prevention of nuclear war which could destroy living conditions for human beings. In view of these new tasks international law is not facing its end but the beginning of a new era.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Presnall Aaron
Which way the wind blows: democracy promotion and international actors in Serbia
in Democratization, vol. 16, n. 4, August, Special Issue: DEMOCRACY PROMOTION BEFORE AND AFTER THE 'COLOUR REVOLUTIONS , 661-681

This article seeks to fill an empirical void in the discourse on democracy promotion (DP) with a case study of democracy

promotion assistance to Serbia since 1991. Before 2000, political decisions by the US government to hasten the end of the Miloevi regime elevated democracy promotion from a secondary consideration during a wartime humanitarian crisis to primary importance, and overall American resource commitments to democracy promotion sectors overtook European funding. The end of the Miloevi regime in October 2000 marked the fundamental alteration of the rationale for democracy promotion assistance: international donors virtually flooded Serbia with money to seize a perceived window of opportunity to boost efforts at democratization of the new order. Serbia's democratization became less of a priority for the US government after 9/11. The tasks of political stabilization and integration of Serbia into the European Union (EU) returned European funding to prominence, alongside a few private US foundations. The central observation is that funding priorities within democracy promotion differ from year to year, sometimes dramatically and often for reasons unrelated to the evolving context in Serbia itself, while the overall amount of external democracy promotion funding to Serbia as a gradually democratizing non-EU state is decreasing. Nevertheless, this unstable ground also yielded useful innovation, such as the Balkan Trust for Democracy, a successful trans-Atlantic public private partnership to fund locally driven democracy promotion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Ahmad Nehaluddin

Adapting Indian Legal Education to the Demands of a Globalising World

in German Law Journal, Vol. 10, n. 7 , 847-858

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Nardelli Stefania

Anti-dumping et globalisation: redéfinir l'

in Revue de droit international et de droit comparé., Vol. 86, n. 2 , 253-278

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Payam Akhavan

Are International Criminal Tribunals a Disincentive to Peace?: Reconciling Judicial Romanticism with Political Realism

in Human Rights Quarterly, Volume 31, Number 3, August 2009 , pp. 624-654

A significant challenge to the efficacy of international criminal justice in global governance is the view that prosecution of political leaders still in power creates a disincentive to peace and thus prolongs atrocities. While “judicial romantics” are often oblivious to these complexities, the “political realists” have failed to demonstrate that tribunals are in fact an impediment to peace and stability. The impact of the International Criminal Court on three recent situations in Africa suggests that judicial intervention is more likely to help prevent atrocities rather than impede peace, even if arrest

warrants cannot be executed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Payne Caroline L.
Bringing Home the Bacon or Not? Globalization and Government Respect for Economic and Social Rights
in Human Rights Review, Volume 10, Number 3 / September, 2009 , 413-429

The impact of globalization on human rights has generated substantial debate. On the one hand, those making liberal, free-market arguments assert that globalization has a positive impact on developing countries through the increased generation of wealth (e.g., Garrett 1998; Richards et al. in International Studies Quarterly 45:219–239, 2001; Rodrik in Challenge 41:81–94, 1997). On the other hand, the critical perspective claims that globalization negatively impacts respect for human rights because trading arrangements, while open, are detrimentally uneven (e.g., Carleton 1989; Haggard and Maxfield 1996; Stiglitz and Charlton 2005). However, few have looked at the relationship between globalization and respect for economic and social rights. In order to test this relationship, I examine non-OECD countries utilizing two-stage regression analysis to control for investment-selection factors. I find mixed results for the hypothesis that globalization negatively affects respect for economic and social rights. Consistent with Richards et al. (International Studies Quarterly 45:219–239, 2001), I conclude by arguing for the need to disaggregate globalization in order to determine its true effects.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Ping Huang, Wenzhao Tao, Rongjun Wang, Zheng Yuan, Xingshu Zhao
China-US Relations, Tending Towards Maturity
in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLIV, n. 2, April-June , 9-16

The China-US relationship is one of the most important bilateral relationships in the world, and it is progressively maturing. Non-traditional security threats are expanding the shared interests of China and the US. The two countries have developed more realistic views of each other than they had decades ago, and this is making military relations more practical. The two are also interdependent in the economic realm, whether they like it or not, and therefore must work together to succeed in handling the current economic crisis. Connected to this economic challenge is that of climate change, an issue which the US must handle wisely in its relations with China. In addition, traditional security and peace issues will remain important, some even sensitive and difficult, in relations in the near future. The improved relationship towards which China and the US are moving will contribute substantially not only to bilateral relations but also to global peace and order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Detraz Nicole, Betsill Michele
Climate Change and Environmental Security: For Whom the Discourse Shifts
in International Studies Perspectives , vol. 10, issue 3, august , 303-320

ABSTRACT: This article explores the implications of the April 2007 United Nations Security debate on the security dimensions of a changing climate for international climate change politics. Specifically, our analysis focuses on whether and how security concerns have been addressed in past international political debates on climate change and considers whether the Security Council debate, which emphasized the threat of climate-related conflict, reflects a discursive shift. We elaborate on two general discourses on the relationship between environment and security, which we call environmental conflict and environmental security. Using content and discourse analysis, we demonstrate that both the historical climate change debate and the more recent Security Council debate have been informed by the environmental security discourse, meaning that a discursive shift has not taken place. We conclude by considering the possibility of a future discursive shift to the environmental conflict perspective and argue that such a shift would be counterproductive to the search for an effective global response to climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Richardson Benjamin J

Climate Finance And Its Governance: Moving To A Low Carbon Economy Through Socially Responsible Financing?

in International & Comparative Law Quarterly , Volume 58 - Issue 03 , 597-626

‘Climate finance’ is becoming an important feature of the emerging legal and policy regimes to address global warming. However, the current approach largely confines the financial sector to a transactional agent to mobilise capital for clean energy and to broker emission allowance trading. The sector's potential to leverage more sweeping positive changes in the economy as sought historically through the movement for socially responsible investment (SRI) has been insufficiently acknowledged. Indirectly, by regulating greenhouse gases the legal system is helping to create a business case for investors to respond to climate change threats. However, the potential contribution of SRI to address climate change problems more comprehensively is presently limited owing to inadequate governance frameworks, as well the sector's increasing abandonment of its traditional ethical agenda.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Brydon Diana

Competing Autonomy Claims and the Changing Grammar of Global Politics

in Globalizations , Volume 6, Issue 3, September 2009 , 339-352

Abstract
This article argues that contending ideas about autonomy lie behind current discourses of human rights, claims to nation-state and cultural autonomy, and democracy promotion. Globalizing processes are bringing these contested understandings of autonomy, and their often silent framing within assumptions about sovereignty, into a new prominence. Locating itself within agonistic views of autonomy and politics, the article argues that it is necessary to pay closer attention to the perspectives that feminist and postcolonial analyses bring to understanding how autonomy, community, culture, and nation are co-constructed within imaginaries, such as liberal multiculturalism, that are no longer

adequate to current demands for justice. To succeed, this renewed attention needs to locate itself within an effort to rethink academic community and the research protocols and collaborative practices this community permits and legitimizes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Sciuto Maurizio
Crisi dell'impresa e crisi della sovranità statale nel mercato globale (convergenza, concorrenza e coordinamento e delle norme nazionali)
in Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico, n. 2 , 413 ff.

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Halm Dirk, Thränhardt Dietrich
Der transnationale Raum Deutschland -Türkei
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 39-40, 2009

The full text is free:
www.bpb.de/publikationen/ZZZ81W,7,0,Der_transnationale_Raum_Deutschland_T%FCrkei.html#art7

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Tönnies Sibylle
Die 'Neuen Kriege' und der alte Hobbes
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 46, 2009

The full text is free:
http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/G1VU32,0,Die_Neuen_Kriege_und_der_alte_Hobbes.html

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Hoering Uwe
Die neue Landnahme. Globales Agrobusiness und der Ausverkauf der Entwicklungsländer
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, September, 2009 , 103-112

Der Vertrag, den der südkoreanische Konzern Daewoo Logistics im Juli 2008 mit der Regierung von Madagaskar abschloss, machte weltweit Schlagzeilen: Das Unternehmen wollte 1,3 Mio. Hektar Land, die Hälfte der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzfläche der Insel, für 99 Jahre pachten und dort unter anderem Futtermais anbauen, um Südkorea, den viertgrößten Maisimporteur der Welt, unabhängiger vom Weltmarkt zu machen. Als Gegenleistung

versprach das Unternehmen, in Straßen, Bewässerung und Vorratsspeicher ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Conconi Paola, Perroni Carlo
Do credible domestic institutions promote credible international agreements?
in Journal of International Economics, Volume 79, Issue 1, September 2009 , Pages 160-170

We examine the relationship between international policy coordination and domestic policy reputation when both are self-sustaining. We show that domestic policy commitment does not necessarily facilitate international cooperation; rather, efficient policies may be most easily sustained when governments are unable to pre-commit to policy domestically. Moreover, the lack of domestic commitment is more likely to facilitate international cooperation the larger the international spillovers of domestic policies are.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Cohen Benjamin J.
Dollar Dominance, Euro Aspirations: Recipe for Discord?
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue 4, September 2009 , 741-766

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Bénassy-Quéré Agnès
Dollar: un refuge pas très sûr
in Lettre du CEPII, N° 289 Juillet

Comme tout prix de marché, le taux de change du dollar évolue en fonction de l'offre et de la demande. Observer les composantes de l'offre et de la demande d'actifs en dollars permet ainsi d'expliquer la forte appréciation du dollar au second semestre 2008. Sur cette période d'extension de la crise à l'ensemble de l'économie mondiale, les titres du Trésor américain ont joué leur rôle de valeur refuge, mais les investisseurs étrangers ont, en termes nets, cessé d'acquérir des titres privés américains ; en revanche, les américains ont massivement rapatrié des capitaux, de sorte qu'au total la demande nette de dollars a augmenté. De son côté, la diminution de l'offre de titres en dollars, plus rapide que celle de l'offre globale de titres, a soutenu la monnaie américaine. L'évolution future du dollar reste l'une des grandes incertitudes de l'après-crise, même si le diagnostic porté avant le début de la crise reste valable : la résorption du déficit américain persistant continue de réclamer un dollar faible.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Lavenex Sandra, Schimmelfennig Frank

EU rules beyond EU borders: theorizing external governance in European politics
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 16 Issue 6 2009 , Pages 791 – 812

The concept of external governance seeks to capture the expanding scope of EU rules beyond EU borders. This article elaborates the theoretical foundations of this concept, differentiates the various institutional modes through which external governance takes place and suggests a set of hypotheses addressing the conditions under which EU external governance is effective. Here, we contrast institutionalist explanations, which are the most germane to an external governance approach, with competing expectations derived from power-based theories and approaches emphasizing the role of domestic factors in the target countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Blanco Elena, Razzaque Jona
Ecosystem Services and Human Well-Being in a Globalized World: Assessing the Role of Law
in **Human Rights Quarterly**, Volume 31, Number 3, August 2009 , pp. 692-720

There is no denying the close linkage between ecosystem services and human well-being. Human well-being is dependent on the sustainable management of ecosystem services. With economic globalization and free trade, there is an increasing demand for these services. Yet, poverty, inefficient management of common resources, and inadequate legal and governance frameworks have a negative impact on human well-being. This article examines the impact of globalization as well as the legal mechanisms for the management of ecosystem services arguing that the need for a concerted and synergistic legal approach to manage ecosystem services in a sustainable manner that includes human rights principles alongside market-based instruments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Mendoza Enrique G., Quadrini Vincenzo, Ríos Rull José Víctor
Financial Integration, Financial Development, and Global Imbalances
in **Journal of Political Economy** , June 2009 , 371

Global financial imbalances can result from financial integration when countries differ in financial markets development. Countries with more advanced financial markets accumulate foreign liabilities in a gradual, long‐lasting process. Differences in financial development also affect the composition of foreign portfolios: countries with negative net foreign asset positions maintain positive net holdings of nondiversifiable equity and foreign direct investment. Three observations motivate our analysis: (1) financial development varies widely even among industrial countries, with the United States on top; (2) the secular decline in the U.S. net foreign asset position started in the early 1980s, together with a gradual process of international financial integration; (3) the portfolio composition of U.S. net foreign assets features increased holdings of risky assets and a large increase in debt.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Fukuyama Francis, Wolf Martin

Francis Fukuyama intervista Martin Wolf. Il peggiore dei mondi possibili
in **Aspenia**, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 29-36

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Wade Robert
From global imbalances to global reorganisations
in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 33, Number 4, July 2009

The world feels itself to be in transition, but to what is unclear. Will the liberal market model retain its normative primacy once some semblance of normality is restored, or will other varieties of capitalism, with a bigger role of the state, acquire more legitimacy? The answer depends partly on one's explanation for the current crisis. This essay argues, first, that global imbalances had too important a role to ignore, in contrast to a mainstream view that focuses on mistakes in monetary policy and financial regulation. It argues, second, that in light of global dynamics, the crisis is likely to become worse by early 2010—which, on the face of it, makes significant reorganisations of capitalism more likely. The third section lays out what should be done to reconfigure capitalism at national and international levels. The final section discusses the political economy of policy reforms in terms of the difficult translation from what should be done to what can be done. The broad conclusion is that in five years from now the liberal market model will have been restored to normative primacy and ‘we must have more globalization’ will again be the elite rallying cry; but the crisis will have left behind sufficient doubts about factual propositions and value priorities that political parties and economists advocating alternatives will have more scope than they have had for the past three decades.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Rosenvinge D. Alison von
Global Anti‐Corruption Regimes: Why law schools may want to take a multi‐jurisdictional approach
in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 10, n. 7 , 785-802

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Pasha Mustapha Kamal
Global exception and Islamic exceptionalism
in **International Politics** , Volume 46, Issue 5, September , 527-549

Islamic exceptionalism (IE), or the discourse of Islam's inassimilable difference, legitimizes post-9/11 encounters with Islam and strategies of political and cultural domestication of the Islamic cultural zones (ICZs). It may also furnish new grounds for exclusions, enclosures and securitization. The aim of this paper is to explore the principal vectors of the field

of vision generated by IE; to draw out any possible connections between IE and a presumed global exception (GE); and more broadly, to delineate how IE speaks to the perils of International Relations (IR)'s occlusion of the political in ICZs. In exploring the nexus between IE and GE, both the recursive character of GE and its constraints are noted, with an appreciation of cultural mappings nourishing GE. The key implication drawn is the need to avoid the temptation of an abstract notion of GE without ample recognition of its particularized instantiations, notably in reference to Islam.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Camporini Francesca
Globale o locale? L'imigrazione e la trasformazione dei diritti di cittadinanza
in Quaderni di Scienza Politica, anno XVI, n. 1, aprile , 91-116

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Bräuninger Michael, Vöpel Henning
Globalisation, trade, and growth: A macroeconomic perspective
in Intereconomics, Volume 44, Number 3 / May, 2009 , 185-192

On the basis of economic theory, what effects can globalisation be expected to have on trade and growth? Does the empirical evidence support this? What developments will the next phase of globalisation bring?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Coleman William D., Brydon Diana
Globalization and Autonomy: An Overview
in Globalizations , Volume 6, Issue 3, September 2009 , 323-338

Abstract
This article introduces the Globalization and Autonomy research project, dedicated to understanding globalizing processes through the lens of autonomy, and the special issue to which it has led. It describes the initial impetus for the project, the changing contexts in which the research took place, its interdisciplinary practices, and its key findings. Finally, the article introduces the remaining contributions in this special issue, which have arisen out of work on the project.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Kramer Daniel Boyd, Urquhart Gerald, Schmitt Kristen
Globalization and the connection of remote communities. A review of household effects and their biodiversity implications

in Ecological Economics, Volume 68, Issue 12, 15 October , 2897-2909

The remote regions of the world provide refuge to a disproportionate amount of the Earth's biodiversity. As globalization continues, isolated human communities in these regions are increasingly connected to global market, migration, and technology networks. We review the diffuse literature on the household effects of changing market access, migration, and technology adoption in remote regions and implications for native biodiversity. Market access affects biodiversity in remote communities through changes in household economics and social networks. Migration, either to or from remote settlements, affects biodiversity through changes in population, remittances, human capital, and social networks. Finally, we consider effects due to production, public infrastructure, and information and communication technologies. There is much ambiguity surrounding these causal pathways, and thus we also examine the roles of various ecological, household, community, and institutional mediating factors in determining the impacts of global connection. Finally, we explore the limitations of our current knowledge and research practices and propose directions for future work to address key uncertainties in theory and evidence as well as weaknesses in methodological approaches. We recommend a broad and interdisciplinary mode of inquiry as the best means toward clarifying globalization's impacts on human settlements and the biodiversity harbored in the Earth's remaining remote regions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Coleman William D., Dionisio Josephine

Globalization, Collaborative Research, and Cognitive Justice

in Globalizations , Volume 6, Issue 3, September 2009 , 389-403

Abstract

This article explores some of the obstacles to building the dialogue needed for transworld collaboration on globalization research and suggests some starting points for addressing these obstacles if researchers are to engage with, and respect, different bodies of knowledge and distinctive, if not incompatible cosmologies. It begins with a critical review of the Globalization and Autonomy project and its limited, and in retrospect, inadequate attempts to be epistemologically inclusive. Second, the article reflects more deeply on epistemological exclusion and knowledge erasure as challenges for globalization research. Drawing from the critical thinking in the second section, the third sections looks at steps that might be taken to build collaborations that meet the condition of cognitive justice. Next the article returns to the Globalization and Autonomy project as an example to illustrate the structural challenges faced by researchers in search of epistemological inclusion. The final section offers some concluding thoughts on how to move forward and to improve collaborative research efforts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Oke Nicole

Globalizing Time and Space: Temporal and Spatial Considerations in Discourses of Globalization

in International Political Sociology , Volume 3, Issue 3, September 2009 , 310-326

ABSTRACT

Globalization discourse is concerned with the effects of spatial change —changes in the shape, scale and extensity or social processes — and the effects of temporal change— particularly changes to, or away from, modernity. By drawing

together both axes of change, globalization discourse suggests a way of navigating this tension. However, it is argued here that most globalization theories accord primacy to one of these axes, which results in them being conflated. As a result, globalization theories are often presented in highly systemic terms and downplay the diversity of social processes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Roudometof Victor
Gusts of Change: The Consequences of the 1989 Revolutions for the Study of Globalization
in **European Journal of Social Theory**, Volume 12, No. 3, August 2009 , 409-424

Since the 1960s, the concepts of the 'global' and the 'transnational' have challenged the state-centred orientation of several disciplines. By 1989, the 'global' contained sufficient ambiguity and conceptual promise to emerge as a potentially new central concept to replace the conventional notion of modernity. The consequences of the 1989 revolutions for this emerging concept were extensive. As a result of the post-communist 'New World Order', a new vision of a single triumphant political and economic system was put forward. With the 'globalizing of modernity' as a description of the post-1989 reality, 'globalization' became the policy mantra of the Clinton and Blair administrations up until the late 1990s when 'anti-globalization' activists were able to question the salience of this dominant theory of 'globalization'. In scholarly discussion, 'globalization' became a floating signifier to be filled with a variety of disciplinary and political meanings. In the post-9/11 era, this Western-centred 'globalization' has been conceptually linked to cosmopolitanism while it has played a minor role in the multiple modernities agenda. The article concludes with an assessment of the current status of the 'global' in theory and research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Binder Martin
Humanitarian Crises and the International Politics of Selectivity
in **Human Rights Review**, Volume 10, Number 3 / September, 2009 , 327-348

How has the international community responded to humanitarian crises after the end of the Cold War? While optimistic ideational perspectives on global governance stress the importance of humanitarian norms and argue that humanitarian crises have been increasingly addressed, more skeptical realist accounts point to material interests and maintain that these responses have remained highly selective. In empirical terms, however, we know very little about the actual extent of selectivity since, so far, the international community's reaction to humanitarian crises has not been systematically examined. This article addresses this gap by empirically examining the extent and the nature of the selectivity of humanitarian crises. To do so, the most severe humanitarian crises in the post-Cold War era are identified and examined for whether and how the international community responded. This study considers different modes of crisis response (ranging from inaction to military intervention) and different actors (including states, international institutions, and nonstate actors), yielding a more precise picture of the alleged "selectivity gap" and a number of theoretical implications for contemporary global security governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Chellaney Brahma
Il Great Game del clima
in Aspenia, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 183-190

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Boccagni Paolo
Il transnazionalismo, fra teoria sociale e orizzonti di vita dei migranti
in Rassegna italiana di sociologia, numero 3, luglio-settembre 2009

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Riffo Luis
Impactos tetitoriales de la globalización. Una perspectiva macro-sectorial
in EURE - Revista latinoamericana de estudios urbano regionales, Vol. 35, n. 104

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Pariotti Elena
International Soft Law, Human Rights and Non-state Actors: Towards the Accountability of Transnational Corporations?
in Human Rights Review, Volume 10, Number 2 / June, 2009

During this age of globalisation, the law is characterised by an ever diminishing hierarchical framework, with an increasing role played by non-state actors. Such features are also pertinent for the international enforceability of human rights. With respect to human rights, TNCs seem to be given broadening obligations, which approach the borderline between ethics and law. The impact of soft law in this context is also relevant. This paper aims to assess whether, and to what extent, this trend could be a proper path to enforce the legal accountability of transnational corporations for human rights. It will be argued that the interplay between law and ethics should be assessed differently depending on which kind of correlative duty is at stake. With regard to negative duties, soft law tools concerning TNCs' conduct may weaken the impact of hard law. By contrast, when positive duties are concerned, insofar as the horizontal effect of rights cannot be assumed, soft law turns out to be much more useful.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Lowi Theodore J.
La globalizzazione, la guerra e il declino dello Stato
in Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, Vol. XXXIX, Numero 1, Aprile , 3-20

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Montobbio Manuel
La metamorfosis de la diplomacia en la globalización
in Politica Exterior, 131

La política exterior y la diplomacia han sufrido un cambio de paradigma. La globalización exige a los Estados y a las organizaciones internacionales desarrollar nuevas capacidades de pensamiento, previsión y acción. Se trata de una visión cosmopolita del sistema internacional.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Arthurs Harry W.
Law and Learning in an Era of Globalization
in German Law Journal, Vol. 10, n. 7 , 629-640

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Bénassy-Quéré Agnès, Havrylchyk O lena, Kumar Rajiv, Pisani-Ferry Jean
Le G20 n'est pas un G7 à vingt
in Lettre du CEPII, N° 292 Septembre

La crise mondiale a fait du G20 le principal forum de coopération économique internationale, en place du G7. Cependant membres et non-membres du G7 ne sont pas venus à la table du G20 avec les mêmes priorités. Les pays développés, dont les systèmes bancaires et financiers ont été directement touchés par la crise, s'attachent avant tout au renforcement de la régulation et de la surveillance financières. Les pays émergents, affectés par le recul des échanges mondiaux et, s'agissant de l'Europe émergente, par le reflux des capitaux, cherchent avant tout à éviter un nouveau protectionnisme commercial ou financier. En tant que nouveaux venus, ils se préoccupent de la répartition des pouvoirs au sein des institutions internationales, réclamant plus de place pour s'y faire entendre. Jusqu'ici, l'agenda du G20 a été dominé par la gestion de la crise, par la mobilisation de ressources financières pour venir au secours des pays en crise

et par la reconstruction d'une régulation financière – tous sujets de type G7. En revanche, la question des déséquilibres globaux, où un G20 aurait pu faire la différence, n'a pas été abordée. A l'avenir, l'agenda du G20 devra évoluer pour mieux refléter les priorités différentes de ses membres.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Stoll Peter-Tobias
Le droit international économique face aux défis de la mondialisation
in **Revue générale de droit international publique**, Vol. 113, n. 2 , 273-303

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Procacci Giovanna
Le nuove sfide della cittadinanza in un mondo di immigrazione
in **Rassegna italiana di sociologia**, numero 3, luglio-settembre 2009

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Bongiovanni Bruno (a cura di)
L'alba di una globalizzazione imperfetta, interventi di Tommaso Detti, Bruno Bongiovanni, Paul Ginsborg
in **Passato e Presente**, fasc. 77

In The Dawn of an Imperfect Globalization - Tommaso Detti, Bruno Bongiovanni and Paul Ginsborg stress the numerous themes that emerge over the long term across the planet and the multiple and distinctive historiographical reflections that are present in Christopher A. Bayly's The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914. What emerges clearly is the unitary but dissimilar experience of all the continents, and, for this very reason, the totalizing dynamics of a process, not without conflicts, that has led to what appears sometimes as an apparently completed globalization, sometimes as a clamorous failure, but, over time, always imperfect.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Lavenex Sandra, Lehmkuhl Dirk, Wichmann Nicole
Modes of external governance: a cross-national and cross-sectoral comparison
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 16 Issue 6 2009 , Pages 813 – 833

Contrary to the vast majority of studies that try to characterize EU external governance by looking at the

macro-structures of association relations, our comparative analysis shows that overarching foreign policy initiatives such as the EEA, Swiss-EU bilateralism or the ENP have little impact on the modes in which the EU seeks to expand its policy boundaries in individual sectors. In contrast, modes of external governance follow sectoral dynamics which are astonishingly stable across countries. These findings highlight the importance of institutional path-dependencies in projecting governance modes from the internal to the external constellation, and question the capacity to steer these functionalist patterns of external governance through rationally planned foreign policy initiatives.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Yeo Andrew
Not in Anyone's Backyard: The Emergence and Identity of a Transnational Anti-Base Network
in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 53, issue 3, september , 571-594

ABSTRACT: Providing an overview of the emergence, characteristics, trajectory, and potential limitations of the transnational anti-base network, this article focuses on two broad questions relevant to transnational politics. First, what processes and mechanisms enabled local and transnational activists to form the international No Bases network? Second, how did activists juxtapose existing local anti-base identity and frames to emerging transnational ones? Following existing transnational movement theories, I argue that the global anti-base network slowly emerged through processes of diffusion and scale shift in its early stages. The onset of the Iraq War, however, injected new life into the transnational anti-base movement, eventually leading to the inaugural International Conference for the Abolition of Foreign Bases in 2007. Although loose transnational ties existed among anti-base activists prior to 2003, the U.S. war in Iraq presented anti-base activists the global frames necessary to accelerate the pace of diffusion, scale-shift, and brokerage, and hence, the consolidation of a transnational anti-base network. Paradoxically, however, even as No Bases leaders attempted to forge a new transnational identity, anti-base activists, as "rooted cosmopolitans," continued to anchor their struggle in local initiatives.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Colombo Enzo
Oltre la cittadinanza multiculturale. Le rappresentazioni dei diritti, dei doveri e delle appartenenze tra alcuni giovani delle scuole superiori
in Rassegna italiana di sociologia, numero 3, luglio-settembre 2009

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Kannan Prakash
On the welfare benefits of an international currency
in European Economic Review, Volume 53, Issue 5, July 2009 , 588-606

Is it beneficial for a country's currency to be used internationally? And, if so, can we quantify the benefit? Since the

emergence of the euro, there has been great interest in the consequences of a transfer of the dollar's premier international role to the euro. This paper presents a novel model-based approach towards assessing the welfare benefits associated with the international use of a country's currency. Apart from the familiar benefits associated with seigniorage, residents of the issuing country experience an increase in the purchasing power of their currency both at home and abroad. In the calibration exercise carried out in this paper, we find the benefits of an international currency to be quantitatively significant. The welfare gain for the Euro area in having the euro internationally used ranges from 1.9% to 2.3% of consumption depending on relative inflation rates. The rest of the world is not indifferent as to which currency circulates as the dominant international currency. Conditional on their currency not being used internationally, their preference is for the dominant international currency to be the one with the lowest inflation rate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Souza Emerson Maione de
Order and Justice in the international society after September 11
in Revista Brasileira de Política internacional , vol.52 - No.1/2009 , pp. 133-148

The article intends to analyze how the English School approach has examined international politics after September 11. It begins by analyzing some developments on the matter of justice that has taken place within the English School, highligning the solidarist conception of international society. Afterwards the article analyses how the English School can help us to understand some of the main challenges that unipolarity poses on international society. It emphasize the limits of an order based on imposition and drives attention to the question of legitimacy and strengthening of international institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Zunes Stephen
Peace or Pax Americana? US Middle East policy and the threat to global security
in International Politics , Volume 46, Issue 5, September , 573-595

This paper examines US policy in the greater Middle Eastern region in the aftermath of the September 2001 al-Qaida attacks on the United States. The paper argues that the US Administration had engaged in a series of policy initiatives which have posed a direct challenge to the post-World War II international legal order. The doctrine of preventative war, the invasion and occupation of Iraq, threats against Iran, the aggressive counter-insurgency operations and air campaigns in Afghanistan, the backing for some of the more militaristic and expansionist elements in Israel, and related policies have served to alienate the United States from Middle Eastern states and even traditional European and Asian allies whose cooperation is needed in the struggle against international terrorism. The overemphasis on military means to address complex political, social and economic problems in Iraq, Lebanon and Iran has emboldened extremists and weakened moderate voices and have resulted in a more anarchic international order which makes legitimate counter-terrorism efforts all the more difficult.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Bradley Tamsin

Religion and Globalisation: Bringing Anthropology and International Relations Together in the Study of Religious-Political Transnational Movements

in **Globalizations** , Volume 6, Issue 2, June 2009 , 265-279

Abstract
This article considers how anthropology could stake more of a contribution to the field of religion and globalisation. Anthropology presents itself as a critique of power highlighting how it operates through globalisation to marginalise groups at the local level. Anthropologists consider religion to be a source of identify. Rituals are given importance in anthropological research as vehicles through which adherents express feelings of exclusion and make sense of the world around them. Also, it is within ritual spaces that adherents decide how to respond to or/and act in the world. Both anthropology and international relations view transnational religious-political movements as one way in which adherents resist and challenge aspects of globalisation. Combining these disciplines could provide a more comprehensive analysis into what motivates individuals to join a movement. In turn this research could provide more evidence and explanation for religion's rootedness in the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Bruce Toni, Wheaton Belinda

Rethinking global sports migration and forms of transnational, cosmopolitan and diasporic belonging: a case study of international yachtsman Sir Peter Blake

in **Social Identities**, Volume 15, Issue 5, September 2009 , 585-608

The increasingly global dispersion of elite athletes pursuing sporting careers is an important aspect of the global flow of sport-capital. Such sport migration lends itself to theorising that considers questions about attachment to place, particularly in relation to citizenship, identity and nationalism. Yet only recently have theoretically valuable concepts such as transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and diaspora been foregrounded in studies of sporting migrants. Based on an analysis of British and New Zealand media coverage of international yachtsman Sir Peter Blake's death, we analyse the overlapping forms of identity attributed to this apparently model transnational citizen. We conclude that this case study raises important questions about the multiplicity of identities in a globalised world and expands our understandings of diaspora beyond the classic focus on forced dispersal and non-dominant racial groups.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Di Giammaria Loris, Mauceri Sergio

Separatezza nella (in)differenza. Pratiche e dinamiche di convivenza multiculturale in una residenza universitaria

in **Rassegna italiana di sociologia**, numero 3, luglio-settembre 2009

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Crotty James

Structural causes of the global financial crisis: a critical assessment of the 'new financial architecture'

in Cambridge Journal of Economics, Volume 33, Number 4, July 2009

We are in the midst of the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. This crisis is the latest phase of the evolution of financial markets under the radical financial deregulation process that began in the late 1970s. This evolution has taken the form of cycles in which deregulation accompanied by rapid financial innovation stimulates powerful financial booms that end in crises. Governments respond to crises with bailouts that allow new expansions to begin. As a result, financial markets have become ever larger and financial crises have become more threatening to society, which forces governments to enact ever larger bailouts. This process culminated in the current global financial crisis, which is so deeply rooted that even unprecedented interventions by affected governments have, thus far, failed to contain it. In this paper we analyse the structural flaws in the financial system that helped bring on the current crisis and discuss prospects for financial reform.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Simon Chesterman

The Evolution of Legal Education: Internationalization, Transnationalization, Globalization

in German Law Journal, Vol. 10, n. 7 , 877-888

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Rojas Diana Marcela

The Global Empire's Workshop: Analysis of the U.S. Intervention in Colombia (1998-2008)

in Analisis politico , Vol. 22, issue 65 , 111-126

The present work aims at characterizing the U.S. intervention in Colombia under Plan Colombia between 1998 and 2008, into the frame of increasing development of dynamic global politics, not only in the perspective of a strongly asymmetric bilateral relationship. It implies identifying the main features of this experience as from an overall look on the phenomenon, presenting, in the fi rst place, the reasons for which an international intervention took place in Colombia since the late 90's. Secondly, analyzing the characteristics of the U.S. intervention under Plan Colombia and, fi nally, deriving some lessons from that intervention in the Colombian case, aiming to advance in the understanding of the transformations of international intervention in the context of globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Eriksson Johan, Rhinard Mark

The Internal—External Security Nexus

in Cooperation and Conflict, vol. 44, n. 3, september , 243-267

ABSTRACT: The central contention of this article holds that scholars do not adequately assess and explain the influence of transboundary security issues on government behaviour. Their assessment is not adequate because they do not fully conceptualize the relationship between internal and external security concerns. Their explanations are not adequate because existing theories cannot fully explain how and why states respond to transboundary security issues. To rectify these concerns, stimulate and structure further research, and encourage scholarly dialogue, we build an analytical framework for (a) understanding what we describe as the 'nexus' of internal and external security matters, and (b) explaining why that nexus may change state behaviour on transboundary security issues. The resulting framework encourages a strong focus on the nature of transboundary problems before studying their implications for changes in perceptions, policies, politics and polity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Eriksson Johan, Rhinard Mark
The Internal—External Security Nexus: Notes on an Emerging Research Agenda
in Cooperation and Conflict, vol. 44, n. 3, september , 243-267

ABSTRACT: The central contention of this article holds that scholars do not adequately assess and explain the influence of transboundary security issues on government behaviour. Their assessment is not adequate because they do not fully conceptualize the relationship between internal and external security concerns. Their explanations are not adequate because existing theories cannot fully explain how and why states respond to transboundary security issues. To rectify these concerns, stimulate and structure further research, and encourage scholarly dialogue, we build an analytical framework for (a) understanding what we describe as the 'nexus' of internal and external security matters, and (b) explaining why that nexus may change state behaviour on transboundary security issues. The resulting framework encourages a strong focus on the nature of transboundary problems before studying their implications for changes in perceptions, policies, politics and polity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
de Wijk Rob
The consequences for Europe of the global crisis
in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

The geopolitical power shift towards Asia that has been such a feature of recent years is going to be accelerated by the worldwide economic crisis, warns Rob de Wijk. He calls for greater honesty among Europe's political leaders about the consequences of the new multi-polarity.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21475/Default.aspx

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Kregel Jan

The evolving international monetary system
in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 33, Number 4, July 2009

The innovative support measures introduced by the US Central Bank and Treasury in response to the current crisis to bolster bank balance sheets have had little success in restoring liquidity to financial markets. These policies mirror similar policies employed in the 1930s in the USA and the 1990s in Japan, in both cases with little impact. This paper identifies three policies impacting incomes rather than prices, the assessment of system failure, and proposals for system design that were employed in dealing with prior financial crises. That they have not been introduced in response to the present crisis may explain why current measures have not yet had their intended impact of restoring bank lending to the productive economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Sklair Leslie
The globalization of human rights
in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 5, Issue 2, August 2009 , 81-96

Abstract
The argument of this article is that what I term generic globalization has created unprecedented opportunities for advances in human rights universally, but that the dominant actually existing historical form of globalization - capitalist globalization - undermines these opportunities. Substantively, I argue that taking the globalization of human rights seriously means eliminating the ideological distinction that exists between civil and political rights on the one hand, and economic and social rights on the other. Doing this systematically undermines the three central claims of capitalist globalization - namely, that globalizing corporations are the most efficient and equitable form of production, distribution and exchange; that the transnational capitalist class organizes communities and the global order in the best interests of everyone; and that the culture-ideology of consumerism will satisfy our real needs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Falkner Robert, Gupta Aarti
The limits of regulatory convergence: globalization and GMO politics in the south
in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 9, Number 2, May , 113-133

Is globalization promoting regulatory convergence in agricultural biotechnology policies in the South? This article examines the nature and limits of regulatory convergence in the field of agri-biotechnology and investigates the effects that international forces have on biotechnology and biosafety policies in developing countries. Based on detailed case studies of Mexico, China and South Africa this article shows that these three leading biotechnology countries in the South are exposed to powerful international influences but are responding to the regulatory challenges of genetically modified organisms (GMO) adoption in distinctive ways. The existing regulatory polarization between US and EU biotechnology approaches has not forced a convergence around either of these two international models. GMO policies in the South do not simply follow the binary logic of the US–EU regulatory conflict. Instead, they integrate elements from both regulatory approaches and are steering a course that suggests substantial regulatory diversity in the South. The

globalization of biotechnology thus goes hand in hand with regulatory diversity in the developing world. Furthermore, regulatory polarization between the EU and US has helped to open up political space in key developing countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Spivak Gayatri Chakravorty
They the people. Problems of alter-globalization
in Radical Philosophy, Issue 157, September/October 2009

The full text is free:
http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/default.asp?channel_id=2188&editorial_id=28472

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Brook Timothy
Time and Global History
in Globalizations , Volume 6, Issue 3, September 2009 , 379-387

Abstract
The experience of massive globalization in the past two decades has provoked an epistemological crisis for historians. No longer is it possible to write histories of one part of the world as though the rest of the world did not exist. The challenge is how to do this without writing histories so dense as to be unmanageable. The essay proposes using an alternative conception of time, one based on moment rather than duration. Drawing on selected insights from Buddhist philosophy, the author suggests that, rather than reproducing timeline narratives that confirm existing identities, historians access the multiplicity and indeterminacy of actual experience in the past by suspending the flow of time and examining the world through 'keyholes'. In addition to enlarging our sense of the complexity of the past, this philosophy of time encourages narratives that accentuate a tolerance of diversity and a compassion for its failures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Emeka Akude John, Daun Anna, Egner David, Lambach Daniel
Transformation politischer Ordnung. Ansätze zur Erweiterung des Transformationsbegriffs
in Zeitschrift für Politik, Jahrgang 56, Heft 2, 2009

Abstract
The article intends to place state weakness, state collapse and their concomitant forms of dominance such as warlord configurations in a wider context of a theory of the transformation of political order. Due to our concern with transformation from statehood to non-state forms of political authority, we start with a discussion of the concept of statehood from which we develop empirical criteria against which the degree of statehood can be measured. Next, we investigate the conflicts and transformations which occur within the frameworks of statehood in order to analyse conflicts which have led to the dissolution of statehood and the establishment of non-state political order(s). We find that the

delegitimisation of the political community is the decisive factor for the dissolution of statehood, and that the existence of societal institutions is the criterion for determining whether this process is violent or not. In conclusion, we offer a perspective on the interrelationship between processes of denationalisation and developments in the international system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Sandole Dennis J D
Turkey's unique role in nipping in the bud the 'clash of civilizations'
in International Politics , Volume 46, Issue 5, September , 636-655

This paper focuses on Turkey, a Muslim (but secular) country located culturally and geographically in, and between, Europe, the Middle East and Asia. It has a well-embedded Jewish community, enjoys a strong positive relationship with the State of Israel and is a long-term member of North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Turkey has also been negotiating entry into the European Union, the pre-eminent example of the Kantian system of 'perpetual peace.' The paper addresses these and other aspects of Turkey's complex identity, exploring their implications for 'civilizational' peace, security and stability regionally and worldwide. The paper contributes, therefore, to the discussion on the complex relationship between Islam and the West by framing Turkey as uniquely well positioned to undermine and perhaps even reverse self-fulfilling, post-9/11 trajectories toward a full-blown 'clash of civilizations.'

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Anner Mark
Two Logics of Labor Organizing in the Global Apparel Industry
in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 53, issue 3, september , 545-570

ABSTRACT: What factors account for labor strategies in global industries? While some scholars point to economic factors and others look to political opportunity structures, an examination of union actions in the Central American apparel export industry over a 14-year period suggests that activists' historical experiences and ideological orientations also strongly influence union dynamics. Left-oriented unions tend to form unions through transnational activism whereas conservative unions most often turn to plant-level cross-class collaboration. Moreover, these two union strategies are interconnected. Successful transnational activism facilitates conservative union formation through a "radical flank" mechanism; the threat of left-union organizing motivates employers to accept unionization by conservative unions to block left unions from gaining influence in the plant. To examine these arguments, this article employs pooled time-series statistical analysis, structured interviews with labor organizers, and process tracing that draws on nine months of field research in Honduras and El Salvador.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Shijun Tong
Varieties of Universalism

in **European Journal of Social Theory**, Volume 12, No. 4, November 2009 , 449-463

Universalism can be religious or secular; within the category of secular universalism, a distinction can be made (especially in China) between universalism focused on ‘universality’ or the universal validity of certain ideas and universalism focused on ‘generality’ or the general extension of certain ideas. Within the category of universality-based universalism, ‘value universalism’ holds one or some values to be universally valid and ‘culture universalism’ holds a certain culture or a certain way of ranking various values to be universally valid. Within the category of ‘value universalism’, a distinction can be made between ‘dialogue-oriented universalism’, which argues for the priority of the right to communication over other rights and ‘monologueoriented universalism’, according to which one subject can unilaterally decide what is of universal validity for all. Not only ‘monologue-oriented universalism’, but also ‘dialogue-oriented universalism’ can be understood in a Euro-centrist way; there is thus a distinction between West-centrist and non-West-centrist varieties of universalism. The key to avoiding West-centrist universalism while upholding universalism is to make a distinction between essentialist universalism and constructivist universalism, and to see what is universally shared by all relevant parties as something to be constructed through the process of ‘Verkehr’ in Marx’s sense that is informed by the process of ‘Kommunikation’ in Habermas’s sense.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Matusitz Jonathan, Leanza Kristin

Wal-Mart: An Analysis of the Glocalization of the Cathedral of Consumption in China

in **Globalizations** , Volume 6, Issue 2, June 2009 , 187-205

Abstract

This paper examines the methods adopted by Wal-Mart to cater to local cultures in China. This analysis draws on glocalization, a concept that refers to the interaction of the global and the local, or the incorporation of local elements into global products and/or services. This paper is important for two reasons. First, glocalization, in and of itself, has the capacity to enhance scholarly understanding of globalization with reference to global agency and cultural differentiation. Second, not only is China a nation where Wal-Mart had to glocalize the most; China is also the fastest growing market in the world. So, this analysis can bring fresh insights into today's reality of globalization processes. One of the consequences of Wal-Mart's strategy of glocalization is that it contributes to its status of 'cathedral of consumption' even more. A cathedral of consumption refers to an incomparable magnitude of global success (achieved by a major corporation) that gives birth to a consumer religion and a display of abundance and excess.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Glasius Marlies

What is Global Justice and Who Decides?: Civil Society and Victim Responses to the International Criminal Court’s First Investigations

in **Human Rights Quarterly**, Volume 31, Number 2, May 2009 , pp. 496-520

As a new institution, the International Criminal Court needs to gain legitimacy not just with states, but also in global civil society. This article surveys current debates in civil society about whether the interests of the victims are being served

and whether justice is being done, in relation to the ICC's current investigations. It will discuss the most salient sources of debate and controversy under four headings: perceived selectivity or even bias of the Court, whether ICC investigations are detrimental to peace-building efforts, the detachment of the Court from the lived reality of local populations and victims, and the issue of compensation to victims.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Barbé Esther, Costa Oriol, Herranz Surrallés Anna, Natorski Michal
Which rules shape EU external governance? Patterns of rule selection in foreign and security policies
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 16 Issue 6 2009 , Pages 834 – 852

This article addresses a particular aspect of EU external governance: rule selection. Drawing on institutionalist and power-based explanations we put forward an account for the choice of the specific rules that guide policy convergence between the EU and third countries. The proposed analytical framework broadens the scope of the studies examining the externalization of EU rules beyond its borders, in that we claim that the EU can promote policy convergence using rules other than the EU's. More specifically, the EU also promotes policy convergence on the basis of international and bilaterally developed rules. These analytical claims for explaining rule selection are checked against empirical data. We compare policy convergence between the EU and four neighbouring countries (Morocco, Ukraine, Georgia, and Russia) in three subfields within foreign and security policy: foreign policy dialogue, control of export of dual-use goods in the context of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and crisis management.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Kumar Atul
World in transition: the present day global scenario
in **World Affairs**, Vol. 13, n. 2, Summer

ATUL KUMAR observes that the unipolar moment is proving to be ephemeral while economic globalisation is having a decentralising effect. It is leading to the emergence of various political and economic poles around which regional blocs are forming and challenging USEuropean supremacy. Instability, exacerbated by extremist militancy and heavy handed Anglo-American attempts to retain preponderance, will remain the watchword.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes
Kegel Patricia Luiza, Amal Mohamed
Institutions, law and sovereignty: a legal effectiveness in the processes of regional integration of European Union and the Mercosur
in **Revista Brasileira de Política internacional** , vol.52 - No.1/2009 , pp. 53-70

Based on the case study of European Union and the Mercosur, the purpose of the present paper is to analyze and discuss certain issues emerging from the articulation of a normative framework stemming from the join organs of integration with national juridical orderings based on the principle of state sovereignty.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes
Nilanjan Banik, Basudeb Biswas, Keith R. Criddle
Optimum currency area in South Asia: A state space approach
in International Review of Economics and Finance, Volume 18, Issue 3 , 502-510

This paper is an empirical investigation of the feasibility of an optimum currency area (OCA) in South Asia. Countries are good candidates for forming an OCA if their economies are similarly structured and if their economies share similar responses to exogenous shocks. That is, among other characteristics, good candidates for forming an OCA will share a coincident pattern of economic booms and recessions. We use a state space time series model with a stochastic trend to explore the extent to which the Indices of Industrial Production for South Asian nations share common dynamic responses to exogenous shocks

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes
Tavares Rodrigo
Regional clustering of peace and security
in Global Change, Peace & Security, vol. 21, n. 2, june , 153-164

ABSTRACT: The aim of this article is to comprehend how peace and security cluster at the regional level. In a globalized and interconnected world, each polity engages in a wide range of different relationships with other polities. Peace and security embody one of these relationships, since to feel secure or to be in peace entails managing a relationship with the 'other'. This article is divided in three parts. First, it briefly assesses classical theories of regional security in order to detect some of their shortcomings and to propose an alternative path. Second, it breaks down the concept of regional security in order to pinpoint two different (albeit sequential) empirical manifestations of regional security: regional violence-insecurity and regional peace-security. This dichotomy is associated to the passive and active components of peace and security. Third, the article describes the different paths that lead to the regionalization of peace and security (in its dual dimension).

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Barnidge, Robert P Jr.
The United Nations and the African Union: Assessing a Partnership for Peace in Darfur
in Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Volume 14, Number 1, Spring , 93-113

In Resolution 1556, the Security Council, with the conflict in Darfur clearly in mind, determined that the ‘situation in Sudan constitutes a threat to international peace and security and to stability in the region’. This article focuses on the response by the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, and the African Union to the Darfur conflict. It begins by exploring the role of peacekeeping operations and regional arrangements or agencies in the overarching architecture of international peace and security. Having laid this frame of reference, it then looks at the modalities of peacekeeping in Darfur. These operations began with the African Union acting in isolation but have transitioned to an increasingly

important role being played by the United Nations and a hybrid peacekeeping presence. Finally, this article asks whether, assuming that a legally dispositive conclusion can be drawn that genocide has taken place in Darfur since the outbreak of hostilities there in 2003, there exists a legal justification, or even obligation, for non-compliance by states with the sanctions regime established by Security Council Resolutions 1556 and 1591. This regime of sanctions has played an important part in the Security Council's approach to Darfur but has been, unfortunately, left largely unexamined from the standpoint of international legality.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
S.Ben Slimane, M.Ben Tahar
A Macro-economic Measurement of the Degree of Financial Integration in MENA Region
in Economie Appliquee, N. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Kathina Juma Monica
African mediation of the Kenyan post-2007 election crisis
in Journal of Contemporary African Studies, Volume 27, Issue 3, July , pp. 407-430

This contribution analyses the African Union-led mediation of Kenya's post-election crisis in 2008. In little more than a month, four main factors aligned in a concert of action to deliver a successful mediation that led to the signing of the National Accord and the formation of the Grand Coalition Government. The first was a framework for mediation that emerged within the ambit of the African Union around which support and momentum grew over time. Accepted by both sides of the conflict, this mechanism enjoyed legitimacy and became a rallying point for all actors interested in resolving the crisis. Second, was the role of Kenyan stakeholders in mounting and sustaining pressure on the parties of the conflict and the mediating team to return Kenya to peace. Mobilising across party lines, Kenyans from various constituencies engaged the peace process from the start to beyond the signing of the accord. In many ways, this translated into local ownership of the peace process and built a constituency of support for it. Third, was the character of the mediating team, which embodied experience, expertise, network and mediation skills for addressing the crisis. All the eminent personalities enjoyed respect in Kenya and internationally, and hence raised confidence in the process. Furthermore, their being African diminished any resistance that could have been associated with Western or other external influence on the process. The final factor was the unrelenting international pressure and leverage that was exerted largely through the framework of mediation. The Kenyan mediation generated critical lessons for negotiations elsewhere. However, as in many other peace agreements, the process lacked mechanisms to ensure full compliance with the provisions of the accord.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Rethmann Petra

After the Thrill: Global Capitalism and the Search for South African Autonomy

in Globalizations , Volume 6, Issue 3, September 2009 , 365-377

Abstract
In South Africa, autonomy is frequently called a 'dream deferred'. This article examines how and why autonomy is considered deferred, and what kinds of post-apartheid economic and political developments have led to this judgment. It traces South Africa's recent political trajectory from the unbanning of the liberation organizations and the release of Nelson Mandela, negotiations between the National Party and African National Congress (ANC), Mandela's presidency, and South Africa's push for reconciliation but also neoliberalization, as well as the internecine struggles in the ANC. It especially engages the question of autonomy from the perspective of the ANC's critics and part of South Africa's independent left. This article builds on discussions and interviews with South African self-identified progressive intellectuals, interviews that took place between November 2006 and February 2008. Although they do not speak with a homogeneous voice, all of these intellectuals are situated in critical relation to the current policies of the ANC.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kaluwa Ben M. , Kambewa Patrick S.

Common External Tariffs from the Perspective of Small, Regionally Dominated Economies with Dual Membership: The Case of Malawi in COMESA and SADC

in African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration, Vol. 3 - n. 1 - January

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, COMESA, is in the process of establishing a common external tariff (CET) as a way of consolidating that region’s trade integration. Theory suggests that this trade agreement could result in either trade creation or trade diversion. This study was undertaken to analyze the likely impact of the CET on Malawi. A SMART model from UNCTAD was used to carry out the quantitative analysis. The results indicate that currently Malawi trades mainly with South Africa and generally with countries outside the COMESA. The CET is expected to result in reduced consumer welfare and competitiveness of Malawi’s producers who rely heavily on imported inputs. While Malawi’s tariffs are already low compared to other members, for Malawi to maximize benefits from the CET, it will have to strategize and also take advantage of its unique positions of being land locked, poor, with an economy slowly recovering from years of mismanagement. Generally, poor countries dominated by a regional economic power should be strategic in how they approach trade agreements such as a CET especially if the arrangement excludes a major trading partner with Most

Favoured Nation status.

Résumé
Le tarif extérieur commun depuis la perspective des économies petites et dominées, avec double appartenance : le cas de Malawi dans le MCAEA et SADC
Le Marché Commun de l'Afrique de l'Est et Australe, MCAEA, est en cours d'établir un tarif extérieur commun (TEC) comme outil de renforcement de l'intégration commerciale de cette région. La théorie suggère que cet accord commercial pourrait avoir comme conséquence la création ou bien la déviation commerciale. Cette étude a été entreprise pour analyser l'impact probable du TEC sur Malawi. Un modèle SMART de la CNUCED a été employé pour effectuer l'analyse quantitative. Les résultats indiquent qu'actuellement le Malawi fait du commerce principalement avec l'Afrique du Sud et généralement avec des pays en dehors du MCAEA. On risque d'avoir le TEC réduire le bien-être du consommateur et la compétitivité des producteurs du Malawi qui comptent fortement sur les produits importées. Tandis que les tarifs du Malawi sont déjà bas comparés à d'autres membres, pour que le Malawi maximise ses avantages du TEC, il devra revitaliser et également tirer profit de sa position particulière d'être un pays enclavé, pauvre, avec une économie récupérant lentement des années de mauvaise gestion. Généralement, les pays pauvres dominés par une puissance économique régionale devraient être stratégiques dans la façon dont elles approchent les accords commerciaux tels qu'un TEC particulièrement si l'arrangement exclut un partenaire commercial important avec le statut de la Nation la Plus Favorisée.

http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol3%20No1/Kaluwa_Kambewa.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Aptel Cecile, Mwangi Wambui

Developments in international criminal justice in Africa during 2008

in African Human Rights Law Journal, vol. 9, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Engel Ulf
Die Neuordnung Afrikas - Souveränität im Wandel
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 34-35, 2009

The full text is free:
www.bpb.de/publikationen/Z3FLKG,0,Die_Neuordnung_Afrikas_Souver%E4nit%E4t_im_Wandel.html

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Hanafi Hazem
Federalism as a Response to the Challenge of the arab Israeli Conflict
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXII, n. 2, July , 6-8

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Hoosen Sarah, Butcher Neil, Khamati Beatrice
Harmonization of Higher Education Programmes: A Strategy for the African Union
in African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration, Vol. 3 - n. 1 - January

In pursuit of the vision of an integrated Africa, the African Union Commission (AUC) has embarked on developing a strategy for harmonization of Higher Education Programmes (HEP) in Africa in order to foster cooperation in information exchange, harmonization of procedures and policies, and attainment of comparability of qualifications, in order to facilitate mobility of Africans across African countries for employment and further study.
This paper provides an overview of existing harmonization initiatives globally and continentally. It considers some of the challenges and opportunities for harmonization, as well as their implications for the AU HEP Harmonization Strategy. It introduces the strategy, outlining the goals, purpose, developmental objective and implementation plan to achieve the strategy.

Résumé

Harmonisation des Programmes d'Enseignement Supérieur : Une Stratégie pour l'Union Africaine
Dans la poursuite de la vision d'une Afrique intégrée, la Commission de l'Union Africaine (CUA) s'est embarquée sur le développement d'une stratégie pour l'harmonisation des Programmes d'Enseignement Supérieur (PES) en Afrique afin de stimuler la coopération dans l'échange de l'information, l'harmonisation des procédures et des politiques, et l'accomplissement de la comparabilité des qualifications, afin de faciliter la mobilité des Africains à travers les pays africains pour l'emploi et la continuation des études.
Ce document fournit une vue d'ensemble des initiatives d'harmonisation qui existent au niveau global et continental. Il considère certains des défis et des opportunités pour l'harmonisation, aussi bien que leurs implications pour la stratégie UA-PED d'harmonisation. Il présente la stratégie, décrivant les buts, la logique, l'objectif de développement et le plan de mise en oeuvre pour réaliser la stratégie.

http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol3%20No1/Hoosen_Butcher_Njenga.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Ebobran Salomon
Human rights developments in sub-regional courts in Africa during 2008
in African Human Rights Law Journal, vol. 9, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Biegon Japhet, Killander Magnus
Human rights developments in the African Union during 2008
in African Human Rights Law Journal, vol. 9, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Ben-Meir Alon

Israel and the Arab Peace Initiative

in **Peace, Conflict and Development**, Volume 14, Issue 14, July , 47

One of the most momentous declarations to come out of the Arab world since Israel's inception in 1948 is the Arab Peace Initiative, launched in March 2002 in Beirut, Lebanon, and re-adopted by the Arab League in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, in March 2007. It would be tragic to allow the Initiative to languish as it offers a solid promise for a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace. Moreover, the Arab Peace Initiative has the potential to tackle the extremism that has engulfed the Middle East to the detriment of both Israel and the Arab states.
Essentially, the Initiative calls on Israel to agree to full withdrawal from the territories occupied since 1967; to arrive at a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem, and to accept a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, with East Jerusalem as the capital. The demands made by the Arab Peace Initiative can be fully reconciled with Israel's core requirements for peace, which are: 1) ensuring Israel's national security and territorial integrity, 2) sustaining Israel's Jewish national identity, 3) securing the unity of Jerusalem as Israel's capital and 4) establishing normal relations with the entire Arab world. Failure to embrace the Initiative by Israel and the new US administration will send a dangerous message that neither country is fully invested in ending the debilitating 60-year old Arab-Israeli conflict.
Full text available
http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/Issue%2014%20Article%2018%20revised%20copy%20with%20reviewer's%20comments%201.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Niyungeko Gérard

La Cour africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples : défis et perspectives

in **Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme**, N° 79 - Juillet

La Cour africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples, créée en 1998 et installée en 2006, n'est à même de recevoir ses premières requêtes que depuis peu, ce qui donne l'occasion d'une présentation de ses compétences et des principaux défis auxquels elle est confrontée. Quelques propositions sont formulées en vue d'améliorer les perspectives de son fonctionnement effectif. Ceci devrait passer notamment par la fusion avec la Cour de justice de l'Union africaine, dont le principe est acquis.

The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights was created in 1998 and implemented in 2006. It can now receive its first applications which show its competence but also show how it confronts major challenges. Some proposals are made in order to improve its efficiency. This must go through the merging with the Court of Justice of the African Union, which has already been decided.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Khadiagala Gilbert M.

Regionalism and conflict resolution: Lessons from the Kenyan crisis

in **Journal of Contemporary African Studies**, Volume 27, Issue 3, July , pp. 431 - 444

Kenya's political meltdown in the aftermath of the contentious 2007 elections tested the solidity and sturdiness of regional mechanisms tasked with conflict resolution in East Africa. Despite years of elaborate attempts to build diverse institutions for early warning, conflict prevention and management within the rubric of the East African Community (EAC) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Eastern Africa was unprepared for the civil conflict that engulfed its leading member state. Instead, the more distant African Union (AU) launched a mediation initiative under the leadership of former UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, which largely marginalised regional actors. Despite Kenya's gradual recovery, the absence of regional institutions for conflict resolution presents a worrying trend in a region that is still characterised by profound intra- and interstate conflicts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Mujuzi Jamil Ddamulira

The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and the promotion and protection of refugees' rights

in **African Human Rights Law Journal**, vol. 9, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Murithi Tim

The African Union's Foray into Peacekeeping: Lessons from the Hybrid Mission in Darfur

in **Peace, Conflict and Development**, Volume 14, Issue 14, July , 19

The African Union (AU) was officially inaugurated on July 2002, and a year later it had already deployed its first peace operation in Burundi. The AU subsequently deployed peacekeeping missions in Darfur, in 2004, and in Somalia, in 2007. This article will examine the AU‟s foray into peacekeeping which appears to have been hasty, erratic, and not carefully planned. The article will also assess the extent to which what the AU has been doing can be defined as peacekeeping using the Brahimi Criterion for the deployment of operations. The article will briefly assess the AU‟s operations in Burundi and Somalia before focusing on the joint AU-United Nations (UN) hybrid mission in Darfur. The article examine whether the hybrid mission represents a paradigm shift in peacekeeping, based on the way that it was launched and how it is currently operated. The article examines whether the hybrid mission fulfils the Brahimi Criterion, and whether it can serve as a model for future peacekeeping operations in Africa. The article concludes that the AU has a better chance of success when it undertakes a concise and focused operation with a clear mandate and the modicum of logistics to ensure its effective implementation, as demonstrated by its experiences in Burundi. The AU‟s efforts in Somalia has left it mired in an open-ended complex emergency with no easy remedy. The organisation‟s joint effort with the UN in Darfur is similarly constrained by the absence of a peace to keep. The hybrid mission therefore falls short of the Brahimi Criterion and suggest that UN intervention following an initial AU peace operation is not necessarily a panacea to the continent‟s peacekeeping challenges.
Full text available
http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/Issue%2014%20Article%2015%20Revised%20copy%201.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Moye Godwin Bongyu
The Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC) and the Decline of Sovereignty
in Journal of Asian and African Studies , Volume 44, No. 4, August , 389-406

Unlike many texts, the constitutive act of the Treaty instituting CEMAC contains no provision regarding the sovereignty of states. The CEMAC policies capture virtually all fundamental aspects of community life: legal integration; harmonization of economic, financial and monetary policies; convergence of budgetary policies; and the free circulation of goods, capital and persons. This article purports that communitarization entails ultimately the diminishing of the national sovereignties and, in spite of some limits, CEMAC is a step in the right direction. The existence of effective community organizations within the African zone can serve as catalysts to the larger and most needed African Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Ruppel Oliver
The Southern African Development Community (SADC) and its Tribunal: Reflexions on a Regional Economic Communities' Potential Impact of Human Rights Protection
in Verfassung und Recht in Ubersee, vol. 42, issue 2 , 173-186

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Benhabib Seyla
What is Israel's End-Game?
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXII, n. 2, July , 9-14

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 3.Cooperations and integration in Central and North America
Steven Globerman, Paul Storer
Border Security and Canadian Exports to the United States: Evidence and Policy Implications
in Canadian Public Policy , Volume 35 Number 2 , 171-186

Border security-related costs and delays incurred by shippers have been cited by some observers as a significant impediment to trade between Canada and the United States. In fact, there is relatively little empirical evidence

evaluating this concern. While there is some evidence that costs of exporting from Canada have increased as a result of post-9/11 border security developments, available econometric trade models offer contradictory evidence on whether or not the higher costs have reduced Canadian exports below what would otherwise be expected. This paper identifies and evaluates the sources of divergent results found in existing studies. It also provides some new evidence of significant shortfalls in Canadian exports to the United States beginning in the third quarter of 2001 and continuing through the end of 2007.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 3.Cooperations and integration in Central and North America
Michael Burt
Tighter Border Security and Its Effect on Canadian Exports
in Canadian Public Policy , Volume 35 Number 2 , 149-169

This paper assesses the impact that tighter border security in a post-9/11 world has had on Canada's exports to the United States. Export flows are examined in a variety of ways, including aggregate exports, exports by port, and exports by commodity. After accounting for economic growth in the United States and relative prices between the two countries, this paper finds little evidence that tighter border security has reduced export volumes.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Saraiva Miriam Gomes, Briceno Ruiz José
Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela: different perceptions about the construction of Mercosul
in Revista Brasileira de Política internacional , vol.52 - No.1/2009 , pp. 149-166

The article analyses perceptions of domestic political actors about the integration in Mercosur inside each of its biggest members, and presents some ideas for and against the block. To achieve this aim, it analyses ideas defended by these actors in Argentina and Brazil and evaluates how domestic actors in Venezuela were involved in the process of incorporation of this country to Mercosur.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Quitral Roja Máximo
La integración económica latinoamericana en tiempos de crisis: alcances y limitaciones para su consolidación
in Nueva Sociedad, n. 222 , 30-40

Latin American economic integration has experienced some advances but at the same time enormous limitations. This article reviews the theoretical origins of integration, analyzesthe successful European process and, finally, broaches the incipient experience of the region. It argues that, at a time when the effects of the global economic crisis are beginning to be felt, integration, for Latin America, offers a viable alternative which favors economic independence in the face of the centers of the global economic system, permitting a more efficient use of foreign capital, improved interchange of goods and services, contributing to equilibrate assymetries between the different countries and promoting regional security by increasing the mutual confidence between the region’s States.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Fortuna Biato Marcel
La política exterior de Brasil: ¿Integrar o despegar?
in Politica Exterior, 131

Guiado por una “paciencia estratégica”, para Brasil la capacidad de actuación soberana en una economía globalizada se refuerza en el contexto de un bloque regional. El país sabe que para promover sus valores y objetivos, los mejores aliados son los vecinos inmediatos.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Jean-Pierre Allegret, Alain Sand-Zantman
Modeling the Impact of Real and Financial Shocks on Mercosur: The Role of the Exchange Rate Regime
in Open Economies Review, Volume 20, Number 3 , 359-384

This paper studies to what extent the diversity of exchange rate regimes within Mercosur exerts an influence on the feasibility of a monetary union in this area. A semi-structural vector autoregression model is built for each country, including a set of international and domestic variables. Based on impulse response functions and forecast error decomposition, we conclude that differences in exchange rate regimes explain significantly the divergences of economic dynamics triggered by foreign or domestic shocks. Second, we decompose the structural innovations generated by each country model into unobservable common and idiosyncratic components, using a state-space model. This last exercise, intended to assess the degree of policy coordination between the Mercado Común del Sur members, did not disclose any common component for the structural innovations generated by the three national models.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Sarlet Wolfang Ingo
Posibilidades y desafíos de un Derecho Constitucional Común Latinoamericano. Un planteamiento a la luz del ejemplo de la llamada prohibición de retroceso social
in Revista de Derecho Constitucionál Europeo , n. 11

The main purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that there already exist elements that indicate the formation of a common constitutional law in the Latin-American area. We will centre our analysis in a particular legal institute, the principle of prohibition of retrocedence. In what regards this aspect, we may sustain that the growing convergence between the international human rights system and the gradual incorporation of the concept of prohibition of retrocedence in the legal and constitutional grammar of the different Latin-American countries reveal that it is already a sufficiently shared notion as to the characterization of a common constitutional law, although it is still a concept that needs development at distinct levels.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Aris Stephen
A new model of Asian regionalism: does the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation have more potential than ASEAN?
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 22, n. 3, September , 451-467

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is an established player in Southeast Asia, while the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) is an emergent force in Central Asia. This article comparatively assesses ASEAN and SCO to investigate the nature of each organization's model of cooperation and their utility in the contemporary political landscape in Asia. It argues that SCO differs from ASEAN on a few significant points: its composition and level of institutionalization. At the same time, both organizations have similar agendas and models of cooperation, emphasizing a common spirit, flexibility and a focus on regime security. The paper concludes that ASEAN's model of cooperation continues to be relevant to the contemporary Asian landscape, and its brand of loosely codified, informal and norm driven multilateralism continues to be durable and robust.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Narine Shaun
ASEAN in the twenty-first century: a sceptical review
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 22, n. 3, September , 369-386

Over the past few years, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has undertaken institutional reforms in the hope of rejuvenating itself for the twenty-first century. This paper utilizes the theory of subaltern realism (SR) to examine these initiatives. SR emphasizes that developing world states are weak and internally divided. As such, they formulate regional relations from the perspective of doing what is needed to further the state-building process. This paper assesses two of these reforms—the ASEAN Charter and the idea of the ASEAN Community idea—from the SR perspective and concludes that these measures are unlikely to have the desired rejuvenating effect. The ASEAN Charter envisions an ASEAN that is more intrusive than most of its members will tolerate. The ASEAN Community is not supported by a strong ASEAN identity. However, the regional environment of East Asia creates a political space wherein a unified and motivated ASEAN has the potential to exercise considerable influence. ASEAN member states are faced with the dilemma of determining how to balance their demands for sovereignty with the real advantages they will gain by supporting ASEAN. SR needs to be further developed before it can offer guidance in evaluating this situation.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Rahul Sen, Sadhana Srivastava
ASEAN's Bilateral Preferential Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreements: Implications for Asian Economic Integration
in ASEAN Economic Bulletin, Volume 26, Number 2 , 194-214

The phenomenon of proliferation of preferential trade agreements, bilaterally and regionally, was particularly more pronounced both in the aftermath of the regional financial and economic crisis that affected East Asia in 1997–98 and in

the inability of the WTO to yield any substantial outcome to improve growth prospects of the Asian economies. This paper analyses the implications of ASEAN's ongoing FTAs and examines its role in fostering deeper economic integration within ASEAN and in Asia. It analyses the evolution and characteristics of FTA proliferation in ASEAN, identifying major trends. The paper argues that in their present state, if not properly designed and managed, there are valid concerns that these FTAs could end up becoming a stumbling block towards integration efforts. Implementation integrity among FTA members therefore remains a key to its success, and empirical and policy research needs to be much more forthcoming in this area in order to fully understand the economic ramifications of these FTAs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Lawrence Peter

Australian climate policy and the Asia Pacific partnership on clean development and climate (APP). From Howard to Rudd: continuity or change?

in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 9, Number 3, August , 281-299

This article explains, first, why Australia's government under John Howard, together with the United States Bush administration initiated the Asia Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate (APP) and, second, why the succeeding Rudd government continued to support this initiative. Climate policy under the conservative Howard government (1995–2007) in Australia was largely dictated by fossil fuel and mineral sector interests, and reflected a close alliance with the Bush administration. The Howard government shunned the Kyoto Protocol, refused to set national binding greenhouse gas reduction targets and preferred voluntary cooperative measures with industry. The APP was part of the Howard government's strategy to demonstrate some policy movement on climate change while postponing serious action. Climate change was a key issue in the election of the Rudd Labor government in Australia in December 2007. The Rudd government quickly ratified Kyoto, adopted emission reduction targets, and moved to introduce emissions trading. The Rudd government's decision to continue involvement with the APP, albeit with diminished funding, was a pragmatic one. The APP was supported by industry and provided bridges to China and India—both key countries in the post-2012 UNFCCC negotiations. Finally, in order to assess the long-term outlook of the APP, the article provides a preliminary assessment as to whether the APP advances technology transfer.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Heggelund Gørild M., Buan Inga Fritzen

China in the Asia–Pacific Partnership: consequences for UN climate change mitigation efforts?

in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 9, Number 3, August , 301-317

This article discusses China's motives for participation in the Asia–Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate (APP), and whether this has or will have consequences for its participation and efforts in the UN track of international climate governance. In order to discuss these issues, it also provides an outline of key national priorities and explains the nature of China's involvement in both the UN track and the APP. It suggests that the APP is a complement to the UN process, not a competitor, in the case of China. APP participation represents a win–win situation in terms of the transfer of technology and know-how for solving challenges related to energy security and greenhouse gas emissions. For the Chinese leadership, this seems preferable to taking on UN commitments which it fears would impede economic development. The APP's projects also seem to complement the Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development

Mechanism project in China. This article argues that there is little indication that China would make less of an effort under the UN track.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Christian Wirth
China, Japan, and East Asian regional cooperation: the views of 'self' and 'other' from Beijing and Tokyo
in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 9, Number 3, September , 469-496

China–Japan relations are frequently analyzed either in the light of disputes about different interpretations of history, the consequence of a strategic power shift in the Asia-Pacific resulting from the rise of China or as a conflict between Chinese and Japanese national identities. This paper argues that bilateral relations should be assessed on the basis of a comprehensive approach. It concludes that the current state of bilateral relations can be understood as the result of identity crises of the political systems in Beijing and Tokyo. Owing to the rapidly changing environment in East Asia and their inherent conservative natures, both political systems' perceptions and policies lag behind present realities. This renders it difficult for them to effectively address important domestic and international problems and consequently affects bilateral relations negatively as it complicates the accurate redefinition of the representation of 'self' and 'other' with regard to foreign relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Michael J. Montesano
Contextualizing the Pattaya Summit Debacle: Four April Days, Four Thai Pathologies
in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs, Volume 31, Number 2 , 217-248

The abrupt collapse of the ASEAN Plus Three and East Asian Summits at Pattaya on 11 April 2009 initiated four days of extreme political tension in Thailand. This tension both epitomized the current "red"-"yellow" polarization in Thai politics and society and represented the surface manifestation of deep pathologies in the Thai body politic. Four of these pathologies are the structure of the post-1997 economy, the figure of former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, the continuing war in the far south and concerns surrounding the end of the current reign. These pathologies leave Thailand in an incipient revolutionary situation, albeit one that must be clearly distinguished from the "revolution" that Thaksin tried to precipitate through street violence in April 2009. The seriousness of Thailand's pathologies notwithstanding, comparative perspectives offer the hope of peaceful progress towards the emergence of a new, more egalitarian Thailand.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Jürgen Rüland
Deepening ASEAN cooperation through democratization? The Indonesian legislature and foreign policymaking
in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 9, Number 3, September , 373-402

Recent reforms of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are viewed by liberal institutionalists and constructivists as triggering a fundamental transformation of the ASEAN Way, the embodiment of the association's established, strictly intergovernmental cooperation norms. This article questions such reasoning, if it is causally linked to expectations of a greater deepening of ASEAN cooperation. Based on recent rationalist theorizing and Snyder's ‘nationalist elite persuasion’ hypothesis, the article argues that the causal relationships between democracy and regional integration are more complex than assumed in Eurocentric integration theories. By examining foreign policy debates in the Indonesian legislature, the article shows that foreign policymaking has become much more democratic and pluralistic since the end of President Suharto's New Order regime. However, as case studies of foreign policy issues suggest, democratic norms have often been localized by a neo-nationalist agenda that hamstrings the deepening of regional integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Jones Lee

Democratization and foreign policy in Southeast Asia: the case of the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus

in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 22, n. 3, September , 387-406

Recent democratic transitions in Southeast Asia raise the question as to how we should theorize the relationship between democratization and foreign policy. Many scholars assume that more 'democratic' Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) members pursue more 'liberal' policies than their less-democratic counterparts, but surprisingly little theoretical work investigates the connection. This article argues that such investigations tend to crumble under close scrutiny. Instead, it offers an alternative framework based on an analysis of how different socio-economic interests contend to shape foreign policy in ASEAN states and how these interests are able to organize politically to impose their preferences. The case study of the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus, a regional network of legislators campaigning for liberal-interventionist policies on Myanmar, shows how it is these forces, and not the mere presence or absence of formally democratic institutions, that govern the political space available to those seeking to transform ASEAN states' policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Nesadurai Helen E. S.

Economic surveillance as a new mode of regional governance: contested knowledge and the politics of risk management in East Asia

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 63, n. 3 / September , 361-375

Most critics argue that ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) Plus Three regional surveillance is limited by its peer review process because governments reject external interference in matters of domestic economic management. This article suggests that surveillance's limits also arise because of a more fundamental conflict over how financial/economic risk is problematised. The governmentality framework and the East Asian experience reveal how the process of constituting economic/financial risk using disciplinary knowledge is inherently subjective and, consequently, political and open to contestation. In addition to the contested nature of disciplinary knowledge, three other

phenomena—the prevalence of imitative behaviour in markets, the value of practical knowledge for governance and the problem of 'ambiguous economics'—complicate surveillance and make it difficult for surveillance processes to deliver objective and neutral assessments, despite a genuine demand for them. In view of these realities, the ideal institutional form for surveillance appears to be a non-hierarchical setting in which dialogic interactions take centre stage, thereby allowing surveillance participants to debate assessments, offer reasons for adopting particular practices, exchange practical experiences and collectively work out responses to contested issues. However, these are precisely the features of the present surveillance structure that critics argue ought to be changed in favour of a more hierarchical mechanism. This article's analysis of surveillance using the governmentality framework leads to the counter-intuitive insight that surveillance is best structured as a form of Habermasian 'public sphere'.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Ramesh Mohan, Boaz Nandwa
Examining Interest Rate Linkages among ASEAN-5, China and India
in ASEAN Economic Bulletin, Volume 26, Number 2 , 174-179

Interest rates play an important role, not only in attracting capital inflow, but also in macroeconomic stabilization and determining asset prices. Given the interdependent nature of member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), it is crucial to examine whether there is any evidence of co-movement of short-term domestic interest rates within these economies. In addition, because of their significant economic influence in the region, we explore the Granger causality with China and India in determining their impact on interest rate movement in ASEAN-5 economies. We find evidence of cointegration; there is co-movement among the ASEAN interest rates. Further, based on the causality test, we find that China exerts more influence on the direction of the interest rates in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Renato Cruz De Castro
Exploring a 21st-Century Japan-Philippine Security Relationship: Linking Two Spokes Together?
in Asian Survey , Volume 49, Number 4, July/August , 691–715

The article examines Tokyo's efforts to link the Philippine and the Japanese security spokes in the face of Beijing's moves to widen the cleavage between both countries' alliances with the U.S. and render them irrelevant. The article concludes that Manila and Tokyo must first reconfigure a defense relationship that is not merely a military aggregation but a political apparatus enabling them to constructively engage an emergent China.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
McDougall Derek
Foreign Policy Studies in Australia
in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 55, Issue 3, September , 375-393

Australian contributions to foreign policy analysis have focused mainly, but not exclusively, on the study of Australian

foreign policy. Contributions have been made not just by political scientists, but also by historians, journalists and practitioners. While some Australians have made theoretical contributions that are relevant to understanding foreign policy, the emphasis in the study of Australian foreign policy has not been strongly theoretical. The main focus has been on giving greater depth to issues that have been important in the public debate about foreign policy in Australia. Considerable attention has been given to Australia's major Western relationships (Britain and then the United States) and also the Asia-Pacific regional environment. During the pre-Second World War and Cold War periods the emphasis in the study of Australian foreign policy was broadly realist (at least implicitly), but there was also an assumption that there was an element of choice in relation to the major issues. In the post-Cold War era Australia's international situation has become more complex, and this has been reflected in foreign policy studies. While the realist tradition is still strong, there has been more scope for critical approaches to emerge. Developments in cognate fields such as political economy, security studies and environmental politics have had some impact. There is considerable scope for more theoretically engaged work to be undertaken, but it is also important to continue the focus on the issues that are important in the public debate about foreign policy in Australia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Beeson Mark

Geopolitics and the Making of Regions: The Fall and Rise of East Asia

in **Political Studies**, Volume 57, Issue 3, October , 498-516

There is a good deal of scepticism about the prospects for regionalism in East Asia. There are, however, grounds for supposing that the outlook for regional integration in East Asia is brighter than it has ever been, partly as a consequence of the rise of China. This article explains why an earlier attempt to integrate the region under Japanese imperialism failed, why US foreign policy has effectively foreclosed any possibility of East Asian integration up to now and why it may be accelerating as a consequence of China's growing economic and political impact on the region. To explain these different historical experiences I draw on a form of critical geopolitics which has recently emerged in economic and political geography and which can usefully be incorporated into international relations scholarship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Peter Hays Gries; Qingmin Zhang; Yasuki Masui; Yong Wook Lee

Historical beliefs and the perception of threat in Northeast Asia: colonialism, the tributary system, and China–Japan–Korea relations in the twenty-first century

in **International Relations of the Asia-Pacific**, Volume 9, Number 2, May , 245-265

Historical controversies continue to plague northeast Asian politics today, with Chinese and Koreans protesting Japanese history textbooks and Japanese politicians' visits to Yasukuni Shrine, and Koreans protesting Chinese claims that the ancient Kingdom of Goguryo was Chinese, not Korean. Yet, there is little empirical research exploring what, if any, impact historical beliefs have on threat perception and foreign policy preferences in northeast Asia today. On the basis of surveys of Chinese, Japanese, and South Korean university students, this paper explores the relationships among beliefs about the past, perceived threat in the present, and foreign policy preferences for the future. Results and their implications for northeast Asian security are discussed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Pranab Bardhan

India and China: Governance Issues and Development

in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Vol. 9 Issue 02 May , 347-357

The world's two most populous countries each made international headlines in 2008, thanks to the Sichuan earthquake and Beijing Olympics, the Mumbai terror attacks, and reports of how the global financial crisis affected the Chinese and Indian economies. However, China and India were also seen in 2008 as making up, together, one of the ongoing development stories of the twenty-first century—and there are good reasons to think this trend will continue throughout 2009. Thanks to years of strikingly high growth rates for India and even higher ones for China, comparisons of the two countries have proliferated. This has resulted in a slew of books and articles, often aimed at investors, that worry over or enthuse about the way the “dragon” and the “elephant” have been upending or bringing new energy into the global economic order. Scholars immersed in the study of Asia often find these publications lacking in depth, but there is no question that economic shifts in the two countries and surging interest in their current trajectories are important. With this in mind, we decided this would be a useful time to revisit a familiar governance issue that has long been associated with joint discussions of China and India: the relationship between democracy and development. We invited economist Pranab Bardhan, author of a forthcoming book on the political economy of India and China titled Awakening Giants, Feet of Clay, to reflect on the subject, concentrating in particular on issues of governance—a topic he has explored in plenary and keynote addresses given everywhere from Montreal to Manchester, Beijing to Bogota, Canberra to Calcutta.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Harsh V. Pant

India in the Indian Ocean: Growing Mismatch Between Ambitions and Capabilities

in Pacific Affairs , Vol. 82, No. 2

Given the rise of major economic powers in the Asia-Pacific that rely on energy imports to sustain their economic growth, the Indian Ocean region has assumed a new importance. Various powers are once again vying for the control of the waves in this part of the world. This article examines the emerging Indian approach towards the Indian Ocean in the context of India’s rise as a major regional and global actor. It argues that though India has historically viewed the Indian Ocean region as one in which it would like to establish its own predominance, its limited material capabilities have constrained its options. With the expansion, however, of India’s economic and military capabilities, the country’s ambitions vis-à-vis this region are soaring once again. India is also trying its best to respond to the challenge that growing Chinese capabilities in the Indian Ocean are posing to the region and beyond. Yet, preponderance in the Indian Ocean region, though much desired by the Indian strategic elites, remains an unrealistic aspiration for India given the significant stakes that other major powers have in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Rajiv Sikri
India's “Look East” Policy
in Asia Pacific Review, Volume 16, Issue 1 , 131 - 145

A combination of economic, strategic, and domestic considerations has led India to pay greater attention to its eastern neighbours since the 1990s. India's steadily growing ties with East and Southeast Asian countries have become an increasingly important element of India's foreign policy. India is working with these countries bilaterally as well as through regional frameworks like the EAS, ASEM, and ASEAN, and sub-regional organizations like BIMSTEC and Mekong-Ganga Cooperation. The main driver remains economic, and India has many ongoing and planned FTAs with the countries of this region. Of late, defence and security ties too have grown. However, India's relations with China remain tense and troubled, with persisting differences over the border, Tibet, and China's patronage of India's South Asian neighbours, particularly Pakistan. Asia's major players will have to overcome internal rivalries and consciously evolve a cooperative paradigm for Asian security and cooperation to enable Asia to play a leading global role.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Rizal Sukma‌
Indonesia-China Relations: The Politics of Re-engagement
in Asian Survey , Volume 49, Number 4, July/August , 591–608

Indonesia's relations with China began to improve in 1998. This paper argues that recent improvements in bilateral relations have been primarily the function of changes in Indonesia's domestic politics and China's policy toward Southeast Asia, which contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of trust and comfort in Jakarta's re-engagement with China.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Jetschke Anja
Institutionalizing ASEAN: celebrating Europe through network governance
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 22, n. 3, September , 407-426

This article provides a new piece for two of the puzzles of institutionalized cooperation in Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). First, with regard to the organization's four decades of existence, there has always been a marked gap between ASEAN's rhetorical goals of cooperation and its actual achievements. What explains these systematic failures of implementation? Second, from the outset, ASEAN was criticized for its light institutionalization, which failed to deliver the substantial cooperation goals. Despite selected institutional reforms, ASEAN's autonomy has not increased remarkably and it has not made any major institutional innovations. Why does ASEAN design institutions it does not use? Why does this transformation gap occur? The author suggests a sociological institutional explanation and argues that major impulses for cooperation have come from outside Southeast Asia, most importantly from Europe. By

mimicking the European integration process, ASEAN member states have effectively created an isomorphic organization. The Association's institutional development reflects a concern for international legitimacy and less an objective functional demand arising from the specific interactions of member states. This copying process has led to network governance within the organization.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen Sylvia I., Van Asselt Harro
Introduction: exploring and explaining the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate
in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 9, Number 3, August , 195-211

This introduction lays the groundwork for this Special Issue by providing an overview of the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate (APP), and by introducing three main analytical themes. The first theme concerns the emergence and continuation of the APP. The contributions show that the emergence of the APP can be attributed to international factors, including the United States' rejection of the Kyoto Protocol, and its search for an alternative arena for global climate governance, and other countries' wish to maintain good relations with the US; as well as domestic factors, such as the presence of bureaucratic actors in favour of the Partnership, alignment with domestic priorities, and the potential for reaping economic benefits through participation. The second theme examines the nature of the Partnership, concluding that it falls on the very soft side of the hard–soft law continuum and that while being branded as a public–private partnership, governments remain in charge. Under the third theme, the influence which the APP exerts on the post-2012 United Nations (UN) climate change negotiations is scrutinised. The contributions show that at the very least, the APP is exerting some cognitive influence on the UN discussions through its promotion of a sectoral approach. The introduction concludes with outlining areas for future research.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Hughes Hallett Andrew, Richter Christian
Is the US no longer the economy of first resort? Changing economic relationships in the Asia-Pacific region
in **International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 6, Number 2 / July, 2009 , 207-234

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Clapton William
Managing risk within international society: hierarchical governance in the Asia-Pacific
in **Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 63, n. 3 / September , 416-429

Several recent works have emphasised new relations of hierarchy within international society, primarily involving the claim by certain Western states of the authority to intervene in particular territories in order to build state capacity and the institutions of sound liberal democratic governance. While several scholars have identified these new hierarchies, few have provided a satisfactory account of what informs their formation and reproduction. This article investigates why

new hierarchies have emerged within international society, arguing that they are underpinned by a 'liberal social logic of risk', which simultaneously constructs liberal democracies as inherently peaceful and prosperous and non-liberal or weak states as inherently risky and dangerous. Confronted by new forms of debounded security risks, Western societies have sought to manage these risks via interventions in identified 'risky zones' aimed at building liberal political and economic institutions. This argument is illustrated by the example of Australia's new interventionist development agenda in the Asia-Pacific, notably its leading role in the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI). This interventionist agenda is, in effect, a new mechanism of regional risk management that informs new modes of hierarchical governance in the Asia-Pacific.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Chhibber Bharti

Political and military dimensions of regional security: a study of ASEAN and SAARC

in World Affairs, Vol. 13, n. 2, Summer

Since its inception, ASEAN has sought to create regional stability and has evolved into a security as well as an economic community. SAARC on the other hand, despite its mainly economic vocation, has played an increasingly political role between its members. BHARTI CHHIBBER points out that while ASEAN has successfully pursued its agenda by gradually becoming a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, SAARC, hampered by bilateral divergences has so far only provided a platform for negotiating disputes and working out agreements but has failed to build a regional consensus.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Park Innwon

Regional Trade Agreements in East Asia: Will They Be Sustainable?

in Asian Economic Journal, Volume 23 Issue 2, June 2009 , 169 – 194

By assessing the sustainability of regional trade agreements (RTAs) for East Asia, we quantitatively evaluate the likely impact of proposed East Asian RTA strategies on the East Asian economies and the world economy with respect to consumption, production, volume of trade and terms of trade effects by applying a multi-country and multi-sector computable general equilibrium model. These strategies include: (i) the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA: a being-left-alone strategy); (ii) an ASEAN Hub RTA (a hub-and-spoke type of overlapping RTA strategy); (iii) the AFTA versus a China–Japan–Korea RTA (a duplicating or competing RTA strategy); and (iv) an ASEAN+3 RTA (an expansionary RTA strategy). We find that an expansionary ASEAN+3 RTA could be a sustainable policy option because the members' gains would be significantly positive, with more equitably distributed gains between members than when using other strategies. The effect on world welfare would also be positive and the negative effect on nonmembers would not be very strong. More interestingly, if the East Asian countries cooperate with Pacific Basin countries to form an APEC-level RTA, such as a free trade area of the Asia-Pacific, the extension of the regional trade bloc might be considered a more desirable policy option than the proposed East Asian RTAs for East Asian economies, even though countries excluded from the free trade area of the Asia Pacific are worse off.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

D. Nair

Regionalism in the Asia Pacific/East Asia: A Frustrated Regionalism?

in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs, Volume 31, Number 1, April , 110-142

Why have Asia's many projects in regionalism not been able to realize their stated goals, despite the fecundity of, and enthusiasm for, region-building initiatives over the last two decades? In an attempt to answer this question, this article identifies the pursuit of a holistic regionalism embodied in the desire for a regional community as a persistent goal in official discourse, and argues that an apparent state of frustration describes the difficulty of regional institutions and forums in bridging the growing gap between these articulated goals and actual outcomes. The empirical case for the argument here is provided by the founding of the East Asia Summit in 2005, which has disclosed the limits of both exclusive and inclusive models of regionalism in Asia. In exploring causation, the article argues that both structural and agential factors are at the heart of this problem. The tensions thrown up by the competing processes of realist and liberal-institutionalist order-building in Asia have imposed structural constraints on the ability of regional projects to realize their normative aspirations. Equally important in causing this state of frustration are the agents of regionalism — in particular, regional elites — who articulated the goal of a regional "Community" to propel regional projects, and have set the bar above the current capacities of regional institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Jayasuriya Kanishka

Regulatory regionalism in the Asia-Pacific: drivers, instruments and actors

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 63, n. 3 / September , 335-347

This essay introduces the special issue on 'Risk, Regulation and New Modes of Regional Governance in the Asia-Pacific' and provides an analytical framework to understand the emergence, consolidation and resistance to these modes of governance. The article proposes the concept of 'regulatory regionalism', which points to the creation of new state spaces of regional governance, transforming—rather than transcending—the national space of the state. In particular, the essay explores the creation of these governance spaces through the mobilisation of political projects of risk management. The strength of this framework of regulatory regionalism is that it facilitates an understanding of new modes of regional governance within the context of political projects of market-making and state transformation in individual countries. This approach to the understanding of regional governance takes us beyond the moribund debates on Asian integration which dominate the international relations literature.

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

Zhang Feng

Rethinking the 'Tribute System': Broadening the Conceptual Horizon of Historical East Asian Politics

in Chinese Journal of International Politics (The), Volume 2, Number 4, Winter , 597-626

A notable feature of the study of historical East Asian politics is its absence of rigorous systemic theories explaining relationships between imperial China and its neighbours and how they worked. Long pre-eminent in this field is the idea of the ‘tribute system’ and its central importance to organizing our thinking about historical East Asian politics. But what is the ‘tribute system’ as it is used by these various scholars? How useful are their tribute-system perspectives and models in shedding light on historical East Asian politics? In this article I critically evaluate the venerable literature on the ‘tribute system’ in an attempt to clarify the concepts and broaden the main themes of traditional China's foreign relations and the larger political dynamics between China and its neighbours. I write from a political-science perspective, but engage extensively in predominantly historical scholarship on the subject.

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

Rosser Andrew

Risk management, neo-liberalism and coercion: the Asian Development Bank's approach to 'fragile states'

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 63, n. 3 / September , 376-389

This article suggests that the Asian Development Bank's (ADB) approach to engaging with fragile states should be understood not as an attempt to improve development effectiveness in these countries but as a political project aimed at serving particular political and social interests. More specifically, it suggests that the ADB's approach is consistent with the recent securitisation of aid policy in many developed countries, a shift that has been driven primarily by a concern to manage the risks to developed countries posed by instability, conflict, crime and disease in fragile states, rather than developmental considerations. Second, while there are numerous ways in which these risks and development challenges could be managed, the ADB has chosen a strategy that privileges neo-liberal policies and the interests they embody over other agendas and interests. Finally, it has promoted these policies and interests through coercive means rather than allowing fragile states to exercise leadership in determining their own development strategies, as encouraged by recent international agreements on aid effectiveness such as the Paris Declaration. In this respect, the article suggests, the ADB's approach can be seen as an expression of a new mode of regional governance within the Asia-Pacific characterised by 'regulatory regionalism' and 'metagovernance'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Cruz-Del Rosario Teresita

Risky riparianism: cooperative water governance in Central Asia

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 63, n. 3 / September , 404-415

Water governance has emerged as one of the intense and most urgent challenges of the new century, largely due to the threatened nature of water availability and the transboundary character of water challenges. These conditions pose exceptionally high risks for societies that need to address these challenges. Using the concept of risk society as developed by Ulrich Beck, this article illustrates how shared risk among Central Asian countries provides the impetus for developing water governance mechanisms. However, the historical and sociocultural circumstances of these countries pose limits to their ability to craft workable governance arrangements; in particular, the Soviet legacy of centralised command-and-control governance over water and related ethnic tensions among countries. These tensions play out in the demarcation of water boundaries and the subsequent allocation of water resources among the riparian countries. However, these limitations can also be viewed through the lens of 'reflexive governance', which allows for flexibility,

hybridisation, uncertainty and even ignorance.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
P. Rangsimaporn
Russian perceptions and policies in a multipolar East Asia under Yeltsin and Putin
in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 9, Number 2, May , 207-244

While the desire to counterbalance US unilateralism informed Russian perceptions and advocacy of multipolarity globally, the complex and fluid balance of power in a multipolar East Asia complicates Russian perceptions and policies of multipolarity regionally and counterbalancing US power became not the sole goal. Russia's aim in East Asia was to reassert its influence while ensuring a stable regional environment in order for Russia to restore itself as a great power. However, the relatively stabilizing US regional role, the rise of neighboring China, the prospects of Japanese remilitarization and strengthened US–Japanese military alliance, and the lack of a Northeast Asian security structure are factors that pose both challenges and opportunities for Russian policymakers in pursuing Russian interests and great-power aims. Such factors have served to make Russian perceptions and policy in East Asia somewhat contradictory. While Russia's great-power aspiration was relatively clear, the policies to achieve this remained vague and inconclusive.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
L. Buszynski
Sino-Japanese Relations: Interdependence, Rivalry and Regional Security
in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs, Volume 31, Number 1, April , 143-171

Rivalry within interdependence is possible. Trade and investment ties alone are not sufficient to bring peace and security to a relationship, the responsiveness of the political leadership to economic interdependence is critical. Responsiveness can be influenced by a history of conflict in a relationship, national ambitions or by a military which espouses expansionist plans. Britain and Germany before 1914 demonstrated that interdependence and rivalry can coexist and may degenerate into war. This can happen when one side under the influence of a dominant military falsely assumes that the other would be constrained by interdependence from responding to its military action. Both Japan and China have become bound by a tight economic interdependence despite their historical animosities. These animosities could be exacerbated by military modernization and China’s plans to develop a naval capability to protect its sealanes. Japan would be prompted to respond to the development of Chinese naval power which would aggravate existing rivalry with Beijing. To reduce the impact of this rivalry both ASEAN and the United States should clearly signal to Beijing that military action over Taiwan or naval expansion without transparency would be unacceptable. Otherwise false assumptions would arise in Beijing that interdependence would constrain responses to China’s risk taking.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Haacke Jurgen
The ASEAN Regional Forum: from dialogue to practical security cooperation?
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 22, n. 3, September , 427-449

This article examines to what extent the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum (ARF) has moved beyond dialogue to practical security co-operation. Focusing on terrorism, maritime security and disaster relief as key areas of ARF activities in the past few years, the paper offers four arguments: first, while the ARF primarily remains a forum for regional security dialogues and confidence building, its participants have slowly become prepared to proceed with practical security co-operation, albeit only in limited ways. To the extent that desktop and field exercises take place under ARF auspices, most have been organized in the area of disaster relief. This implies, second, that for the most part ARF participants are still pursuing capacity building and operational security responses outside the Forum. Third, the ARF's cautious embrace of practical co-operation is not the outcome of ASEAN's exercise of diplomatic centrality but the result of initiatives pursued by a small group of ASEAN and some non-ASEAN states. Fourth, at least in the short term, any expectations that participants might organize significantly more demanding practical activities under ARF auspices are premature.

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Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Hyoung-kyu Chey
The Changing Political Dynamics of East Asian Financial Cooperation: The Chiang Mai Initiative
in Asian Survey , Volume 49, Number 3, May/June , 450–467

This paper analyzes the factors that have contributed to the development of the Chiang Mai Initiative, one of the prominent examples of recent East Asian financial cooperation, by comparing it with the failed 1997 proposal for an Asian Monetary Fund.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Chee-Heong Quah
The Feasibility of East Asian Monetary Union as an optimum currency area
in International Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies (The), Volume 5, No 2, July

Monetary cooperation in East Asia has become increasingly important and practical, particularly in times of regional economic and financial crisis. Contrary to those papers of studies in the mainstream, this paper evaluates the feasibility of monetary union in East Asia by benchmarking its optimum currency area (OCA) criteria against selected dollarised countries and the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Four criteria are proposed. The US dollar is designated as the anchor currency. To some extent, results do confirm the validity of the criteria and suggest a considerably strong case for monetary integration in parts of the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Crow Ben, Singh Nirvikar

The Management of International Rivers as Demands Grow and Supplies Tighten: India, China, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh

in India Review, Volume 8, Issue 3, July , 306-339

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Beeson Mark, Jayasuriya Kanishka

The Politics of Asian Engagement: Ideas, Institutions, and Academics

in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 55, Issue 3, September , 360-374

The study of Australia's Asian engagement — just as much as the history of the process itself — has been shaped by structural shifts in the international system and the global political economy as they reverberate through domestic political debates. As a consequence, ideas about Asian engagement tell us as much about the character of national political debates as they do about Australian policy-makers'perceptions of the region. Understandings of Asia as a transnational political space are shaped by national conflicts and struggles over issues such as communism or national identity. Ideas and disputes over Australia's relationship with Asia become closely aligned with conflict between conservative and radical academic approaches to Asia. With the end of the Cold War in the 1980s and 1990s, the triumph of neoliberalism and the waning of ideological politics of the 1960s were mirrored in academic approaches that adopted a policy or cultural approach to Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Hameiri Shahar

The region within: RAMSI, the Pacific Plan and new modes of governance in the Southwest Pacific

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 63, n. 3 / September , 348-360

In recent years, there has been a resurgence of regionalism and regional initiatives in the Southwest Pacific, driven primarily by the Australian government. There is little doubt that the new regionalism has largely been prompted by the Australian government's realigned security agenda following the September 11 and Bali terrorist attacks, and broader concerns about 'non-traditional' security risks. However, what is novel about this recent drive for regionalism in the Southwest Pacific is that rather than constituting a transformation of the interstate terrain, it is primarily aimed at the transformation of the state itself. The spaces where the new regionalism is found are mainly located within states. Earlier forms of regionalism, which to some extent continue to exist, typically involved intergovernmental agreements to facilitate freer trade or establish defence alliances between states. In contrast, the new regionalism constitutes various modes of multilevel governance that work to selectively dislodge the linkages between territory and political authority and/or jurisdiction, building transnational forms of regulation and surveillance into the state. This is not simply a descriptive issue but one that has considerable implications for our analysis of the social and political implications of such regional programs, as well as the kinds of coalitions emerging to support or resist these.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

McGee Jeffrey, Taplin Ros

The role of the Asia Pacific Partnership in discursive contestation of the international climate regime

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 9, Number 3, August , 213-238

After withdrawing from the Kyoto Protocol, the US Bush Administration and the Australian Howard Government pursued an international climate change policy focussed on voluntary international agreements outside the UN climate negotiations. This strategy included the formation of several climate agreements directed at technology development, including the 2005 Asia Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate (APP). The APP provides a model for international climate change policy directed at voluntary national greenhouse gas intensity targets, technology development through sectoral public–private partnerships and technology diffusion through trade. This article situates the APP within these US and Australian inspired climate agreements formed outside the UN negotiations. Bäckstrand and Lövbrand's (in M. Pettenger (ed.) The social construction of climate change: power knowledge norms discourses, 2007) discourse analysis in relation to the international climate negotiations is used to explore differences between the APP and UN climate treaties. We find the APP embodies a discourse of what we call 'deregulatory ecological modernisation' that promotes limited public funding to ease informational failures in markets for cleaner technologies and management practices. The deregulatory ecological modernisation discourse is a deeply intensive market liberal approach to international climate change policy, which contests binding emission reduction targets and the development of a global carbon market. The USA, Australia, Japan and Canada represented a core group of countries that used the APP to promote the deregulatory ecological modernisation discourse and thereby contest any deepening of developed nations' emission reduction targets for the post-2012 period. However, with changes of leadership and new parties in power in the USA and Australia, it appears that the deregulatory ecological modernisation discourse has lost ground compared to a reengagement with discourses supportive of developed country emission reduction targets and equity-based adaptation and technology transfer assistance for developing nations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Oliver Hensengerth

Transboundary River Cooperation and the Regional Public Good: The Case of the Mekong River

in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs, Volume 31, Number 2 , 326-349

The article compares three cooperation projects in the Mekong River basin: the Greater Mekong Subregion, the Quadripartite Economic Cooperation initiative and the Mekong River Commission. It analyses the three projects by asking if and how they produce a regional public good. Part of the public good discussion is participatory governance, which, in natural resource management, has become a prominent proposal for enhancing the efficiency of resource management by involving all relevant stakeholders. The central question is whether participatory governance leads to the avoidance of conflict, better resource management, and thus the creation or maintenance of a regional public good. The article will address the relevance of these concepts for watershed management of the Mekong River.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Dinh Thi Hien Luong

Vietnam-Japan Relations in the Context of Building an East Asian Community

in Asia Pacific Review, Volume 16, Issue 1 , 100 - 130

As the regionalism in East Asia has largely been characterized by networks of bilateral relations, the linkages between regional factors and bilateral relations in East Asia were clearly witnessed in the Cold War and the post-Cold War period. As a new period of regional cooperation has been ushered in under the so-called “East Asian Community” framework, it is essential to note that such interplay continues to be one of the most prominent characteristics in East Asia. The case study analysis of bilateral relations between Vietnam, a developing member in the Association for Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and Japan, the region's leading economic power in Northeast Asia, provides an insightful look at the positive relationship between the regional conditions and bilateral relations in the new East Asia context. More importantly, bilateral relations can make significant contribution to shaping the regional setting, instead of being passively affected as in the past.

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

Duncan McDuie-Ra

Vision 2020 or re-vision 1958: the contradictory politics of counter-insurgency in India's regional engagement

in Contemporary South Asia, Volume 17 Issue 3 , 313 - 330

Insurgency in Northeast India has long been explained as an outcome of poverty and isolation that in turn produces further poverty and militancy. In order to break this cycle and achieve 'peace and prosperity', the Indian Government released North Eastern Region Vision 2020 in July 2008 - a comprehensive policy agenda to achieve 'peace and prosperity' in the Northeast. This is to be realised through deeper economic and political engagement with neighbouring countries and a 'paradigm shift in development strategy' that will be simultaneously more participatory and more infrastructure intensive. This paper argues that in practice the political manifestations of increased regional engagement are contradictory. Each measure designed to break the region's isolation is countered by measures to maintain control of borders, trade, and the movement of people. At the heart of this new development vision is a re-visioning of counter-insurgency underpinned by the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1958). Far from signalling a new era in the region, the measures contained in this new development vision appear more likely to exacerbate the grievances of people in the region and reinforce the ways the region has been governed through five decades of counter-insurgency.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ravina Aggarwal, Mona Bhan

“Disarming Violence”: Development, Democracy, and Security on the Borders of India

in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Vol. 9 Issue 02 May , 519-542

This article offers a critical analysis of the growing emphasis on security in South Asia through an ethnographic study of Operation Sadbhavna, an Indian military initiative that was launched in 2001 after the Kargil War between India and Pakistan. It demonstrates how a renewed emphasis placed on security requirements through the adoption of the development paradigm and discourses of peace building and human security further legitimizes the military's role in

governance and civil society in postcolonial democratic states such as India. The data for this article derive from the project's application in the Ladakh region of the disputed Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. The ways in which the official objectives of the project were interpreted and incorporated into the political, cultural, and economic aspirations of communities in Ladakh reveal both the coercive and ambiguous nature of democracy and state power in South Asia today.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Leibfried Stephan - Elderen Karin van
"And they shall Beat their Swords into Plowshares" – The Dutch Genesis of a European Icon and the German Fate of the Treaty of Lisbon
in German Law Journal, Vol. 9, issue 8 , 1297-1308

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
285-320
'The Empire Strikes Back!' An Uncanny View of the European Union. Part I – Do We Need a Theory of the European Union?
in Government and Opposition , Vol. 44, n. 3, Summer , Leca Jean

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Eder Klaus
A Theory of Collective Identity Making Sense of the Debate on a 'European Identity'
in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 12, No. 4, November 2009 , 427-447

This article argues for a robust notion of collective identity which is not reduced to a psychological conception of identity. In the first part, the debate on the concept of identity raised by several authors is taken up critically with the intention of defending a strong sociological conception of identity which by definition is a collective identity. The basic assumption is that collective identities are narrative constructions which permit the control of the boundaries of a network of actors. This theory is then applied to the case of Europe, showing how identity markers are used to control the boundaries of a common space of communication. These markers are bound to stories which those within such a space of communication share. Stories that hold in their narrative structures social relations provide projects of control. National identities are based on strong and exclusive stories. Europeanization (among other parallel processes at the global level) opens this space of boundary constructions and offers opportunities for national as well as sub-national as well as transnational stories competing with each other to shape European identity projects. The EU — this is the hypothesis —

provides a case in which different sites offer competing opportunities to continue old stories, to start new stories or to import old stories from other sites, thus creating a narrative network on top of the network of social relations that bind the people in Europe together. European identity is therefore to be conceived as a narrative network embedded in an emerging network of social relations among the people living in Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes
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Zellner Wolfgang
Abrüstung reloaded? Zur Lage der europäischen Sicherheitspolitik
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, August, 2009 , 89-97

Das Treffen zwischen US-Präsident Barack Obama und seinem russischen Kollegen Dmitrij Medwedjew am 6. und 7. Juli in Moskau beherrschte wie kaum ein anderes bereits im Vorfeld die internationalen Medien. Die Hoffnungen waren groß, von der konkreten Einleitung einer neuen Abrüstungsrunde war die Rede. Tatsächlich einigten sich die beiden Staatschefs auf Eckwerte für ein Nachfolgeabkommen des im Dezember auslaufenden START-Abrüstungsvertrags, das konkrete Obergrenzen für die Anzahl atomarer ...

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Degrand-Guillaud Anne
Actors and Mechanisms of EU Coordination at the UN
in European Foreign Affairs Review, Volume 14, Issue 3 , 405-430

This article – the first of two to be published consecutively in the Review – gives precise information about EU negotiations at the UN, articulated around five basic questions – why, where, who, what and how – about EU coordination. The European Union seeks to speak with ‘one voice’ in the United Nations context. The individual EU Member States which make up one seventh of the UN’s total membership could carry immense weight within the UN when they are fully coherent. How the EU manages to reach a common position is a kind of black box. EU statements are public, but the way Member States agree on them is kept hidden behind closed doors. EU coordination deserves to be better understood.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Prins Gwyn
Addio euro?
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 135-142

No abstract available

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Scott-Smith Giles
An Outpost of Atlanticism: Leonard Tennyson, the European Delegation in Washington and the Transformation of US-European Realations 1954-1974
in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 14, n. 2 , 99-120

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Krastev Ivan
Analogie pericolose
in **Aspenia**, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 166-172

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kingston Suzanne
Analysis and Reflections - Ireland's options after the Lisbon Referendum: Strategies, implications and competing visions of Europe
in **European Law Review**, Vol. 34, issue 3 , 455-475

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Garry John, Tilley James
Attitudes to European Integration: Investigating East-West Heterogeneity
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 31, Number 5 / September , 537-549

The study of citizens' attitudes to the EU is in danger of splintering, with context-specific transition-based models being applied in the former communist countries, models that — at face value — have no applicability in the Western states. Using data from the 2004 European Election Study, we test a model of attitude generation that is applicable to the universe of member states but which allows for the strength of attitude determinants to vary across the Eastern and Western contexts. Based on the literature, we suspect that the economic and democratic aspects of the 'transition' in eastern Europe will be particularly important in shaping views on the EU in that context. Specifically, we test the following hypotheses: (1) positive retrospective economic evaluations are a stronger determinant of support for integration in the East than in the West, and (2) a positive evaluation of EU democracy relative to one's own country's democracy is a stronger determinant of support for integration in the East than in the West. We find strong support for the first hypothesis, but no support for the second.

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Van Gorp Nicolai
Backwardness of Border Regions
in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography) , Volume 100, Issue 3, July , 358-364

This paper tries to assess the impact of borders on cross-regional spillovers and regional competitiveness by using a shift share analysis. Based on sector data on employment, it is examined to which extent border regions experience positive (or negative) spillovers from neighbouring regions. The analysis proves that Europe's internal borders still suffer from lower spillovers which gives them a structural disadvantage as compared to non-border regions. The hypothesis that this is due to low levels of labour mobility has been supported by various studies. The analysis also shows, however, that border regions of weaker performing economies (Germany and Belgium) experience positive cross border spillovers from stronger neighbouring economies (the Netherlands). This finding indicates that other modes of economic integration (trade, capital and inter-firm relations) are less inhibited by the presence of borders.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Smith Michael
Between 'soft power' and a hard place: European Union Foreign and Security Policy between the Islamic world and the United States
in International Politics , Volume 46, Issue 5, September , 596-615

This paper explores the pressures operating on European Union Foreign and Security Policy in the 'triangle of forces' created by the European integration process, developments in the Islamic world and the responses of the United States. In the first section, the paper explores ideas about foreign policy and power in the European Union (EU), as exemplified in debates about the Lisbon Treaty and the future role of the Union. The second part of the paper sets out three logics inherent in the development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, distinguishing between the 'internal' logic of the European integration process, the 'external' logic reflecting the opportunity structure in the world arena, which creates challenges and opportunities for the EU and its Member States, and the 'identity' logic, which creates a move towards self-realisation and 'self-recognition' on the part of the EU in international politics, and relates this to recent developments in European foreign and security policy. The paper then argues that the multi-dimensional 'triangle of forces' between European integration, the Islamic world and the United States has played a key role in focusing these developments, by posing challenges to the three logics and creating complex linkages between them. The Conclusion asks whether as a result EU foreign policy has been 'catalysed' (given new impetus and direction) or 'constrained' (subject to a process of external or self-limitation), and points to some early indications of the impact of the Obama Administration in the United States.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Papadimitriou Dimitris, Gateva Eli
Between Enlargement-Led Europeanisation and Balkan Exceptionalism: An Appraisal of Bulgaria's and Romania's Entry into the European Union

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 2, June, Special Issue: The European Union's 2007 Enlargement , 152-166

The accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union in 2007 offers significant theoretical and empirical insights into the way in which the EU has deployed and realised its enlargement strategy/strategies over the past 15 years. Borrowing from the literature on enlargement-led Europeanisation and EU conditionality, this article discusses how the EU has sought to influence domestic reform in the two countries through a mix of threats and rewards. What emerges from Bulgaria and Romania's trajectory towards EU membership is the evolutionary and contested nature of EU conditionality as well as the considerable EU discretion in the manner of its implementation. In that sense Bulgaria and Romania, as 'outliers' of the 2004-2007 EU enlargement, offer us critical tests of the enlargement-led Europeanisation thesis. Thus, this study provides useful conceptual insights into the transformative power of the EU in Central and Eastern Europe and highlights important policy legacies affecting the current EU enlargement strategy in the Western Balkans and Turkey.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Rass Christoph
Bilaterale Wanderungsverträge und die Entwicklung eines internationalen Arbeitsmarktes in Europa 1919–1974
in Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Heft 2009/35,1 , 98–134

Bilateral Labour (Recruitment) Agreements and the Evolution of an International Labour Market in Europe between 1919 and 1974

Summary
Bilateral agreements characterized the international migration of labour within Western Europe in the 20th century. They regulated the temporary recruitment of mostly unqualified workers, their transfer and conditions of employment as well as the terms of their stay and secured a demand-tailored supply of foreign labour for the receiving countries. This essay discusses the institutional roots of bilateral labour agreements and their propagation, which resulted in an international labour market of multiply linked partners. Special analytical attention is given to the effect of competition for work or workers in the emerging multipolar system on the terms set out in individual treaties.

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Groth Annette, Wicht Christine
Bolkestein im Anmarsch
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Oktober, 2009 , 18-21

The full text is free:
http://www.blaetter.de/artikel.php?pr=3191

Als die Europäische Kommission im Jahr 2004 die auch als „Bolkestein“ bekannte Dienstleistungsrichtlinie vorlegte, die dann später vom EuropaParlament mit großer Mehrheit verabschiedet wurde, hagelte es Kritik von Seiten der Gewerkschaften und Globalisierungskritiker. Die Proteste waren in der Folge europaweit so massiv, dass die

Kommission Änderungen an der Richtlinie vornehmen musste. Insbesondere verzichtete sie auf das sogenannte Herkunftslandprinzip, demzufolge Dienstleistungsfirmen berechtigt gewesen wären, ihre Dienste gemäß dem Recht ihres Herkunftslandes EU-weit anzubieten – was einen Unterbietungswettbewerb nationaler arbeitsrechtlicher Standards zur Folge gehabt hätte.
Die Änderungen galten damals zu Recht als großer Erfolg der Protestbewegung. Seither ist die Bolkestein-Richtlinie weitgehend aus der politischen Öffentlichkeit verschwunden. Doch völlig zu Unrecht: Denn bis zum Ende dieses Jahres muss ihre Umsetzung in nationales Recht vollzogen sein. Und der Gesetzgeber ist seit 2005 keineswegs untätig geblieben. Dabei zeigt sich, dass die Gefahr der Lohndumping-Konkurrenz ebenso fortbesteht wie datenschutz- und arbeitnehmerrechtliche Probleme...

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ponzano Paolo
Bréves consideration sur le rôle de la Commission européenne
in **Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne**, n. 2 , 217 - 220

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Barrett Gavin
Building a Swiss Chalet in an Irish Legal Landscape? Referendums on European Union Treaties in Ireland & the Impact of Supreme Court Jurisprudence
in **European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 5 - Issue 01 , 32-70

Irish legal framework on European referendums – Case-law – Judicial activism – No appropriate legislative reaction – Essential scope or objectives test – Constitutional amendment necessary if test not met – Single Act – Pressure for referendum at each new treaty – Political implications – Positive and negative sides of referendums – Referendum-elites – Government sidelined – Equal access to broadcasting – Issues of equality – Diminished role of political parties

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Fischer-Lescano Andreas
Bundesverfassungsgericht: Zurück zum Nationalstaat
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2009 , 15-18

Nun steht also auch höchstrichterlich fest, dass Europa „auf den Trümmern der Demokratie“ errichtet ist. 1 Der deutsche Gesetzgeber, so das Bundesverfassungsgericht (BVerfG) in seinem Urteil vom 30. Juni, hat sich mit den

Umsetzungsgesetzen zum Lissabon-Vertrag in zu weitem Maße selbst entmündigt und sich keine hinreichenden Beteiligungsrechte im europäischen Rechtsetzungsprozess bewahrt. 2 Das BVerfG versteht sich in seiner Entscheidung als Hüter nicht nur ...

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Angenendt Steffen, Parkes Roderick
Can Further Nationalisation Facilitate a Common EU Approach to Migration?
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLIV, n. 3, July - September , 77-96

The European Council's 2008 'Immigration Pact' has been touted by its main protagonist, the French government, as a turning point in EU migration policymaking. In one respect at least, the French are not exaggerating. The Pact represents a challenge to a key assumption underpinning European integration, namely that communitarised policymaking procedures are the best means of achieving truly common policies: Paris presented the intergovernmental Pact as a means of succeeding where communitarised decision-making has failed - in achieving the goal of a coherent common migration policy. However, analysis shows the French claims to be largely unfounded: although the European Council might theoretically have played a useful role here, in practice its efforts will add little to the achievement of a truly common policy.

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Ayala José Enrique de
Carta de Europa: Preparando el futuro
in **Politica Exterior**, 131

El 2 de octubre Irlanda repite el referéndum sobre el Tratado de Lisboa. Con la ratificación aún pendiente en Alemania, Polonia y República Checa, la UE se enfrenta a una dura prueba de otoño. En medio de una crisis económica severa cuyo tratamiento exigiría una absoluta estabilidad institucional.

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Žďárek Václav
Challenges for the new EU member states on the road to the Eurozone
in **International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 6, Number 2 / July, 2009 , 157-177

This paper analyses the process of nominal and real convergence in the new Member States of the European Union (NMS). The importance of nominal and real convergence is underlined in connection with a successful catching-up. The NMS economies experienced robust economic growth in recent years, which had a positive impact on the convergence process. Although this favourable development of real convergence is accompanied by a simultaneous price (nominal) convergence, the comparative price level is still biased towards lower level in comparison with the per capita income. The regression analysis shows interdependence between the comparative price and the income per capita level. This basis enables to evaluate potential benefits and risks connected with joining the euro. The benefits connected with

elimination of exchange rate risks and reduction of transaction costs can be compared with the disadvantages associated with the loss of an independent monetary policy and an adjusting exchange rate mechanism. Attention is paid to a potential impact on nominal and real convergence of the observed countries. There are some risks for these countries connected with the common monetary policy, which is adjusted more to the conditions of stabilized advanced economies, forming the core of the Eurozone. These risks can be overcome on the basis of a fast labour productivity growth, accompanied by an adequate policy, ensuring the macroeconomic stability. The rapid productivity growth is raising the relative price level. The Maastricht dilemma, i.e. the fulfilment of two objectives during the stay in ERM II (the price stability and the exchange rate volatility) under on-going nominal convergence enforces an appropriate monetary and fiscal policy. However, such strict policies may slow down the economic growth. Another possible measure for keeping the price stability is a relaxation of the fluctuation band (its full exploitation to the upper and bottom limits), or a change of the central parity (revaluation).

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Vlas P., Ibili F., Zilinsky M., Vlek J.F.
Civili Jurisdiction and Enforcement of Judgments in Europe
in Netherlands International Law Review, Volume 56, Issue 2 , 245-272

The Brussels I Regulation No 44/2001 on Jurisdiction and the Recognition and Enforcement of Judgments in Civil and Commercial Matters (hereinafter referred to as the Brussels I Regulation) establishes a judicial area in Europe with uniform rules on jurisdiction and recognition and enforcement of judgments. The Brussels I Regulation is now in force in all EU Member States, including Denmark. On 1 July 2007 a separate Agreement between the European Union and Denmark came into force, in which the Brussels I Regulation is declared applicable in the relationship between Denmark and the other Member States. Bulgaria and Rumania joined the European Union on 1 January 2007 and became bound by the Brussels I Regulation as part of the acquis communautaire.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dijkstra Hylke
Commission Versus Council Secretariat: An Analysis of Bureaucratic Rivalry in European Foreign Policy
in European Foreign Affairs Review, Volume 14, Issue 3 , 431-450

The European Commission and the EU Council Secretariat support the Member States in the conduct of European foreign policy, yet they have not always been able to get along. This article gives an overview of their inter-institutional relations across history, foreign policy instruments (declarations, crisis management joint actions and representation) and regions. The main argument is that the relationship between both institutions is generally cooperative, but that tensions do arise in a limited number of cases where the roles of the Commission and the Council Secretariat are unclear, perceived to overlap or in competition. In these instances, they have generally found a modus vivendi and their inter-institutional relations have subsequently improved. Such informal arrangements do not address, however, the underlying structural problems – that the Council Secretariat challenges the Commission's political and informational role in the context of foreign policy. Differences between both institutions are therefore still regularly displayed. This continues to undermine EU consistency and its effectiveness in international relations.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hölscher Jens, Stephan Johannes
Competition and Antitrust Policy in the Enlarged European Union: A Level Playing Field?
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 47, Issue 4, September 2009

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Michael Overesch, Johannes Rincke
Competition from Low-wage Countries and the Decline of Corporate Tax Rates: Evidence from European Integration
in **World Economy**, Volume 32 Issue 9 , 1348 - 1364

We exploit the rapid economic integration of Eastern and Western Europe after 1989 as a natural experiment to assess the effect of international competition for mobile capital on corporate tax rates. By means of a series of difference-in-difference estimations, we show that Western European countries which have been directly exposed to neighbours in Eastern Europe have reacted to the intensified competition by cutting their corporate tax rates by 8.1 to 10.5 percentage points relative to those countries which do not share a common border with countries in Eastern Europe. It seems that this effect has mainly worked through Eastern European countries offering lower wages and less through competition over corporate tax rates.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Tiberghien Yves
Competitive Governance and the Quest for Legitimacy in the EU: the Battle over the Regulation of GMOs since the mid-1990s
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 31, Number 3 / May , 389-407

The European Union has emerged as the global precautionary superpower, particularly in the field of genetically modified organisms (GMOs). The EU has moved away from the initial World Trade Organization (WTO) and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) consensus and shifted toward strict safety assessment and mandatory labelling. In addition, the pathway to this change has been beset with incoherence and a series of crises. What explains this move toward tight regulation despite enduring economic interests to do otherwise? This paper uses the framework of competitive governance to analyse this outcome. The high degree of politicization of the GMO issue has made it a key battleground for competition for leadership, particularly between the Commission and the Council of Ministers. The result has been a protracted battle over agenda setting and issue framing and a cycle of competitive regulatory reinforcement. The Council has used its leverage in comitology to shape the legislative agenda and push the outcome toward its political preferences. The paper unpacks both the steps and incoherence in GMO governance since 1995 and the relationships between key actors involved.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
de Cabo Martín Carlos
Constitucionalismo del estado social y unión europea en el contexto globalizador
in Revista de Derecho Constitucionál Europeo , n. 11

Con el expresivo titulo del presente estudio se pretende dejar constancia de la problemática que se aborda mediante el análisis de la tríada Estado social, Globalización y constitucionalismo vinculada al proceso de integración y consolidación de la Unión Europea. Con este enfoque se argumenta en primer lugar y frente a planteamientos más aceptados, que buena parte del proceso de integración y consolidación de Europa se hace a partir de la contradicción no integrable entre Estado social y modelo socioeconómico europeo, de suerte que si el Estado social es en su origen decisivo en la integración de Europa, a medida que ésta se consolida, se convierte en factor destructor de lo que queda de él en el interior de los Estados miembros. Por otra parte, la dialéctica entre Globalización y Unión Europea se plantea mediante la comparación entre sus respectivos caracteres y fines considerando los niveles de Institucionalización y Regulación de la Globalización y los correspondientes de la Unión Europea. Esta operación muestra un desarrollo orgánico, competencial y jurídico tal que convierten a la Unión Europea en la representante más genuina, influyente y eficiente de la Globalización económica. Frente a la situación actual, la constitucionalización de Europa presupone la superación o ruptura radical de esos rasgos y fines marcados por la Globalización económica.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dimitrova Antoaneta, Dragneva Rilka
Constraining external governance: interdependence with Russia and the CIS as limits to the EU's rule transfer in the Ukraine
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 6 2009 , Pages 853 – 872

The question of how effective the EU's external governance is cannot be answered without looking at the broader geographical and historical framework in which the Union extends its influence. We argue that interdependence between Ukraine and Russia in several key aspects shapes the context within which the EU and Russia compete to export their policies. Based on an analysis comparing the institutional rules underpinning the EU's external governance and the CIS rules as well as several sectoral analyses, we show that the effectiveness of external governance varies with patterns of interdependence. We identify sectoral differences in the extent of Ukraine's interdependence with Russia: it is low and receding in trade; medium in foreign policy and high in energy.

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Romano Beda, Boggero Giovanni
Conversazione con Beda Romano di Giovanni Boggero, Misto Europa
in Aspenia, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 265 e ss.

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Pollicino O.
Corti europee e allargamento dell'Europa: evoluzioni giurisprudenziali e riflessi ordinamentali
in Diritto dell'Unione europea, Anno: 2009 – Fascicolo: 1 , 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Renner Stephan, Trauner Florian
Creeping EU Membership in South-east Europe: The Dynamics of EU Rule Transfer to the Western Balkans
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 31, Number 4 / July , 449-465

The countries of the Western Balkans have all been subsumed under a pre-accession framework that is comparable to previous enlargement rounds, but with two main differences: the EU has thus far refrained from naming a timetable for eventual membership and supports flexible forms of integration in different policy fields. With only a loose prospect of membership, how strong is the EU's influence in the Western Balkans? With our empirical examples, drawn from energy policy and Justice and Home Affairs, we argue that the incentive of membership remains powerful in terms of initiating EU rule transfer. The key to successful rule adoption in the Western Balkans is to provide clear and tangible short-term incentives. Rather than full membership, the result is sectoral integration and a creeping process towards EU membership.

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Szilágyi Ferenc
Csaba Varga: Rechtssysteme, Rechtsmentalitäten in der Perspektive der europäischen Einigung - Ungarisches Panorama im Zusammenhang der Europäischen Union
in Zeitschrift für Offentliches Recht, vol. 64, issue 3 , 369

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Pache Eckard
Das Ende der europäischen Integration? Das Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgericht zum Vertrag von Lissabon, zur Zukunft Europas und der Demokratie
in Europaische Grundrechte zeitschrift, vol. 36, issue 12-16 , 285-298

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Youngs Richard
Democracy promotion as external governance?
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 6 2009 , Pages 895 – 915

In supporting democratic norms in third countries the European Union (EU) uses network more than hierarchical modes of governance. The exception is where the adoption of internal modes is set as a condition for countries to join the Union. In other cases, limited bargaining power and complex domestic political structures in third countries militate against the use of hierarchy in democracy support policies. Geostrategic concerns over stability represent part of the causal dynamics of these two variables. There is some correlation between governance mode and effectiveness, but this is less strong than the role played by domestic politics in determining impact. The latter help to explain a breach between rule selection and application: EU governance rules are often transferred without significant impact on third country political dynamics.

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Nicol Danny
Democracy, Supremacy and the "intergovernmental" pillars of the European Union
in Public law, April , 218-227

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gundel Jörg
Der Rechtsschutz gegen Handlungen der EG-Agenturen – endlich geklärt? – Zugleich Anmerkung zu EuG, Urteil v. 8.10.2008 Rs. T-411/06 – Sogelma/Europäische Agentur für den Wiederaufbau (EAR)
in Europarecht, Volume 44, Issue 3, 2009 , 383-392

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Johnson Debra, Turner Colin
Developments in the Economies of Member States Outside the Euro Area
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 259-276

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Thomas Stefan
Die Bindungswirkung von Mitteilungen, Bekanntmachungen und Leitlinien der EG-Kommission
in Europarecht, Volume 44, Issue 3, 2009 , 423-444

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Semmelmann Constanze
Die Grenzen der Unionsbürgerschaft im Urteil Förster
in Europarecht, Volume 44, Issue 5, 2009 , 683-692

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kahl Wolfgang
Die Kompetenzen der EU in der Energiepolitik nach Lissabon
in Europarecht, Volume 44, Issue 5, 2009 , 601-621

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Neyer Jürgen
Die Stärke deliberativer politischer Theorien und das Elend der orthodoxen Demokratietheorie. Eine Replik auf Marcus Höreth
in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 19. Jahrgang (2009), Heft 3 , 331-358

The Strength of Deliberative Political Theories and the Miserable State of Orthodox Democratic Theory: A Reply to Marcus Höreth

Deliberative theory offers a very useful framework in the debate about legitimate governance in the European Union. It helps to understand the strengths and weaknesses of the EU by providing an analytical language free of the stalled nation-state cannon. Deliberative theory opens up new avenues for justifying non-majoritarian structures of political authority and thus suggests an innovative approach for explaining the EU's legitimacy and its shortcomings. Moreover, deliberative theory aids in bringing together the fragmented discipline of political science so long hampered by subdisciplines standing idle amongst one another. It has set into motion a lively discourse between the fields of Political

Theory, Comparative Government, International Relations and European Integration Studies.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Häde Ulrich
Die Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion im Vertrag von Lissabon
in **Europarecht**, Volume 44, Issue 2, 2009 , 200-219

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Flood Chris
Dimensions of Euroscepticism
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 47, Issue 4, September 2009 , 911-917

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Koronowski Adam
Divergent business cycles as an effect of a monetary union
in **International Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 6, Number 2 / July, 2009 , 103-113

After 10 years of the euro it is well documented that the paths and rates of growth differ among the countries of the zone. In particular, some countries experience a kind of a business cycle characterized with an economic slowdown or recession after a period of strong demand and overheating. This paper offers a theoretical explanation of these phenomena. I claim that nominal and real divergences in a monetary union are endogenous dynamics and not necessarily a result of any asymmetrical shocks. The paper develops micro-based, rational expectations model that presents inflation differentials, current account deficits and eventually ratcheting the economy down as an effect of joining a monetary union or–more specifically–of restrictions which a common currency puts on interest rates and exchange rate flexibility. Within this theoretical framework the results of economic policy in a monetary union may be suboptimal; the domestic product ends up below its potential level that the economy could attain at a flexible exchange rate and an individually set interest rate. This solution is an example of Nash equilibrium which is not Pareto optimal. It proves again that micro-optimization is not a substitute for a proper macroeconomic policy that should create the right conditions for decisions taken by individual agents. When representative agents differ among countries with respect to their inter-temporal preferences macro-policies should be “customized”, one size does not fit all. As a bonus, the conclusions of the paper also find an easy application to the business cycles typical for exchange rate based inflation stabilization programmes, an issue once extensively discussed in the literature. These cycles receive in the paper a coherent theoretical explanation with the same rationale that stands behind the description of nominal and real divergences in a monetary union.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
S.Brana, D.Nichet-Chenaf
Diversité des trajectoires dans l'Union Européenne et sa périphérie
in Economie Appliquee, N. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Boun My Kene, Verchere Alban, Bertrand Stephane
Does Bilateralism Foster Co-operation in Europe? An Experimental Approach of Comparative Merits of Bilateralism and Multilateralism
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue 4, September 2009 , 891-910

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Verbruggen Paul
Does Co-Regulation Strengthen EU Legitimacy?
in European law journal, July 2009- Volume 15 Issue 4 , 425-441

Within the Better Regulation programme of the EU, co-regulation is promoted as an important strategy to improve the regulatory environment within Europe. It is assumed that co-regulation can enhance the legitimacy of EU governance in the field where this strategy is used. The purpose of this article is to assess the truth of this premise and to analyse whether co-regulation strengthens the legitimacy of EU governance. To this end, the criteria of input and output legitimacy are applied to the European social dialogue as a form of co-regulation in the EU policy area of social law. In this article, a link is made between the tendency to prescribe co-regulation as a specific regulatory strategy in EU legislative policy and the existing knowledge on the purposes and effects of co-regulation and the conditions under which co-regulation can function as a regulation strategy.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Harguindéguy Jean-Baptiste, Bray Zoé
Does cross-border cooperation empower European regions? The case of INTERREG III-A France – Spain
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 27, Issue 4, August , 747-760

In this paper we investigate the impact of the implementation of EU programmes on substate actors, and more specifically regional ones. We focus on the case of the INTERREG cross-border initiative in France and Spain between

2000 and 2003, and whether INTERREG succeeded in empowering regional governments and local authorities as it initially claimed to. Our analysis puts to the fore that this programme has not evolved from being 'a policy for the regions to a policy by the regions' as many expected, but that its implementation rather reveals a wide range of configurations. Indeed, the execution of INTERREG facilitated the transition from a state-centric scheme to a regionalised one only in those territories where a previous decentralisation policy had been realised at the domestic level and where a consistent regional leadership had emerged during earlier versions of INTERREG.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Breeman Gerard, Zwaan Pieter
Domestic Change and EU Compliance in the Netherlands: Policy Feedback during Enforcement
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 31, Number 3 / May , 349-367

This article explores the impact of domestic politics on the implementation of European Union (EU) directives in the Netherlands. Its central argument is that member states can change their views on EU policies during the implementation of the directive. The resulting new mismatch between domestic and European policies can cause a divergence in policy outlook among EU members, deadlock situations and attempts to change or reverse the directive. Thus far, EU implementation studies consider mismatches between EU and domestic norms mainly as a problem of delayed implementation and assume that governments eventually achieve full compliance. In contrast, we argue that domestic responses to EU directives could cause a continuous flow of severe criticism at the domestic level. This feedback could lead to a reinterpretation of the directive at the national level, but also to attempts to change the directive at the EU level. We use the EU directive on Foot and Mouth Disease as a case study to illustrate how shifting values in Dutch politics have caused such strong feedback.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Vetter Reinhold
Durchwachsen. Bilanz der tschechischen EU-Präsidentschaft
in Osteuropa, 59. Jahrgang, Heft 9, September , 77-94

ABSTRACT: The Czech EU presidency in the first half of 2009 was instructive. It made clear just how fragile Czech politics and how dubious the model of the semiannual
EU presidency are. Nonetheless, the Czech presidency was not completely without success. Czech politicians such as former Premier Mirek Topolánek performed valuable intermediary services on the world stage. And the EU presidency reinforced the country's Europeanisation.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Scheuer Angelika, Schmitt Hermann
Dynamics in European Political Identity
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 31, Number 5 / September , 551-568

The creation of a political community is a difficult yet vital task for the European Union. Using Eurobarometer time series of 25 years and the European Election Study of 2004, this article reviews the state of the development of a 'sense of community' with regard to two concepts: Identity is measured in terms of perceived citizenship and pride to be a European citizen; we-feeling is captured by assessing trust in European people and acceptance of new member countries. A collective identity is growing slowly among the European citizens, but the data suggest a center-periphery distinction between the core members and the joiners of the different enlargement waves. EU citizens trust each other, but the East-West continental divide still remains detectable.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hodson Dermot
EMU and political union: what, if anything, have we learned from the euro's first decade?
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , Pages 508 – 526

The road to Maastricht and the eventual launch of economic and monetary union (EMU) fuelled debate among scholars and policy-makers about the relationship between monetary and political integration in Europe. This article revisits a selection of these arguments ten years after the launch of the euro. It finds little evidence to corroborate claims that EMU will spur political union either out of functional necessity or the intentional choice of euro area members. If anything, the projects of monetary and political integration in Europe show tentative signs of decoupling.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Sadeh Tal
EMU's diverging micro foundations: a study of governments' preferences and the sustainability of EMU
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , Pages 545 – 563

The political economic literature on EMU suggests that its sustainability depends on the consolidation of the member states into a political community, based on shared beliefs in neo-liberal values, as well as the development of strong EU institutions and a well-integrated and liberalized common market. Have national governments in the EU become less favourable to policies that accordingly contribute to the sustainability of EMU? A dataset including 15 pre-2004 member states during 1990-2006 shows that, while the member states of the euro zone have in recent years converged in support of macroeconomic policies that are important for a sustainable EMU, they have also become more divergent about imperative microeconomic policies, and their scepticism with regard to the authority of EU institutions has become more consensual. This may challenge the sustainability of EMU. This study is innovative in its original government orientation analysis and large dataset.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Enderlein Henrik, Verdun Amy
EMU's teenage challenge: what have we learned and can we predict from political science?
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , Pages 490 – 507

We review the initial predictions and claims regarding economic and monetary union (EMU) in Europe against the evidence of its first ten years of existence. We argue that pessimistic views on the creation of EMU have proved to be wrong. Yet EMU's success is rather puzzling, since it is based on a peculiar institutional structure not thought to lead to success. EMU has generated redistributive effects and may have increased business-cycle synchronization. Those effects have not translated into the expected decrease of legitimacy or a widespread democratic deficit of EMU. At the institutional level, EMU has coped well with an asymmetric framework, largely decoupling EMU from political union. There have been neither major spill-over effects pushing for further political integration nor conflict and disintegration. The main question for the future is whether this institutional structure will stay the same in the aftermath of the global financial crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bearce David H.
EMU: the last stand for the policy convergence hypothesis?
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , Pages 582 – 600

This paper explores the extent of euro area policy convergence during the third stage of EMU. The policy convergence hypothesis from international political economy posits that euro zone national economies should become more similar over time in terms of economic growth, employment and inflation outcomes as a result of using a common currency and taking the same regional monetary policy. Yet the descriptive data show little evidence of euro area policy convergence post-1999. One possible explanation for the lack of macroeconomic convergence within the euro zone is advanced (fiscal policy divergence), and the implications of policy divergence for the long-term viability of EMU are discussed.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Alieva Leila
EU Policies and Sub-Regional Multilateralism in the Caspian Region
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLIV, n. 3, July - September , 43-58

The EU's agenda in promoting multilateralism faces a few challenges in the eastward direction. The Caspian Sea basin, which has been acquiring increasing importance for the EU in the context of energy, above all gas, supplies from the Caucasus and Central Asia, represents a complex mix of states with different histories, identities, regimes, centres of gravity and regional ambitions. Unlike the Black Sea basin, where the EU has developed the Black Sea Synergy policy, none of the Caspian littoral states is an EU member and this has led to a lack of EU interest in and commitment to the promotion of multilateralism in the area. Thus, in spite of significant energy security interests, the EU lacks the will, the capacity or the consistency to address regional security issues or promote reform. Indeed, economic interests are inevitably likely to clash with the reform promotion objective.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Freyburg Tina, Lavenex Sandra, Schimmelfennig Frank, Skripka Tatiana, Wetzel Anne
EU promotion of democratic governance in the neighbourhood

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 6 2009 , Pages 916 – 934

This article analyses the effectiveness of the EU's promotion of democratic governance through functional co-operation in the European neighbourhood. In a comparative study of three policy sectors in three countries (Moldova, Morocco, and Ukraine), we show that the EU is capable of inducing neighbouring countries to adopt policy-specific democratic governance provisions in the absence of accession conditionality. In line with the institutionalist hypotheses, we find that effective rule adoption can be secured by strong legal specification of democratic governance elements in the EU sectoral acquis and international conventions. However, successful rule adoption does not necessarily lead to rule application.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ermagan Ismail
EU-Skeptizismus in der türkischen Politik
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 39-40, 2009

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/ZPBLRQ,0,EUSkeptizismus_in_der_t%FCrkischen_Politik.html

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Men Jin
East Asia: the acid test for Europe’s common foreign policy
in Europe´s World, Issue 12, Summer

For all its economic clout, the European Union still doesn’t count for much in political and security terms in Beijing or most other capitals in East Asia, says Jing Men. She sets out what an EU policy agenda for the region should look like.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21406/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Verdun Amy
Economic Developments in the Euro Area
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 233-257

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process
Banducci Susan A., Karp Jeffrey A., Loedel Peter H.
Economic interests and public support for the euro
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , Pages 564 – 581

Although economic theories have been advanced to explain public support for the common currency, we know very little about how public support for the euro has been affected by its economic impact. We hypothesize that concern about rising prices following the introduction of the euro may have dampened enthusiasm for the project. We use Eurobarometer data from 2000-2007 to examine how rising prices and other economic factors have shaped support for the euro. We find that while inflation has had a negative impact on support for the euro, this is offset by the positive effect of diffuse support for the European Union. This support, along with the impact of a strong currency, has led most (approximately two-thirds) of Europeans to be generally positive about the euro.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Oltmer Jochen
Einführung: Europäische Migrationsverhältnisse und Migrationsregime in der Neuzeit
in **Geschichte und Gesellschaft**, Heft 2009/35,1 , 5-27

Introduction: European Migration and Migration Regimes in the Modern Era

Summary
In modern European history, migration regimes implemented and conceptualised migration options. They influenced, controlled, promoted, steered or restricted action and actors in migration processes. The introductory article in this issue provides an overview of conditions, forms and effects of migration and pinpoints pivotal patterns across the subject areas. Against this background the author discusses structural components of modern migration regimes and the emergence of interdependencies between migration and state. Beyond this, he introduces the other contributions in this issue and compresses them into brief comments on the development of modern European migration regimes.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Faramiñán Gilbert Juan Manuel de
El Tratado de Lisboa (Un juego de espejos rotos)
in **Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales**, Número 17/ 2009

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Michael Lothar
El contenido esencial como común denominador de los derechos fundamentales en Europa?
in **Revista de Derecho Constitucionál Europeo** , n. 11

En este trabajo se analiza el contenido esencial como posible común denominador de los derechos fundamentales en Europa. En una primera parte se relacionan las distintas formulaciones que los textos constitucionales europeos (alemán, español, portugués, comunitario y del CEDH, entre otros) emplean para referirse a los conceptos de “esencia” o de “contenido esencial” de los derechos fundamentales, así como sus diversas consecuencias jurídicas. La segunda parte de la conferencia versa sobre las interpretaciones y dimensiones posibles del contenido esencial (como postulado de la ponderación, como prohibición de la ponderación, como canon de ponderación, y como posible límite al legislador de la integración).
En el complejo panorama actual de pluralidad de ordenamientos que contienen derechos fundamentales, la relación entre los mismos sólo puede ya obedecer a criterios de integración, y no de jerarquía. Y en opinión del autor a dicha integración contribuirá, ahora y en los años venideros, de forma significativa la garantía del contenido esencial como premisa de un parámetro de ponderación.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Vasel Justus Johann
El “margin of appreciation” como elemento clave en el Derecho Constitucional Europeo
in Revista de Derecho Constitucionál Europeo , n. 11

Vasel analyzes in this paper the so called margin of appreciation, which gives to the State some room for its singularities in the interpretation and application of multilateral treaties. Although this technique is well known in international law, its origin resides in administrative law. Later on, the European Court of Human Rights developed this instrument on the basis of the subsidiary character of the Convention. The paper tries to explain the evolution of that development, underlying the several Convention guarantees where this margin finds its place. After that, Mrs. Vasel offers different foundations to sustain the use of the margin of appreciation. In opinion of the author, the margin of appreciation enables the understanding of indeterminate law concepts, can be as well expression of the subsidiarity principle, a proof of the self restrain of the Court or an integration instrument between national sovereignty and European standards. Finally, the author analyzes the consequences of the application of the margin of appreciation.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gillman Jonathan S., Martin William F.
Energy security: The steps Europe now needs to take
in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

The issue that’s certain to rise higher up the EU agenda confronting the incoming Commission and new European Parliament is energy security. William Martin and Jonathan Gillman offer a transatlantic view of the policy developments that are both urgent and lacking.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21496/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process
Skovager Jensen Maria, Martin Lind Kim, Zobbe Henrik
Enlargement of the European Union and Agricultural Policy Reform
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 31, Number 3 / May , 329-348

A connection exists between enlargement of the European Union and reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Based upon rational choice theory, we examine whether the member states' CAP positions are related to structures in their agricultural sectors. The overall hypothesis is that intensiveness of agricultural production corresponds to the willingness to reform the CAP. Political CAP positions, together with the development of member states' structural fundamentals, are analysed using cluster analysis. The results show that EU enlargements have extensified agricultural production at the EU level, and that extensive agricultural production in a member state is often an indicator of reduced willingness to reform. However, the intensiveness of agricultural production is only part of the explanation. Moreover, negotiation tactics play an important role for the positions on the CAP.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Oersted Nielsen Helle, Branth Pedersen Anders, Christensen Tove
Environmentally Sustainable Agriculture and Future Developments of the CAP
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 31, Number 3 / May , 369-387

Recent reforms of the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) have set in motion a process of increased market orientation in the agricultural sector, a process that will be intensified by trade liberalization if an agreement is reached under the World Trade Organization (WTO). It is widely expected that both CAP reforms and a WTO agreement will also lead to a more environmentally friendly European agriculture. It is conceivable, however, that market demand would instead provide renewed incentives for intensive agricultural production. Opening European agriculture to more competition in the world market could increase pressure to slacken regulatory requirements on agriculture. Thus, the question of whether liberalization will hinder or promote environmentally sustainable production methods in agriculture is unresolved. This paper analyses different scenarios of agricultural policy development and examines their consequences for the promotion of environmentally sustainable agriculture in the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Cisneros Örnberg Jenny
Escaping deadlock – alcohol policy-making in the EU
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 16 Issue 5 2009 , Pages 755 – 773

Despite the cultural and ideological diversity of the member states when it comes to alcohol, several alcohol-related initiatives have been taken recently at the EU level. The purpose of this article is to analyse the development of two of these initiatives: the Council Recommendation of 5 June 2001 on the drinking of alcohol by young people, and the invitation from the Council to the Commission to develop a Community Alcohol Strategy, both adopted during the Swedish Presidency in 2001. Drawing from H ritier's work on escaping deadlock it is argued that EU decisions on alcohol policy were made possible by using four strategies: priority, anchorage, lowest common denominator and baby steps. In cases of weak EU supranational competence the possibilities of escaping deadlock differ somewhat from

cases of strong legislative competence and the strategies of priority and anchorage seem to be of particular importance for questions based on soft law decision-making.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Finke Daniel
Estimating the Effect of Nonseparable Preferences in Eu Treaty Negotiations
in **Journal of Theoretical Politics**, Volume 21, n. 4, October , 543-569

This article derives theoretical expectations about the importance of nonseparable preferences at EU treaty negotiations. It argues that member states' positions on the degree of integration depend on the expected reform of the decision rule and vice versa. This nonseparability effect varies across member states. Wealthier member states (net payers) would prefer a more majoritarian and efficient decision rule when confronted with a higher level of vertical integration. The overall size of the nonseparability effect can be explained by the policy area-specific degree of preference asymmetry. In order to test these expectations the article advances existing statistical models of ideal point estimation and derives a model that allows for an explicit estimation of nonseparability effects. It applies this model to data on member states' positions at the IGC 2003—4. The two-stage estimator presented in this article may be considered useful in other applications of ideal point estimators.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Vogel Steffen
Europas Rechte macht mobil
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2009 , 19-22

Erlebt Europa den erneuten Aufstieg des Nationalismus? Oder hat sich bei den Europawahlen Anfang Juni eine Reihe von nationalen Denkzetteln zu einem europäischen Ergebnis summiert? Wie auch immer man darauf antwortet, fest steht, dass rechte Parteien teils dramatisch zugelegt haben. Sie profitieren von innenpolitischen Krisen wie in Großbritannien oder Ungarn und segeln vor dem Wind des Euroskeptizismus. In den Niederlanden etwa nähren sich die Rechtspopulisten um Geert Wilders von ...

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Scot Jean-Paul
Europe et laïcité. Peut-on parler de 'laïcité européenne'?
in **Pensée (La)**, Fascicule 2009/359 , 53-67

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process

Otte Marc

Europe has a central role to play in the Middle East

in Europe´s World, Issue 12, Summer

There is a risk, says Marc Otte, the EU's Special Representative for the Middle East peace process, that the region may yet become "a black hole of globalisation and a general threat to world peace". He argues that Europe must project the EU model of integration and cooperation to help tackle the problems of the Middle East.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21436/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Fossum John Erik

Europe's 'American Dream'

in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 12, No. 4, November 2009 , 483-504

Recent years (pre-Obama) of transatlantic rifts should not deceive us into ignoring the great attraction that the United States has exerted, and continues to exert, on Europeans. This article, first, seeks to uncover the normative assumptions that underpin the US as an exemplar or polity model for the EU, as seen from a European perspective. Second, it briefly considers whether the traits that Europeans find attractive about the US as a polity model have much real bearing on the EU, not in terms of how Europeans would want the EU to be but in terms of how the EU presently is. The point is to get a sense of the empirical distance that Europeans would have to travel if they were to transpose what they find attractive about the US to the EU. Are the features Europeans hold up as attractive about the US also available in Europe? These two undertakings set the stage for the third and most original, endeavour, which is to consider whether there are entities that are more compatible with what we currently find in Europe. The case singled out here is another American state, namely Canada. A clarification and critical assessment of what is referred to here as ‘Europe’s American Dream’ are intended to serve as a kind of mirror for Europeans to consider whether the European project is: (a) one of emulating the US; (b) a unique experiment; or (c) an EU that is closer to Canada than the US. If the reality of Canada is more proximate to the reality of the EU, should then Canada instead serve as Europe’s American Dream?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Whitman Richard G., Juncos Ana E.

European Union's Relations with the Wider Europe

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 193-212

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Medeiros Marcelo de Almeida, Campos Cinthia Regina

European Union, institutional reforms and democratic deficit: an analysis of the co-decision mechanism
in Revista Brasileira de Política internacional , vol.52 - No.1/2009 , pp. 29-52

The article argues the European decision-making process throughout mapping the co-decision system adopted by the institutions of Europe Union. In the first part there is an explanation about how the European decision-making system works, highlighting institutions that define the rules of the game and the decision-making's practice; in the second part there are data about the applicability of co-decision between 1999 and 2006, observing core themes and their frequency in each part of decision process.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Spohn Willfried
Europeanization, Religion and Collective Identities in an Enlarging Europe
in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 12, No. 3, August 2009 , 358-374

This article analyzes the conflictive role of religion in post-1989 Europe. Three major reasons for this are addressed: first, the restoration of structural and cultural pluralism of European civilization since the breakdown of communism entails the reconstitution of the full diversity of European religion. Second, international migration as a crucial part of globalization has intensified, contributing to the transformation of Europe into a complex of multi-cultural and pluri-religious societies. Third, the wave of contemporary globalization has been accompanied by an intensification of inter-civilizational and inter-religious encounters and conflicts — particularly between Christianity and Islam. As a result, European integration and enlargement as a secular and humanist mode of cultural integration and religious governance are basically challenged by this three-fold revitalization of religion. The growing tendency is to respond to this challenge by enhancing the Christian foundations of Europe rather than, as this article argues, to follow a more cosmopolitan, secularist and religious pluralist mode of European cultural integration.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hoogervorst Hans
Europe's reform of financial supervision is headed in the right direction
in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

The 'moral hazard' of some EU governments' bank bail-outs must now be counter-balanced by tough regulations and more effective supervision, says Hans Hoogervorst, Chairman of the Netherlands Authority for the Financial Markets. He sets out the key targets for reform.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21489/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Spranger Tade Matthias

Europäischer Grundrechtsschutz im Kontext vernetzter Rechtsordnungen
in **Europarecht**, Volume 44, Issue 4, 2009 , 514-527

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Krimphove Dieter
Europäisches Religions- und Weltanschauungsrecht
in **Europarecht**, Volume 44, Issue 3, 2009 , 330-348

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gerhards Jürgen, Lengfeld Holger
Europäisierung von Gerechtigkeit aus Sicht der Bürger
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 47, 2009

The full text is free:

http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/LPKB9K,0,Europ%E4isierung_von_Gerechtigkeit_aus_Sicht_der_B%FCrger.html

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Pollak Johannes, Slominski Peter
Experimentalist but not Accountable Governance? The Role of Frontex in Managing the EU's External Borders
in **West European Politics**, vol. 32, n. 5, september , 904-924

ABSTRACT: In 2005 the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders (Frontex) was founded. Contrary to the widely used principal-agent approaches, it is more promising to analyse Frontex through the lens of experimentalist governance. This paper has two lines of argument. First, it argues that Frontex may only succeed if Frontex has a sufficient degree of organisational independence and enjoys appropriate and steady support by all member states. This is especially virulent when many member states fail to provide significant contributions in terms of material and human resources as well as time, leading to a suboptimal reduction of duration, scope and operational impact of Frontex's missions. The second argument is concerned with the accountability of Frontex. Contrary to the experimental approach, this article takes a sceptical stance, arguing that important (supra-)national actors are sidelined and relevant legal rules are ignored.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process

Scmidt Vivien

Explaining democracy in Europe

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 7, n. 3, september , 396-407

ABSTRACT: This response to the three reviews of Democracy in Europe addresses questions of democracy, institutions, and methodology. It first shows that naming the EU a 'regional state' enables us not only to define a new international form but also to envision new rules by which the EU could operate more effectively and democratically. Next it demonstrates that the book's qualitatively developed typology, which classifies the member-states of the EU along a continuum from simple to compound, yields descriptive inferences that need no quantitative operationalization, although it does not rule this out. It then considers how far we can take the argument about 'institutional fit,' with the causal inference that the EU is more disruptive to simple polities than to compound ones. It concludes with a discussion of the methodological approach of 'discursive institutionalism' by contrast with historical institutionalism, and of the importance of ideas and discourse for democracy in Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Frank Wätzold

Explaining differences in EMAS participation rates across Europe: the importance of institutions, incomplete information and path dependence

in European Journal of Law and Economics, Volume 28, Number 1 , 67-82

What factors shape environmental policies across Europe? In order to answer this question most economists would probably adopt a Public Choice approach. This approach has convincingly explained some aspects of environmental policies that exist in a similar fashion across Europe. But why do many environmental policies differ across European countries? This article argues that in order to understand differences in environmental policies in Europe North’s analysis of institutional change focusing on formal and informal institutions, incomplete information and path dependence is useful. North’s approach is applied to explain differences in a particular field of European environmental policy: The implementation of the EU’s Eco-Management and Audit Scheme (EMAS) in Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK. The starting point of the analysis is the observation that participation of companies in EMAS markedly differs between countries. It is shown that these differences can be explained with differences in formal and informal institutions in the three Member States, incomplete information of relevant actors, and path dependence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Lust Aleksander

Familiarity Breeds Contempt: Strategies of Economic Reform and Popular Attitudes toward the European Union in Lithuania and Estonia

in East European Politics and Societies, vol. 23, n. 3, Summer , 339-370

In referenda held in 2003, over 90% of Lithuanians supported joining the European Union (EU), while only two-thirds of Estonians did. Why? This article shows that Lithuanians and Estonians had different economic expectations about the EU. Most Lithuanians hoped that EU membership would help Lithuania overcome its economic backwardness and isolation. By contrast, many Estonians worried that the accession would reinforce Estonia's underdevelopment and

dependency on the West. I argue that these expectations reflected the two countries' strategies of economic reform. Lithuania sold state-owned enterprises (SOEs) to their managers and continued to trade heavily with Russia, which slowed down the modernization of its economy. Estonia sold SOEs to foreigners and reoriented its trade rapidly from Russia to the West, which hurt its traditional sectors (particularly agriculture) and infrastructure.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Maury Caroline
Faut-il nécessairement « s 'aimer » pour coopérer entre européens ? Deux exemples transfrontaliers
in Politique européenne , n. 26, février

En constatant le décalage entre deux contextes transfrontaliers, le texte s'attache à comprendre pourquoi dans le cas de Perpignan les sentiments sont au principe de l'action transfrontalière alors qu'à Mulhouse la coopération transfrontalière fonctionne sur le registre de l'aménagement du territoire, de l'efficacité économique sans mentionner les sentiments entre voisins européens. Les raisons de ce décalage sont recherchées d'une part dans les processus de construction et d'insertion de ces territoires frontaliers dans un schéma multiniveaux complexe et d'autre part en examinant l'usage (ou le non usage) des sentiments en matière de gestion politique de ces territoires.

Comparing two cross-border cases, the paper examines why, in the Perpignan case, cross-border policies are based on feelings whereas in Mulhouse case, these policies are justified by economic development or territory planning without any mention of "feelings" between European neighbours. To explain this gap, the paper analyses not only the definition of cross-border territories inserted in a complex multi-level scheme, but also the use (or not use) of feelings in political management of this territories.
Plan de l'article • 1. Mulhouse-Perpignan : deux situations contrastées au regard de l'insertion du territoire transfrontalier dans le schéma multiniveaux — 1.1. Usages des sentiments et histoires frontalières
— 1.2. Des frontières nationales aux territoires transfrontaliers : Complexité des rapports centre/périphérie
— 1.3. L'Europe en contextes transfrontaliers
• 2. Sentiments et gestion politique des territoires transfrontaliers — 2.1. A la recherche d'un territoire « adhocratique »
— 2.2. Comprendre l'usage des sentiments par la structure des interactions locales
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Alber Elisabeth
Federal Scaffolds in the Western Balkans
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXII, n. 2, July , 32-35

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kimakova Alena

Financial markets and exchange-rate regimes in transition to EMU
in **Intereconomics**, Volume 44, Number 3 / May, 2009 , 142-148

This paper highlights that the EMU transition process itself can pose challenges to individual accession countries and draws policy implications for ERM II. Differences in financial market development and international liabilities underscore the risks and benefits of ERM II, and may lead to conflict between short and long-term policy objectives.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Barry Eichengreen
Financial re-regulation, yes. But Europe's cacophony of ideas is counter-productive
in **Europe´s World**, Issue 12, Summer

EU countries' different ideas on how to respond to the financial crisis are not strengthening Europe's hand in rewriting global rules, warns Barry Eichengreen. And while there are some signs of a new European consensus, the challenge of implementing an EU-wide system remains daunting.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21423/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mark Setterfield
Fiscal and monetary policy interactions: lessons for revising the EU Stability and Growth Pact Mark Setterfield
in **Journal of Post Keynesian Economics**, Vol. 31 No. 04

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kösters Wim
Forum. Common Euro Bonds – No Appropriate Instrument
in **Intereconomics**, Volume 44, Number 3 / May, 2009 , 135-138

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
De Grauwe Paul, Moesen Wim
Forum. Gains for All: A Proposal for a Common Euro Bond
in **Intereconomics**, Volume 44, Number 3 / May, 2009 , 132-135

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mayer Thomas
Forum. The Case for a European Monetary Fund
in Intereconomics, Volume 44, Number 3 / May, 2009 , 138-141

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Rogers James
From 'Civilian Power' to 'Global Power': Explicating the European Union's 'Grand Strategy' Through the Articulation of Discourse Theory
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 831.862

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Phinnemore David
From Negotiations to Accession: Lessons from the 2007 Enlargement
in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 2, June, Special Issue: The European Union's 2007 Enlargement , 240-252

Although overshadowed by the 'big bang' enlargement of 2004, the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU in 2007 was more than simply a 'coda' enlargement. It had its own distinctive features and provides important insights into how the EU's handling of enlargement is evolving. It established a number of interesting and potentially significant precedents and provided timely reminders of how important political and public opinion can be for ratification. Examination of the period from negotiating the terms of membership to the actual accession of the two applicants underlines the dynamic and increasingly uncertain nature of the EU enlargement process.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dimitar Bechev
From Policy-Takers to Policy-Makers? Observations on Bulgarian and Romanian Foreign Policy Before and After EU Accession
in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 2, June, Special Issue: The European Union's 2007 Enlargement , 210-224

The article explores the mutual influences between EU institutions, on the one hand, and Bulgaria and Romania's foreign policies, on the other. It argues that the accession process has transformed the two countries' relations with neighbouring states in the Balkans and the former Soviet space by fostering peaceful conflict resolution, cooperation and interdependence. At the same time, the piece contends, based on an empirical survey, that Bucharest and Sofia are still far from being effective entrepreneurs in terms of the EU's policies vis--vis countries such as Macedonia, Moldova, Ukraine or Georgia, a role claimed by Bulgarian and Romanian political elites. The 'upload' of national agendas to the EU level is constrained by the incomplete process of domestic change, open issues in bilateral relations with neighbours, and the ambiguity of institutional frameworks governing the Union's ties with its neighbourhood.

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Mattila Mikko, Raunio Tapio

From consensus to competition? Ideological alternatives on the EU dimension

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 7, n. 3, september , 325-341

ABSTRACT: According to the literature on European Parliament (EP) elections, parties do not offer real choices to voters on European integration. Indeed, in most European Union (EU) countries, there has been broad consensus about integration between the main parties. Importantly, previous research shows that this elite convergence is not replicated among the voters. Using European Election Study (EES) data from the 1999 and 2004 Euroelections, this article analyses the ideological dispersion of parties on the EU dimension in the EU member states. We examine the development of inter-party competition on the EU dimension between the two elections, and then test the impact of various factors – divided into public opinion, national party system and EU hypotheses – on the breadth of party positions over integration. The strongest link exists between government size and ideological alternatives, with large coalition governments hindering party competition on the EU dimension. However, overall our hypothesized factors explained only a small portion of between-country differences.

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Trauner Florian

From membership conditionality to policy conditionality: EU external governance in South Eastern Europe

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 16 Issue 5 2009 , Pages 774 – 790

In view of the uncertainty about the final outcome of the current enlargement process, how effective is the EU's acquis conditionality in South Eastern Europe? By elaborating on the example of justice and home affairs, the article argues that the EU's external leverage has remained strong, as the EU has developed additional ways to render its conditionality approach credible. Although the hurdles for entering the EU have been raised, Croatia's compliance efforts can be considered to be similar to the logic observed in the eastern enlargement. The key to understanding the compliance of Macedonia, whose membership prospect is less certain or even questionable, is to take into account policy conditionality in addition to membership conditionality. The EU managed to compensate for less credible membership rewards by substantially increasing the value of the policy reward of visa-free travel. This strategy was effective but has created tensions with regard to the EU's broader objectives in the region.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kiiver Philipp
German Participation in EU Decision‐Making after the Lisbon Case: A Comparative View on Domestic Parliamentary Clearance Procedures
in German Law Journal, Vol. 9, issue 8 , 1287-1296

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Çakır Armağan Emre
Gestalt Ontology in International Relations: The Case of European Integration
in International Studies Perspectives , vol. 10, issue 3, august , 321-340

ABSTRACT: This article proposes a new interdisciplinary perspective in international relations (IR). It suggests that contributions from perception studies can help us reconceptualize some elements of IR. Specifically, the article takes up the concept of Gestalt and applies it to European integration. The Gestalt laws and phenomena demonstrated by European integration can be identified in other examples of regional integration, as well as in various international organizations, or alliances. They also provide insight into other features of IR, such as the international order. The Gestalt approach per se may contribute to the development of a psychological constructivist theory of IR.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Sanchez Javier, Terrón i Cusí Anna
Getting the regions' Brussels role right is the key to EU credibility
in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

Involving local political leaders in EU decision making is a longstanding pledge that has yet to be fulfilled, say Anna Terrón and Javier Sánchez. They trace the steps now being taken to ensure that multi-level governance will soon become a reality.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21491/Default.aspx

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Miklin Eric
Government Positions on the EU Services Directive in the Council: National Interests or Individual Ideological Preferences?
in West European Politics, vol. 32, n. 5, september , 943-963

ABSTRACT: What determines a government's position inside the Council of the European Union? This article takes up recent arguments according to which Council decision-making is driven not only by 'objective' national interests but also by the ideological preferences of the member states' representatives. On the basis of a study of Germany, Austria and Sweden and their positions with regard to the Services Directive, it seeks to advance the debate by specifying the conditions under which ideological preferences are more likely to dominate. Applying a principal-agent model it is argued that the relative impact of ideological preferences crucially depends on the relationship between the ministers sitting in the Council and the governing parties at the national level: the less a minister is exposed to parliamentary and intra-governmental control, the more a country's position is susceptible to the ideological preferences of the minister.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Horwarth David
Greening the Internal Market in a Difficult Economic Climate
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 133-150

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Burmeister Frank, Staebe Erik
Grenzen des sog. Gold Plating bei der Umsetzung europäischer Richtlinien in nationales Recht
in Europarecht, Volume 44, Issue 3, 2009 , 444-456

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Horne John
Guerres et réconciliations européennes au 20e siècle
in Vingtième Siècle, n. 104

Si les deux guerres mondiales et la guerre froide poussent à une vision noire de l’histoire européenne au 20e siècle, on pourrait en proposer une lecture un peu plus optimiste en prenant comme charnières les périodes d’après-guerre et les tentatives de réconciliation. Chacun des trois après-guerres avait ses spécificités, mais chacun avait aussi des éléments comparables qui relevaient d’un accommodement aux conséquences de la guerre, d’une redéfinition des normes morales afin de stigmatiser les violences guerrières et, enfin, d’une démobilisation politique et culturelle vouées au démantèlement des mentalités du temps de la guerre. Ces caractéristiques nourrissaient des réconciliations autour de trois impératifs (la soif de la justice, la résolution du passé et la construction de l’avenir), impératifs porteurs d’une Europe qui a su assumer et résoudre le pire des divisions nées de ses conflits du 20e siècle.

If the two world wars and the Cold War present a bleak vision of 20th century European history, a slightly more optimistic reading can be made by taking as pivotal points the periods that followed the wars and attempts at

reconciliation. Each of the three post-war periods had its specificities, but each also had elements that were comparable and which sprang from an accommodation of the results of the war, a redefinition of moral norms so as to condemn the violence of war and a cultural and political demobilization that aimed to dismantle wartime mentalities. These characteristics encouraged reconciliation around three imperatives (a thirst for justice, coming to terms with the past and constructing the future) imperatives that favoured a Europe able to take responsability for the worst of the divisions born of its 20th century conflicts and to overcome them

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Bolleyer Nicole, Radaelli Claudio
Has Europeanization gone too far?
in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 7, n. 3, september

ABSTRACT: Vivien Schmidt's Democracy in Europe represents a major contribution to the analysis of Europeanization and the legitimacy deficit in Europe. In this paper, we critically discuss three core components of Schmidt's argument: the analytical distinction between simple vs compound polity, the definition of discourse and its role in political change, and the relevance of bureaucracies in the generation of 'misfit' between the domestic and European level.

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Knill Christoph, Tosun Jale
Hierarchy, networks, or markets: how does the EU shape environmental policy adoptions within and beyond its borders?
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 16 Issue 6 2009 , Pages 873 – 894

In this study we scrutinize the strength of the European Union's 'external governance' in the area of environmental policy. We explore whether accession candidates and third countries adopted European environmental legislation along with the member states. In doing so, we focus on Community laws that limit nitrogen oxides in the emissions into the air from large combustion plants, and introduce the European ecolabel scheme and environmental impact assessments. Our analysis reveals that hierarchical governance is the most significant and robust determinant of policy adoption. Additionally, our results lend some support to the relevance of network governance, indicating that this mode could become more effective at greater length.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Best Heinrich
History Matters: Dimensions and Determinants of National Identities among European Populations and Elites
in **Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 61, n. 6, August, Special Issue: Perceptions of the European Union in the New Member States: A Comparative Perspective , 921-941

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Alessandri Emiliano
I costi di un “no” alla Turchia
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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Recchi Ettore, Pastore Ferruccio
I dilemmi della mobilità
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 145-152

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schily Otto
If the EU reneges on Balkan enlargement it’s at its own peril
in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

Enlargement “fatigue” and Europe’s economic woes have seen the membership hopes of most western Balkan countries dwindle and fade. Otto Schily, a former German Interior Minister, warns of potentially disastrous consequences if the accession drive isn’t revived.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21490/Default.aspx

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Akçali Emel
Il dibattito ad Ankara
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Curli Barbara
Il dopoguerra lungo. L'Europa indivisa di Tony Judt
in **Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900** , n.3, luglio , 581-598

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Vigato Elisabetta
Il federalismo fiscale ed i lavori preparatori. La corsa ad ostacoli di un progetto condiviso.
in **Federalismi**, Anno VII - Nr. 13

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Baroncelli Stefania
Il modello dell'Unione economica e monetaria: un ritorno o un allontanamento da Maastricht
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Bardi Luciano
Il nuovo Parlamento europeo
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Sterpa Alessandro, Scoppola Francesco
Il nuovo Parlamento europeo tra innovazioni istituzionali e dinamiche politiche
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Perissich Riccardo
Il ritorno dell'asse franco-tedesco
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 108-124

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mangiameli Stelio
Il ruolo del Parlamento europeo e il principio della democrazia rappresentativa
in Teoria del diritto e dello stato, n. 1-2-3 - 2008 , 491-510

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Natale Paolo
Il significato politico delle elezioni europee 2009
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ridola Paolo
Il voto europeo del 6 e 7 giugno: la "sfera pubblica europea", l'integrazione multilivello e le sfide della complessità
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 11

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Ponzano P.
Il voto nel Consiglio: il compromesso di Ioannina alla luce del Trattato di Lisbona
in Diritto dell'Unione europea, Anno: 2009 – Fascicolo: 1 , 77

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Cassetti Luisa
Il "Sì, ma" del Tribunale costituzionale federale tedesco sulla ratifica del Trattato di Lisbona tra passato e futuro dell'integrazione europea
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 13

Section C) Regional integration processes
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Brady Hugo
Immigrazione: le scelte europee
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 153-158

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Trenz Hans-Jörg, Conrad Maximilian, Rosén Grui
Impartial mediator or critical watchdog? The role of political journalism in EU constitution-making
in Comparative European Politics, vol. 7, n. 3, september , 342-363

ABSTRACT: This study investigates the role of political journalism in European Union (EU) constitution-making. It is asked whether and to what extent quality newspaper journalists act as an impartial mediator or as an active promoter of normative debates on European integration across national media spheres. The ratification period of the EU Constitutional Treaty (CT) (November 2004–June 2005) is analysed as a critical juncture of European integration in which enhanced media debates and politicization are expected to take place within and across member states. Empirical data are drawn from a comparative content analysis of newspaper commentaries in six countries (France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Denmark and Norway). The findings point to the rather limited readiness of political journalists to campaign actively for or against the CT and to initiate an exchange of arguments and opinions between the Member States. Journalistic statements can nevertheless be grouped along similar frames of interpretation, representing shared long-term expectations with regard to the legitimation of the European political order.

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Hartlapp Miriam

Implementation of EU Social Policy Directives in Belgium: What Matters in Domestic Politics?

in Journal of European Integration, Volume 31, Number 4 / July , 467-488

This paper provides insight into the transposition in Belgium of six EU social policy directives adopted during the 1990s. Arguing that domestic politics matter for understanding transposition of EU policies in this country, it addresses the discordant findings concerning propositions about misfit, administrative inefficiencies and difficulties, as well as veto players. On the basis of an in-depth country analysis, it shows how these concepts can be clarified by taking into account factors that have typically been omitted in quantitative research and by analysing more directly mechanisms that are not easily captured by quantifiable proxies. The paper concludes by describing the efforts that have been undertaken in Belgium to adjust specific features of the national political system so as to cope better with adaptation requirements, which again reinforces the relevance of domestic politics for implementation processes.

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Haack Stefan

Individuelles Einbezogensein und europarechtliche Ordnung. Grundprobleme der Europarechtstheorie im Hinblick auf die Stellung des Einzelnen im 'Raum der Freiheit, der Sicherheit und des Rechts' nach dem Lissabonner Vertrag

in Europarecht, Volume 44, Issue 2, 2009 , 282-290

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Dinand Desmond

Institutions and Governance: Saving the Lisbon Treaty – An Irish Solution to a European Problem

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 113-132

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Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dickmann Renzo

Integrazione europea e democrazia parlamentare secondo il tribunale costituzionale federale tedesco

in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 14

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dérens Jean-Arnault
Interminables fiançailles entre Bruxelles et les Balkans
in **Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Novembre

http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2009/11/DERENS/18376

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gray Julia
International Organization as a Seal of Approval: European Union Accession and Investor Risk
in **American Journal of Political Science**, Vol. 53, Issue 4 , 931-949

Much of the literature on international institutions argues that membership regularizes expectations about members' future behavior. Using the accession of the postcommunist countries as a test case, this article argues that the EU can send strong signals to financial markets about the trajectory of a particular country. Examining spreads on sovereign debt from 1990 to 2006, this article shows that closing negotiation chapters on domestic economic policy—in other words, receiving a seal of approval from Brussels that previously existing policy reform is acceptable to the wider EU—substantially decreases perceptions of default risk in those countries. That decrease operates independently from policy reform that the country has taken and is also distinct from selection processes (modeled here with new variables, including UNESCO World Heritage sites and domestic movie production, that proxy for cultural factors). Thus, this particular international organization has played an important role in coordinating market sentiment on members, conferring confidence that policy reform alone could not accomplish.

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Khanna Parag
Intervista a Parag Khanna Obama e l'impero UE
in **Aspenia**, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 238 e ss.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ilonszki Gabriella
Introduction: A Europe Integrated and United—But Still Diverse?
in **Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 61, n. 6, August, Special Issue: Perceptions of the European Union in the New Member States: A Comparative Perspective , 913-919

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Trigo Catalina Aurora
Intégration régionale européenne et commerce intra-branche Comparaison des PECO et des PPM
in **Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest**, vol. 40, n. 2, June , 87-111

This empirical analysis of the intra-industry trade of the EU-15 with ten central and eastern European countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia) and five Mediterranean partner countries (Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey) during the period 1989–2004 uses the unadjusted Grubel-Lloyd and the Greenaway-Hine-Milner indexes. Trade similarities and differences are analyzed as well as sectoral competition between the two regions. This approach is used to infer the impact of recent liberalization processes and EU's enlargment on these regions.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Carbone Maurizio
Italy in the European Union, between Prodi and Berlusconi
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLIV, n. 3, July - September , 97-115

Since it came back into power in May 2008, the Berlusconi government has undertaken a number of important initiatives in foreign policy, especially in relation to the European Union. Three cases concern the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, the war in Georgia and the climate change/energy package. Rather than following a pro- or anti-Europe line, it is argued that the link between all these initiatives is the development of a pragmatic foreign policy, in which the ultimate aim is to promote Italy's economic interests. This means that in some cases the Berlusconi government is supportive of the European integration process, especially when no specific Italian interest is at stake, whereas it does not hesitate to undermine it should it clash with Italy's economic interests.

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Wilson Jérôme
Jurisconsultes et conseillers d' État: aux origines de l' ordre juridique communautaire
in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 14, n. 2 , 35-55

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Monar Jörg
Justice and Home Affairs
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 151-170

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Landais Benjamin, Yaghlekdjian Pierre
L'enseignement de la 'construction européenne'
in Pensée (La), Fascicule 2009/359 , 117-129

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Monville Aymeric
L'idéologie européenne
in Pensée (La), Fascicule 2009/359 , 31-40

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Auber Emmanuel
L'influence de la France en Europe
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, n. 530, juillet-août , 435-440

The evaluation of France's leadership in Europe, after the French presidency in 2008 has lead to a mixed assessment, which calls for reforms. The French Services organization in charge of European affairs permits a good reaction but, too often, at the expense of the consensus. Old failings persist: confidential administrative culture, an absence of anticipation and of an exemplary nature, weaknesses in negotiation and communication strategies. While France is not yet perfectly integrating in the complexity of the new European governance, the shift of civil society is hardly present in Brussels. In order to improve her influence in Europe, France should build alliances with each of her partners, manifest herself as far in advance as possible in Commission propositions, be transformed into a proactive force and intervene with the European deputies forcefully. To encourage European reactions, one should reform the administrative structures and certain work methods, all by improving the collective adaptation to European issues.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Romano Beda
La (mezza) delusione Merkel
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 76-81

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Jiménez García Francisco
La Carta Social Europea (Revisada): Entre el desconocimiento y su revitalización como instrumento de coordinación de las políticas sociales europeas
in Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales, Número 17/ 2009

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Rolla Giancarlo
La Carta de Derechos Fundamentales de la Unión Europea en una perspectiva comparada. Técnicas de codificación y cláusulas de interpretación
in Revista de Derecho Constitucionál Europeo , n. 11

Este estudio aborda desde una perspectiva comparada el proceso de recepción y codificación de los derechos fundamentales en los textos constitucionales. La fuerza atractiva de la Unión Europea, la amplitud y detalle de los catálogos de derechos fundamentales y la idea compartida de que los derechos fundamentales constituyen un elemento configurador del Estado democrático de Derecho, son rasgos que definen tal proceso en el ámbito europeo. Desde este punto de partida, el presente estudio analiza en primer lugar las dos técnicas fundamentales de constitucionalización de los derechos fundamentales, destacándose la pluralidad de lenguajes y métodos de clasificación constitucional de los derechos de la persona. Por otra parte, junto a la referencia de la relevancia que las Constituciones nacionales y la Unión Europea conceden a las minorías nacionales y étnicas, se destaca el grado de integración entre ordenamientos constitucionales a través de las cláusulas de intepretación de los derechos de la persona, así como la existencia de cláusulas constitucionales de suspensión o limitación de los derechos fundamentales y, por último, de cláusulas específicas que favorecen un adecuado equilibrio entre derechos constitucionales contrapuestos y entre las que destacan las referidas al principio de proporcionalidad o a la tutela del contenido esencial de los derechos.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mangiameli Stelio
La Costituzione europea
in Teoria del diritto e dello stato, n. 2 - 2007 , 419-457

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process

D'Urso Donato
La Costituzione europea e Altiero Spinelli
in **Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza**, n. 7-8 , 847-941

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Boerger-De Smedt Anne
La Cour de Justice dans les négociations du traité de Paris
in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 14, n. 2 , 7-33

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Matscher Franz
La Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, hier, aujourd'hui et demain, au lendemain de son cinquantième anniversaire – Regards d'un ancien juge de la Cour
in **Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme**, N° 80 - Octobre

La jurisprudence de la Cour européenne de droits de l'homme a eu un impact considérable, allant au-delà des attentes et des espoirs formés à l'origine, tant sur la vie juridique des Etats européens que sur celle de ses citoyens. Pourtant, vu son succès et la charge de travail qui pèse aujourd'hui sur la Cour, il a fallu procéder à différentes réformes du mécanisme de contrôle, conduisant à un affaiblissement de la position judiciaire de l'individu.

The case law of the European Court of Human Rights has had a considerable impact on the legal institutions of the European countries and on the life of their citizens, going for beyond of what could have been expected at the beginning. On the other hand, due to its success and its present workload. The Court has been obliged to proceede to a number of reforms concerning the protection machinery, which led to an attenuation of the judicial protection of the individual.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
de Beco Gauthier
La contribution des institutions nationales des droits de l'homme au renforcement de l'efficacité de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme
in **Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme**, N° 77 - Janvier

Cet article examine le rôle des institutions nationales des droits de l'homme devant la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme. Ces institutions peuvent contribuer au renforcement de l'efficacité de cette Cour grâce à leur participation aux

trois stades de son contentieux, à savoir avant, pendant et après ses arrêts. L'article démontre comment cette participation permet d'augmenter l'impact de ces arrêts

This article examines the role of national Human Rights organizations in the European Court of Human Rights. These organizations can strengthen the Court's effectiveness by appearing in the three stages of the proceedings, namely before, during and after judgment. The article shows how this involvement can increase the impact of these judgments.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Padoan Pier Carlo
La crisi è sociale
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 143-144

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Guiraudon Virginie
La diversité en Europe : une évidence ?
in Raisons politiques, N°35, août

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Section C) Regional integration processes
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Powell Charles
La fine del sorpasso spagnolo
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 101-107

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mérand Frédéric, Rakotonirina Haingo Mireille
La force européenne au Tchad et en Centrafrique : le baptême du feu
in Politique africaine, n. 114 , 105-125

L'Union européenne peut-elle être un acteur stratégique
et neutre en Afrique subsaharienne ? L'Eufor Tchad/RCA
est l'opération militaire la plus difficile engagée par
l'UE depuis le lancement de sa Politique européenne

de sécurité et de défense (Pesd), en 1998. Dressant un bilan de cette opération officiellement bouclée en mars 2009, cet article vise à éclairer les principaux enjeux auxquels l'Eufor a été confrontée. Après avoir esquissé le contexte de l'intervention, il analyse les conditions ayant amené l'UE à déployer cette force, son fonctionnement, le débat entre les États membres sur la pertinence d'une telle mission, et plus généralement sur les liens entre l'Eufor et le développement de la Pesd.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lequesne Christian
La génération de la dissidence, l'idée européenne et la divergence transatlantique
in Esprit, n. 358, octobre 2009 , 77-84

The full text is free:
http://www.esprit.presse.fr/review/article.php?code=15456

The dissident generation, the European ideal and the transatlantic gap.

The split across Europe over the war in Iraq could not have come as a surprise: it is still with us, as evidenced in the current significant lack of understanding between ex-Soviet bloc countries and president Obama. Now this first-hand experience of dissidence and the struggle for freedom remain at the source of several misunderstandings within the European Union.

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Butler Eamonn
La pesante eredità di Gordon Brown
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 94-100

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mougeot Michel, Naegelen Florence
La phase III du système communautaire d' échange de quotas d'émission: Comment attribuer les permis?
in Revue d'Economie Politique, n° 2 (mars-avril) , 165-184

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gianfrancesco Eduardo
La politica estera e di sicurezza comune europea. Rilievi costituzionalistici
in Rassegna parlamentare, n. 2 , 359-392

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kratochvíl Petr, Tulmets Elsa
La politique orientale de la République tchèque et la Politique européenne de voisinage
in Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest, vol. 40, n. 1, Mars , 71-98

After 1989, all central and eastern European countries reoriented their foreign policy agendas toward the West. What has become of relations with countries that used to belong to the Soviet bloc? This question is examined in the case of the Czech Republic's eastern policy. For the time being, it is the only new member state that does not share a border with a country not belonging to the EU. It participates in the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP), which was launched in 2003 for countries bordering on the enlarged European Union. What interest has the Czech Republic shown in the ENP? Is its participation grounded on a genuine commitment, or is it only talk?

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Beauvallet Willy, Godmer Laurent, Marrel Guillaume, Michon Sébastien
La production de la légitimité institutionnelle au Parlement européen : le cas de la commission des affaires constitutionnelles
in Politique européenne , n. 28, septembre

Au sein de l'Union européenne, le Parlement européen doit être considéré comme l'un des principaux lieux d'exercice du pouvoir politique : un espace institutionnel dont le déficit démocratique est compensé par la mise en scène d'une expertise interne produite et entretenue par des élus qui accumulent des ressources internes et externes à l'institution. L'article développe cette hypothèse à partir du cas de la commission des Affaires Constitutionnelles. Commission qui traite d'un secteur éloigné de la codécision, elle rassemble néanmoins les élites du Parlement. L'expertise sur l'enjeu institutionnel de l'Union repose avant tout sur la valorisation de la légitimité politique, académique et européenne d'un groupe d'autorité composé d'élus, assistés par des collaborateurs et des administrateurs.

Within the European Union, the European Parliament should be considered as one of the main venues for the practice of political power : an institutional space whose democratic deficit is compensated by the staging of an internal expertise produced and sustained by elected representatives who accumulate resources, both internal and external to the institution. This paper develops this hypothesis focusing on the case of the Committee of Constitutional Affairs. Even though this Committee deals with a sector that is far from codecision, it hosts Parliament elites. Expertise on the Union's

institutional stakes lies first and foremost and the valorisation of the political, academic and European legitimacy of an authority group made up of elected representatives, assisted by collaborators and administrators.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gianniti Luigi
La ratifica italiana del Trattato di Lisbona
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Liberati Francesca
La sentenza del Tribunale costituzionale tedesco sulla compatibilità del Trattato di Lisbona con il Grundgesetz: una guida alla lettura
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Lacche' Luigi
La tradizione costituzionale italiana e il dibattito sulla "Costituzione europea"
in Giornale di storia costituzionale, n. 16 - II sem. , 71-81

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Chaltiel Florence
Le Conseil européen de juin 2009 ou les perspectives renouvelées du traité de Lisbonne
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, n. 530, juillet-août , 425-427

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Frydman Benoit , Hennebel Ludovic

Le contentieux transnational des droits de l'homme : une analyse stratégique

in Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme, N° 77 - Janvier

Cette étude a pour objet d'analyser, par le biais de l'examen d'une série de cas, les traits caractéristiques du contentieux transnational des droits de l'homme. Ce dernier désigne un ensemble d'actions en justice relatives à des violations des droits de l'homme ou du droit humanitaire, qui ont pour particularité remarquable d'être portées devant une ou plusieurs juridictions nationales, étrangères à l'Etat où les faits reprochés ont été commis et les dommages causés. L'étude analyse les stratégies mises en œuvre par les différents acteurs, publics et privés, de ces litiges très particuliers, à toutes les étapes de ceux-ci.

This study analyses through the examination of several cases the main features of trans- national Human Rights litigation. These disputes cover claims, dealing with Human Rights violations or abuses of Humanitarian Law, which were brought in one or several domestic courts outside the State where the crimes were committed and the damage created. The study focuses on the strategies developed by different private and public protagonists of these special litigations at every stage of the procedure.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process

Costa Olivier

Le parlement européen dans le système décisionnel de l'Union européenne : la puissance au prix de l'illisibilité

in Politique européenne , n. 28, septembre

Cet article propose d'analyser l'influence du Parlement européen dans l'Union. En première instance, il faut prendre acte du processus de « parlementarisation » qui touche ce système politique depuis la fin des années 1970. Au-delà de ce constat, on peut tenter d'analyser la contribution de l'assemblée au policy-making en se focalisant sur le devenir de ses amendements. Cette approche a toutefois perdu de sa pertinence depuis le début des années 2000 en raison de la multiplication des early agreements en procédure de codécision. Il faut donc opter pour une approche quantitative plus globale de l'influence du PE, apte à rendre compte de la pacification progressive des relations interinstitutionnelles. On peut voir dans cette évolution un renforcement de la capacité du PE à négocier directement avec le Conseil et la Commission et à peser ainsi sur la définition et la mise en œuvre des politiques de l'Union, mais elle pose le problème de la lisibilité de l'action de l'assemblée et du caractère démocratique de décisions négociées en coulisses.

This article proposes to analyse the influence of the European Parliament (EP) in the European Union. As a first step, the process of 'parliamentarisation' has to be taken into account which has influenced this political system since the end of the 1970s. As a second step, the contribution of the EP on the policy-making can be analysed with a focalisation on the fate of its amendments. This approach, however, has lost relevance since the beginning of the new century as a result of the multiplication of early agreements in the codecision procedure. This is why a broader quantitative approach to the influence of the EP is necessary which is able to take the progressive pacification of the inter-institutional relations into account. This evolution shows a strengthening of the capacities of the EP to negotiate directly with the Council of the European Union and the European Commission and therefore has an impact on the definition and the implementing of EU policies. However, it poses the problem of the understandability of the EP's activities and of the democratic

character of the decisions taken behind the scenes.

Plan de l'article
• L'irrésistible « parlementarisation » du régime de l'Union européenne — Une assemblée aux contours flous devenue « Parlement européen »
— De la consultation à la codécision
— De l'indépendance organique à la collaboration interinstitutionnelle
— L'affirmation du caractère gouvernemental de la Commission
— La montée en puissance du Parlement européen dans le policy making
— La difficile évaluation de l'influence législative du Parlement européen
— Les évolutions interinstitutionnelles de la production normative
• L'influence croissante du PE dans le système politique de l'Union • Conclusion • RÉFÉRENCES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Romano Sergio
Le radici del malessere europeo
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 160-165

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Michel Hélène
Le syndicalisme dans la « gouvernance » européenne. Formes de représentation et pratiques de défense des intérêts sociaux en questions
in Politique européenne , n. 27, mai

Le Livre blanc sur la gouvernance européenne en 2001 a promu comme principe de bonne gouvernance la participation de la société civile au processus d'élaboration et de mise en œuvre des politiques européennes. Ce faisant, il a invité les différentes institutions à mettre en place un « dialogue civil » sur le modèle du « dialogue social », comme si la frontière entre « civil » et « social » était claire et renvoyait à des organisations distinctes. Prenant pour objet les conceptions et les expériences du « dialogue civil » menées au Comité économique et social européen et à la DG Emploi et affaires sociales, cet article montre comment les syndicalistes ont été amenés à redéfinir la nature des intérêts qu'ils représentent et la manière de les défendre au niveau européen. Contrairement à une interprétation qui fait du tournant participatif une forme d'affaiblissement des organisations syndicales, désormais considérées comme des groupes d'intérêt parmi d'autres sans plus de légitimité ou de prérogatives, l'enquête sur les pratiques de représentants d'intérêts sociaux montre à quelle condition il peut devenir une opportunité pour des syndicalistes soucieux de promouvoir une conception moins institutionnelle du syndicalisme et de ses formes d'intervention au niveau européen.

The White paper on the European governance of 2001 advocated the participation of the civil society to the devising and

implementing of European policies as a principle. Thus, it encouraged the different institutions to set up a « civil dialogue » like the « social dialogue », as if the borders between the two were definite and referred to distinct organisations. Based upon the conceptions and experiences of the « civil dialogue » carried out at the European Economic and Social Committee and at the Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, this article shows how the unionists have had to redefine the nature of the interests they represent and the way they defend them at the European level. Contrary to the analysis which makes the workers' participation a weakening of the trade unions henceforth seen as mere interest groups among others with no more legitimacy or prerogatives, the survey on the practices of groups representing social interests show that under some conditions, it can become an asset for unionists concerned about promoting a less institutional idea of unionism and its means of intervention at the European level.

Plan de l'article • Le dialogue civil contre les partenaires sociaux ? — Les frontières du « social » et du « civil » en question au Comité économique et social européen
— La gestion du pluralisme des intérêts à la Commission européenne
• Des redéfinitions du rôle et des pratiques syndicales — La représentativité en question
— Des pratiques syndicales revisitées
• RÉFÉRENCES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

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Dougan Michael
Legal Developments
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Badinger Harald, Maydell Niklas
Legal and Economic Issues in Completing the EU Internal Market for Services: An Interdisciplinary Perspective
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue 4, September 2009 , 693-717

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Costa Jean-Paul
Les aspects nationaux de la réforme du système de protection des droits de l'homme : les attentes de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme
in Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme, N° 77 - Janvier

L'effectivité du système européen de protection des droits de l'homme en Europe nécessite le concours actif des Etats, par une bonne application du principe de subsidiarité et de complémentarité, une collaboration étroite avec les gouvernements et les parlements, ainsi qu'une formation appropriée des magistrats et des avocats. La Cour européenne des droits de l'homme est prête à y apporter son concours.
The effectiveness of the European Human Rights protection system depends upon the States' active participation, with a good implementation of the complementarity and subsidiarity principle, a close collaboration with the governments and parliaments and appropriate training for judges and lawyers. The European Court of Human Rights is ready to provide its help

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Lanfranchi Marie-Pierre, Maljean-Dubois Sandrine
Les changements climatiques dans la politique de coopération au développement de l'Union européenne
in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 530, juillet-août , 451-463

Since 1999 the Council has invited the Commission to propose a plan of action regarding the integration of issues surrounding climate change into the Cooperative policies concerning the economy and development of the European community. The political impetus is thus given in favour of the addition of a new sectorial dimension to the European Cooperative policy. The Commission responded to this in 2003 by voting in a key document which gives a basis for "an integrated strategy for tackling climate change and a lower level of poverty" and defines a "plan of action" to this effect for the period 2004-2008. The plan of action was ratified by the Council in 2004. In 2007, a second key document was adopted by the Council, which aims to seal a Global Alliance against climate change between the EU and the developing countries which are more vulnerable to climate change. The study of this was prolonged, refined and together, the texts convey an ambitious view that this article has made its objective to decode, in order to afterwards wonder about the concrete translation. The challenge of adapting to climate change has inspired the European Union to a decisively ambitious policy, according to the role of leadership that the Union intends to keep in the negotiation of the agreement after 2012. If today the methods no longer seem to be the top of the list of ambitions, European politics is just stabilizing.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Marhold Hartmut, Meimeth Michael
Les discours du développement durable dans les pays - Introduction
in **Europe en formation (L')**, n. 352, été , 5-21

Full text available at http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/352/EEF352_1_HMMM.pdf

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Chillaud Matthieu
Les pays baltes : un modèle pour l'intégration ?
in **Politique Etrangère**, n. 3, automne

Les pays baltes : un modèle pour l'intégration ?

07/09/2009

Concentrés sur leurs efforts pour adhérer à l'UE et à l'OTAN, les pays baltes n'ont peut-être pas réalisé que les intérêts des deux organisations ne se superposaientpas forcément aux leurs. Une dissonance saillante quand il s'agit de la Russie. Meilleurs élèves supposés de la classe de la transition, les États baltes ont attendu trop longtemps à leur gré l'intégration à l'Alliance atlantique et à l'Union européenne. Bien intégrés désormais à cette communauté euro-atlantique, ils s'interrogent sur le résultat de politiques économiques ultralibérales poussées à l'extrême, et sur leur poids diplomatique dans les problématiques géorgienne ou ukrainienne, et donc dans les relations des pays occidentaux avec Moscou.

Abstract

Concentrated on their efforts to integrate the EU and NATO, the Baltic States did not maybe realize that the interests of both organizations did not overlap necessarily in theirs. A striking dissonance when it is about Russia. So-called star pupils in the transition, the Baltic states have waited for their integration into the Atlantic Alliance and the European Union for longer than they would have liked. Now well and truly a part of the Euro-Atlantic community, the Baltic states are concerned about the consequences of ultra-liberal economic policies pushed to extremes. Another question mark is their diplomatic influence with regard to the issues in Georgia and Ukraine and, consequently, with regard to the relations between the West and Moscow.

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Sanchez Salgado Rosa
Les projets transnationaux européens : analyse d'une expérience européanisante.
in Politique européenne , n. 26, février

Depuis plus de 20 ans, la Commission européenne encourage la mise en oeuvre de projets transnationaux européens dans plusieurs domaines. Cet article analyse les effets des projets transnationaux dans le domaine de l'emploi et de la formation professionnelle sur la perception de l'autre européen. En utilisant les outils d'analyse des études sur l'européanisation, nous montrons que – sous certaines conditions – la promotion d'échanges réguliers à travers les projets transnationaux a un impact considérable. Toutefois, le même type de pressions adaptatives ne conduit pas nécessairement à une seule façon de percevoir l'autre européen. Ce processus conduit à une diversité de résultats. Nous présentons dans cet article trois possibles scénarios : une identité multiculturelle, une idéntité européenne et une identité post-nationale.

For over twenty years, the European Commission has been promoting the implementation of European Transnational projects in several domains. This article analyses effects of transnational projects about employment and training opportunities on the perception of the European Other. Drawing on literature on Europeanization, we show that the promotion of regular exchanges through transnational projects-when certain conditions are met- has a significant impact. However, this same kind of European pressures do not necessarily lead to one single way of perceiving the European Other. This Europeanizing experience can lead to several results and we present three possible scenarios: a multicultural identity, a European identity and a post-national identity.
Plan de l'article • 1. La promotion du volet transnational : une politique publique comme les autres ? — 1.1. Appréhender les dynamiques à l'œuvre : le processus d'européanisation
— 1.2. Le volet transnational : l'histoire d'un échec ?
• 2. Le volet transnational et l'autre européen — 2.1. L'ampleur de l'impact du volet transnational
— 2.2. Le choc culturel et son dépassement
— 2.3. Les partenariats transnationaux : une mise en oeuvre différenciée.
• 3. Les effets du travail transnational : trois scénarios — 3.1 Les partenariats de l'Europe multiculturelle
— 3.2 La contribution des PICs à une identité transeuropéenne
— 3.3. Les PICs et le passage à une conception de la culture post-nationale
• Conclusion : tous européens ou tous étrangers ? • BIBLIOGRAPHIE

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Yakemtchouk Romain
Les États de l'Union européenne face à la pitaterie maritime somalienne
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, n. 530, juillet-août , 441-450

Maritime piracy off the Somalian coast constitutes a serious restriction to communication between Europe, East Africa and Asia: more than 22,000 vessels follow the Gulf of Aden and the Bab el-Mandeb strait yearly, which represents 8% of global trade and 12% of oil transported by sea. During 2008, there were 293 pirate attacks and 49 vessels were captured. Ransoms demanded by pirates can reach 3 million dollars per vessel; the total amount paid out as ransoms in 2008 is between 30 and 60 million dollars. Piracy acts are directed by powerful leaders of local clans, who benefit from collusion with local authorities: federal powers can hardly control the country, which remains split by the civil war, and nowadays the Republic of Somalia is still a 'non-state'. The fight against acts of piracy calls for a resort to force not only in the territorial waters but also on Somalian soil. On November 10th 2008, the EU Council launched the military Operation Atalanta, aimed at the suppression of Somalian piracy. Some 17 powers have sent their war ships in order to protect the seafaring of their trade vessels. Agreements have been reached between the EU and Somalia, as well as with the Republic of Djibouti, where France maintains contingent armies. The Security Council has asked that justice for the countries concerned should be severe towards the offending pirates.

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Annunziata Marco
Lezioni islandesi
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 173-179

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De Pasquale Patrizia
Libera concorrenza ed economia sociale nel Trattato di Lisbona
in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo, n. 1 , 81-90

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Becherucci Andrea
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Subsection 6.The European unification process
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Lisbon in Karlsruhe: Maastricht's Epigones At Sea
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Subsection 6.The European unification process
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Los retos de la Unión Europea
in Nueva Revista de Politica Cultura y arte (Spagna), n. 123

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in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 61-67

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Targetti Ferdinando
L'Europa nel contesto dell'economia mondiale
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3

Section C) Regional integration processes
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Soloch Krzysztof
L'Europe centrale entre solidarité européenne et préférence atlantique
in Politique Etrangère, n. 3, automne

Avec l'élection de Jerzy Buzek, ancien Premier ministre polonais, à la tête du Parlement européen, à quelques semaines à peine du 20e anniversaire des premières élections libres en Pologne, une page de l'histoire s'est définitivement tournée. Les pays d'Europe centrale sont désormais pleinement intégrés aux institutions euro-atlantiques. Leur intégration a pourtant soulevé de multiples questions dans les années 1990, les paradigmes de l'après-guerre froide pouvant être lus différemment à l'Ouest ou au centre de l'Europe, en référence à des passés très différents. L'intégration croissante de l'UE laisse cependant ouvertes d'autres questions : les rapports entre l'UE et l'OTAN, ou les relations avec l'Europe orientale.

With the election of Jerzy Buzek, former Polish Prime Minister, at the head of the European Parliament, just a few weeks before the 20th anniversary of the first free elections in Poland, a page of the history definitively turned. Central European countries are now fully integrated into the Euro-Atlantic institutions. Yet this integration caused much controversy in the 1990s. Indeed, post-Cold War paradigms can be interpreted very differently in Western and in Central Europe – referring as they did to starkly contrasting pasts. In spite of growing integration within the EU, some problems hence remain unsolved – namely relations between the EU and NATO, as well as relations with Eastern Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Antoniello Claudio
L'adesione dell'Italia al Trattato di Prüm: prime osservazioni
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 15

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Quinlan Joseph
L'economia occidentale: declino o trasformazione?
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 98-75

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Flauss Jean-François
L'effectivité des arrêts de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme : du politique au juridique ou vice-versa
in Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme, N° 77 - Janvier

Les considérations politiques ont toujours été présentes, plus ou moins selon les époques et les circonstances, dans le processus d'exécution des arrêts de la Cour de Strasbourg. Parfois, les Etats défendeurs ont opposé une résistance politique à l'obligation d'exécution s'imposant à eux. Inversement, la pression politique du Conseil de l'Europe ou des Etats membres entend contribuer à une exécution effective des arrêts de la Cour européenne. Depuis peu, la Cour s'est impliquée dans le processus d'exécution de ses arrêts, soit en indiquant des mesures d'exécution, soit même en contrôlant exceptionnellement les mesures d'exécution adoptées par l'Etat défendeur. De la sorte, elle amorce une juridictionnalisation de la surveillance de l'exécution des arrêts, par ailleurs déjà fort juridicisée.

Political considerations have always been more or less present, depending on the times, in the process of implementation of the Court of Strasbourg judgments. Sometimes, defendant States have opposed political resistance to their obligation of implementation. On the contrary, political pressure by the Council of Europe or Member States contributes to an effective implementation of the Court judgments. Since recently, the Court has involved itself in the process of implementation, either indicating measures of implementation or occasionally by first checking the measures of implementation adopted by the defendant State. Thus, the Court begins a judicial supervision of the implementation of judgments already strongly relied on.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bini Smaghi Lorenzo
L'euro: scudo o camicia di forza?
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 125-134

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lambert Abdelgawad Elisabeth
L'exécution des arrêts de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme (2008)
in Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme, N° 78 - Avril

L'actualité de l'exécution des arrêts de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme pour l'année 2008 a été marquée par une confirmation et une consolidation de la synergie des organes européens en vue d'une exécution plus rapide et effective. L'accent est mis désormais sur la synergie au niveau national avec la recommandation (2008)2. Sur le plan substantiel, l'exécution prend des formes également quelque peu nouvelles, du fait de l'évolution du contentieux européen. Enfin, les travaux se poursuivent au niveau gouvernemental en vue de perfectionner les outils actuels de prévention et répression de l'inexécution.

In 2008 the topic of the execution of judgments of the European Court of Human Rights has been characterized by the strengthening of the current synergy between the several European organs in view of a quicker and more efficient implementation of the judgments. Following the adoption of Recommendation (2008)2, the focus is now on the synergy between the national authorities involved in that process. On a substantial level, the measures the States have to enact also somewhat differ from the previous practice as a consequence of the evolving case law. At the governmental level the experts go on reflecting on the way to prevent and sanction the States which fail to fully comply with their obligations.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Fagiolo Silvio
L'illusione nazionale
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 48-56

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hassner Pierre
L'impero benevolo
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 57-60

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Fagiolo Silvio
L'incompiutezza dell'Europa
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 232-237

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dumont Gérard-François
L'inverno dell'Europa
in Aspenia, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 176-182

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Brizzi Riccardo
L'iperpresidente e la "febbre" francese
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 86-93

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Davies Bill
Meek Acceptance? The West German Ministeries' Reaction to the Van Gend en Loos and Costa decisions
in Journal of European Integration History, vol. 14, n. 2 , 57-76

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Richter Christian
Monetary Integration in Europe (and beyond)
in International Economics and Economic Policy, Volume 6, Number 2 / July, 2009 , 83-84

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ilonszki Gabriella
National Discontent and EU Support in Central and Eastern Europe
in Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 61, n. 6, August, Special Issue: Perceptions of the European Union in the New Member States: A Comparative Perspective , 1041-1057

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Loizides Neophytos G., Antoniades Marcos A.
Negotiating the Right of Return
in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 46, Issue 5, September , 611-622

Negotiating the right of return is a central issue in post-conflict societies aiming to resolve tensions between human rights issues and security concerns. Peace proposals often fail to carefully balance these tensions or to identify incentives and linkages that enable refugee return. To address this gap, the article puts forward an alternative arrangement in negotiating refugee rights currently being considered in the bilateral negotiations in Cyprus. Previous peace plans for the reunification of the island emphasized primarily Turkish Cypriot security and stipulated a maximum number of Greek Cypriot refugees eligible to return under future Turkish Cypriot administration. The authors' alternative suggests a minimum threshold of Greek Cypriots refugees plus self-adjustable incentives for the Turkish Cypriot community to accept the rest. The article reviews different options including linking actual numbers of returnees with naturalizations for Turkish settlers or immigrants, Turkey's EU-accession, and territorial re-adjustments across the federal border. In this proposed formula, the Greek Cypriot side would reserve concessions until refugee return takes place, while the Turkish Cypriot community would be 'demographically secure' under all scenarios by means of re-adjustable naturalization and immigration quotas. Drawing parallels with comparable cases, the article emphasizes the importance of making reciprocity and linkages explicit in post-conflict societies.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gowan Richard, Korski Daniel
Now the EU should get serious in Iraq
in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

The invasion of Iraq split the EU and almost derailed the European Security and Defence Policy. But Richard Gowan and Daniel Korski say that Iraq now presents the EU with an opportunity to show its growing capacity for stabilising war-torn states.

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Martens Wilfried
Now we must apply the lessons of the European elections
in Europe´s World, Issue 12, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21382/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Biscop Sven
Odd Couple or Dynamic Duo? The EU and Strategy in Times of Crisis
in European Foreign Affairs Review, Volume 14, Issue 3 , 367-384

When the European Council in December 2007 mandated Solana to examine the implementation of the 2003 ESS 'with a view to proposing elements on how to improve the implementation and, as appropriate, elements to complement it', great expectations were raised, proof perhaps of the importance attached to the ESS. The resulting Implementation Report of December 2008 provides a concise overview of implementation, confirms the analysis of the threats and challenges and the choice for a holistic and multilateral approach, and ends with a firm call to action. But it offers little in terms of concrete recommendations, and as such represents a missed opportunity as well as an ad hoc occasion, as no deadline for the next assessment of the ESS has been decided.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bolukbasi H. Tolga
On consensus, constraint and choice: economic and monetary integration and Europe's welfare states
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , Pages 527 – 544

This article reassesses the theoretical expectations and empirical findings in the political economy literature on the impact of economic and monetary union (EMU) on European welfare states. After summarizing the literature which views EMU as the symbol of the primordial conversion to neoliberalism, the article identifies the underlying hypothesis, assumptions, and predictions of the earlier, largely apprehensive literature of the 1990s which was based on ex ante convictions on EMU's social consequences. Then it reviews more recent ex post studies pointing to dynamics of welfare state resilience informed by new empirical evidence that became available and new theoretical approaches that became influential. After highlighting the conditions under which welfare reforms have taken place and the role played by EMU in these processes, this article concludes by re-evaluating the earlier expectations in the literature in light of the empirical findings and draws lessons for the discipline of political economy.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schütze Robert
On "federal" Ground: The European Union as an (Inter)national Phenomenon
in Common Market Law Review, vol. 46, issue 4 , 1069-1105

ABSTRACT: The emergence of the United States of America in the eighteenth-century triggered a semantic revolution in the federal principle. Federalism became identified with a mixed structure between international and national organisation. However, when this American tradition crossed the Atlantic in the nineteenth century, Europe's obsession with indivisible sovereignty pressed the novel idea into a national format. This article analyses the European Community and European Union in light of the American and European federal tradition. It explores the analytical potential of American federal thought in examining the European Union along three dimensions: a foundational, an institutional and a functional dimension. The question of Kompetenz-Kompetenz arises. This inductive approach is contrasted with the deductive approach of European thought. Europe's "statist" tradition insists on the indivisibility of sovereignty. This leads to three constitutional denials: the European Union is said to have no constitution, nor a people (demos), nor a constitutionalism. The very existence of the European Union, often labelled sui generis, has challenged this tradition and, today, European federal thought has gradually come to acknowledge the idea of federalism beyond the State.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Itzcovich Giulio
Ordinamento giuridico, pluralismo giuridico, principi fondamentali. L'Europa e il suo diritto in tre concetti
in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo, n. 1 , 34-60

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Wüst Andreas M.
Parties in European Parliament Elections: Issues, Framing, the EU, and the Question of Supply and Demand
in German Politics, Volume 18, Issue 3, September , 426-440

Based on the content of European Election manifestos, the article shows that parties play an important role in presenting to the people a European view on issues, in discussing transnational and the core EU issues and in offering the voters different choices on the EU and European integration. While there is a greater variance of party positions on the left-right dimension than on the pro-/anti-EU dimension, most party systems nevertheless provide good choice options on the EU dimension as well. Compared to the 'old EU', party systems in the accession countries offer a greater variance in programmatic pro-anti-EU positions.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Sadurski Wojciech

Partnering with Strasbourg: Constitutionalisation of the European Court of Human Rights, the Accession of Central and East European States to the Council of Europe, and the Idea of Pilot Judgments
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 9, n. 3 , 397-453

The accession of Central and East European States into the European Convention of Human Rights system was both a threat and a promise to the system. The threat resulted not only from the substantial increase of the number of Contracting States and that of the case-load, but also from the demise of a consensus which was, originally, presupposed by the system of protection of human rights in Western Europe: original members of the Council of Europe were 'like-minded' and the Convention system did not represent a challenge to their internal patterns of human rights protection. This article, however, focuses on a promise: a possibility for the European Court of Human Rights to abandon once and for all the fiction that it is merely a sort of super-appellate court which scrutinises individual decisions rather than laws in Contracting States. This shift towards a quasi-constitutional role, going beyond the simple identification of wrong individual decisions so as to point to systemic legal defects, was triggered by systemic problems within the new Contracting States, while also facilitated by collaboration between the European Court of Human Rights and national constitutional courts. The emergence of so-called 'pilot judgments' is the best and most recent illustration of this trend. The way in which a national court may form a de facto alliance with the European Court effectively 'pierces the veil of the State', and positions the European Court as a quasi-constitutional judicial body at a pan-European level.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gstöhl Sieglinde
Patchwork Power' Europe: The EU's Representation in International Institutions
in European Foreign Affairs Review, Volume 14, Issue 3 , 385-403

This article investigates why the EU's representation in formal and informal international institutions still varies so widely. It draws on a number of case studies and, by analysing their findings in a comparative manner, makes this fragmented representation visible. It argues that institutional rules relating to both the EU and the international fora need to be considered to explain this patchwork. The weaker its legal competences and internal coordination mechanisms, and the stricter and less equal the rules of participation in international institutions, the greater the EU's inability to 'speak with one voice'. The plausibility of this claim is illustrated by various examples selected from different issue areas and international institutions of global importance.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Cámara Villar Gregorio
Perfiles históricos del Derecho Constitucional Europeo
in Revista de Derecho Constitucionál Europeo , n. 11

It has been maintained from certain perspectives of analysis, that in considering fundamental communitarian order, there exists an analog and functional account of the European Treaties as a constitution - a constitution with powers, to some extent, subject to the typical limitations of a constitutional order.

This paper highlights the strong legitimizing nature of the aforementioned construction for the perspective and the status

quo of the supranational integration process that is thought of as indefinitely disconnected from its formal constitutionalization. However, while Europe continues to ignore the citizenship as a direct source of its own legitimacy, it will continue to lack a Constitution according to the ideological and political substantial coordinates of constitutionalism. This does not intend to deny the internal dynamics of the Union's material constitutionalization, which is a reflection and, at the same time, a determinant of the forms, needs and constitutional spaces of the member States.

Both the purpose of the major historical milestones in the process of the European integration, as well as the most prominent elements in the process of material (and formally unsuccessful) constitutionalization of the European Union, are threaded within the development of this discussion.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Le Maire Bruno, Bollaert Baudouin
Playdoire pour une Europe Solidaire
in Politique internationale, n°124 - Été

France's young Secretary of State for European Affairs took up his portfolio at a crucial moment: at the end of the French presidency of the EU council and six months before elections to the Strasbourg Parliament. This brilliant specialist in German affairs, interviewed here by Baudouin Bollaert, calls for a revamped Franco-German relationship built on three pillars: bilateral cooperation in specific areas such as the auto industry, energy and space; major European projects, such as defense; and international projects such as reform of the financial system, combating global warming or development aid. But it isn't just Franco-German relations that need overhauling, says Bruno Le Maire. Europe is far from perfect, suffering from the ungainliness of its institutions and a persistent democracy gap that the Lisbon Treaty will fortunately be able to correct. We must build a «Europe that protects», he says: a Europe at the service of its citizens.

http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=124&id=827&content=synopsis

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Anderson Jeffrey
Policy with politics in the EU: Can you get there from here?
in Comparative European Politics, vol. 7, n. 3, september , 374-383

ABSTRACT: This essay reviews Vivien Schmidt's book, Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Polities. In a departure from the standard approach to the EU's democratic deficit, Schmidt examines the impact of European integration on the democratic political systems of the member states. In other words, for Schmidt, the source of the problem is not how the EU is constructed, but rather the debilitating effects it has had, and continues to have, on national democracy. This is both interesting and insightful for two reasons. First, it locates the democratic deficit in Europeanization – that is, a dynamic process (as opposed to a static structure). Second, it implies that the solution to the problem of the democratic deficit will require far more complex action than merely tinkering with or even overhauling existing EU institutional arrangements. Schmidt's basic thesis is that there is a gap between the contemporary practice of democracy in Europe and old ideas about how democracy should function. Because citizens expect one thing based on their conception of democracy and yet experience something quite different – an experience mediated by a flawed

discourse about democracy presented by national elites – frustration with what they perceive as a distant and unresponsive EU grows, along with a sense that the entire operation is illegitimate. After reviewing Democracy in Europe's novel and engaging argument, this essay concludes with a critique of its proposals to remedy the situation.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Quaglia Lucia
Political science and the 'Cinderellas' of economic and monetary union: payment services and clearing and settlement
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , Pages 623 – 639

So far, political scientists have paid very limited attention to the 'plumbing' of economic and monetary union (EMU), that is payment services and the clearing and settlement of securities. This paper evaluates the analytical leverage of 'bureaucratic politics' approaches - in particular, the 'bureau shaping' theory - against the empirical record of a variety of policy initiatives taking place in the two fields mentioned above. It is argued that an adapted version of the theory of bureaucracy sheds novel light on to the policy process and the bureaucracies involved in it, namely the Commission and the European Central Bank. This research also highlights the politics involved in these seemingly 'technical' activities.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bendjallah Selma
Politisation du Parlement européen et commissions parlementaires. Représentativité partisane et normative
in **Politique européenne** , n. 28, septembre

L'article analyse l'activité parlementaire au Parlement européen à travers ses commissions permanentes. Les récents débats ayant révélé la présence de conflits partisans au sein des commissions compétentes, il semble en effet pertinent d'analyser les spécificités de ce mouvement, qui paraît contraire aux idées conventionnelles d'une assemblée dépolitisée. Le critère de la représentativité partisane, mesurée par la composition des commissions et le pourcentage d'amendements adoptés en plénière, est choisi comme un indicateur du conflit. Les résultats indiquent que représentativité et conflit dépendent de la nature des commissions et des procédures.

In this paper, the European Parliament work is analyzed through its standing committees. More precisely, the recent parliamentarian activity is more and more characterized by partisan conflict in committees (e.g. SIEG). It seems then pertinent to study characteristics of this polarization. Partisan representativity, which is here supposed to define partisan conflict, is measured by two criteria : committees' composition and the percentage of amendments adopted on the floor stage. Results show that representativity and conflict depend on the type of committees and procedures (legislative or not) ; then, this paper shows to what extent committees are the « cockpits » of polarization.

Plan de l'article
• Cadre théorique — Politisation et commissions
— Les théories informative, distributive, partisane et la représentativité
• Analyse empirique de la représentativité • Hypothèses • Méthodes quantitatives utilisées • Résultats empiriques — La

représentativité en termes de composition
— Les amendements par commission
— La distance entre les votes de la commission et de la plénière (méthode des MAD)
• Les variables de la procédure et du statut législatif des commissions • RÉFÉRENCES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Domahidi Ákos
Politische Symbole und Meinungsäußerungsfreiheit. Der Weg des roten Sterns als politisches Symbol im gesamteuropäischen Grundrechtschutz
in Europarecht, Volume 44, Issue 3, 2009 , 410-423

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Euzéby Alain
Pour une approche éthique de la protection sociale dans l'Union européenne
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, n. 530, juillet-août , 428-434

Social welfare is an essential principle of the European social model. However, given that it is mainly financed by compulsory taxes, and that the circumstances in which welfare must intervene will most probably increase over the years and decades to come, it increasingly risks being considered too burdensome. The legitimacy of social welfare as an ensemble of mechanisms for the redistribution of income, based on the idea of solidarity, strongly needs therefore to be remembered and defended. The leaders of the European Union would be therefore better inspired to place more perspective on the values of solidarity, responsibility and social justice, which justify social welfare and which guide its work.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Weiss Moritz
Power and signals: explaining the German approach to European security
in Journal of International Relations and Development, Volume 12, Number 3, September , 317-348

This article explains some of the recent changes in German foreign policy, namely the shift in preferences for institution building in the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The empirical exploration compares the phase before the European Union's (EU) Intergovernmental Conference in the mid-1990s with the Convention negotiations in 2002/2003. While the German government used to be a strong defender of NATO's primacy and supported a modest scope for the EU, it then began to promote high-intensity crisis management for ESDP and wanted to see the EU on an equal footing with NATO. Building on neoclassical realist thought, the paper argues that a two-stage analysis of the power context offers a comprehensive explanation of these changes. It refers to power in a materialist sense and its cognitive understanding on behalf of the political actors. Based on the assessment of uncertainty stemming from its interpretation

of the power context, the German government formed its preferences on what the EU's responsibilities for European security should be and how it should relate to NATO. More specifically, the mixture of isolationist and unilateralist signals sent by the United States increased German concerns about the latter's commitment. The German government adapted to the uncertain power context by promoting stronger responsibilities for ESDP.

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Chiva Cristina, Phinnemore David
Preface: The European Union's 2007 Enlargement
in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 2, June, Special Issue: The European Union's 2007 Enlargement , 149-151

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
De Rita Giuseppe
Provinciale ma resistente: il caso italiano
in Aspenia, n. 45, giugno, "Krìsis: stati, mercati, monete" , 82-84

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Conesa Pierre
Quelle réflexion stratégique européenne ?
in Monde Diplomatique (Le), Novembre

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schmidt Vivien A.
Re-Envisioning the European Union: Identity, Democracy, Economy
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 17-42

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Allen David, Smith Michael
Relations with the Rest of the World
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 213-232

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Fejtö François, Rupnik Jacques
Requiem pour un empire défunt (discussion)
in Esprit, n. 358, octobre 2009 , 18-31

A requiem for a defunct empire. A dialogue between François Fejtö and Jacques Rupnik

In this 1988 radio broadcast, the two historians gave their respective views on the unravelling of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. What was at stake then was the very notion of Europe as it stood on the eve of the demise of the Soviet bloc: the legacies of war and ideologies, relationships between nation-States and federal or imperial systems, as well as the influence of great powers over Central Europe.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lemmer Astrid , Stegarescu Dan
Revenue windfalls and expenditure slippages: Disappointing implementation of the reformed stability and growth pact
in Intereconomics, Volume 44, Number 3 / May, 2009 , 159-165

With the 2005 reform of the Stability and Growth Pact, a commitment was made to actively consolidate public finances in good times and to use unexpected extra revenues for deficit and debt reduction and not for additional expenditure. Against this background this study provides evidence of a lax implementation of expenditure plans in recent years when revenues were buoyant. Moreover, the influence of revenue windfalls on expenditure overruns is found to be more pronounced in countries that also have not met their medium-term objectives. Thus, first experiences in implementing the provisions of the preventive arm of the Stability and Growth Pact after its reform are not encouraging.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Paggi Valerio
Riflessioni sul voto europeo
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 12

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Guillod Laetitia
Révision constitutionnelle et intégration européenne, l'insoutenable légèreté de la Constitution
in **Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger**, n. 2 , 397-424

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Clark Nick, Rohrschneider Robert
Second-Order Elections versus First-Order Thinking: How Voters Perceive the Representation Process in a Multi-Layered System of Governance
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 31, Number 5 / September , 645-664

Second-order election models are based on several assumptions about individual-level motivations. These can be summarized by a transfer hypothesis: individuals presumably apply their evaluations of national-level phenomena to the EU level when voting in EU elections. In contrast, a suis generis hypothesis stipulates that voters evaluate the EU on its own performance terms. This paper tests these competing hypotheses. We find considerable support for both models. In the election context, where national institutions — political parties — dominate the representation process, the transfer hypothesis receives considerable support. However, we also find surprisingly strong support for the first-order hypothesis: electoral choice in EU election is influenced to a considerable extent by EU level factors. Furthermore, when voters evaluate the mechanisms of representation more broadly without a focus on elections per se, we find much more support for the first-order than the transfer hypothesis — voters clearly separate the two levels and evaluate each level on its own terms. These results have important implications, both for how we analyse voters' decisions in European elections, and how we view the sophistication of voters more broadly in the context of multi-layered institutions.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Weiss Moritz, Dalferth Simon
Security Re-Divided: The Distinctiveness of Policy-Making in ESDP and JHA
in **Cooperation and Conflict**, vol. 44, n. 3, september

ABSTRACT: In this article, we argue that the premature abolishment of the allegedly anachronistic concepts of internal versus external security is of doubtful heuristic value for the study of security practices. The two domains may gradually converge from the perspective of problems, but do so much less in terms of political practices. We show that security policy is pursued according to different systems of rules. It follows distinct institutional logics. We undertake a systematic comparison of policy-making in the European Union’s Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and Justice and Home Affairs (JHA). It is structured along the distinction between making and implementing an agreement as indicative stages of the policy-making process. First, rule-setting asks how decisions are made in the two domains: with or without the inclusion of external actors. Second, we explore whether the implementation of political decisions involves management

or enforcement mechanisms. The empirical results are unambiguous: the political actors follow different systems of rules in the two domains. There are still 'ideal-typical' differences in a Weberian sense. This implies that internal and external security may be closely linked, like the opposite sides of the same coin, but must be separated for the purpose of analytical clarity.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mikek Peter
Shocks to New and Old Europe: How Symmetric?
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 47, Issue 4, September 2009 , 811-830

No abstract available

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Curley Tyler
Social Identity Theory and EU Expansion
in **International Studies Quarterly**, vol. 53, issue 3, september , 649-668

ABSTRACT: In this article, I build a theory of European Union (EU) expansion using Social Identity Theory. The theory proposes that the development of a national identity in relation to Europe is the most significant contributing factor to a policy to support/oppose expanding the EU to include applicant countries. According to the theory, strength of identity—whether more national or European—is the key variable in explaining the policy toward applicant countries. As a preliminary exploration of the theory, I look at why some decision-makers within EU countries support Turkey's accession while others do not. The identities among top decision-makers within Britain, Germany, and France are used to examine the policy preferences regarding Turkey's bid for membership into the EU during these three recent progressions: the recognition of Turkey as a candidate country in 1999, the development of a timeline for full membership in 2002, and the beginning of accession negotiations in 2005.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Panke Diana
Social and Taxation Policies — Domaine Réservé Fields? Member States Non-compliance with Sensitive European Secondary Law
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 31, Number 4 / July , 489-509

Social and taxation policies are sensitive fields in which states often have sovereignty concerns. Accordingly, member states hesitate to transfer such competencies to the European Union (EU). Nevertheless, the EU shaped sensitive policies. Do states violate these domaine réservé fields more often than less sensitive European laws? Are those cases more difficult to settle? This paper shows that employment and taxation policies are indeed more frequently violated and that these infringement cases are harder to resolve. Yet, this is not due to sovereignty concerns, as expected by the domaine reacuteserveacute thesis. Rather, the extent of non-compliance costs, the strength of domestic pro- and

contra-compliance constituencies and the fit to governmental programmes are crucial for dynamics of norm violations and settlements. These variables do not systematically vary over policy fields and, in the end, states comply even with inconvenient European laws.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lautenberg Alexis P.
State aid, nationalism and financial protection in response to the global crisis: the cohesion of the EU at stake
in Federalismi, Anno VII - Nr. 12

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Barroso José Manuel
State of the Union: Delivering a 'Europe of Results' in a Harsh Economic Climate
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 7-16

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Arregui Javier, Thomson Robert
States' bargaining success in the European Union
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 5 2009 , Pages 655 – 676

This study describes and explains states' bargaining success in legislative decision-making in the European Union. We measure bargaining success by the congruence between decision outcomes and states' policy positions on a wide range of controversies. We develop and test expectations about variation in states' bargaining success from models of bargaining and legislative procedures. The analyses are based on a newly updated dataset on legislative decision-making that covers the period before and after the 2004 enlargement. The main descriptive finding is that there are no clear winners and losers among member states when a large number of decision outcomes are considered together. However, on any given issue, states typically differ markedly from each other in their bargaining success. Both bargaining models and procedural models provide insights that explain some of the variation in states' bargaining success.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Howorth Jolyon, Menon Anand
Still Not Pushing Back. Why the European Union Is Not Balancing the United States
in Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol. 53, n. 5, october , 727-744

ABSTRACT: A recent wave of scholarly literature has argued forcibly that the European Union's European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) represents an attempt on the part of the EU to "balance" against the United States. According to such analyses, the EU is reacting to American global preeminence by building up its military capacities to enhance its own ability to play a significant, autonomous role in international affairs. This article takes issue with such claims. It points, first, to significant theoretical and methodological shortcomings inherent in the work of the "soft balancers." Second, and more fundamentally, it subjects this work to careful empirical scrutiny and illustrates how the soft balancers have fundamentally misunderstood ESDP. Finally, it illustrates how such misinterpretations result from a failure to appreciate the profound impact that institutional structures wield over substantive outcomes in international security affairs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Selck Torsten J.,Yardımcı Şebnem, Katham Constanze

Still an Opaque Institution? Explaining Decision-Making in the EU Council Using Newspaper Information: A Reply to Sullivan and Veen

in **Government and Opposition** , Vol. 44, n. 4, Autumn , 463-470

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Pop Liliana

Strategic Action is Not Enough: A Bourdieuian Approach to EU Enlargement

in **Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 10, n. 2, June, Special Issue: The European Union's 2007 Enlargement , 253-266

This paper questions the suggestion that the framework of strategic action in the international community best explains the process of European Union enlargement. Even though it seeks to move beyond the privileging of either rational or community factors in understanding action in the domestic and international, economic and political spheres, this type of explanation is hampered by theoretical difficulties in understanding the relationship between actors and their environment, and by its thin and top-down view of socialisation. The second section then develops an alternative explanation based on the premise of deep socialisation of actors, conceptualised in the work of Pierre Bourdieu as a relationship between habitus, field and practice. It shows that this approach can be applied consistently at domestic and international levels, in the economy and politics, and as a consequence it can explain both post-communist transformations and their interaction with dynamics in the international political field and the EU in particular. Equally, it can account for the interaction between symbolic and material processes and forms of power and recast the meaning of the socialisation process itself to formulate more precise expectations about its reach and durability.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Mirow Thomas

Support from the EU's newcomers will be crucial to recovery

in Europe´s World, Issue 12, Summer

Europe's 'big bang' enlargement to 27 countries was a win-win deal for all, says EBRD chief Thomas Mirow. But with the recession bitting deeper, he calls for renewed solidarity with the countries of central and eastern Europe.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21421/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Stone Sweet Alec

Sur la constitutionnalisation de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme : cinquante ans après son installation, la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme conçue comme une Cour constitutionnelle

in Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme, N° 80 - Octobre

Tant en ce qui concerne son autorité sur les juridictions nationales en matière de droits fondamentaux qu'en ce qui concerne les méthodes adoptées de contrôle du respect de ces droits par les différentes autorités étatiques, la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme peut être considérée aujourd'hui comme une Cour constitutionnelle. Cette analyse est confortée depuis l'entrée en vigueur du Protocole n° 11 à la Convention et par l'incorporation de cette dernière dans les ordres juridiques internes. Le pluralisme constitutionnel qui en résulte doit être mis en parallèle avec le pluralisme que l'on constate déjà dans bon nombre de systèmes nationaux.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Giorgi Liana

Tariq Ramadan vs. Daniel Cohn-Bendit or Why a European Model of Society Based on Weak Citizenship Is Not Such a Good Idea

in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 12, No. 4, November 2009 , 465-481

The boundaries, openness and character of the future European society will crucially depend on the degree and scope of identity politics. Religion, culture and nationality remain strong reference frameworks for individuals in their inter-personal but also political relations and tend, in practice, to favour weak rather than strong forms of citizenship. Whether this is a viable model for large and diverse democratic societies is an old debate known primarily from the discussions and theory on multiculturalism. How this debate is played out at European level and especially with respect to the role of religion is illustrated with reference to the ideas of Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Tariq Ramadan, two well-known public figures with a strong commitment to Europe and European identity, albeit from rather different perspectives and outlooks. At the substantive or philosophical level, it appears impossible to resolve the fundamental questions underlying the opposition between liberalism and communitarianism as represented by the two men. The usefulness of a middle-range pragmatic approach insofar as political solutions or societal compromises are concerned is scrutinized for its usefulness.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Macmillan Catherine
The Application of Neofunctionalism to the Enlargement Process: The Case of Turkey
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 47, Issue 4, September 2009 , 789-809

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
European Economy News
The Brussels Economic Forum. Beyond the crisis: a changing economic landscape
in **European Economy News**, July 2009 - Issue 14

While economic forecasters now believe the worst is behind us, speakers at the 10th annual Brussels Economic Forum nonetheless urged Europe to make broad and lasting reforms – in the areas of governance, financial supervision and surveillance, macroeconomic policy, social relations, industrial relations and educational systems. They also noted that Europe needs to find ways to gracefully exit from current interventions and to fix government budgets. Reforms should not only help Europe to exit from the immediate crisis, they said, but also address longer-term issues such as ageing and the sustainability of public finances. In that sense, the crisis can be seen as a window of opportunity.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Burrell Alison
The CAP: Looking Back, Looking Ahead
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 31, Number 3 / May , 271-289

This paper offers a brief overview of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) from its origins until the present day in order to identify the factors that have been shaping its evolution. It then attempts to evaluate how persistent these trends will be in the future, whether new policy imperatives are gaining relevance in CAP reform and what they imply for the CAP over the coming years. Budget crises, international trade pressures and enlargement have driven the CAP reforms of the last fifteen years. In the future, change will be driven by the need to maintain the economic rationality and political acceptability of agricultural policy in an enlarged European Union of twenty-seven heterogeneous member states. Further decentralization of decision making and financing can be expected.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Freire André, Costa Lobo Marina, Magalhaes Pedro
The Clarity of Policy Alternatives, Left-Right and the European Parliament Vote in 2004
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 31, Number 5 / September , 665-683

The importance of the left-right divide for party choice is well established, both for legislative and European Parliament (EP) elections. However, the conditions under which left-right self-placement becomes more or less important in explaining the vote in both legislative and EP elections are clearly understudied. The article uses the 2004 EP elections as a laboratory to understand if there are indeed systematic differences between political systems' characteristics that might explain variation in terms of the strength of the relationship between left-right self-placement and the vote. Using the survey data from the European Election Study 2004 (twenty-one EU member states), the paper has two goals. First, to examine whether citizens' left-right self-placement has a different impact on the vote in different types of democratic regime, defined in terms of the contrast between consolidating and long-established democracies. Secondly, to examine whether this contrast resists the introduction of controls for three other factors hypothesized to make a difference in the extent to which left-right orientations have a greater influence on the vote: the permissiveness of electoral system; the clarity of policy alternatives provided by the party system; and the particular type of party alignments along both the left-right and anti-/pro-integration scales that tend to characterize each country. Our findings corroborate that (the 2004 EP) elections do seem to be about choosing parties in terms of left-right orientations to a considerable extent. Furthermore, we found that the usefulness of left-right orientations as cues to the vote seems to be contingent upon a major contextual factor: greater levels of clarity of the policy alternatives provided by the party system render citizens' left-right self-placement more consequential for their EP vote. Finally, we found that left-right orientations may not be equally useful in consolidating and in the remaining established democracies.

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Glencross Andrew

The Difficulty of Justifying European Integration as a Consequence of Depoliticization: Evidence from the 2005 French Referendum

in Government and Opposition , Vol. 44, n. 3, Summer , 243-261

This article analyses the 2005 French referendum debate on the EU Constitutional Treaty as an instance of depoliticization. Particular emphasis is placed on the argumentative strategy of President Chirac as, despite the treaty's focus on institutional reform, he eventually chose to justify the document in terms of social policy: an ultimately unconvincing strategy because voters believed it was contradicted by current EU policy priorities. On this evidence, pace Glyn Morgan, prioritizing a justification of EU finality over that of institutions and policies does not seem appropriate. Rather, the priority for integration is to overcome elites' strategies of depoliticization during referendum campaigns.

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Dobre Ana Maria

The Dynamics of Europeanisation and Regionalisation: Regional Reform in Romania

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 2, June, Special Issue: The European Union's 2007 Enlargement , 181-194

This article analyses the emergence of the phenomenon of the institutionalisation of regions in Romania during the pre-accession period. It is a study about institutionalised change leading to the creation of administrative and statistical regions in a unitary and centralised state. The article draws on two strands of literature - Europeanisation and

comparative regionalism - and provides a new critical interpretation. It looks at a number of variables, such as the EU conditionality and several domestic actors and institutions and investigates their role in explaining domestic change. It shows that regionalisation has occurred in a very functional way and mostly as a means of managing regional-level EU operational programmes as part of the national development plan. It illustrates as well that the creation of NUTS II regions in Romania corresponds more to a top-down project of territorial reform as opposed to a bottom-up project of political identity formation.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Blom-Hansen Jens, Brandsma Gijs Jan
The EU Comitology System: Intergovernmental Bargaining and Deliberative Supranationalism?
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 47, Issue 4, September 2009 , 719-740

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
von Bernstorff Jochen, von Bogdandy Armin
The EU Fundamental Rights Agency within the European and international human rights architecture: The legal framework and some unsettled issues in a new field of administrative law
in Common Market Law Review, vol. 46, issue 4 , 1035-1068

ABSTRACT: With the establishment of the Fundamental Rights Agency, an important development might come full circle. The European administration by the Commission and the Council in the 1970s and 1980s entailed a process of constitutionalization of the European Communities, in particular through fundamental rights protection. Now the developed constitutional law of the Union might usher a new field of administrative law if the potential of the Fundamental Rights Agency is realized. The increasing influence of specific human or fundamental rights institutions in numerous States is calling into question an understanding of fundamental rights protection that is mainly focused on judicial review. Under the approach taken here, administrative rights promotion is conceived of as a significant instrument supplementing legal protection by the courts and therefore an important field of administrative activity: European administrative law scholarship should move accordingly into this field. To contribute to this end, the relevant developments in the Union are recapitulated in order then to present the Agency's activities and tasks as a specialized agency for the promotion of fundamental rights where numerous unsettled issues lurk, in particular in light of the UN model of specialized independent institutions promoting human rights. Thereafter, the Agency's possible impact on the constitution of Europe is analysed, while the last part of the article recalls the main findings and discuss the prospect of human and fundamental rights promotion as a new area of administrative law.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schmitt Hermann, Thomassen Jacques
The EU Party System after Eastern Enlargement
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 31, Number 5 / September , 569-587

This paper investigates whether and how the process of Eastern enlargement of the European Union has altered the EU party system. This process has added representatives of some forty new parties to the previous structure. Comparing party placements on the two main dimensions of political contestation in the EU — the left-right dimension and integration-independence dimension — it is found that Eastern enlargement did surprisingly little to the format of the party system and the stature of its political groups, both regarding their distinctiveness and their cohesion.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Boissière Bruno
The EU Sustainable Development Discourse – An Analysis
in **Europe en formation (L')**, n. 352, été , 23-39

Sustainable development seems now clearly defined, as a concept and for its policies implications. Its use in political discourse has developed over the years to such an extent that some do not hesitate to abuse the word “sustainable”, without giving up the productivist dogma. The analysis of significant discourses of the institutions of the European Union on sustainable development shows that the evolution of the concept itself has changed the decision-making process of the European institutions, since the first strategy defined at the Gothenburg European Council (June 2001). However, if the concept is well introduced into the discourses of the institutions, its operationalisation and the adaptation of organisational structures appear extremely slow and often incomplete. It is far from an overhaul of the general functioning in accordance with what was announced as a political priority, including the 3 main areas: economic, social and environmental. But the coherence between discourses and practice appears at the level of the Commission, where coordination and supervision of sustainable development have been entrusted to the General Secretariat in direct contact with the President of the Commission.
Full text available at http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/352/EEF352_2_BB.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Delreux Tom
The EU negotiates multilateral environmental agreements: explaining the agent's discretion
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 16 Issue 5 2009 , Pages 719 – 737

Starting from principal-agent theory, this article analyses the conditions under which an EU negotiator enjoys a particular degree of discretion vis- -vis the member states during international environmental negotiations. A qualitative comparative analysis of eight EU decision-making processes with regard to international negotiations leading to a multilateral environmental agreement indicates that the compellingness of the international negotiations explains the occurrence of discretion. However, the international compellingness does not provide explanatory power to understand the particular degree of discretion. To understand when an EU negotiator enjoys a high degree of discretion, variables such as preference distributions, information asymmetries and institutional density need to be taken into account.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schorkopf Frank

The European Union as An Association of Sovereign States: Karlsruhe's Ruling on the Treaty of Lisbon
in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 10, n. 8 , 1219-1240

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Grosser Alfred
The Federal Constitutional Court's Lisbon Case: Germany's "Sonderweg" ‐ An Outsider's Perspective
in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 10, n. 8 , 1263-1266

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Quaglia Lucia, Eastwood Robert, Holmes Peter
The Financial Turmoil and EU Policy Co-operation in 2008
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 63-87

This article analyses the response of the European Union (EU) to the financial crisis in 2008 under the headings of liquidity, recapitalization and ownership of banks, macroeconomic policies and regulatory policy. It is argued that although at the onset of the crisis governments tended to focus on national-level responses, they quickly realized that international co-ordination would be required. This proved difficult to achieve in many areas, although monetary policy was an exception. Here co-ordination was rapid, not only in the euro area but also between the European Central Bank and other EU national central banks. Even so, within the euro area, the lender of last resort function was carried out by national central banks. Fiscal policy and bank recapitalization were similar across countries, but independently agreed. Competition rules were the one supranational EU regime, but did not act as a significant constraint on Member States.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dehousse Renaud, Menon Anand
The French Presidency
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 99-111

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Marcu Silvia
The Geopolitics of the Eastern Border of the European Union: The Case of Romania-Moldova-Ukraine
in **Geopolitics**, Vol. 14, n. 3, July , 409-432

Since the fall of the communist regimes, we have been witnessing in Europe two phenomena that dominate the geopolitical scene: on the one hand there is integration, with the advance of the borders of the European Union (EU) towards the east through its two enlargements, and on the other hand there is disintegration, as expressed by social crisis, and latent tensions and conflicts in the countries found beyond the said border. This article focuses on the geopolitical changes that came about on the eastern border of Europe (Romania-Moldova-Ukraine) and the border relations between these three countries after the fall of the Soviet Union, and the integration of Romania into the EU. This is both a multidimensional and ethno-territorial border, associated with tensions and conflict.1 Using the territorial dialectic of the globalisation argument, we are able to analyse, describe and interpret from a theoretical-empirical standpoint, the two current discussions about that border: opening by means of cooperation, or closing by means of control and security.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Halberstam Daniel, Möllers Christoph
The German Constitutional Court says "Ja zu Deutschland!"
in German Law Journal, Vol. 10, n. 8 , 1241-125

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Engelbrekt Kjell
The Impact of Enlargement on Institutional Integrity in Central and Eastern Europe
in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 2, June, Special Issue: The European Union's 2007 Enlargement , 167-180

This article represents an attempt to synthesise the results of existing work on European Union enlargement in scholarly journals and other publications, and to theorise those insights via the concept of institutional integrity. The basic question asked here refers to the impact of the incorporation of the acquis communautaire, roughly 100,000 pages of legal text originally developed for West European countries, on the reconstruction of political, economic and legal institutions in Central and Eastern Europe. Two dimensions of institutional integrity are examined, namely the relationships between: (1) institutional subjects, meaning the distinctiveness of key units of the system of government; and (2) institutional spheres, pertaining to boundaries between the realms of politics, economics and law. The article ends by predicting that institutional integrity will only come about at a moderate pace, through social change reflecting the long-term stabilisation of newly established political and economic structures, but also affirming that this process by virtue of pre-accession enlargement is well advanced throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Krauskopf Bernd, Christine Steven
The Institutional Framework of the European System of Central Banks: Legal Issues in the Practice of the First Ten Years of its Existence

in Common Market Law Review, vol. 46, issue 4 , 1143-1175

ABSTRACT: In this contribution, some legal issues are described that have played a role in the in the first ten years of the European System of Central Banks' existence. While the institutional framework established in Maastricht for the introduction of the euro and the functioning of the European System of Central Banks has proven to be legally sound and forms an appropriate basis for a successful monetary policy in the euro area, several legal issues have arisen that have been controversially discussed. The following issues are explored: (1) the legal status of the European System of Central Banks/ European Central Bank in the Community/ potential future Union framework, (2) the competences of the decision-making bodies of the European Central Bank, (3) the allocation of tasks and competences to national central banks and the European Central Bank in the context of the so-called principle of decentralization, (4) the new voting regime of the Governing Council of the European Central Bank entailing a rotation of voting rights of the national central banks' Governors and (5) the allocation of monetary income. The article concludes with the expectation that issues sur-rounding the allocation of tasks and competences within the System and forms of cooperation between central banks will become more and more important, further, that legal issues will need to be resolved concerning the involvement of the European System of Central Banks in the future framework for financial supervision in the European Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Niedobitek Matthias
The Lisbon Case of 30 June 2009 – A Comment from the European Law Perspective
in German Law Journal, Vol. 9, issue 8 , 1267-1276

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Wohlfahrt Christian
The Lisbon Case: A Critical Summary
in German Law Journal, Vol. 9, issue 8 , 1277-1286

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lynggaard Kennet, Nedergaard Peter
The Logic of Policy Development: Lessons Learned from Reform and Routine within the CAP 1980-2003
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 31, Number 3 / May , 291-309

With the point of departure in the otherwise extensive knowledge on reform and routine within the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the European Union (EU), this paper argues that: (1) in order to fully appreciate the insights provided we need to look into the complementary nature of ideational and interest-based approaches; and (2) lessons can be learned

by comparing several (here, three of five) reform attempts and by pointing out the importance of periods in between reforms (here, covering a time horizon stretching from 1980 to 2003). Against this background, the paper offers a comprehensive logic of policy development that may be used for other areas of study, which both draws on the insights into bargaining processes as offered by rational choice institutional theory and the insight into arguing processes as offered by constructivist approaches.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Rasmussen Morten
The Origins of a Legal Revolution - The Early History of the European Court of Justice
in Journal of European Integration History, vol. 14, n. 2 , 77-98

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gromes Thorsten
The Prospect of European Integration and Conflict Transformation in Bosnia and Herzegovina
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 31, Number 4 / July , 431-447

Conflict transformation means a change for the better that relates to the conflict object, the parties to the conflict and the way they pursue their antagonistic interests. This article investigates how the prospect of being integrated into the European Union can transform ethno-political conflicts over secession. It sketches out a framework of potential positive and negative impacts and it applies these considerations to Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was offered the possibility of membership in 1999. Since 2002, the prospect of integration has furthered conflict transformation through setting incentives to put up with the contested common state, providing the parties to the conflict with a shared vision, and reinforcing the norms of democracy and non-violence. However, the EU could lose its constructive influence, if it ignores that some of its demands serve the interests of one side while they violate these of the other.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mattarella Bernardo Giorgio, Chiti Edoardo
The Resources of European Security
in Revue européenne de droit public, Vol. 20 - No. 1 , 83 - 124

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ladenburger, C.
The Resources of European Security-Developing the EU Treaty Bases for Police Cooperation and Judicial

Cooperation in Criminal Matters
in **Revue européenne de droit public**, Vol. 20 - No. 1 , 125 - 150

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
de Wet Erika
The Role of European Courts in the Development of a Hierarchy of Norms within International Law: Evidence of Constitutionalisation?
in **European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 5 - Issue 02 , 284-306

Constitutionalism – Kadi ruling of EU Court of First Instance – Erosion of 'total' constitutional order by reallocation of public power – Constitutional vision challenge of networks approach – Emerging human rights hierarchy – Rudimentary international value system – Ius cogens and erga omnes – Barcelona Traction – Core human rights elements – Enforcement through regional and domestic courts – Review of Security Council resolutions

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Arnoud Lagendijk, Serap Kayasu, and Suna Yasar
The Role of Regional Development Agencies in Turkey
in **European Urban and Regional Studies**, Volume 16, No. 3 , 383-396

Turkey's step-by-step embedding in the institutional and policy environment of the EU is currently compelling the country to establish a fitting structure of regional governance. A key element in this structure is the creation of regions at the NUTS-II level which will be equipped with Regional Development Agencies (RDAs). Yet the present political and economic situation in Turkey throws some doubt on the scope and future for RDA development. To what extent will the central state be able and willing to devolve authority and resources to the local level? And to what extent do regional institutional and business settings hold fertile ground for RDA development? The article will address these questions, first, by focusing on the broader political-institutional context of region and RDA formation; and, second, through a detailed case-study of one regional setting, namely Istanbul. The outcomes indeed point to a fragile basis for RDA development from both political and economic perspectives. However, they also help identify certain areas where RDAs, in a more bottom-up way, could help to fill serious gaps in the fabric of regional economic development, and may find external resources to do so.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Tomuschat Christian

The Ruling of the German Constitutional Court on the Treaty of Lisbon
in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 10, n. 8 , 1259-1262

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Priban Jiri
The Self-Referential European Polity, its Legal Context and Systemic Differentiation: Theoretical Reflections on the Emergence of the EU's Political and Legal Autopoiesis
in **European law journal**, July 2009- Volume 15 Issue 4 , 442-461

This article starts by summarising major theoretical debates regarding European polity and governance. It highlights the role of statehood in those debates and suggests moving beyond the constraints of institutionalist and constructivist perspectives by adopting specific notions from the theory of autopoietic social systems. The following part describes the EU political system as self-referential, functionally differentiated from the system of European law, and internally differentiated between European institutions and Member State governments. Although the Union transgresses its nation-state segmentation, the notions of statehood and democratic legitimacy continue to inform legal and political semantics of the EU and specific responses to the Union's systemic tensions, such as the policy of differentiated integration legislated by the flexibility clauses. The democratic deficit of instrumental legitimation justified by outcomes, the most recent example of which is the Lisbon Treaty, subsequently reveals the level of EU functional differentiation and the impossibility of fostering the ultimate construction of a normatively integrated and culturally united European polity. It shows a much more profound social dynamics of differentiation at the level of emerging European society—dynamics which do not adopt the concept of the European polity as an encompassing metaphor of this society, but makes it part of self-referential and self-limiting semantics of the functionally differentiated European political system.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kajnc Sabina
The Slovenian Presidency: Meeting Symbolic and Substantive Challenges
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 47, Issue s1, September 2009 , 89-98

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Van der Brug Wouter, Fennema Meindert
The Support Base of Radical Right Parties in the Enlarged European Union
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 31, Number 5 / September , 589-608

It was shown on the basis of 1994 data that support for most radical right parties was motivated by the same kind of ideological and pragmatic considerations as support for established parties. On the basis of 1999 data, this was seen to

be true only for a small group of successful radical right parties. The current study replicates these analyses on the basis of data from the European Elections Studies 2004. It shows that, by 2004, voters for almost all radical right parties are less motivated by left-right ideology than voters for the established parties. The implications of these results — which are at odds with the literature on niche parties — are discussed.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Pernice Ingolf
The Treaty of Lisbon: multilevel constitutionalism in action
in Columbia Journal of European Law, Vol. 15, issue 3 , 449 ff.

For years, the European Union has struggled with its structural and constitutional self-determination, searching for a sustainable balance between confederal and federal options, between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism. This Article understands the Treaty of Lisbon as one step in a long and complex process of constitutionalization in Europe, comprised of both the evolving European level and the national level of constitutional law. It comments on what is sometimes regarded as the failures in the process of constitution-making, and on the improvements achieved by the reform under the Treaty of Lisbon, both in light of the concept of multilevel constitutionalism. It explains what multilevel constitutionalism means as a theoretical approach to conceptualize the constitution of the European system as an interactive process of establishing, dividing, organizing, and limiting powers, involving national constitutions and the supranational constitutional framework, considered as two interdependent components of a legal system governed by constitutional pluralism instead of hierarchies. The ongoing process of trial and error in the continued reform of the Union where constitutional initiatives regularly lead to increasingly extensive debates with modest contractual results, with the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon yet being uncertain, is taken as an example for explaining multilevel constitutionalism in action: The Article seeks to show that both the process showing increased public participation and the results achieved in Lisbon are characteristic of the consolidation of a multilevel constitutional structure of a new kind, based upon functioning democratic Member States, complementary to them, and binding them together in a supranational unit without itself being a state or aiming at statehood.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Börzel Tanja A., Sprung Karina
The goodness of fit and the democratic deficit in Europe
in Comparative European Politics, vol. 7, n. 3, september , 364-373

ABSTRACT: In her book 'Democracv in Europe'. Vivien Schmidt argues that the core of the EU's democratic deficit resides in the national politics of the member states, and is more disruptive for simple as opposed to compound politics as a result of institutional fit with the EU polity. This article argues, however, that the level of diffusion of power in a state is not necessarily a good indicator for the loss of democratic quality induced by the EU. Focussing on the disempowerment of national parliaments as the core democratic institutions, we find that Europeanization has caused much more variance within the group of simple and compound politics than between them. The EU-induced loss of legislative power vis-à-vis the executive can be better explained by the nature of the relationship between executive and legislature, which cuts across the distinction between compound vs simple politics. By requiring a close cooperation between the two branches of government, the parliamentary attempt to redress the balance of power by invoking new

scrutiny rights vis-à-vis the executive might also result in a new cave at for national democracy: the fusion rather than the separation of powers.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Borchert Manfred
The impact of banking behaviour on monetary strategy in Europe
in Intereconomics, Volume 44, Number 3 / May, 2009 , 166-176

Over the last twenty years, the process of European integration, and improvements in the processing and transmission of information, have meant that the European financial system has become less bank-based and more market-based. This trend has been reinforced by the transition to a single European currency. European banks are now increasingly expanding into asset management as well as the consulting business. What are the consequences of this for the effectiveness of European monetary policy? How should the ECB react?

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Burgess Peter
There is No European Security, Only European Securities
in Cooperation and Conflict, vol. 44, n. 3, september , 309-328

ABSTRACT: In this article, I explore the relationship between ‘value’ and ‘security’ in the conceptualization of European construction and its transformation in recent years through the anti-terror effort. I suggest that the landscape of human values, and the way it is correlated with security, is discontinuous and fragmented. In the post-Madrid/London era, variations in cultures of law enforcement, border control, intelligence and diplomacy, and, not least, new cultures of fear and prudence, render this landscape increasingly complex. The value-laden nature of security and insecurity has contributed to a fragmented evolution in European approaches to the challenge of security. The politics of harmonization and standardization of European security reveals not a singularity in security, but the contrary, namely multiple securities. I thus develop a counter-argument to both realist and social constructivist understandings of values and the role these play in security thinking. I affirm, in a typical constructivist vein, that values matter in the formation of security policy. However, I reverse the typical constructivist position that sees security as the embodiment of ideas, arguing instead that the European self-understanding is itself the product of its own constellation of security and insecurity.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
van der Putten Frans-Paul
Time for Europe to take a long, hard look at its global decline
in Europe´s World, Issue 12, Summer

Global influence in international security is a zero-sum game, says Frans-Paul van der Putten, who warns that China is now pulling steadily ahead even though few Europeans yet understand what this means for them.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21408/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Branner Michael
Time for Europe to wake up
in Heartland – Eurasian Review of Geopolitics, n. 2, "Iran-Afghanistan-Pakistan: an unwinnable gamble?"

After eight years of American 'unilateralism', the European Union has a concrete chance to influence US foreign policy. Its margins of maneuver are narrow, but from Russia to Afghanistan, from Iraq to energy, there's pretty much the Old Continent can do. As long as it wants to.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ortega Luis
Towards a New Conception of European Security
in Revue européenne de droit public, Vol. 20 - No. 1 , 17 - 46

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lambert Hélène
Transnational Judicial Dialogue, Harmonization and the Common European Asylum System
in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 58, n. 3, july , 519-543

ABSTRACT: Increased policy harmonization on refugee matters in the European Union (EU), namely the creation of a Common European Asylum System (CEAS), has created the imperative for a transnational judicial comparative dialogue between national courts. This article is based on a structured, focused comparison approach to examining a key element of a transnational European legal dialogue, namely, the use of foreign law by national judges when making their own decisions on asylum. It does so by examining two countries, France and Britain, as representative of the difference in legal tradition and culture within the EU in terms of the civil–common law divide. Both case studies are structured around a common set of empirical and jurisprudential research questions. The empirical findings reveal a surprising lack of transnational use of national jurisprudence on asylum between judges. Nonetheless, a slight but noticeable increase in the use of transnational asylum jurisprudence in the British and French courts must be noted. Two broad accounts—one rational, the other cultural—are applied in each of the case studies to explain this empirical finding. This article concludes on the broader implications of these findings for the establishment of a CEAS by 2012.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Carmona Contreras Ana M.
Tratado de Lisboa y organización territorial de los Estados: ¿nada nuevo bajo al sol
in Teoria y realidad constitucional, n. 23 , 237-256

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Walter Jochen, Albert Mathias
Turkey on the European doorstep: British and German debates about Turkey in the European Communities
in Journal of International Relations and Development, Volume 12, Number 3, September , 223-250

This paper seeks to provide a historically informed analysis of Europe, understood as an 'essentially contested concept', whereby Turkey is interpreted as a critical point of reference that evokes different discursive constructions of Europe, either including or excluding Turkey. At first, the theoretical-methodological section of this paper will introduce a discourse analytical research programme which utilizes the radically constructivist notion of communication as formulated by Niklas Luhmann in order to analyze the processes of inclusion and exclusion built into various constructions of Europe. Then, the empirical section of this paper analyzes more than 40 years of British and German news coverage (1960–2004). One of the main empirical findings is that Turkey is neither seen as a stable European 'Other' nor as a European 'Self'. Instead, Turkey is predominantly interpreted as 'the thing on the (European) doorstep', thereby stimulating various differing constructions of Europe.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Wessels Bernhard, Franklin Mark N.
Turning Out or Turning Off: Do Mobilization and Attitudes Account for Turnout Differences between New and Established Member States at the 2004 EP Elections?
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 31, Number 5 / September , 609-626

How can we understand the low turnout seen in the 2004 European Parliament elections? One possibility would be that new member states were 'just different' either because of the post-communist legacy in some of them or because of an unexplicated 'low propensity to vote' in some of those. This article explicates the low propensity to vote in some post-communist countries by means of a general model of turnout that applies also to established EU member states. In this model low turnout is accounted for by party loyalties on the one hand, and affective and instrumental reasons for voting on the other. The latter factors are found to be lacking in European Parliament elections, which can nevertheless see high turnout due to party loyalty or compulsory voting. Where both of these are absent we see particularly low turnout, as we did in five of the new member countries in 2004.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
İçener Erhan
Understanding Romania and Turkey's Integration with the European Union: Conditionality, Security Considerations and Identity
in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 10, n. 2, June, Special Issue: The European Union's 2007 Enlargement , 225-239

Romania and Turkey have (had) troubled relations with the European Union and have been laggards in terms of the EU's enlargement 'process' when compared to other applicants. Both countries provide excellent case studies to determine the relative importance of factors affecting the timing of enlargement decisions and how the EU differentiates between would-be members. This paper ascertains the relative importance of three key variables - conditionality, security considerations and identity - in explaining the key decisions influencing both countries' integration with the EU and it argues that there is a reciprocal relationship between three key variables and the actions of EU member states and institutions.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mattera Alfonso
Une composition de la Commission telle que prévue pa le traité de Nice conduirait vers un affaiblissement de l'autorité de l'Institution et une fragilisation de sa légitimité populaire
in Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne, n. 1 , 5 - 12

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hassner Pierre
Une révolution aux lendemains difficiles (entretien)
in Esprit, n. 358, octobre 2009 , 68-75

The difficult aftermath to a revolution. An interview with Pierre Hassner.

The collapse of the Soviet bloc came as a brief euphoric moment as it brought the Cold War to a peaceful conclusion. However, this outcome compelled us to reconsider issues we had thought best forgotten, if not simply contained: What was to become of the European Community? What could be expected of the international community? How were we to face up to the novel forms of cross-border conflict and violence?

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ágh Attila

Ungarn in der EU
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 29-30, 2009

The full text is free:
www.bpb.de/publikationen/UKQQHL,0,Ungarn_in_der_EU.html

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Flor Elena
Union Bonds: the Debate
in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXII, n. 2, July , 36-40

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mörsdorf Oliver
Unmittelbare Anwendung von EG-Richtlinien zwischen Privaten in der Rechtsprechung des EuGH
in **Europarecht**, Volume 44, Issue 2, 2009 , 219-240

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Belot Céline, Bouillaud Christophe
Vers une communaute europeenne de citoyens ? Pour une approche par les sentiments
in **Politique européenne** , n. 26, février

Les études européennes ont jusqu'ici porté une faible attention à la formation effective d'une communauté entre les citoyens européens, pour se concentrer soit sur le système politique de l'UE, soit sur la loyauté de ces derniers envers l'UE comme nouveau centre de pouvoir. Le présent article entend défendre l'idée que, dans un cadre démocratique, toutes les avancées ultérieures de l'intégration européenne (en matière de sécurité et de défense et d'« Europe sociale » en particulier) appellent l'existence d'une telle communauté de citoyens. Cette dernière doit correspondre, en accord avec la théorie de David Easton sur les systèmes politiques, à l'existence de sentiments positifs qui relient les citoyens de diverses nationalités les uns aux autres. Diverses méthodes, utilisées dans les contributions qui suivent cet article introductif, permettent de saisir l'état actuel de ces sentiments de communauté entre Européens. Elles montrent globalement que, pour l'heure, la plupart des ressortissants des pays de l'UE ne se considèrent sans doute plus comme des étrangers, mais qu'ils sont loin de se sentir des concitoyens.

European studies have given a limited attention to the actual formation of a community at the grass roots between European citizens, concentrating themselves whether on the EU political system or on the loyalty of citizens towards the EU. Throughout this article, we defend the idea that, in a democratic scenario, any ulterior breakthroughs of European

integration (in security and defence matters or on 'Social Europe' for example) call for the existence of such citizens' community. According to David Easton's theory on political systems, such a community partly derives from the existence of positive feelings which are able to link together citizens of different nationalities. Different methods, which are illustrated in the following articles, are mobilized to study the present state of these feelings of community between Europeans. On the whole and for the time being, they point out that most EU citizens nor consider one another as outright strangers, neither as outright fellow citizens.

Plan de l'article • 1. Une communauté politique : pour quoi faire ? • 2. Vers une communauté européenne des citoyens ? Premières approches — 2.1 Un constat partagé : les obstacles structurels à l'existence d'une communauté européenne des citoyens
— 2.2. De la « société européenne » à la communauté de valeurs.
— 2.3. A la rencontre de « l'autre » européen : la mobilité en faveur de la communauté ?
— 2.4. Pour une approche par les sentiments
• Conclusion • BIBLIOGRAPHIE

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
de la Rochére Jacquiline Dutheil
Vers une conception nouvelle de la securite européene
in Revue européenne de droit public, Vol. 20 - No. 1 , 47 - 82

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Boillat Philippe
Vers une mise en œuvre renforcée de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme au niveau national
in Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme, N° 77 - Janvier

L'effectivité de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme et de la jurisprudence de la Cour passe par une responsabilité accrue des Etats dans la mise en œuvre de la Convention et l'exécution des arrêts, ce qui implique une meilleure reconnaissance de l'effet direct de la Convention. Il convient de réfléchir également au rôle de la Cour et du Comité des ministres. Un meilleur accès à la jurisprudence doit également être assuré.

The effectiveness of the European Convention on Human Rights and the Court's case law is achieved by means of the States' implementation of the Convention and the enforcement of judgments. This necessitates a better understanding of the Convention's direct effect. One must also take into account the functions of both the Court and the Committee of Ministers. Better access to case law must also be provided

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Moravcová Dagmar
Vom Traum zur Realität: Der Perzeptionswandel "Europa" während der Transformation der CSFR/CR, 1989-2004
in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 14, n. 2 , 145-160

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Besand Anja
Von guten und von schlechten Zeichen: Zu den Herausforderungen von politischer Kulturforschung und politischer Bildung an Europas Rändern
in **Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , 2009/3

Good Signs and Bad Signs. On the Challenges of Political Cultural Research and Civic Education on the Fringes of Europe

January 1, 2007 saw a small, second wave of European eastward enlargement when admitting Romania and Bulgaria to the European Union. Meanwhile, this event is however hardly able to induce any bigger waves, neither in the everyday business of journalism, nor in the greater part of academic research in European Studies. A look at the existing research literature will produce a few scattered remarks on Romania and Bulgaria under headings such as transition societies, post-socialism, and the like, but the current state of research concentrating solely on these two countries is definitely manageable. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that civic education has also scarcely dealt with Southeast Europe up to now. At the same time, however, this region presents us with two interlinked phenomena that will pose one of the major challenges to civic education in 21st century Europe, namely: democratic transition, and, broadly speaking, post-communism.
Whoever wishes to deal with civic education in such a region must tread warily, for civic education in Eastern Europe has been in a trying situation ever since the political transition at the beginning of the Nineties of the last century. The former omnicompetence of the state in political, social, and cultural issues today confronts state actors with a problem. It is difficult for them to fulfill their role in conveying civic education, for the population is quick to suspect a renewal of the former ideologization and indoctrination. There is a paradox here, as civic educational opportunities are at the same time highly valued as outstanding opportunities for developing a democratic political culture in these countries.
My aim is to contribute to the reinterpretation of the situation of civic education in Eastern and Southeast Europe against the backdrop of initial qualitative results of various studies on civic education and political culture.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Marsh Michael
Vote Switching in European Parliament Elections: Evidence from June 2004
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 31, Number 5 / September , 627-644

This article assesses a number of explanations for vote switching in European Parliament elections. These include the

theories of surge and decline and referendum voting, advanced to explain mid-term elections in the US as well as the theory of EP elections as second order national elections. Hypotheses deriving from each theory are set out and a number of tests conducted with data from the 2004 European election study. It concludes that each theory offers something of value without any theory being obviously dominant. We also see some significant differences in patterns of vote switching in new and old member states.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Johnston Alison, Hancké Bob
Wage inflation and labour unions in EMU
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 4 2009 , Pages 601 – 622

This paper examines different levels of wage moderation in EMU member states since the introduction of the euro. Most arguments examining wage restraint have done so relying on the assumptions that relations between EMU member states are symmetric and that wage-setting systems are similar across sectors within one country. We introduce one innovation to these approaches and develop a second existing one. The paper adopts a dual-sector approach, where exposed sector unions are still tied to a competitiveness constraint on wages, while sheltered sector unions neither face a hard monetary constraint imposed by the central bank nor are subject to a competitive one. Wage moderation is higher in countries with wage-bargaining institutions which tie wage-setters in the sheltered sector to the exposed sector through a co-ordination mechanism. The second innovation is that of asymmetries between Germany and other EMU member states.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ganley Declan
We want pan-European politics, not a bureaucratic and undemocratic EU
in Europe´s World, Issue 12, Summer

“Unlike many in Brussels, we respect the judgement of European voters,” says Declan Ganley, the founder of Libertas, a pan-European party that contested European Parliament seats in all 27 EU countries and was widely credited with Ireland’s ‘No’ vote on the Lisbon treaty last year.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21417/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Howorth Jolyon
What Europe badly needs is a “Grand Strategy”
in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

The accelerating uncertainties of the last 20 years have yet to prompt a major strategic re-think by Europe's national governments, says Jolyon Howorth. He sets out the steps that must be taken if Europe is to adapt the changing world order and safeguard its interests.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21474/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Timmermann Heinz
Where do the Boundaries of European Integration Lie?
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXII, n. 2, July , 27-31

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Finke Daniel, König Thomas
Why risk popular ratification failure? A comparative analysis of the choice of the ratification instrument in the 25 Member States of the EU
in Constitutional political economy, Volume 20, Numbers 3-4 / September, 2009 , 341-365

Following the European integration history, referenda are a risky ratification strategy. Despite establishing a convention and intense treaty negotiations, an unprecedented number of eleven member states announced a referendum for the ratification of the constitutional treaty in 2004, two of them finally failed and stalled the ratification process. This study examines the choice of the ratification instrument by an empirical analysis of the strategic interaction between government, opposition parties and the electorate in the 25 ratification countries. Our analysis considers country-specific conditions and correctly predicts most of the ratification choices in countries which announced referenda (65%) and almost all parliamentary ratification cases (93%). The results reveal that governments choose referenda when they expect low gains from a treaty reform or are confronted with a Euro-sceptical parliamentary opposition. We also find that governments are eager to separate popular votes from domestic electoral campaigns.

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Littoz-Monnet Annabelle
Will individual attachments amongst EU citizens turn them into europeans ?
in Politique européenne , n. 26, février

Discordance entre démocratie délibérative et contexte institutionnel européen A travers une lecture approfondie du modèle de patriotisme constitutionnel d'Habermas, cet article tente d'élucider le lien entre développements institutionnels européens, l'émergence possible d'une sphère publique européenne – conçue par Habermas comme la seule source de légitimité des décisions publiques et comme condition préalable au développement d'un sens civique

de citoyenneté chez les Européens – et les relations affectives (‘horizontales’) entre Européens. Plusieurs dynamiques sont mises en lumière. Tout d’abord, il ressort qu’au cœur de la conception habermasienne de citoyenneté supranationale se trouvent aussi les relations horizontales entre Européens, essentielles au fonctionnement de la sphère publique européenne – et sur laquelle repose le modèle d’Habermas. Cependant, si l’existence d’un attachement ‘vertical’au système politique européen – lui-même promu par les initiatives de l’Union européenne visant à la création d’une identité européenne – peut permettre aux relations affectives entre Européens de se développer, la façon dont les formes horizontales d’intégration entre individus peuvent, réciproquement, avoir un impact sur l’identification des individus à l’Union européenne en tant que projet politique est moins claire. L’article montre, en particulier, que le système institutionnel européen n’est pas propice au développement d’une forme délibérative de démocratie, dans la mesure où les institutions sont structurellement prédisposées à filtrer les discussions publiques de telle manière que les différents participants au débat public ne se sentent pas également représentés à travers le contenu des décisions politiques. Dans un tel contexte, et en imaginant même l’éventualité qu’une réelle sphère publique européenne émerge progressivement, il est peu probable que les citoyens de l’UE développent un sentiment d’appartenance à une réelle communauté de citoyens.

Through a closer examination of Habermas’s constitutional patriotism model, the article disentangles the relationship between EU institutional developments, the possible unfolding of a European public sphere - conceived by Habermas as the only source of legitimacy for binding decisions, and as a necessary prerequisite for the development of a civic sense of belonging to the EU by European citizens - and the affective (‘horizontal’) relations amongst Europeans. Several dynamics are brought to light. First comes through clearly that at the core of Habermas’s conception of supranational citizenship lies the unfolding of horizontal relations amongst Europeans – necessary to the functioning of the European public sphere which is central to Habermas’s model. However, if it is via the development of a vertical attachment – itself fostered by European policies aimed at the creation of a European identity – that affective relations amongst citizens can also develop, the way horizontal forms of integration amongst individuals can reciprocally feed into the identification of citizens with the EU project as a political entity is less clear. The article argues, in particular, that the EU institutional context is not conducive to the development of a deliberative form of democracy, because institutions are structurally predetermined to filter public discussions in such a way that not all participants to the public debate feel represented equally by those political decisions that emerge. In such a context, and even assuming that a genuine transnational public sphere would progressively develop, citizens are unlikely to develop a sense of belonging to a genuine community of citizens.

Plan de l'article • Introduction • 1. The we feeling in Habermas — 1.1. The public sphere as a source of political legitimacy
— 1.2. The public sphere as the vector of horizontal attachments
— 1.3. The socialising function of conflict within a Community of norms
• 2. The Public Sphere and Institutional Structures in the Habermasian Model • 3. The EU Institutional Context as a Biased ‘Filter’ — 3.1. The EU institutional bias
— 3.2. The ECJ as a predisposed vector of the periphery
— 3.3. The EP as an inhibited Vector of the Periphery
• 4. Feed-back mechanisms between vertical and horizontal forms of attachments• Conclusion • BIBLIOGRAPHIE

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Kwasniewski Aleksander

Yes, the EU has a 'world view'; Perhaps too many

in Europe´s World, Issue 13, Autumn

European countries' very different histories mean EU governments often lack a firm basis for policy appraisals. Former Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski traces the growth of common attitudes to global issues despite these differences.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21482/Default.aspx

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Pollak Johannes, Slominski Peter

Zwischen De- und Reparlamentarisierung - Der österreichische Nationalrat und seine Mitwirkungsrechte in EU-Angelegenheiten

in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 2009/2

Between De- and Reparliamentarization - the Role of the Austrian Parliament in EU Affairs

The Austrian Parliament enjoys, at least from a formal point of view, significant power to influence the EU policy-making process. However, empirical evidence shows that despite the strengthening of these rights, the involvement of the Austrian parliament in EU politics is rather modest thus confirming the wide-spread "deparliamentarization" thesis. The objective of this article is to challenge this view arguing that it does not suffice to merely focus on formal rights and how they are used in parliamentary practice. Indeed, in the shadow of binding opinions, the working style of the two EU committees of the Austrian parliament is based on a considerable degree of deliberation widely absent of party politics which does not only lead to an increased exchange of information and positions among MPs as well as between MPs and the executive but can also be regarded as a form of reparliamentarization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Schmidt Vivien A.

État-région, une nouvelle identité pour l'Union européenne ?

in Politique Etrangère, n. 3, automne

On peut concevoir l'UE comme un État-région, entité dotée des qualités et pouvoirs d'un État dans des domaines de plus en plus étendus, avec des frontières mouvantes et la participation différenciée des États membres aux politiques communautaires. Les visions actuelles de l'UE, qui se font concurrence, ne pourront se réconcilier qu'après une double rupture, avec la règle de l'unanimité, et avec la logique d'uniformité. Ces changements fondamentaux permettraient d'avancer vers la constitution d'un véritable État-région, où s'approfondiraient et se diffuseraient des coopérations différenciées. Ceci suppose aussi une démocratisation des institutions européennes, ainsi que le développement de

politiques économiques propres à l'Union.

We can conceive the EU as a region-state, entity endowed with the qualities and the powers of a state in more and more spread domains, with unstable borders and the participation differentiated by Member states in community. The current conflicting views concerning the future of the European Union presumably require a double departure from the current setup: a departure from the rule of unanimity and from the idea of uniformity. Such fundamental changes would allow the EU to move towards the creation of a true region-state in which differentiated cooperation would be strengthened. This also presupposes a democratization of the European institutions, as well as the development of economic policies that are specific to the European Union.

http://www.ifri.org/files/publi_pe_3_2009_schmidt.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Höreth Marcus
Überangepasst und realitätsentrückt. Zur Paradoxie der Theorie der deliberativen Demokratie in der EU
in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 19. Jahrgang (2009), Heft 3 , 307-330

Overly Adaptive and Out of Touch With Reality
The Paradox of the Theory of Deliberative Democray in the EU

The theory of "deliberative" democracy has dominated the debate on legitimate governance beyond the nation-state for some time. However, it suffers from a peculiar shortcoming: it is both "overly adapted" to, and yet "out of touch" with political reality. It is overly adapted because it interprets the detachment of supranational decision-makers not as objectionable from a democratic standpoint, but rather as a normative added value. At the same time, it is out of touch because it fails to recognize that patterns of interaction in European decisionmaking processes only coincide with the principles of deliberative democracy in a few exceptional cases. While that by no means diminishes the virtues of deliberative theory in and of itself, it does give reason to serious doubts about its claims to being a European democratic theory.

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Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
García Galán José Luis
ASEM, nuevos escenarios en la cooperación euroasiática
in Politica Exterior, 129

Si Europa quiere ser relevante en el tablero global, debe ser relevante en Asia, en sus principales potencias y en el conjunto del continente a la vez. El modelo de cooperación de ASEM ha demostrado desde 1996 su eficacia a la hora de generar consensos entre europeos y asiáticos y entre los propios

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Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Won-Mog Choi
Aggressive Regionalism in Korea–U.S. FTA: The Present and Future of Korea's FTA Policy
in Journal of International Economic Law, Volume 12, Number 3 , 595-615

The Korea–US Free Trade Agreement (FTA) is a result of a paradigm shift from traditional regionalism, which deals mostly with customs–border issues, to 'aggressive regionalism' that codifies a whole-scale problem-solving process. A series of age-old bilateral trade disputes, such as the automobile trade imbalance, unethical business practices in pharmaceuticals and medical devices and effective protection of copyrights, were actively addressed between Korea and the United States, and permanent solutions to the problems were sought in the form of stable and binding FTA rules. New global or regional issues, such as the non-implementation of WTO panel decisions and South and North Korea's economic cooperation, were also dealt with.

When negotiating future FTAs, Korea will continue to take the problem-solving approach based on this aggressive regionalism. Particular focus will be given to such sensitive issues regarding the trade remedy system, unfair business practices, sanitary and food safety and economic engagement policies towards North Korea. As Korea becomes part of more FTAs, transaction costs caused by fragmented FTAs will become an economic issue. In order to reduce the costs of the aggressive regionalism policy, Korea must adopt the advanced level of accumulation system for the rules of origin and it should endeavour to ultimately harmonize varying rules among FTAs. This strategy may start by linking to other FTAs. It is suggested that achieving such 'multilateral regionalism' should be a long-term task for Korea.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Martha O'Brien
Canada, Capital Movements, and the European Union: Some Tax Implications
in Canadian Tax Journal, Volume 57, Number 2 , 259 - 91

Most preferential trade and investment agreements carefully exclude direct taxation (corporate and individual income taxes, capital taxes, and wealth and inheritance taxes) from the benefits that they offer, such as non-discrimination and the prohibition ofsubsidies. The treaty that establishes the European Community is unique in two ways.
First, it prohibits member states of the European Union from applying provisions in their national direct tax law that inhibit the free movement of workers, services, capital, establishment, and eu citizens within the European Union.
Second, it extends theliberalization of capital movements to and from third countries on a non-reciprocal basis.
In this article, the author examines the developing body of tax case law emanating from the Court of Justice of the European Communities concerning the third-country dimension of the free movement of capital, including limitations on this freedom. The implications for the taxation of capital movements between Canada and the European Union are then examined, with particular emphasis on the possible implications for the taxation of dividends and interest payments between eu-member states and Canadian investors.
Finally, the changes that will apply when and if the Treaty of Lisbon is ratified and the potential effects of closer eu-Canada trade ties on the third-country aspects of the free movement of capital are outlined.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
I.Guetat, F.Serranito
Convergence des pays de la région MENA vers le niveau de revenu des pays du Sud de l'Europe: une évaluation empirique
in Economie Appliquee, N. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Malamud Carlos
EE UU y América Latina: nueva etapa de una complicada relación
in Politica Exterior, 129

Estados Unidos ha sido, al igual que España, de los pocos países en tener una política para el conjunto de Latinoamérica. Los cambios en la región, sobre todo la mayor asertividad de algunos países, exigen ahora un trato diferenciado que potenciará las relaciones bilaterales.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Malamud Carlos
EE UU y América Latina: nueva etapa de una complicada relación
in Politica Exterior, 129

Estados Unidos ha sido, al igual que España, de los pocos países en tener una política para el conjunto de Latinoamérica. Los cambios en la región, sobre todo la mayor asertividad de algunos países, exigen ahora un trato diferenciado que potenciará las relaciones bilaterales.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Burgat François
Europe and the Arab World: The dilemma of recognising counterparts
in International Politics , Volume 46, Issue 5, September , 616-635

Can the European Union (EU) secure the confidence of the Middle Eastern masses while being perceived as the ally and accomplice of two main adversaries of the Arab population, namely the Israeli state and the authoritarian Arab regimes, which are rightly accused to be violating international law and the same principles of good governance that the EU is purportedly promoting in the Middle East? Europe's inaccurate identification of suitable partners, within Arab civil society or opposition movements, and, most notably, its chronic inability in establishing meaningful relations with the emerging generation of moderate Islamic actors, has impacted negatively upon the EU's image in the Middle East, diminishing significantly the effectiveness of its regional policies.
Full text available at http://www.palgrave-journals.com/ip/journal/v46/n5/pdf/ip200916a.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Saari Sinikukka
European democracy promotion in Russia before and after the 'colour' revolutions
in Democratization, vol. 16, n. 4, August, Special Issue: DEMOCRACY PROMOTION BEFORE AND AFTER THE 'COLOUR REVOLUTIONS , 732-755

Abstract
This article explores international democracy promotion and its impact on Russian policies before and after the colour revolutions in the former Soviet Union. In particular, the article analyses the democracy promotion efforts of major European intergovernmental organizations - the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Council of Europe and the European Union - as well as NGOs working in Russia. The article demonstrates that European intergovernmental organizations gave political and economic considerations priority over more consistent and principled policy towards Russia in the 1990s and early 2000s. This instrumentalism partly explains Russia's current aggressive attitude towards international democracy promotion. Informed by the 'colour' revolutions in the former Soviet republics, this negative attitude has turned into a direct, openly articulated and internationally concerted action plan against democracy promotion. This article traces and analyses the shifting dynamics of the Russian challenge to Western democracy promotion. It cautions both against simplistic categorizations of 'democrats' and 'non-democratic forces' by democracy promoters and also against political favouritism linked to them. These categorizations rarely reflect complex reality and they are all too easily manipulated. Overall, the European intergovernmental organizations indirectly legitimized undemocratic practices in Russia in the name of promoting democracy and thus delegitimized their own democracy promotion efforts.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Solonenko Iryna
External democracy promotion in Ukraine: the role of the European Union
in Democratization, vol. 16, n. 4, August, Special Issue: DEMOCRACY PROMOTION BEFORE AND AFTER THE 'COLOUR REVOLUTIONS , 709-731

The article explores the role of the European Union in promoting democracy in Ukraine over the past decade and a half. It looks at both European Union (EU) policy and domestic factors and draws on the relevant experience of the Central and East European countries and the EU's role in their political transformation. The article argues that the EU's impact on Ukraine's democratization has so far been limited due to both the policy of the EU and domestic factors in Ukraine. In the early 1990s the EU chose not to treat Ukraine as one of the Central and East European countries, which determined the subsequent choice of policy instruments and reinforced the ambiguity of Ukraine's orientation. The EU has also failed to make its policy values-based, and a Russia-first policy persisted for a long time. Weak conditionality and socialization are other elements that have characterized the EU's policy towards Ukraine. As far as domestic factors are concerned, political competition was rather weak in Ukraine prior to 2000, and it was only in 2004 that it allowed the change of authority via elections. A lack of elite consensus on both the basic rules of the game and the country's overall orientation is another factor that has weakened the EU's impact on Ukraine's democratization. As long as the EU and

democracy are not the only alternatives that Ukraine may consider, the EU's impact will remain limited.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Reiterer Michael
From the (French) Mediterranean Union to the (European) Barcelona Process: The 'Union for the Mediterranean' as Part of the European Neighbourhood Policy
in European Foreign Affairs Review, Volume 14, Issue 3 , 313-336

The Mediterranean remains a crucial area for the EU. Among other things, it is the Union's gateway to the crucial oil of the Gulf states, therefore political stability in the region is vital. This paper looks at EU attempts to forge a relationship with the Mediterranean through particularly the ENP. It concludes with the realisation that it reamins a 'region under construction', and offers some insights gained from an analysis of successful interregionalism offered by the Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) process, and highlights some common as well as diverging features between these two forms of cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Van Der Meulen Evert Faber
Gas Supply and EU-Russia Relations
in Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 61, n. 5, July , 833-856

Drawing on New Institutional Economics (NIE) theory, the article argues that EU energy policy towards Russia damages security of supply because it neglects the specific aims and propensities of Russia and Gazprom. EU Commission initiatives are based on the promotion of interdependence through market opening, favouring a policy of competition over security of supply. The reason for this focus is found in the EU's embedded inclination towards liberal markets. Russia, by contrast, has chosen suboptimal state control of natural resources over the frontier capitalism of the 1990s. Sustainability of the current rent based system and geopolitical considerations are essential to Russia and Gazprom. In this situation a pragmatic approach that aims at security of supply and security of demand seems to be more successful. In this approach, liberalisation of the market can only be a long-term goal.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Asseburg Muriel, Perthes Volker
Is the EU Up to the Requirements of Peace in the Middle East?
in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLIV, n. 3, July - September , 19-25

The outlook for conflict settlement in the Middle East is gloomy, and the chances for a new round of peace talks being initiated by the parties in the region are next to zero. US President Barack Obama has announced that he wants to engage "aggressively" in favour of Middle East peace making and has taken first encouraging steps in that direction. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the US President can achieve conflict settlement largely on his own.

Europeans should therefore rethink their policy approaches -- above all, how to deal with Hamas, the Gaza Strip and how to push the peace process forward -- and seek a more effective division of labour and coordination with the Obama administration.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Buhigas Schubert Carlos
La UE y la eficacia de la ayuda al desarrollo
in **Politica Exterior**, 131

Duplicación de estrategias, proyectos, misiones. El impacto de la ayuda al desarrollo de la UE presenta las mismas contradicciones que su acción exterior común. El mayor donante mundial necesita más coordinación y un perfil coherente con el que proyectarse en el mundo.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Julia Marion
La dmocratie dans le projet politique de l'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie
in **Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 97, Issue 399, December

La Francophonie is an organisation of states united in their common linguistic and historical heritage. It is similar to the Commonwealth in a number of ways, and in particular in believing that democracy is the best political model, even if it is sometimes absent in certain member states. The aim of this paper is to identify how the two organisations have similar or different conceptions of how democracy should be defended or promoted. It will put the concept of democracy into its historical context and show how La Francophonie has tried implement democratic reforms and aims.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Cienfuegos Mateo Manuel, Jovtis Ignacio
Las negociaciones del Acuerdo de Asociación entre la Unión Europea y Centroamérica: Estado actual y perspectivas
in **Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales**, Número 17/ 2009

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Philippe Rgnier
New development of agro-food small business linkages between Southeast Asia and Western Africa
in **Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)**, Volume 14 Issue 3 , 227 - 245

The paper deals with agro-food trade promotion of small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in Southeast Asia and Western Africa and between the two regions. The discussion covers (1) the capacity of Southeast Asian and Western African agro-food SMEs to access domestic, regional and possibly global markets and (2) the role of international cooperation (public and private) to promote agro-food SME trade within and outside Southeast Asia and Western Africa, respectively. Two types of South-South trade emerging innovations are identified in the field of SME agro-business matching: (1) the promotion of existing and new business linkages between Southeast Asian and Western African agro-food SMEs (trade, finance and appropriate technology transfer) and (2) the promotion of public-private partnerships to facilitate agro-food SME business linkages between far distant Southeast Asia and Western Africa.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Ingram Derek
The Commonwealth Needs More Movers and Shakers
in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 98, Issue 404, October

The Commonwealth is short of imaginative leaders after the outstanding generations of Nehru, Trudeau, Nyerere, Lee Kuan Yew, Mandela, and Manley. Yet more than other international bodies it depends on the energy, ideas and personal contact of the people at the top. Democracy is producing a greater turnover of heads of government, but in this hurried world Commonwealth summits are now down to three days and the leaders are not getting enough time to get to know each other face to face in the way that they did in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Between the 2007 summit in Kampala and the 2009 meeting in Port of Spain (27-29 November), 17 new heads of government have taken over. Yet the association is thriving and growing, especially as the work of its civil society organisations grows apace.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Marshall Peter
The Commonwealth at 60
in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 98, Issue 404, October

The London Declaration of 26 April 1949, made by Commonwealth Prime Ministers, was an act of statesmanship of rare insight and imagination, as was its approval by King George VI. It paved the way for the emergence of a voluntary forward- and outward-looking association of sovereign, independent governments and peoples, alive to their common values and traditions, and conscious of the contribution they can together bring to making the world a better place. The Commonwealth is an international asset as well as a boon to its members.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Ware Zoë
The Commonwealth at 60: Thoughts from the New Generation
in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 98, Issue 404, October

This article offers some thoughts about the Commonwealth in its 60th anniversary year by a young observer from the

'new generation'. It argues that the Commonwealth must pay particular attention to creating a positive first impression on young people, so that it can be defined through the relevance of its current actions rather than through history books. It suggests that, in a crowded international marketplace, the Commonwealth must identify a Unique Selling Point that will be of long-term value to its members, and prove that it can do things and reach places that other international associations cannot. Its shared commitments and values give the Commonwealth the potential to be a true voice of moral authority on the world stage. Yet until the Commonwealth can truly be defined by its Harare principles, rather than with reference to the historical bonds that originally threw it together, it will struggle to transcend the inaccurate image which young people hold of it. The article concludes by looking forward to the global challenges, questions of membership and expansion, and the sensitive issue of Headship that the Commonwealth will be faced with before its 100th birthday.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Banerji Amitav
The Commonwealth of Nations: A Force for Democracy in the 21st Century?
in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 97, Issue 399, December

Le Commonwealth des Nations, qui n'est pas britannique, qui n'est pas une « anglophonie » et qui n'a pas priclit, contrairement aux prdictions de certains critiques du 20me sicle, est une force majeure pour la dmocratie dans le monde. Retraant les grandes tapes de l'affirmation des principes dmocratiques du Commonwealth, Amitav Banerji dmontre que la politique innovante du Commonwealth vise soutenir activement dmocratie et dmocratisation dans les pays membres tout en n'excluant pas les sanctions, comme le soulignent la cration et les dcisions du CMAG (Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group). La culture dmocratique du Commonwealth accorde une place centrale l'impratif de dveloppement et ses actions, en expansion la demande mme de ses membres, refltent confiance, respect et exigences au sein de l'Organisation.

http://pdfserve.informaworld.com/377567__907384982.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Sikorski Radoslaw
The EU's "Eastern Partnership" with former Soviet states holds the key to relations with Russia
in Europe´s World, Issue 12, Summer

The joint Polish-Swedish initiative for strengthening the EU's ties with Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine is taking shape, says Radoslaw Sikorski, Poland's Foreign Minister. He explains why it will also be crucial to improving the European Union's relations with Russia.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21413/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation

Kausch Kristina

The European Union and Political Reform in Morocco

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 14, Issue 2, July , 165-179

Morocco is typically held up as a shining example of reform among Arab countries. Indeed, a series of important reforming measures has been taken during the last decade, leading to a level of political liberalism unseen in the region. The European Union and its member states have been key partners for Morocco on its way towards economic, social and political reform through substantial financial and political support. As of today, Morocco is the country which receives the largest amount of EU aid in the European Neighbourhood. At the same time, while the EU pushes economic reforms and integration vigorously forward, it displays far less stamina when it comes to putting pressure on Moroccan political elites to implement meaningful political reform. There is no doubt that the political reforms undertaken under the reign of King Mohammed VI have turned Morocco into an island of liberalism compared to its autocratic neighbours. Yet hopeful European talk of a regional model of democratization is misplaced. Political reforms, instead of being steps in a consistent, overarching process towards democracy, have been ad hoc, selective and often superficial. Most importantly, Morocco's semi-authoritarian power structures, and the concentration of all meaningful power in the hands of the palace, remain unchanged. Some wonder whether the upcoming new framework of EU-Moroccan partnership under the 'advanced status' will imply a substantive new impetus in this regard. Meanwhile, with the support of the EU and other international partners, Morocco is modernizing and partly liberalizing. But it remains far from - and might not even be heading towards - genuine democracy.

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Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation

Pace Roderick

The Mediterranean Union risks being stillborn

in Europe´s World, Issue 12, Summer

The high hopes that accompanied last year's launch in Paris of the "Union for the Mediterranean" are already becoming muted, writes Roderick Pace. He argues that the political cultures that so beset the Barcelona Process during its 10-year life are now condemning its successor to a similar fate.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21435/Default.aspx

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation

Amadio, D

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization in the Eurasian Security Mechanism

in Revue européenne de droit public, Vol. 20 - No. 3 , 1065 - 1088

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Kausch Kristina, Youngs Richard
The end of the `Euro-Mediterranean vision'
in International Affairs , vol. 85, issue 5, september , 963-975

ABSTRACT: Relations between the European Union and North Africa have veered away from the political vision expounded under the Barcelona Process. The Union for the Mediterranean will likely deepen this trend. The Euro-Mediterranean space is increasingly characterized by competitive, containment-based and exclusionary security strategies. The more political dimensions of the partnership are now given short shrift and the EU appears inattentive to the dynamics of change within North African societies. Countries such as Spain and the UK have been overly passive in rescuing the Euro-Med vision from French diplomacy and the nature of relations between Europe and North Africa are increasingly out of sync with the changing international system.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Stewart Susan
The interplay of domestic contexts and external democracy promotion: lessons from Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus
in Democratization, vol. 16, n. 4, August, Special Issue: DEMOCRACY PROMOTION BEFORE AND AFTER THE 'COLOUR REVOLUTIONS , 804-824

A recurring theme in the democracy promotion literature over the past ten years has been the need for external actors engaged in democracy promotion to take the local context of the relevant country into account when designing and implementing their efforts. This conclusion starts from the premise that the 'colour revolutions' in Serbia, Georgia and Ukraine can serve as a test case for the ability of external actors to deal with changing local contexts. Drawing on the other articles in this special issue, it compares the contexts in these three countries before and after the 'colour revolutions' and assesses the responses of external actors to these contexts. In addition, it goes beyond these three cases to examine three non-'revolutionary' environments (Russia, Belarus and Azerbaijan), in which there have also been both domestic and foreign policy responses to the 'colour revolutions'. The article concludes that each 'revolution' resulted in a boost in external funding both overall and for democracy promotion, as well as in a shift of funding away from civil society and towards state actors. This and other evidence indicates that external donors were more interested in a particular outcome than in elements of process where democratization is concerned. They appeared to support civil society less out of a conviction that it is an important component of an underlying democratic structure and more as an instrument for achieving a specific result, that is the overthrow of a certain leader or regime. The analysis presented here indicates that future democracy promotion strategies should go beyond partnering with individuals and organizations to strengthen underlying political and societal structures which can contribute to sustainable democratization.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Hakim Peter

Una segunda oportunidad: EE UU y América Latina
in **Politica Exterior**, 129

Los cambios hacia Latinoamérica han comenzado en Cuba. Obama ha dejado claro su propósito de elaborar una agenda de futuro en el hemisferio. De México a Brasil, del narcotráfico a la inmigración, los primeros pasos apuntan a un nuevo marco de relaciones.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Weafer Christopher
Why EU-Russia frictions look set to an end
in **Europe´s World**, Issue 12, Summer

Russia's dwindling oil and gas earnings won't greatly change Europe's often fractious relationship with its great neighbour, says Christopher Weafer. But Russia is changing for a number of other reasons, making this a good time for the EU to improve its relations with the Kremlin.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21412/Default.aspx

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 1.Federalism
Abdul Rashid Moten
2004 and 2008 General Elections in Malaysia: Towards a Multicultural, Bi-party Political System?
in **Asian Journal of Political Science**, Volume 17, Issue 2 , 173 - 194

The Barisan Nasional (BN), which won a landslide victory in 2004, was returned to power in the 2008 elections with reduced majority and the loss of five state assemblies. Dissatisfied with unfulfilled promises, the electorate protested by voting for a strong opposition. BN was additionally characterized by factionalism. Three major opposition parties joined hands on a platform of multiculturalism and, using alternative media, unexpectedly, won 82 seats in the parliament. A strong responsible opposition bodes well for multiculturalism and Malaysian democracy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 1.Federalism
Chunli, Xia
Autonomy and China's Ethnic Minorities: An Observation of Autonomous Legislatures
in **Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law**, Volume 9, Number 2 , 11-46

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Chunli, Xia

Autonomy and China's Ethnic Minorities: An Observation of Autonomous Legislatures

in **Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law**, Volume 9, Number 2 , 11-46

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Manning John F.

Federalism And The Generality Problem In Constitutional Interpretation

in **Harvard Law Review**, Vol. 122 · June 2009 · No. 8 , 2003-2069

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Fiseha Assefa

Federalismo e soluzioni di convivenza delle diversità etniche: un'analisi dell'esperimento etiopico

in **Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, n. 1 , 226 ff.

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Raihanah Mohd. Mydin

Malaysia and the author: face-to-face with the challenges of multiculturalism

in **International Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies (The)**, Volume 5, No 2, July , 43–63

Multiculturalism, or the plurality of ethnicity and culture, a colonial legacy, is still a contested issue in present day postcolonial Malaysia. The lack of ethnic interaction in plural Malaya has had repercussions on various spheres of society. This paper considers the impact of Malaysia's management of diversity on the country's literary scene. The paper addresses how multiculturalism presents a challenge for Malaysian writers in English both in their choice of language and in their representation of society. The conclusion drawn from the discussion highlights that through their 'authorial-defined' social reality, Malaysian writers in English take distinct yet constructive efforts at representing the personal, communal and national needs of the people.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Jungug Choi

Strategic Voting in India: Its Extent and Determinants in the 2004 General Election

in Asian Survey , Volume 49, Number 4, July/August , 609–624

This study explores the issue of "strategic voting" in India by using individual-level, nationwide survey data from the 2004 general election. It finds that Indian voters are more "strategic" than "expressive" if their preferred party is unlikely to win a given parliamentary seat. Furthermore, the variables of being Muslim and education are found not to be statistically significant determinants of strategic voting.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Dinan John, Gamkhar Shama

The State of American Federalism 2008–2009: The Presidential Election, the Economic Downturn, and the Consequences for Federalism

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 39, n. 3, Summer, Special Issue: The State of American Federalism 2008–2009 , 369-407

The most consequential developments for American federalism in 2008–2009 were the presidential election and economic recession. After several years when states were the primary innovators on many issues that topped the policy agenda, the economic downturn drew renewed attention to federal policy-making, given the greater resources and capacities of the federal government. Although federalism was not a dominant issue in the presidential campaign, Barack Obama's election and sizable Democratic congressional gains had important implications for federal-state relations by putting federal power in the service of a different set of policy goals, encouraging state experimentation on a different set of policy issues, and producing a greater willingness to respond to state pleas for financial assistance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Engel Kirsten H.

Whither Subnational Climate Change Initiatives in the Wake of Federal Climate Legislation?

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 39, n. 3, Summer, Special Issue: The State of American Federalism 2008–2009 , 432-454

The imminent prospect of federal climate change legislation raises two questions: will state and local governments continue to press forward with climate change initiatives in the wake of congressional action and, if so, what is the likelihood these initiatives will survive the threat of federal preemption? The article concludes that state and local action on climate change is motivated only in part by the federal government's failure to adopt a national climate regulatory program and hence is likely to continue and perhaps even intensify. While a cap and trade program is likely to preempt state regulation of emissions allowances, it is unlikely to preempt many of the climate initiatives being pursued. However, the effect upon existing regional cap and trade regimes remains the biggest question mark.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Grace David

Why is so Hard to Federate Europe? A comparison of American and European experience of adopting a constitution

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXII, n. 2, July , 44-47

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Rosen Daniel H., Hanemann Thilo

Il rebus cinese

in **Aspenia**, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 158-166

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Kronenberg Volker

'Verfassungs- patriotismus' im vereinten Deutschland

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 28, 2009

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/B8EJIE,0,Verfassungs_patriotismus_im_vereinten_Deutschland.html

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Argast Regula

An unholy alliance: Swiss citizenship between local legal tradition, federal laissez-faire, and ethno-national rejection of foreigners 1848-1933

in **European Review of History - Revue Européene d'Histoire**, Volume 16, Issue 4, August , 503-521

This article traces the development of the federal structure of Swiss citizenship between the founding of the federal state in 1848 and the entrenchment of a restrictive naturalisation and establishment policy in the interwar period. Considering the difficult integration of foreign residents through naturalisation in the past and present in Switzerland, the author examines the causes for the granting and refusal of Swiss citizenship. She shows that the development of and arrangements for access to Swiss citizenship cannot be reduced only to notions about the Swiss nation or national interests. They are the result of a permanent process of political negotiation and coordination between the federation, cantons and local authorities; owing to its importance in social assistance matters, local citizenship constituted an impediment to naturalisation until well into the twentieth century. In contrast, the federation and certain cantons like Zurich, Basle and Geneva had sought since the 1880s to reduce the strongly increasing number of foreign residents by liberalising naturalisation. The outbreak of the Second World War put an end to these endeavours. With the rise of a

'new right' since 1900, the setting up of the Central Office of the Foreign Police in 1917, and the institutionalisation of the authorities' 'fight against foreign infiltration', Swiss nationality law became ethnicised. Cultural 'assimilation' into the 'particularity of Swiss society' was now regarded as a precondition for becoming a Swiss citizen. The new federal rejection of foreigners thus joined with the traditionally restrictive policy of local authorities in an unholy alliance that began to breach only in the 1980s.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Dakhli Leyla
Arabisme, nationalisme arabe et identifications transnationales arabes au 20e siècle
in Vingtième Siècle, n. 103

Cet article se penche sur l'histoire des pensées nationalistes arabes et du panarabisme. Il se situe à l'articulation entre les dimensions culturelle, politique et religieuse tout au long du siècle. Cet angle d'étude permet d'échapper à la vision étroite d'un nationalisme arabe originel, purement laïc par nature, dégagé au départ de toute influence religieuse et culturelle. En revenant sur l'importance des composantes linguistique et littéraire dans la structuration initiale de l'« arabité », en rappelant également que l'islamisme politique prend racine dans les premières décennies du siècle, l'article remet en cause la chronologie qui limite ces idéologies à leur seule incarnation autoritaire, dans les années 1950-1960, pour présenter le paysage composite d'une arabité aux aspérités multiples et aux fréquentes reconfigurations.

This article deals with the history of nationalist Arab thinking and of Pan-Arabism. It is situated at the intersection of the cultural, political and religious dimensions throughout the century. This angle of study makes it possible to escape the narrow vision of a primary Arab nationalism, purely secular by nature, freed at the outset from all religious and cultural influence. By emphasizing the importance of the linguistic and literary element in the initial structuration of Arabity, by recalling that political Islamism took root in the first decades of the century, the article challenges the chronology that limits these ideologies to their authoritarian incarnation alone in the 1950s and presents the composite landscape of an Arabity with many facettes and frequent reshaping.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Stilz Anna
Civic Nationalism and Language Policy
in Philosophy and Public Affairs, Volume 37, Issue 3, Summer 2009 , 257-292

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Green Elliott D., Banton Michael, Guibernau Montserrat, Laitin David
Debate on David Laitin's 'Nations, States, and Violence. Fifth 'Nations and Nationalism' debate on David Laitin's

'Nations, States, and Violence'
in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 15, Issue 4, October 2009 , 557-574

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Hirschhausen von Ulrike
From imperial inclusion to national exclusion: citizenship in the Habsburg monarchy and in Austria 1867-1923
in European Review of History - Revue Européene d'Histoire, Volume 16, Issue 4, August , 551-573

This paper examines the development of citizenship in Austria-Hungary between 1867 and the 1920s. At the beginning, the paper analyses the reform of citizenship laws in both Austria and Hungary after the Settlement of 1867. Whilst the Austrian citizenship law maintained legal traditions stretching back into the first half of the nineteenth century, the new Hungarian citizenship law of 1878 emulated the laws in effect in Wilhelmine Germany. The basis of Hungarian citizenship law was, however, much broader than German law, in order to allow for the effective integration of the non-Magyar population. An evaluation of applications for Austrian naturalisation illustrates the remarkable capacity of Austrian citizenship law to integrate and to uphold a concept of nationality independent from ethnicity, religious denomination, class or gender. Only during, and above all after, the First World War did the inclusive practice of the Cisleithanian bureaucracy give way to the more exclusive policy of the new German-Austrian Republic, as civil servants now introduced the vague notion of 'race' as a criterion for naturalisation. In contrast to Tsarist Russia and the Second German Empire, both of which introduced similar agendas for nationalisation in the latter part of the nineteenth century linking citizenship to ethnic and religious identity, the Habsburg Monarchy remained basically untouched by such tendencies and with the constitutionally guaranteed principle of 'national equality' upheld its early modern tradition of ethnic and religious tolerance well into the later Imperial period.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Aubry Bernard, Tribalat Michèle
I giovani stranieri di Francia
in Aspenia, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 191-199

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Rossi Sergio A.
Il paradosso russo: la potenza antidemografica
in Aspenia, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 167-175

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Sanchez Marcela
Investire nel futuro latinoamericano
in Aspenia, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 147-148

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Cabrita Joel
Isaiah Shembe's Theological Nationalism, 1920s-1935
in Journal of Southern African Studies, Volume 35, Issue 3, September , 609-625

This article situates the early twentieth-century writings of the South African Nazarethal church and its founder, Isaiah Shembe, within a broader context of Zulu nationalism. Accounts of Zulu nationalism in this period have focused on the role of the Zulu king as a unifying symbol. The Nazaretha church, however, developed a strong polemic against the monarchy, and instead positioned its own leader, Isaiah Shembe, as the unifying national figure of the Zulu. In a fraught relationship between the two institutions, the church denounced the contemporary king, Solomon kaDinuzulu, as well as the historical monarchy, as sinful. By contrast, chiefly converts to the church were used as a template of virtuous political leadership for the nation. This study of Nazaretha 'theological nationalism' - a discourse that, to legitimate itself, posited national unity on ideas of virtue, healing, peacefulness, repentance and submission to Jehovah's dictates - suggests that Zulu nationalism could be a medium for criticising the African kholwa-monarchical élite of the day. Shembe's nationalism also demonstrates the importance of Independent churches to public debate in early twentieth-century Natal and Zululand.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Della Pergola Sergio
Israele e Palestina: la demografia come identità
in Aspenia, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 149-157

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Manent Pierre
La democrazia senza la nazione?
in Quaderni di Scienza Politica, anno XVI, n. 2, agosto , 247-268

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Molinari Maurizio
La giovane nazione di Obama
in Aspenia, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 140-146

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Golini Antonio
Le età dei popoli
in Aspenia, n. 44, marzo, "L'età delle nazioni" , 130-139

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
March Luke
Managing Opposition in a Hybrid Regime: Just Russia and Parastatal Opposition
in Slavic Review, vol. 68, n. 3, Fall , 504-527

In this article Luke March explores the Russian authorities' efforts to "manage democracy" through the creation of "parties of power." It focuses on the quasi-leftist party Just Russia, one of four parties currently represented in the Russian Duma and the only one that represents a "parastatal" opposition (opposition owned and controlled by the state). The history of Just Russia tells us much about the dynamics of what Andrew Wilson has described as Russia's "virtual politics": the regime must continually organize manageable quasi-opposition parties in order to bolster its democratic credentials and channel real social discontent, yet whenever it does so effectively, it quickly creates a potential political threat that must be neutralized. Just Russia has parallels in other authoritarian party systems, such as Mexico under the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) or Nigeria under Abacha and Babangida; the main difference in contemporary Russia lies in the remarkable skill with which Russian state actors conjure up and promote ersatz parties. Nevertheless, even in Russia, virtual politics may become real politics in the longer term.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Robertson Graeme B.
Managing Society: Protest, Civil Society, and Regime in Putin's Russia
in Slavic Review, vol. 68, n. 3, Fall , 528-547

Postcommunist Russia has become a paradigmatic case of contemporary authoritarianism in which elections coexist with autocratic rule. In this paper, Graeme B. Robertson argues that it is vital for the stability of such hybrid regimes for incumbents to maintain an image of political invincibility. This means intensively managing challenges both during elections and in the streets. To do this, Vladimir Putin's regime has built on the Soviet repertoire of channeling and inhibiting protest, creating a new system for licensing civil society and crafting ersatz social movements that rally support for the state. This contemporary style of repression has become a model for authoritarian regimes in the post-Soviet space and elsewhere.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Marat Erica
Nation Branding in Central Asia: A New Campaign to Present Ideas about the State and the Nation
in Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 61, n. 7, September , Special Issue: Politics of the Spectacular: Symbolism and Power in Central Asia , 1123-1136

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Antonsich Marco
National identities in the age of globalisation: The case of Western Europe
in National Identities, vol. 11, n. 3, September , 281-299

In an age of increasing globalisation and political fragmentation, does the nation have the relevance it once had? Is the re-scaling of political and economic processes associated with a similar re-scaling of national identities? The aim of the present paper is to offer an answer to these two questions on the basis of both quantitative and qualitative data recently collected for Western Europe. Cross-country trends for both national pride and national attachment are analyzed through Eurobarometer Standard surveys. Furthermore, the notion of national attachment is discussed in relation to qualitative data collected in four regional case-studies in Western Europe. On the basis of this analysis I argue that, when viewed 'from below', i.e. from the eyes of ordinary citizens, national identity continues to shape the predominant ways in which people make sense of themselves and others.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Beissinger Mark R.
Nationalism and the Collapse of Soviet Communism
in Contemporary European History , vol. 18, n. 3, August – Special Issue , 331-347

This article examines the role of nationalism in the collapse of communism in the late 1980s and early 1990s, arguing that nationalism (both in its presence and its absence, and in the various conflicts and disorders that it unleashed) played an important role in structuring the way in which communism collapsed. Two institutions of international and cultural control in particular – the Warsaw Pact and ethnofederalism – played key roles in determining which communist

regimes failed and which survived. The article argues that the collapse of communism was not a series of isolated, individual national stories of resistance but a set of interrelated streams of activity in which action in one context profoundly affected action in other contexts – part of a larger tide of assertions of national sovereignty that swept through the Soviet empire during this period.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Devarenne Nicole
Nationalism and the Farm Novel in South Africa, 1883-2004
in Journal of Southern African Studies, Volume 35, Issue 3, September , 627-642

From Schreiner's The Story of an African Farm (1883) to Van Niekerk's Agaat (2004), the farm novel has reflected South Africa's experience of colonial conflict, white supremacy, gender struggle and nationalism. Revisited at key historical moments, the farm novel describes a deterministic relationship between genre and ideology, drawing attention to the role a particular fictional mode has played in justifying the disenfranchisement of blacks and the disempowerment of women. The social context in which the Afrikaans farm novel developed was one of emerging Afrikaner nationalism; it lent credibility to a story about Afrikaners' rural origins that provided an illusion of continuity in South African history and a description of an unchanging Afrikaner identity. Since the 1960s, leftist Afrikaans writers, concerned with the role the early farm novel played in promoting white supremacy, have rewritten it in order to deconstruct its themes and tropes. J.M. Coetzee's English-medium challenge to the farm novel genre, in his fiction and elsewhere, can be viewed in this context. Increasingly, since the end of apartheid, feminist versions of the genre have articulated connections between nationalist ideology, the canon and the representation of gender. I view recent rewritings by Marlene van Niekerk, particularly, as a challenge to both literary convention and racist-masculinist ideology. Her work draws attention to the genre's importance in describing the relationship between white supremacy and land ownership; moreover, it proposes new directions for the study of pastoral traditions in South African writing.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Prytherch David
New Euroregional Territories, Old Catalanist Dreams?
in European Urban and Regional Studies, Volume 16, No. 2 , 131-145

This article analyses the history of the Euroregionalist idea of a so-called Mediterranean Arc. By tracing historical debates about the economic integration of neighbouring Catalan-speaking regions in the North-western Mediterranean, I explore how economic restructuring and cultural regionalism/ nationalism can be synthesized within the `New Regionalist' politics of the economic macroregion or Euroregion. Emerging European regions are at the centre of theoretical debates about state rescaling and new regionalism. Recent scholarship now points past structurally overdetermined interpretations of regionalization — focused exclusively on economic globalization, European integration, and state institutions — towards empirically rich, cultural-economic analyses exploring how economy and culture are dialectically co-constituted and articulated relationally. I offer such a case-study of the century-old Catalan national project of integrating Valencia with Catalunya as the core of a wider macroregion, now called the Euroregion of the Mediterranean Arc. Analysing writings by prominent Valencian Catalanists over a century reveals how the economic and cultural have long been dialectically synthesized and articulated relationally in a macroregion said to be

economically competitive, Catalan-speaking, and linked more to the Mediterranean and Europe than Madrid.And it suggests neither Euroregionalism nor new regionalism is particularly new in places like Valencia and the Mediterranean Arc.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Maibom Heidi L., Bennett Fred
Patriotic Virtue
in **Political Studies**, Volume 57, Issue 3, October , 639-659

Some philosophers argue that the state and its citizens stand in a morally privileged position vis-à-vis one another, but not towards other states or citizens. However, many of those people, particularly philosophical liberals, also hold that morally insignificant differences, such as place of birth, sex or ethnicity, should not affect rights, liberties and life prospects. On the face of it, these two sets of ideas appear incompatible and point to a conflict in some liberal thought. Liberal philosophers, like John Rawls, have attempted to reconcile these conflicting ideas. His attempt has attracted a great deal of criticism, especially from those liberals attracted to a more cosmopolitan point of view. In this article, we use Aristotelian virtue ethics as the basis upon which to reconcile liberalism and patriotism. We argue that the state should be understood as an agent that stands in a special relationship to its citizens (of philia). The state's virtue depends, in part, on it giving those citizens preferential treatment with regard to justice compared to citizens of other countries. Similarly, if citizens are to be just in their relations with their own state, they must behave in special ways towards that state as compared to other states. Certain forms of justice only arise in relationships of particular kinds.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Johnson Vernon D., Frombgen Elizabeth
Racial contestation and the emergence of populist nationalism in the United States
in **Social Identities**, Volume 15, Issue 5, September 2009 , 631-658

Much of the discussion surrounding nationalism still revolves around the ethnic versus civic nation divide. For purposes of this paper it is more useful to view the United States from the tri-modal perspective offered by Anderson, in which the United States is a creole (or settler) nation. All of Anderson's types can be seen as variants of ethnic nationalism. Kaufmann argues that the US evolved from ethnic to civic nationalism by the 1960s. This argument overlooks the importance of phenotype-based racism in the evolution of creole, or white settler colonial nationalism. We want to argue that US nationalism evolved from ethnic, to white racial nationalism in the interwar years. Since the 1920s, the political establishment has opted for civic nationalism that is based upon 'white assimilationism'. This civic nationalism has been challenged by multiculturalism since the 1960s. In the context of a democratic political culture, the content of American nationalism has become 'populist' in the sense that it has come under popular contestation from the assimilationist right and the multiculturalist left. This populist nationalism includes aspects of ethnic and civic nationalism. Racial formation theory will be used to show that national identity may remain under 'relatively permanent political contestation' with racial cleavage as a major fault line in that contest. The issues of immigration and the treatment of Muslims since 9/11 will be addressed in order to make the case.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Gallagher Tom
Scottish Democracy in a Time of Nationalism
in Journal of Democracy, Volume 20, Number 3, July , 56-70

The Scottish National Party (SNP) controls Scotland's devolved government just as support for complete separation from the rest of Great Britain is growing. The party is cautious about strengthening the democratic basis of Scottish governance and its nationalism is paradoxical. The SNP recoils from popular sovereignty being an enthusiastic backer of the European Union's plans for a post-national Europe. It also gives similar endorsement to radical forms of multiculturalism. But for all its incoherence it stands a real chance of breaking up the 300-year union state mainly due to the failure of its opponents to devise a convincing British counter-narrative or indeed a form of broad nationalism that falls short of separation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Gammerl Benno
Subjects, citizens and others: the handling of ethnic differences in the British and the Habsburg Empires (late nineteenth and early twentieth century)
in European Review of History - Revue Européene d'Histoire, Volume 16, Issue 4, August

This article focuses on the role of ethnic inclusions and exclusions in administering citizenship and nationality within the British and the Habsburg Empires. The analysis discerns three ways of dealing with ethnically heterogenous populations. One follows the nation-state model and aims for internal ethnic homogeneity and legal equality. This model coined developments in Canada and Hungary. The second obeys an imperialistic pattern and implements legal discrimination between different ethnic groups. It played a decisive role in East Africa and in Bosnia to a certain degree. The third model follows a statist logic and enforces either supra-ethnic neutrality or a politics of recognition. It was most influential in Austria and India. In the British as well as in the Habsburg context ethnic differences gained significance around 1900. This ethnicising of law and administrative practice produced different results, though, in both cases, mainly due to the empires' divergent political structures. Whereas within the Habsburg Empire the three models were juxtaposed, British law and administration came to be dominated by the imperialistic pattern of ethnic discrimination against 'non-white' subjects. Thus, the customary distinction between a politically inclusive nationalism in Western Europe and an ethnically exclusive one in the continent's Eastern half - sometimes linked with the difference between ius soli and ius sanguinis - cannot be upheld.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Shaery-Eisenlohr Roschanack
Territorializing Piety: Genealogy, Transnationalism, and Shi‘ite Politics in Modern Lebanon
in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 51, Issue 3, July , 533-562

Genealogies—representations of kinship and narratives of origin—are in the transnational Shi‘ite world intimately connected to politics of piety, the production of nationalism, and struggles over authority. In this essay, I am concerned

with certain inflections in the links between genealogy and piety that make these terms central to contests over notions of territoriality in contemporary Shi'ite politics. Nationalism replaces the sovereignty of God with the exclusive sovereignty of a "people" over a clearly demarcated territory, but religious language, identifications, and imagery often play prominent roles in how the imagined community of the nation is fashioned and delimited. Here I will show how, mediated through genealogy, religious leaders and pious movements with transnational ties produce religious authority, and create links to territory, to assert themselves as exemplary cultural citizens.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
de la Calle Luis, Sánchez-Cuenca Ignacio
The End of Three Decades of Nationalist Rule: The 2009 Regional Elections in the Basque Country
in South European Society & Politics, Volume 14, Issue 2, June , 211-226

Regional elections in the Basque Country on 1 March 2009 put an end to three decades of nationalist rule by the PNV. Although the PNV won the elections, the nationalist forces did not get a majority of seats in the Basque Parliament. A new minority government, led by the Socialist party, has been formed with the parliamentary support of the Spanish conservative party. This article analyses these crucial elections, the electoral changes that have taken place with regard to previous ones, and the possible consequences for the vexed issue of terrorism in the near future.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Colton Timothy J., Hale Henry E.
The Putin Vote: Presidential Electorates in a Hybrid Regime
in Slavic Review, vol. 68, n. 3, Fall , 473-503

What leads people to vote for incumbent presidents in hybrid regimes-political systems that allow at least some real opposition to compete in elections but that greatly advantage the authorities? Here, the case of Russia is analyzed through survey research conducted as part of the Russian Election Studies (RES) series. The RES has queried nationally representative samples of Russia's population both before and shortly after every post-Soviet presidential election there to date, those in 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008. Since Vladimir Putin himself ran as head of the United Russia slate in the 2007 parliamentary election, voting in that election is also considered. The analysis reveals that Putin has consistently won votes based on personal appeal, opposition to socialism, and a guardedly pro-western foreign policy orientation, among other things. Economic considerations are also very important, though they operate in a way that is more complex than sometimes assumed. President Dmitrii Medvedev generally benefited from these same factors in his election to the presidency.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Billion Jean-Francis, Prevel Jean-Luc
Henri Frenay and European Federalism in the French Resistance
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXII, n. 2, July , 41-42

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
De Angelis Gabriele
Ideals and Institutions: Hans Kelsen's Political Theroy
in History of Political Thought, Vol. 30, Issue 3 , 524-546

Well known as a theorist of law as well as the main drafter of the 1920 Austrian Constitution, Hans Kelsen's contribution to political theory has been paid considerably less attention. Yet not only do his writings on politics offer a significant picture of the 1920s political dilemmas of both the German Weimar Republic and post- war Austria, they also can be of considerable importance for contemporary political theory in as far as Kelsen opens up new perspectives on the links between ethical principles and political institutions. Political institutions rest on ethical principles that define the legitimate expectations that citizens nourish towards them. Such a relationship becomes manifest when claims are raised in public communication. The article aims to sketch the key aspects of Kelsen's political theory, to highlight the historical context in which it was developed, and to highlight the insights that it promises for current political research.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Bohman James
Living without Freedom. Cosmopolitanism at Home and the Rule of Law
in Political Theory , Volume 37, n. 4, August , 539-561

For Kant and many modern cosmopolitans, establishing the rule of law provides the chief mechanism for achieving a just global order. Yet, as Hart and Rawls have argued, the rule of law, as it is commonly understood, is quite consistent with "great iniquities." This criticism does not apply to a sufficiently robust, republican conception of the rule of law, which attributes a basic legal status to all persons. Accordingly, the pervasiveness of dominated persons without legal status is a a fundamental violation of the rule of law. This legal status can be understood in Kant's sense as an original "right to freedom," one that is not derived from or acquired by membership in a community or from citizenship. The realization of this kind of legal status can already be found in the "cosmopolitan constitutions" of many democracies, which include rights of persons (and not just citizens) to habeas corpus and other statuses that protect those vulnerable to domination. In order that all persons have the appropriate institutional space within which to exercise the powers of persons to address and make claims, institutions such as human rights courts to which those who lack legal status can appeal and be recognized are necessary for a form of the rule of law that is adequate to current circumstances.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Illing Peter
Montesquieu's Shadow: Debating reform in the Austrian Netherlands
in History of European Ideas, Volume 35, Issue 3, September , 330-336

Under the pressure of governmental reform, beginning in 1740 and intensifying from the 1770s, opponents of reform in

the Austrian Netherlands employed arguments derived from The Spirit of the Laws to contest the need for reform. However, reform had also been advocated by local powers using truisms publicised by The Spirit of the Laws, and during the political upheaval of 1789–1790, democrats and traditionalists clashed bitterly over the form of the new Belgian state, both citing Montesquieu to suit their purposes. This article seeks to trace and account for the influence and use of Montesquieu's thought in the Belgian context.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Pencak William
"Faithful Portraits of Our Hearts": Images of the Jay Family, 1725–1814
in Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal, vol. 7, n. 1, Spring , 82-108

Portraits played a major role in the lives of the family of Chief Justice John Jay during his generation and those of his father and grandfather. Most of the surviving portraits were executed explicitly for family members before, during, or after trans-Atlantic journeys. Further, the modest character of Jay and his wife, Sarah Livingston Jay, comes across in likenesses devoid of wigs and fancy jewelry. Only after 1795, as governor of New York, did Jay begin to wear a wig (at precisely the time they were going out of fashion) to symbolize his dedication to a "Whig" republicanism that he feared the incipient Democracy (both lower and upper cases) was threatening to replace. Portraits, which began as private keepsakes, became public signifiers of political principles.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Turnell Sean, Ussher Leanne J.
A 'New Bretton Woods': Kaldor and the Antipodean Quest for Global Full Employment
in Review of Political Economy (The), Volume 21 Issue 3 2009 , Pages 423 – 445

In 1949 Nicholas Kaldor co-authored a report whose recommendations, if implemented, would have revolutionized international economic policy-making. National and International Measures for Full Employment (NIFE) had been commissioned by the United Nations (UN). A capstone to efforts throughout the 1940s to transform international economic policy-making along Keynesian lines, NIFE was without precedent in the importance it accorded global effective demand in determining employment and trade outcomes, and in the commitments it required of governments - not only to their own people, but to other nations as well. For this it earned the enmity of many, including some prominent economists. In the end NIFE fell victim to the independence of nations within the UN and to changing world circumstances; the report was quietly shelved. Today it is little known, and to the extent that NIFE continues to be commented on, its ideas are presented as a step in the progressive shift of focus in Kaldor's thinking from national to global macroeconomics. We argue that, while Kaldor was the principal author of NIFE, credit for this global Keynesian policy must be shared equally with his Australian co-authors.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Dugin Aleksandr
After Tskhinvali. Interests and Values

in Russian politics and law, vol. 47, n. 3, May-June , 61-70

Throughout the armed conflict in the Caucasus, Russia demonstrated its might and proved itself right; the end of the battles also marked the end of the period of Russia's "pro-Western orientation," its trust in mythical "universal values."

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Devetak Richard
An Australian Outlook on International Affairs? The Evolution of International Relations Theory in Australia
in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 55, Issue 3, September , 335-359

Disciplinary histories of Australian International Relations (IR) theory have tended to focus on the 1960s — when a number of Australian scholars returned from the UK to take up posts at the Australian National University's Department of International Relations — as the beginning of a discipline that has subsequently flourished through various disciplinary debates and global events. This article offers a preliminary attempt at narrating a more complete history of Australian IR by beginning to recover much-neglected contributions made in the early interwar years. From these earliest years through to the current "era of critical diversity", it is argued, Australian scholars have made considerable contributions not just to the intellectual formation of an Australian outlook on international affairs, but to an understanding of international relations itself.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Vanhala Lisa
Anti-discrimination policy actors and their use of litigation strategies: the influence of identity politics
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 5 2009 , Pages 738 – 754

Paralleling the institutionalization of human rights in European Community (EC) law is a growing body of literature on the use of strategic litigation by policy actors to expand or enforce those rights. Until recently however, relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to the full range of factors which influence the use of strategic litigation by organizational actors. This paper assesses existing explanations of strategy choice and finds that the emphasis on political and legal opportunity approaches and resource-mobilization explanations has led to a neglect of other, potentially important, variables. I aim to remedy this gap in the literature by suggesting that the identity politics and framing processes of a social movement may play a significant role in influencing the take-up of a litigation strategy. Case studies of the disability movement and the lesbian and gay movement in the United Kingdom illustrate how these variables can shape strategy choice.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Bezhanishvili Zurab
Between Conflict and Partnership. Contemporary Developments in Russian-Georgian Relations
in Russian politics and law, vol. 47, n. 3, May-June , 19-35

At present, Russian-Georgian relations primarily address problems of regional security and territorial integrity. The opposition between Russia and Georgia grows out of their shared history and current efforts to modernize their states. Despite the potential for open military conflict, a partnership may yet emerge between these countries.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
M. O'Shannassy
Beyond the Barisan Nasional?: A Gramscian Perspective of the 2008 Malaysian General Election
in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs, Volume 31, Number 1, April , 88-109

The March 2008 general elections in Malaysia have been characterized as a political "tsunami" with opposition parties enjoying stunning electoral success both at the federal and state levels. In the aftermath of these elections further upheavals in the Malaysian political landscape have taken place. However, is Malaysia witnessing a truly progressive moment, one that is long-term and structural, or is this instead a short-term, regressive, "restorative" moment? More specifically, what do the 2008 elections mean as far as the continuing evolution of Malaysia's national identity is concerned? By adopting a Gramsican perspective and drawing upon some of Gramsci's key concepts this article endeavours to offer a more nuanced analysis of the recent elections and their meaning vis-à-vis (re)conceptions of national identity. In the process, this article seeks to explore the development and complex operation of hegemony with particular reference to notions of national identity in contemporary Malaysia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Overhaus Marco
Bosnie-Herzégovine : les limites de la gestion de crise à l'européenne
in Politique Etrangère, n. 3, automne

La crédibilité de l'Union européenne comme acteur de sécurité est en jeu en Bosnie-Herzégovine plus que partout ailleurs : sur plusieurs points cruciaux, la Bosnie-Herzégovine incarne la "gestion de crise à l'européenne. L'Union européenne a voulu mettre en place en Bosnie-Herzégovine les moyens d'une approche globale : instruments d'intervention civile, opérations militaires et de police, etc. Le bilan reste mitigé. Si la Bosnie-Herzégovine reste globalement stable, ses divisions politiques internes ont empêché des réformes de structure significatives. Et en dépit de tous ses efforts, l'Union européenne doit encore démontrer sa capacité à gérer une situation qui demeure complexe et relativement instable.

The credibility of the European Union as an actor of security is at stake in Bosnia and Herzegovina more than everywhere else: on several crucial points, Bosnia and Herzegovina embodies the crisis management in the European style. The European Union tried to implement the means for a global approach in Bosnia-Herzegovina: civil intervention tools, military and police operations... Results are inconclusive. Though Bosnia-Herzegovina is overall stable, the country's divisions have hindered significant structural reforms. And, in spite of its efforts, the European Union has yet to

demonstrate its capacity to handle a complex and relatively unstable situation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Hameiri Shahar
Capacity and its Fallacies: International State Building as State Transformation
in **Millennium: Journal of International Studies**, vol. 38, n. 1, august , 55-81

ABSTRACT: Considerable effort in recent years has gone into rebuilding fragile states. However, the debates over the effectiveness of such state-building exercises have tended to neglect that capacity building and the associated good governance programmes which comprise contemporary state building are essentially about transforming the state — meaning the ways in which political power is produced and reproduced. State capacity is now often presented as the missing link required for generating positive development outcomes and security. However, rather than being an objective and technical measure, capacity building constitutes a political and ideological mechanism for operationalising projects of state transnationalisation. The need to question prevailing notions of state capacity has become apparent in light of the failure of many state-building programmes. Such programmes have proven difficult to implement, and implementation has rarely achieved the expected development turnarounds or alleviation of violent conflict in those countries. In this article it is argued that, to identify the potential trajectories of such interventions, we must understand the role state building currently plays in domestic politics, and in particular, the ways in which processes of state transformation affect the development of different and often conflicting power bases within the state. This argument is examined using examples from the Australian-led Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Vaughn J.
Chechnya: Russia's War on Terror
in **The Slavonic and East European Review**, vol. 87, n. 3, July , 582-583

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Mller Michael G., Torp Cornelius
Conceptualising transnational spaces in history
in **European Review of History - Revue Européene d'Histoire**, Volume 16, Issue 5 October , pp. 609 - 617

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Haynes Jeffrey
Conclusion: religion, democratization and secularization
in **Democratization**, vol. 16, n. 6, December, Special Issue: “Religion and Democratizations” , 1282-1291

The overarching theme of this special issue was the attempts by various religious actors - Christian, Muslim, and Jewish - to try to assert their values and pursue their goals in variable political circumstances. We saw that they sought to do this in contexts characterized not only by secularization and political changes, some of which emanate from within countries, but also as a result of external pressures, often a consequence of globalization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Nootens Genevieve
Democracy and legitimacy in plurinational societies
in **Contemporary Political Theory**, Vol. 8, n. 3, August , 276-294

The paper's aim is to tackle some significant challenges faced by democratic theory in plurinational societies. Claims to recognition challenge the assumption of a 'people speaking in one voice' (namely, the assumption of the constituency as a homogeneous demos) and therefore, some basic tenets of liberal democracy. In a context where one cannot assume anymore a homogeneous demos, it is tempting to believe that there may be an independent, yet democratic, principle that may help us to solve the problem of the 'constitution of the demos.' Goodin argues that the all-affected interests principle is in fact the best principle of inclusion in democratic decision-making. Yet I argue that the all-affected interests principle is not really useful, at least as a starting point. But if this is so, and if the picture underlying modern democratic theory (the people as a nation) is seriously undermined by claims to recognition, how are the communities to which self-rule necessarily relates to be bounded?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Ciuffoletti Sofia
Diritti e doveri. I sessanta anni della Dichiarazione universale dei diritti dell’uomo: il caso dell’India
in **Clio - Rivista trimestrale di studi storici**, a. 45, n. 2 , 341-346

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Leonard Eric K.
El futuro de la justicia y la Corte Penal Internacional
in **Politica Exterior**, 131

En la búsqueda de la justicia, la Corte Penal Internacional (CPI) sigue siendo una institución con enormes posibilidades. A pesar de haber cumplido siete años de funcionamiento, recibir su 109ª ratificación y haber juzgado numerosos casos

en cuatro situaciones diferentes, siguen existiendo dudas

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
William Case
Electoral authoritarianism in Malaysia: trajectory shift
in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 22, Issue 3 , Special Issue: Contemporary Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia , 311 - 333

This paper proposes an analytical framework by which to understand the origins, functioning, and dynamics of electoral authoritarianism in Malaysia. It thus explores notions of historical legacies, structural pressures, critical junctures, and institutional formation. But in guarding against teleology, it also considers elite agency and 'stunning elections'. This framework is applied in the case of Malaysia because, in anticipating contemporary trends, the country has so long perpetuated a paradigmatic electoral authoritarian regime. And yet, with many countries growing similarly authoritarian today, Malaysia has suddenly become less so, with the government having been dealt a startling setback in its latest contest, held in March 2008, thus losing its extraordinary majority in parliament and control over five states. Hence, if democratization once again gains steam round the world, Malaysia may presage this trend too, with its electoral authoritarianism, long so resilient, perhaps poised today on the edge of transition.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Mark Rhinard
European Cooperation on Future Crises: Toward a Public Good?
in Review of Policy Research , Volume 26 Issue 4 , 439 - 455

As crises grow more transnational in origin and effect, managing them effectively will require international cooperation. This article explores the dilemmas inherent to producing common crisis management capacities across national governments. Drawing on the literature related to "international public goods," the article builds an approach for understanding these dilemmas through the lens of collective action and the perverse incentives associated therein. The article applies this approach to cooperation in Europe on an issue that typifies the transnational crisis—the spread of communicable disease—and highlights obstacles to European Union ambitions to build a robust system for disease surveillance and control. Having isolated the obstacles, the article then identifies solutions to facilitate cooperation toward more effectively producing the good in question.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Langford Peter
Extradition and fundamental rights: the perspective of the European Court of Human Rights
in International Journal of Human Rights (The), Volume 13, Issue 4, September , pp. 512 - 529

This paper provides a critical examination of the approach of the European Court of Human Rights to the process of extradition. It focuses upon the application of the European Convention of Human Rights to the processes of extradition, in the recent cases of Mamatkulov and Abdurasulovic v. Turkey and Shamayev and Others v. Georgia and Russia, in

order to reveal the inconsistencies and difficulties of the position of the European Court of Human Rights. These difficulties and inconsistencies are shown, in turn, to be the product of a broader, two-fold characterisation of extradition. This characterisation defines extradition as a process that involves the individual in an essentially administrative, non-criminal procedure. This definition is the result of the application of the Court's earlier case law, in particular, Maaouia v. France. This application is one in which formal extradition proceedings are held to belong, together with deportation and expulsion, to a wider category of state procedures that, as an integral part of state sovereignty, control the entry, residence and expulsion of aliens.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Lavrov Sergei
Face to Face with America. Between Nonconfrontation and Convergence
in Russian politics and law, vol. 47, n. 3, May-June , 45-60

Today, no one denies that the post-cold war world has turned out to be more complex than people expected fifteen years ago. According to all the indicators, we find ourselves at the most crucial stage of the transformation of the international system.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Lee-Koo Katrina
Feminist International Relations in Australia
in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 55, Issue 3, September , 415-432

Feminist International Relations (IR) scholarship has a small, but significant, presence in the Australian IR discipline. This presence, now over two decades old, has made important contributions to the re-thinking of the agenda, methodology and ambitions of Australian IR. This article offers a guide to tracing the impact of feminist scholarship in the Australian IR discipline. It begins with an overview of feminist IR generally, and then moves to identify the work of Australian scholars in this field. It demonstrates the pioneering breadth and scope of this work and pays tribute to the scholars who broke down the traditional barriers of the discipline to reveal the identities, issues, and ways of thinking about world politics that had been previously unexplored. It doing so, it analyses feminist impact on the core of the discipline as well as its work on expanding the boundaries of IR. It will argue that, in Australia, feminist IR scholarship is often (though not exclusively) located within the pockets of scholarship committed to exploring critical approaches. However, this article also recognises that the discipline of International Relations in Australia has not always been welcoming of feminist insights and contributions. With this in mind, this article turns to the challenges and debates that face feminist IR both within the discipline and without, with a focus particularly on the dialogue between "critical feminism" and "mainstream International Relations".

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Rudich Igor', Cherevatyi Sergei
For Whom the Georgian Bell Tolls

in Russian politics and law, vol. 47, n. 3, May-June , 89-96

This article argues that Russia intervened in Georgia because it could not abide an anti-Russian democratic regime on its doorstep. It analyzes the consequences of the August war for Europe, cautioning that Russia is likely to pursue similar strategies against Ukraine and the Baltic states.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Ussher Leanne J.
Global Imbalances and the Key Currency Regime: The Case for a Commodity Reserve Currency
in Review of Political Economy (The), Volume 21 Issue 3 2009 , Pages 403 – 421

This paper considers Kaldor's 1964 proposal for a commodity reserve currency (CRC) as a serious alternative to the current system, which has the US dollar as the world reserve currency. It argues that the reserve-currency status of the US dollar helped to create global imbalances and financial fragility pre-empting the current crisis. The primary goal of the CRC was to resolve the 1960 Triffin dilemma, which remains a problem today. Following a brief history of alternative monetary reform proposals, the CRC is outlined. Backed by a basket of 30 or so commodities, the CRC would fix their price index in terms of the international reserve and reduce the disorderly swings in individual commodity prices. Sovereign governments would be free to fix or float their national currencies to the CRC. With growing fears over global warming and national resource security, particularly in the world's poorest countries, the introduction of a CRC could reduce supply constraints, stabilize costs of production, promote global effective demand from the periphery and balance growth between periphery and core countries.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Vichinkeski Teixeira Anderson
Global War: overcoming the concept of modern war
in Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito, n. 16 , 282-307

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Gibson Ian
Good-Bye to All That? Eclipsing Empires, Eclipsing Ideologues and Emerging Models of Citizenry
in Peace, Conflict and Development, Volume 14, Issue 14, July , 36

This paper examines evolving models of peace education and citizenship and tentatively posits these models as viable counters to violent practices shared by past empires, current movements within globalization (postmodern empire? see Shiva and Roy below) and ideologues that effuse violence. These models suggest possibilities of transforming negative

perceptions of ‗the other‘ – negative perceptions that most commonly surface within culturally transferred views that encourage violence as a means to an end (the culture of violence), particularly those views observed in the mechanics of the British Empire in India, China and South Africa in the 19th Century and the darker areas of beliefs, nationalism and ethnicity seen in the 20th Century. This paper will argue that without adoption of citizen enhancing concepts – such as peace education, active inquiry, transformative models, and universally recognised value systems informed by human rights knowledge – to construct alternative models for citizenry, human existence will continue to be self-seeking, self-serving, and hegemony driven. The consequences of this will be further violence, further mistrust and lives that will continue to be, in the famous words of Thomas Hobbes in 1651, 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short‘. Full text available http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/issue-14-article-2-final.pdf

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Sager Fritz
Governance and Coercion
in Political Studies, Volume 57, Issue 3, October , 537-558

The present article departs from the assumption often found in literature concerning governance, which is that coercion is the quintessence of government and that, therefore, the growing importance of new forms of governance in policy formulation and implementation will lead to the adoption of softer policy instruments. This hypothesis will first be discussed in the wider context of the instrument choice literature, whereby an opposing view is derived. The two competing hypotheses are then tested in a comparison of the alcohol control policy designs of the Swiss member states, i.e. the cantons. The results of a multivariate regression analysis show that strong governance structures understood as networks embracing both public and private actors lead to the adoption of restrictive policy designs that must be enforced by public authority and as such cannot be employed by non-public governance actors. It is concluded that in their evaluation of policy instruments, governance actors follow a logic of consequentiality rather than a logic of appropriateness.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Béland Daniel
Ideas, institutions, and policy change
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 5 2009 , Pages 701 – 718

Seeking to amend historical institutionalism, this article draws on the political science literature on ideas and the sociological literature on framing to discuss three ways in which ideational processes impact policy change. First, such processes help to construct the problems and issues that enter the policy agenda. Second, ideational processes shape the assumptions that affect the content of reform proposals. Third, these processes can become discursive weapons that participate in the construction of reform imperatives. Overall, ideational processes impact the ways policy actors perceive their interests and the environment in which they mobilize. Yet, such processes are not the only catalyst of policy change, and institutional constraints impact the politics of ideas and policy change. This claim is further articulated in the final section, which shows how national institutions and repertoires remain central to the politics of policy change despite the undeniable role of transnational actors and processes, which interact with such institutions and repertoires.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Quintyn Marc
Independent agencies: more than a cheap copy of independent central banks?
in Constitutional political economy, Volume 20, Numbers 3-4 / September, 2009 , 267-295

The rise of independent regulatory agencies (IRAs) confronts governments with new challenges. More specifically, it raises the twin issue of (democratic) legitimacy of both the IRAs and of the delegating government once a large number of key areas of policymaking are moved outside its direct control. So, the effectiveness of IRAs depends on their interactions with the other branches of government and on governance arrangements that provide the right incentives to all stakeholders involved. To identify such models, this paper first reiterates the history of independent central banks, the prototype IRA. The main lesson from is that the independent central bank model is characterized by an independence-bias and that there is a growing realization that more attention needs to go to the entire governance model, as opposed to simply independence. Based on this lesson, the paper proposes a governance model for IRAs based on independence, accountability, transparency and integrity to provide the right incentives to all stakeholders. The last part of the paper empirically illustrates how policymakers are currently dealing with two of these four pillars—independence and accountability—when redesigning financial sector supervisors. More specifically we show that the virtuous interaction between independence and accountability is not (yet) always well understood.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Aaken Anne van
Independent electoral management bodies and international election observer missions: any impact on the observed level of democracy? A conceptual framework
in Constitutional political economy, Volume 20, Numbers 3-4 / September, 2009 , 296-322

What kind of institutions are needed to stabilize and foster democracy? Clearly elections are crucial and much of the institutional and legal surrounding of elections has been subject to research. Two institutional variables have been neglected though, specifically in empirical research: Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) and International Observer Missions (EOMs). Can EMBs and EOMs foster free and fair elections? If yes, under what conditions? And what kind of competences are needed for them? We hypothesize that both can become crucial institutions for free and fair elections. Whereas independent central banks or audit courts control special issue areas in order to take certain decision out of the realm of politics, EMBs control the moment of the set-up of government—the election, when conflicts of interest of politicians are at its peak. Although other kinds of independent administrative agencies have been the subject of political science and economic research, EMBs and EOMs have also been neglected here. This article undertakes to outline a conceptual framework for testing various hypotheses on the institutional set-up of EMBs. Hypothesizing that de iure and de facto independence of EMBs foster fair elections, the detailed institutional set-up of EMBs as independent variable is outlined in order to test for the level of democracy as a dependent variable. Furthermore, the importance of EOMs as well as their interaction effect with EMBs is analyzed. Although by now EOMs are sent to almost any country with elections, their impact has not been analyzed in an encompassing way in spite of that the mission have intensified in their work, have become more costly and their verdicts are gaining ever more publicity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Jan Cartwright
India's Regional and International Support for Democracy: Rhetoric or Reality?
in Asian Survey , Volume 49, Number 3, May/June , 403–428

In recent years, Indian leaders have elevated the prominence of democratic rhetoric in their regional and international political discourse. This paper examines India's record of democracy promotion. It argues that India has much to gain by selectively supporting democracy in neighboring countries. Furthermore, participating in multinational efforts at democracy promotion offers India a potential vehicle for global leadership.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Benhabib Seyla
International Law and Human Plurality in the Shadow of Totalitarianism: Hannah Arendt and Raphael Lemkin
in Constellations, Vol. 16, Issue 2, June , 331-350

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Rothman E. Natalie
Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean
in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 51, Issue 4, October , 771-800

Early modern observers rarely failed to comment on the perceived diversity of peoples, customs, and languages of Mediterranean societies. This diversity they sought to capture in travel narratives, costume albums, missionary and diplomatic reports, bilingual dictionaries, and a range of other genres of the “contact zone.” Modern scholars, too, have celebrated the early modern Mediterranean's ostensibly multiple, diverse, and even “pluralist,” “cosmopolitan,” or “multicultural” nature. At the same time, in part thanks to the reawakened interest in Braudel's seminal work and in part as a much-needed corrective to the politically current but analytically bankrupt paradigm of “clash of civilizations,” recent studies have also emphasized the region's “shared,” “connected,” “mixed,” “fluid,” “syncretic,” or “hybrid” sociocultural practices. Of course, these two analytical emphases are far from mutually exclusive, as recently underscored by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's comprehensive, longue durée model of diversity-in-connectivity. Yet, neither Horden and Purcell's structuralist “new thalassology,” nor other studies of the early modern Mediterranean have offered a systematic account of how “diversity” and “connectivity” as both the flow of social practices and the categories for speaking about them have been articulated through specific institutions and genres.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

Bariffi Francisco J.

Jurisdicción Universal sobre Crímenes de Guerra: Evolución Histórica y su Codificación en el Derecho de Ginebra

in **Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales**, Número 17/ 2009

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

Marhold Hartmut

Le développement durable – un principe directeur de la politique allemande ? Une analyse du discours

in **Europe en formation (L')**, n. 352, été , 105-142

Sustainable development is widely acknowledged in Germany as a priority by most governmental and societal actors. The debate on this subject is very much alive, and the number of participants, whether they are institutions, organisations or individuals, is very high. However, from an actor to another, the definition of the concept varies from a sectoral approach to an integrative approach. Thus, while some actors are considering sustainable development in a global way, others can not exceed the sectoral interests which they are the holders.
Full text available at http://www.cife.eu/UserFiles/File/EEF/352/EEF352_5_HM.pdf.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

William Case

Low-quality democracy and varied authoritarianism: elites and regimes in Southeast Asia today

in **Pacific Review (The)** , Volume 22, Issue 3 , Special Issue: Contemporary Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia , 255 - 269

In keeping with much analysis of Southeast Asian politics today, the papers in this special issue argue that it is less fruitful to study democratic transitions than authoritarian durability. At the turn of the 21st century, Southeast Asia featured three new democracies. But only Indonesia is still rated by Freedom House as 'politically free'. Yet even here, the legislators and party leaders who have been thrust up by democratic change sooner engage with top bureaucrats and business tycoons in pursuit of largesse than produce public goods. In the Philippines, corrupt practices and human rights violations have grown so severe that the country lost its rating of 'free' in 2007. And Thailand's democracy was disfigured by executive abuses, then overturned through a military coup. This issue investigates, then, the new authoritarian practices that mar regimes in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand, as well as older forms that have persisted or been reconstituted in Malaysia, Vietnam, and Burma. Where these papers differ from much recent scholarship, however, is in their extending study from historical and structural factors to elite-level voluntarism and relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

Iranzo Susana, Peri Giovanni

Migration and trade: Theory with an application to the Eastern–Western European integration

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 79, Issue 1, September 2009 , Pages 1-19

The remarkable increase in trade flows and in migratory flows of highly educated people are two important features of globalization of the last decades. This paper extends a two-country model of inter- and intra-industry trade to a rich environment featuring technological differences, skill differences and the possibility of international labor mobility. The model is used to explain the patterns of trade and migration as countries remove barriers to trade and to labor mobility. We parameterize the model to match the features of the Western and Eastern European members of the EU and analyze first the effects of the trade liberalization which occurred between 1989 and 2004, and then the gains and losses from migration which are expected to occur if legal barriers to labor mobility are substantially reduced. The lower barriers to migration would result in significant migration of skilled workers from Eastern European countries. Interestingly, this would not only benefit the migrants and most Western European workers but, via trade, it would also benefit the workers remaining in Eastern Europe.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

Borgolte Michael

Migrationen als transkulturelle Verflechtungen im mittelalterlichen Europa. Ein neuer Pflug für alte Forschungsfelder

in **Historische Zeitschrift**, Band 289 Heft 2 (Oktober 2009) , 261-287

Zusammenfassung

Bei der Betrachtung des europäischen Mittelalters unter dem Aspekt der Globalität treten Verflechtungen hervor, die auf Migrationen, imperialen Expansionen oder Handelsbeziehungen beruhen (J. H. Bentley.
Insbesondere der Bewegungsbegriff der Migration ist dabei „wahlverwandt“ mit dem Konzept der Transkulturalität, da dieses Kultur nicht mit „Einheit“ und „Identität“ in Verbindung bringt, sondern als unaufhörlichen Prozeß des Wandels erfassen soll. Migration als transkulturelle Verflechtung zu verstehen, bietet sich beispielsweise an, um
die Blockaden bei der internationalen Debatte um die „germanische Völkerwanderung“ zu lösen und die einseitige Auffassung von der Spätantike als „Transformation of the Roman World“ zu überwinden.Wie am Fall der normannischen Eroberung Englands gezeigt werden kann, lassen sich mit einem Verständnis unterschiedlich ausgeprägter kultureller Vermischungen auch polare Gegensätze in der Urteilsbildung
auflösen, die auf generalisierenden und homogenisierenden
(M. Chibnall) oder partikularisierenden und essentialisierenden (M. T. Clanchy) Zugriffen beruhen.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

Richard C. Smith

Military Change in Asia

in **Asia Pacific Review**, Volume 16, Issue 1 , 73 - 83

Asia's growing share of the global economy provides one of the strongest themes in contemporary analysis of international affairs. The remarkable economic achievements of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan over the past 50 years have been compounded more recently by the rise of the Chinese and Indian economies. While the significance of this change

in the way international wealth is shared was beyond doubt before the onset of the current global financial crisis, many commentators expect that when the world eventually emerges from the crisis Asia's share of the global economy will have grown even further.
This shift clearly has strategic importance: economic decisions made in Asia, whether by governments or business, are now more important for the rest of the world than they have been for centuries. If military power were moving in the same direction, and at the same pace, the strategic consequences would be even greater.
This paper examines trends in Asian military spending and modernisation. It begins with a summary of defence spending among Asian countries.1 It next considers the nature of the capabilities and equipment they are acquiring, and comments on the way in which forces are being structured, commanded, and managed. It then comments on the range of different factors that are driving military spending and modernisation in Asia, and offers particular comment on China in this regard. The paper then concludes with brief comments on United States and Australian military spending and development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Savidan Patrick
Multiculturalisme libéral et monoculturalisme pluriel
in Raisons politiques, N°35, août

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Spakowski Nicola
National aspirations on a global stage: concepts of world/global history in contemporary China
in Journal of Global History, Volume 4, Issue 3, November , pp. 475-495

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, China has witnessed a surge in world history research and a reorientation towards what is called a ‘global view on history’. This article will demonstrate, however, that the ‘global’ in these discussions is not regarded as the substance of the historical process but merely as the context for the development of the nation-state as the uncontested historical unit. This specific orientation is caused by a persistent nationalism, discursive traditions, and alliances of world history writing with contemporary political discourse. Three major concepts will be discussed: integration/interaction as a response to China's ‘open door’ policy and in connection with discourse on globalization; ‘modernization’ in its relation to the Four Modernizations of state ideology; and the ‘rise of the great powers’ as related to discussions of ‘China's rise’. Particular attention will be given to the problem of Eurocentrism in Chinese world history writing.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Christou George, Simpson Seamus
New Governance, the Internet, and Country Code Top-Level Domains in Europe
in Governance, Vol. 22, n. 4, October , 599-624

Much academic work on governance in recent years has explored responses that states have made to sectors of the economy, usually historically well rooted nationally, that have been subject to globalizing pressures. Less work exists on responses that are being made to new parts of the economy emerging outside the nation state with inherently global characteristics. The Internet—and specifically its naming and addressing system—provides an example of how the state has aimed to assert public interest governance authority in a system initially absent of its influence. This article explores the nature and consequences of this activity in the process contributing to the study of the Internet and governance. Working within the limitations but also the opportunities created by policy norms developed at the global level, the article finds that the state has been instrumental in the development of novel public–private governance systems for Internet country code Top-Level Domains.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Bellamy Alex J., Davies Sara E.
OCIS and Beyond: International Relations in Australia: Introduction
in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 55, Issue 3, September , 317-323

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Bakir Caner
Policy Entrepreneurship and Institutional Change: Multilevel Governance of Central Banking Reform
in Governance, Vol. 22, n. 4, October , 571-598

Recent studies on institutional theory and the public policy field called for efforts to pry open the black box of institutional and policy change. This article offers a response to this call. It demonstrates that historical and discursive institutionalist approaches are complementary to explain how and why institutional change occurs. In addition, it shows how these approaches can add value to and benefit from the public policy and administration fields that seek to explain policy change and success. In particular, it emphasizes the interactions between structure and agency that contribute to the change. The empirical finding is based on qualitative analysis of central banking reform in Turkey. It suggests that institutional and policy change is more likely to occur when policy entrepreneurs, with joint membership in domestic and transnational policy communities, mediate various ideas and discourse within and among these communities in a punctuated institutional equilibrium.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Tir Jaroslav, Ackerman John T.
Politics of Formalized River Cooperation
in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 46, Issue 5, September , 623-640

While much of the extant literature has focused on the potential of international rivers to generate militarized conflict, this study builds on more recent works that examine the politics of river cooperation. The article focuses on the efforts to

regulate the use of international rivers formally by the means of treaties. The theoretical framework incorporates prominent variables from the (neo)realist and neo-liberal schools of thought as well as the need for potable water and river-related geographic factors. The framework is used to generate expectations about whether riparian countries will enter into the treaties dealing in particular with the issues of water quantity and quality. Systematic empirical evaluations covering the entire world in the 1948—2000 time period confirm some while challenging much of the conventional wisdom on the topic. Specifically, preponderant power distribution, economic interdependence, democratic governance, and water scarcity all increase the chances for formalized river cooperation between contiguous riparian states. In contrast, the findings suggest that the roles of allegedly important and problematic factors such as the upstream/downstream relationship and recent militarized conflict have been exaggerated in earlier research. Cumulatively, the findings sound a cautiously optimistic note for the prospects of the spread of formal river cooperation in the less developed parts of the world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Chris Ogden
Post-Colonial, Pre-BJP: The Normative Parameters of India's Security Identity, 1947-1998
in Asian Journal of Political Science, Volume 17, Issue 2 , 215 - 237

What structured the fundamental nature of Indian security for the first 50 years of the country's independence? This article draws out four normative parameters that have been tempered and normalised during this period through India's international interaction along with her internal political developments. Using notions of 'security identity', the article unpacks these normative parameters in order to investigate holistically the interaction between both domestic and foreign influences in India's international relations. As such, the article finds a relative consistency to how security has been conceived of in India—displaying sustained threats to its territorial integrity, a continued democratic tradition, ongoing fears of communal violence plus an engrained desire for a greater global role. In turn, it has been the interface between internal and external factors that has structured, and continues to structure, Indian security.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Schmidt Vivien
Putting the Political Back into Political Economy by Bringing the State Back in Yet Again
in World Politics, vol. 61, n. 3, july , 516-546

ABSTRACT: Dominant theoretical approaches in political economy today, whether they posit convergence to neoliberal capitalism, binary divergence of capitalisms, or tripartite differentiation of financial governance, downplay the importance of state action. Their methodological approaches, rational choice and historical institutionalism, tend to reinforce their substantive theories either by disaggregating the state into its historical institutional components or by focusing on the strategic actions of its rational actors. This article argues that by not taking state action seriously, they are unable to explain the differences in degree and kind of countries' neoliberal reforms. For this, it is necessary to bring the state back in and to put the political back into political economy not just in terms of political economic institutions but also in terms of policies, polity, and politics. To explore the political in all its variety, however, the article demonstrates that at least one more methodological approach, discursive institutionalism, is also needed. This approach, by taking the role of ideas and discourse seriously, brings political actors as sentient beings back in. This in turn also enables the author to

explain the dynamics of neoliberal reform in political economy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Brincat Shannon
Reclaiming the Utopian imaginary in IR theory
in Review of International Studies (The), Vol. 35, Issue 3, July , 581-609

This article aims to reinvigorate the utopian imagination as a vital and necessary component in IR theory. Since the First Great Debate between the Realists and the Utopianists (or more accurately, the Liberal-Internationalists) the utopian tradition has been viewed as being both subjective and arbitrary, leading to its dismissal as vain idealism in world politics. This article re-interrogates the arguments of Carr and Morgenthau and finds that they have relevance today only as against closed systems of utopia and have little bearing against the open-dialectical utopianism which is advocated here as a viable alternative to the sterility of realism. The article also examines the historical nexus between realism's dismissal of utopianism and the wider movements in political philosophy via a critical engagement with the works of Popper, Berlin and Arendt. Finally, after exploring the limitations of Booth's idea of ‘Utopian Realism’, the article argues that utopianism should no longer be assumed to be a blueprint for a future, perfect society, a tradition fraught with the danger of proto-totalisation, but as a critical imaginary that acts as a heuristic device to reveal the fissures in existing reality and as an ideational motivating force for progressive change in world politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Tyrrell Ian
Reflections on the transnational turn in United States history: theory and practice
in Journal of Global History, Volume 4, Issue 3, November , pp. 453-474

This article situates the idea of ‘transnational history’ within the recent historiography of the United States, as both a reaction against and accommodation to the nation-state focus of that historiography. It explains transnational history's specific American development as a broad project of research to contextualize US history and decentre the nation; it explores the conditions of American historical practice that influenced the genesis and growth of this version of transnational history; and it compares the concept with competitor terms such as international history, comparative history, global history, histoire croisée, and trans-border. In the United States, transnational history came to be considered complementary to these concepts in its commitment to render American historiography less parochial, yet, because of its origins, the concept has remained limited in application by period and spatial scope. While the concept retains utility because of its specific research programme to denaturalize the nation, transnational history understood as an exploration of ‘transnational spaces’ opens possibilities for an approach of more general historiographical relevance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Khelashvili George
Russia at a Historic Crossroads. A New China or Serbia?
in Russian politics and law, vol. 47, n. 3, May-June , 80-83

Khelashvili examines the August war from the Georgian point of view, discussing the dangers the war poses for Russia's long-term geopolitical interests.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Saurugger Sabine
Sociological Approaches in EU Studies
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 16 Issue 6 2009 , Pages 935 – 949

The aim of this article is to analyse sociological approaches focusing on the European integration process. The objective is to situate these approaches in relation to the epistemological backgrounds of other conceptual frameworks, and to point out their strengths and limitations. This is done in three steps. The first part of the article looks at the emergence and the definition of sociological approaches to European integration and the second will look more closely at the different research clusters, which identify with a sociological tradition. Finally, the article will look at the limits of sociological approaches and suggest some avenues for further research.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Fuhrmann Matthew
Spreading Temptation: Proliferation and Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreements
in International Security, vol. 34, n. 1, summer , 7-41

ABSTRACT: Peaceful nuclear cooperation—the transfer of nuclear technology, materials, or know-how from one state to another for peaceful purposes—leads to the spread of nuclear weapons. In particular, countries that receive peaceful nuclear assistance are more likely to initiate weapons programs and successfully develop the bomb, especially when they are also faced with security threats. Statistical analysis based on a new data set of more than 2,000 bilateral civilian nuclear cooperation agreements signed from 1950 to 2000 lends strong support for this argument. Brief case studies of the Indian and Pakistani nuclear weapons programs provide further evidence of the links between peaceful nuclear assistance and proliferation. The finding that supplier countries inadvertently raise the risks of nuclear proliferation poses challenges to the conventional wisdom. Indeed, the relationship between civilian nuclear cooperation and proliferation is surprisingly broad. Even assistance that is often viewed as innocuous, such as training nuclear scientists or providing research or power reactors, increases the likelihood that nuclear weapons will spread. “Proliferation-proof” nuclear assistance does not exist. With a renaissance in nuclear power on the horizon, major suppliers, including the United States, should reconsider their willingness to assist other countries in developing peaceful nuclear programs.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Markedonov Sergei
The "Five-Day War". Preliminary Results and Consequences
in Russian politics and law, vol. 47, n. 3, May-June , 71-79

This article focuses on the historical factors that created an environment that led to the August war between Russia and Georgia. It discusses both the Soviet legacies that led to the establishment of unrecognized quasi-states in the Caucasus and the international environment that prevented their recognition and led to the failure of international efforts to solve local conflicts peacefully.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Riker Walter
The Democratic Peace is Not Democratic: On Behalf of Rawls' Decent Societies
in Political Studies, Volume 57, Issue 3, October , 617-638

In The Law of Peoples, John Rawls defends the claim that 'decent' societies (non-liberal, non-democratic constitutional republics) deserve full and good standing in the international community. His defense of decent societies consists of two main arguments. First, he argues that the basic human right to political participation does not imply a right to democratic political institutions. This argument has been thoroughly discussed by commentators. Second, he argues that decent societies, if admitted to the international community, would pose no special threat to the stability of that community. This argument has largely been ignored. My aim in this article is to analyze this second argument, which I call the 'peace argument'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Belletto Steven
The Game Theory Narrative and the Myth of the National Security State
in American Quarterly, vol. 61, n. 2, June , 333-357

This essay explores what the author terms the “game theory narrative,” a cultural narrative that gained prominence in American culture in the early years of the Cold War. For many Americans in the late 1940s and early 1950s, game theory was a way for scientists, in collusion with the US government, to prevent nuclear exchange by conceptualizing the Cold War as a game, and by playing this game according to specific rational strategies. The first part of the essay describes how the game theory narrative popularized the idea that the rationality of pure mathematics could be applied to manage some major threats of the Cold War—the menace of an unknown enemy and the specter of an accidental nuclear exchange. The following sections explore how this narrative was both exemplified and criticized by a variety of creative works and other artifacts of Cold War culture.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Trenin Dmitrii
The Post-August World
in Russian politics and law, vol. 47, n. 3, May-June , 36-44

The war between Russia and Georgia may lead to a dangerous confrontation between Russia and the West. This will

not be a new cold war, as there is no ideological confrontation between the sides. But significant conflicts are possible, particularly over Ukraine.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Loveman Mara
The Race to Progress: Census Taking and Nation Making in Brazil (1870–1920)
in Hispanic American Historical Review (The), Volume 89, Number 3, August 2009 , 435-470

From the mid-nineteenth century, central statistics agencies contributed to nation-state building through their dual mission of producing statistical description and policy prescription in the name of national progress. This article examines how one such agency, Brazil's Directoria Geral de Estatística, worked to simultaneously measure and promote national progress from 1870 to 1920. The article documents a fundamental shift in this period in the DGE's vision of the qualities of the population essential for Brazil's progress as a nation. In the 1870s, the DGE saw educational statistics as the key measures of national progress and lobbied for government investment in primary schools to ensure the advancement of the nation. By the 1920s, the DGE looked instead to immigration and racial statistics to measure progress and advocated cultural and biological "whitening" of the population to improve the Brazilian nation. Analysis of a broad range of archival and published primary sources reveals the gradual racialization of the DGE's institutional definition of "progress." The study contributes to a growing body of research that examines how racial thought influenced the development and official practices of state agencies in Latin America.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Wesley Michael
The Rich Tradition of Australian Realism
in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 55, Issue 3, September , 324-334

Australian International Relations (IR) developed as a discipline at the same time as its emergence in the rest of the Anglophone world. A deep reading of Australian writing on international relations since the 1920s reveals a distinctive tradition of IR scholarship, shaped very much by this country's international circumstances and the pragmatic culture of political inquiry that pervaded its universities and diplomatic institutions. Three characteristics frame the Australian Realist outlook. The first is experiential, a preoccupation with the particularities of Australia's international position — size, isolation, wealth, population, culture — and how these factors can help understand the ways in which Australia relates to the world beyond its shores. The second is systemic pessimism, a tendency to be apprehensive about broader global stability. The third is pragmatism, a predilection for understanding the essential attributes of the situation itself, rather than using the situation to inquire into the general nature of the international system. These characteristics have fostered sustained attention to three sets of issues: geography, demographics and race, and power differentials in Australian Realist scholarship.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

Gorenburg Dmitry

The World After the Russian—Georgian War: Views from the Region

in Russian politics and law, vol. 47, n. 3, May-June , 3-8

The current issue of Russian Politics and Law explores differing interpretations of the August 2008 Russian-Georgian war by analysts in Russia, Georgia, and Ukraine.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

Muller Jan-Werner

The triumph of what (if anything)? Rethinking political ideologies and political institutions in twentieth-century Europe

in Journal of Political Ideologies , Volume 14, Number 2 / June , 211-226

This note explores new ways of thinking about the history of political thought in twentieth-century Europe. It argues that more attention ought to be paid to the interaction between political thought or imagination on the one hand and, on the other, actual political institutions as they were designed, sometimes destroyed, an often re-designed in the course of twentieth-century European history. With this comes a clearer focus on 'in-between figures' (such as public lawyers). The note then outlines an argument concerning the emergence—even triumph—of a particular set of institutions and normative ideas (or sometimes just intuitions) in Western Europe after 1945, a set that was largely extended to Southern as well as Eastern Europe towards the end of the century. What is summed up as a conception of constrained civilian democratic administrative statehood did not reflect any traditional 'ism' and constituted a genuinely new ideological configuration.

Have you forgotten the other bankruptcies? What was Christianity doing in the various catastrophes of society? What became of Liberalism? What has Conservatism produced, in either its enlightened or its reactionary form? … If we are indeed honestly to weigh out the bankruptcies of ideology, we shall have a long task ahead of us.

Victor Serge

Democracy has developed wherever the abstract appeal of the ideologue and the concrete experimentation of the practical man have worked together.

A. D. Lindsay

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

Solov'ev Kirill

Thoughts on the Political Map of Europe at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century

in Russian politics and law, vol. 47, n. 3, May-June , 9-18

In an article written before the August 2008 Russian-Georgian war, Solov'ev argues that Russia needs to protect its interests in the Caucasus and spells out potential solutions for the frozen conflicts in the former Soviet space.