



Bulletin n. 2/2010 - October 2010

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Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Robbins Jane

A nation within? Indigenous peoples, representation and sovereignty in Australia

in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 10, n. 2 , 257-274

Many Indigenous peoples who exist as minorities in a postcolonial nation seek to achieve some level of self-determination or shared sovereignty within the nation. This article explores the concept of sovereignty in an Australian context. Under the former Liberal coalition government the recognition of Indigenous rights was portrayed as a form of separatism that threatened national unity. One of the casualties of government policy was the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), an elected Indigenous body that had previously administered a significant budget for Indigenous programmes. With the demise of ATSIC, Australia's Indigenous peoples have been denied a formal mechanism for the expression of their political interests in the name of national unity. The advent of a new Australian Labor Party (ALP) government opens the way for these issues to be reconsidered. Can sovereignty be shared in a way that delivers effective self-determination to Indigenous peoples without creating a threat to national cohesion?

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

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Conlan Tim

Administration and Governance in a Compound Republic: Martha Derthick's Contributions to the Study of American Federalism

in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 70, Issue 5 (September/October 2010) , 811-816

Martha Derthick is among the most influential scholars of American federalism, administrative behavior, and domestic policy making. Her work over a half century has pioneered the study of policy implementation, administrative and political relationships in federal grant programs, intergovernmental policy making, as well as the evolution of the federal system. This essay reviews her major intellectual contributions to the fields of federalism, public administration, and intergovernmental relations.

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Mijah Etham B.

Democracy, Federalism and Marginal Groups in Nigeria

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 20th Issue, 2/2009



No abstract available

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Mantzavinos C.

Federalism and individual liberty

in Constitutional political economy, Volume 21, Number 2 / June 2010 , 101-118

This paper explores the relationship between federalism and individual liberty. It is shown that a complete treatment of the relationship between federalism and individual liberty should consider two countervailing effects. On the one hand, a federalist structure enhances individual liberty by enlarging the choice set of the citizens. On the other hand, however, a federalist system leads to institutional diversity, a fact that per se leads to higher exit costs, which a citizen must bear if he or she decides to change jurisdictions. This effect on individual liberty is a negative one, since a consequence of every increase in the exit costs is a decrease of individual liberty. The optimum range of diversity of jurisdictions is shown to lie where the two effects counterbalance each other.

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Sinardet Dave

From consociational consciousness to majoritarian myth: Consociational democracy, multi-level politics and the Belgian case of Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde

in Acta Politica, Volume 45, Number 3, September , 346-369

The Belgian federal system is consociational par excellence, most notably concerning the regional-linguistic cleavage where non-majoritarian conflict resolution through elite accommodation is institutionalised. Although they hold a majority in parliament, Dutch-speaking political parties have to compromise with French-speaking parties on issues of state structure and reform. However, in the case of the split of the electoral district of Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde, Dutch-speaking parties - after years of dealing with the issue in a typical consociational way - started to follow a majoritarian logic, first in their discourse, later also in their actions. While this threatened political stability, it did not bring a solution, because of the constitutionalised consociational logic. This raises the question of what brought these parties to act according to a logic of majoritarianism while they function in an institutional context of consociationalism. After outlining the core non-majoritarian features of consociationalism and their institutionalisation in the Belgian federal system, the article analyses the case of BHV in this light and attempts to explain the paradoxical behaviour of Dutch-speaking political parties. It notably concentrates on two core explanations: the perverse effects of the consociational logic itself and the disconnection of regional and federal election dates in Belgium. The article concludes that Belgium's specific combination of consociationalism and multi-level politics hinders the federal system's functioning.

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Elodie Fabre

Multi-level Election Timing—A Comparative Overview

in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 20 Issue 2 , 175 - 199



This article compiles information on multi-level electoral politics in nine countries, starting with multi-level election cycles: horizontal concurrence and vertical concurrence. In addition to the cycle of federal and regional elections, this report looks at election rules for federal and regional elections: fixed election date, possibility of vertical concurrence, dissolution of regional assemblies, length of term after dissolution and the electoral systems for state-wide and regional elections. These election rules and the cycle of state-wide and regional elections contribute to either encouraging the symmetry between the state-wide and regional party systems or, on the contrary, facilitating the divergence between state-wide and regional political arenas and electoral cycles.

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Galadima Habu S.

Nigeria: A Developing Federation under Strains

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 21st Issue, 1/2010

No abstract available

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Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Rezende Fernando, Afonso Jose Roberto

The Brazilian Federation: Facts, Challenges and Prospects

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 21st Issue, 1/2010

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Cingano Valentina

I riflessi della riforma costituzionale del 2001 sulla possibilità per le regioni e gli enti locali di emanare atti politici: evoluzione giurisprudenziale

in *Quaderni Regionali*, n. 3

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Fischer Manuel, Sciarini Pascal, Traber Denise

The Silent Reform of Swiss Federalism: The New Constitutional Articles on Education

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 16, Number 4, Winter 2010, 747-771

This article examines the decision-making process leading to the new constitutional articles on education in Switzerland.



It analyzes how actors from both state levels (Confederation and cantons) could reach consensus in a process that was prone to a “joint-decision trap”. To that end, we hypothesize which factors may be conducive to a “problem-solving” style of policy-making in a compulsory negotiation system. Rich empirical material from various sources supports our theoretical arguments: We show that shared beliefs and a common frame of reference, the procedural separation between constitutional and distributional issues, neutral brokers, and informal structures were all beneficial to the success of the reform project.

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

Carrubba Clifford J., Zorn Christopher

Executive Discretion, Judicial Decision Making, and Separation of Powers in the United States
in **Journal of Politics (The)**, vol. 72, issue 3, July , 812-824

Existing work on the U.S. separation of powers typically views the Supreme Court as the final arbiter of constitutional and statutory disputes. By contrast, much comparative work explicitly recognizes the role of executives in enforcing and implementing court decisions. Drawing on that work, this study relaxes the assumption that executives must comply with Supreme Court rulings, and instead allows the propensity for executive compliance to depend upon indirect enforcement by the public. We develop a simple model of Supreme Court decision making in the presence of executive discretion over compliance and demonstrate that such discretion can restrict substantially the Court’s decision making. Using data collected for the Warren and Burger courts, we find evidence consistent with the argument that the Supreme Court’s ability to constrain executive discretion depends critically upon the public.

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Blatter Joachim

Horizontalföderalismus und Schweizer Demokratie

in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 16, Number 2, Summer 2010 , 247-277

The full text is free:

www.ingentaconnect.com/content/spsa/spsr/2010/00000016/00000002/art00003

Abstract:

Der Beitrag analysiert den zunehmenden Horizontalföderalismus im politischen Mehrebenensystem der Schweiz und fragt nach den Gefahren und Chancen für die Weiterentwicklung der Schweizer Demokratie. Die Evaluierung erfolgt auf der Basis der komplexen Demokratietheorie von Fritz Scharpf, ergänzt um die konstitutiven Perspektiven einer reflexiven Demokratietheorie. Insgesamt wird deutlich, dass der Horizontalföderalismus vor allem aus einer liberalen Position innerhalb einer Output- orientierten Demokratietheorie als problematisch angesehen werden muss, da die kantonale Exekutive gegenüber der Legislative gestärkt wird. Der Aufsatz betont aber die Chancen für die schweizerische Demokratie, da der Horizontalföderalismus grosse Ähnlichkeiten mit den



Entscheidungsfindungsprozessen auf internationaler Ebene besitzt. Er liefert damit der Schweiz ein Übungsfeld, um ihr traditionell sehr introvertiertes Verständnis von demokratischer Selbstbestimmung zu überwinden und anzuerkennen, dass in einer interdependenten und mobilen Welt die "Einbeziehung des (externen) Anderen" ein Bestandteil einer legitimen demokratischen Ordnung darstellt.

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Sterpa Alessandro

Il principio di sussidiarietà nel diritto comunitario e nella Costituzione

in **Federalismi**, Anno VIII - Nr. 15

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Scherr Arthur

Presidential Power, the Panay Incident, and the Defeat of the Ludlow Amendment

in **International History Review (The)**, vol. XXXII, n. 3

No abstract available

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Hansen Mogen

The mixed Constitution versus the separation of powers: monarchical and aristocratic aspects of modern democracy

in **History of Political Thought**, Vol. 31, Issue 3, 509-531

The theory of the separation of powers between a legislature, an executive and a judiciary is still the foundation of modern representative democracy. It was developed by Montesquieu and came to replace the older theory of the mixed constitution which goes back to Plato, Aristotle and Polybios: there are three types of constitution: monarchy, oligarchy and democracy; when institutions from each of the three types are mixed, an interplay between the institutions emerges that affects all functions of state: legislation, implementation of laws and jurisdiction. Today Montesquieu's separation of powers is riddled with so many exceptions that it is an obstacle rather than a help to understand the structure of modern democracy. The mixed constitution deserves to be revived as a corrective to the prevailing view that Western states are pure democracies and that democracy is rule by the people.

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Gersen Jacob E.

Unbundled Powers

in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 96, issue 4 , 301-358

No abstract available

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Sharma Sanjay

Union and State Responsibilities in Disaster Management in India : Critical Reflection on Disaster Management Act, 2005

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 21st Issue, 1/2010

No abstract available

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Torretta Paola

'Legislative transplants' e dialogo parlamentare nell'ordinamento federale statunitense: il ruolo della National Conference of State Legislatures

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 12

No abstract available

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Hasan Md. Rahat

Legislative Scrutiny through Departmentally Related Standing Committees: Issue of Rural Employment in the Fourteenth Lok Sabha

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 21st Issue, 1/2010

No abstract available

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Subsection 5. The executive branch

Nichols Curt, Adam S. Myers

Exploiting the Opportunity for Reconstructive Leadership: Presidential Responses to Enervated Political Regimes

in *American Politics Research*, Vol. 38, n. 5, September , 806-841

We seek to extend discourse on "the reconstructive presidency" to the edge of new frontiers in two interrelated ways.



First, we argue that reconstructive presidents act within critical junctures in which they exploit periodic opportunities to revitalize enervated political regimes, but that failure to exploit such opportunities can also occur. Second, we clarify the tasks necessary for reconstructive success, contending that reconstructive presidents must (a) shift the main axis of partisan cleavage, (b) assemble a new majority coalition, and (c) institutionalize a new political regime. Through conducting typical and crucial case studies, we show how reconstructive dynamics unfold in either a straightforward or protracted manner depending on whether presidents initially handed reconstructive opportunities, via encountering enervated political conditions, succeed in accomplishing the tasks we delineate. In doing so, we depart from previous interpretations and recast the "System of 1896" as a successful reconstruction.

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Jain S.K.

Federalisation of Indian Foreign Policy

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 21st Issue, 1/2010

No abstract available

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Fernández Vivas Yolanda

Hacia una nueva era en el Constitucionalismo Estadounidense: La La "Era Obama". Actualidad Constitucional en Estados Unidos (2008/2009)

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 25 , 397-427

El presente artículo tiene por objeto el análisis de la actualidad constitucional en los Estados Unidos durante 2008 y 2009, actualidad que ha venido marcada por tres importantes factores: en primer lugar, en el plano político, por la elección de Barack Obama como presidente de los Estados Unidos en noviembre de 2008; en segundo lugar, en el plano económico, por la grave crisis económica mundial que ha afectado en gran medida a este país; y, por último, en el ámbito institucional, por la renovación del Tribunal Supremo, máximo órgano jurisdiccional del Estado.

Además, y como consecuencia de lo anterior, a lo largo de ese tiempo se han producido novedades legislativas y jurisprudenciales en los Estados Unidos que han tenido una especial relevancia constitucional.

Así, en este trabajo daremos cuenta de las sentencias más relevantes dictadas por el Tribunal Supremo en 2009.

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional2010-25-4015&dsID=PDF>

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Sedelius Thomas, Ekman Joakim

Intra-executive Conflict and Cabinet Instability: Effects of Semi-presidentialism in Central and Eastern Europe in Government and Opposition, Vol. 45, n. 4, October, 505-530

Comparing eight post-communist semi-presidential systems (Bulgaria, Croatia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Ukraine and Russia), comprising a total of 65 instances of intra-executive coexistence between 1991 and 2007, this article asks to what extent and in what ways president–cabinet conflicts increase the risk of cabinet instability. Previous studies of intra-executive conflicts in semi-presidential regimes have mainly been occupied with explaining why conflicts occur in the first place, and have neglected the question of how such conflicts are actually related to political outcomes. The present empirical investigation demonstrates that the occurrence of intra-executive conflict in transitional semi-presidential systems is likely to produce high rates of cabinet turnover.

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Devins Neal

How State Supreme Courts Take Consequences Into Account: Toward a State-Centered Understanding of State Constitutionalism

in **Stanford Law Review**, Vol. 62, issue 6, 1629-1693

The year is 1993 and the Hawaii Supreme Court has just declared—as a matter of state constitutional law—that the state prohibition of same-sex marriage constitutes gender discrimination. Within a few years, thirty-five states enacted laws prohibiting the recognition of same-sex marriages and Congress, responding "to a very particular development in the State of Hawaii," enacted the Defense of Marriage Act. In Hawaii, voters overwhelmingly approved a state constitutional amendment authorizing the legislative prohibition of same-sex marriage. For Bill Eskridge, the Hawaii decision was disastrous, "provok[ing] the biggest antigay backlash since the McCarthy era." For Andy Koppelman, however, Hawaii "put the issue of same-sex marriage on the national agenda" and, in so doing, "was a triumph for gays."

Fast forward to 2003 and the Massachusetts Supreme Court's ruling that, under the Massachusetts Constitution, same-sex couples have a right to marry. Throughout the nation, Republicans seized upon this issue, using it to bolster their prospects in the 2004 elections. President Bush called for a constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage; congressional leaders pushed both for that amendment and for legislation stripping federal courts of jurisdiction in same-sex marriage cases; state officials backed constitutional amendment proposals in thirteen states. And while there is some dispute about whether the same-sex marriage issue was decisive in President Bush's reelection or in Republican victories in Congress, there is little question that the Massachusetts decision did not sit well with a majority of Americans—as revealed both in public opinion polls and in voter approval of all thirteen same-sex marriage ban proposals. In Massachusetts, however, same-sex marriage carried the day—not only did 2004 efforts to derail the court's decision fail, Massachusetts voters rewarded opponents of a proposed constitutional ban on same-sex marriage (reelecting all opponents while ousting some proponents of the ban).

Full text available at:

<http://www.stanfordlawreview.org/content/volume-62>



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Leczykiewicz Dorota

'Effective Judicial Protection' of Human Rights After Lisbon: Should National Courts be Empowered to Review EU Secondary Law?

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 3 , 326-348

The article carries out a structural assessment of the EU system of protection of human rights after the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. It compares the method of protecting human rights in EU law before and after Lisbon, and argues that the question of whether amendments introduced by the new Treaty ensure that the system of protection is complete cannot be answered unequivocally. It is only when the Court of Justice has had the opportunity to interpret art.275 TFEU that we will be able to determine whether all gaps in protecting human rights have been filled. Thus, the article advocates a return to the proposition made by A.G. Mengozzi in *Gestoras and Segi* as a solution to the potential problem of “incompleteness” of remedies. It explains that recognition of national courts’ power to review EU secondary-law not only complies with the existing doctrine but also improves the status of human rights in EU law and, despite suggestions to the contrary, leaves the position of the Court of Justice as the sole judicial arbiter of Union law intact.

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Frost Amanda- Lindquist Stefanie A.

Countering the Majoritarian Difficulty

in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 96, issue 4 , 719-797

No abstract available

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Rottinghaus Brabdon, Nicholson Chris

Counting Congress In: Patterns of Success in Judicial Nomination Requests by Members of Congress to Presidents Eisenhower and Ford

in *American Politics Research*, Vol. 38, n. 4, July , 691-717

The power to nominate and confirm federal judges is shared by Congress and the president, yet few works explicitly address the role that Congress plays in shaping the preselection pool for judicial nominees. In this article, we illuminate this debate by exploring judicial nomination requests from Members of Congress to the Eisenhower and Ford Administrations. In explaining who is nominated, the characteristics of the nominee matter more than the characteristics of the nominator, with the party affiliation of a nominee being the strongest predictive factor. Institutional characteristics are more prevalent at the confirmation stage, where the Senate relied more heavily on its members and the judicial experience of nominees than did presidents in nominating them. Given our results, partisanship appears to have mattered earlier than presumed in judicial nominations, with even ostensibly nonpartisan presidents such as Eisenhower



understanding the importance of appointing like-minded individuals to lifetime positions on the bench.

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Bowman III Frank O.

Debacle: How the Supreme Court Has Mangled American Sentencing Law and How It Might Yet Be Mended
in *University of Chicago Law Review*, Vol. 77, issue 1, 367-477

This Article argues that the line of Supreme Court Sixth Amendment jury right cases that began with *McMillan v Pennsylvania* in 1986, crescendoed in *Blakely v Washington* and *United States v Booker* in 2004–2005, and continues in cases such as *Oregon v Ice*, is a colossal judicial failure. First, the Court has failed to provide a logically coherent, constitutionally based answer to the fundamental question of what limits the Constitution places on the roles played by the institutional actors in the criminal justice system. It has failed to recognize that defining, adjudicating, and punishing crimes implicates both the Sixth Amendment Jury Clause and the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendment Due Process Clauses, and it has twisted the Jury Clause into an insoluble logical knot. Second, the practical effect of the Court's constitutional malpractice has been to paralyze the generally beneficial structured sentencing movement, with the result that promising avenues toward improved substantive and procedural sentencing justice have been blocked. Even the most widely applauded consequence of these cases, the transformation of the federal sentencing guidelines into an advisory system, proves on close inspection to be a decidedly mixed blessing. The Court has made the Constitution not a guide, but an obstacle, to a desirable distribution of authority among the criminal justice system's institutional actors.

The Article provides a comprehensive analysis of all the opinions in the *McMillan- Apprendi-Blakely-Booker-Ice* line, considering both their constitutional reasoning and their practical impact on federal and state sentencing systems. It builds on a careful dissection of the defects in the Court's Sixth Amendment sentencing decisions to develop an alternative constitutional analysis that combines Sixth Amendment and due process principles to suggest a more intellectually coherent and practically desirable constitutional sentencing jurisprudence

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Mulligan Lumen N.

Did the Madisonian Compromise Survive Detention at Guantanamo?
in *New York University Law Review*, Vol. 85, n. 2, 535-586

This Essay takes up the Court's less-heralded second holding in *Boumediene v. Bush*—that a federal habeas court must have the institutional capacity to find facts, which in *Boumediene* itself meant that a federal district court must be available to the petitioners. Although this aspect of the opinion has gone largely unnoticed, it is inconsistent with the Madisonian Compromise—the standard view that the Constitution does not require Congress to create or to vest jurisdiction in any federal court except the Supreme Court. In fact, it appears that the Court adopted,



sub silentio, the position famously advanced by Justice Story in 1816 that the Constitution requires Congress to vest the lower federal courts with jurisdiction to hear executive-detention habeas corpus cases. In considering alternatives to this bold break with long-settled constitutional doctrine, this Essay examines newly uncovered opinions from Supreme Court Justices to determine whether Justices acting in chambers remain a viable habeas forum of last resort post-Boumediene, why the Boumediene Court failed to address this issue directly, and, finally, the degree to which the need for an independent finder of fact is well grounded in constitutional doctrine. This Essay concludes that Boumediene's rejection of the Madisonian Compromise, rather than its decision with respect to the scope of the habeas writ, will come to be its longest-lived legacy for federal courts law.

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Goluboff Risa L.

Dispatch from the Supreme Court Archives: Vagrancy, Abortion, and What the Links Between Them Reveal About the History of Fundamental Rights

in *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 62, issue 5 , 1361-1394

The title of this Essay is somewhat misleading. First of all, by Supreme Court archives, I do not mean the official documents of the Supreme Court as an institution. Rather, my dispatch heralds from the archives of individual Justices who have deposited their papers in a variety of institutions, most notably the Library of Congress. Second of all, I am not actually writing from those archives. With a digital camera and a lot of memory cards, I have essentially reproduced the archives on my computer. As this nifty technology allows me to read my thousands of documents pretty much anywhere, I must confess: I am not, at this very moment, in the archives.

Metaphorically speaking, however, my title is accurate. This Essay is a dispatch from the archives in the sense that I am here to share a few finds I made in the Justices' papers that I imagine will be of interest to many a scholar of law and history. These finds consist of (1) portions of an early draft of Justice William O. Douglas's opinion in the 1972 vagrancy case of *Papachristou v. City of Jacksonville*; (2) memoranda between Justice Douglas and Justices William J. Brennan, Jr., and Potter Stewart about that opinion; and (3) a memo from Brennan to Douglas about *Roe v. Wade*. These documents—which I have reproduced below for your perusal—shed new light on several apparently disparate issues in constitutional law: the Supreme Court's use of void-for-vagueness doctrine, the social and constitutional history of vagrancy law, the possibility and contours of constitutional regulation of substantive criminal law, the relationship between *Papachristou* and *Roe*, and the development and conceptualization of fundamental rights. I am guessing that you are surprised to learn that previously untapped Supreme Court documents reveal links between this odd assortment of subjects. You are probably even more surprised to learn that the glue that holds it all together is vagrancy law. Vagrancy law, you ask? Vagrancy law, I say. But let me explain...

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Fernández Segado Francisco

El Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 25 , 129-166



La dissenting opinion es una institución que ha sido a lo largo de dos siglos el sello del Poder Judicial en Norteamérica. El nombramiento de John Marshall como Presidente del Tribunal Supremo supuso el abandono de las seriatim opinions, una herencia inglesa, y su sustitución por las opinions of the Court. Del mismo modo, las dissenting opinions iban a aparecer bajo la Corte presidida por Marshall. El Juez Oliver Wendell Holmes es considerado como el «gran disidente» del Tribunal Supremo, no sólo por el elevado número de sus votos particulares, sino por su impacto y por su enorme trascendencia. En efecto, un porcentaje muy poco común de sus dissenting opinions llegaron a convertirse en Derecho. La Corte posterior a 1937 adoptó, efectivamente, el criterio requerido por el Juez Holmes en su clásica serie de disidencias sostenidas durante las tres primeras décadas del siglo. Holmes fue, y aún lo es, la figura mejor conocida que siempre se ha vinculado con el Tribunal Supremo y una de las cuatro o cinco personas más admiradas de la historia del sistema de gobierno norteamericano. Ha sido llamado el «apóstol de la libertad» y considerado un gran liberal. Como el Juez Frankfurter dijo, la piedra filosofal que el Juez Holmes ha empleado constantemente para el arbitraje es la convicción de que nuestro sistema constitucional descansa sobre la tolerancia y de que su gran enemigo es lo absoluto. Holmes fue un decidido partidario del realismo legal. El común denominador de las teorías del realismo legal será la concepción del Derecho como un medio para los fines sociales y no como un medio en sí mismo. Nadie como Holmes combatió tanto la tiranía de los tópicos y las etiquetas. Su rechazo de la lógica y del método lógico es bien conocido. Para Holmes, ninguna proposición concreta sería «per se» evidente. Posiblemente, su dissent en el caso Lochner sea el más relevante en la Corte anterior a Roosevelt. En él, Holmes consideraría que la Constitución no debe entenderse que encarne una teoría económica particular, sea la del paternalismo y la relación orgánica del ciudadano con el Estado, sea la del laissez faire. Su dissent en el caso Lochner fue un elemento decisivo en la legitimación del instituto de las dissenting opinions.

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional2010-25-4004&dsID=PDF>

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Goldstein Jared

Equitable Balancing in the Age of Statutes

in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 96, issue 4 , 485-547

No abstract available

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Diller Paul

Habeas and (Non-)Delegation

in *University of Chicago Law Review*, Vol. 77, issue 2 , 584-655

Although the Constitution's Suspension Clause explicitly mentions the writ of habeas corpus, it does not require that Congress make the writ available in its commonlaw form at all times. Rather, the Clause has long been understood to permit Congress to replace the writ with an alternative



procedure, so long as that remedy is an adequate and effective substitute for habeas corpus. Under this functional view of the Suspension Clause, Congress might delegate responsibility for performing the habeas review function to an entity other than an Article III court, so long as the substitute procedure allows a detainee to challenge the lawfulness of his detention fairly and effectively. Because, at its core, habeas is concerned with checking arbitrary executive detention, however, this Article argues that any delegation of the habeas review function to a non– Article III entity must conform to the dictates of the nondelegation doctrine. To delegate the authority for designing the procedures used to challenge executive detention to the very Executive responsible for detention would defeat the purpose of the Clause.

In *Boumediene v Bush*, the Supreme Court cast doubt on its prior functional jurisprudence regarding the Suspension Clause. In particular, the Court expressed hostility toward any substitute for habeas corpus that did not rely exclusively on an Article III court. This Article criticizes the Court's approach in *Boumediene* and demonstrates how it threatens the functional view of the Suspension Clause the Court had embraced previously.

At the same time, this Article explains how and why nondelegation concerns justified the result in *Boumediene*. In particular, by relying so heavily on an executive-designed scheme—the Combatant Status Review Tribunals—Congress's substitute for habeas delegated excessive authority to the Executive to perform the habeas review function. For that reason, Congress's attempt to eliminate access to the writ for Guantanamo detainees through the Military Commissions Act of 2006 violated the Suspension Clause when read in conjunction with the nondelegation doctrine. A decision grounded more in nondelegation than in the absolutist conception of the Suspension Clause espoused by the *Boumediene* majority would have preserved more flexibility for the political branches to design a system for detaining terrorist suspects in the future.

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Fontana E.

Il ricorso di annullamento dei privati nel Trattato di Lisbona

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 1 , 53-74

No abstract available

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

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Staszaka Sarah

Institutions, Rulemaking, and the Politics of Judicial Retrenchment

in *Studies in American Political Development* , Volume 24 - Issue 02 , 168-189

This article examines the efforts of political and legal actors to scale back access to the courts and judicial authority in the decades since the rights revolution of the 1950s and 1960s. Despite the importance and consequences that such efforts have had for the judicial system and rights protections in the United States, public law and American Political Development (APD) scholars have only begun to study this phenomenon within existing theories of institutional change. Through an examination of efforts to reform procedural rules that govern courtroom access, adjudication, and potential remedies, this article presents evidence that both builds on and pushes this scholarship in new directions. In contrast to



law and APD scholars who have promoted a 'regime politics' model of judicial authority that focuses on the interests of national elected officials and Supreme Court majorities, this article finds that actors pursuing retrenchment come from both within and outside the judiciary, evidencing a robust set of individuals and interests (far beyond judges and politicians) who might be considered "judicial" actors. Building on and complicating current understandings of the politics of retrenchment, moreover, I find that the groups involved in judicial retrenchment change significantly over time, are motivated by more than partisan backlash, and that the availability of malleable institutional "rules" enhances the likelihood of their success. Finally, I find that the processes of judicial retrenchment are distinctive but not static, unfolding in a series of methods for attempted change that are not only path dependent, but also path breaking.

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Clark Mary L.

Introducing a Parliamentary Confirmation Process for New Supreme Court Justices: Its Pros and Cons, and Lessons Learned from the US Experience

in *Public law*, July , 464-481

No abstract available

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

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Rivera León Mauo Arturo

Jurisdicción constitucional: ecos del argumento contramayoritario

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 22 , 223-260

full text available at:

<http://www.juridicas.unam.mx/publica/librev/rev/cconst/cont/22/ard/ard8.pdf>

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

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Doli Dren, Korenica Fisnik

Kosovar Constitutional Court's Jurisdiction: Searching for Strengths and Weaknesses

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 803-836

Having gone through an international process on status settlement, in the aftermath of the proclamation of independence, the Kosovo Assembly adopted a Constitution and a range of essential laws. One of the very basic laws adopted in the aftermath of independence is the Law on the Constitutional Court. The Ahtisaari Commission had given a singular importance to the latter, having seen the Kosovan Constitutional Court as one of the most important guarantors of democracy in constitutional terms. In an Ahtisaarian view, the Kosovan Constitutional Court is, inter alia, thought of as a guarantor of the ethnic communities' constitutional rights. As a result, the law concerned along with the Constitution of Kosovo determined the organization and functioning of the Kosovo Constitutional Court.



For many, the question of why it is important to stick to the analysis of the jurisdiction of a Constitutional Court is almost not sensible. The explanation, no doubt, lies in the fact that many do not evaluate the Constitutional Court's influence on the predetermined principles upon which the latter exercises its influence. Therefore, though it is not an objective of this paper, it is worth-noting that in Kelsen's view, the Constitutional Court should be a product of a wide political compromise, and its composition should enjoy high qualified judges whose practical and professional experience would guarantee a greatly influential and just product in the final case. From a very brief analysis, one would have said that the law concerned preconditions such features for the Kosovo Constitutional Court. The aim of the paper, however, is not to speak about the organization of the latter, but rather it is to discuss and analyze the limits and sources of the Constitutional Court's jurisdiction. As a result, our discussions and analyses will be aimed at finding...

Full text available at:

http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No8/PDF_Vol_11_No_08_803-836_Kosovo%20Context_Doli%20&%20Korencia%20FINAL.pdf

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Vázquez Gómez Bisogno Francisco

La Suprema Corte y el poder constituyente constituido. Hacia la defensa del núcleo intangible de la Constitución

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 22 , 275-317

Full text available at:

<http://www.juridicas.unam.mx/publica/librev/rev/cconst/cont/22/ard/ard10.pdf>

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Amalfitano C.

La conoscenza e l'applicazione del diritto dell'Unione europea da parte del giudice e dell'arbitro

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 2 , 247-294

No abstract available

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

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Walsh Kevin C.

Partial Unconstitutionality

in *New York University Law Review* , Vol. 85, n. 2 , 738-794

Courts often hold legislation unconstitutional, but nearly always only part of the statute offends. The problem of partial unconstitutionality is therefore pervasive



and persistent. Yet the exclusive doctrinal tool for dealing with this problem—severability doctrine—is deeply flawed. To make matters worse, severability doctrine is purportedly necessary for any workable system of judicial review. The accepted view is that severance saves: A court faced with a partially unconstitutional law must sever and excise the unconstitutional provisions or applications so that the constitutional remainder can be enforced going forward. Absent severance and excision, a law must fall in its entirety. This excision-based understanding of judicial review is supposedly traceable to *Marbury v. Madison*. In fact, this attribution is anachronistic. Moreover, the prevailing view is wrong about the distinctive function of modern severability doctrine, which is not to save, but to destroy. This Article retrieves the original approach to partial unconstitutionality and develops a proposal for implementing a version of that approach. The proposal, displacement without inferred fallback law, is simultaneously ambitious and modest. It is ambitious because it proposes a shift in the general framework for judicial review in every case; it is modest because the proposed shift would change case outcomes in only a small set of highly consequential cases.

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LaCroix Alison L.

Temporal Imperialism

in *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, Vol. 158, issue 5 , 1329-1373

Unlike many modern constitutional democracies, the United States is still in its first republic. This means that the entity called “the United States of America,” as created by the Constitution, can be said to exist in a continuous relationship from 1789 to the present day.

Yet even to speak of the “first republic” seems odd: why use an ordinal number to denote the first and, so far, the only? But thinking of the American constitutional regime in this sense—as just one in a potential series of regimes—is useful because it calls into question one of the central assumptions of American constitutional law: the idea that the Republic of 2010 is in a fundamental sense continuous with that of 1789. This assumption is particularly evident in the Supreme Court’s case law, in which the Court regularly refers to the decisions of past decades or even centuries as “our” decisions, or in the custom of tracing particular seats on the Court back to their first occupants in the late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth century. The Court’s self-presentation and self-conception thus presume continuity.

The Justices’ rhetorical insistence that the Court is both a continuous and a unitary institution is striking, however, given the obvious changes in membership and doctrine that the Court as an institution has witnessed since its founding, as well as the relative rarity of per curiam decisions since the days of Chief Justice John Marshall. As an analytic matter, one might reasonably argue that no such entity as “the Court” exists; rather, the Supreme Court is a series of courts connected across a series of cases that exist along a series of moments in time. For the most part, however, the Justices’ decisions suppress this multiplicity and discontinuity in favor of a posture of unitariness and continuity. The composition of the Court thus changes over time, but the language of the decisions that issue from the Court presumes fixedness and permanence, presenting the Court as a single continuous entity with a single lifespan.



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Clark Bradford R.

The Eleventh Amendment and the Nature of the Union

in *Harvard Law Review*, Volume 123 · June 2010 · Number 8

Leading theories of the Eleventh Amendment start from the premise that its text makes no sense. These theories regard the Amendment as either underinclusive, overinclusive, or an incoherent compromise because it prohibits federal courts from hearing “any suit” against a state by out-of-state citizens, but does not prohibit suits against a state by its own citizens. Two of these theories would either expand or contract the immunity conferred by the text of the Amendment in order to avoid this absurd or anomalous result. This Article suggests that the Eleventh Amendment made sense as written when understood in its full historical context. In particular, the Articles of Confederation empowered Congress to require states to provide men, money, and supplies, but gave Congress no power to enforce its own commands. Prominent Founders initially argued that the only way to fix the Articles was to give Congress coercive power over states. But the Convention and the ratifiers ultimately rejected this idea because they feared that the introduction of such power would lead to a civil war.

To avoid this danger, the Founders designed the Constitution to give Congress legislative power over individuals rather than states. This novel approach eliminated the need for coercive power over states, and provided Federalists with a key argument for adopting the Constitution rather than amending the Articles. Antifederalists threatened to undermine this case for the Constitution by arguing that the state-citizen diversity provisions of Article III — authorizing suits “between” states and out-of-state citizens — could be construed to permit suits against states (and thus imply federal power to enforce any resulting judgments against states). Although Federalists denied this construction, the Supreme Court proceeded to read Article III to permit out-of-state citizens to sue states. Federalists and Antifederalists quickly joined forces to restore their preferred construction of Article III. In adopting the Eleventh Amendment, they saw no anomaly in prohibiting “any suit” against a state by out-of-state citizens because they did not understand the Constitution to authorize any suits against states by in-state citizens. Federal question jurisdiction did not expressly authorize such suits, and the Founders likely would not have perceived any real need for such jurisdiction given their understanding that the Constitution conferred neither legislative nor coercive power over states. Because the Eleventh Amendment, as written, made sense in light of the nature of the Union, the absurdity doctrine cannot justify departing from the terms of the Amendment.

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Kilbe Ian

The Interpretation of Article 260 TFEU (ex 228 EC)

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 3 , 370-386

This article examines the 12 decisions of the European Court of Justice under art.228(2) EC (now 260 TFEU) and the



actions and guidance of the European Commission concerning financial penalties. Three particular areas are discussed: the use made of each of the two types of financial penalty, how penalties are calculated and who decides when an infringement has ceased. The article discusses the problems raised by the existing methodology, in particular regarding the lack of transparency and predictability, as well as the lack of effectiveness which may still follow the imposition of a penalty. Finally, it assesses the changes introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon.

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Gluck Abbe R.

The States as Laboratories of Statutory Interpretation: Methodological Consensus and the New Modified Textualism

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 119, n. 8, July , 1750-1863

This Article offers the first close study of statutory interpretation in several state courts of last resort. While academics have spent the past decade speculating about the “death of textualism,” the utility of legislated rules of interpretation, and the capacity of judges to agree on a single set of interpretive rules, state courts, as it turns out, have been engaging in real-world experiments in precisely these areas. Several state courts have articulated governing interpretive regimes for all statutory questions. Methodological stare decisis—the practice of giving precedential effect to judicial statements about methodology—is generally absent from federal statutory interpretation, but appears to be a common feature of some states’ statutory case law. Every state legislature in the nation has enacted certain rules of interpretation, which some state courts are, in an unexpected twist, flouting. And, far from textualism being “dead,” what emerges from these state cases is a surprisingly strong consensus methodology—what this Article terms “modified textualism”—a theory that shares textualism’s core components but has broader potential appeal. These state developments offer a powerful counter-paradigm to that of the U.S. Supreme Court, where persistent interpretive divides and a refusal to treat methodological statements as precedential have made interpretive consensus seem impossible. They also highlight that, for all the energy that the statutory interpretation wars have consumed, the legal status of methodology itself—whether it is “law” or something “less”—remains entirely unresolved.

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Vignarajah Krishanti

The political roots of Judicial Legitimacy: Explaining the Enduring Validity of the Insular Cases

in *University of Chicago Law Review*, Vol. 77, issue 2 , 781-846

At the end of the Spanish-American War of 1898, America gained control of three new territories—Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. The political fate of these islands generated a bitter debate in the United States as many wondered how a country whose identity had been forged in the crucible of colonialism could, only a century after gaining its independence, administer an empire of its own. Despite the enormous political and public attention paid to the issue of American expansion, it was the Supreme Court—in a series of decisions collectively known as the Insular Cases—that interceded to settle the protracted political



feud. What is most striking about this episode in constitutional history is that the Court's intervention brought closure to a volatile national debate implicating international affairs and foreign treaties—matters in which courts were expected not to meddle—without provoking significant public backlash or damaging the Court's institutional credibility. And the Insular Cases themselves have remained good law ever since. This Article seeks to understand why. Specifically, this piece aims to understand the process by which divisive, politically charged issues were transformed into questions fit for judicial review, how that process ratified the decisions themselves, and what role the political branches can play in validating otherwise questionable judicial action. It concludes first that there is considerable evidence, as a descriptive matter, that before the Supreme Court decided the Insular Cases, political actors took a series of steps that authorized and facilitated judicial consideration of questions that were political in nature. Second, the Article contends, as a normative matter, that the Insular Cases illustrate how the political branches can properly validate the Court's decisions by consenting in advance to the judiciary's involvement and certifying certain questions to the courts. Although the precise features of this process defy easy classification, it is possible to discern evidence of five elements that laid the groundwork for legitimate judicial review. By (1) disavowing their own authority to settle the dispute, (2) publicly inviting the Court to mediate the controversy, (3) endorsing the validity of judicial resolution, (4) casting the political issue in legal and constitutional terms, and (5) proposing nonlegal factors that could compensate for the absence of traditional standards, the popular branches helped transform arguably political questions into justiciable ones. It is this "consent and certify" process that at once explains and justifies the Supreme Court's intervention in the Insular Cases. More broadly, the Article suggests that the largely forgotten historical context of the Insular Cases reveals an important, unexplored potential source of judicial legitimacy: the political branches of government.

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Tridimas, Takis, Gari Gabriel

Winners and losers in Luxembourg: A statistical analysis of judicial review before the European Court of Justice and the Court of First Instance (2001-2005)

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 2, 131-173

No abstract available

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

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in *Journal of East Asian Studies*, Volume 10, Number 3, Sep.-Dec.

Indonesia's Constitutional Court has played a significant role in that country's transformation from a violent-prone polity into Southeast Asia's most stable democracy. The Court has advanced institutional conflict resolution mechanisms and expanded democratic rights—two achievements identified by Linz and Stepan as major indicators of a consolidating democracy. Building on models developed by Ginsburg and Horowitz, I also illustrates why the Court has been able to defend its autonomy and become an agent of democratization.

While sharing Ginsburg's emphasis on high levels of power diffusion as a key reason for the Court's success, this article moves beyond such an approach.



Most importantly, it suggests that the judges' "judicial activism"—as expressed in a number of controversial but popular decisions—increased Indonesian society's support for the Court to such an extent that it has now become largely invulnerable to attempts of external intervention.

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Negussie Solomon

A Constitutional Overview of Fiscal Federalism in Ethiopia

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 21st Issue, 1/2010

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

Johannes Rincke

A commuting-based refinement of the contiguity matrix for spatial models, and an application to local police expenditures

in *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, Volume 40, Issue 4 , 324-330

One of the main weaknesses of empirical models in regional science and urban economics involving spatial interdependence is the arbitrary nature of the weight matrix. The paper considers a refinement of the commonly used contiguity matrix which exploits information on commuting flows between locations. Within the set of contiguous jurisdictions, the matrix assigns higher weights to localities for which commuting patterns suggest that households would view them as substitute locations to reside in. The concept is then applied to cities and townships in New England. Using the expenditure competition effect on local police spending as an example, we show that commuting-adjusted weighting schemes give estimates which differ substantially from those obtained using a standard contiguity matrix.

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Brooks Leah, Phillips Justin H.

An Institutional Explanation for the Stickiness of Federal Grants

in *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, Volume 26, Number 2, August 2010

Researchers have struggled to understand why federal block grants, contrary to economic theory, have a large stimulative effect on the spending of state and local governments. This article proposes and tests an institutional explanation for this effect. We argue that certain budgetary rules, by limiting the ability of subnational governments to respond to voter demands for increased spending, may systematically force lawmakers to under-provide public goods. When this occurs, governments are likely to treat grant revenue as a supplement to total expenditures and not return this money to voters in the form of a tax cut as suggested by existing theory. To evaluate our hypothesis, we use data on the Community Development Block Grant program and municipal tax and expenditure limitations. Results show that restrictive fiscal institutions significantly increase the stimulative power of federal grant revenue.



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Ostrom Elinor

Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 100, No. 3, June 2010

Contemporary research on the outcomes of diverse institutional arrangements for governing common-pool resources (CPRs) and public goods at multiple scales builds on classical economic theory while developing new theory to explain phenomena that do not fit in a dichotomous world of “the market” and “the state.” Scholars are slowly shifting from positing simple systems to using more complex frameworks, theories, and models to understand the diversity of puzzles and problems facing humans interacting in contemporary societies. The humans we study have complex motivational structures and establish diverse private-for-profit, governmental, and community institutional arrangements that operate at multiple scales to generate productive and innovative as well as destructive and perverse outcomes. In this article, I will describe the intellectual journey that I have taken the last half century from when I began graduate studies in the late 1950s.

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Mark Duggan, Robert Rosenheck, Perry Singleton

Federal Policy and the Rise in Disability Enrollment: Evidence for the Veterans Affairs’ Disability Compensation Program

in *Journal of Law and Economics (The)*, Volume 53, Number 2 , 379-389

The U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs compensates 13 percent of the nation’s military veterans for service-related disabilities through the Disability Compensation (DC) program. In 2001, a legislative change made it easier for Vietnam veterans to receive benefits for diabetes associated with military service. In this paper, we investigate this policy’s effect on DC enrollment and expenditures as well as the behavioral response of potential beneficiaries. Our findings demonstrate that the policy increased DC enrollment by 6 percentage points among Vietnam veterans and that an additional 1.7 percent experienced an increase in their DC benefits, which increased annual program expenditures by \$2.85 billion in 2007. Using individual-level data from the Veterans Supplement to the Current Population Survey, we find that the induced increase in DC enrollment had little average impact on the labor supply or health status of Vietnam veterans but did reduce labor supply among their spouses.

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Jorio Ettore

Federalismo fiscale: la verità, prima di tutto, e poi gli strumenti per il cambiamento.

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 13



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

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Oguzhan Dincer

Fiscal Decentralization and Trust

in **Public Finance Review**, Vol. 38, No. 2 , 178-192

Using data from U.S. states and various measures of decentralization, I investigate the relationship between fiscal decentralization and trust. I find that a one standard deviation increase in either revenue decentralization or expenditure decentralization causes the share of trusting people in a state to increase by almost 4 percentage points. A one standard deviation increase in the number of governments, however, causes trust to increase by almost 2.5 percentage points. The results are robust to endogeneity.

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Epstein Richard A.

How to Undermine Tax Increment Financing: The Lessons of City of Chicago v ProLogis

in **University of Chicago Law Review**, Vol. 77, issue 1 , 121-264

This Article examines the appropriate level of constitutional protection against outside governments that condemn property located within a given local municipality that uses tax increment financing (TIF) to fund local improvements. The standard TIF arrangement does not provide the TIF lenders with liens against any particular asset, because to do so would be to abandon the tax-exempt status of the municipal bonds that are issued. Yet these agreements guarantee that the local government that issued the bonds will take no steps to compromise their repayment from (incremental) tax dollars. These protections allow TIF bonds to trade in ordinary financial markets. The bonds may, however, prove vulnerable to loss when the private and public property within the local municipal district is condemned by an outside government, as happened in *City of Chicago v ProLogis*, where the Illinois Supreme Court denied the bondholders claim. I believe that these TIF bonds should have been treated as property under the Takings Clause and not as a mere "expectation" devoid of constitutional protection. This topic opens the way for a larger consideration of how to value divided interests in real property under the Takings Clause as a matter of modern finance theory in light of the powerful public choice issues that lurk in the background of this, and all other, takings disputes.

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Gori Luca

Il complesso avvio del federalismo fiscale



in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero : 2, giugno , 397-400

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 federalismo fiscale in Italia: stato attuale e prospettive

in **Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno**, numero : 1, marzo , 123-144

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Jorio Ettore

Il federalismo fiscale verso i costi standard

in **Federalismi**, Anno VIII - Nr. 12

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

Sergei Guriev, Evgeny Yakovlev, Ekaterina Zhuravskaya

Interest group politics in a federation

in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume 94, Issues 9-10 , 730-748

The optimal degree of decentralization depends on the importance of inter-state externalities of local policies. We show that inter-state externalities are determined by the spatial distribution of interest groups within the country. Interest groups who have multi-state scope internalize inter-state externalities to a larger extent than the lobbyists with interests within a single state. We use variation in the geographic boundaries of politically-powerful industrial interests to estimate the effect of inter-state externalities on firm performance. Using firm-level panel data from a peripheralized federation, Russia in 1996–2003, we show that, controlling for firm fixed effects, the performance of firms substantially improves with an increase in the number of neighboring regions under influence of multi-regional business groups compared to the number influenced by local business groups. Our findings have implications for the literatures on federalism and on international trade as trade restrictions are a common source of inter-state externalities.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Dennis Botmana; Alexander Klemmb; Reza Baqir



Investment incentives and effective tax rates in the Philippines: a comparison with neighboring countries
in *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)*, Volume 15 Issue 2 , 166 - 191

This paper compares the general tax provisions and investment incentives in the Philippines to six other East Asian economies - Malaysia, Indonesia, Lao, Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand. It finds that general effective tax rates are relatively high in the Philippines, while investment incentives are comparable to those in neighboring countries. Tax holidays are most attractive for very profitable firms, creating redundancy, and for investment in short-lived assets. Two recently proposed tax reforms would replace tax holidays by a reduced corporate income tax rate or a low tax on gross receipts. The results suggest that this would result in stronger incentives to invest, while government revenue would increase. Alternatively, replacing tax holidays with a general reduction in the corporate tax rate and accelerated depreciation would either not provide the same incentives or be very costly.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Patricia Beeson, Lara Shore-Sheppard, bTara Watson

Local Fiscal Policies and Urban Wage Structures

in *Public Finance Review*, Volume 37, No. 5 , 540-584

It has long been recognized that average wages vary strikingly across regions and urban areas in part due to differences in local amenities and fiscal policies. However, analogous differences in wage dispersion remain relatively unexplored. The authors develop a model suggesting that, after accounting for individual characteristics, wage dispersion across income groups should reflect differences in the relative valuation of local amenities and fiscal policies. The authors empirically investigate whether there is a link between local taxes and expenditures and the degree of dispersion in the wage structure and find evidence that such a relationship exists.

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Christian Dreger, Jürgen Wolters

M3 money demand and excess liquidity in the euro area

in *Public Choice*, Volume 144, Numbers 3-4 , Christian Dreger and Jürgen Wolters

Recent empirical studies have found evidence of unstable long run money demand functions if recent data are used. If the link between money balances and the macroeconomy is fragile, the rationale of monetary aggregates in the ECB strategy has to be doubted. In contrast we present a "stable" long run money demand relationship for M3 for the period 1983–2006. To obtain the result, the short run homogeneity restriction between money and prices is relaxed and a break in the income elasticity of money demand after 2001 is taken into account. Measures of excess liquidity do not show significant inflation pressures.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Srinivasan R.

Mission Accomplished: Centralization of State's Fiscal Powers



in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 20th Issue, 2/2009

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

Döring Thomas, Knappitsch Eithne, Aigner Birgit

Municipalities and regions in locational competition — New economic considerations

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 4 / July 2010 , 239-248

Locational competition has intensified in recent years in the wake of globalisation as well as the general development towards a knowledge- and service-based economy. In this context, newer economic analyses point to a shifting of the locational factors considered relevant for success in local and regional competition. With respect to these fundamental changes, it is becoming increasingly relevant to ask how local and regional development processes must be constructed in order for municipalities and regions in modern industrial countries to maintain the positions they have already achieved.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Lars P. Feld, Christoph A. Schaltegger

Political stability and fiscal policy: time series evidence for the Swiss federal level since 1849

in *Public Choice*, Volume 144, Numbers 3-4 , 505-534

This paper explores the role of political stability on fiscal policy in a time-series analysis over 158 years at the Swiss federal level. We argue that the fiscal commons problem of public finances is affected by the number of years a finance minister remains in office, because the incentives for an incumbent to maintain a good reputation with sound policy decisions are stronger. A finance minister who succeeds to stay a long time in office enjoys a politically powerful position towards the administration, parliament and interest groups. In contrast, frequent government turnover weakens the position of the finance minister.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Arclean Calin, Glomm Gerhard, Schiopu Ioana, Suedekum Jens

Public budget composition, fiscal (de)centralization, and welfare

in *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economique*, Volume 43, Number 3 , 832-859

We study the optimal degree of fiscal decentralization in a dynamic federal economy where governments decide on budget size and its allocation between public education and infrastructure spending. We find that full centralization of tax and expenditure policies is optimal when infrastructure productivity is similar across regions. When differences are not too large, partial centralization is optimal. With strong differences, full decentralization becomes optimal. National



steady-state output tends to be highest under full decentralization. We provide a justification for the mixed evidence regarding the Oates conjecture by showing that full dominates partial decentralization, despite being inferior to complete decentralization.

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Howard Chernick

Redistribution at the State and Local Level: Consequences for Economic Growth
in *Public Finance Review*, Vol. 38, No. 4 , 409-449

Fiscal redistribution varies substantially across U.S. states, both on the tax and spending side. A compensating differential framework is used to show that greater redistribution will tend to increase the gross wage of skilled workers but that any increase could be offset by stronger preferences for redistribution. An increase in gross wages raises the cost of output in the more redistributive state, leading to a predicted decline in income and output. To test the model, five- and ten-year per capita and aggregate growth rates are estimated as a function of initial measures of tax and expenditure incidence. Data are a four-period panel of U.S. states from 1977 to 1995. Tax progressivity is measured both overall and for the income tax alone. Expenditure progressivity is measured by spending on welfare and higher education, and the state share of elementary and secondary education spending. Tax structure and welfare spending are instrumented. State tax progressivity shows no effect on growth. Welfare spending has a negative effect on aggregate income growth but not on per capita income. Higher education spending is unrelated to growth. Fiscal spillovers within regions are asymmetric. Progressive taxation and more higher education spending by a state's geographic neighbors have positive effects on own-state growth. The asymmetry in tax effects explains why interstate tax competition does not lead to geographic convergence in fiscal structures. The results suggest that interstate differences in fiscal redistribution are welfare enhancing in the Pareto sense.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Tivelli Luigi, Monorchio Andrea

Responsabilizzazione e federalismo fiscale
in *Amministrazione italiana (Ia)*, n. 3 , 378-379

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

1. Michael Keen, 2. Mario Mansour

Revenue Mobilisation in Sub-Saharan Africa: Challenges from Globalisation I – Trade Reform
in *Development Policy Review* , Volume 28, Issue 5 , 553–571

This is the first of two articles evaluating the nature and extent of, and possible responses to, two of the central



challenges that globalisation poses for revenue mobilisation in sub-Saharan Africa: trade liberalisation, and corporate tax competition. Both articles use a new dataset with the features needed to address these issues meaningfully: a disentangling of tariff from commodity tax revenue, and a distinction between resource-related and other revenues. This first article describes that dataset, and provides a broad picture of revenue developments in the region between 1980 and 2005. Countries' experiences have varied, but the overall picture is of non-resource revenues having been essentially stagnant. Within this, however, and with exceptions, reductions in trade tax revenue have been largely offset by increased revenue from domestic sources.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Di Maria Roberto

Ripensare la natura di "tributo proprio" delle Regioni? Brevi riflessioni sulla evoluzione (semantica) della potestà legislativa regionale in materia tributaria (a margine di Corte cost., sent. n. 216/2009)

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 3

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

Marcel Gérard, Hubert Jayet, Sonia Paty

Tax interactions among Belgian municipalities: Do interregional differences matter?

in *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, Volume 40, Issue 5 , 336-342

This paper tests the existence of strategic interactions among municipalities, based on a panel of Belgian local tax rates from 1985 to 2004. A special emphasis is put on the role of the interregional differences in Belgium. Our results partly confirm previous findings for Belgium suggesting that municipalities interact over the local surcharge on the (labor) income tax rate but not on the local surcharge on the property tax. Using spatial econometrics tools and an original methodology for specifying weight matrices, we find that municipalities are sensitive to the local income tax rates set by only their closest neighbors. We cannot reject the hypothesis that interregional differences matter for municipalities belonging to the Brussels region: for the local income tax rate, the intensity of interactions is shown to be higher between municipalities belonging to the Brussels region than between municipalities belonging to different regions.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Briffault Richard

The Most Popular Tool: Tax Increment Financing and the Political Economy of Local Government

in *University of Chicago Law Review*, Vol. 77, issue 1 , 65-162

Tax increment financing (TIF) is the most widely used local government program for financing economic development in the United States, but the proliferation of TIF is puzzling. TIF was originally created to support urban renewal programs and was narrowly focused on addressing urban blight, yet now it is used in areas that are plainly unblighted. TIF brings in no outside money and provides no new revenue-raising authority.



There is little clear evidence that TIF has done much to help the municipalities that use it, and it is also a source of intergovernmental tension and a site of conflict over the scope of public aid to the private sector.

Yet, the expansion of TIF makes sense in light of the basic structure of American local government law. Studying TIF can illuminate central features of our local government

system. TIF succeeds—in the sense of its widespread adoption and use—because it, like local government more generally, is highly decentralized; reflects and reinforces the fiscalization of development policy; plays off the fragmentation of local governments and the resulting interlocal struggle for investment; and fits well with the entrepreneurial spirit characteristic of contemporary local economic development policy.

A better understanding of TIF contributes to a better understanding of the political economy of American local government.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Thomas L. Hungerford

The Redistributive Effect of Selected Federal Transfer and Tax Provisions

in Public Finance Review, Vol. 38, No. 4 , 450-472

Several policy makers have voiced concern, bordering on alarm, over federal budget deficits and growing federal debt over the past decade and have advocated changes in spending and revenue policies to address their concerns. This study examines the redistributive effect of various federal tax provisions and transfer programs using methods that pick up important dimensions of redistribution often missed in analyses. Overall, the results are as expected—both U.S. taxes and transfers reduce income inequality. The redistributive effect, however, could be larger, if the reranking effect were reduced or eliminated. The reranking effect tends to be relatively more important for transfers than for taxes.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Duc Hong Vo

The economics of fiscal decentralization

in Journal of Economic Surveys, Volume 24, Issue 4 , 657–679

There is no complete overview or discussion of the literature of the economics of federalism and fiscal decentralization, even though scholarly interest in the topic has been increasing significantly over recent years. This paper provides a general, brief but comprehensive overview of the main insights from the literature on fiscal federalism and decentralization. In doing so, literature on fiscal federalism and decentralization is grouped into two main approaches: 'first generation approach' and 'an emerging second generation approach'. The discussion generally covers the two notions of fiscal decentralization: 'fiscal autonomy' and 'fiscal importance' of subnational governments as the background of the most recently developed index of fiscal decentralization in Vo. The relevance of this discussion to any further development of a fiscal decentralization index is briefly noted.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Jeroen Klomp, Jakob De Haan



Inflation and central banks independence: a meta regression analysis

in *Journal of Economic Surveys*, Volume 24, Issue 4 , 593–621

Using 59 studies, we perform a meta-regression analysis of studies examining the relationship between inflation and central bank independence (CBI). The studies considered are very different with respect to the CBI indicator used, the sample of countries and time periods covered, model specification, estimators used and publication outlet. We conclude that there is a significant publication bias. However, we also find a significant genuine effect of CBI on inflation. Differences between studies are not caused by differences in CBI indicators used.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

BORDES Christian, CLERC Laurent

L'art du central banking de la BCE et le principe de séparation

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, Volume 120, n° 2, mars-avril , 269-302

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)

Arnab Bhattacharjee, Dean Holly

Rational partisan theory, uncertainty, and spatial voting: evidence for the bank of england's mpc

in *Economics and Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 2 , 151–179

The transparency and openness of the monetary policy-making process at the Bank of England has provided very detailed information on both the decisions of individual members of the Monetary Policy Committee (MPC) and the information on which they are based. In this paper, we consider this decision-making process in the context of a model in which inflation forecast targeting is used, but there is heterogeneity among the members of the committee. We find that rational partisan theory can explain spatial voting behavior under forecast uncertainty about the output gap. Internally generated forecasts of output and market-generated expectations of medium-term inflation provide the best description of discrete changes in interest rates, in combination with uncertainty in the macroeconomic environment. There is also a role for developments in asset, housing and labor markets. Further, spatial voting patterns clearly differentiate between internally and externally appointed members of the MPC. The results have important implications for committee design and the conduct of monetary policy.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Joshua Aizenman, Gurnain Kaur Pasricha

Selective swap arrangements and the global financial crisis: Analysis and interpretation

in *International Review of Economics and Finance*, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 353-365

This paper explores the logic inducing the FED to extend unprecedented swap-lines to four emerging markets in September 2008. Exposure of US banks to EMs turned out to be the most important selection criterion for explaining the



“selected four” swap-lines. This result is consistent with the outlined model. The FED swap-lines had relatively large short-run impact on the exchange rates of the selected EMs, but much smaller effect on the spreads. Yet, all the swap countries saw their exchange rate subsequently depreciate to a level lower than pre-swap rate, calling into question the long-run impact of the swap arrangements.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

D'Alterio Elisa

Il costo dei tributi. La gestione delle attività tributarie locali

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 2 , 401 ff.

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Wilks-Heega Stuart

A Slow and Painful Death? Political Parties and Local Democracy in Two Northern Towns

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, issue 3 , 381 - 399

This paper assesses the state of local political parties in the UK, using case study material generated via a comparative study of local democracy in Burnley and Harrogate. It considers the challenges facing local political parties arising from the transition from local government to local governance and the 'diversification' of mechanisms through which local residents relate to local public agencies. The paper argues that local parties have reached an advanced state of decline, reflected in the erosion of third parties and, in the case of Burnley, the rise of the British National Party. The paper concludes with proposals for reinvigorating local parties, as part of a broader agenda of reviving local democracy in the UK.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Been Vicki

Community Benefits Agreements: A New Local Government Tool or Another Variation on the Exactions Theme?

in *University of Chicago Law Review*, Vol. 77, issue 1 , 5-42

Community benefits agreements (CBAs) are the latest in a long line of tools neighbors have used to protect their neighborhood from the burdens of development, and to try to secure benefits from the proposed development. This Article canvasses the benefits and drawbacks various stakeholders perceive CBAs to offer or to threaten, and reviews the legal and policy questions CBAs present. It recommends that local governments avoid the use of CBAs in land use approval processes unless the CBAs are negotiated through processes designed to ensure the transparency of the negotiations, the representativeness and accountability of the negotiators, and the legality and enforceability of the CBAs' terms.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Rodríguez Jaime -Muñoz Arana - Sendín García Miguel Ángel

El servicio de transporte público local en España

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 9. Local government(s)

Secchi Leonardo

Entrepreneurship and Participation in Public Management Reforms at the Local Level

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, issue 4 , 511 - 527

This article seeks to discuss who the policy entrepreneurs are and who participates in the policy-making process of public management reforms at the local level. In order to answer the research questions, a multi-unit and multi-case research study was carried out in three municipal governments: Barcelona, Boston and Turin. The subjects of the study were 15 innovations in management implemented between 1992 and 2007. The first conclusion is that politicians predominantly take the entrepreneurial role in introducing innovations in public management, regardless of the technicality of the innovation. As far as political participation is concerned, public management reforms are still dealt with as in-house matters, even when public managers want to be recognised as promoting the positive values of political participation.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Michels Ank, De Graaf Laurens

Examining Citizen Participation: Local Participatory Policy Making and Democracy

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, issue 4 , 477 - 491

Citizen participation is usually seen as a vital aspect of democracy. Many theorists claim that citizen participation has positive effects on the quality of democracy. This article examines the probability of these claims for local participatory policymaking projects in two municipalities in the Netherlands. The article focuses on the relations between citizens and government from a citizens' perspective. The findings show that the role of citizens in these projects is limited, serving mainly to provide information on the basis of which the government then makes decisions. Nevertheless, the article argues that citizen involvement has a number of positive effects on democracy: not only do people consequently feel more responsibility for public matters, it increases public engagement, encourages people to listen to a diversity of opinions, and contributes to a higher degree of legitimacy of decisions. One negative effect is that not all relevant groups and interests are represented. The article concludes that for a healthy democracy at the local level, aspects of democratic citizenship are more important than having a direct say in decision-making.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Henstra Daniel

Explaining local policy choices: A Multiple Streams analysis of municipal emergency management

in Canadian Public Administration, Vol. 53, issue 2 , 241-258

Canadian municipal governments are expected to play a central role in emergency management, which involves developing policies and programs to cope with emergencies and their impacts. But although all communities face potential emergencies, the quality of municipal emergency planning varies considerably from one community to another. This suggests that some municipal decision-makers have recognized emergencies as a problem and have prioritized this issue relative to others competing for attention and resources. This article examines policy-making in municipal emergency management through the lens of the Multiple Streams framework, an analytical model that explains how problems are recognized, how and why they are added to the decision agenda, and how they are matched with policy solutions.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Ottoz Elisabetta, Fornengo Graziella

Frammentazione e concentrazione nel settore del trasporto pubblico locale in Italia: la rilevanza dei gruppi

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 9. Local government(s)

Sander Happaerts, Karoline Van den Brande, Hans Bruyninckx

Governance for Sustainable Development at the Inter-subnational Level: The Case of the Network of Regional Governments for Sustainable Development (nrg4SD)

in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 20 Issue 1 , 127 - 149

Subnational entities increasingly exert agency in multilateral decision making. Since they are often not recognized as actors in multilateral bodies, they use several mechanisms to gain representation. An example of an extra-state mechanism is the participation in inter-subnational networks. This article is about the Network of Regional Governments for Sustainable Development (nrg4SD), a network that focuses on sustainable development and that has a unique global scope, addressing the UN institutions above all. A first part of our analysis shows that, although it is a relatively young initiative, nrg4SD has evolved into an institution with a permanent character, but subsequently went through a period of stagnation and criticism. It also demonstrates that, besides offering subnational entities an extra-state route to multilateral decision making, it entails an important internal dimension as well, through the promotion of policy learning and bilateral co-operation. The second part of the article offers a comparative analysis of three of the network's members (Flanders, the Basque Country and North Rhine-Westphalia), which shows that they have diverging views on nrg4SD and its functioning and use their participation in very different ways and with different results.



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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Rando Giancarlo

Il finanziamento dei trasporti pubblici locali in Italia

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 9.Local government(s)

Mostacci Edmondo

La gestione dei trasporti pubblici locali: disciplina di settore, esperienze e prospettive

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 9.Local government(s)

Vipiana Patrizia

La recente giurisprudenza costituzionale in tema di leggi-provvedimento delle Regioni

in *Quaderni Regionali* , 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)

Amato Amedeo, Conti Maurizio

Le gare come strumento di liberalizzazione nel settore dei servizi pubblici locali: le condizioni per una efficiente applicabilità

in *Quaderni Regionali* , 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)

Gambale Piero

Lo statuto della Regione Puglia e le fonti del diritto regionale: una breve ricostruzione

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 9. Local government(s)

Kjaer Ulrik, Elklitb Jørgen

Local Party System Nationalisation: Does Municipal Size Matter?

in **Local Government Studies**, Vol. 36, issue 3 , 425 - 444

Local party systems are not necessarily copies of their country's national party system. Some national parties do not field candidates in all municipalities, while in other municipalities there are non-partisan lists/local parties. In this article it is hypothesised that the larger the municipality (in number of inhabitants), the more the local party system will resemble the national party system (and vice versa). The hypothesis is tested using data from the 2001 local elections in Denmark. For this purpose, an index of local party system nationalisation is developed. The index is formulated in general terms so as to make it applicable in other settings and in comparisons between countries and over time.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Leyland Peter

Local Transport Provision in the United Kingdom: The Quest for Accountability and Coherence in a 'Contract State'

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 9. Local government(s)

Geurtz Casper, Van de wijdeven Ted

Making Citizen Participation Work: The Challenging Search for New Forms of Local Democracy in The Netherlands

in **Local Government Studies**, Vol. 36, issue 4 , 529 - 530

Governance theory shows that governments no longer operate as actors that take unilateral decisions but instead have to share power and influence with various other actors. There is also a large body of literature that shows a growing discontent with (local) democracy. These two trends lead various local governments to either reaffirm representative democracy, or to introduce elements of direct participatory democracy. In practice the combination of the two - representative and direct participatory democracy - can be problematic. This paper describes the experiences of Hooegeveen, a medium-sized municipality in the Netherlands with a far-reaching programme of direct participatory democracy. In Hooegeveen, local residents can decide on yearly budgets for their neighbourhood and become involved in the long-term planning of its development. The Hooegeveen case shows that direct participatory and representative democracy can be balanced with the help of (1) connecting arrangements, (2) professional connectors and (3) steady political support.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

van den Dool Leon, van Hulst Merlijn, Schaap Linze

More than a Friendly Visit: A New Strategy for Improving Local Governing Capacity

in **Local Government Studies**, Vol. 36, issue 4 , 551 - 568

This article argues that in order to take into account changes in the governance era, performance assessment at the local level may well have to be refocused. Researchers will have to reconsider their strategies. They should consider the governance character of public administration and pay attention to co-operative settings and democratic aspects. In addition, researchers should think not just about gathering facts about the performance of local government, they should also try to contribute to a learning process. This paper presents a new strategy for assessing the capacity that local governments have to get things done. This strategy acknowledges the governance context of local authorities and casts a keen eye on the way local governments fulfil their functions and aim to involve various stakeholders. The evaluation of this assessment strategy shows its relevance, although minor improvements could be made.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kjaer Ulrik, Hjelm Ulf, Leth Olsen Asmus

Municipal Amalgamations and the Democratic Functioning of Local Councils: The Case of The Danish 2007 Structural Reform

in **Local Government Studies**, Vol. 36, issue 4 , 569 - 585

This article discusses the effects of the structural reform in Denmark in 2007 - where a large number of municipalities were amalgamated - on local councillors' influence on decisions taken in the local political realm. The analysis uses data from two large surveys, a pre-reform survey (2003) and a post-reform survey (2009). The analysis shows that the amalgamations have led to an increase in the perceived influence of leading councillors vis--vis other councillors and a decrease in the perceived influence of the council vis--vis its top administrative officers. Furthermore, it is found that there is an increase in the number of councillors who find that local political decisions are determined by laws and rules from central government, but at the same time it is shown that this increase cannot be ascribed to the amalgamations.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Durose Catherine, Lowndes Vivien

Neighbourhood Governance: Contested Rationales within a Multi-Level Setting - A Study of Manchester

in **Local Government Studies**, Vol. 36, issue 3 , 341 - 359

'Neighbourhood' is a long standing concept in local governance which was re-energised as part of the post-1997 New Labour policy paradigm. This paper builds on the work of Lowndes and Sullivan which identified four distinct rationales for neighbourhood working - civic, social, political and economic. The utility of the framework is explored through primary research in Manchester, UK. The research shows that different rationales are held by actors at different locations within the complex system of multi-level governance within which neighbourhood policy is made and implemented.



Neighbourhood approaches to urban regeneration exist within a congested governance environment. In Manchester, regeneration has been strongly driven by the self-styled 'Team Manchester' who have provided an urban entrepreneurial vision for change in the city. Significantly, however, interventions at the neighbourhood level have shown potential for creating opportunities for citizen and community dissent and empowerment not subsumed with the narrative of the entrepreneurial city. Lowndes and Sullivan's framework provides important analytical building blocks and illuminating tools for understanding neighbourhood approaches. This research points to the merit of a dynamic approach recognising competing perspectives and contested agendas.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Zafra-Gómez José Luis, Antonio Manuel, Pérez Muñiz

Overcoming cost-inefficiencies within small municipalities: improve financial condition or reduce the quality of public services?

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 28, Issue 4, August , 609-629

A common finding of studies evaluating cost-efficiency in the provision of local public services is the existence of economies of scale in the production of such services. How can smaller, less efficient local authorities overcome this position of disadvantage? According to economic theory, they should either obtain supplementary funding or otherwise reduce the quality levels of the services provided. The aim of the present study is to evaluate the relations among different dimensions of municipal performance. The above concepts are analysed in a sample composed of 923 local authorities in Spain, each with fewer than 20 000 inhabitants, using a data envelopment analysis model adapted for the particular characteristics of the local environment and repeating the analysis for two different periods, 2000 and 2005, in order to increase the consistency of the results obtained. Empirical analysis shows that the financial management and the productive efficiency of small local authorities are not interrelated, with the more cost-efficient bodies (especially for quality-related costs) being the least efficient as regards their financial condition. Moreover, our analysis of cost-efficiency for the smaller municipalities shows that revenues must be increased in order to obtain a similar level of quality to that of larger authorities.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Rallings Colin, Thrasher Michael, Borisjuk Galina, Shears Mary

Parties, Recruitment and Modernisation: Evidence from Local Election Candidates

in Local Government Studies, Vol. 36, issue 3 , 361 - 379

Using pooled data from four separate nationwide surveys of local election candidates conducted from 2006-09 the paper assesses the role and importance of parties in the recruitment and selection of candidates. In many respects candidates are similar to councillors with men outnumbering women in a two to one ratio, with very few non-white candidates coming forward for selection and an age bias towards older rather than younger people. Candidates are found generally to have higher educational qualifications and to be employed in professional and managerial populations than in the public at large. Although a majority of candidates are resident in the ward that they contest a large fraction live elsewhere, suggesting that local parties cast the net widely during the recruitment process. The data suggest that the recruitment networks used by parties are relatively closed with many candidates reporting prior experience as local party officer holders or as members of charitable organisations and local public bodies. For two-thirds of candidates the initial



decision to stand follows from a request by someone else, often a fellow party member. Women are more likely to be asked than men. Although candidates are aware of the current under-representation of some social and ethnic groups they are generally against using affirmative action measures to redress any imbalance. Although local parties are sometimes seen as contributing towards the problem of under-representation of some groups on council benches the data suggest that an increase in independent candidates would be unlikely to improve the situation and could perhaps cause it to deteriorate still further.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Pascaru Mihai ; Buţiu Călina Ana

Psycho-Sociological Barriers to Citizen Participation in Local Governance. The Case of Some Rural Communities in Romania

in Local Government Studies, Vol. 36, issue 4 , 493 - 509

This article focuses on the identification of three types of citizens' participation in local governance: 1) Primary participation (by paying taxes and other contributions), 2) secondary participation (at the level of being informed about the actions of local government) and 3) tertiary participation (at the level of local interest decision-making). Various inquiries carried out within a number of rural communities in Romania are presented in order to highlight certain psycho-sociological barriers that prevent participation. These barriers can range from citizens' simple indifference all the way to the fear inculcated during the communist regime. However, one might assume that such barriers would disappear in the context of Romania's genuine integration into European development projects.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Yasuo Takao

Reinvigorating the transnational links of sub-national governments between Australia and Japan with special reference to Western Australia-Hyogo sister-state relations

in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 23 Issue 4 September , 453 - 477

The study of transnational links between sub-national governments is a lacuna in the field of international relations yet the issue on inter-sub-national government cooperation has recently gained greater importance at the international level. Since the 1992 Earth Summit recognition of sub-national authorities as key players in global sustainable development strategies, the importance of decentralised cooperation between sub-national governments has been strengthened by a series of international standardisation and domestic incorporation of this principle. Yet our research raises serious questions about the degree to which Australia-Japan twinning of sub-national governments has made progress towards taking responsibility in facing global challenges. Our case study of Western Australia-Hyogo sister-state relationships shows that their 25 year-old cooperation has been suffering from a lack of awareness of the emerging role of sub-national governments. Not surprisingly, national government policy and position has greatly influenced the nature and patterns of their relationships. Australia and Japan twinning, as leading inter-sub-national partnerships in the region, can do more to promote the value of the local dimension in international development cooperation. In light of these challenges, the future of their twinning must lie in a structured long-term commitment for global strategies as well as mutual benefits.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

de Groot Merel, Dentersb Bas, Klok Pieter-Jan

Strengthening the Councillor as a Representative and Scrutiniser: The Effects of Institutional Change on Councillors' Role Orientations in the Netherlands

in Local Government Studies, Vol. 36, issue 3 , 401 - 423

In 2002 the Dutch Ministry of the Interior enacted a new Local Government Act. The introduction of the new legislation was supported by a large-scale Innovation Program. The main objective of this institutional reform in local government was to improve the responsiveness and democratic accountability of municipalities by changing the role orientations and role behaviour of local councillors. The first question we address in this paper is whether these institutional reforms have indeed changed the relevant role orientations of the councillors. Despite widespread scepticism about the impact of institutional change, on the basis of surveys conducted before and after the reforms we found that the Dutch reforms may have been successful in changing some relevant role orientations of councillors. The second question in this paper is whether such possible changes in role orientations can be explained as the result of processes of (1) socialisation of councillors and (2) their selection.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Leach Steve

The Audit Commission's View of Politics: A Critical Evaluation of the CPA Process

in Local Government Studies, Vol. 36, issue 3 , 445 - 461

The Comprehensive Performance Assessment (CPA) process introduced in the wake of the Local Government Act 2000 was in essence a managerial tool applied to a political environment. An analysis of the Commission's first tranche of CPA reports reveals a particular perspective on the role of politics and parties in local authorities which raises issues about the Commission's competence and legitimacy to make such judgements. Composite pictures of the 'good political authority' and the 'poor political authority' can be drawn up, which display a degree of political naivety and a failure to recognise the differences between political and managerial logic. It is concluded that the CPA process should have taken the political culture of an authority as a 'given' (at least in the short term), and evaluated the performance of the authority's management in the political circumstances in which they had to operate. Finally the role of the CPA process in contributing to the government-led pressures for depoliticisation of local decision-making is examined, with a particular concern about the substitution of the concept of 'the good of the area' for the different priorities and visions of different parties.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Leach Steve

The Labour Government's Local Government Agenda 1997-2009: The Impact on Member-Officer Relationships

in Local Government Studies, Vol. 36, issue 3 , 323 - 339



In looking back over the Labour government's agenda for local government (1997-2009) six key themes can be identified: the move to local executive government; the emphasis on strong individual local leadership; the cumulative enhancement of the focus on partnership working; the strengthening of the performance/inspection culture; a concern with public engagement and community cohesion (particularly at neighbourhood level); and a further move towards a unitary structure of local government in England. Although the first raft of measures did have a degree of coherence, over time the coherence of the government's vision disintegrated. The overall effect of this pattern of central initiative and intervention on member-officer relations, is examined. It is argued that whereas the impact of the enhancement of the performance/inspection culture has been to strengthen the position of chief executives (vis--vis council leaders) the move to local executive government has not resulted in the shift of power from leading officers to leading members that might have been anticipated. In addition the challenge to the unified officer structure implicit in the division between the executive and scrutiny roles has remained latent.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Siegel David

The leadership role of the municipal chief administrative officer

in *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 53, issue 2 , 139–161

A great deal has been written about leadership, but not much of it focuses on the unique role of the municipal chief administrative officer (CAO). This article argues that the complexity of the position of municipal CAO comes about because the incumbent must lead in three different directions simultaneously: down (dealing with subordinates), out (dealing with residents' groups, media, and other governments), and up (dealing with the mayor and council). Leading in each of those directions requires a different skill set such that the effective CAO must be able to wear a variety of hats and must be able to switch those hats very quickly. The suggestion is made that we need to re-consider the ethics and values associated with the position to update our thinking about the expectations of the position.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Hershkoff Helen

"Just Words": Common Law and the Enforcement of State Constitutional Social and Economic Rights

in *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 62, issue 6 , 1521-1582

Since World War II, a number of countries abroad have adopted constitutions or amended these documents to include social and economic rights. These so-called positive rights embrace guarantees to goods and services such as public schooling, health care, and a clean environment. Even where moored to the text of a constitution, social and economic rights remain controversial. Among the criticisms, skeptics argue that constitutional provisions of this sort are ineffectual because courts cannot meaningfully enforce them against the government; positive rights are "just words" that can neither end inequality nor prevent poverty, and instead perversely hurt those they are intended to benefit. This Article examines the efficacy of positive constitutional rights from a different perspective: it considers the relation between the social and economic rights that are set forth in a subnational constitution and the development of private law doctrines of contract, torts, and property. Specifically, the Article examines the positive rights clauses that are included in some state constitutions in the United States and asks whether they can and should influence the state's common law decision



making.

Unlike the Federal Constitution, which consistently has been interpreted as excluding affirmative claims to government assistance, every state constitution in the United States—like many constitutions abroad—contains some explicit commitment to positive rights. The New York Constitution, for example, provides that “[t]he aid, care and support of the needy are public concerns and shall be provided by the state and by such of its subdivisions, and in such manner and by such means, as the legislature may from time to time determine.” Other state constitutional clauses contemplate provision of public schooling; others guarantee respect for individual “dignity” or the pursuit of “happiness,” both of which may include a substantive component; still others recognize a worker’s right to unionize or guarantee a clean environment. State courts have treated some social and economic provisions as justiciable claims against the government, but others only as aspirational statements that cannot be judicially enforced...

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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

Chemerinsky Erwin

Essay: Two Cheers for State Constitutional Law

in *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 62, issue 6 , 1695-1710

The story of marriage equality under state constitutions is quite mixed. The story begins when the Hawaii Supreme Court in *Baehr v. Lewin* indicated that strict scrutiny should be used for the prohibition of same-sex marriage on the ground it was gender discrimination. The court explained that it was solely a person’s sex that kept him or her from marrying someone of the same sex. The Hawaii Court remanded the case to the lower court for the application of strict scrutiny under the Hawaii Constitution’s use of this test for gender discrimination. Before this could occur, though, Hawaii voters amended their constitution to prevent marriage equality.

The Vermont Supreme Court found a right to same-sex civil unions, but not marriage for gay and lesbian couples. The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court in a historic ruling interpreted its state constitution to create a constitutional right to marriage equality. It rejected that civil unions could substitute for the right of gays and lesbians to marry. The New York Court of Appeals, though, rejected marriage equality under its constitution in a four-to-two decision...

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<http://www.stanfordlawreview.org/content/article/essay-two-cheers-state-constitutional-law>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

George Hon. Ronald M.

Keynote Address: Symposium on State Constitutions

in *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 62, issue 6 , 1515-



It is a great pleasure to return once again to Stanford Law School, where in 1964 a J.D. degree launched me into a seven year legal career as a California Deputy Attorney General and what, to this point, has been an almost thirtyeight year career as a judge.

The class that I most enjoyed in law school was Constitutional Law, and I was fortunate to have Gerald Gunther as my professor. The educational experience provided by that class no doubt had a substantial bearing upon my decision to enter the field of public law.

Stimulating and comprehensive as Professor Gunther's course was, the subject of state constitutional law was rarely if ever mentioned here or elsewhere. Ultimately United States Supreme Court Justice William Brennan and my late colleague California Supreme Court Justice Stanley Mosk wrote extensively on the subject, but the focus has remained even to this day almost exclusively on the federal aspects of constitutional law...

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

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Bhat M. Shafi

Autonomy Claims and Federal Imperatives in Jammu and Kashmir : Critical Insights from the Autonomy Debates

in **Indian Journal of Federal Studies**, 21st Issue, 1/2010

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

Bussell Jennifer

Between State and Citizen: Decentralization, Institutions, and Accountability

in **India Review**, Volume 9, Issue 2, Special Issue: From Outlays to Outcomes: Getting Development From Development Expenditures, April , 285-294

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

Linda Chelan Li

Central-local relations in the people's Republic of China: Trends, processes and impacts for policy implementation

in **Public Administration and Development**, Volume 30, Issue 3 , 177-190

Central-local relations are a matter of great importance to developmentalists because they highlight an intriguing puzzle in public administration especially in large states: how policies decided at higher echelons of the formal system can possibly be implemented by the multitude of intermediary and local actors across the system. In the case of China—the



most populous nation in the world, the contrast between the authoritarian façade of the Chinese regime and yet the proliferation of implementation gaps over many policy arenas adds additional complexity to the puzzle. This article reviews changes in central–local relations in the 60 years of history of People's Republic of China (PRC) as the outcome of four co-evolving processes, and clarifies the roles of each process: state building and national integration, development efficiency, career advancement and external influences. It points out the continuous pre-dominance of administrative decentralization from 1950s to present time, and the new emphasis on institutionalized power sharing in the context of new state-market boundaries since 1980s. In conclusion, the article suggests going beyond the traditional reliance on the compliance model to understand central–local interactions and the abundant implementation gaps in a context of central–local co-agency, thereby improving policy implementation

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Manyak Terrell G., Katono Issac Wasswa

Decentralization and Conflict in Uganda: Governance Adrift

in *African Studies Quarterly*, vol. 11, issue 4, summer , 1-24

ABSTRACT: This study examines the challenges that threaten one of Africa's most ambitious experiments in political, administrative and fiscal decentralization. Based on extensive interviews with local government leaders throughout Uganda, the research uncovered a complex interplay of conflicts that impact decision-making effectiveness. The sources of these conflicts center around (a) the impact of national politics on local government as the country approaches the 2011 election, (b) the inability to meet rising citizen demand for services as the tax base of local governments continues to erode, (c) the corrosive impact of social conflicts stemming mostly from poverty and illiteracy complicated by tribal and ethnic differences, and (d) the challenges of developing honest and effective leadership in local government. Can Uganda unravel this web of conflicts to bring meaningful governance to this young nation? Indeed, many countries within the developing world are watching this experiment with a great deal of interest.

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

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Mangiameli Stelio

Il Senato federale nella prospettiva italiana

in *Rassegna parlamentare*, n. 1

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Tondi della Mura Vincenzo

Il «Rapporto sulla sussidiarietà 2009»: le inedite (ma inesorabili) applicazioni del principio

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 12



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Reiter Renate, Grohs Stephan, EbingerbFalk, Kuhlmann Sabine, Bogumil Jörg

Impacts of decentralization: The French experience in a comparative perspective

in French Politics, Volume 8, Issue 2, July , 166–189

Shifts in competencies between levels of government fundamentally changed public policymaking not only in France – with its two ‘Actes’ of decentralization – but also in a similar vein in Germany and England. The effects of these reforms, however, have so far remained largely understudied. This analysis traces national decentralization strategies and compares their impacts on public service performance in person-related services. The results of the empirical case studies are astonishing, as the often considered unique French case seems to share substantial features with its neighbors: Local government performance is largely determined by the properties of the policy area under consideration the potential to reap synergies between relevant actors at place and the capacity to built up professional expertise at the local level turn out to be decisive factors for the ‘success’ of decentralization as a multi-level governance strategy.

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

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Tesfaye Fessha Yonatan

Institutional recognition and accomodation of ethnic diversity: federalism in Ethiopia

in Federalismi, Anno VIII - Nr. 12

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

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Duranti Francesco

La nuova autonomia della Groenlandia

in Federalismi, Anno VIII - Nr. 14

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

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Serdar Yilmaz, Yakup Beris, Rodrigo Serrano-Berthet

Linking Local Government Discretion and Accountability in Decentralisation

in Development Policy Review , Volume 28 Issue 3 , 259 - 293

Decentralisation offers significant opportunities to improve government accountability by exerting stronger pressures



both from below (demand) and above (supply). The literature contains many examples, however, where the potential has not been realised, partly because decentralisation reforms have often been introduced without thinking through their accountability implications. Even when accountability is taken into account, the efforts tend to emphasise either the supply or the demand side of the equation, but not both. Drawing on the sets of literature on fiscal, administrative and political decentralisation, this article presents a methodology for studying this.

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

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Fini Gianfranco

Orazione ufficiale in occasione della seduta solenne del Consiglio regionale-Assemblea Legislativa della Liguria per il 40° anniversario della nascita delle Regioni il 13 novembre del 2009

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 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Entwistle Tom

Organising intergovernmental relations: insights from cultural theory

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 28, Issue 4, August , 630-645

That England has a hierarchical relationship between central and local government is a staple of postwar constitutional commentary. By using cultural theory's five modes of organisation — namely, hierarchies, markets, networks, autonomism, and fatalism — to analyse 109 interviews conducted with politicians and managers in nine local authorities I question the adequacy of this characterisation. While many of those interviewed did indeed describe the operation of a very hierarchical system, others pointed to the excesses of network and market forms of organisation. Others, still, seemed to think that local authorities enjoyed altogether too much autonomy in certain areas.

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Rodomonte Maria Grazia

Quale futuro attende il 'laboratorio d'Europa'? Le elezioni in Belgio tra la vittoria degli scissionisti delle Fiandre e l'affermazione del solidarismo socialista.

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 13

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

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Ginsburg Tom, Posner Eric A.



Subconstitutionalism

in *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 62, issue 6 , 1583-1628

Many nation states have a two-tiered constitutional structure that establishes a superior state and a group of subordinate states that exercise overlapping control of a single population. The superior state (or what we will sometimes call the “superstate”) has a constitution (a “superconstitution”) and the subordinate states (“substates”) have their own constitutions (“subconstitutions”). One can call this constitutional arrangement “sub-national constitutionalism,” or, for short, “subconstitutionalism.”

Americans understand subconstitutionalism as federalism. The national government controls the superstate; each of the fifty states is a substate. Constitutions exist at both levels. Other states, including Germany, Australia, Austria, Argentina, Brazil, Ethiopia, Switzerland, Mexico, Russia, Venezuela, Malaysia, and Canada, also have federalist or quasi-federalist systems with two-tiered constitutional structures. The integration of Europe has produced a quasi-federalist system. EU members have retained their constitutions even as they increasingly submit to a European government with its own constitution..

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Miller Steven E.

A Deeply Fractured Regime: Assessing the 2010 NPT Review Conference

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 3, September

The United States had mixed results at the 2010 NPT Review Conference. On the one hand, it avoided the isolation and criticism directed at Washington in connection with the failed 2005 Review Conference, in large measure because the Obama administration took more congenial positions on a number of nuclear issues. Its cooperation also facilitated the successful achievement of a consensus final document. On the other hand, there was wide resistance to a number of measures for strengthening the NPT system favored or promoted by the United States, resistance that reveals deep and worrying divisions within the regime.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Muharremi Robert

A Note on the ICJ Advisory Opinion on Kosovo

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 867-880

On 22 July 2010, the International Court of Justice (hereinafter the “ICJ”) delivered its advisory opinion on the accordance with international law of the unilateral declaration of independence in respect of Kosovo. The ICJ concluded that the declaration of independence dated 17 February 2008 did not violate any applicable rule of international law consisting of general international law, UNSC resolution 1244 (1999) (hereinafter the “Resolution 1244”) and the



Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government in Kosovo (hereinafter the “Constitutional Framework”). The ICJ delivered the advisory opinion in response to a question set out in resolution 63/3 dated 8 October 2008 of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization (hereinafter the “General Assembly”), which asked if “the unilateral declaration of independence by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo is in accordance with international law.”

The advisory opinion seems to have resolved only few of the contentious legal questions, which are relevant in the context of the Kosovo issue. The ICJ expressly rules out that it is providing an opinion on whether Kosovo has achieved statehood; it remains silent on the validity or legal effects of the recognition of Kosovo as an independent state by other states ; it does not deal with the question of whether international law confers a positive entitlement on Kosovo unilaterally to declare its independence, or whether international law generally confers an entitlement on entities situated within a State unilaterally to break away from it , and it does not want to address the extent of the right of self-determination and the existence of a right of “remedial secession.” Despite this, significant public reaction across the world interpreted the advisory opinion as endorsing Kosovo’s independence and eventually setting a precedent for other secessionist movements. Others criticized that the opinion was...

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

von Holderstein Holtermann Jakob

A “Slice of Cheese”—a Deterrence-Based Argument for the International Criminal Court in Human Rights Review, Volume 11, Number 3 / September , 289-315

ABSTRACT: Over the last decade, theorists have persistently criticised the assumption that the International Criminal Court (ICC) can produce a noteworthy deterrent effect. Consequently, consensus has emerged that we should probably look for different ways to justify the ICC or else abandon the prestigious project entirely. In this paper, I argue that these claims are ill founded and rest primarily on misunderstandings as to the idea of deterrence through punishment. They tend to overstate both the epistemic certainty as to and the size of the deterrent effect necessary in order to thus justify punishment. I argue that we should in general expect reasonably humane punitive institutions to lead to better consequences than if we abolish punishment entirely, and I show that, contrary to widespread assumption among critics of the ICC, we should not expect the conditions characteristically surrounding mass atrocity to undermine this presumption. Properly understood, the ICC equals adding another “slice of cheese” to our comprehensive crime preventive system modelled along the lines of James Reason’s Swiss cheese model of accident causation and risk management. Undoubtedly, some future perpetrators will elope through the holes in this layer too, but others will be deterred.

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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sagan Ann

African Criminals/African Victims: The Institutionalised Production of Cultural Narratives in International



Criminal Law

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 39, n. 1, august , 13-21

ABSTRACT: Since 2002, the International Criminal Court (ICC) has opened 13 cases against African individuals who have been accused of crimes under the purview of the Rome Statute. This article critically examines the centrality of African subjects and African conflicts to the operation of the court. I argue that representations of criminality and victimhood, which define the construction of the African subject at the ICC, are crucial to the self-identity of the ICC through their discursive corroboration of the court's cosmopolitan and liberal narratives. These representations are consequently institutionalised in the operation of the court, which encourages the repeated indictment of African subjects at the ICC and the reproduction of the criminal—victim dichotomy in the representation of African subjects in the discourse of international criminal law. Rather than presenting this trend as a simple phenomenon of the court's mechanisms of referral, or alternatively suggesting that the court is engaged in a conscious neo-colonial subordination of African justice systems, I argue that the focus on crimes located in Africa during the court's first decade is related to the particular discursive compatibility between representations of African criminals and victims and the cosmopolitan and liberal conceptions of international criminal law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Cirkovic Elena

An Analysis of the ICJ Advisory Opinion on Kosovo's Unilateral Declaration of Independence

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 895-912

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled in an advisory opinion on 22 July 2010 that Kosovo's 17 February 2008 unilateral declaration of independence from Serbia did not violate international law. The Kosovo Parliament's declaration of independence stated that Kosovo would continue to be bound by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) (hereinafter "SC Resolution 1244 (1999)"), as well as the Ahtisaari plan. UN Special Envoy for Kosovo Martti Ahtisaari's proposal, produced in February 2007, defined Kosovo's internal settlement, minority-protection mechanisms, and allowed for independence under international supervision. The proposal increased the powers devolved to Kosovar institutions but without providing for the complete removal of international oversight and authority. SC Resolution 1244 (1999) authorized the creation of an international military presence (KFOR) led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), an international civil presence (the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)), and laid down a framework for the administration of Kosovo. The powers and responsibilities laid out in SC resolution 1244 (1999) were set out in more detail in UNMIK regulation 2001/9 of 15 May 2001 on a Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government (hereinafter "Constitutional Framework"), which defined the responsibilities relating to the administration of Kosovo between the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Provisional Institutions of Self Government of Kosovo.

The authors of the Kosovo's declaration of independence claim to represent the "call of the people to build a society that honours human dignity." The declaration relates the decision to the recent strife and violence in Kosovo, albeit in "spirit of reconciliation and forgiveness." It gives special emphasis to the commitment to promote democratic principles and welcomes the international community's continued support through the international presence established in Kosovo on the basis of SC Resolution 1244 (1999). ...

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Zečić Gordana

Angriff auf den Angriffskrieg

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2010 , 21-24

Am Abend des 11. Juni 2010 wurde im ugandischen Kampala Geschichte geschrieben. Auf der ersten Überprüfungskonferenz zum Römischen Statut des Internationalen Strafgerichtshofs (IStGH) erzielten seine Vertragsstaaten hinsichtlich der Ächtung und Bestrafung des Aggressionsverbrechens einen Durchbruch: Ranghohe Militärs und Regierungsmitglieder, die völkerrechtswidrige Angriffskriege führen, können ab 2017 vom Haager Gerichtshof zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden. Dies allerdings nur in Übereinstimmung mit und in Abhängigkeit vom UN-Sicherheitsrat, einem Organ mit machtpolitischen Interessen. Ein Fortschritt mit Schwächen also, aber immerhin ein Fortschritt in einer langen Geschichte der Ächtung von Angriffskriegen.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jamar Hanna, Vigness Mary Katherine

Applying Kosovo: Looking to Russia, China, Spain and Beyond After the International Court of Justice Opinion on Unilateral Declarations of Independence

in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 913-928

When the International Court of Justice (ICJ) released its advisory opinion regarding the legality of Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) on 22 July 2010, Serbia was not the only State to express its dissatisfaction with the outcome. The broader significance of the ICJ's finding that Kosovo's UDI in 2008 did not violate international law has profound relevance for other States. The United States and its allies claim that Kosovo's situation is unique and does not serve as precedent, but other nations facing separatist movements within their own borders may have reason to be concerned.

With respect to Kosovo's situation, the ICJ opinion states, "The fact that a question has political aspects does not deprive it of its character as a legal question—[t]he Court is not concerned with the political motives behind a request or the political implications which its opinion may have." While some of the finer points of the opinion may not apply to all separatist movements, the general legal principle that a UDI does not violate international law has delighted many separatist movements. As one analyst notes, "A ruling by the World Court is like a statement issued by the United Nations. It doesn't have enforceability unless a consensus of world powers chooses to back it." If the ICJ opinion truly has split the atom of sovereignty into the constituent elements of declared independence and actual statehood, then its decision should be applicable to several separatist movements around the world. Yet, a closer look reveals that, in similar cases, the world is unwilling to apply Kosovo to other situations, which is preventing the ICJ holding from becoming customary international law.

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ropen Steven D.

Burden Sharing in the Funding of the UNHCR: Refugee Protection as an Impure Public Good
in **Journal of Conflict Resolution**, vol. 54, n. 4, august , 616-637

ABSTRACT: The authors apply the theory of collective action and alliance behavior first developed by Olson and Zeckhauser and later extended by Sandler in a series of studies to test whether the nature of refugee protection influences state motivations to provide contributions. The authors investigate whether refugee protection can be viewed as a pure public good with the concomitant problem of free riding leading to suboptimal outcomes or whether contributions provide states private benefits that transform the nature of the good. Using a Heckman selection model, they test for the determinants of state contributions to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and find that refugee protection offers several private benefits, indicating that it is best understood as an impure public good. They conclude, however, that even when states are able to secure these private benefits, it does not necessarily lead to the optimal provision of refugee protection.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Troy Jodok

Dag Hammarskjld: An International Civil Servant Uniting Mystics and Realistic Diplomatic Engagement
in **Diplomacy & Statecraft**, vol. 21, n. 3, september , 434-450

ABSTRACT: The United Nation's secretary-general from 1953 to 1961, Dag Hammarskjld, whose spiritual beliefs influenced his political activity, was searching for universality and solidarity as written in the charter of the UN. While in office, Hammarskjld was able to unite personal belief and political rationale. This is the main reason he became a respected and true international civil servant. Hammarskjld was neither a pure idealist nor a pure realist. This article examines the moral but not moralistic life and legacy of Hammarskjld, who united mystics and realistic political engagement. In doing so it draws on the lessons learned from a "practical mystical" and international civil servant. This is chiefly done by using the English School approach of international relations theory while at same time pointing out the impact of positive mimesis. By devoting his private life to God, Hammarskjld was able to devote his political life to the UN.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Howse Robert, Teitel Ruti

Delphic Dictum: How Has the ICJ Contributed to the Global Rule of Law by its Ruling on Kosovo?
in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 841-846

The most immediately striking aspect of the ICJ's recent ruling on Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence is the divergence between what the Court actually said and how its decision is being read in the media and by political actors. Typically the Court is said to have found secession by Kosovo to be "legal" or "lawful" under international law.



According to Kosovo President Fatmir Sejdiu, “The decision finally removes all doubts that countries which still do not recognize the Republic of Kosovo could have.” The angry reaction to the decision by Serbian nationalists likewise supposed that the Court had endorsed a right to secession. In fact, what the Court did was to read literally—and some would say narrowly or pedantically—the question it was asked, and thus to avoid opining on the major legal (and related policy) issues raised by the act of secession, including whether there is a right to proceed with a unilateral act of secession, and to whom such a right may or may not belong. On the literal reading, the Court was not asked, and thus it did not rule on, whether international law requires that the final status of Kosovo protect the group and individual rights of minorities, whether Kosovar Serbs or Roma. Likewise, the Court did not rule on whether Serbia or, indeed, any other State in the world community is required to recognize Kosovo as an independent State. Nor did the Court’s decision address the borders of an independent Kosovo, or whether and under what circumstances force could legally be used either to impose independence or to resist it.

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sreenivasan T.P.

India at the United Nations: More Give than Take

in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 65, n°4 , 475-481

India gives much to the United Nations, but gains very little from it. India is not small and undeveloped enough to benefit from the UN’s altruism nor large or powerful enough to manipulate it to its advantage. India’s commitment to multilateralism and the UN is firm and absolute yet India has very little to show in terms of reciprocal advantages. India’s basic approach of treating the United Nations as an instrument of common good rather than as a body to advance national interests is consistent with India’s faith in multilateralism. In an increasingly interdependent world, global problems require global solutions and as the only universal international organisation UN has the primary role. It may not have rid the world of the scourge of war, but it has certainly made an invaluable contribution to peace and security. Even if the major powers resort to coalitions of the willing to fight their battles, they do so only after trying to enlist the support of the United Nations because unilateral actions are suspect in the eyes of the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Dobos Ned

Is U.N. Security Council Authorisation for Armed Humanitarian Intervention Morally Necessary?

in *Philosophia*, Volume 38, Number 3, September 2010 , 499-515

Abstract



Relative to the abundance of literature devoted to the legal significance of UN authorisation, little has been written about whether the UN's failure to sanction an intervention can ever make it immoral. This is the question that I take up here. I argue that UN authorisation (or lack thereof) can have some indirect bearing on the moral status of a humanitarian intervention. That is, it can affect whether an intervention satisfies other widely accepted justifying conditions, such as proportionality, "internal" legitimacy, and likelihood of success. The more interesting question, however, is whether the UN's failure to provide a mandate can make a humanitarian operation unjust independently of these other familiar considerations. Is a proportional, internally legitimate humanitarian intervention, with a just cause and strong prospect of success, still morally unacceptable if it is not approved by the United Nations Security Council? This is the question that I turn to in the second half of the paper.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bothe Michael

Kosovo – So What? The Holding of the International Court of Justice is not the Last Word on Kosovo's Independence,

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 837-840

At a first glance the International Court of Justice (ICJ) has given a clear negative answer to the question submitted to it by the General Assembly. According to the ICJ's advisory opinion from 22 July 2010, Kosovo's declaration of independence did not constitute a violation of international law. Yet, reading the reasons the ICJ offered in support of its holding, one soon discovers that many relevant questions have been left open.

Full text available at:

http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No8/PDF_Vol_11_No_08_837-840_Kosovo%20Case_Bothe%20FINAL.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Soledad Torrecuadrada García-Lozano

La Declaración de las Naciones Unidas sobre los Derechos de los pueblos indígenas: antecedentes, consecuencias y perspectivas

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 43 / 2010 / Nr 165

Indigenous peoples have been largely ignored in the construction of societies organized around states. Over the last twenty years, taking into account their vulnerability, the United Nations has established several bodies charged with studying problems faced by these peoples, and others bodies have stated in on the as well. In this context, in 1993 the General Assembly proclaimed the First International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples, which began on 10 December, 1994, and a second Decade stated in January 2005.

One of the goals of both the United Nations and the OAS is defining the rights of indigenous peoples. The Declaration of such rights, en the frame of the universal organization, was adopted in 2007. However, the text was not as widely supported as expected, by some and as a there were many abstentions and also a few but crucial votes against its



approval. The following study explores the reasons of such votes and their legal consequences

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Beigbeder Yves

Les partenariats de l'Organisation mondiale de la santé

in *Etudes Internationales*, 2, Juin 2010

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Leinen Jo

Lessons Learned? Perspectives for Post-Copenhagen

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

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

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Schröder Frank, Stetten Jürgen

Mythos Weltwirtschaftsrat Die Rolle der Vereinten Nationen in Wirtschaftsfragen bleibt unklar

in *Vereinte Nationen*, vol. 58, issue 3 , 104-214

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Lipson Michael

Performance under ambiguity: International organization performance in UN peacekeeping

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 5, n. 3, september , 249-284

ABSTRACT: This article argues that ambiguity—indeterminacy between alternative interpretations of a phenomenon—is inherent in the peace operations field, and makes defining and assessing the UN's performance problematic. Applying Gutner and Thompson's framework for international organization performance (IOP) research to UN peacekeeping, it argues further that the relationship between process performance and outcomes in peacekeeping is irreducibly ambiguous, and that ambiguity has significant implications for efforts to measure and improve peacekeeping performance. To demonstrate this, the article reviews methods employed by the UN to measure its peacekeeping performance, arguing that the primary method employed—results-based budgeting (RBB)—is inherently unable to cope with the challenges of performance ambiguity. Its adoption and continued use despite its evident shortcomings are due



to RBB's legitimacy in the wider organizational field of international public management in which the UN Secretariat, and UN peacekeeping, perform. Finally, the article considers recent efforts to improve process performance in UN peacekeeping, and discuss the ways in which so-called 'integration' reforms central to such efforts are a means of reducing and managing the ambiguity inherent in peacekeeping.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Addo Michael K.

Practice of United Nations Human Rights Treaty Bodies in the Reconciliation of Cultural Diversity with Universal Respect for Human Rights

in Human Rights Quarterly, Volume 31, Number 3, August 2009 , 601-664

ABSTRACT: The traditional scholarly narrative on the relationship between cultural diversity and universal respect for human rights suggests a tension which must, at best, be managed. There is, however, no consensus among scholars as to the best way to reconcile or manage this tension and so creating an intellectual gap between universalist and cultural relativist schools of thought which has come to inform important aspects of diplomatic practice. This article analyses an alternative approach to the management of this tension based on the practice of the United Nations human rights treaty bodies. The working methods of these supervisory bodies, especially the constructive dialogue on national periodic reports, suggest that they adopt a legal approach in which cultural diversity and universal respect for human rights complement and reinforce each other. At the same time, focusing on effective protection, the treaty bodies challenge specific cultural practices that they consider to be harmful or contrary to human rights guarantees. Although the treaty bodies' approach to this subject is still evolving, it reveals interesting doctrinal lessons concerning the universality of human rights norms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

O'Flaherty Michael

Reform of the UN Human Rights Treaty Body System: Locating the Dublin Statement
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 10, n. 2 , 319-335

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Boehle Joseph

Religious NGOs at the UN and the Millennium Development Goals: an introduction

in Global Change, Peace & Security, vol. 22, n. 3, october , 275-296

ABSTRACT: This article reflects on religious non-governmental organisations (RNGOs) at the United Nations and their engagement with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) within the UN system. It also situates this engagement within the wider context of contemporary global civil society. It aims to give an introduction to the contemporary situation of religious NGOs at the UN and some of the related and critically debated issues, making use of in-depth interviews



with key actors, relevant literature and other documentary materials, as well as selected examples of three major RNGOs engaging with the MDGs. An improved understanding of the work of religious NGOs at the UN and the historical context in which their work takes place can make valuable contributions: it can inform UN agencies and government agencies' policy recommendations and planning decisions, it can enhance self-reflection by civil society organisations, and it can help to identify common ground for all these actors as they seek to develop multi-stakeholder partnerships aiming to meet the MDGs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ng Trina

Safeguarding Peace and Security in our Warming World: A Role for the Security Council
in *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 15 , number 2 , Summer , 275-300

In international peace and security dialogue, the fear provoked by climate change pales in comparison with that incited by terrorism or weapons of mass destruction. Climate change is, after all, a non-traditional 'threat'. Yet climate change may well merit the same level of attention as traditional threats. In light of the growing realities of climate change, unmet through mitigation, it appears that more concerted action is needed. This paper argues that it is to the United Nations Security Council that the world ought to turn for leadership of a global response to climate change security threats through Chapter VII collective security mechanisms. It is argued that climate change threats are tantamount to threats to international peace and security given the evolution of threats since the Charter of the United Nations was signed in 1945. However, an incremental use of Chapter VII measures is necessary, progressing from the less coercive measures to the most extreme use of force only when prompted by the most extreme of circumstances. This paper concludes that there is scope for these Chapter VII measures to be implemented in conjunction with the international environmental law regime to combat climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Rich Roland

Situating the UN Democracy Fund

in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 4, october-december , 423-434

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Xiaojun Li

Social Rewards and Socialization Effects: An Alternative Explanation for the Motivation Behind China's Participation in International Institutions

in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 3 Issue 3 Autumn

From the time China's UN membership was reinstated in 1972, the country has been a growingly active player on the



world stage, having entered into economic cooperation, arms control, human rights and environmental protection with 150 international and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Growing involvement in international institutions, however, implies binding oneself to their rules and regulations, including violation penalties. It can also mean forgoing certain national interests or even sovereignty rights. Although economic and material motivations often trigger the decision to cooperate, there are also instances where material motivations are less clear.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Morjé Howard Lisa

**Sources of Change in United States–United Nations Relations
in Global Governance**, vol. 16, n. 4, october-december , 485-503

ABSTRACT: Since the end of the Cold War, relations between the United States and the UN have oscillated between periods of friendship and friction. What accounts for the major changes in US-UN relations, especially in the realm of multilateral peace operations? This article argues that the two most significant turning points have come after the unexpected deaths of Americans: first, in Somalia when the William J. Clinton administration moved away from multilateral cooperation in UN peace operations, and, second, in the wake of the 9/11 attacks that served to drive the George W. Bush administration in the other direction, toward the UN. In both instances, the administrations changed their positions from staunch multilateralism or unilateralism to more moderate stances. Under the Barack Obama administration, we can likely expect a continuation of moderate multilateralism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Williams Abiodun

**Strategic Planning in the Executive Office of the UN Secretary-General
in Global Governance**, vol. 16, n. 4, october-december , 435-450

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Muller Harald

**The 2010 NPT Review Conference: Some Breathing Space Gained, But No Breakthrough
in International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLV, n. 3, September

The eighth Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty ended on 28 May with a consensus final document. A further deepening of the non-proliferation regime's crisis was thus avoided. The more cooperative policy of the Obama administration was one of the main reasons for this partial success which was assisted by the pragmatic negotiation posture of some moderate non-aligned states. However, the result is a compromise at the level of the lowest common denominator: the parties did not agree on bold steps towards nuclear disarmament, nor did they strengthen the toolbox for non-proliferation. In the end, the most outstanding result was the plan for a conference on ways and means



to foster a Middle East Nuclear Weapon Free Zone.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Arp Björn

The ICJ Advisory Opinion on the Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo and the International Protection of Minorities

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 8, 847-866

Very seldom has a judgment or advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) received so much media coverage as the recent Advisory Opinion on the Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo rendered on 22 July 2010 in response to a question posed by the General Assembly. The question had been forwarded on behalf of a request by Serbia and was phrased in the following way: "Is the unilateral declaration of independence by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo in accordance with international law?"

Although this question entails a number of very relevant issues of contemporary international law, the present Advisory Opinion might not enter into the judicial history of the Court for its answer to this question, but rather for what it did not say. The Court's short and sometimes clumsy reasoning seems a tortious exercise of avoiding from commenting on complex and difficult legal issues, with its only objective of not stumbling into non liquet.

In the present article, though, we will only consider one specific aspect: the implication of this Advisory Opinion on the protection of minorities. Indeed, the issue of protection of minorities is inextricably related to the argument of "remedial secession" put forward by some delegations. Yet the Court undertook only a very limited analysis of this argument in its Advisory Opinion. So it states:

The Court considers that it is not necessary to resolve these questions in the present case. The General Assembly has requested the Court's opinion only on whether or not the declaration of independence is in accordance with international law. Debates regarding the extent of the right of self-determination and the existence of any right of "remedial secession", however, concern the right to...

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Zipprich Scott E.

The International Criminal Court: Time to Adjust U.S. Foreign Policy

in *Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 54, n. 4, fall

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system



Burri Thomas

The Kosovo Opinion and Secession: The Sounds of Silence and Missing Links
in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 881-890

With the request for an advisory opinion on Kosovo opportunity knocked on the doors of the International Court of Justice. The opportunity was unique for several reasons. First, the case of Kosovo was momentous. It had involved war. International armed forces had intervened to stop ethnic cleansing. Since then, the situation of Kosovo has been politically loaded. It has polarized the entire international community. Second, it is a rare occurrence that such a situation comes to the Court. The regular case, if there is such a thing, before the Court has tended to be a relatively low-profile interstate dispute. The Kosovo incidence had only come to the Court in the first place—like the case of the Wall on the West Bank , the other recent high-profile exception—because the detour via the United Nations General Assembly had been open.

Third, the facts of the case were clear. With the early Kosovo Report, meticulous collections of documents, and a recent judgement by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, the core events that had ultimately led to Kosovo's declaration of independence on 17 February 2008 were largely beyond question. Authoritative legal assessment on the macro level was the only element outstanding. Fourth, that legal assessment was challenging. Complex legal conceptions like remedial secession—the potential core of “new” self-determination—or the responsibility to protect have been debated on the occasion of the Kosovo incidence.

Fifth, the stakes were high. Nothing less than the foundation of the international order was at issue. The Court's answer to the question asked by the General Assembly would endorse a modern, human rights-based vision of the international legal order or it would validate the traditional state-centred understanding. The Kosovo opinion would thus necessarily also be a mirror of the Court—portraying either...

Full text available at:

http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No8/PDF_Vol_11_No_08_881-890_Kosovo%20Case_Burri%20FINAL.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Wadlow René

The NPT Review: Business as Usual Now, Disarmament Perhaps Later
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

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

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bueno de Mesquita Bruce, Smith Alastair

The Pernicious Consequences of UN Security Council Membership
in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 54, n. 5, october , 667-686

ABSTRACT: Nations elected to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) as temporary members have lower levels of economic growth, become less democratic, and experience more restrictions on press freedoms than comparable nations not elected to the UNSC. Using regression and matching techniques the authors show, for instance, that over



the two-year period of UNSC membership and the following two years during which a nation is ineligible for reelection, UNSC nations experience a 3.5 percent contraction in their economy relative to nations not elected to the UNSC. The detrimental effects of UNSC membership are strongest in nondemocratic nations. The authors contrast these results with the growing evidence that nations elected to the UNSC receive greater development assistance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Castellino Joshua

The Protection of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples in International Law: A Comparative Temporal Analysis in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 17, Number 3, "Multicultural Policies", 393-422

It is easy to detect a sense of achievement with the extent to which the human rights regime has progressed 60 years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The relative international successes suggest a bright outlook for the future of the human rights regime. However, an important lacuna remains in the attention that ought to be paid to minorities, indigenous peoples and others in vulnerable situations, including in some instances, women. This paper argues that despite the creation of sophisticated systems of international human rights law, the regimes for the protection of minority rights were stronger before the United Nations (UN) era. In support of this argument it seeks to assess regimes that existed at three different times, attempting to extrapolate and analyse the snapshots presented by these through the lens of evolving human rights law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gadler Alice

The Protection of Peacekeepers and International Criminal Law: Legal Challenges and Broader Protection in German Law Journal, Vol. 11, n. 6, 585-608

The concern for the safety and security of personnel involved in peacekeeping missions has grown in the last two decades, mainly because of the increased risks deriving from deployment in volatile environments and mandates comprising multiple tasks. This article provides an overview of the developments of international law regarding the protection of peacekeepers, with a special focus on international criminal law and its role in enhancing the safety of the personnel and objects involved in peacekeeping missions. Indeed, starting in 2008, international and hybrid tribunals have issued their first decisions and judgments against individuals indicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity in connection with attacks against peacekeepers.

After an analysis of the legal regimes established by the 1994 Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel and by international humanitarian law, the article examines the relevant international criminal law provisions and their application and interpretation by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the Special Court for Sierra Leone, and the International Criminal Court. It is argued that the application of the specific...

Full text available at:

http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No6/PDF_Vol_11_No_06_585-608_Alice_Gadler.pdf



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Vijapur Abdulrahim

The UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and the Protection of Human Rights, 1947-2007: Role, Achievements and Legacy

in *Indian Journal of International Law*, Vol. 49, issue 4

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen Sylvia I.

The United Nations and global energy governance: past challenges, future choices

in *Global Change, Peace & Security*, vol. 22, n. 2, june , 175-195

ABSTRACT: The link between energy, economic development and national security has often made governments reluctant to address energy in global governance. In the United Nations (UN) system and beyond, the result has been almost a normative and institutional vacuum on energy. In the last decade some efforts have been made to fill this vacuum within the UN but they have faced considerable resistance, and instead initiatives have multiplied outside it. This article outlines the dynamics of the low profile of the energy issue on the agenda of the UN since the organisation's birth, analyses in more detail the efforts to strengthen this agenda in the 2000s, and also why they failed. Finally, it discusses possible future options for the UN and the international community at large to address this urgent issue, situates this discussion in the rationalist and constructivist theories of effective and legitimate global governance and outlines further research avenues.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Lane Todd Michael, Romaniuk Scott Nicholas

Too Little, Too Late? A Strategy for the Prevention of War Crimes, Genocide and Crimes against Humanity in Darfur (Sudan)

in *Peace, Conflict and Development*, Volume 15, Issue 15, March , 21-37

The conflict in Darfur has recently become a focus of the international community. After the failure of the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations in Rwanda, the international community has refused to stand by while another episode of genocide occurs. Though these sentiments are noble, the execution of the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) has been wrought with problems, specifically a lack of military hardware. This failure has resulted in increased pressure on the United States (U.S.) to act to prevent on-going genocide in the west of Sudan. Yet, the American administration under George W. Bush, and under Barack Obama, is faced with a conundrum; whether to satisfy the needs of the international and domestic community while neglecting its current overseas military obligations, or to maintain its current military commitments and ignore the crisis in Darfur. In this article, the authors argue that neither option is acceptable to the American public, nor the international community, but a third option is available.



American pressure and financial support of key international allies, outside of the NATO sphere specifically, could provide a viable solution to the need of UNAMID.

Full text available on-line at <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/2-Article5Final.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

James E. Moliterno

What the ICJ's Decision Means for Kosovars

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 891-894

The International Court of Justice's advisory opinion favoring the legal status of the Kosovar declaration of independence came as an exhilarating surprise to many in Kosovo. The spirit of suspicion and negative perception of most internationals (US citizens being a notable but not exclusive exception) meant that a favorable ruling from an international court was unexpected..

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http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No8/PDF_Vol_11_No_08_891-894_Kosovo%20Case_Moliterno%20FINAL.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Benner Thorsten, Rotmann Philipp

Zehn Jahre Brahimi-Bericht Die UN-Friedenssicherung steht weiterhin vor großen Herausforderungen

in *Vereinte Nationen*, vol. 58, issue 3 , 115-235

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Denae Thrasher Rachel, Gallagher Kevin P.

21st Century Trade Agreements: Implications For Development Sovereignty

in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 38, issue 2 , 313-664

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kurtz Jurgen

Adjudging The Exceptional At International Investment Law: Security, Public Order And Financial Crisis

in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 59, issue 2 , 325-371



This article examines the impact of international law on the ability of States to mitigate the effects of financial crises. It focuses on the invocation of investment treaty disciplines in the aftermath of the 2001–2002 Argentine financial crisis, and the adjudication of Argentina's defence of a state of necessity under both subject treaties and at customary international law. The article uncovers three interpretative methods in the jurisprudence on the relationship between the treaty exception and customary plea of necessity: methodologies I (confluence), II (*lex specialis*) and III (primary-secondary applications). Method I is the dominant approach in the jurisprudence and the most restrictive of the three readings. The article argues that method I is mistaken both on a careful interpretation of the two legal standards and on a broader historical analysis of the emergence of investment treaty norms. Given these substantive flaws, the article isolates the motivations to account for the popularity of this method through a close reading of the awards. These reveal continuing tensions in the field, not least the problematic suggestion that a single value of protection should exclusively inform our understanding of the purpose of investment treaties. These sociological features of investor–State arbitration should, it is suggested, inform our choice on other interpretative methods. This comes down to an election between methods II (*lex specialis*) and III (primary–secondary applications). Method III is the most convincing and coherent reading of the relationship between the two legal standards. The article concludes by offering a framework to address the key interpretative questions implicated in that method: (a) the identification and scope of the notion of ‘public order’ and a State's ‘essential security interests’; and (b) the appropriate test of ‘necessity’ or means–end scrutiny.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Masayuki Tadokoro

After dollar?

in **International Relations of the Asia-Pacific**, Volume 10 Issue 3 September , 415-440

The national currency of the United States, the dollar, plays a critical international role. The privileged position of the dollar, which has greatly facilitated America's role in world politics, is now being questioned. This article argues that the international monetary system tends to be based on hegemony rather than super-sovereignty or multiplicity, and that no serious challengers to the dollar's hegemony have yet emerged. The dollar's predominance, however, is weakening and it has turned into a ‘negotiated currency’. If its international roles are to be sustained, the dollar needs to be actively supported by other major economies. ‘Negotiation’ may fail as rising economies, most notably China, represent American political challengers rather than subordinate allies. Should the dollar cease functioning as the reliable international currency, in the absence of an alternative hegemonic currency, the world could see a more fundamental shift, such as the wider use of private international currencies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gowa Joanne

Alliances, market power, and postwar trade: explaining the GATT/WTO

in **World Trade Review**, Volume 9, Issue 03, July 2010 , 487-504

This paper argues that testing the empirical implications of existing theories about institutions yields rich insights into the postwar trade regime. Market-failure theory predicts that the GATT/WTO will exert its strongest impact on trade between its largest member states. A theory based on security externalities implies that a sizeable expansion of trade will also occur between a subset of the contracting parties that alliance ties link. An analysis of the data shows that the evidence



is consistent with both theories, making clear the value added of taking explicitly into account the economics and politics that motivated the establishment of the postwar regime and that governed its subsequent operation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bagwell Kyle, Staiger Robert W.

Backward stealing and forward manipulation in the WTO

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 82, Issue 1, September 2010 , 49-62

Motivated by the structure of WTO negotiations, we analyze a bargaining environment in which negotiations proceed bilaterally and sequentially under the most-favored-nation (MFN) principle. We identify backward-stealing and forward-manipulation problems that arise when governments bargain under the MFN principle in a sequential fashion. We show that these problems impede governments from achieving the multilateral efficiency frontier unless further rules of negotiation are imposed. We identify the WTO nullification-or-impairment and renegotiation provisions and its reciprocity norm as rules that are capable of providing solutions to these problems. In this way, we suggest that WTO rules can facilitate the negotiation of efficient multilateral trade agreements in a world in which the addition of new and economically significant countries to the world trading system is an ongoing process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hoekman Bernard, Martin Will, Mattoo Aaditya

Conclude Doha: it matters!

in **World Trade Review**, Volume 9, Issue 03, July 2010 , 505-530

The Doha Round must be concluded not because it will produce dramatic liberalization but because it will create greater security of market access. Its conclusion would strengthen, symbolically and substantively, the WTO's valuable role in restraining protectionism. What is on the table would constrain the scope for tariff protection in all goods, ban agricultural export subsidies in the industrial countries and sharply reduce the scope for distorting domestic support – by 70% in the EU and 60% in the US. Average farm tariffs that exporters face would fall to 12% (from 14.5%) and the tariffs on exports of manufactures to less than 2.5% (from about 3%). There are also environmental benefits to be captured, in particular disciplining the use of subsidies that encourage over-fishing and lowering tariffs on technologies that can help mitigate global warming. An agreement to facilitate trade by cutting red tape will further expand trade opportunities. Greater market access for the least-developed countries will result from the 'duty free and quota free' proposal and their ability to take advantage of new opportunities will be enhanced by the Doha-related 'aid for trade' initiative. Finally, concluding Doha would create space for multilateral cooperation on critical policy matters that lie outside the Doha Agenda, most urgently the trade policy implications of climate change mitigation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ghosh Arunabha

Developing countries in the WTO Trade Policy Review Mechanism

in **World Trade Review**, Volume 9, Issue 03, July 2010 , 419-455



The Trade Policy Review Mechanism (TPRM) has been an integral part of the GATT/WTO since 1989 and shoulders a fundamental responsibility in making the regime more transparent. This paper asks: how has the TPRM responded to demands from developing countries for information and transparency? The paper uses a typology of information systems to explain the evolution of surveillance in the trade regime and asks whether the TPRM was assigned the functions of an ideal-type information system. The paper, then, evaluates the performance of the TPRM against its given mandate of increasing transparency to promote improved adherence with trade rules. It presents, for the first time, empirical evidence on the content of reports and the participation of countries, to highlight persisting content- and participation-related challenges. It discusses the capacity challenges within the WTO Secretariat and briefly outlines efforts made by developing countries to boost surveillance capacity at home. The paper ends by outlining priorities for monitoring in the trade regime: generating specific information that developing countries need, supporting domestic capacity for surveillance (including from non-official sources), and concentrating on improved peer review and follow-up procedures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Voon Tania

Eliminating Trade Remedies From The Wto: Lessons From Regional Trade Agreements
in International & Comparative Law Quarterly , Volume 59 - Issue 03 , 625-667

As the global financial crisis threatens to manifest in enhanced protectionism, the economic irrationality of dumping, countervailing, and global safeguard measures (so-called 'trade remedies') should be of increased concern to the Members of the World Trade Organization ('WTO'). Long tolerated under the WTO agreements and perhaps a necessary evil to facilitate multilateral trade liberalization, elimination of trade remedies is far from the agenda of WTO negotiators. However, a small number of regional trade agreements offer a model for reducing the use of trade remedies among WTO Members in the longer term, consistent with WTO rules and broader public international law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Voon Tania

Eliminating Trade Remedies From The Wto: Lessons From Regional Trade Agreements
in International and Comparative Law Quarterly , Vol. 59, issue 3 , 625-667

As the global financial crisis threatens to manifest in enhanced protectionism, the economic irrationality of dumping, countervailing, and global safeguard measures (so-called 'trade remedies') should be of increased concern to the Members of the World Trade Organization ('WTO'). Long tolerated under the WTO agreements and perhaps a necessary evil to facilitate multilateral trade liberalization, elimination of trade remedies is far from the agenda of WTO negotiators. However, a small number of regional trade agreements offer a model for reducing the use of trade remedies among WTO Members in the longer term, consistent with WTO rules and broader public international law.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Blanchard Emily J.

Reevaluating the role of trade agreements: Does investment globalization make the WTO obsolete?

in Journal of International Economics, Volume 82, Issue 1, September 2010 , 63-72

International ownership alters the role of multilateral trade institutions by redefining pecuniary externalities among countries. Regardless of the underlying cause – whether foreign direct investment, international portfolio diversification, cross-country mergers, or multinational firms — international ownership can mitigate incentives that lead large countries to set inefficiently high tariffs. At the same time, however, foreign ownership introduces the potential for expropriation by investment-host countries, which can extract rent from foreign owners by manipulating local prices. The basic principle of reciprocity continues to serve as an important guide to efficiency, though its application must account for the pattern of international ownership in addition to traditional measures of market access.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Dani Marco

Remedying European Legal Pluralism: The FIAMM and Fedon Litigation and the Judicial Protection of International Trade Bystanders

in European Journal of International Law, Vol. 21, issue 2 , 303-340

In FIAMM and Fedon the European Court of Justice has ruled that Community firms hit by US trade sanctions authorized by the WTO Dispute Settlement Body are not entitled to compensation from EC political institutions. The article discusses the cases in the background of current debates on the attitude of the Court of Justice towards international law and, more broadly, on European legal pluralism. From this standpoint, it provides a critical assessment of the legal issues involved in this litigation – internal status of WTO obligations, scope for manoeuvre of EC political institutions in international trade relations, liability for unlawful and lawful conduct – and offers a comparative analysis of its possible solutions, suggesting that a finding of liability for lawful conduct would have been a preferable outcome in both theoretical and substantive terms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ceva Emanuela, Fracasso Andrea

Seeking mutual understanding: a discourse-theoretical analysis of the WTO Dispute Settlement System

in World Trade Review, Volume 9, Issue 03, July 2010 , 457-485

The WTO Dispute Settlement System (DSS) has been the object of many studies in politics, law, and economics focusing on institutional design problems. This paper contributes to such studies by accounting for the argumentative nature and sophisticated features of the DSS through a philosophical analysis of the procedures through which it is articulated. Jürgen Habermas's discourse theory is used as a hermeneutic device to disentangle the types of 'orientations' (compromise, consensus, and mutual understanding) pertaining to DSS procedures. We show that these



latter are oriented primarily to put the parties in a position to reach mutual understanding. Such an orientation is no mere idiosyncrasy of the DSS but is the only one consistently conducive to the WTO's general aims, in response to the various types of disputes that may arise between its Members. Before closing, we bring our procedural considerations to bear on the reform proposals of the DSS.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Brendan Ruddy

The Critical Success of the WTO: Trade Policies of the Current Economic Crisis

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 13 Issue 2 , 475-495

This note addresses the trade policy measures states have taken during the current economic crisis and makes comparison with those taken during the Great Depression. While significant protectionist pressures are evident in both crises, the note finds that WTO Members have largely resisted broad protectionist measures and that the further decline in global trade volume during 2009 cannot be attributed to discretionary trade policies. Given these observations, the note suggests four elements of the multilateral trading system that preserve the system's integrity and ensure that the WTO passes its most significant stress test yet. Based on these four elements—economic efficiency, transparency, enforceability, and stability—the note recommends normative principles applicable to all regulation of international economic relations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Nesvetailova Anastasia, Palan Ronen

The End of Liberal Finance? The Changing Paradigm of Global Financial Governance

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 38, n. 3, may , 797-825

ABSTRACT: Has the global credit crunch shifted the foundations of global financial architecture away from the philosophy of 'neoliberalism'? In this article, we argue that the neoliberal project is most probably dead and buried, despite the apparent commitment, which we detail in this article, to the spirit of neoliberal thinking in economic thought. By analysing three constitutive elements of neoliberalism (its public, private and regulatory components) before and after the credit crunch, we reveal important geopolitical shifts which are likely to prevent a return to 'business as usual' in the world of finance. We find that the defining trend among these changes is the global rise of the Eurozone. Specifically, we argue that the ideal, Anglo-Saxon model of neoliberalism was viable because it was heavily subsidised from around the world. Accordingly, the key to the future of Anglo-Saxon neoliberalism lies with the willingness of European, East Asian and Middle Eastern creditors to continue extending their financial support to the Anglo-Saxon model of finance. We believe that they are unlikely to do so in the future. Spurred by the magnitude of the credit crunch, the rise of Europe is progressively weakening each of the three dimensions of Anglo-Saxon neoliberalism we identify in this article.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Menkhoff Lukas, Meyer Reeno

The G20 proposal on IMF governance: Has any progress been made?



in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 3 / May 2010 , 171-179

At their London summit in April 2009 the G20 proposed major changes in the governance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF): a reallocation of voting shares to emerging and developing countries, an antedated reform of the quota system, a delinking of the managing director's election from regional origin and support for the Singapore quota and voice reform of 2006. Unfortunately, these reform proposals remain in part imprecise, they leave crucial issues untouched and they have so far not been implemented.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

McKenzie Francine

The GATT-EEC Collision: The Challenge of Regional Trade Blocs to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 1950-67

in *International History Review (The)*, vol. XXXII, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Elsig Manfred

The World Trade Organization at work: Performance in a member-driven milieu

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 5, n. 3, september , 345-363

ABSTRACT: This article discusses performance in the context of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Applying the framework by Gutner and Thompson and inspired by principal-agent theory, it is argued that existing studies have underspecified the institutional milieu that affects performance. The WTO represents a member-driven organization where Members are part of the international organization (IO) (e.g., through rule-making) and at the same time act outside the IO (e.g., through implementation). Thus, a narrow reading of the IO (focusing on the civil servants and the Director-General and his staff) will not suffice to understand IO performance in the WTO context. Selected evidence is presented to illustrate aspects of the WTO's inner-working and the institutional milieu of performance. In addition, the article discusses a number of performance parameters, including the relationship between Secretariat autonomy and performance, the role of information, and the mechanisms of performance aggregation. The article ends by cautioning against quick fixes to the system to improve performance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Weaver Catherine

The politics of performance evaluation: Independent evaluation at the International Monetary Fund

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 5, n. 3, september , 365-385

ABSTRACT: How has the Fund institutionalized independent evaluation as a means of assessing its performance? This paper process-traces the contentious creation of the Fund's Independent Evaluation Office (IEO). I use primary



interviews conducted at the Fund headquarters in 2008–2010 and Fund archive documents dating back to the beginning of the debate over independent evaluation in 1992 to analyze the interaction of internal and external actors and interests that led finally to the creation of the IEO in 2001. I then comment on the ‘performance of the performance evaluator.’ I draw from a recent external evaluation of the IEO (Lissakers et al. 2006), as well as interviews and secondary sources, to identify enduring contestation over the IEO’s function and scope of authority and to discern how this has affected the ability of the IEO to inform and shape the Fund’s process and outcome performance. To this end, I discuss four issues currently facing the IEO: the need to establish both actual and perceived independence, the problems of ambiguous or non-existent metrics for assessing Fund performance, difficulties in balancing candor of evaluation reports with credibility in the eyes of multiple constituencies, and the challenges of fostering a culture of learning in the Fund.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Beshkar Mostafa

Trade skirmishes safeguards: A theory of the WTO dispute settlement process

in Journal of International Economics, Volume 82, Issue 1, September 2010 , Pages 35-48

I propose a framework within which to interpret and evaluate the major reforms introduced to the GATT system in its transition to the WTO. In particular, I examine the WTO Agreement on Safeguards that has amended the GATT escape clause (Article XIX), and the Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) that resembles a court of law under the WTO. Using this framework, I interpret the weakening of the reciprocity principle under the Agreement on Safeguards as an attempt to reduce efficiency-reducing trade skirmishes. The DSB is interpreted as an impartial arbitrator that announces its opinion about the state of the world when a dispute arises among member countries. I demonstrate that the reforms in the GATT escape clause should be bundled with the introduction of the DSB, in order to maintain the incentive compatibility of trade agreements. The model implies that trade agreements under the WTO lead to fewer trade skirmishes but this effect does not necessarily result in higher payoffs to the governments. The model also implies that the introduction of the WTO court, which has no enforcement power, can improve the self-enforceability of trade agreements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ritter Raymond

Transnational Governance in Global Finance: The Principles for Stable Capital Flows and Fair Debt Restructuring in Emerging Markets

in International Studies Perspectives , vol. 11, issue 3, august , 222-241

ABSTRACT: This paper analyzes and assesses the “Principles for Stable Capital Flows and Fair Debt Restructuring in Emerging Markets,” which have emerged as an important instrument for crisis prevention and crisis resolution in the international financial system. The paper argues that, notwithstanding their low profile, the Principles which were jointly agreed between key sovereign debtors and their private creditors in 2004 have proved to be a useful instrument in spite of their voluntary and non-binding nature. Indeed, an increasing number of sovereign debtors and private creditors have adopted the Principles’ recommendations on transparency and the timely flow of information, close dialogue, “good faith” actions, and fair treatment. The paper, taking a rational choice perspective, appraises the Principles as the product of a transnational public-private partnership as well as a soft mode of governance. Moreover, it shows how the Principles have moved somewhat along the continuum of soft law and hard law toward the latter. Finally, the paper makes the



case that the Principles and their design features can provide some lessons for the current international policy debate on codes of conduct in global financial regulation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Maennig Wolfgang, Wittig Stephan

WTO dispute settlement proceedings: European support for airbus in the spotlight

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 3 / May 2010 , 180-187

The bilateral WTO Agreement on Trade in Large Civil Aircraft (TLCA) of 1992 regulated the permitted levels of support for the European and American aviation industries. In October 2004, the US unilaterally withdrew from the TLCA, right as Boeing was about to lose its market leader status. Together with the termination of the TLCA, the US requested the initiation of WTO dispute settlement proceedings against the EU as well as against the governments of Germany, France, the UK and Spain regarding alleged direct and indirect subsidisation of Airbus. In response, the EC requested, on that same day, the initiation of dispute settlement proceedings regarding certain US federal, state and local subsidies granted to the American aircraft producer Boeing, which the EC regarded as incompatible with WTO rules. What European subsidies exist for Airbus, and how extensive are they?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sarfaty Galit A.

Why Culture Matters in International Institutions: The Marginality of Human Rights at the World Bank

in *American journal of international law*, Vol. 103, issue 4 , 647-683

Despite internal and external pressure, the World Bank has not adopted a human rights policy or agenda. On the basis of ethnographic fieldwork at the Bank, this article analyzes its organizational culture and finds that such bureaucratic obstacles as the internal incentive system and a clash of expertise among the staff, especially differences between lawyers and economists on defining human rights and justifying their relevance to the Bank's mission, have impeded the internalization of human rights norms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Drezner, D.

Will currency follow the flag?

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 10 Issue 3 September , 389-414

The 2008 financial crisis and its aftermath have triggered uncertainty about the future of the dollar as the world's reserve currency. China and other countries in the Asia-Pacific region have voiced support for a new global monetary regime. There are both economic and geopolitical motivations at the root of these challenges. Going forward, what will the future hold for the international monetary system? Crudely put, will currency follow the flag? This article addresses this question by considering the economic opportunity and geopolitical willingness of actors in the Pacific Rim to shift away from the current international monetary system – with a special emphasis on China as the most powerful actor in the



region. While the dollar has shifted from being a top currency to a negotiated one, neither the opportunity nor the willingness to shift away from the dollar is particularly strong. The current window of opportunity for actors in the region to coordinate a shift in the monetary system is small and constrained. The geopolitical willingness to subordinate monetary politics to security concerns is muted.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Cantore Carlo Maria

“How Does it Feel to Be on Your Own?” - Mutual Recognition Agreements and Non-Discrimination in the GATS: A Third Party’s Perspective

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 705-740

The aim of this working paper is to analyze the compatibility between two relevant provisions of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) under the World Trade Organization (WTO). The first is art. VII, Recognition, which seems to allow a Member to recognize standards of one or more Members—and not of others—without violating its GATS obligations, although this freedom should not be abused. The second is the general Non-Discrimination provision as of GATS art. II, since the aim of the GATS, at least as it reads in its preamble, is to provide a multilateral framework to trade liberalization in the services market on a non-discriminatory basis. Through the following pages, I will try to explain the rationale to sign Mutual Recognition Agreements (MRAs) and their impact on the GATS system. It is true that there is a general principle of transparency and openness of the MRAs, but it is necessary to get our hands dirty with the reality and understand if and how such an openness clause works.

The most important part of my research has been checking all the MRAs, the Unilateral Recognition provisions (GATS art. VII.4) and the Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) (GATS art. V) notified to the WTO secretariat, and the results of this work are, in some cases, unexpected, in terms of actors involved, number of agreements signed, and their contents.

In the next pages I intend to describe the results of my research both from a doctrinal as well as an empirical standpoint. In the first part of this work, I will summarize the debate about multilateralism versus regionalism in international economic integration. Within that framework, I will then analyze the legal provisions of the GATS regarding mutual recognition. First, I will describe art. VII, how...

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http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No8/PDF_Vol_11_No_08_705-740_Articles_Cantore%20FINAL.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Siegel Scott N.

Bearing their share of the burden: Europe in Afghanistan

in *European Security*, Volume 18, Number 4, December , 461-482

This article assesses the relative burden European members of NATO are bearing in the war in Afghanistan. Some argue that the current contribution of European forces is on par with the American contribution. However, current studies do not analyze Europe's ISAF contribution in comparison to some benchmark by which relative burden-sharing can be



accurately determined. This article compares Europe's involvement in the war in Afghanistan to past missions, current contributions and in light of the benefits each country is likely to enjoy. The quantitative and qualitative findings show that there is an extensive amount of free-riding occurring both in terms of hard and soft power, although it varies across time and even within NATO Europe. Inadequate forces provided by European NATO countries jeopardize the likelihood of success in Afghanistan.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Dobson Alan P., Marsh Steve

Churchill at the Summit: SACLANT and the Tone of Anglo-American Relations in January 1952
in *International History Review (The)*, vol. XXXII, n. 2

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Sanjeev Kumar H.M.

Internal Dynamics of Sub-continental Security: Indo-Pak Tensions and the Political Response
in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 66, n°1 , 35-50

Pokhran nuclear testing by India in May 1998 and a similar response by Pakistan immediately engendered an epochal shift in the nature of sub-continental conflicts. India's conventional military superiority vis-a-vis Pakistan and its credibility as a regional hegemon, apparent in the three open wars fought between them prior to this, got supplanted by the smoke-screen of nuclear deterrence created by these blasts. But, most significant by-product of this strategic-decision-making in the subcontinent has been, that, unlike US and USSR, whose mutual hostilities during the Cold War got mitigated after both had obtained declared nuclear weapons status; the sub-continental security environment continued to dizzy under the threshold of an imminent conflict even after the overt nuclear weaponization of India and Pakistan, ultimately challenging the entire classical theorizing on nuclear deterrence. Due to this, the subject of the nuclearization of sub-continental security architecture began to capture wider spaces in the scholarly discourses and political debates in India. This crucial strategic decision, having been taken by a coalition Government at New Delhi, imparted enormous complexities to the domestic political exchanges over the security dynamics of the subcontinent. Above all, May 1998 not only signified a paradigm shift in India's defence and foreign policy, but it also marked a watershed in the nature and content of India's domestic politics, as it contributed significantly in bringing strategic issues and foreign policy agenda of the Government into the political parlance of the common masses.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Locatelli Andrea, Testoni Michele



Intra-allied competition and alliance durability: the case for promoting a division of labour among NATO allies in European Security, Volume 18, Number 3, September , 345-362

This article suggests that the asymmetry of capabilities underlying the transatlantic partnership is NATO's main source of stability. Drawing on insights from mainstream political Realism, we stress the virtues of asymmetry (i.e. providing the allies with a wide bargaining space, increasing the cost of defiance and reducing intra-allied competition). The presence of these characteristics gives member states the incentive to prolong the convergence of their otherwise different political interests. In light of this theoretical model, we formulate some policy prescriptions. In particular, we argue that the USA and European countries should continue developing their own particular areas of expertise - i.e. implementing a functional division of labour. Therefore, contrary to widespread opinion, we conclude that the transatlantic military gap shall not be conceived as a burden, but rather as a key asset for the preservation of NATO's effectiveness.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Imperato Federico

L'Italia del centro-sinistra e l'alleanza atlantica (1963-1968)

in *Clio - Rivista trimestrale di studi storici*, a. 44, n. 4

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ringsmose Jens

NATO's Response Force: finally getting it right?

in *European Security*, Volume 18, Number 3, September , 287-304

At the Riga Summit in November 2006, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) declared the NATO Response Force (NRF) a fully operational capability. Yet only 8 months later - and behind closed doors - the Alliance's military authorities rescinded the declaration as it became increasingly clear that member states were unwilling to make the necessary commitments to the force. To this day, the force has been a qualified failure: while many allies have benefited from participating in the NRF, lack of concrete troop commitments and disagreement as to the force's operational role have largely eroded its credibility. This could change with the allies' recent adoption of a revised NRF-construct. However, as NATO is still in a state of strategic confusion, the NRF is likely to continue to be different things to different nations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kitchen Veronica M.

NATO's out-of-area norm from Suez to Afghanistan

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , vol. 8, n. 2, June , 105-117

The parameters of NATO's out-of-area missions are defined not just by the treaty norms encoded in Articles 4 and 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, but also by a social norm entrenched during the Suez crisis. The evolution of the social norm



defining the responsibilities allies have to each other in NATO missions, together with changing definitions of security and mutual defence, have led to a situation where the distinction between Article 4 (concerning consultation on global security issues) and Article 5 (concerning mutual defence) is non-existent. This change can help explain the current inter-allied dispute over burden-sharing in NATO's ISAF mission in Afghanistan.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ghose Arundhati

**Nuclear Weapons, Non-proliferation and Nuclear Disarmament
in India Quarterly**, Vol. 65, n°4 , 431-440

The nuclear issue has so far been handled in a compartmentalised form; India's weapons programme has been so shrouded in secrecy that speculation and uninformed assertions are frequently taken as reflecting policy. At the same time, India's articulation of her policy priorities were ambiguous at best, till fairly recently. Most challenging has been the break-down of the domestic consensus in Parliament on this vital security issue of India. There are some signs that there is greater coordination between different government departments on some parts of the strategic programme. But knowledge, even of what other nuclear armed states have permitted to public scrutiny, remains a preserve of a small and exclusive group till some details are revealed almost accidentally. The challenges are there to be seen by all; how India proposes to deal with these challenges needs to be more broadly known, rather than presenting the public with carefully worded statements which, might, and frequently are, misrepresented. To make the policies coherent and more easily understood, the need for political consensus remains essential. This should be a major task before the Government.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Hardt Heidi

**Rapid response or evasive action? Regional organization responses to peace operation demands
in European Security**, Volume 18, Number 4, December , 383-415

Scholars have largely overlooked a critical influence on the effectiveness of organizations in their conduct of peace operations: response duration. The consequences of prolonging the time between the demand and supply of a peace operation often include a rise in the death toll on the ground and a fall in the operation's legitimacy in the eyes of the local population. This paper aims to present and explain surprising variation among regional organizations' response rates - a critical influence on operations' prospects for success. The evidence that I have collected shows that despite its relative superior capacity, the European Union responds more slowly than the African Union and other less affluent regional organizations conducting similar peace operations. Applying theories of international organization pathologies, the paper argues that institutional design problems of bureaucratic dysfunction hinder organizations' abilities to rapidly respond.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Hynek Nik, Stritecky Vit, Handl Vladimr, Koan Michal

The US-Russian security 'reset': implications for Central-Eastern Europe and Germany in European Security, Volume 18, Number 3, September , 263-285

The article examines the reactions of selected European states to the US-performed 'reset' in relations with Russia and explores the ways in which they have been adapting to the new set-up. The article is divided into three parts: after the discussion of the substantive continuity and limited change in US foreign and security policy (USFSP), the multilateral and bilateral dimensions of USFSP procedure are examined through John Ruggie's theoretical observations. The second part of the article deals with implications of the USFSP for Central-Eastern European countries. This part begins with a discussion of Russian attempts to wheedle Europe into embracing its plans for new European security architecture. The next section sheds light on the unexpected process of strategic realignment of the region (USA/NATO/EU/CSDP) and simultaneous transformation of the special relationship with the USA into 'normal life'. The third part of the article tackles the implications of heightened US-Russian bilateralism for Germany. Authors' findings, many of them based on conducted elite interviews, suggest the contrary process, namely Germany's strengthened multilateral commitment to the EU and specifically to European Security and Defence Policy, limiting the bilateral option to energy trade with Russia. What follows are concluding remarks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lätt Jeanne, Fues Thomas, Mallavarapu Siddharth

'We will have to learn to be better listeners' - Double interview with Thomas Fues and Siddharth Mallavarapu in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 34-35, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/6JB10S,0,We_will_have_to_learn_to_be_better_listeners_Double_interview_with_Thomas_Fues_and_Siddharth_Mallavarapu.html

Inhalt:

- Introduction
- Lacking shared global visions?
- "Why always refer only to Kant?"
- "Nobody forces a government to ratify a human rights agreement"
- "The new heavyweights from the South have to lay their cards on the table".

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lätt Jeanne, Fues Thomas, Mallavarapu Siddharth

'Wir werden lernen müssen, besser zuzuhören' – Übersetzung des Doppelinterviews mit Thomas Fues und Siddharth Mallavarapu

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 34-35, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/MGRWX3,0,Wir_werden_lernen_m%FCssen_besser_zuzuh%F6ren_%96_%DCbersetzung_des_Doppelinterviews_mit_Thomas_Fues_und_Siddharth_Mallavarapu.html

Inhalt:

- Einleitung
- Fehlen gemeinsame globale Visionen?
- "Warum immer nur auf Kant verweisen?"
- "Niemand zwingt eine Regierung, eine Menschenrechtsvereinbarung zu ratifizieren"
- "Die neuen Schwergewichte aus dem Süden müssen ihre Karten auf den Tisch legen"

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bernauer Thomas, Kalbhenn Anna, Koubi Vally, Spilker Gabriele

A Comparison of International and Domestic Sources of Global Governance Dynamics

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 40, issue 3, july , 509-538

ABSTRACT: Existing empirical models of international co-operation emphasize domestic determinants, although virtually all theories of international relations focus on interdependencies between countries. This article examines how much states' linkages with the international system, relative to domestic factors, such as income and democracy, influence the dynamics of global governance efforts. To this end, we study the ratification behaviour of 180 countries vis-à-vis 255 global environmental treaties. Except for integration into the world economy, which affects co-operative behaviour negatively, our results show that international factors have a stronger and more positive impact on cooperative behaviour than domestic factors. This implies that Galton's advice not to examine the effects of internal and external variables in isolation is also useful in the study of international politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bernstein Steven, Betsill Michele, Hoffmann Matthew, Paterson Matthew

A Tale of Two Copenhagens: Carbon Markets and Climate Governance



in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 39, n. 1, august , 161-173

ABSTRACT: Assessments of the UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen in December 2009 have tended to see it as a 'return to realism' — as the triumph of hard interstate bargaining over institutional or normative development about climate change. This article contests that interpretation by showing how it focuses too closely on the interstate negotiations and neglects the ongoing development of carbon markets as governance practices and systems to deal with climate change. It shows that there remains a strong normative consensus about such markets, and a deepening set of transnational governance practices. These governance practices only partly depend on the interstate negotiations. Thinking about the future of global climate governance needs to start with the complexity of interactions between these transnational governance systems and the interstate negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Papadopoulos Yannis

Accountability and Multi-level Governance: More Accountability, Less Democracy?

in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 5, september , 1030-1049

ABSTRACT: This paper seeks to explain why the trend towards more cooperative forms of policy-making, though in all likelihood necessary for policy efficiency and even at first glance promising with respect to inclusiveness and pluralism, can have negative consequences for democratic accountability. The paper first explores the properties of multi-level governance that lead to a deficit in democratic accountability (lack of visibility, uncoupling from representative institutions, composition of networks, and 'multi-levelness' itself) before coming to more general conclusions on the characteristics and limits of accountability mechanisms in multi-level governance and on their consequences for democracy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Koenig-Archibugi Mathias

Accountability in Transnational Relations: How Distinctive Is It?

in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 5, september , 1142-1164

ABSTRACT: In recent years, an increasing number of scholars have used the concept of 'accountability' to describe and assess relationships among actors who are primarily based in different state jurisdictions, or involving actors transcending state jurisdictions. Is there something inherently distinctive about accountability in transnational spaces as compared to the more familiar instances of accountability observed in domestic contexts? This paper examines the distinctiveness of transnational accountability in relation to: (1) its general meaning and specific forms; (2) its aims and importance; (3) its empirical existence and the relative frequency of its forms; (4) its causes; and (5) its effects. The paper cautiously concludes that on most of these dimensions the similarities outweigh the differences and that it would be unfruitful for research on transnational accountability to develop separately from that on domestic accountability.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Weber Cynthia

After Liberalism

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 38, n. 3, may , 553-50

ABSTRACT: Taking Daniel Deudney and John Ikenberry's demand for a 'more selfconscious and robust liberal statecraft' as its point of departure, this article considers whether this demand can be realised in practice, given the apparent contradiction between a desire for a self-conscious Liberalism and a desire for a robust Liberalism. By weaving a path through the work of Deudney, Ikenberry and Kant, and through the film District 9, this article suggests that Liberalism and especially Liberal Internationalism 3.0 fail to provide an ethical basis that could supply a 'non-negotiable demand of human [and "alien"] dignity', which is what a more self-conscious Liberalism ought to strive for. This failure is down to the way Liberalism draws its limits on political subjectivity. It is these Liberal practices that we cannot be 'after' in a temporal sense so long as Liberalism carries on. And so we need to be 'after Liberalism' in a different sense of being after — of calling it to account by being aware ourselves of how the core principles of Liberalism are both beneficial and destructive in their crafting of all political subjectivities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Matisoff Daniel C.

Are international environmental agreements enforceable? implications for institutional design

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 10, Number 3, September , 165-186

Over the past several decades, European international environmental institutions have evolved, heeding institutionalist calls for stronger institutions backed by sanctioning and dispute settlement mechanisms. This apparent increase in institutional strength has led to a corresponding increase of the behavioral effectiveness, or active compliance management of institutions as observed in the incidence of arbitral tribunal decisions. However, upon closer examination, it is apparent that this behavioral effectiveness has not been exclusively due to provisions for arbitral tribunal decisions within international environmental agreements. Rather, the incidence and enforcement of these arbitral tribunal decisions is linked to the institutional design of the enforcement mechanisms. Most international environmental agreements rely on parties to raise disputes and enforce commitments, causing individual countries to bear the cost of enforcement. In addition, bringing a dispute to an arbitral tribunal requires the accordance of the parties to the dispute. In contrast, the European Court of Justice allows for enforcement to originate from a strong central authority and for the cases of arbitration to be filed unilaterally. International environmental agreements that have been joined by the European Community and have a provision for an arbitral tribunal have stronger enforcement mechanisms, are more likely to result in enforcement action, and are more effective in generating behavioral change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sterk Wolfgang

Auf dem Weg zu einem neuen globalen Klimaabkommen?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 32-33, 2010

The full text is free:



www.bpb.de/publikationen/LV7S6J,0,Auf_dem_Weg_zu_einem_neuen_globalen_Klimaabkommen.html

Inhalt:

- Einleitung
- Zwischen ehrgeizigem Klimaschutz und gerechter Verteilung
- Konfiguration der internationalen Verhandlungen
- Beinahe-GAU in Kopenhagen
- Von Kopenhagen nach Cancún und darüber hinaus

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rahmat Fuad

Beyond Copenhagen? World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth, Cochabamba, Bolivia, 19–22 April 2010

in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 162, July/August 2010

The full text is free:

www.radicalphilosophy.com/default.asp?channel_id=2193&editorial_id=29139

The World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth in Cochabamba, Bolivia, 19–22 April 2010, was essentially organized and promoted by the government of Evo Morales as a response to the failures of Copenhagen. The conference sought to provide an open platform for critical discussion about the environmental crisis and to make visible the plight of the communities that are most immediately damaged by it. The conference attracted more than 30,000 participants, twice the number anticipated, and included politicians, activists, scientists, farmers, academics and artists from across the globe. The political and intellectual range of views represented was remarkable, with amicable exchanges across gender, class and cultural demographics. The conference managed to avoid the exclusivist omission of voices that marred COP15. It was not unusual for a panel to receive comments from university professors and a campesino in the same set of exchanges. The mood throughout was positive with a readiness to listen and accept critique. [...]

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cassese Sabino

C'è un ordine nello spazio giuridico globale?

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 1, 137-148



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Martin Susan

Climate Change, Migration, and Governance

in **Global Governance**, vol. 16, n. 3, july-september , 397-414

ABSTRACT: There is growing recognition that the effects of climate change are likely to lead to more migration, both internally and internationally, in the relatively near future. These climate change–induced migrations are likely to pose new challenges to the international system, ranging from an increase in irregular migration, to strains on existing asylum systems, to protection gaps for certain migrants affected. Yet the legal and normative framework, and institutional roles and responsibilities, relating to climate change–induced migration remain poorly developed. This article provides an overview of the interactions between climate change and migration, outlines the current international response, and considers new approaches to the global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Christoff Peter

Cold climate in Copenhagen: China and the United States at COP15

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 4, July , 637-656

The latest round in the UN climate change negotiations, COP15, held in Copenhagen in December 2009, was intended to determine binding goals, targets and measures for the time beyond 2012, when the Kyoto Protocol's first commitment period ends. Instead, it produced a non-binding political agreement - the Copenhagen Accord. To explain why, the key contributions of China and the United States are assessed. Domestic institutions and circumstances influenced and constrained these states' actions, with consequences that amplified longstanding weaknesses in the UNFCCC and shaped the COP's result.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Drolet Jean-François

Containing the Kantian revolutions: a theoretical analysis of the neo-conservative critique of global liberal governance

in **Review of International Studies (The)**, Vol. 36, Issue 3, July , 533-560

This article examines the neo-conservative critique of global liberal governance. It provides a theoretically oriented assessment of the neo-conservative case against international law and human rights regimes, and draws out the main political and ethical implications for American democracy and American foreign policy. It is argued that the neo-conservative critique of global governance rests upon an interpretation of the normative order that weaves together democracy, individual rights and national autonomy through a volatile identity politics which is fundamentally at odds with both the pluralist character of 'Westphalian diplomacy' and the universal order of rights envisaged by advocates of



global governance. More than just the policy autonomy of the US, what is really at stakes in those debates for neo-conservatives is the whole structure of cultural and socio-economic interests that is tied to the substantive interpretation of democracy upon which their domestic commitments to neo-liberal capitalism and liberal freedoms are predicated.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

McVea Harry

Credit rating agencies, the subprime mortgage debacle and global governance: the EU strikes back
in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 59, issue 3 , 701-730

The global financial crisis has served to highlight serious weaknesses in global governance, revealing fault lines in the international financial architecture and its accompanying regulatory apparatus. Most glaringly, the spotlight has fallen on Credit Rating Agencies (CRAs)—key governance agencies in the pre-crisis domestic and international regulatory structures, and ones directly linked to the subprime mortgage debacle. The aim of this article is to provide a critical appraisal of CRAs as a mechanism of global governance in the light of their role in the subprime mortgage debacle and to evaluate the case for stricter regulation of CRAs. In this respect, special emphasis is placed on the recent EU attempt—by way of a new Regulation on Credit Rating Agencies—to bring rating agencies within the regulatory fold. It is argued that while the EU Regulation has serious implications for the operation of CRAs within the Community, the reform measure is potentially illustrative of a growing dissonance between EU and US responses to global governance issues more generally.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Koivisto Marjo, Dunne Tim

Crisis, What Crisis? Liberal Order Building and World Order Conventions
in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 38, n. 3, may , 615-640

ABSTRACT: Liberal internationalism is the default setting for thinking about the development of international institutions since 1919. It provides the template for practitioners whose job it is to juggle contending norms of power and justice, rights and responsibilities. For complex reasons, proponents of liberalism believe that the default needs to be reset — their critics agree. Liberalism is in trouble because of the fragility of the inter-state order coupled to the challenge posed by rising, non-liberal powers. Closer to home, liberalism is in trouble because of a contestation over its specific liberal values. Contemporary liberal international theory understands this challenge in subtly different ways. For US-based internationalists, the crisis is one of authority; for English School internationalists, the problem with international order is that its institutions are 'deformed' because of a failure to legitimise power and institutions. Whether the crisis is on the legitimacy or authority side of the register, we argue that both internationalisms fail to adequately theorise world order in part because of their flawed characterisation of hierarchy and their related lack of attention to performances of social conventions.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Galbraith James K.

Das G20-Debakel: Warum wir einen grünen New Deal brauchen

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, August, 2010 , 85-93

Das jüngste G20-Gipfeltreffen in Toronto stand ganz im Zeichen einer Obsession. Defizitabbau und finanzpolitische Strenge – aufgehübscht durch das neue Etikett „fiskalische Konsolidierung“ – galten als das Gebot der Stunde. Rituelles Gerede über „Vertrauen“, das schon irgendwie Wirtschaftswachstum und Aufschwung zurückbringen werde, überlagerte die eigentliche Agenda der europäischen Rechten: nämlich ihre bedrohten Banken zu retten und dabei gleichzeitig die europäische Sozialdemokratie vor sich her zu treiben. In Toronto traten einzig und allein die Vereinigten Staaten dafür ein, der Wirtschaftsbelebung erste Priorität einzuräumen.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Habermas Jürgen

Das Konzept der Menschenwürde und die realistische Utopie der Menschenrechte

in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 58. Jahrgang, Heft 3, 2010 , 343-357

Abstract

This paper argues that the normative source of modern basic rights consists in the idea of human dignity. It is this idea through which rights derive a universalistic content of morality. Due to their being rights, human rights can serve to protect human dignity, which in turn owes its connotations of self-respect and social recognition to the intramundane status of democratic citizenship. This is associated with a realistic utopia whose aim at realizing social justice is intrinsic to the very institutions of democratic constitutional states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Habermas Jürgen

Das utopische Gefälle. Das Konzept der Menschenwürde und die realistische Utopie der Menschenrechte

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, August, 2010 , 43-53

Die Allgemeine Erklärung der Menschenrechte, die die Vereinten Nationen am 10. Dezember 1948 verabschiedet haben, beginnt in Artikel 1 mit dem Satz: „Alle Menschen sind gleich an Würde und Rechten geboren“. Auch die Präambel nennt Menschenwürde und Menschenrechte im selben Atemzug. Sie bekräftigt den „Glauben an die grundlegenden Menschenrechte, an die Würde und den Wert der menschlichen Person“. Und auch im internationalen Menschenrechtsdiskurs und in der Rechtsprechung spielt die Menschenwürde heute eine prominente Rolle. Lassen Sie mich mit einem bekannten Beispiel beginnen.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Habegger Beat

Democratic accountability of international organizations: Parliamentary control within the Council of Europe and the OSCE and the prospects for the United Nations

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 45, n. 2, June, 186-204

ABSTRACT: Many international organizations, including the United Nations, are accused of lacking democratic accountability. A variety of proposals have been made to close the gap between their extended influence and the lack of effective controlling mechanisms to prevent abuses of power. This article focuses on one specific proposal: the establishment of parliamentary assemblies. Based on the experiences of the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, it presents the factors that enable such assemblies to exercise parliamentary control and influence towards intergovernmental decision-making bodies. The article shows how a parliamentary dimension can be introduced conceptually into the debate on the democratic accountability of international organizations and how these insights support the reflections on a United Nations parliamentary assembly.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ong David M.

From 'International' to 'Transnational' Environmental Law? A Legal Assessment of the Contribution of the 'Equator Principles' to International Environmental Law

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 79, issue 1, 35-110

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Marchi Sergio

Global Governance: Migration's Next Frontier

in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 3, July-September, 323-330

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Farley Joshua, Aquino André, Daniels Amy, Moolaert Azur, Lee Dan, Krause Abby

Global mechanisms for sustaining and enhancing PES schemes

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 69, Issue 11, 15 September, 2075-2084

An international payment for ecosystem service (IPES) schemes may be one of the only mechanisms available to stimulate the provision of vital non-marketed ecosystem services at the global level, as those nations that benefit from global ecosystem services (GES) cannot readily force other sovereign nations to provide them. Currently, international trade offers trillions of dollars in incentives for countries to convert natural capital into marketable goods and services,



and few payments to entice countries to conserve natural capital in order to sustain critical non-marketed ecosystem services. We examine the biophysical characteristics of climate change and biodiversity to understand the obstacles to developing effective IPES schemes. We find that none of the existing schemes for providing GES are adequate, given the scale of the problem. A cap and auction scheme for CO₂ emissions among wealthy nations could fund IPES and simultaneously deter carbon emissions. To disburse funds, we should adapt Brazil's ICMS ecológico, and apportion available funds to targeted countries in proportion to how well they meet specific criteria designed to measure the provision of GES. Individual countries can then develop their own policies for increasing provision of these services, ensured of compensation if they do so. Indirect IPES should include funding for freely available technologies that protect or provide GES, such as the low carbon energy alternatives that will be essential for curbing climate change. Markets rely on the price mechanism to generate profits, which rations technology to those who can afford it, reducing adoption rates, innovation and total value.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fischer-Lescano Andreas, Viellechner Lars

Globaler Rechtspluralismus

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 34-35, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/337LSF,0,Globaler_Rechtspluralismus.html

Inhalt:

-Einleitung

- Legalität

-Legitimität

- Interlegalität

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Scotti Vincenzo

Governance globale – G8/G20 e Consiglio di Sicurezza delle Nazioni Unite: come affrontare in modo efficace le nuove sfide politiche e di sicurezza?

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXV, n. 3, terzo trimestre

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Best Keith

History Points to World Government

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/index.bfr>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Davies Thomas E.

How the Rome Statute Weakens the International Prohibition on Incitement to Genocide

in *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, vol. 23, issue 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Flyverbom Mikkel

Hybrid networks and the global politics of the digital revolution – a practice-oriented, relational and agnostic approach

in *Global Networks*, vol. 10, n. 3, july , 424-442

ABSTRACT: The rapid growth of internet users and the importance of networked technologies for most spheres of life raise questions about how to foster and govern the digital revolution on a global scale. Focusing on internet governance and the use of ICTs for development purposes, I provide a multi-sited, ethnographic exploration of two UN-based multi-stakeholder arrangements – comprising governments, business and civil society groups – that have contributed to the construction of the digital revolution as an object of global governance. In this article I show how analytical insights from governmentality studies and actor-network theory can be used to capture how objects of governance and organizational arrangements are constructed and consolidated. Conventional approaches to networks and governance tend to treat organizational arrangements and issue areas as bounded, separate and fixed. By contrast, I demonstrate the merits of a practice-oriented, relational and agnostic research strategy, which foregrounds the governmental techniques and moments of translation involved when new objects and modes of governance are assembled and negotiated.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fois Paolo

I valori fondamentali del "nuovo" diritto internazionale e il principio pacta sunt servanda

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCIII, fascicolo 1 , 15-44

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pettman Ralph

In pursuit of world peace: modernism, sacralism and cosmopiety

in Global Change, Peace & Security, vol. 22, n. 2, june , 197-212

ABSTRACT: In the modernist context that frames contemporary world affairs, questions about the pursuit of world peace are typically answered in terms that prioritize the use of reason as an end in itself. Modernist rationalism is not the only way in which questions about the pursuit of peace can be asked and answered, however. There are sacralist alternatives to it and there are cosmopious alternatives to both modernism and sacralism. Cosmopiety is the heart of every global religion. Since in this article the sacral focus is placed upon Islam, it is therefore placed upon the Sufi teachings that articulate Islamic mysticism. To show what such teachings entail, those of Bawa Muhaiyadden, a Sufi saint and sage, are briefly outlined.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mason Michael

Information Disclosure and Environmental Rights: The Aarhus Convention

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 10, Issue 3, Special issue "Transparency in Global Environmental Governance", August , 10-31

Access to information is the first "pillar" of the Aarhus Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters (1998). This article examines how the information disclosure obligations on states within the Aarhus Convention express a particular blend of human environmental rights, conjoining procedural entitlements (and duties) with a substantive right to an environment adequate to human health and well-being. "Aarhus environmental rights" have been lauded for increasing citizen access to environmental information, helping to secure more transparent and accountable regulatory processes. However, the information rights are rendered inconsistent in practice by three properties: 1) the discretion accorded to Convention Parties in interpreting Aarhus rights; 2) the exclusion of private entities from mandatory information disclosure duties; and 3) the indeterminate coupling of procedural and substantive rights. These tensions reflect a structural imbalance in the articulation of Aarhus rights between social welfare and market liberal perspectives.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Abbot Kenneth W., Snidal Duncan

International regulation without international government: Improving IO performance through orchestration

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 5, n. 3, september , 315-344

ABSTRACT: International organizations (IOs) have been widely criticized as ineffective. Yet scholars and practitioners assessing IO performance frequently focus on traditional modes of governance such as treaties and inter-state dispute-resolution mechanisms. When they observe poor performance, moreover, they often prescribe a strengthening



of those same activities. We call this reliance on traditional state-based mechanisms “International Old Governance” (IOG). A better way to understand and improve IO performance is to consider the full range of ways in which IOs can and do operate—including, increasingly, by reaching out to private actors and institutions, collaborating with them, and supporting and shaping their activities. Such actions are helping to develop an intricate global network of public, private and mixed institutions and norms, partially orchestrated by IOs, that we call “Transnational New Governance” (TNG). With proper orchestration by IOs, TNG can ameliorate both “state failure”—the inadequacies of IOG—and “market failure”—the problems that result when the creation and evolution of norm-setting institutions is highly decentralized. Orchestration thus provides a significant way for IOs to improve their regulatory performance. Some IOs already engage actively with private actors and institutions—we provide a range of illustrations, highlighting the activities of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP). Yet there remains a significant “orchestration deficit” that provides real opportunities for IOs. We draw on the lessons of existing IO activities to suggest additional possibilities for improving IO performance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zürn Michael

Internationale Institutionen und nichtstaatliche Akteure in der Global Governance

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 34-35, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/YPOGNB,0,Internationale_Institutionen_und_nichtstaatliche_Akteure_in_der_Global_Governance.html

Inhalt:

- Einleitung
- Supranationalisierung und Transnationalisierung
- Legitimationsprobleme internationaler Institutionen

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Koser Khalid

Introduction: International Migration and Global Governance

in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 3, july-september , 301-316

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Harris Paul G., Symons Jonathan

Justice in adaptation to climate change: cosmopolitan implications for international institutions
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 4, July , 617-636

The creation and funding of international institutions for adaptation to climate change involve questions of justice. Should unconditional assistance flow to governments or should assistance be provided in ways that ensure benefits flow to vulnerable populations? Do major emitters of greenhouse gases have special obligations to assist the developing world adapt to climate change? Which actors are the proper bearers of obligations to assist? After reviewing both state-centred and cosmopolitan arguments about adaptation assistance, it is argued that neither philosophical perspective justifies the statist design of existing institutions. A more just and effective international agreement on climate change adaptation must achieve a higher degree of consistency between the principles of burden sharing applied internationally and domestically. Adaptation assistance should target human welfare rather than provide compensation to states, and should be funded through measures that impose similar emission costs on affluent people in both developed and developing countries. These arguments are briefly demonstrated using the case of China.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ryfman Philippe

L'action humanitaire non gouvernementale: une diplomatie alternative?

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 75, n° 3, automne

La progressive structuration en réseaux internationaux des acteurs humanitaires (ONG, Mouvement Croix-Rouge/Croissant-Rouge) a renforcé leur visibilité dans le champ diplomatique. Leur expertise du terrain et de l'assistance, nécessaire à bien des discussions internationales, étend aujourd'hui leur rôle à la médiation des conflits et au lobbying auprès des gouvernements pour promouvoir une certaine idée du droit. Elle leur confère un pouvoir de «diplomatie alternative».

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hamdouni Saïd

La crise financière et l'état du droit. Quelles évolutions au regard du dispositif des sommets du groupe des vingt pays industrialisés et émergents, le G20 ?

in *Etudes Internationales*, 2, Juin 2010

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rahrig Allison

Love Thy Neighbor: The Tampere Convention as Global Legislation



in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, Volume 17, issue 2, summer , 273-288

ABSTRACT: The Internet, 24-hour news sources, and a host of other telecommunications advances have allowed global citizens to become instantaneously informed. With the privilege of real-time updates and acute awareness of the world's events comes the responsibility of being more than a passive observer. Specifically, this Note focuses on the technological improvements in communication during natural disasters—improvements that can be used to assist and aid the victims of catastrophes. In the aftermath of a natural disaster, the country affected is rarely able to provide for its citizens; tsunamis, hurricanes, tornadoes, and earthquakes can (and often do) cripple an entire nation. This Note argues that a global responsibility exists to step in and help an affected country when it cannot help itself.

For instance, the 1998 Tampere Convention on the Provision of Telecommunication Resources for Disaster Mitigation and Relief Operations is the first global attempt to concretely define relief efforts by other nations, without demanding compliance or a singular rigid course of action. Instead, the Convention creates a flexible framework that each member nation can adapt to its own telecommunications infrastructure. In legislating on a global scale, the Convention acknowledges the interconnectedness of the world's people, and presents ways in which global citizens can improve one another's existence in the hours following a natural disaster—arguably when they need help most.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lake David

Making America Safe for the World: Multilateralism and the Rehabilitation of US Authority

in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 4, october-december , 471-484

abstract: Over the past century, the United States has built and sustained relationships of varying hierarchy over states in Latin America, Western Europe, and Northeast Asia. In recent decades, it also has attempted to expand its authority over other states into Eastern Europe, which has been met with a measure of success, and the Middle East, which has been far more problematic.

The authority wielded by the United States over its subordinates, despite occasional abuses, provides security both internally and externally and permits unprecedented prosperity. Americans, in turn, gain from writing the rules of that order. The key foreign policy task today is not to diminish US authority, but to preserve its benefits into the future. To rule legitimately, however, requires tying the suzerain's hands. To secure the international order that has been so beneficial in the past century and to

succeed in extending that order to countries that do not yet enjoy its fruits requires a new, more restraining, multilateral solution that binds the hands of the United States far more tightly than in the past.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ashley Stein Michael, Lord Janet E.

Monitoring the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: Innovations, Lost Opportunities, and Future Potential

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 32, number 3, august , 689-728

ABSTRACT: As the first human rights treaty of the twenty-first century, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of



Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) protects some 650 million persons with disabilities. The CRPD also has an opportunity to progressively reconfigure the structure and process of human rights oversight. While the overall framework for monitoring and implementing the CRPD resembles existing core human rights instruments, it has some notable features. The CPRD Committee is endowed with several innovations of significant potential, especially in the breadth of reporting and investigative procedures, thereby offering prospects for other treaty bodies and the human rights system more generally. Accordingly, this article examines the development of the CRPD Committee and assesses its potential for invigorating future United Nations monitoring reforms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Armstrong Chris

National Self-Determination, Global Equality and Moral Arbitrariness

in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol. 18, Issue 3, September , 313-334

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9760.2009.00353.x/abstract>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Alvarado Jaime, Mendis Patrick

New Multilateralism in Action for Peace: A Case Study of the US-Led Operation Unified Assistance in the Asian Tsunami Disaster

in *Democracy and Security*, Volume 6, Issue 2 May , 97 - 108

In the aftermath of the Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami in December 2004, the ensuing multinational relief, humanitarian, and rebuilding efforts of the Operation Unified Assistance (OUA) are new examples of international cooperation to sustain and rebuild Asian communities in the post-9/11 security environment. An analysis of the cooperative efforts in light of differing theoretical perspectives provides a forum for debate on the nature of cooperation in the international arena and the implications for ethnic and civil wars in Indonesia and Sri Lanka. Once described and explained by multiple theories, the relief operations can then be used to predict and perhaps even prescribe future international cooperation in natural disasters and conflict resolution in civil war environments. As a case study, this paper also examines international security strategies and the implications for economic prosperity and political stability in sovereign but weak nation-states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Castañeda Jorge G.

Not Ready for Prime Time

in *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2010, Volume 89, Number 5

The world's leading international institutions may be outmoded, but Brazil, China, India, and South Africa are not ready to join the helm. Their shaky commitment to democracy, human rights, nuclear nonproliferation, and environmental protection would only weaken the international system's core values.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schwöbel Christine E. J.

Organic Global Constitutionalism

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 23 - Issue 03 , 529-553

Global constitutionalism is becoming increasingly prevalent in international legal discourse. While the various contributions give the impression of a seemingly complex and diverse debate, the contributions in fact all share some significant omissions and biases. It is argued here that the limitations, to be found in the disregard for processes such as fragmentation, and the biases, to be found through such realities as hegemony in international law, give rise to the necessity of a reconceptualization of the global constitutional debate. It is suggested that global constitutionalism should be reconfigured in terms of what is called 'organic global constitutionalism'. Organic global constitutionalism should be understood as being defined by constitutionalism as process, constitutionalism as political, constitutionalism as a 'negative universal', and constitutionalism as a promise for the future. These features would offer an alternative way of framing the debate and a means of redeeming the idea of global constitutionalism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nollkaemper, André

Rethinking the Supremacy of International Law

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 65, issue 1 , 65-151

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cabrera Luis

Review article: World government: Renewed debate, persistent challenges

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 16, n. 3, september , 511-530

ABSTRACT: World government has, very recently, resumed its place as the subject of serious investigation by leading scholars in International Relations, economics and political theory. Prompted variously by global economic integration, the persistence of the nuclear weapons threat and a US hegemony that ostensibly functions as a form of world state, some empirically oriented scholars have found themselves pursuing discrete lines of inquiry to the common possibility of global political integration. The main empirical currents, especially those focused on security, have important precedents in the world state 'heyday' of 1944—50, and some are open to the kinds of critiques previously levied at such



arguments. Normative arguments advocating gradual expansions of core rights through political integration may offer the most plausible and defensible route to deep global integration, but not necessarily one that will end at some comprehensive world state modelled on the nation-state.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Grefe Christiane

Rio reloaded - Essay

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 34-35, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/VLLWB8,0,Rio_reloaded_Essay.html

Inhalt:

- Einleitung
- Die drei großen Krisen: "Die Summe aller Fehler"
- Übersehene Erfolge globalen Regierens
- Erwartungen an globales Regieren sind oft überfrachtet
- Weltmacht Weltbürger

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kille Kent, Hendrickson Ryan

Secretary-General Leadership Across the United Nations and NATO: Kofi Annan, Javier Solana, and Operation Allied Force

in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 4, october-december , 504-523

ABSTRACT: The UN and NATO have been jointly engaged in a range of conflicts in the post–Cold War era. Studies of these organizations, however, have largely overlooked the institutional interplay between their Secretaries-General. After brief reviews of the relationship between the UN and NATO and the leadership role that a Secretary-General can provide, this article examines the political relationship between Kofi Annan and Javier Solana across three stages of NATO's 1999 Operation Allied Force in Kosovo. The findings show the important roles played and coordinated effort supplied by the Secretaries-General. This provides new perspectives on UN-NATO institutional coordination and has important implications for considering the relative security roles to be played by the UN and NATO in the future.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tobin John

Seeking to Persuade: A Constructive Approach to Human Rights Treaty Interpretation
in *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, vol. 23, issue 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kaul Inge

Souveränität wiedergewinnen: Suche nach den Grundelementen eines neuen Multilateralismus
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 34-35, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/UMUGH7,0,Souver%20nit%20wiedergewinnen%3A_Suche_nach_den_Grundelementen_eines_neuen_Multilateralismus.html

Inhalt:

- Einleitung
- Globale öffentliche Güter
- Bisherige Politikantwort: Wandel unter dem Druck von Krisen
- Globalisierung und Souveränität vereinbaren
- Ausblick

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Krippendorff Ekkehart

Staat muss sein. Muss Staat sein? Essay
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 34-35, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/YVX4NE,0,Staat_muss_sein_Muss_Staat_sein_Essay.html



Inhalt:

-Einleitung

- Staat als die Wirklichkeit der sittlichen Idee

- Was ist zu tun?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hasselbacher Lee

State Obligations Regarding Domestic Violence: The European Court of Human Rights, Due Diligence, And International Legal Minimums of Protection

in *Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights*, vol. 8, issue 2, spring

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Betts Alexander

Survival Migration: A New Protection Framework

in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 3, july-september , 361-382

ABSTRACT: The modern refugee regime, created in the aftermath of World War II, provides protection mainly to people who flee individualized persecution or generalized violence. Subsequent to its creation, a range of new drivers of external displacement—particularly related to the interaction of environmental change, livelihood collapse, and state fragility—have emerged that fall outside the framework of the regime. In order to examine institutional responses to these people, this article develops the concept of survival migration, which describes people who have left their country of origin because of an existential threat for which they have no domestic remedy. It examines six case studies of national and international institutional responses to survival migrants from Zimbabwe, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), which fall outside the 1951 Refugee Convention. Based on a conceptual model of regime stretching, the article offers an explanation for variation in the extent to which the existing global regime has adapted to address survival migration in different national contexts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Estèvez LòpezAriadna

Taking the human rights of migrants seriously: towards a decolonised global justice

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 14, Issue 5, September , 658-677



This article proposes an epistemological decolonisation of liberal ideas of global justice which shifts emphasis from abstract morals to specific material aspects of individual and group human rights. In order to respond to the empirical needs of the contemporary South a decolonised global justice focuses on the human rights of a specific, rather than a generic, type of individual - the international migrant. More specifically, this proposal of a decolonised global justice bases the responsibility of nations towards documented and undocumented migrants on the universal material principle of ethics and the obligations of states with respect to the life of all people in every way in accordance with the general principles of the right to development. In order to establish the nature of this responsibility, the article also reinterprets the rights to movement, asylum, work and a dignified life for the formulation of rights to mobility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nath Rkha

The Commitments of Cosmopolitanism

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 24, n. 3, fall , 319-333

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Salacuse Jeswald W.

The Emerging Global Regime for Investment

in Harvard International Law Journal, Volume 51, Issue 2, (Summer 2010)

Although the 3000 international investment treaties concluded since the end of World War II are separate and distinct international legal instruments, they constitute, as a group, an emerging global regime for investment. Drawing on regime theory from the field of international relations, this Article examines the elements of the international investment regime, the reasons for its development, the goals that it pursues, and the challenges that it faces. While having all the characteristics of other international regimes, the investment regime also has three unique features: it has been bilaterally, rather than multilaterally, constructed; it decentralizes and privatizes decisionmaking processes; and it is not based on a multilateral international organization. All of these features have significant consequences for the functionality and sustainability of the regime. The regime also faces four major challenges: (1) disappointing regime results; (2) perceived defective decisionmaking processes and unjustified constraints on national sovereignty; (3) divergence of participant expectations; and (4) the impact of national and global economic crises. On the other hand, certain other factors tend to give the regime a sticky quality that makes the departure of members difficult. Nonetheless, the international investment regime will require wise management and flexible leadership in the future if it is to withstand these challenges and achieve its potential.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pagh Peter

The Enforcement of EC Environmental Law

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 79, issue 1 , 189-381

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ghosh Bimal

The Global Financial and Economic Crisis and Migration Governance

in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 3, july-september , 317-322

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Newland Kathleen

The Governance of International Migration: Mechanisms, Processes, and Institutions

in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 3, july-september , 331-344

ABSTRACT: This article explains how the global governance of international migration has evolved as a policy issue on the international agenda over the past decade while noting that there is still no consensus on whether global governance is really required, what type of global governance would be appropriate, and how it should develop. The article reviews a series of policy options that have been proposed to fill the governance gap in international migration; namely, to create a new agency, to designate a lead agency, to bring the International Organization for Migration into the UN system, a coordination model, a leadership model, a World Trade Organization model, and an evolutionary model.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Elie Jérôme

The Historical Roots of Cooperation Between the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Organization for Migration

in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 3, july-september , 345-360

ABSTRACT: When studying the institutional aspects of the global governance of refugee issues, scholars almost exclusively put the emphasis on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, largely ignoring other organizations and the relationships established with these institutions. The aim of this article is to help fill this gap in the analysis by focusing on the historical roots of cooperation between UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration.



Despite the fact that this relationship has been at times charged with competition and suspicion, it has also been a vital factor in the refugee arena over the past sixty years.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ikenberry John

The Liberal International Order and its Discontents

in Millennium: Journal of International Studies, vol. 38, n. 3, may , 509-521

ABSTRACT: The American-led world system is troubled. Some would argue that it is in crisis. But what sort of crisis is it? Is it a crisis of America's position in the global system or is it a deeper world historical transition in which liberalism and liberal international order are at risk? Is the American-led 'liberal era' ending, or is it transforming into a new sort of liberal order? In this article, I argue that the American liberal hegemonic order is in crisis. But it is a crisis of authority within liberal international order and not a crisis of its underlying principles and organisational logic. That is, it is a crisis of the American governance of liberal order and not of liberal order itself. The crisis of liberalism today will ultimately bring forth 'more liberalism'. The post-Cold War liberal international order is more durable than many think. Russia and China are not inevitable enemies of Western international order. A grand alternative to liberal order does not exist. To put it sharply: the pathway to the future still runs through institutions and relationships created over the last 60 years. American unipolarity will eventually give way to something new. Power and authority will shift in the global system as they have over the centuries. But rival orders will not emerge — even if new leaders will. In the decades ahead, the United States and Europe and rising states — many of which are in Asia — will have more reasons and not fewer reasons to cooperate in open and rule-based ways. The future still belongs to the liberal international order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dunne Tim

The Liberal Order and the Modern Project

in Millennium: Journal of International Studies, vol. 38, n. 3, may , 535-543

ABSTRACT: A persistent struggle within liberal thought is how to recognise cultural particularity within an ethical system in which toleration does not become indifference. The liberal internationalism espoused by leading US-based authors assumes a single logic of modernity, in which adherence to liberal rules and institutions is both necessary and inevitable. The article finds an echo of this view in earlier English School work on the expansion of international society, and subsequently teases out some lessons from recent revisionist accounts of how international society and its institutions were shaped by the multiplicity of their interactions. Historical and cultural encounters in international society show that liberal internationalists are mistaken in their belief that there is only one pathway to modernity and that re-rising powers, such as India, Russia and China will sustain the liberal order after American hegemonic decline.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Florini Ann

The National Context for Transparency-based Global Environmental Governance



in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 10, Issue 3, Special issue "Transparency in Global Environmental Governance", August , 120-131

Transparency-based global environmental governance, like all global governance, necessarily plays out in national contexts. Its efficacy is shaped not only by global politics but also by the norms and capacities prevailing within countries. Over the past two decades, there has been an extraordinary upheaval in transparency views and practices in numerous countries, rich and poor, democratic and authoritarian. This multi-faceted development has been driven by such varied factors as democratization, privatization, and changing views about appropriate regulatory practices. These changes provide the crucial context for understanding the transparency transformation that is currently unfolding within global environmental governance, as well as what its promise, limitations and implications in practice might be in diverse national contexts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dauvergne Peter, Lister Jane

The Power of Big Box Retail in Global Environmental Governance: Bringing Commodity Chains Back into IR in Millennium: Journal of International Studies, vol. 39, n. 1, august , 145-160

ABSTRACT: This article focuses on analysing the consequences for global governance of the growing power of the world's biggest retailers, illustrating with the case of global forest governance. It argues that the rising power of big retail within global commodity chains is creating both significant challenges — and some opportunities — for global environmental governance. The analysis suggests a need for IR to focus more on the shifting political power of multinational corporations, as both barriers to, and progress in, the governance of complex global issues such as deforestation and climate change increasingly occur in the corporate sphere. More specifically, the authors see great value in bringing research on globalising commodity chains back into IR, first revealing the power dynamics within these chains, then building on this to analyse the implications for global change and world politics. This reinforces and complements the message in Bernstein et al. (in this volume) that understanding the future of global climate governance must include the complex interactions between transnational governance practices and interstate negotiations. But it also suggests a need for IR scholars to go even further to unpack the consequences of how the shifting power dynamics of governance practices within the corporate sphere are intersecting — or running parallel — with more overarching multilateral and transnational environmental processes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Penn Michael L., Malik Aditi

The Protection and Development of the Human Spirit: An Expanded Focus for Human Rights Discourse in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 32, number 3, august , 665-688

ABSTRACT: Human rights discourse would be enriched by a greater focus on the conditions that are necessary for the protection, development, and refinement of the human spirit. This essay outlines a rational account of the notion of the human spirit and endeavors to show that the human spirit provides an appropriate focus for human rights concerns because it embodies the intrinsic value of the human person, provides an ontological basis for the oneness and interdependence of humankind, and defines those capacities of consciousness upon which the future of civilization



depends.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gutner Tamar, Thompson Alexander

The politics of IO performance: A framework

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 5, n. 3, september , 227-248

ABSTRACT: Some international organizations (IOs) are subject to constant criticism for producing poor results while others are praised for accomplishing difficult tasks despite political and resource constraints. Indeed, IO performance varies substantially over time and across tasks, and yet the international relations literature has devoted little attention to why this occurs. This article provides a framework for studying IO performance. After addressing some of the distinct challenges of conceptualizing and analyzing performance in the context of IOs, we discuss the tradeoffs of using different performance metrics—from process indicators to outcome indicators—and present a typology of factors that influence performance. Finally, we discuss research strategies for those interested in studying performance rigorously. The policy relevance of studying IO performance is clear: only if we understand why some IOs perform better than others can we begin to improve their performance in a systematic way. As many organizations come under pressure to reform, while at the same time taking on new and more complicated tasks, scholars should be actively engaged in debates surrounding IO performance and its role in effective governance at the international level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Birdsall Andrea

The “Monster That We Need to Slay?” Global Governance, the United States, and the International Criminal Court

in Global Governance, vol. 16, n. 4, october-december , 451-470

ABSTRACT: The International Criminal Court is a new mechanism for the global governance of human rights that enjoys broad support from a large number of states. The United States expressed its hostile opposition especially in the early years, claiming that the ICC was harmful to US national interests. This attitude toward the court changed over the years, and a more pragmatic approach toward the ICC is now discernible. The United States had to acknowledge that actions taken in opposition to the ICC began to be harmful to its own national interests and it also realized the national interest utility the court has despite the deep-seated opposition to the concept of supranational sovereignty. This article looks at the reasons for opposition by the United States, its initial hostile position, and changes in the US approach toward the ICC.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bach David, Newman Abraham L.

Transgovernmental Networks and Domestic Policy Convergence: Evidence from Insider Trading Regulation in International Organization, vol. 64, issue 3, july , 505-528



ABSTRACT: Cross-border cooperation among domestic regulators and public officials has become a defining feature of global governance. While a number of studies have tracked the emergence and institutionalization of such transgovernmental networks, less is known about their effect on domestic policy. This study explores this link for the important case of insider-trading regulation in original data for 116 countries between 1977 and 2006. It offers quantitative evidence that transgovernmental cooperation is related to domestic policy convergence but that the relationship is more complex than often assumed. Direct ties to powerful regulators increases a jurisdiction's likelihood of adopting internationally promoted policies such as insider-trading rules. Separately, membership in the International Organization of Securities Commissions (IOSCO), a forum designed to diffuse best practices among regulators, increases a jurisdiction's likelihood of subsequently enforcing newly adopted policies. The findings in this study suggest that different network components are associated with distinct aspects of domestic policy convergence. The results are directly relevant for current public policy debates about the reregulation of global financial markets as transgovernmental networks among domestic regulators have assumed a critical role.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gupta Aarti

Transparency in Global Environmental Governance: A Coming of Age?

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 10, Issue 3, Special issue "Transparency in Global Environmental Governance", August , 1-9

This introductory article draws on the contributions to this special issue to consider the implications of a transparency turn in global environmental and sustainability governance. Three interrelated aspects are addressed: why transparency now? How is transparency being institutionalized? And what effects does it have? In analyzing the spread of transparency in governance, the article highlights the broader (contested) normative context that shapes both its embrace by various actors and its institutionalization. I argue that the effects of transparency—whether it informs, empowers or improves environmental performance—remain uneven, with transparency falling short of meeting the ends many anticipate from it. Nonetheless, as the contributions to this issue make clear, transparency has indeed come of age as a defining feature of our current and future politics.

Full text available on-line at http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/GLEP_e_00011

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stenhammar Fredrik

United Nations Targeted Sanctions, the International Rule of Law and the European Court of Justice's Judgment in Kadi and al-Barakaat

in Nordic Journal of International Law, vol. 79, issue 1 , 113-254

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bach David



Varieties of cooperation: the domestic institutional roots of global governance

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 3, July , 561-589

This article develops a domestic institutional explanation for the growing institutional diversity in global economic governance. Transgovernmental networks linking domestic regulatory agencies have emerged in a number of areas alongside more conventional cooperation based on international organisations and regimes. At the same time, the number and scope of private self-regulatory schemes at the international level has markedly increased. While rich literatures have developed around each of these three governance cluster, less attention has been paid to the critical questions why, where, and when we are most likely to see one type of governance as opposed to another. The article argues that broad observable patterns of global governance result from specific configurations of domestic institutional variables in leading markets against the backdrop of the dynamics of market globalisation. Empirical evidence from case studies of global governance in the fields of securities, Internet domain names, intellectual property, and hedge funds broadly support the argument.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

von Bondandy Armin, Goldmann Matthias

Völkerrecht als öffentliches Recht: Konturen eines rechtlichen Rahmens für Global Governance

in *Staat*, vol. 49, issue 1 , 23-74

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Klamberg Mark

What are the Objectives of International Criminal Procedure? - Reflections on the Fragmentation of a Legal Regime

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 79, issue 2 , 279-582

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Messner Dirk

Wie die Menschheit die Klimakrise meistern kann - ein optimistisches Essay

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 32-33, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/Z6ZG1K,0,Wie_die_Menschheit_die_Klimakrise_meistern_kann_ein_optimistisches_Essay.h



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Inhalt:

- Einleitung
- Was das Ende des fossilen Zeitalters bedeutet
- Globale Kooperationsrevolution
- Wirtschaft als Motor der Dekarbonisierung
- Wissenschaft als Innovationsmotor
- Zum Schluss: Der Mensch kann kooperativ sein

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Larrère Raphaël

Le paradoxe de la globalisation

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n. 42

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Brenner Neil, Peck Jamie, Theodore Nik

After Neoliberalization?

in *Globalizations*, Volume 7, Issue 3, September 2010, 327-345

Abstract

Against the background of debates on the origins and implications of the global economic crisis of 2008-2009, this essay presents a theoretical framework for analyzing processes of regulatory restructuring under contemporary capitalism. The analysis is framed around the concept of neoliberalization, which we view as a keyword for understanding the regulatory transformations of our time. We begin with a series of definitional clarifications that underpin our conceptualization of neoliberalization as a variegated, geographically uneven and path-dependent process. On this basis, we distinguish three dimensions of neoliberalization processes—regulatory experimentation; inter-jurisdictional policy transfer; and the formation of transnational rule-regimes. Such distinctions form the basis for a schematic periodization of how neoliberalization processes have been entrenched at various spatial scales and extended across the world economy since the 1980s. They also generate an analytical perspective from which to explore several scenarios for counter-neoliberalizing forms of regulatory restructuring.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jakobsen Tor G., Jakobsen Jo

Birds of a Feather Flock Apart? Testing the Critique of the Clash of Civilizations Thesis in Peace, Conflict and Development, Volume 15, Issue 15, March , 1-20

When the article "Is there a Clash of Civilizations? Evidence from the Patterns of International Conflict Involvement, 1946-97" by Giacomo Chiozza was published in 2002 it followed a line of researchers testing Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations-thesis. Through statistical analysis Chiozza argued that civilizational differences seemed unlikely to be the source of betweenstate conflicts in the years to come. Yet, the following years have seen such conflicts arise, for example the 2003 invasion of Iraq, and 2006 Lebanon war seemingly proves Huntington was right. Chiozza's analysis includes both latent conflicts, crises, and conflicts. In this article I test Chiozza's findings by excluding the non-violent conflicts. My results are along the lines of Chiozza's results, even though the negative effect of intercivilizational dyads is somewhat modified after replacing the dependent variable. The same conclusion is drawn when investigating dyads that are already in a state of conflict. Intercivilizational dyads are not more likely to be involved in war. However, if one includes all external military intervening parties the number of cross-civilizational conflicts greatly increases compared to intercivilizational ones.

Full text available on-line at <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/1-Article15Final.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Flemes Daniel.

Brazil in the BRIC initiative: soft balancing in the shifting world order?
in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.53 - No.1/2010 , 141-156

The foreign policy options of Brazil are limited in view of the superior hard power of the established great powers. Brazil's soft balancing strategy involves institutional strategies such as the formation of limited diplomatic coalitions or ententes, such as BRIC, to constrain the power of the established great powers. The BRIC states have been amongst the most powerful drivers of incremental change in world diplomacy and they benefit most from the connected global power shifts. In a global order shaped by great powers through international institutions, those players who effectively operate within them as innovators, coalition builders and spokesmen while preserving great amounts of sovereignty and independence have the potential to substantially influence the outcomes of future global politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cornejo Romer, Navarro García Abraham

China y América Latina: recursos, mercados y poder global
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 228 , 79-99



América Latina no es una prioridad para China, ya que se ubica en un lugar menos importante que Estados Unidos, Asia o Europa. Pese a ello, la relación se ha intensificado. Desde el punto de vista económico, y con algunas pocas excepciones, el vínculo se basa en el intercambio de bienes manufacturados chinos por materias primas (petróleo, alimentos y minerales) provenientes de América Latina. En otros términos, se trata de un intercambio entre trabajo y renta del suelo. Desde un punto de vista político, la región es importante en la disputa diplomática con Taiwán y como socia en la búsqueda de un mundo más multilateral.

Full text available at:

http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3707_1.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Menaheem Gila

Cross-border, cross-ethnic, and transnational networks of a trapped minority: Israeli Arab citizens in Tel Aviv-Jaffa

in *Global Networks*, vol. 10, n. 4, october , 529-546.

ABSTRACT: In this article, I provide a framework for studying the transnational networks of minority members as a political phenomenon. I make two claims. First, it is necessary to take into account the state and its capacity to limit transnational networks if one is to capture, analytically, the full range of such networks. Second, it is important to extend the theoretical framework of transnationalism to include populations other than migrants and to account for networks established by national minority members whose loyalty to the state can be challenged. I offer a typology of networks organized along two major axes – the state in-border–cross-border axis and the ethnic or religious identity axis. These two axes yield different types of in-border and cross-border, intranational and transnational networks. I base these claims on an analysis of four case studies of cross-border and cross-ethnic networks maintained by Israeli Palestinian citizens in Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Burton Paul

Culture and Constructivism in International Relations

in *International History Review (The)*, vol. XXXII, n. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Müller Thorsten, Platzer Hans-Wolfgang, Rüb Stefan

Die globalen Gewerkschaftsverbände vor den Herausforderungen

in *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, Heft 3, 2010 , 111-128

ABSTRACT: Globale Gewerkschaftsverbände haben einen enormen Mitgliederzuwachs erfahren und frühere



Spaltungen überwunden. Aber sie sind absolut unterfinanziert. Die Entwicklung ihrer Funktionsprofile blieb – bis auf wenige Ausnahmen – hinter den Herausforderungen der Globalisierung deutlich zurück.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Colic-Peisker Val

Free floating in the cosmopolis? Exploring the identity-belonging of transnational knowledge workers

in Global Networks, vol. 10, n. 4, october , 467-488

ABSTRACT: In this article I explore what I call the 'identity-belonging' of transnational knowledge workers, a diverse group of serially migrating career professionals who have spent extended periods of time in at least three countries, usually following career opportunities. Unlike most recent writing on transnationalism, which focuses on enduring connections of migrants with their 'home' countries/places, here I explore a transnationalism that may transcend the national, and generally the territorial, principle, with repercussions for identity-belonging. In this context, how transnational knowledge workers position themselves towards belonging to a nation and towards the idea of cosmopolitanism is of particular interest. From data collected through in-depth interviews in Australia and Indonesia, I conclude that their globally recognized profession forms the central axis of their identity-belonging, alongside a weak identification with their nation of origin. The feeling of belonging to and identifying with particular locales and local communities was articulated flexibly and instrumentally in association with professional and wider social networks, while no primordial territorial attachments could be identified.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

European Economy News

G20 leaders discuss economic and financial reform

in European Economy News, July 2010 – Issue 18

Leaders from the world's top 20 advanced and emerging economies (the G20) met in Toronto at the end of June for a crucial meeting on the future of the world economy. A strong push for fiscal consolidation and the rebalancing of the global economy, a bank levy and financial reform made for a packed agenda.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Senghaas Dieter

Gerechter Friede statt Gerechter Krieg. Die Lehre der letzten Dekade

in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, September, 2010

Bilanziert man die erste Dekade des 21. Jahrhunderts unter friedenspolitischen Gesichtspunkten, kommt man zu einem höchst ambivalenten Ergebnis. Einerseits hat im Gefolge des 11. September 2001 und des von George W. Bush



ausgerufenen „Krieges gegen den Terror“ die Theorie des „gerechten Krieges“ eine erstaunliche Renaissance erlebt. Der liberale amerikanische Sozialphilosoph Michael Walzer diagnostizierte zwischenzeitlich gar den Sieg der von ihm schon lange vertretenen „Lehre vom gerechten Krieg“. Andererseits hat das Scheitern der jüngsten militärischen Interventionen, von Irak bis nach Afghanistan, die Untauglichkeit dieses Konzeptes brutal aufgezeigt.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dubey Muchkund

Global Economic Crisis: Response of the International Community

in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 65, n°4, 453-467

The global financial and economic crisis has had a devastating impact on the world economy, including those of the developed countries. The impact was considerably mitigated because major economic powers put in operation rescue packages of unprecedented dimensions and adopted a set of co-ordinated measures. The preferred institution and the forum for this purpose were the IMF and G-20 respectively. The recognition of G-20 as the principal forum for international economic co-operation is only the institutionalisation of the radical change that has taken place in the global economic power structure. In their three conferences at the summit level within a space or less than a year, the G-20 took measures for making substantial resources available to help developing countries to cope with the crisis, for regulating financial markets and for strengthening the IMF. G-20 decisions helped in restoring confidence, maintaining the momentum of rescue measures and restraining contingent trade protection. But most of the fundamental problems besetting the international financial system have been left intact or only tinkered with. The right forum for bringing about changes of a fundamental nature in the international financial system, and for coordination of macro-economic policies of member governments which can serve the widest possible interest, is the United Nations. This is in fact mandated in the UN Charter.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Steger Manfred B., McNevin Anne

Global Ideologies and Urban Landscapes: Introduction to the Special Issue

in *Globalizations*, Volume 7, Issue 3, September 2010, 319-326

Abstract

This article introduces the central problematic behind this special edition: the intersection of language and space as reflected in the interplay of global ideologies and urban landscapes. We aim to illuminate and problematise the production of ideologies as both discursive and spatial phenomena by grounding our analyses in cities of the global North and South. We outline our reasons for this focus in relation to the prominence of space in contemporary social theory and in relation to more everyday local-global conditions. Specifically, we point to the declining availability of conventional 'public spaces' as sites of ideological dissent; the proliferation of ideologically embedded metaphors and neologisms that narrow the diverse potentials of spatial transformation; the constraints that disciplinary boundaries place on socio-spatial inquiry; and the normative drive to build heterogeneous futures other than those set out by elites as universally 'global'. We outline the contributions to this special edition in relation to these key themes.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Checa González Clemente

Globalización económica y principios tributarios

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 22 , 79-113

full text available at:

<http://www.juridicas.unam.mx/publica/librev/rev/cconst/cont/22/ard/ard3.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Luna Pont Mariana

Globalization and Local Powers

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

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

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Salazar Parrenas Rhacel

Homeward bound: the circular migration of entertainers between Japan and the Philippines

in *Global Networks*, vol. 10, n. 3, july , 301-323

ABSTRACT: One feature of globalization is the growing number of temporary labour migrants, but their experience of settlement does not always fit the dominant perspective of transnational migration. Unlike transnational migrants, circular migrants tend not to be equally entrenched in home and host societies, but instead hold feelings of greater affinity for the home society. They engage in repeated short periods of work abroad, an example being migrant Filipina entertainers in Tokyo, Japan. This article describes the settlement of these circular migrants and demonstrates how it is a process of returning to the home society that entails limited integration in the host society; they are routinely segregated in time and space. Migrant Filipina entertainers start thinking about their departure almost as soon as they arrive, and their departure is marked by a carefully-planned ceremony, or sayonara party. Questioning the assumption in the literature that circular migrants will eventually become permanent residents, in this article I call for the formulation of new theoretical frameworks that better capture the qualitatively distinct experiences of circular migrants.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Duque Félix

Il nostro terrorismo quotidiano

in *Teoria*, volume XXX (2010), n. 1 , 9-30



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Narayana M.R.

Impact of Economic Globalization on Urbanization: A Comparative Analysis of Indian and Select Global Experiences

in India Quarterly, Vol. 66, n°1 , 91-116

This article analyzes the impact of economic globalization on urbanization since July 1991, with special reference to comparisons of Indian and select global experiences. India's degree of globalization, measured by internationalization of trade and capital, is shown to be low at global levels. Patterns of urbanization in the post-globalization period show higher growth and concentration of population in bigger class-size cities. Urban economic growth is increasingly contributed by service sectors, declining share of manufacturing sector and higher labour productivity. These experiences of India coincide with experiences in countries such as China, G7 and Korea. Overall growth implications of these comparative analyses imply a need for continuing with economic globalization and for a national approach for development of large cities in India. Interestingly, sources of urban economic growth in India are distinguishable by both formal and informal sectors with varying labour productivity. Distributive implications of changing composition and growth of urban labour market across countries are essential to compare the growth-cum-equity implications of globalization on urbanization between India and other countries. This is identified as a topic of future research in Indian urban economics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

De Maio Jennifer L.

Is War Contagious? The Transnationalization of Conflict in Darfur

in African Studies Quarterly, vol. 11, issue 4, summer , 25-44

ABSTRACT: Scholars often regard the transnationalization of civil wars as unique expansions of the war and in doing so overlook the importance of the international system in contributing to the spillover of violence. The relationship between domestic situations and international contexts directly contribute to the transnationalization of civil war. I focus on the widening of the Darfur conflict from a domestic conflict to a war with strong international connections and ties. I argue that the transnationalization of war in Darfur is not the result of diffusion or contagion. Instead, the spillover of violence is the result of calculations on the part of the Sudanese government, which is using the violence in Darfur to wage proxy wars in Chad and the Central African Republic. A dangerous system of war has developed, with the governments of Chad, the CAR, and Sudan supporting and arming rebel groups in pursuit of wider political objectives and military goals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Anderson Elliot A.

It's a Pirate's Life for Some: The Development of an Illegal Industry in Response to an Unjust Global Power Dynamic

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, Volume 17, issue 2, summer , 319-339

ABSTRACT: This Note discusses the domestic and international economic effects of the recent surge of piracy off the coast of Somalia, and uses Somali piracy as a method of exploring conflicting ideological conditions that arise from globalization. In exploring the underlying motivations for this trend, it identifies a dichotomy between primary needs satisfaction within underdeveloped nations and the satisfaction of secondary interests in developed nations, and explains how globalization may be exacerbating the turn toward piracy. This Note first discusses the recent rise in piracy and then explores how the contemporary history of Somalia has engendered the upsurge. Next, it considers how piracy has influenced the economy of coastal Somalia, followed by a look at the ideological intersection between primary domestic interests and secondary global interests. Finally, this Note explores some of the international implications of the rise of piracy in Africa, and whether further expansion is a possibility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Keutgen G.

L'arbitrage et la mondialisation du commerce

in *Revue de droit international et de droit comparé.*, Vol. 87, n. 2 , 223-245

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Costalli Stefano

L'impatto della politica internazionale sui flussi commerciali nell'era della globalizzazione

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XL, Numero 2, Agosto , 251-278

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Draï Raphaël

La crise financière de 2008 : pour une morale de l'histoire

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, Hors-série, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Betbèze Jean-Paul

La crise financière mondiale et le changement de monde

in *Cité*, philosophie, politique, histoire, Hors-série, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bénassy-Quéré Agnès, Carton Benjamin, He Fan, Kawai Masahiro, Pisani-Ferry Jean

Le G20 en sortie de crise: un point de vue euro-asiatique

in *Lettre du CEPII*, N° 299 juin 2010

Après s'être focalisé au plus fort de la crise sur la réforme de la régulation financière internationale, le G20 a abordé à Pittsburg le chantier du rééquilibrage de la croissance mondiale. Cela passe notamment par des stratégies de sortie de crise différenciées selon les pays, des réformes structurelles et une meilleure coordination budgétaire en Europe. Aujourd'hui une interrogation demeure : le G20 a certes su réagir promptement au cœur de la crise, mais il lui reste à prouver sa légitimité, tout comme sa capacité à faire aboutir les réformes dans un environnement de sortie de crise où l'appétit pour la coordination diminue.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Levy-Garboua Vivien, Maarek Gérard

Le capitalisme financier : mutations et viabilité

in *Cité*, philosophie, politique, histoire, Hors-série, n. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Chavagneux Christian

Les multinationales définissent-elles les règles de la mondialisation?

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 75, n° 3, automne

Les États demeurent-ils au centre des relations économiques internationales? Ils doivent composer avec la montée en force des acteurs privés, au nombre desquels les multinationales productives ou financières, en particulier dans le domaine clé de la fixation des règles. Grands cabinets d'audit, associations professionnelles transfrontières, cartels internationaux, tous travaillent à ce que les normes politiques de la mondialisation respectent et valorisent leurs intérêts particuliers.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wessendorf Susanne

Local attachments and transnational everyday lives: second-generation Italians in Switzerland

in **Global Networks**, vol. 10, n. 3, July, 365-382

ABSTRACT: Many descendants of migrants grow up in the context of lively transnational social relations to their parents' homeland. Among southern Italian migrants in Switzerland, these relations are imbued with the wish to return among the first generation, a dream fostered since the beginning of their migration after the Second World War. Second-generation Italians have developed different ways of negotiating the transnational livelihoods fostered by their parents on the one hand, and the wish for local attachments on the other. In this article I discuss how the children of Italian migrants have created their own cultural repertoires of Italianità and belonging within Switzerland and with co-ethnic peers, and how, for some, this sense of belonging evokes the wish for 'roots migration', the relocation to the parents' homeland. With the example of two trajectories of local attachment and transnationalism among members of the second generation of the same origin, I question existing work on the second generation that assumes commonalities among them on the grounds of ethnicity and region of origin.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Winder Gordon M.

London's Global Reach?: Reuters News and Network, 1865, 1881, and 1914

in **Journal of World History**, Volume 21, Number 2, June, 271-296

In the fifty years before 1914, London was served by Reuters, the world's leading news agency. Reuters both led and reflected London's expanding interests in world affairs, so analysis of its news supply offers insights into London's situation as a late nineteenth-century world city. Saskia Sassen has defined global cities as forming a network with transnational producer services firms contracting with transnational corporations to supply the services that are necessary for their global businesses. This article asks whether Reuters offered worldwide coverage, operated as an imperial network, or functioned as a transnational producer services enterprise networking world cities. It does so by mapping the world news Reuters delivered to London newspapers using the telegraphic records of the Reuters Group Archive for sample news weeks in 1865, 1881, and 1914. Analysis reveals that Reuters was a nineteenth-century producer services firm offering transnational services organized by a web of enterprise and focused on a network of world cities. This suggests in turn that London may have been a global city before 1914.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wang Kuan-Min

Monetary Policy Impulses and Retail Interest Rate Pass-Through in Asian Banking Markets

in **Asian Economic Journal**, Volume 24 Issue 3, September 2010



This paper considers the integration of financial markets and mutual influences of monetary policies in the USA and Asia based on monthly data from 1994 to 2007. We used panel-type and time-series and quantile panel-type error correction models to test the influences of expected and unexpected monetary policy impulses on the interest rate pass-through mechanism in the financial markets of 9 Asian countries and the USA. The empirics show that if interest rate integration exists in the financial markets, the following effects are observed: (i) positive impulses of unexpected monetary policy will lead to an increase in the long-run multiplier of the retail interest rate; (ii) the adjustment of retail interest rates with short-run disequilibrium will lead to an increase in the long-run markup; and (iii) the empirical results of quantile regression prove that when the interest variation is greater than the 0.5th quantile and unexpected monetary policy impulses are greater than the expected monetary policy impulses, the short-run interest rate pass-through mechanism becomes more unstable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Murshed Syed Mansoob

Not loving thy neighbour as thyself: Trade, democracy and military expenditure explanations underlying India—Pakistan rivalry

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 47, Number 4, July , 463-476

This article analyses whether greater international trade, democracy and reduced military spending lower hostility between India and Pakistan. Conflict between the two nations can be best understood in a multivariate framework where variables such as economic performance, multilateral trade with the rest of the world, bilateral trade, military expenditure, democracy scores and population are simultaneously taken into account. The empirical investigation is based on time series econometrics from 1950— 2005, allowing causality to be examined. The results suggest that reduced bilateral trade, greater military expenditure, less development expenditure, lower levels of democracy, lower growth rates and less general trade openness are all conflict enhancing, albeit with lags in some cases. Moreover, there is reverse causality between bilateral trade, militarization and conflict; low levels of bilateral trade and high militarization are conflict enhancing, but conflict also reduces bilateral trade and raises militarization. Economic growth is conflict mitigating, but the reverse is not true. Globalization, or greater openness to trade with the rest of the world, is the most significant driver of a liberal peace, corroborating a modified form of the capitalist peace, rather than a common democratic political orientation suggested by the pure form of the Kantian liberal peace.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Landolt Patricia, Goldring Luin

Political cultures and transnational social fields: Chileans, Colombians and Canadian activists in Toronto

in **Global Networks**, vol. 10, n. 4, october , 443-466

ABSTRACT: We offer an institutional analysis of Chilean and Colombian transnational politics in Toronto to account for cross-group variation in transnational political practices and the formation of different types of transnational social fields of political action. The article is based on interviews conducted with Chilean and Colombian community activists and Canadian refugee rights and social justice activists. We use the concept of political culture to account for differences in Chilean and Colombian transnational politics and to explain the different kinds of relationships the two groups have developed with non-migrants. We introduce the concept of activist dialogues, understood as patterns of strategic political



interaction between groups, to characterize how migrants and non-migrants read and navigate their interlocutors' ways of doing politics. We argue that variation in the character of activist dialogues results in different types of transnational social fields of political action. Chilean–Canadian activist dialogues reflect a convergence of political cultures and strategies of action; Colombian–Canadian activist dialogues are marked by a relationship in which there is a divergence of strategies of action. Convergent dialogues produce thicker and more stable transnational social fields. Divergent dialogues are associated with a series of ad hoc initiatives, the absence of stable and strongly institutionalized partnerships, and a thinner transnational social field of political action.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

De Bree June, Davids Tine, De Haas Hein

Post-return experiences and transnational belonging of return migrants: a Dutch—Moroccan case study in *Global Networks*, vol. 10, n. 4, october , 489-509

ABSTRACT: In this article we explore the links between return migration, belonging and transnationalism among migrants who returned from the Netherlands to northeast Morocco. While transnationalism is commonly discussed from the perspective of a receiving country, this study shows that transnationalism also plays a vital role in reconstructing post-return belonging. Return migration is not simply a matter of 'going home', as feelings of belonging need to be renegotiated upon return. While returnees generally feel a strong need to maintain various transnational practices, the meanings they attach to these practices depend on motivations for return, gender and age. For former (male) labour migrants, transnational practices are essential for establishing post-return belonging, whereas such practices are less important for their spouses. Those who returned as children generally feel uprooted, notwithstanding the transnational practices they maintain. The amount of agency migrants are able to exert in the return decision-making process is a key factor in determining the extent to which returnees can create a post-return transnational sense of home.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Goodman James

Provoking 'Globalist Sydney': Neoliberal Summits and Spatial Reappropriation in *Globalizations* , Volume 7, Issue 3, September 2010 , 347-357

Abstract

Neoliberal globalism, as market ideology, thrives as an abstract and universal claim on society. The social relations that drive it become most clearly exposed through the exercise of material power in concrete places. In these places, challengers engage in public pedagogy, unveiling social interests and impacts of neoliberal globalism, forcing public deliberation. Within these sites of contestation, new refusals and alternatives can come into view. The article analyses challenges to globalist summits in Sydney, creating a narrative of urban protest centred on spatial reappropriation. Street conflicts are seen as demonstrating the territorial logic of neoliberal globalism, and not only provoking dominant formations but also suggesting possibilities beyond them. Evidence of this pedagogic process is gleaned from press reports and public encounters, signalling a different city, beyond 'Globalist Sydney'.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ward Kevin, Pickerill Jenny, MacKinnon Danny, Featherstone David

Resistance, Space and Political Identities: The Making of Counter-Global Networks

in **Social Movement Studies**, Volume 9, Issue 3, August 2010 , 331-340

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mol Arthur P.J.

Sustainability as global attractor: the greening of the 2008 Beijing Olympics

in **Global Networks**, vol. 10, n. 4, october , 510-528

ABSTRACT: If one interprets sustainability as an attractor, it means that across time and place notions and ideas of sustainability structure, order and pattern institutions and practices. One can effectively explore the idea that sustainability is turning into a global attractor through mega events. As high profile and very visible happenings that attract worldwide attention, it is difficult to ignore common and widely shared norms on sustainability in the route towards such events. In investigating the 2008 Beijing Olympics I conclude that sustainability norms indeed restructured and patterned this global mega event. Moreover, these sustainability norms are crystallized, institutionalized and fixed in material and social structures, and thus will likely have some permanency.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

O'Hearn Denis

The Anthropology of Globalization or the Globalization of Anthropology?

in **Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power**, Volume 16, Number 4, July , 492-510

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Saran Shyam

The Mitigation Challenge in Climate Change—Where Do We Stand?

in **India Quarterly**, Vol. 65, n°4 , 469-473

The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) does not impose mitigation obligations on developing countries since it recognises that Climate Change is taking place due to the cumulative accumulation of GHGs in the atmosphere, for which developed countries are responsible. This is the principle of historical responsibility and this is acknowledged by developed countries, including the US. Notwithstanding the principles and provisions of the UNFCCC, developed countries in the EU and the US argue that major developing countries like China, India, Brazil and South Africa, should also undertake mitigation actions, since their GHG emissions are rising rapidly and will overwhelm any



reductions carried out by developed countries. While mitigation actions by developing countries, in the initial stages, need not involve absolute reductions, they need to represent a 'Significant deviation from their business as usual emission trajectories'. There is a demand that such deviation be quantified and be included in the form of a commitment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wettergren Åsa

The Significance of Social Movements to Human Rights and Global Solidarity (review article)

in **Social Movement Studies**, Volume 9, Issue 3, August 2010 , 341-345

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bartelson Jens

The Social Construction of Globality

in **International Political Sociology** , Volume 4, Issue 3, September 2010 , 219-235

Abstract

Today the concept of globality is widely used to describe a condition characterized by the presence a single sociopolitical space on a planetary scale. Yet international relations theory has been either unwilling or unable to understand the global realm in sui generis terms. This paper argues that if we want to make coherent sense of the global realm and its relationship to the international system, we must account for how globality has been constructed as a social fact. The paper then tries to provide some of the foundations of such an account by analyzing how a distinctively global space was forged out of changing cosmological beliefs about the makeup of the terrestrial surface during the Renaissance, and how these new beliefs in turned conditioned the possibility of modern practices of territorial demarcation and national identity construction. If valid, this interpretation implies that the order of analytical priority between the international system of states and the global realm ought to be reversed, and hence also that a sui generis account of globality must be built on the recognition that the world was global well before it became international in any recognizably modern sense of this latter term.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Haller William, Roudometof Victor

The cosmopolitan—local continuum in cross-national perspective

in **Journal of Sociology**, Volume 46, No. 3, September 2010 , 277-297

Abstract



This article examines whether the cosmopolitan—local continuum is present among advanced industrialized world regions. Strictly comparable factor analyses show that its nation-based and place-based variants are observable across world regions. Results indicate that, from 1995 to 2003 among the regions analyzed, place-based localism is declining everywhere. This finding suggests that globalization's effects on personal lives are consequential in terms of decreasing people's attachments to their traditional locales. From 1995 to 2003 nation-based localism has been increasing in most world regions. This finding suggests that nation-based localism — often under the guise of revamped nationalism — is a reaction to globalization's effects on personal lives. But unlike the citizens of other advanced industrialized countries, Europeans have been reducing their own attachment to national societies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cancelado Henry

The international security and the contemporary global threats

in *Analisis politico* , Vol. 23, issue 68 , 91-100

Este escrito analiza los cambios en la seguridad dentro del sistema internacional contemporáneo y en la naturaleza de los principales actores estatales que interactúan en los conflictos vigentes. Para cumplir este objetivo, el texto se divide en tres partes: la primera, en la cual se recuerda al estado como actor relevante del sistema internacional; la segunda, en la cual se describe el cambio en el contexto internacional y cómo afecta esto al estado; y la tercera, a partir del cold spell, en la cual se hará un balance de los modelos vigentes de percepción de las amenazas globales.

Full text available at:

<http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/anpol/v23n68/v23n68a06.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Van Bochove Marianne, Rusinovic Katja, Engbersen Godfried

The multiplicity of citizenship: transnational and local practices and identifications of middle-class migrants

in *Global Networks*, vol. 10, n. 3, july , 344-364

ABSTRACT: In this article we focus on local and transnational forms of active citizenship, understood as the sum of all political practices and processes of identification. Our study, conducted among middle-class immigrants in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, indicates that the importance of active transnational citizenship should not be overstated. Among these immigrants, political practices are primarily focused on the local level; political practices directed to the home country appear to be quite rare. However, although transnational activities in the public sphere are rather exceptional, many immigrants do participate in homeland-directed activities in the private sphere. If we look at processes of identification, we see that a majority of the middle-class immigrants have a strong local identity. Many of them combine this local identification with feelings of belonging to people in their home country.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mas Giralt Rosa, Bailey Adrian J.

Transnational familyhood and the liquid life paths of South Americans in the UK
in *Global Networks*, vol. 10, n. 3, July, 383-400

ABSTRACT: In this article, we explore the nature of identity in the contemporary transnational family. To do this we extend lifecourse scholarship by considering Bauman's liquid modernity thesis and introducing the concept of a liquid life path. Original empirical examples drawn from our work among South American migrants and their families living in London and northern England illustrate diverse patterns of identification; everyday practices and social norms associated with maintaining split families, including parenting and remitting, coalesce around liquid life paths. We describe how these life paths turn on and reproduce a set of spatial and temporal imaginaries. We also reflect on the implications of these fluid imaginaries for our understanding of transnational familyhood.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

de Saint-Victor Jacques

Une crise pour rien ? Réflexions politiques sur l'inaction des Etats en 2009 et leur mutation en « pompiers » de la finance

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n. 41

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nelson Travis

When disaster strikes: on the relationship between natural disaster and interstate conflict

in *Global Change, Peace & Security*, vol. 22, n. 2, June, 155-174

ABSTRACT: This article asks under what circumstances natural disaster can lead to interstate conflict initiation. Through an analysis of all major earthquakes, floods, storms, and tsunamis between 1950 and 2006, I find that serious disaster increases the general likelihood of conflict initiation, and I reach two key conclusions about the specific causal mechanisms driving post-disaster conflict. First, I show that there is not a single instance of a rival or opponent state taking the opportunity to initiate military conflict in the aftermath of serious disaster. This finding supports the developing literature on 'disaster diplomacy'. Second, there are, however, cases in which states with a recent history of significant civil disruption initiate such conflicts themselves. In these situations, disaster can contribute to the conflict environment and can make conflict initiation significantly more likely. I find that, counter-intuitively, it is the very states most vulnerable and most weakened by disaster that are likely to initiate conflict in a post-disaster environment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Reading Joshua P.

Who's Responsible for This?: The Globalization of Healthcare in Developing Countries



in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, Volume 17, issue 2, summer , 367-387

ABSTRACT: One aspect of globalization in the developed world is the privatization of services once provided by government. This trend is also arising in developing countries, albeit for different reasons, and an area where this privatization is occurring is healthcare. Despite this privatization, the standard of healthcare in many developing countries is unacceptably low. This Note provides an analysis of this phenomenon in one country—Pakistan, a developing country that has increasingly come to rely on private providers, nongovernmental organizations, and international relief groups for the provision of healthcare—in order to draw conclusions that can be applied elsewhere. While this privatization does serve some needs, it is insufficient to provide an appropriate standard of care to the people of Pakistan. This Note argues that in order to raise the standard of healthcare in developing countries, the flow of privatization should be stemmed in favor of greater government involvement. This involvement includes collaborating with private and international entities, providing better oversight, and supplying financial incentives, in addition to the direct provision of healthcare. With evidence that greater government involvement in the provision of healthcare improves standards of healthcare, this Note concludes that the privatization of healthcare in developing countries should be viewed with caution. Further, there should be an emphasis on increased government involvement to ensure the levels of healthcare to which the people of Pakistan and many other developing countries are entitled.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

SÉNÉGAS Marc-Alexandre

La théorie des zones monétaires optimales au regard de l'euro: Quels enseignements après dix années d'union économique et monétaire en Europe?

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, Volume 120, n° 2, mars-avril , 379-419

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Wulf Herbert, Debiel Tobias

Systemic Disconnects: Why Regional Organizations Fail to Use Early Warning and Response Mechanisms

in *Global Governance*, vol. 16, n. 4, october-december , 525-547

ABSTRACT: To what extent does empirical evidence confirm or question the value of conflict early warning and response for effective practice by regional organizations? This article presents a brief overview of existing key EWR mechanisms and analyzes if, and under what conditions, these mechanisms might be a useful peace and security promotion tool for regional organizations. It looks at three regional and subregional organizations— the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States/Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group in West Africa, and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development in East Africa that have established such conflict EWR mechanisms. Until now, these tools have not been adequately implemented or fully used. The principal reason for this is not a lack of sufficient EWR data. Instead, regional organizations often fail to respond in time to prevent an emerging violent conflict because of weaknesses of the organization and political disagreements within the organization.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

De Lombaerde Philippe, Soderbaum Fredrik, Van Langenhove Luk, Baert Francis

The problem of comparison in comparative regionalism

in Review of International Studies (The), Vol. 36, Issue 3, July , 731-753

There is virtually no systematic debate on the fundamentals of comparative research in the study of international regionalism. The field of research is very fragmented and there is a lack of interaction between EU studies and regionalism in the rest of the world. There is also a lack of communication between scholars from various theoretical standpoints and research traditions. Related to these two divides is the tension between idiographic and nomothetic methodologies. The purpose of this article is to contribute to the largely neglected debate on how to conduct and address three interrelated problems: a conceptual, a theoretical and a methodological one. Our claim is that the future of comparative regionalism should be one where old divides are bridged. This requires a combination of conceptual rigor, theoretical eclecticism, and sounder empirical research methods.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Bernardino Adao, Isabel Correia, Pedro Teles

Wage and Price Rigidity in a Monetary Union

in Open Economies Review, Volume 21, Number 1 , 109-126

We extend irrelevance results of sticky prices and fixed exchange rates to environments with sticky wages. Provided payroll taxes can be used with the same flexibility as monetary policy, then sticky wages are irrelevant for both optimal allocations and policies in response to shocks. This is the case also under fixed exchange rates or in a monetary union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Henry Thompson, Hugo Toledo

Labor skills and factor proportions trade in the gulf cooperation council

in International Review of Economics and Finance, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 407-411

A new measure of factor intensity and abundance from trade theory is utilized to predict potential trade and income redistribution between traditional and modern economies in the Gulf Cooperation Council. Differences in labor skill intensity and abundance suggest there will be substantial trade between the modern (Bahrain, Qatar, UAE) and traditional (Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia) economies in the GCC. Due to the limited data, the UAE and Kuwait are taken to represent the modern and traditional economies.

Section C) Regional integration processes



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

Dinokopila Bonolo R.

Beyond paper-based affiliate status: National human rights institutions and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 10, n. 1 , 26-52

ABSTRACT: An extensive literature has evolved around the relationship between the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and non-governmental organisations with observer status. Not much has been written about the nature of the relationship between the African Commission and national human rights institutions. This article seeks to scrutinise this relationship.

In particular, it examines the role of national human rights institutions in the activities of the African Commission and, concomitantly, how their role could be strengthened in order to enhance human rights protection in Africa.

The paper further examines the rationale behind their greater participation in the workings of the African Commission and ascertains whether there is a need for a more elaborate and meaningful relationship.

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 2009

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 10, n. 1 , 265-292

ABSTRACT: An overview of 2009 shows the dramatic influence of developments pertaining to international criminal justice in shaping not only legal but also political and human rights discourses in Africa. This contribution, which reviews selected events in 2009, includes a selective analysis of the work of two important international jurisdictions — the International Criminal Court and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. This year, the 'hybrid' Special Court for Sierra Leone concluded its last trial and appeal in Freetown and heard the testimony of Charles Taylor. Both are significant for the pursuit of justice in Sierra Leone. In Kenya, the failed efforts to establish a special tribunal and the attempts to prosecute suspected pirates apprehended off the coast of Somalia, shape the debate on the prosecution of international crimes in domestic judicial spheres. The first case before the African Court on Human and People's Rights, concerning

Hissène Habré, and the attempts to establish a criminal chamber to try crimes defined under international law within the African Court are touched upon. Events in Sudan are highlighted, including the International Criminal Court's arrest warrant against the President of Sudan, and the report by the African Union Panel on Darfur.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ebobrah Solomon T.

Human rights developments in African sub-regional economic communities during 2009

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 10, n. 1 , 233-264

ABSTRACT: The year 2009 saw important judicial and non-judicial human rights developments within the framework of three of the most active regional economic communities in Africa. During the year, each of the three communities engaged in some form of standard-setting in the field of human rights. Further, in East Africa, thematic meetings relevant



to human rights were convened. In Southern Africa and West Africa, the communities embarked on activities aimed at strengthening democracy. Sub-regional courts in Southern Africa and West Africa were also involved in human rights cases during 2009. These developments are reviewed to highlight their overall significance in the context of human rights in Africa.

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 2009

in African Human Rights Law Journal, vol. 10, n. 1 , 212-232

ABSTRACT: The year 2009 witnessed numerous human rights developments on the African continent. The African Union added a treaty on the protection of internally displaced persons to its already robust normative human rights framework. The African Commission reviewed and expanded its working groups, extended its reach to emerging issues, including climate change and the global financial crisis, and adopted reporting guidelines under the African Women's Protocol and a framework document on the abolition of the death penalty in Africa. For its part, the African Court handed down its first judgment, while the African Children's Committee further cemented its role in examining state reports under the African Children's Charter. This note provides an overview of these developments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Gumedze Sabelo

The African Union and the responsibility to protect

in African Human Rights Law Journal, vol. 10, n. 1 , 135-160

ABSTRACT: This article discusses how the African Union, as a major contributor to peace and security, has embraced and further entrenched the concept of the responsibility to protect. It traces the concept from the time when the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, challenged the international community to agree on the basic principles and processes of when intervention should occur in order to protect humanity against gross violations of human rights. It further discusses how the government of Canada responded to this challenge through the establishment of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, which undertook extensive work in an attempt to unpack the meaning of the concept. The article makes reference to the 2005 World Summit where the Heads of State and Government of the United Nations unanimously affirmed the concept of the responsibility to protect, as well as to the 2005

Common African Position on the Proposed Reform of the United Nations (Ezulwini Consensus) wherein the Executive Council of the African Union affirmed this concept. The article further makes linkages between the concept of the responsibility to protect and the notions of human rights, human security and international security. Focusing on the African Union, the article discusses how the concept has over the years evolved in the African context. Devoting particular attention to article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the article gives an understanding on how this article gives effect to the responsibility to protect. It elaborates on the notions of collective intervention and universal jurisdiction, among other things. The article also considers the processes to be undertaken by the African Union, as a means of giving effect to the responsibility to



protect, following requests for intervention by its member states and occurrences of undesirable unconstitutional changes of government.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Hanafi Hazem

**The Origin and Formation of an Arab Union
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

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

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Scholtz Werner

**The promotion of regional environmental security and Africa's common position on climate change
in African Human Rights Law Journal**, vol. 10, n. 1 , 1-25

ABSTRACT: The African continent is vulnerable to the consequences of climate change. Climate change poses a serious threat to peace and security on the African continent since it may, for instance, result in competition for and conflict about scarce resources. The capacity to adapt may reduce potential conflict, but there are various constraints on the capacity of African countries. Thus, support for climate change adaptation is essential.

Africa may increase their adaptive capacity through international negotiations, but African states lack the resources to pursue this goal.

The African Union has therefore facilitated the establishment of a common African position on climate change aimed at international climate change negotiations. Accordingly, the main aim of the article is to discuss the pursuit of the enhancement of adaptive capacity and therefore environmental security of African states through Africa's common position on climate change.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Young Kurt B.

**Towards a Holistic Review of Pan-Africanism: Linking the Idea and the Movement
in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 16, Issue 2, April 2010 , 141-163

Abstract

This article explores two general approaches to defining Pan-Africanism. Traditional Pan-Africanism reflects definitions of Pan-Africanism that begin with the assumption that distinctions must be made between early "ideas" of group identification with Africa versus modern organizational activities. However, holistic approaches emphasize the interconnectivity of Pan-African ideas and concrete activities. This discussion explores these approaches and their implications for contemporary analyses of Pan-Africanism. The essay concludes that the holistic line is best suited for



developing a new model in Pan-Africanism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Fairbrother Malcolm

Trade policymaking in the real world: Elites' conflicting worldviews and North American integration in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 17 Issue 2 2010 , 319-347

Research on trade policymaking often fails to recognize important disagreements between economists, on the one hand, and economic and political elites, on the other. As a consequence, many studies overstate the prevalence of economists' neoclassical trade theory among businesspeople and politicians, and its intellectual influence on the practice of trade negotiations and policymaking. While economists, politicians, and businesspeople often do support the same (neoliberal) agreements and policies, the worldviews motivating and embodied in their endorsements are consistently different. Economists' formalized neoclassical theory fully endorses international market liberalism, primarily on the basis of expected benefits for consumers, and substantially de-emphasizes conflicts of interest across nations. Businesspeople's and politicians' more informal and practical support for 'free trade' agreements primarily values them for their benefits to producers, and frequently evokes visions of win-lose competition among nations. Empirically, I defend these arguments using qualitative data from a comparative-historical study of the formation of the 1989 Canada-US Free Trade Agreement and the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Spektor Matias

Ideas of regional activism: the transformation of Brazilian readings of its region in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.53 - No.1/2010 , 25-44

This piece studies change in Brazil's readings of its regional environment since the 1990s. It begins by characterizing Brazil's latest pattern of regional activism, with an emphasis to the obstacles and ambiguities that inhere. It then presents the range of new strategic concepts that have informed Brazilian behavior in South America. The conclusion highlights the silences that recur.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Costa Vaz Alcides

La Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños. La factibilidad y necesidad de un nuevo organismo regional

in *Nueva Sociedad*, N. 227 , 4-8

En la Cumbre de Cancún, los países de la región anunciaron la creación de la Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños. El artículo sostiene que, lejos de una iniciativa aislada, se trata de parte del proceso de acercamiento regional consolidado en los últimos años. El desafío es crear un organismo que le permita a la región



discutir sus problemas en sus propias instancias, pero hacerlo de manera tal de no generar un aislamiento y no añadir dificultades a las relaciones con otros países, en especial con Estados Unidos.

Full text available at:

www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3692_1.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Briceño Ruiz José

La Iniciativa del Arco del Pacífico Latinoamericano. Un nuevo actor en el escenario de la integración regional in Nueva Sociedad, n. 228 , 44-59

En los últimos años se ha producido una reconfiguración de la integración latinoamericana en torno de «ejes» de países que son críticos al modelo de regionalismo abierto que imperó en la región desde la década del 90. La Iniciativa del Arco del Pacífico, un proyecto iniciado por Perú, es una forma de responder a estos cuestionamientos e incidir en los cambiantes escenarios integracionistas mediante la creación de un ámbito comercial orientado a profundizar la articulación en el espacio económico del Pacífico.

Full text available at:

http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3705_1.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Arnaudo Luca

MERCOSUR: progressi e prospettive

in Comunità Internazionale (La), vol. LXV, n. 3, terzo trimestre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Rubiolo María Florencia, Baroni Paola Andrea

Unasur: Alternativa de integración frente a desafíos internacionales emergentes

in Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile, Vol. 43 / 2010 / Nr 165

This paper aims to analyze the reasons why South America needs to form a regional arena of dialogue before the challenges that an increasing multipolar world presents. We consider UNASUR as the regional initiative with the greatest possibilities of turning into a forum through which consensus can be reached and common regional stands established. We will focus on the case of the People's Republic of China because it appears as a real alternative to the United States and the European Union in the commercial and investment fields. At the same time, the size of its



economy, allows to think about the insertion of the whole South America, an element that would favor cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Lee Jones

ASEAN's unchanged melody? The theory and practice of 'non-interference' in Southeast Asia
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 23 Issue 4 September , 479 - 502

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is widely supposed by theorists and commentators of many persuasions to have elevated the principle of absolute non-interference in the internal affairs of states into a central pillar of Southeast Asian regionalism. Non-interference is also criticised for retarding ASEAN from taking meaningful action over economic crises, problematic members like Myanmar, and transnational security threats. This article critiques this consensus, arguing that the norm has never been absolute, but has rather been upheld or ignored in line with the interests of the region's dominant social forces. While the principle formally remains in place despite such challenges and serious instances of violation, it is now subject to competing demands and contestation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Devadason Evelyn

ASEAN-China Trade Flows: moving forward with ACFTA
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 19 Issue 66 , 653 - 674

here are claims that China's influence on ASEAN is direct in that she has encouraged more exports to flow into her huge markets and changed trade flows amongst member countries. Demand and supply are deemed to have therefore become more China-centred. This paper looks at the plausibility of China as a 'factor' that influences bilateral intra-ASEAN trade flows through demand (exporting country) and supply (partner country). The key finding of the study is that China's trade association with the region increases intra-ASEAN exports. China is therefore the most practical choice for the ASEAN+1 FTA to initiate deeper trade integration within the region. China, as the 'core' country of the ACFTA can provide complementarities in the export performance of ASEAN.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

León-Manríquez José Luis

Asian noodle bowl: la integración económica en el Este asiático y sus implicaciones para América Latina
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 228 , 60-78

La integración panasiática, que algunos imaginan como la reconstrucción de la antigua «Ruta de la Seda», parece imposible de lograr en el mediano plazo, pues los países de Asia Central no están demasiado involucrados en esta regionalización y miran con más interés hacia Europa y Rusia. Pero el proceso se encuentra mucho más avanzado en el Este asiático. Esta región llegó tarde a los acuerdos formales, pero luego avanzó a gran velocidad y hoy cuenta con una abigarrada suma de instancias y acuerdos de integración. El artículo sostiene que ello no significa que la integración en el Este asiático esté generando un bloque comercial excluyente, ya que la conexión transpacífica aún



constituye un vínculo de la mayor importancia: de hecho, China se ha afianzado como un socio comercial fundamental para la gran mayoría de los países de América Latina.

Full text available at:

http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3706_1.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kang Taek Goo

Assessing China's approach to regional multilateral security cooperation
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, n. 4 / August , 406-431

This article analyses factors that cause China to have different approaches to different regional multilateral security institutions. Current research not only has little to say about China's motivation to participate, but also little regarding the level of its participation in or support for regional security institutions. To explain why China's post-cold war participation in regional multilateral security institutions varies, this article argues that threat levels help explain China's conditions for participating in multilateral security institutions, and security interests help explain China's behaviour as a member of such institutions. The author stresses that these are useful variables that can explain China's behaviour with respect to regional multilateral security institutions. In the foreseeable future, China's general posture toward regional multilateral security cooperation will be passive participation and strong support. Australia should not only consider strategies which emphasise strengthened bilateral relationships between Canberra and Beijing, but also continue to positively support regional multilateral security institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Hyoung-kyu Chey

Can the European Monetary System be a model for East Asian monetary cooperation?
in *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)*, Volume 15 Issue 2 , 89 - 105

Since the 1997 Asian financial crisis and the launch of the European Economic and Monetary Union shortly afterward, a growing number of studies have considered the idea of a so-called Asian Monetary System, mostly adopting the European Monetary System as its model. The operational adjustment burdens in the European Monetary System were asymmetrically distributed, however, in particular between Germany and the other member countries. The emulation of such an asymmetric system in East Asia is not likely to be sustainable, due to the much lower support for regional integration there than was the case in Europe. For a future Asian Monetary System to be sustainable, it should be designed in such a way as to promote symmetry in the adjustment burdens arising from its operation. To this end, it may be desirable for the Asian Monetary System to employ an exchange rate and intervention mechanism that levies adjustment burdens largely on participant currencies deviating substantially from the average member currency movements. This mechanism should also be constructed in such a way that each currency's probability of identification as a deviant currency is similar.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Bhutani S.K.

China and India: Competing Friends or Rivals?

in India Quarterly, Vol. 65, n°4 , 383-391

The globalisation of economies, instant spread of information and shared values across national and regional boundaries ensure that Asia and its constituents cannot be separated from the rest of the world. The global economic crisis of 2008 has brought about China's recognition as a global economic power. What will be China's political role in the global setting and more so in the Asian arena is subject of intense debate. More or less same is the case with India. India invests half of what China has been investing, yet its growth rate is 80 per cent of the Chinese rate. Its industry uses less energy than its counterpart in China to generate the same level of growth. Equally significant is the comparison of value-added per worker in manufacturing. The World Development Indicators 2001 suggests that during 1995–99, an Indian worker added value to the extent of US\$ 3,118 per year whereas a Chinese worker contributed US\$ 2885. The present article makes clear that the policies and processes of growth have been quite dissimilar and reflect their priorities: China's intense desire to emerge as a superpower and India's sustained attempt to remove internal divisions through conciliation and economic development.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Holslag J.

China's Roads to Influence

in Asian Survey , Volume: 50, Number: 4 July/August , 641–662

This paper argues that although the People's Republic of China is promoting crossborder networks as a new regional common good, it is driven by both the fear of losing influence to other powers and the desire to create an open economic order in pursuit of Chinese interests. As in most forms of communication, it also appears in this case that the strongest player is best positioned to use these channels to its own advantage.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Atkinson J.

China-Taiwan diplomatic competition and the Pacific Islands

in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 23 Issue 4 September , 407 - 427

China and Taiwan have become important actors in South Pacific affairs due to their diplomatic rivalry. Securing the diplomatic recognition of the Pacific Islands countries is expensive for China and Taiwan. There are limits to what the rivals are willing to spend, and they attempt to reduce costs. This dynamic shapes how Taiwan and China engage Pacific Islands politicians. It also motivates their high level official visits to the region, and how they engage South Pacific regional organizations. Despite criticisms that China-Taiwan rivalry corrupts and destabilizes the South Pacific, the issue of whether China and Taiwan's diplomatic rivalry has been beneficial or detrimental to the region remains contentious. China and Taiwan appear to have recently called a truce in their decades-old rivalry. This tacit agreement is still tentative, and the involvement of China and Taiwan in the region has yet to change significantly. However, Taiwan has



reportedly begun to reduce funding, and is likely to reform its aid delivery in order to satisfy demands from the South Pacific region's dominant power, Australia, and to improve its image as a humanitarian aid donor. China is also likely to reduce funding while the truce holds. However, China considers its ties with South Pacific governments more important than responding to Australian pressure, and is unlikely to reform its South Pacific aid programmes as a result of the diplomatic truce.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Breslin Shaun

**Comparative theory, China, and the future of East Asian regionalism(s)
in Review of International Studies (The), Vol. 36, Issue 3, July , 709-729**

Despite the development of an increasingly sophisticated literature on comparative regional integration drawing from a variety of cases, the European experience remains the most often used benchmark against which other integrative processes are judged; there is still an often implicit expectation that 'successful' processes of regionalism will end up looking something like the European Union. While it is correct to move away from such a 'Euro-dominance', the theoretical lessons learned continue to have salience when applied to emerging and competing forms of integrative processes in East Asia. In particular, when economic considerations dominate regional relations – at times of economic crises – then integrative logics and strategies come to the fore. In more 'normal' times when geo-strategic considerations reassert themselves, then the consensus over region building and the very nature of the region itself is weakened and cooperation is replaced by competing visions and the over-supply of region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Acharya A.

**Democracy or death? Will democratisation bring greater regional instability to East Asia?
in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 23 Issue 3 July , 335-358**

The article challenges the view that democratisation is a recipe for regional disorder in East Asia. This view is not supported by evidence. Critics of democratisation fail to consider a number of mitigating factors that may check the destabilising consequences of democratisation while accentuating its peace-causing effects. These factors are not necessarily other liberal forces, like economic interdependence, or regional institutions, although these do matter. Certain dynamics associated with democratisation, such as focus on economic rebuilding for regime legitimation, positive nationalism ('democratic pride'), involvement of civil society, etc., may lessen the potential for inter-state conflict. These mitigating factors do not necessarily correspond with the normative and institutionalist logic underpinning the democratic peace theory, and they have been largely overlooked by the critics of that theory. After identifying them, this paper shows that the East Asian experience does not show that democratisation leads to greater conflict between states. On the contrary, democratisation might create better prospects for cooperative peace in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes



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

Yoshimatsu Hidetaka, Trinidad Dennis D.

Development Assistance, Strategic Interests, and the China Factor in Japan's Role in ASEAN Integration
in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Volume 11, Issue 2, August , 199-219

In this article, we have examined how Japan has supported ASEAN's economic integration through ODA and other diplomatic measures, and showed how Japan's engagements in ASEAN economic integration evolved over time. In addressing these issues, we took into account the growing influence of China's ascent in Southeast Asia, and assumed that Japan's China policy of mixed 'accommodation and balance' became explicit in Japan's ASEAN policy. The pronouncement of support for ASEAN integration, disbursement of aid to the region, forging of bilateral and regional FTAs/EPAs with ASEAN, and its recent initiatives and proactive involvement in the Mekong regional development are indicative of Japan's reactive posture on China's growing influence in the region. Japanese diplomatic initiatives in ASEAN are intended, in part, to accommodate and balance China's increasing prominence in Southeast Asia. This explains the simultaneous existence of competitive and cooperative initiatives of the two countries with ASEAN.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Pearson Margaret

Domestic Institutional Constraints on China's Leadership in East Asian Economic Cooperation Mechanisms
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 19 Issue 66 , 621 – 633

The study of Chinese foreign policy has long shown that domestic politics and domestic constraints are sources of foreign policy, albeit generally considered less potent than ideology and interests. Domestic political constraints should also be explored as factors in Chinese regional policies toward East Asia, including regional economic institutions. This paper examines three domestic institutional constraints on regional foreign policy in the area of trade and economics: a fragmented decision-making structure that has difficulty with coordination, a relatively heavy reliance on top level decision-makers at a time when issues of Asian economic policy have relatively low priority for these same decision-makers, and the relatively extreme lack of autonomy for negotiators vis-a-vis top decision-makers in Beijing. These constraints are by any means unique to China. However, at a time when many observers and participants are expecting—indeed, often hoping for—Chinese leadership in the region, the paper posits that these constraints hinder the PRC's ability to fill this role. The key empirical focus is regional trade agreements and regional economic organizations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Trivedi Sonu

Early Indian Influence in Southeast Asia: Revitalizing Partnership between India and Indonesia
in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 66, n°1 , 51-67

Southeast Asia has always been socially and culturally diverse, making accommodation easy. The indigenous people shaped adaptation and adoption of outside influences and sought out concepts and practices that enhanced rather than



redirected changes already underway in their own societies. This was the result of a process that fundamentally changed the cultural composition and the indigenous traditions of the Southeast Asianists. The distinctive cultural pattern of India succeeded in striking roots in the Southeast Asian region. The result was an imposing array of architectural and other cultural marvels with indigenous interpretations. Under this background, this article studies the impact of early Indian influence on Southeast Asia. It further discovers India's relation with one of its oldest ally—Indonesia—and proposes strategies for constructive re-engagement for revitalizing partnership.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kivimaumlki T.

East Asian relative peace - does it exist? What is it?

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 23 Issue 4 September , 503 - 526

There has been a staggering decline in battle deaths in East Asia. Several recent studies have testified to this trend by referring to it as East Asian Peace. The decline in traditional conflict battle deaths does not, however, constitute peace. It could be possible that battle deaths have merely moved to less traditional types of conflict. The purpose of this article is to see whether the decline in battle deaths has brought about genuine peace.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Pal Satyabrata

Engaging Pakistan

in *India Quarterly* , Vol. 65, n°4 , 361-371

This article, which was written in the summer of 2009, when India did not want to resume any sort of structured dialogue with Pakistan, until it got satisfaction on terrorism, argues that this played into the hands of the sponsors of terrorism and was self-defeating. It argues that the principal objective of the Pakistan Army is now not Kashmir, but to arrest India's growth; it uses terrorism as a cost-effective brake. Growth is our highest national priority, but we cannot concentrate on it, while ignoring Pakistan, because its Army will not let us. Sanctions have not worked in the past, because they immediately ratchet up tensions, as they did in 2002 and lead to economic consequences that are far heavier on India than on Pakistan. We must therefore try to persuade the Pakistan Army that peace has something in it too, and we can only do it through a sustained dialogue and through practical measures of cooperation that prove that peace pays. In all this, we should not insist on a reciprocity that in fact concedes to Pakistan the parity that it craves but does not merit

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Tran Van Hoa

Impact of the WTO Membership, Regional Economic Integration, and Structural Change on China's Trade and Growth

in *Review of Development Economics* , Volume 14, Issue 3 , 577-591



The growing economic and political importance of China in the global economy in recent years has been discussed by academic and business economists, trade and investment experts, transnational corporate planners, government advisers, and politicians worldwide. While the discussions have been useful for global knowledge enhancement, and regional and national strategic purposes, they have often been regarded as “hypothetical or with fuzzy outcomes” due to their lack of substantive support. The paper addresses the issue by applying the recent generalized gravity theory to construct a new multi-equation econometric model of trade–growth causality for China. Using historical trade and growth data and advanced estimation, the model provides substantive evidence for the intertwining impact of China's trade and economic activities, WTO membership, regional economic integration, national, regional and global shocks, and gradual policy reforms on China's trade, growth, and economic relations. Some resulting major strategic trade, development and cooperation issues will also be discussed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Gharekhan Chinmaya R.

India and West Asia

in India Quarterly, Vol. 65, n°4 , 405-412

The strategic importance of West Asia lies in its geography and an essential natural resource, namely petroleum. The importance of petroleum for world's economy, and hence the importance of West Asia, has received extensive attention at the hands of analysts and scholars. Petroleum is the single most valuable commodity in world commerce, an indispensable item in time of peace and of critical strategic importance in time of war. India has a big stake in the region. Energy is the most obvious case in point. 70 per cent of India's imported energy needs come from West Asia and this dependence will only increase as the Indian economy continues to grow at 8 per cent or more. The proposed pipeline with Iran thus makes good economically strategic sense as does the Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan–India pipeline. India would certainly wish the Indian community to live in West Asia in conditions of dignity and self-respect, for which efforts continue to be made and in which the governments in the region are being more and more cooperative. India's non-oil economic relations with the region are also expanding to mutual benefit. This is true also of Israel. Thus, India's national interests are directly linked to peace and stability in West Asia

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Sibal Kanwal

India's Relations with its Neighbours

in India Quarterly, Vol. 65, n°4 , 351-359

Maintaining good relations with neighbours is the first priority for any country. The credibility of a country's global posture is undermined if it is seen as embroiled in conflicts with its neighbours. While in theory the need to have a peaceful, stable and friendly neighbourhood is clear, what that means in practical terms is a different question. Can good relations be built unilaterally? Is a smaller neighbour always right in its demands? These are not the only issues that arise in an examination of the conditions in which neighbouring countries relate to each other, the role of external actors in determining those conditions are as critical. In the case of India and its neighbours these considerations matter even more because of historical and geostrategic reasons. How much is India perceived as a regional hegemon and how an external power is inducted into the region to reduce the weight of that perceived hegemon and by whom is the subject of



this analysis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Biswa Nath Bhattacharyay

Infrastructure for ASEAN Connectivity and Integration

in ASEAN Economic Bulletin, Volume 27, Number 2 , 200-220

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) 1 has adopted the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) and ASEAN Vision 2020 for integrating its economies into a single production base, creating a regional market, and changing ASEAN into a stable, prosperous, and highly competitive region. The ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint, established to fast-track the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) establishment by 2015, envisioned ASEAN as a highly competitive region, fully integrated into the global economy, possessing a single market production base, and characterized by equitable economic development (Goh 2008).

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ikenberry, J.; Takashi Inoguchi

Introduction - 10th Anniversary Special Issue: A Post-American East Asia? Networks of Currency and Alliance in a Changing Regional Context

in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 10 Issue 3 September , 383-388

Over the last half century, the United States has been a dominating presence in East Asia. In the shadow of the Cold War, a regional order took shape organized around an array of bilateral alliances and an open trade system – all tied to the United States. In this American-led regional hegemonic order, the United States provided security through security agreements and the forward deployment of its forces while it supported the expansion and integration of East Asian countries in the context of an open multilateral world economy. The United States–Japan alliance was the cornerstone of this regional order. In the background, the East Asian region was nested within the wider Cold War-era American-led Western order. After the Cold War ended, this Pax Americana was extended outward throughout the globe. Alliances, free trade, multilateral institutions, democratic community, and American hegemony all went together.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Yul Sohn

Japan's New Regionalism: China Shock, Values, and the East Asian Community

in Asian Survey , Vol. 50, No. 3, May/June , 497–519

Japan's new thinking on regionalism is a means of soft balancing that counters a rising Chinese influence. A "hard" balancing strategy through an alliance with the United States is insufficient because the Chinese economy is indispensable for Japan's prosperity and because China is rising through soft power. Japan's response uses the concept of community based on universal values.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ceccorulli Michela

La gestione della sicurezza: analisi dell'Organizzazione di Shanghai
in *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, anno XVII, n. 1, aprile , 91-124

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Milner, A.

Localisation, regionalism and the history of ideas in Southeast Asia
in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Volume 41 - Issue 03, October , 541-549

Much analysis of Asian regional relations and institutions is written in an historical and cultural vacuum. The impression is often given that security or economic arrangements are comparable with physical structures — creations of engineers rather than social scientists (or even architects). The writings of Amitav Acharya, now Professor of International Affairs at American University in Washington, DC, are a distinguished exception. Already the author of major books on security architecture and community identity in Southeast Asia – including his *Constructing a Community in Southeast Asia*, which has just come out in a new edition – Acharya has produced a careful study of the diffusion of security ideas and norms in the Asian region, particularly Southeast Asia. He concentrates in particular on the establishing in Asia of the norm of ‘cooperative security’ (as against ‘common security’) and the institution of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). It is a study – dealing especially with the last half century or so – which draws not just on the historical record of Southeast Asia but also on the theoretical insights of historians of that region. Acharya is genuine in his cross-disciplinary endeavour, and, in my view, has developed a methodology that invites a response from historians as well as practitioners in his own field of security studies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Campins Eritja Mar

Los retos de la cooperación regional en Asia central: Más sombras que luces en la gestión de los recursos hídricos compartidos
in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 19/ 2010

Examining the situation in Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Tayikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) is an interesting exercise in order to analyze the evolution of the international environmental security concept. As an example of how environmental changes may come to acquire an entity such as to be perceived as a threat when they combine with inequitable allocation of resources, we focus on shared water resources management. The framework at international level should be the two main instruments in this field, the 1992 Convention on the Protection and Use of Transboundary Watercourses and International Lakes and the 1997 Convention on the Law of the Non-navigational Uses



of International Watercourses. On the one hand, Central Asian States have shown only a weak commitment to these international regimes. On the contrary, they have prioritized the former URSS's model of water and energy exchange. This model, as being unsustainable and inequitable, favors the extreme dichotomy between the two major competing uses of water in the region (irrigation and hydropower production). On the other hand, some sub-regional institutions served to clarify the articulation of water management structures. However, because of important issues on their internal organization, they have not been able to achieve their mission and their efforts seems to be directed to seek stability and the status quo in Central Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Pempel, T.J.

More Pax, Less Americana in Asia

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 10 Issue 3 September , 465-490

Northeast Asia presents a major theoretical puzzle: the region is rife with security challenges and seems continually poised for horrific military conflicts. Yet, despite many structural tensions, the region has been devoid of significant shooting wars since the signing of the Korean armistice in 1953. This essay examines two major contributions to that pacific condition: first, the pervasive focus on economic development and the growing economic links across the region; and second, the growing number of multilateral institutions within the Asia-Pacific. It concludes that while a 'Pax Americana' was important to peace in the past, the long-term prospects are for the continued absence of overt conflict but in ways that will reflect an overall decline in America's capacity to shape regional developments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ka Zeng

Multilateral versus Bilateral and Regional Trade Liberalization: explaining China's pursuit of free trade agreements (FTAs)

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 19 Issue 66 , 635 - 652

In recent years, at the same time it has pursued multilateral trade negotiations via membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO), China has embraced a regional approach to trade liberalization by negotiating a number of bilateral or regional free trade agreements (FTAs) with its trading partners. This paper examines China's increasingly active FTA diplomacy and seeks to explain China's motives for pursuing expanded FTAs. Specifically, this paper argues that while China's FTA activism reflects considerations about enhancing China's influence in the Asia-Pacific region, capturing the economic gains of FTA participation, and minimizing the trade and investment diversion resulting from the competitive dynamics of regional trade liberalization, the move toward expanded FTAs is also consistent with the desire to create alternative bargaining forums over trade issues that could help to stabilize expectations as well as the need to use FTAs to control the pace of trade liberalization so as to accommodate protectionist pressure emanating from domestic interest groups. In particular, this paper highlights the impact of domestic politics on China's FTA negotiations through a detailed discussion of how pressure from protectionist seeking interests influences the scope and depth of China's FTAs.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Rozman Gilbert

Post Cold War Evolution of Chinese Thinking on Regional Institutions in Northeast Asia
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 19 Issue 66 , 605 – 620

A review of four periods and a comparison of three regional institutions provide evidence for how serious China has become about multilateralism with its neighbors in Asia. Approval for multilateralism does not mean that China is ready to endorse strong regional organizations that bind their members, especially when it has reservations both about institutions that could undermine its narrow notion of sovereignty and norms that could support US or even Japanese efforts to impose long-feared universal values. If China calculates that limited multilateralism now provides a variety of benefits, to date its support reflects specific circumstances, not general trust in this format. Focusing on the Six-Party Talks as the presumed foundation for regionalism in Northeast Asia offers a concentrated view of strategic thinking toward the area most vital to China's security. In the standoff between North Korea and the United States we are able to assess the degree to which China accepts working with four or five states and the prospects for its active support, if circumstances permit, for the establishment of a peace and security mechanism through the fifth working group that originated in the Joint Agreement of February 2007.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Nathalie Aminian, Cuauhtémoc Calderon

Prospects for Closer Economic Cooperation in Northeast Asia
in *Review of Development Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 3

In contrast to developments in other world regions, efforts to institutionalize regional economic cooperation in East Asia have been weak. Though Southeast Asian economies have taken action toward trade liberalization (ASEAN Free Trade Area), the major economies of the region such as China, Japan, and Korea have not been part of any formal trade groupings until recently. However, given the slow pace of progress within AFTA and the importance of the Northeast Asian countries in terms of weight in the Asian economy, a de facto Northeast Asian economic cooperation is a necessary condition for East Asian integration. This paper investigates the substance of recent economic cooperation in Northeast Asia. The trilateral economic cooperation is analyzed through examination of trade and direct investment links for 1990–2004, and estimation of selected determinants of direct investment, in particular the relationship between trade and FDI. Estimation results suggest that the main driving forces for direct investment outflows from the source country have been the falling-off of exchange rate risk, the level of the nominal bilateral exchange rates, growth rate of the recipient country, and the per capita GDP gap between source and host countries. Bilateral trade has been shown to be statistically insignificant.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ram Amar Nath

SAARC in a Globalised Era—Imperatives and Opportunities



in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 65, n°4 , 441-451

Arguably, SAARC so far has not been able to meaningfully respond to the aspirations of the people of South Asia. Many believe that it is a story of missed opportunities, compounded by the absence of political cohesion and a shared vision. Being excessively government driven, it has substantially failed to impact positively on the life of the common man. Yet, South Asia is perceived by many to be a region of hope and opportunity if meaningful and pragmatic regional cooperation initiatives could be implemented, purely on economic considerations. What SAARC needs most is to circumvent the entrenched mindsets of the past and to reinvent itself so as to become a purposeful instrument of regional cooperation and change. For this to happen a fresh approach is needed, premised on the socio-economic imperative of the region and driven by the ground reality. Sound economics can never be bad politics. An integrated South Asia, with India as the pivot, offers the best hope for win-win partnership benefiting all members of SAARC. All encompassing connectivity, it is believed, will unleash the forces of development and prosperity and create a vested interest in it. Intra-regional trade, though important, cannot be the sole propellant of growth; trade is not the only cause of regional cooperation but rather its consequence. A much broader approach is needed for success to be achieved and to optimise opportunities in a globalised era. This essay endeavours to outline such an approach.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Beesona, M.; Gilson, J.

Still on track? East Asia at a time of crisis

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 23 Issue 3 July , 287 - 293

his introduction to the articles that follow considers the impact of the apparent decline of the West and the likely impact of China's rise on the region in this period of surprising flux. We provide a brief analysis of the main issues that are affecting the Asia-Pacific's three most significant states - the United States, China and Japan. Key questions for all of them and for the rest of this collection are about the very nature and identity of the region itself, and its relationship to the global sphere.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ravenhill John

The 'new East Asian regionalism': A political domino effect

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 17 Issue 2 2010 , 178-208

The proliferation of regional economic agreements involving East Asian economies in the years since the financial crises is usually explained in the political economy literature by reference to economic factors. These agreements have been viewed either as a response to the costs of increasing interdependence and/or to the demand by domestic exporters to level the playing field when their rivals benefit from preferential trade agreements. A detailed examination of economic data finds no support, however, for the argument that intra-regional economic interdependence in East Asia has increased significantly since the financial crises. Case studies suggest that business has not played a major role in either promoting or opposing the agreements - not surprisingly in that the agreements are unlikely to have a major



economic impact, and are not being widely used. Rather than there being an 'economic domino' effect at work, the new East Asian regionalism is best understood as being driven by a 'political domino' effect.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kneebone Susan

The Governance of

in Global Governance, vol. 16, n. 3, july-september , 383-396

ABSTRACT: This article examines the international governance framework for labor migration and evaluates the roles of international organizations, and regional strategies, for cooperation on governance of labor migration in Southeast Asia. It focuses on the mandates and strategies used by the two key international institutions in the region, the International Labour Organization and the International Organization for Migration, which have diverse origins and ideologies. The article considers which institution is best suited to be lead agency in the region? How can the overlap between them be coordinated? Further, as a matter of law and policy, and in light of overlapping mandates and interests, how should international dialogue around migration issues be structured in the region?

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ming Wan

The Great Recession and China's Policy Toward Asian Regionalism

in Asian Survey , Vol. 50, No. 3, May/June , 520–538

The global recession has had seemingly conflicting impacts on China's policy toward Asian regionalism. But China has never viewed regionalism and globalism as mutually exclusive and has seen strategic value in pursuing both. A stronger China emerging from the crisis is playing both regional and global games with a stronger hand.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Dushni Weerakoon

The Political Economy of Trade Integration in South Asia: The Role of India

in World Economy, Volume 33, Issue 7 , 916–927

The South Asian regional trade integration process to date has generated only limited enthusiasm. It suffers from significant shortcomings, primarily on account of a very cautious approach adopted to achieve the ultimate objective of 'free trade' within the region. In turn, this has led to a fragmentation of the integration process, with some of the partners of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) bloc opting for a speedier and more liberal bilateral process with India. India's engagement remains the critical feature as the single most important trading partner for almost all the other South Asian countries. However, the dynamics of Indian economic integration initiatives too have been changing rapidly, whereby it is looking increasingly to strengthen its economic relations with the wider Asian



region. In this context, the question of India's willingness to give leadership to carry the rest of South Asia as the bridge that connects the region to East Asia needs to be examined. The current evidence suggests that India has attempted to do so via a host of bilateral and regional arrangements, but that the divergences in strategic interests amongst SAARC countries has left Pakistan on the margins of an evolving scheme of overlapping trade initiatives in South Asia. Thus, while something approximating 'free trade' in South Asia appears to be taking shape, it is unlikely to take the form of an inclusive South Asian regional integration process envisaged by SAARC.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Capie D; Taylor B.

The Shangri-La Dialogue and the institutionalization of defence diplomacy in Asia
in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 23 Issue 3 July , 359 - 376

The gradual institutionalization of defence diplomacy is becoming an increasingly prominent and potentially important feature of security dialogue in the Asian region. This stands in marked contrast to Asia's recent history, where across the region multilateral defence or military interactions have traditionally been regarded with suspicion. This article examines the emergence of Asia's most prominent exercise in defence diplomacy: the Shangri-La Dialogue (SLD). Within a relatively short space of time, this forum has developed into one of the most important opportunities for regional defence ministers and senior military officers to meet and exchange views on security issues. Yet despite its growing standing, the SLD has received virtually no scholarly attention. The article begins by reviewing the origins and development of the SLD, before outlining its operating modalities. It seeks to account for the apparent appeal of the SLD, measured in terms of its capacity to consistently attract high-level representation and favourable reviews. The article explores how the SLD might develop in the future and outlines some of the challenges it faces, including the rise of potentially competing mechanisms for defence diplomacy in East Asia. The article closes by outlining a number of areas for further research.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Sun Xuefeng

The efficiency of China's multilateral policies in East Asia (1997–2007)

in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 10 Issue 3 September , 515-541

Since the mid-1990s, China has adopted various multilateral policies to shape a more favorable regional environment. The policy of integration, which accommodates both the United States and neighboring countries' core interests, can succeed in achieving China's goals in regional multilateral cooperation. On the contrary, the policies of dominance, co-governance, and guidance have been suffering from frustration or failure because they threaten the core interests of either the United States or China's regional partners. The efficiency of China's multilateral policies is strongly shaped by two factors: the dominant United States wary of China's rapid rise and the substantial power gaps between the two states. In the coming decade, China may rise to the second rank in terms of economic capabilities, but the United States can still maintain its dominant position. So China will adhere to the policy of integration to maintain its favorable regional environment in East Asia. China's rising position and its integration policy will result in the continuation of competition in the regional cooperation mechanisms and the stability of the US regional alliance system in the decade to come.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Wilkins Thomas,

The new 'Pacific Century' and the rise of China: an international relations perspective

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 64, n. 4 / August , 381- 405

The re-emergence of the 'Pacific Century', or 'Asia-Pacific Century', discourse centred on the rise of Chinese power raises important questions in the discipline of international relations (IR). These questions relate to the conceptualisation of the Pacific Century discourse, its application to the contemporary empirical case, and its relationship and amenability to IR theories. In order to address these questions, the article subjects the concept of a 'Pacific Century' to critical analysis through the synergy of three pertinent 'debates'. First, it creates a novel analytical framework to define and codify the parameters of the Pacific Century debate; a discourse that has until now remained diffuse and inchoate. Second, it engages with the present 'great debate' in IR between the traditional/rationalist and critical/reflectivist approaches, applying them in juxtaposition to the notion of a 'new' Pacific Century, led by China. Thirdly, then, the article speaks to the 'rising China' debate, which currently captivates commentators both in academic and policy-making circles. The article explores how the 'Pacific Century' concept is a compound of both ideational and material factors: it is at once both a political/ideological project and a reified intellectual frame of reference. Through this multidimensional analysis, the article aims to shape the re-emerging debate on the Pacific Century, affirm the enduring value of the term, and demonstrate the efficacy of IR theories in deconstructing conceptual problems.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Aggarwal Vinod K., Chow Jonathan T.

The perils of consensus: How ASEAN's meta-regime undermines economic and environmental cooperation

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 17 Issue 2 2010 , 262-290

The member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have been frequently criticized for adhering to a long-standing norm of strict non-interference in each other's domestic affairs, thereby hampering collective efforts to address regional problems. This article presents an analytical model of international institutions that shows how underlying norms and principles - the meta-regime - govern the rules and procedures of specific international regimes. It then applies this model to ASEAN's trade and anti-haze regimes, demonstrating how ASEAN's underlying meta-regime has frustrated attempts to liberalize trade and reduce air pollution. While ASEAN's purview has extended well beyond its original security mandate and it has developed new rules and procedures to handle the new issues, its underlying norms and principles consistently limit its ability to handle regional problems. In the conclusion, we discuss how the ASEAN states might be able to foment cooperation in these issue areas without completely abandoning its foundational norms and principles.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Webber D.

The regional integration that didn't happen: cooperation without integration in early twenty-first century East Asia

in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 23 Issue 3 July , 313 - 333



A decade ago, in the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis, numerous observers expected regional integration to take off in East Asia. What, meanwhile, has actually happened? This paper argues that while overall inter-state cooperation has certainly intensified in East Asia during this period, there has been no significant expansion of multilateral, as opposed to bi- or minilateral cooperation and less still any political integration. It explores the reasons for the emergence of this pattern of cooperation in the region, in particular the extent that it has been shaped by ASEAN, which, unwilling and unable as it is to sponsor any far-reaching projects for much closer, region-wide multilateral cooperation, provides no more than a 'soft core' of East Asian regionalism. The failure of political integration to take off is attributed to the antagonistic character of Sino-Japanese relations, the relative weakness of the mobilization of transnational business interests in favour of closer regional cooperation and continuing wide disparities in terms of levels of economic development and political systems. The apparent success that ASEAN has had in maintaining peaceful relations between its members suggests that 'hard' integration is not indispensable for securing regional stability and peace. However, if realist scholars are correct that a changing balance of power is destabilizing the region, the sooner the norms and practices of cooperation that have stood ASEAN in good stead in this regard become entrenched among the region's big powers - whose participation in forums such as the ASEAN Plus Three and East Asian Summit is very recent - the better.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Tino Elisa

Una nuova sfida nel regionalismo multipolare asiatico: la Shanghai Cooperation Organisation in Comunità Internazionale (La), vol. LXV, n. 2, secondo trimestre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ravenhill John

Understanding the 'new East Asian regionalism'

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 17 Issue 2 2010 , 173-177

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Dunna L.; Nyersb P.; Stubbs R.

Western interventionism versus East Asian non-interference: competing 'global' norms in the Asian century in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 23 Issue 3 July , 295 - 312

As we move further and further into the twentieth century, the Western 'global governance' norm of interventionism is being challenged by East Asian norm of non-interference and territorial integrity. The two sets of norms are historically and philosophically rooted and have influential backers. Intriguingly, while the two approaches appear irreconcilable, some countries have lent their support to both sets of norms. As East Asia emerges as a major force in global relations



can a way be found for the two sets of contrasting norms to exist side-by-side, perhaps each governing particular regional relations, or is it even possible that a compromise set of 'global' norms might be developed?

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Capie David

When does track two matter? Structure, agency and Asian regionalism

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 17 Issue 2 2010 , 291-318

This article examines the influence of 'track two' policy networks in shaping regional political and security cooperation in East Asia. It focuses on two of the most established and lauded political-security networks: the ASEAN-Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) and the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), critically exploring their effectiveness and influence today. Drawing on extensive interviews, participant observation and an analysis of documentary sources, it concludes that there is little evidence to suggest these networks have affected the significant institutional change described in much of the literature. Rather, there is persuasive evidence that their influence on track one has waned in recent years. After canvassing a range of alternative explanations for this state of affairs, it argues that recent scholarship on track two has paid insufficient attention to the scope conditions that are a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for unofficial networks to successfully achieve policy diffusion. Non-official diplomacy can affect institutional change, but it is less common than most accounts suggest.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Padoa-Schioppa Tommaso, Heuze Richard

Les faiblesses d'une monnaie sans Etat (Entretien)

in *Politique internationale*, n°128 - été

After a brilliant career with a number of international financial institutions, Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa was named Italian Minister of Finance and Economy in the left-leaning government of Romano Prodi from 2006 to 2008. In this exclusive interview by Richard Heuzé, he provides a frank analysis of the situation created by the recent Greek crisis. A fierce defender of the single European currency, he blames the system's inherent weaknesses, including the fact that European structures were too weak to manage such a large-scale crisis, despite the existence of a restrictive Stability Pact. He also emphasizes the fact that when Europe created the euro it didn't set up the instruments needed for governance. Europe only started to set up these instruments in May, most notably through the creation of a Stability Fund. A committed "federalist", Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa argues in favor of simplified decision-making processes that would bypass the unanimity rule.

http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=128&id=925&content=synopsis

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Khishal Murkens Jo Erik

"We Want Our Identity Back" - The Revival of National Sovereignty in the German Federal Constitutional Court's



Decision on the Lisbon Treaty

in *Public law*, July , 530-550

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Papastavridis Efthymios

'Fortress Europe' and FRONTEX: Within or Without International Law?

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 79, issue 1 , 75-187

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ransom James

'A Little Marshall Plan': Britain and the formation of the European Payments Union, 1948-50

in *International History Review (The)*, vol. XXXII, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rasmussen Poul Nyrop

10 Theses on the Future of Social Democracy in Europe

in *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, Heft 4, 2010 , 13-23

ABSTRACT: In order to maintain ideas of solidarity and social justice afloat in an ocean of media cynicism you must first build a secure platform. Poul Nyrop Rasmussen, president of the Party of European Socialists (PES), therefore, concentrates in the first four theses on how such a platform can best be built, which includes, in future, putting up a PES candidate for the office of President of the Commission. The remaining six theses explain how European Social Democrats can showcase the social democratic policies that point the way to a positive future, including an active European labor market policy, green growth, gender equality, strengthening the welfare state, and fundamental reform of the financial sector.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Teperoglou Eftichia

A Chance to Blame the Government? The 2009 European Election in Southern Europe



in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 2, June , 247-272

This article focuses on the 2009 European Parliament elections in Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Cyprus and Malta. First, it presents the general background and key issues of the electoral campaigns in these six countries. Second, it tries to answer the question of whether or not these elections in Southern Europe conform to the theoretical framework of the national second-order election model. The major conclusion is that the hypotheses of this model are partially confirmed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Egenhofer Christian

A Closer Look at EU Climate Change Leadership

in **Intereconomics**, Volume 45, Number 3 / May 2010 , 167-170

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Parry John

A Complete and Indissoluble Union

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

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

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Engle Eric

A Viking We Will Go! Neo-Corporatism and Social Europe

in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 11, n. 6 , 633-652

In Viking and Laval, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) adjudicated the rights of labor and capital mobility under E.U. law. Both cases strengthen the single European market through economic liberalization to generate greater prosperity for all Europeans as part of the process of European economic and political integration. Labor and capital mobility create greater prosperity for all through more rational market exchanges. Free trade is good for goods and is even better for labor. A liberalized and fully mobilized labor market results in more productivity and greater wealth in the European polity, as well as interdependence and thereby deeper integration resulting in greater understanding and less conflict. The decisions, wrongly criticized by some as "bad for workers", are justified by the fact that they will benefit workers in Eastern Europe, consumers in Western Europe, and the Community as a whole by deepening integration. A key challenge for the European Union is to economically anchor and deepen the political restructuring of Eastern Europe by enabling the natural labor and capital movements which an open marketplace generates. Europe does this not with the failed neo-liberal...



Full text available at:

http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No6/PDF_Vol_11_No_06_633-652_Eric_Engle.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marrani David

A love-hate relationship: France and European law

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, Vol. 16, issue 2 , 171-190

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bofinger Peter, Ried Stefan

A new framework for fiscal policy consolidation in Europe

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 4 / July 2010 , 203-211

Current developments in Greece make clear that the rules of the European Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) were neither strict enough nor enforced strictly enough. To deal with the ongoing exit from the fiscal crisis and its related phenomena, we propose a new framework for fiscal policy consolidation in Europe. The centrepiece is a European Consolidation Pact to supplement the SGP which would supply loan guarantees in exchange for a fee and stricter budget consolidation measures. The new framework also spells out the details of an orderly government default.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Castro-Conde Cristina Ares

A vueltas con la 'gobernanza multinivel'

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, n. 22

El objetivo de esta nota es presentar una revisión crítica de la gobernanza multinivel en tanto que modelo teórico empleado para el análisis de la toma de decisiones en la Unión Europea. La Unión Europea no puede definirse de forma comprensiva como un "sistema de gobernanza multinivel". Es un sistema político en el que coexisten elementos intergubernamentales y supraestatales, además de múltiples jurisdicciones territoriales. El modelo teórico de la gobernanza multinivel oculta los problemas de legitimidad de origen de la forma política europea; difunde una imagen falsamente uniforme del lugar de las regiones en su seno; tiende a confundir movilización regional con capacidad real de influencia en la toma de decisiones en el nivel supraestatal, así como a conferir excesiva importancia al contexto institucional estatal en tanto que factor explicativo de la desigual participación de las regiones en Bruselas

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Warleigh-Lack Alex, Rosamond Ben

Across the EU Studies–New Regionalism Frontier: Invitation to a Dialogue

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 993-1013

This article notes a lack of communication between two broad schools of scholarship on regional integration: EU studies and analyses of the 'new regionalism'. It is argued that the existence of this divide, which is perpetrated by proponents of both schools, is an impediment to the elaboration of useful theory as well as being a missed opportunity. The benefits and problems of using the EU as a comparator in studies of regionalism are assessed. While the mistake of giving the EU analytical primacy as a benchmark or model is to be avoided, it is argued that careful treatment of accumulated insights from EU studies (including a proper re-inspection of classical integration theory) brings clear methodological and meta-theoretical benefits for the project of comparative regional integration scholarship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aradau Claudia, Huysmans Jef, Squire Vicki

Acts of European Citizenship: A Political Sociology of Mobility

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 945-965

European citizenship is marked by a tension: between a citizenship that is derivative of the nation-state and a citizenship that is defined by free movement. Approaching this tension as symptomatic of a deep-rooted contradiction between integration and mobility that is constitutive of modern social formations, this article develops a political sociology of mobility that challenges territorial and culturalist accounts of European citizenship. It does so by exploring the political enactment of European citizenship by marginalized subjects, whose engagement in relations of exchange serves as the ground for acts of European citizenship that 'mobilize mobility'. This is illustrated by an analysis of the 2005 Declaration for the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

James Scott

Adapting to Brussels: Europeanization of the core executive and the 'strategic-projection' model

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 6 2010 , 818-835

This paper aims to contribute towards our understanding of Europeanization within national core executives. It is critical of conventional accounts which focus solely on the 'reception' of adaptational requirements from the European Union (EU). Instead it considers how member states may adapt at home for the purpose of 'projection': the attempt to maximize the uploading of national policy preferences into the EU policy-making arena. The paper proposes an innovative 'strategic-projection' model which conceptualizes Europeanization as operating through three distinctive modes - strategic adaptation, supranational learning and administrative optimization. Illustrated using examples of adaptation within the UK and Irish central governments between 1997 and 2007, together with evidence drawn from studies in other member states, European integration can be seen to exert largely hidden, but potentially transformative, pressures for change and convergence within national core executives.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lannoo Karel

Agenda 2020 and the Financial Crisis

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 3 / May 2010 , 156-159

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Loveless Matthew

Agreeing in Principle: Utilitarianism and Economic Values as Support for the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 1083-1106

Using new mass surveys in central and eastern Europe, this article tests utilitarianism and economic values as the bases of support for the European Union. Advancing our understanding, the empirical findings point to increasingly nuanced economic criteria as the perception of social inequality strongly and independently influences EU support.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mareasca Maurizio

Ancora di miti e vecchie tradizioni che impediscono una politica dei trasporti di segno europeo (...mentre si dibatte di "riforma" della legge 84)

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Reungoat Emmanuelle

Anti-EU Parties and the People: An Analysis of Populism in French Euromanifestos

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 11, n. 3, September, Special Issue: 'Is Populism a Side-Effect of European Integration? Radical Parties and the Europeanization of Political Competition' , 292-312

The aim of this paper is to test the hypothesis that the opening of a European political space and the Europeanization of parties create a favourable arena for populist speech, themes and perhaps ideology, especially in the case of anti-EU parties. To do this, a quantitative study of populist speeches in French pro- and anti-EU party Euromanifestos has been conducted for the 1999 and 2004 European elections. It contributes to the scientific debate regarding the possible rise of a new political cleavage resulting from the European issue. Our comparative content analysis based on a coding system



of populist discourse shows that there are no systematic links between the position of French parties towards the EU and their use of populist arguments, but a variety of relations, linked to the position of the parties within the party system as well as to the right/left cleavage. European issues are integrated in the ideologies and identities of the parties and only produce moderate effects on populist speeches. Therefore, party practices and speeches are stable. In some cases, what is evidenced is not a rise or a transformation of populist discourse, but national discourse patterns adapted to a European context and a phenomenon of Europeanization of certain populist themes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Chueca Sancho Ángel G.

Aproximación a la política de inmigración de la UE en el Mediterráneo

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 19/ 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nezi Roula, Sotiropoulos Dimitri A., Toka Panayiota

Attitudes of Greek Parliamentarians Towards European and National Identity, Representation, and Scope of Governance

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 1, Special issue: European Citizenship in the Eyes of National Elites: a South European View, March , 79-96

This article analyses the attitudes of Greek political elites towards the European Union (EU) and compares them with the views of public opinion. Data were collected in 2007 through personal interviews with 90 MPs and a public opinion survey (IntUne project). The attitudes of MPs are discussed with regard to three dimensions of European citizenship: identity, representation, and scope of governance. There are traditionalists, formalists, and liberals among the MPs. Their trust in EU institutions and their perceptions of EU policy areas and levels of policymaking are strongly influenced by political ideology and party affiliation.

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Moreira Diogo, RuivoJoo Pedro, Costa Pinto António, Almeida Pedro Tavares de

Attitudes of the Portuguese Elites towards the European Union

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 1, Special issue: European Citizenship in the Eyes of National Elites: a South European View, March , 57-77

The purpose of this article is to present and discuss the data for Portugal of the IntUne survey on elite attitudes towards European integration. Despite some differences between the Portuguese and the European results of the survey, we find that the concept of 'compound citizenship' (M. Cotta, 'A "compound" model of citizenship? European citizenship in the eyes of national elites', Lisbon IntUne General Assembly, 27-30 November 2008) may be applied to the perceptions of Portuguese elites regarding the European Union, and the postulated combination of an indirect European citizenship



with a direct one is also verifiable in Portugal. We hypothesise that this European 'compound citizenship' is not conflictive with national citizenship, possessing instead elements for strengthening the linkage between them.

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Kentmen Cigdem

Bases of Support for the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy: Gender, Attitudes toward Economic Integration, and Attachment to Europe

in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 31, n. 3, june , 285-299

ABSTRACT: The present study examines the determinants of individual support for the European Union's (EU) Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Using data from the 2005 Eurobarometer survey, I specified models that test whether gender, subjective economic evaluations of the European integration, and attachment to Europe affect how EU citizens view the CFSP and a possible rapid European military force. My findings show that there is no gender gap in EU foreign policy attitudes: women are not less pacific than men. Individuals base their evaluations of the EU on their experience of the economic integration and their feelings for Europe.

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Hagemann Sara, Høyland Bjørn

Bicameral Politics in the European Union

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 811-833

The literature on legislative decision-making and bargaining in the EU has reached a common conclusion that the European Parliament (Parliament) and the Council of the European Union (Council) are on an equal footing in the main legislative procedure, the co-decision procedure. We present theoretical and empirical evidence to suggest that this is not the case. First, our analysis of the formal rules reveals that the Council has conditional agenda-setting power due to a change in the majority thresholds for adopting legislation from the first to the second reading in the Parliament. This change has important implications for the internal dynamics of the Parliament and its institutional powers vis-à-vis the Council. Testing these analytical considerations of the formal decision rules against voting data on all co-decision legislation adopted in the two institutions between 1999 and 2004, our empirical findings show that: first, from 1999 to 2004 coalition formation in the Council fell predominantly along the traditional left-right political dimensions when negotiating co-decision proposals. Second, when disagreement over legislation is recorded in the Council, a strong divide can also be found in the Parliament. Third, when the Parliament is divided along party political lines, it is less likely to be able to meet the absolute majority requirement for amending the proposal adopted by the Council. Lastly, Parliament amendments are most likely to be adopted when a decision by voting is requested by a party group associated with the main ideological contingency in the Council.

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Szarka Joseph

Bringing interests back in: using coalition theories to explain European wind power policies



in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 6 2010 , 836-853

Coalition theories have made a valuable contribution to understanding public policy but only partially explain policy change, especially in new policy subsystems. To improve empirical explanations and contribute to theory-building, this article identifies forms of coalition behaviour by drawing on the theoretical literature, applies coalition theory to the wind power sector and links coalition preferences with choices of policy instrument made by policy-makers. It provides support for the 'advocacy coalition framework', but argues that its explanatory power is increased by bringing both self-interest and the public interest back into the analytical frame.

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Ayala José Enrique de

Carta de Europa: Crece el nacionalismo, un nuevo problema en la UE

in *Política Exterior*, 136 - Julio / Agosto 2010

Lo sucedido en las elecciones legislativas de Bélgica y Holanda y en las regionales de Alemania es representativo de la división en la UE. Un norte productivo y austero mira con recelo a un sur débil. Las elecciones legislativas del 6 de mayo en Reino Unido tuvieron un resultado no por esperado. Nationalism, Europe

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Dobson Alan

Civil Aviation and European Integration: Creating the Seemingly Impossible SEAM

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 1127-1147

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ergun Ayca

Civil Society in Turkey and Local Dimensions of Europeanization

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 5 / September , 507-522

Since the Helsinki Summit of 1999 when Turkey's candidacy for membership was accepted, the EU has exercised considerable transformative power over the development of Turkey's civil society. This article examines Turkish civil society both as an agent of the 'internationalization' of domestic social agendas and as a reflection of more general Turkish perceptions of the EU and Turkey's prospective membership. The first part of the article offers an analytical account of Turkish civil society development in order to portray the domestic context in which the interaction between local and international actors takes place. The second part deals with the nature of the relationship between the EU and domestic civil society organizations, concentrating on the peculiarities of this relationship. The last section investigates the perceived impact of European actors, namely governmental and non-governmental organizations, on the development and evolution of Turkish civil society. It also discusses the meanings and values attributed to the



contribution of European players in domestic political and social transformation.

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Parker Charles F., Karlsson Christer

Climate Change and the European Union's Leadership Moment: An Inconvenient Truth?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 923-943

This article examines the nexus between the EU's goal of being a leading actor on the world stage in devising a global solution to the threat of climate change and the performance of its Member States in meeting their climate change obligations. In doing so the article will discuss the concept of EU leadership, examine the modes of leadership the EU has employed in pursuing its climate protection objectives, scrutinize the extent to which EU Member States are actually living up to their Kyoto obligations and analyse how the EU's own performance, credibility and legitimacy in this area affects its aspirations to be a key norm-entrepreneur in the establishment of a post-2012 climate change agreement. The article concludes with a balance sheet of some of the Union's key successes and failures and closes by highlighting some potentially inconvenient truths that might frustrate the EU's climate protection aspirations.

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Lagier Yves

Come trasformare l'Europa in un motore anti-crisi?

in **Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LII, n. 1

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=449&lang=it

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Beyers Jan

Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in the Study of European Socialization

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 17 Issue 6 2010 , 909-920

Socialization is an important concept in contemporary empirical studies on European integration and politics. However, the existing empirical research differs substantially in terms of research design, operationalization and measurement as well as analytical categories. Yet, despite these divergences, some relevant conclusions can be drawn from this somewhat disparate literature, conclusions which nuance the view of the European arena as a key socialization site. This essay offers a critical assessment of the socialization literature and aims to identify some fruitful avenues for future research. It argues that socialization research faces conceptual and methodological challenges with regard to process-product ambiguity, the notion of internalization and the temporal nature of socialization processes.



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Hüller Thorsten

Conceptualising democratic associational involvement in EU decision making - Contributions from Contemporary Political Theory

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Number 3, September , 298-319

In the view of the European Commission and many EU scholars, European democracy should be deliberative and the democratisation process as such fostered via civil society involvement. But until now, no one has developed a plausible EU-specific theory of associative democratisation. This gap might be filled by looking at democratisation theories for national settings. This article discusses the scope of applicability for the EU environment of three of the most prominent normative conceptions of (deliberative) democracy (Christiano, Cohen/Rogers and Habermas), which in particular deal with associational involvement in national political systems. Their underlying empirical assumptions about the nature of associations, the political framework and so on are taken up and contrasted with the persistent empirical conditions in the EU. For different reasons, none of these models of associational involvement works properly at EU level and, thus, only a restricted vision of democratic associational involvement in EU decision making is viable. Notwithstanding, the EU political system is still far away from institutionalising even this modest vision.

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Harmsen Robert

Concluding Comment: On Understanding the Relationship between Populism and Euroscepticism

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 11, n. 3, September, Special Issue: 'Is Populism a Side-Effect of European Integration? Radical Parties and the Europeanization of Political Competition' , 333-341

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mathisen Gjermund

Consistency and Coherence as Conditions for Justification of Member State Measures Restricting Free Movement

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 47, issue 4 , 1021-1048

ABSTRACT: Consistency and coherence have become increasingly visible in the 2000s as substantive preconditions for the justification of Member State measures restricting free movement. In particular, the ECJ has lately taken to insisting that restrictive national legislation is appropriate for ensuring attainment of the objective pursued only if it genuinely reflects a concern to attain it "in a consistent and systematic manner". In substance, similar exigencies are however also found in earlier case law. Consistency, in this context, may be understood to mean that nothing is allowed to counteract the attainment of the objective (purportedly) pursued by the restrictive measure, whilst coherence may be used to describe that a measure is intelligible as a means to attain the objective. On this basis, it is argued that a requirement of consistency and coherence is neither fundamentally new nor separate from a traditional EU law model for justification, whereby a restrictive measure must pursue a legitimate objective and be suitable, necessary and proportionate stricto



sensu. The analysis carried out also shows that some inconsistencies might frequently have to be accepted and do not necessarily thwart justification of a restrictive measure. At the same time, consistency makes even relatively restrictive measures easier to justify; and the better the coherence between a restrictive measure and its objective, the better chances are that a Member State will gain acceptance for it.

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Sabel Charles F. , Gerstenberg Oliver

Constitutionalising an Overlapping Consensus: The ECJ and the Emergence of a Coordinate Constitutional Order

in *European law journal*, Volume 16, Issue 5, September , 511-550

The European Court of Justice's (ECJ's) jurisprudence of fundamental rights in cases such as Schmidberger and Omega extends the court's jurisdiction in ways that compete with that of Member States in matters of visceral concern. And just as the Member States require a guarantee that the ECJ respect fundamental rights rooted in national tradition, so the ECJ insists that international organisations respect rights constitutive of the EU. The demand of such guarantees reproduces between the ECJ and the international order the kinds of conflicting jurisdictional claims that have shadowed the relation between the ECJ and the courts of the Member States. This article argues that the clash of jurisdiction is being resolved by the formation of a novel order of coordinate constitutionalism in which Member States, the ECJ, the European Court of Human Rights and other international tribunals or organisations agree to defer to one another's decisions, provided those decisions respect mutually agreed essentials. This coordinate order extends constitutionalism beyond its home territory in the nation state through a jurisprudence of mutual monitoring and peer review that carefully builds on national constitutional traditions, but does not create a new, encompassing sovereign entity. The doctrinal instruments by which the plural constitutional orders are, in this way, profoundly linked without being integrated are variants of the familiar Solange principles of the German Constitutional Court, by which each legal order accepts the decisions of the others, even if another decision would have been more consistent with the national constitution tradition, 'so long as' those decisions do not systematically violate its own understanding of constitutional essentials. The article presents the coordinate constitutional order being created by this broad application of the Solange doctrine as an instance, and practical development, of what Rawls called an overlapping consensus: agreement on fundamental commitments of principle—those essentials which each order requires the others to respect—does not rest on mutual agreement on any single, comprehensive moral doctrine embracing ideas of human dignity, individuality or the like. It is precisely because the actors of each order acknowledge these persistent differences, and their continuing influence on the interpretation of shared commitments in particular conflicts, that they reserve the right to interpret essential principles, within broad and shared limits, and accord this right to others. The embrace of variants of the Solange principles by many coordinate courts, in obligating each to monitor the others' respect for essentials, creates an institutional mechanism for articulating and adjusting the practical meaning of the overlapping consensus.

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Arat-Koç Sedef

Contesting or Affirming 'Europe'? European Enlargement, Aspirations for 'Europeanness' and New Identities in the Margins of Europe

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 18, n. 2, June , 181-191



ABSTRACT: Contrary to the expectations of the advocates of the EU project, an expanded and integrated Europe has so far not resulted in an inclusive cosmopolitanism of Europe in its actually existing complexity and heterogeneity. The enlargement of Europe in recent decades, instead of contesting Europe and expanding it to include all of actually existing Europe, has rather gone in the direction of confirming a monolithic conception of 'Europe', as culturally and politically defined by Western Europe, and one that properly belongs to a white bourgeois class able to function in a transnational, neoliberal space. This has led to a hyper-consciousness, new or heightened anxieties about 'Europeanness' based on distinctions between East and West, North and South. The paper focuses on the implications of, aspirations for, and insecure belonging in Europeanness in countries and regions in the margins of Europe. It argues that one of the most important outcomes of a heightened narcissism around European identity in the post-Cold War period has been an ongoing expansion, as well as reconfiguration, of exclusionary racist and culturalist logics across Europe. In the margins of Europe, these have been especially destructive, in terms of turning countries, regions and ethnic groups against one another as well as causing (racialized) class divisions and tensions.

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Erhan, Phinnemore David, Papadimitriou Dimitris

Continuity and change in the European Union's approach to enlargement: Turkey and Central and Eastern Europe compared

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 10, n. 2, June , 207-223

Existing studies of European Union (EU) enlargement provide few answers to questions concerning continuity and change in the dynamics of the process. This article identifies a number of conditioning factors that have shaped the EU's approach to eastern enlargement and traces elements of continuity and change in the EU's handling of Turkey's membership aspirations. The article focuses on three established factors - member state preferences, supranational activism and EU capacity - and two less prominent factors - public opinion and narrative frame.

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Cannizzaro E. - Bartoloni M.E.

Continuità, discontinuità e catastrofismo. Sulle reazioni della dottrina al Lissabon-Urteil

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 1 , 1-18

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rebasti Emanuele

Corte europea dei diritti dell'uomo e responsabilità degli Stati per trasferimento di poteri ad una organizzazione internazionale: la decisione nel caso Gasparini

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCIII, fascicolo 1 , 65-88

No abstract available



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Salerno Giulio M.

Costituzione, Unione Europea e mercati globali: proposte e riflessioni

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 12

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Thiele Alexander

Das Rechtsschutzsystem nach dem Vertrag von Lissabon – (K)ein Schritt nach vorn?

in *Europarecht*, Volume 45, issue 1, 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Potacs Michael

Das Verhältnis zwischen der EU und ihren Mitgliedstaaten im Lichte traditioneller Modelle

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 65, issue 1, 117-257

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Eppler Erhard

Dawning of a New Era. On the Need to Construct Social Democracy in Europe

in *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, Heft 4, 2010, 23-40

ABSTRACT: The era of free-market fundamentalism is coming to an end. In order to restore the primacy of politics the discussion on growth has to be conducted differently: we need a discussion of the quality, not the quantity of growth. As the instruments of the nation-state are becoming more and more inoperative, social democrats have to make the European Union into a global actor, capable of pushing through global regulation. Only a Europe with the right tools and competences will be capable of building a Social Europe.

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Lytard Jean-François

De la volonté en Europe

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, Hors-série, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Caponi Remo

Democrazia, integrazione europea, circuito delle corti costituzionali

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 2 , 387 - 406

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Tizzano Antonio

Der italienische Verfassungsgerichtshof (Corte costituzionale) und der Gerichtshof der Europäischen Union

in *Europäische Grundrechte zeitschrift*, vol. 37, issue 1 , 1-12

No abstract available

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Auer Stefan

Die EU und die Geburt des freien Europa. Identität, Legitimität und das Erbe von 1989

in *Osteuropa*, 60. Jahrgang, Heft 8, August

ABSTRACT: Die EU bemüht sich, unter ihren Bürgern eine europäische Identität zu fördern. Sie bedient sich dazu der Mittel und Methoden der Nationalstaaten.

Doch diese Identitätspolitik hat Grenzen, denn Europa ist keine Nation und die EU kein Nationalstaat. Vor allem die unterschiedlichen historischen Erfahrungen lassen sich kaum auf einen Erzählstrang reduzieren.

Die deutsch-französische Aussöhnung als legitimitätstiftender historischer Kern der europäischen Integration hat seit der Osterweiterung an Bindungskraft verloren. Entscheidend ist, wie mit dem Freiheitsstreben

in Ostmitteleuropa vor 1989 umgegangen wird. Wer das Erbe von 1989 instrumentalisiert, kann die Glaubwürdigkeit der EU beschädigen.

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von Bogdandy Armin, von Bernstorff Jochen



Die Europäische Agentur für Grundrechte in der europäischen Menschenrechtsarchitektur und ihre Fortentwicklung durch den Vertrag von Lissabon

in *Europarecht*, Volume 45, issue 2, 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Devrim Deniz

Die spanische EU-Ratspräsidentschaft 2010 - eine Bilanz

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 36-37, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/EWVOXK,0,Die_spanische_EURatspr%E4sidentschaft_2010_eine_Bilanz.html

Inhalt:

- Einleitung
- Neue Rolle der rotierenden EU-Vorsitze
- Ambitionierte Ziele
- Übergangsregeln
- Innenpolitischer Kontext und Wirtschaftskrise
- Spaniens außenpolitische Agenda
- Brücke zu Lateinamerika
- Mittelmeerdimension
- Stärkung der Rechte der EU-Bürger
- Beitrag für die Zukunft der EU
- Das Feld der rotierenden Ratspräsidentschaften: EU-Innenpolitik



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Chappell Laura

Differing member state approaches to the development of the EU Battlegroup Concept: implications for CSDP in European Security, Volume 18, Number 4, December , 417-439

This article will analyse the challenges facing the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) through an evaluation of the impact that differing member state strategic cultures have on the EU Battlegroup Concept, highlighted through the examples of Germany and Poland. The concept was initiated to give the EU an increased rapid reaction capacity. However, as emphasised through the cases of Germany and Poland, divergences in EU member states' strategic cultures remain, including when, where and how force is used. When this is combined with the cost of plugging military capabilities' gaps, the political willingness to deploy a Battlegroup can be affected. Whilst the article highlights that the role that member states want to play within CSDP as well as international expectations can override constraining factors, the Battlegroups rely on a rotation system. As some member states are more willing to deploy the Battlegroups than others, the concept risks becoming a declaratory policy thus undermining CSDP.

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Ruggeri A.

Dimensione europea della tutela dei diritti fondamentali e tecniche interpretative in Diritto dell'Unione europea, n. 1 , 125-148

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lubbers Marcel, Scheepers Peer

Divergent trends of euroscepticism in countries and regions of the European Union in European Journal of Political Research, vol. 49, issue 6, october , 787-817

ABSTRACT: Changes in different aspects of euroscepticism developed at different paces and in varying directions in the regions and countries of the European Union (EU) from 1994 to 2004. Using Eurobarometer data, along with data on country and region characteristics, information on the positions of the political parties and media attention paid to the EU, it is tested in detail whether opposite developments in euroscepticism were associated with opposite developments in influencing contextual characteristics. The authors found that the Netherlands became systematically more sceptical towards the EU, whereas the opposite trend was found in Spain. The introduction of the Euro partially explains these divergent trends, but the direction of this effect varies with countries' GDP. Changes in media attention on the EU further explain the changes in the public's attitude. However, this effect is contingent upon specific circumstances. Growing media attention increases political euroscepticism in countries with a negative EU budget balance, whereas it decreases such scepticism in countries with a positive balance. The effect of left-right ideological placement is contingent upon the EU budget balance as well. Finally, the effect of education on euroscepticism is found to be smaller in countries with a



higher GDP.

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Fabius Laurent

Dix ans d'euro, et après ?

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, Hors-série, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Anagnostou Dia

Does European human rights law matter? Implementation and domestic impact of Strasbourg Court judgments on minority-related policies

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 14, Issue 5, September , 721-743

Since the 1990s, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) has witnessed an unparalleled growth in its caseload, in tandem with the expansion of its jurisprudential authority vis--vis states. Yet, scholars studying European integration and political scientists have paid little attention to the complex and variable ways in which the ECtHR judicial rule-making interacts with national political systems and societies. This article examines the implementation of ECtHR judgments in cases brought to it by individuals from sexual minorities, historical ethnic and religious minorities, and immigrants and asylum seekers from five countries: Greece, Bulgaria, Austria, France and the UK. It argues that European human rights case law matters, and that its implementation can influence domestic legal and policy change under particular preconditions. It is most likely to do so, in the first place, through repeat litigation and legal mobilisation by interested civil society and minority actors, capable of exerting pressure and linking Court rulings to policy issues and reforms. Furthermore, the ability of European human rights case law to expand rights at the national level crucially depends on support by domestic political and other influential elites.

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John A. Scherpereel

EU Cohesion Policy and the Europeanization of Central and East European Regions

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 20 Issue 1 , 45 - 62

This article probes the extent to which politics in Central and Eastern European (CEE) regions are becoming Europeanized. Existing analyses suggest that Europeanization and regionalization in CEE have been loosely related phenomena. These claims, along with broader forecasts about the waning post-accession influence of the European Union (EU), generate predictions that the politics of the regions will be 'lightly Europeanized'. The article presents evidence to refute these predictions. It shows that EU norms, incentives and discourses are being transmitted through EU cohesion policy and becoming deeply embedded in the identities and strategies of Polish, Czech and Slovak regional officials. It further suggests that subnational actors are drawing on EU resources to reinforce their traditionally



weak positions vis-à-vis their respective central states.

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Van Elsuwege Peter

EU External Action after the Collapse of the Pillar Structure: In search of a New Balance between Delimitation and Consistency

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 47, issue 4 , 987-1019

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the relationship between the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and its other external policies after the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. It discusses the implications of the EU's single legal personality and the institutional innovations to enhance the coherence of the EU's external action in light of the division of EU external powers and competences. It is argued that the ill-defined nature of CFSP competences and the abolition of the hierarchical delimitation rule of former Article 47 (now as amended Art. 40) TEU places the Court of Justice for a nearly impossible task to delineate the boundaries between the different components of EU external action. The potential for inter-institutional conflicts is illustrated with the new rules for the adoption of restrictive measures against individuals. It is concluded that the delimitation of competences in the field of EU external action cannot be disconnected from the duty of consistency.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vojinovic Borut, Oplotnik Zan J., Prochniak Mariusz

EU enlargement and real economic convergence

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 22 Issue 3 2010 , 303-322

This article presents an analysis of economic implications of the major EU enlargement in 2004. The research is based on sigma (σ) and beta (β) convergence of per capita GDP among the 10 countries which joined the European Union in 2004. Our results confirm the existence of both types of convergence in the second half of the 1990s and the 2000s. Generally, the poorer new EU member states grew faster than the richer new EU member states. As a result, the income gap between these two groups of countries has narrowed although it still remains quite large. The convergence occurred at the rate of 4.2% during the period 1992-2006 and 7.0% and 9.6% during the sub-periods 1995-2006 and 2002-06 respectively.

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Ruiter Rik de

EU soft law and the functioning of representative democracy: the use of methods of open co-ordination by Dutch and British parliamentarians

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 6 2010 , 874-890

The Open Method of Co-ordination (OMC) promises to involve a broad range of actors, including members of national



parliaments. Several scholars showed that the OMC breaks this promise by affecting the national policy-making process outside of the control of national parliaments. However, this finding can be called into question; scholars drew heavily on anecdotal evidence and did not take sufficiently into account differences between OMCs and member states. This article empirically investigates the use of three OMCs by parliamentarians in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands to assess the performance of national policies related to the knowledge-based society theme. It will be shown that the use of information from OMCs by parliamentarians is dependent on the information provided by the government on the policies OMCs touch upon and the presence of simple benchmarks in an OMC. Moreover, parliamentarians in a consensus democracy use the OMC more frequently.

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Spornbauer Martina

EULEX Kosovo: The Difficult Deployment and Challenging Implementation of the Most Comprehensive Civilian EU Operation to Date

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 769-802

While the European Union (EU) has been finding itself increasingly involved in providing security in its “near abroad,” the proposal of a “Stabilisation and Association Process for Countries of South-Eastern Europe” has marked the commencement of a nearly all-encompassing commitment to progress in the countries of the Western Balkans. In this context, Kosovo —for which the European perspective of the Western Balkans has been declared open —provides a text book example covering all aspects of external assistance as well as security and defense policies. Among the latter, the European Union Rule of Law Mission in the territory of Kosovo (EULEX Kosovo) is indeed characterized by a number of extraordinary factors and circumstances. It is not only EULEX Kosovo’s unparalleled European and local staff size or its partly executive mandate that set this EU mission apart from other civilian missions of the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) which have thus far been deployed to the Western Balkans. Unsurprisingly, the complexity of the mission has generated difficulty in comprehending its deployment, mandate and implementation. Yet, against the backdrop of the 2003 Security Strategy which makes the credibility of the EU’s foreign policy dependent on its achievements in the Balkans, a clear understanding of EULEX Kosovo appears paramount.

The following paragraphs thus seek to provide an in-depth analysis of the mandate and functioning of EULEX Kosovo. They represent an endeavour to address, in particular, the actual implementation of the mission’s police and justice components in terms of its integration into Kosovo’s police structures and judicial and prosecutorial system. After a few remarks on the EU’s police missions in the Western Balkans (see Part B), this article will carry on by first laying out the process which has led to the adoption of the Joint Action establishing...

Full text available at:

http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No8/PDF_Vol_11_No_08_769-802_Kosovo%20Context_Spornbauer%20FINAL.pdf

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Editors

Editorial - New links in the Union's institutional chain



in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 1 , 1-4

No abstract available

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Editors

Editorial - Three paradoxes of EU citizenship

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 2 , 129-260

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Copsey Nathaniel, Haughton Tim

Editorial: 2009, a Turning Point for Europe?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 1-6

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Witterauf Peter

Editorial: Die Krise des Euro – eine Chance für mehr Stabilität in Europa?

in *Politische Studien*, 61. Jahrgang, Heft 433, September-Oktober , 5-13

ABSTRACT: Die Eurokrise kam in ihrem Ausmaß überraschend, nicht aber als Tatsache an sich. Kernursachen waren die hohen Haushaltsdefizite in den Euroländern, das schwindende Vertrauen in die Stabilitätspolitik der Eurozone und die Angst der Anleger vor möglichen Geldverlusten. Eine vorher nicht für möglich gehaltene Spekulationswelle führte dazu, dass es zur Krise kam. Die Eurokrise kann eine Chance für mehr Stabilität in Europa sein. Der Stabilitätspakt, der durch die damalige rot-grüne Bundesregierung aufgeweicht wurde, muss wieder verschärft angewendet werden.

Gleichzeitig sind seine Regeln zu verbessern.

Ein effektives Kontrollgremium muss sicherstellen, dass bei den Haushaltszahlen nicht manipuliert wird. Auch neue Sanktionsmöglichkeiten müssen geschaffen werden. Generell kommt es darauf an, die Stabilitätskultur in Europa zu stärken.

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Thomas D. Willett, Orawan Permpoon, Clas Wihlborg

Endogenous OCA Analysis and the Early Euro Experience

in *World Economy*, Volume 33, Issue 7 , 851–872



Some have argued that the endogenous responses to the formation of a currency area are so strong that one need not worry about optimum currency area conditions *ex ante*. We argue that this is much too strong a conclusion. We draw on a number of recent studies to evaluate the endogeneity experiences of the eurozone in three major areas; trade flows, business cycle synchronisation and structural reforms to improve labour and product market flexibility. Simple before-and-after comparisons are insufficient for analysis of endogeneity. The experiences of non-euro Western European economies suggest that broader trends also had considerable influence on trade and business cycle patterns. While trade rose substantially within the eurozone, it also rose with and among other European economies. We argue that political economy considerations tend to dampen the magnitude of endogeneity efforts on structural reforms and that meeting conditions for entry may be a more powerful mechanism in this than are subsequent endogenous responses. We also discuss a number of areas for further research.

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Fernández Ana Mar, Font Nuria, Koutalakis Charalampos

Environmental governance in Southern Europe: the domestic filters of Europeanisation

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 4, July , 557-577

Over the last two decades, the EU has shown a preference for the replacement of traditional command-and-control patterns of environmental regulation with more cooperative policy schemes in the expectation of improving compliance in member states. But has the EU performed as a 'governance-shaper' in member states, such as Spain, Portugal and Greece that have little tradition of non-hierarchical styles of environmental policy-making? To what extent has the domestic institutional context modulated the Europeanisation of environmental governance in these three Southern countries? The EU influence on the emergence of new schemes of governance in these Southern member states has been modelled by domestic institutional pathways encompassing territorial structure, policy saliency and trust between state and non-state actors.

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European Economy News

Estonia on track to become 17th euro-area member

in *European Economy News*, July 2010 – Issue 18

After a detailed economic and financial study the European Commission has pronounced Estonia ready to join the euro area. The final decision was taken by the EU finance ministers who approved the Commission's recommendation on 13 July 2010.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wagner Jürgen, Hantke Martin

Europas neue Diplomatie der Macht

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, August, 2010 , 35-38



In der Januarausgabe der „Blätter“ bezeichnete Ulrike Guérot den neuen Europäischen Auswärtigen Dienst (EAD) als „Kronjuwel“ des Vertrags von Lissabon. Dieser Darstellung widersprechen jedoch insbesondere friedens- und entwicklungspolitische Organisationen vehement.

Am 21. Juni d.J. einigten sich die Vertreter der europäischen Institutionen, am 8. Juli stimmte das Europäische Parlament zu: Der EAD soll zum 1. Dezember 2010 seinen Dienst aufnehmen.

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Begg Iain

Europe 2020 and Employment

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 3 / May 2010 , 146-151

No abstract available

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Volker Kurt, Zarate Juan

Europe Gets It Right

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 181, August

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/08/12/europe_gets_it_right

Section C) Regional integration processes

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White Jonathan

Europe in the Political Imagination

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 1015-1038

Perceptions of the EU tend to be studied by examining responses to targeted opinion polls. This paper looks instead at how citizens draw Europe into a wider discussion of politics and political problems. Based on a series of group discussions with taxi-drivers in Britain, Germany and the Czech Republic, it examines the motifs speakers use to explain the origins of problems, the assumptions they make about their susceptibility to address, and how, when these patterned ways of speaking are applied to the EU, they serve to undermine its credibility as a positive source of political agency.

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Conti Nicolò, Cotta Maurizio, Almeida Pedro Tavares de

European Citizenship and the National Elites of Southern Europe

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 1, Special issue: European Citizenship in the Eyes of National Elites: a



South European View, March , 1-10

In this article, the main contents of this special issue are introduced. In particular, we introduce a definition of the concept of European citizenship system (ECS). Then, we move to a discussion of the national elites in four South European countries—Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain—and examine their views about Europe. Finally, we illustrate how, through the use of original data, the other articles will analyse the views that guide these national elites' construction of the ECS, with the purpose of explaining variations within and across countries.

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Conti Nicolò

European Citizenship in Party Euromanifestos: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective (1994-2004)

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 15, Issue 1, Special issue: European Citizenship in the Eyes of National Elites: a South European View, March , 97-119

The aim of the paper is to analyse party attitudes towards the European Union (EU) and the issue of citizenship as voiced by the party central office in the official programmatic platforms. For this purpose, Euromanifestos have been coded by applying the common framework of the IntUne project. Accordingly, the article attempts to assess the degree of convergence between the attitudes of both the party central office and the MPs towards the EU in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. The article attempts as well to assess the validity of the main theoretical arguments available in the literature that explain these attitudes.

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Kirchner Emil, Berk Can

European Energy Security Co-operation: Between Amity and Enmity

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 859-880

Through an application of Regional Security Complex Theory and empirical examination, this article explores the pros and cons of regional and inter-regional energy co-operation. In spite of present unilateral and bilateral manoeuvres on the part of EU Member States to the contrary, a common energy security policy appears feasible over the next five to ten years. However, EU–Russian co-operation in the energy sector is not likely to improve considerably over this period, and EU attempts to counterbalance the dominant and growing position that Russia has occupied in the supply of gas to EU countries by seeking alternative energy supply from central Asia are likely to be thwarted by countervailing Russian measures.

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Biebuyck William

European Imaginaries and the Intelligibility of Integration

in Journal of Contemporary European Studies , vol. 18, n. 2, June , 161-180



ABSTRACT: This article subjects 'Europe' and 'European politics' to critical reflection. The article advances in three parts. The first section discusses the importance of narrative in the broader discursive construction of Europe as a political object and reality. The aim of this section is to demonstrate the utility of two conceptual heuristics in particular—'imaginary' and 'field'—insofar as they help to delineate specific discourses and practices related to European politics. The second section explores two imaginaries now influential in shaping the intellectual common sense around Europe: the 'academic' and 'bureaucratic' imaginaries. The article closes with the third section arguing that to contest Europe requires the destabilization of two assumptions that are foundational for both imaginaries of Europe: (1) the idea that Europe is something 'already there'; and (2) Europe is something we 'already know'.

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Witte Bruno

European Union Law: How Autonomous is its Legal Order?

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 65, issue 1 , 141-297

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Atikcan Ece Ozlem

European Union and Minorities: Different Paths of Europeanization?

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 4 / July , 375-392

Europeanization literature does not bring together member and candidate countries in a single comparative framework. Focusing on minority governance, an issue area which is not part of the *acquis*, I compare Europeanization in these two sets of countries. In the candidate countries the EU triggers a top-down change in minority language policies through conditionality. Alternatively, in the member countries it provides the space for a bottom-up change in such policies through boomerang pattern, as the European institutions fund non-state actors and help them form coalitions resulting in rising demands from the member countries. Using reports on EU-funded projects, and examples from Latvia, Turkey, Sweden, and Northern Ireland, I demonstrate that in minority governance, Europeanization is not a uniform process and it operates within different institutional logics: logic of consequences in the candidate countries vs. logic of appropriateness in the member countries. This variation is an important determinant of the outcome of Europeanization.

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Elsig Manfred

European Union trade policy after enlargement: larger crowds, shifting priorities and informal decision-making

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 6 2010 , 781 - 798

The article focuses on the effects of Eastern enlargement on EU trade policy-making. On interest constellation, the article makes a case that protectionist forces have been strengthened relative to liberal forces. This slight protectionist turn is mostly witnessed in the area of anti-dumping and with respect to the Doha trade round. On preference



aggregation, guided by a principal-agent framework, it is argued that the growth in the number of actors (principals and interest groups) has not constrained the role of the European Commission (agent). However, it has led to an increase in informal processes and has empowered large trading nations vis- -vis smaller and less 'comitology-experienced' member states.

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Tamwaki Dionysia

European polity: layers of legitimacy

in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 60, Issue 196, June 2009 , 235–251

Abstract

Transferring the legitimacy or illegitimacy debate away from national discourse to the supranational agenda of the European Union (EU) requires a theoretical re-invention of legitimacy so that it meets the normative standards of the ever-enlarging European polity. After providing a taxonomy of legitimacy, this article reviews scholarly attempts to devise conceptual tools that smooth its transition from the familiar state level to the uncharted supranational level. Inter-governmentalism, federalism and multilevel governance are the theoretical postulates revisited. Evading the temptation to apply state-loaded legitimation criteria to a “polity in formation”, this study opts for a multilevel model. The latter is helpful in framing the multilayered legitimacy dilemmas stemming from the expansion of the EU into new territorial units, further functional tasks and additional loci of authority.

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Ustun Cigdem

Europeanization of foreign policy: the case of Turkish foreign policy towards the Black Sea region

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 10, n. 2, June , 225-242

Turkey's efforts to initiate an active foreign policy towards the Black Sea region in the 1990s were scuttled by Russian influence and an international environment inconducive to multilateralism. When security needs changed in the twenty-first century and the enlargement of the EU reached the Black Sea, a multilateral approach was developed for the region by local and international actors, i.e., the EU and Turkey. In this framework, this article aims to show the changes observed in Turkish foreign policy towards the region since the 1990s and the EU's effect in this change.

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Flockhart Trine

Europeanization or EU-ization? The Transfer of European Norms across Time and Space

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 787-810

What is the content of Europeanization? Which causal relationships should be explained? Which theory should be used? In answering these questions, the article forwards a conceptualization of Europeanization based on Historical



Sociology and Social Constructivism, which implies a departure from the practice in the current Europeanization literature to concentrate on the contemporary with a narrow focus (EU-ization) at the expense of the historical with a broad focus (Europeanization). It is suggested that the causal relationships to be explained are the transfer of European ideas across time and space using a 'present-as-reality' definition of the European idea set. In doing so, it becomes apparent that Europeanization cannot be accepted as either static or something that is solely connected to the EU, and that Europeanization has been characterized by diffusion patterns going both into and out of Europe and sociological processes involving subtle shifts in process, structure, agents and conceptions of 'Other' and 'Significant We'.

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Almeida Dimitri

Europeanized Eurosceptics? Radical Right Parties and European Integration

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 11, n. 3, September, Special Issue: 'Is Populism a Side-Effect of European Integration? Radical Parties and the Europeanization of Political Competition', 237-253

As a potential catalyzer of political dissent, European integration has provided radical right parties with a new and powerful issue to compete on. The article assesses the impact of European integration on radical right parties by examining the adaptive strategies deployed by this party family in order to operate within a multilevel polity. Based on the record of transnational coalition-building and data on legislative activities in the European Parliament, the analysis reveals that the radical right has failed to establish itself as a relevant actor at the European level. The limited Europeanization of radical right parties is explained by the non-involvement in European policy-making and the inability to engage in durable paths of transnational cooperation resulting from divergent domestic party strategies.

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Gärditz Klaus Ferdinand

Europäisches Regulierungsverwaltungsrecht auf Abwegen

in Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts, Band 135, Heft 2, April 2010, 251-288

Abstract:

The European law on the regulation of network industries is in constant motion. Recently, the former EC (now EU) has taken legislative measures to develop further the current regulatory framework for European energy markets. Directive 2009/72/EC concerning common rules for the internal market in electricity and directive 2009/73/EC concerning common rules for the internal market in natural gas (both of 13 July 2009) are based on the idea that 'strong' regulatory authorities are necessary to enforce an effective common market in energy. National regulatory authorities not only shall enforce market competition but (insofar in accord with the so called more economic approach in competition law) also consumer benefits and general welfare aspects. The author criticizes the underlying regulatory concept as it is incompatible with the competition principle and overtaxes the affected administrative authorities with the political complexity of interest balancing.

The legislative measures also raise various questions concerning the organizational framework of the European regulatory system. Regulation (EC) No 713/2009 of 13 July 2009 establishes an Agency for the Cooperation of Energy Regulators. The author criticizes the Union's competence to establish independent authorities with administrative



powers. Finally, both common market directives contain special provisions with regard to the status of national regulatory agencies. Member States shall guarantee the independence of the regulatory authority and shall ensure that it exercises its powers impartially and transparently. The relevant authority may not seek or take direct instructions from any government or other public entity when carrying out the regulatory tasks. The author criticizes a severe lack of democratic accountability that is incompatible with the European concept of democracy and with the Union's duty to respect the national identity including the democratic structures of the state. In the result, European regulatory law is currently going astray.

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Stark Hans

Européenne l'Allemagne? Retour sur un long procès

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 75, n° 3, automne , 523-535

La question allemande est-elle de retour? On peut le croire à l'écoute des critiques prononcées contre les choix d'Angela Merkel: politique égoïste, éloignement de Berlin des options européennes... Ces reproches sont récurrents depuis des décennies. Et si l'Allemagne est décomplexée dans l'affirmation de ses intérêts, elle les exprime comme les autres membres de l'Union. C'est dans le défaut d'intégration européenne qu'il faut rechercher la cause des difficultés présentes de l'UE et de l'euro.

<http://www.ifri.org/downloads/pe32010stark.pdf>

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Grefrath Holger

Exposé eines Verfassungsprozessrechts von den Letztfragen? Das Lissabon-Urteil zwischen actio pro socio und negativer Theologie

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Band 135, Heft 2, April 2010 , 221-250

Abstract

Article 146 of the Basic Law, a symbol of vanity for all positive constitutional law, has challenged constitutional interpretation ever since its (re-) enactment. By now, the Federal Constitutional Court rendered an important clarification of this issue. In its judgement concerning the Treaty of Lisbon, the Court held that this article can be successfully pleaded within the scope of a constitutional complaint by an individual, not directly but in conjunction with individual rights - especially Article 38.1 sentence 1 of the Basic Law.

In line with the general disapproval of the Lisbon decision, the Court has been harshly criticised for its finding. This paper argues to the contrary that the Court found an utterly precise way to deal with "ultimate questions" of constitutional law. First of all, the Court's new approach is not redundant to its prior argumentation based on Article 38.1 sentence 1 of the Basic Law alone - and already known since the Maastricht decision. Article 146 of the Basic Law allows to adjudicate the boundaries between the constituent power (pouvoir constituant) and the constituted powers (pouvoirs constitués). By doing so, the Court cannot be found guilty of the fallacy not to distinguish between constitutional theory and



constitutional dogmatics. The *modus operandi* which allows this is negation. Already approved in cases dealing with the guarantee of human dignity, arising from Article 1.1 of the Basic Law, a definition strictly *ex negativo* avoids a confusion of constitutional theory with constitutional dogmatics. Meta-positive concepts, such as „human dignity“ and „constituent power“ can thus be introduced into constitutional litigation. As a meaningful interpretation of the right to vote (Article 38.1 sentence 1 of the Basic Law) indicates, there is an essential inner connection between the individual and the exercise of the people's constituent power. An intradisciplinary comparison with the *actio pro socio* of corporate law shows that issues like the non-action of the constituent power can be adjudicated by an individual without violating the basic structures of legal thought. The thereby created „constitutional complaint for negating a revolution“ lies within the jurisdiction of the Federal Constitutional Court.

Systematically, the decision shows the relevance of the people's constituent power for constitutional dogmatics. Most certainly, the principle of open statehood is of fundamental importance for German constitutional law. But still, it remains as one among many constitutional principles. By no means it can be interpreted as the predominant „constitutional decision“ in an existential, Schmittean sense.

Methodologically, the decision offers a way out of an *aporia* of legal positivism - to be open for meta-positive concepts without having a proper set of tools for dealing with the „meta“: At its frontiers, the law knows negation only.

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Paolo R. Graziano

From Local Partnerships to Regional Spaces for Politics? Europeanization and EU Cohesion Policy in Southern Italy

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 20, Issue 3 , 315 - 333

This article analyses recent developments in Italian regional interest representation. The focus is on European Union cohesion policy and its effects upon regional patterns of interest representation. First, we connect debates on a changing cohesion policy to debates on changing territorial forms of interest representation and interactive processes of Europeanization. Secondly, we focus on Europeanization within four southern Italian regions, Campania, Calabria, Puglia and Basilicata. We show how through adapting to EU policies, southern regions are institutionalizing as 'spaces for politics', i.e. political arenas where decision-making processes are increasingly dependent on the preferences and strategies of regional social and political actors.

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Berenskoetter Felix, Giegerich Bastian

From NATO to ESDP: A Social Constructivist Analysis of German Strategic Adjustment after the End of the Cold War

in *Security Studies*, vol. 19, n. 3, july , 407-452

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the question why Germany invested in what became the European Union's Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), a potential competitor to NATO. In addition to highlighting Germany's role in the development of ESDP, the paper offers a social constructivist explanation for this investment based on the concepts of



friendship, estrangement, and emancipation. It develops the argument that (1) states gain ontological security by investing in international institutions to negotiate and pursue ideas of order with friends; (2) deep and enduring dissonance between friends signifies a process of estrangement and poses a threat to ontological security; and (3) if states cannot restore resonance with the old friend-institution configuration, they choose a strategy of emancipation by investing in an alternative. Applied to an analysis of German strategic adjustments between 1990 and 2009 in the context of U.S.-led interventions in Iraq, the Balkans, and Afghanistan, the article suggests that Germany invested in ESDP to offset enduring dissonance with the United States and NATO about appropriate mandate, missions, and means, with France and ESDP emerging as a suitable alternative. With this, the article offers valuable insights into the parameters guiding German security policy and the structure of transatlantic relations and also provides a theoretical alternative to the realist balancing proposition.

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Iozzo Alfonso

Functionalism and Federalism in European Unification
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

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

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Tryfonidou Alina

Further steps on the road to convergence among the market freedoms
in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 1, 36-93

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bulmer Simon, Paterson William E.

Germany and the European Union: from 'tamed power' to normalized power?
in *International Affairs*, vol. 86, issue 5, september, 1051-1073

ASBTRACT: Germany has traditionally played a key role in promoting European Union solutions to domestic policy problems. In doing so it gained a reputation as a 'tamed power' (Katzenstein). This article reviews Germany's diplomacy two decades after unification. It explores the 'tamed power' hypothesis with reference to three policy areas: constitutional reform in the EU; Justice and Home Affairs policy; and an issue that has made German European policy very salient of late, the management of the Eurozone. The article argues that Germany has become a much less inclusive actor in European policy, pursuing policy solutions through 'pioneer groups' where these offer greater promise than the EU itself and becoming increasingly attentive to domestic political constraints. The article argues that Germany has become a normalized power, with significant implications for the EU.



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Kowalsky Wolfgang

Gewerkschaften und Europa: Positionssuche zwischen naiver Akzeptanz und offensiver Ablehnung
in *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, Heft 3, 2010 , 128-145

ABSTRACT: Obwohl von Anfang an »Pro-Europäer«, lehnen die Gewerkschaften die Richtung, die das europäische Einigungsprojekt in den letzten Jahren genommen hat, ab. Sie sollten heute ihre Kritik nicht mehr aus europapolitischer Rücksichtnahme mäßigen, sondern für eine Richtungsänderung kämpfen. Diese ist grundsätzlich möglich, eine antieuropäische Fundamentalopposition unnötig.

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Sascha O. Becker, Peter H. Egger, Maximilian von Ehrlich

Going NUTS: The effect of EU Structural Funds on regional performance
in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 94, Issues 9-10 , 578-590

The European Union (EU) provides grants to disadvantaged regions of member states to allow them to catch up with the EU average. Under the Objective 1 scheme, NUTS2 regions with a per capita GDP level below 75% of the EU average qualify for structural funds transfers from the central EU budget. This rule gives rise to a regression-discontinuity design that exploits the discrete jump in the probability of EU transfer receipt at the 75% threshold for identification of causal effects of Objective 1 treatment on outcome such as economic growth of EU regions. We find positive per capita GDP growth effects of Objective 1 transfers, but no employment growth effects.

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Daniela Schwarzer

Gouverner l'euro après la crise
in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 75, n° 3, automne

La crise a démontré l'insuffisante coordination des politiques économiques et budgétaires européennes. L'UEM a non seulement besoin d'un renforcement de cette coordination politique, mais également d'un instrument permanent de prévention et de gestion de crise de l'endettement qui réduirait la probabilité d'une crise financière alimentée par les marchés. Sur le long terme, seule une consolidation de la démocratie au niveau européen peut résoudre des problèmes de légitimité tout en dotant l'UE d'une plus grande efficacité.

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Mosconi Antonio

Greek Winds and American Blowers - The Euro-Group from Monetary Union to some kind of budget solidarity in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXIII, n. 2, July

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

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Csaba László

Green Growth – Mirage or Reality?

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 3 / May 2010 , 151-156

No abstract available

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Chevalier-Watts Juliet

Has human rights law become *lex specialis* for the European Court of Human Rights in right to life cases arising from internal armed conflicts?

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 14, Issue 4, July , 584-602

It is generally accepted that although human rights law is applicable in situations of armed conflict, international humanitarian law is *lex specialis*. However, this may not necessarily be the case with regard to internal armed conflicts, and legal authorities provide contradictory views as to what extent human rights principles are applicable in internal armed conflicts. This article explores the relationship between human rights law and international humanitarian law and considers the jurisprudential approach of the European Court of Human Rights in relation to right to life cases arising out of the internal armed conflicts in Turkey and Chechnya. The paper argues that such case law provides evidence that Strasbourg considers the principles of human rights law as *lex specialis* in right to life cases arising out of internal armed conflicts

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Ohler Christoph

Herrschaft, Legitimation und Recht in der Europäischen Union - Anmerkungen zum Lissabon-Urteil des BVerfG in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Band 135, Heft 2, April 2010 , 153-184

Abstract

The “Lisbon” decision of the German Federal Constitutional Court marks the beginning of a new era in the legal relationship between the Union and its Member States. It views the Lisbon Treaty, drafted as a reformatory opus magnum to overcome the standstill in European integration, through the lens of German constitutional law only, thereby maintaining the dualism between EU and domestic law. Considering a vast spectrum of developments under the Union's



primary law, it uses this review to create substantial reservations which aim at protecting core aspects of German constitutional law. Insofar, the decision follows in broad lines the Maastricht judgement of the same Court of 1993 but, intensifies the scrutiny of those areas which today are considered as "vital" from the constitutional point of view, in particular issues of competence.

Several lines of thought, however, have to be distinguished within the judgement. The operative part of the decision refers to the constitutional deficiency of domestic statutes only which formulate the role and rights of the German Bundestag and Bundesrat towards the government. The Court stresses that far more and intense powers are required by Article 23 of the Grundgesetz and spells out explicitly which future amendments of the Lisbon Treaty will trigger which specific parliamentary procedures. All other layers of the decision are non-operational but, in their general language they raised massive criticism by scholars. The central theme of the Court is the question of how competences of the Bundestag and thereby the strength of the domestic democratic system could be safeguarded in a situation where the Union exercises competences in nearly all fields of political life. This shift of competences is not merely a vertical one but also a horizontal one since the executive branch, constituted by the Commission, the European Council, the Council and the national governments, holds a strong grip on all decisions. Implicitly, the Court is still critical about the role of the European Parliament, arguing that it was not elected on the basis of an equal vote but of national quota. It is this view which leads the Court to argue that first, a future European State can only be realised by a referendum in Germany, second as long as this is not the case, it will protect the identity of the constitution sub specie the democratic principle and third it will control - exceptionally - the exercise of competences by the Union. The last two points, however, were spelt out as principles only. It will take more decisions to see whether the Court follows a line of confrontation with the European Court of Justice or whether, what seems to be more probable, it will exercise its role under very narrow circumstances only, leaving wide room of manoeuvre for the Union's organs.

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Delreux Tom, Kerremans Bart

How Agents Weaken their Principals' Incentives to Control: The Case of EU Negotiators and EU Member States in Multilateral Negotiations

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 4 / July , 357-374

This article examines why and how agents weaken the incentives to control of their principals when the EU negotiates international agreements. Based on analyses of various EU decision-making processes on international trade and environmental agreements, this article argues that the EU negotiator-as-agent has a number of tools to affect the cost-benefit analysis on the basis of which the member states-as-principals decide on the activation of their control mechanisms. In order to avoid that the member states reject the international agreement reached by the EU negotiator (the Commission and/or the Presidency), the latter needs to reduce the range of behavioural options of the former. Three strategic paths are available to the agent to weaken its principals' control incentives: (a) calibrating the member states' involvement in the international negotiations, (b) being the first mover in determining its own instructions, and (c) exploiting the inconclusiveness among the member states.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kohler-Koch Beate



How to Put Matters Right? Assessing the Role of Civil Society in EU Accountability

in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 5, september , 1117-1141

ABSTRACT: In contrast to the international arena, accountability and civil society have until recently attracted little attention in the EU context. Civil society is said to play a decisive role in holding EU authorities to account, but this positive assessment lacks systematic examination. This article clarifies the concept of accountability and civil society and suggests a typology of accountability relations to explore the different roles civil society organisations may play as actors or facilitators of EU accountability. The heuristic use of this analytical approach is demonstrated by drawing on empirical findings from a recently completed research project.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paldini L.

I conflitti fra i pilastri dell'Unione europea e le prospettive del Trattato di Lisbona

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 1 , 87-108

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Condinanzi M.

I giudici italiani « avverso le cui decisioni non possa porsi un ricorso giurisdizionale di diritto interno » e il rinvio pregiudiziale

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 2 , 295-334

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Massolo Giampiero

Il nuovo profilo dell'Unione Europea sulla scena internazionale dopo la riforma di Lisbona

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXV, n. 1, primo trimestre , 3-10

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Donnarumma, Maria Rosaria

Il processo di "costituzionalizzazione " del L'Unione europea e la tensione dialettica tra la giurisprudenza della Corte di giustizia e le giurisprudenze delle Corti costituzionali

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 2 , 407 - 450



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Torriti Jacopo

Impact Assessment and the Liberalization of the EU Energy Markets: Evidence-Based Policy-Making or Policy-Based Evidence-Making?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 1065-1081

The European Commission proposal on the liberalization of energy markets has been widely debated in policy, stakeholder and academic circles both for its content and the potential consequences for the structure of the EU gas and electricity markets. However, little has been said about the empirical evidence produced by the European Commission to support this legislative package. Since the Impact Assessment (IA) system has been in place, there have been concerns regarding quality and adequateness, especially when quantifying costs, benefits and risks, selecting policy options and considering stakeholder opinions. This article examines how these crucial issues were factored into the IA on the liberalization of EU energy markets. It is concluded that the selected policy option reflects the position of some stakeholders at the expense of the available evidence on its impacts on markets, society and the environment.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dinan Desmond

Institutions and Governance: A New Treaty, a Newly Elected Parliament and a New Commission

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 95-118

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Buckley James, Howarth David

Internal Market: Gesture Politics? Explaining the EU's Response to the Financial Crisis

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 119-141

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dechezelles Stephanie, Neumayer Laure

Introduction: Is Populism a Side-Effect of European Integration? Radical Parties and the Europeanization of Political Competition

in **Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 11, n. 3, September, Special Issue: 'Is Populism a Side-Effect of European Integration? Radical Parties and the Europeanization of Political Competition' , 229-236



Political radicalism has generated a large scholarly interest in recent years, both in Western and in Central Europe. Two series of explanations have been used to account for the success of radical parties in the scientific literature. The first one studies populism or radical politics through an analysis of electoral behaviour and/or radical groups' strategies at the national level of government. The second perspective deals with the European dimension of radical politics and researches critical attitudes regarding European integration under the generic term Euroscepticism. These two approaches to political radicalism have developed simultaneously but in an isolated way from each one other. The case studies presented in this volume aim at bridging this gap by focusing on the links between the Europeanization of political competition on the one hand, and the rise of radical parties on the other hand, in selected member states of the enlarged European Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Steunenberg Bernard

Is big brother watching? Commission oversight of the national implementation of EU directives
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 11, n. 3, September , 359-380

In this article I analyse the role of the European Commission in monitoring the transposition and implementation of EU Directives. The point of departure is that the Commission, like any political actor, has policy preferences that affect how it shapes its overseeing role. The Commission's responses may vary between being 'the guardian of the treaties', not allowing for any changes, and a 'silent witness', permitting member states to set their own, deviating national policies. These different responses are consistent with empirical findings showing that the Commission is rather selective in starting infringement procedures. 'Big brother is watching' the member states, but this is evident only when interests clash and the Commission receives sufficient support from the European Court of Justice or the other member states.

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Haller Max

Is the European Union legitimate? To what extent?

in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 60, Issue 196, June 2009 , 223-234

Abstract

The European Union (EU) at present is characterised by considerable democratic deficit. It is argued, however, that this produces no fundamental problem of legitimation because the EU possesses high output legitimacy, that is, it creates additional growth and welfare for the citizens of its member states. In this contribution, this argument is contested both from an empirical and a theoretical-normative point of view. Based on data for all EU-member countries for the period 1995 to 2008 it is shown that, when compared to the USA and Japan, the achievements of the EU were rather modest, particularly in terms of growth and employment. Citizens' negative attitudes to these outputs, captured by Eurobarometer data, is used to demonstrate that, contrary to the opinions of supporters of integration, citizens do not recognise the achievements of the EU. However, important differences exist in attitudes between member countries and social groups that profited from integration and those who can be considered the losers of integration. Finally, it is argued that the



separation of output from input legitimation is problematic from the normative and practical point of view since the ability of citizens to participate efficiently in political decisions and processes (input legitimacy) is often necessary to provide output efficiency and legitimacy.

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Michalon Barthélémy

Islandia hacia la UE: ¿Un viaje seguro?

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 19/ 2010

After a review of the historical background of the relations between Iceland and the European Union, this article examines to what extent this country's profile, from an objective and subjective perspective, could favour a possible accession to the block. Later, the manifestations and the consequences of the 2008 economic crisis are analysed, showing that this episode gave a new breath to its European path. The last part emphasizes the facts that impair the present narrowing of relations between Reykjavik and the Union, concluding that they are very likely to put this process out of track.

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Roux Christophe, Verzichelli Luca

Italy: Still a Pro-European, but not a Fully Europeanised Elite?

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 1, Special issue: European Citizenship in the Eyes of National Elites: a South European View, March , 11-33

The aim of this article is to analyse the attitudes of Italian political and economic elites towards European citizenship through the results of a survey conducted in 2007. We begin with a discussion of the changing patterns of pro-Europeanism among Italian elites, within the framework of the recent deep transformations of the domestic political system. In order to understand how these transformations have affected the elites' attitudes towards European citizenship, we investigate the analytical dimensions covered in this special issue: identity, representation and scope of governance. We reach the conclusion that the Italian elite are still characterised by a clear pro-European profile. However, some hints of change are evident: in comparison with politicians, economic elites are more certain about their degree of support. Moreover, a growing difference emerges within the political class, as centre-left MPs are more oriented towards full pro-Europeanism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Monar Joerg

Justice and Home Affairs

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 143-162

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Neyer Juergen

Justice, Not Democracy: Legitimacy in the European Union

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 903-921

The EU is often assessed against the standard of democracy, which it has no fair chance to fulfil. A new and attractive normative agenda is needed if the EU is to escape its deep legitimacy crisis. This article proposes to substitute the discourse on the democratic deficit of the EU with a discourse on its contribution to transnational justice. Whilst the democratic discourse most often focuses on parliamentary competences and divided government, the discourse on justice centres on the people, puts primary emphasis on power asymmetries and on overcoming the obstacles to justifiable political outcomes. The proposal to analyse the EU in terms of justice does not lower the normative standard but corrects it.

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Lepage Henri

L'Euro Survivra-t-il?

in **Politique internationale**, n°128 - été

Will the euro survive? Just a few weeks ago, asking such a question, or even hinting at it, would have been deemed especially improper. Today, given the traumatic effects of the Greek financial crisis, nobody is holding their tongue. Is there a risk of the euro zone exploding? Will Greece leave this zone? Or, on the contrary, Germany? Different scenarios keep popping up, including those that announce the death of the single currency. The euro was a beautiful idea, and the creation of the EMU undoubtedly had a number of advantages, especially for long-term interest rates. But the economic costs have accumulated right from the outset, and are now exploding in our face. A series of events has given credence, at least partially, to those who said from the beginning that the euro was not a sustainable creation, and that the experiment would inevitably end in failure.

http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=128&id=924&content=synopsis

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Pittella Gianni

L'Europa della Strategia e del Trattato di Lisbona

in **ItalianiEuropei**, n. 3



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Conti Roberto

L'Europa e il crocifisso

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 2 , 227-284

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lamassure Alain

L'Europe née de Lisbonne : premier bilan

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 75, n° 3, automne

Le traité de Lisbonne a parachevé la structure bipolaire –fédérale et confédérale– de l'Union européenne, mettant en place des procédures et institutions nouvelles, et clôturant le débat institutionnel. Les premiers mois d'application montrent pourtant qu'il n'y a toujours pas dans l'avion de pilote spécifiquement européen. Si le Traité permet de progresser, par exemple à travers les coopérations renforcées, tout dépend maintenant de la volonté politique des dirigeants qui ne peuvent plus rendre l'alibi de l'insuffisance des traités.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

POLLIN Jean-Paul

L'Eurosystème et l'intégration financière européenne

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, n° 2 (mars-avril) , 303-334

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Politique Etrangère

L'UNION EUROPEENNE, LA CRISE, L'EURO

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 75, n° 3, automne , 493-496

Dans le lamento assez général sur l'état de l'Union et de ses composants (décadence générale inscrite dans la démographie et la mondialisation, incapacité à décider ensemble, échec de la monnaie unique, etc.), il faut en effet distinguer entre de multiples niveaux d'analyse: la crise financière née aux États-Unis tournant en crise économique; les spécificités de la crise en Europe, et celles de divers politique étrangère espaces politico-économiques face à cette crise, sur le continent même; les difficultés de la zone euro; l'efficacité –ou



non– des mesures prises par les divers niveaux institutionnels de l'UE; ce que tout cela, enfin, nous dit des relations entre États membres à venir et de l'avenir global de cette Union.

<http://www.ifri.org/downloads/editorialpe32010/pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Chaltiel Florence

L'Union européenne : tournant ou tourments ?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 541, septembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Adinolfi Adelina

La Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea dopo il Trattato di Lisbona

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCIII, fascicolo 1 , 45-64

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dubout Edouard

La Cour européenne des droits de l'homme et la justice sociale – A propos de l'égal accès à l'éducation des membres d'une minorité

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, N° 84 - Octobre

Sur quels fondements et par quels ressorts la Cour européenne des droits est-elle amenée à se prononcer sur le modèle national de « justice sociale » ? En jugeant discriminatoire, à une voix de majorité seulement, un système éducatif considéré comme inadapté aux besoins des enfants appartenant à la minorité rom, la Grande Chambre de la juridiction européenne semble franchir une étape supplémentaire dans l'encadrement de la politique sociale et distributive de l'Etat. L'article en analyse les moyens et les conséquences.

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Konstadinides Theodore

La Fraternité Européenne? The Extent of National Competence to Condition the Acquisition and Loss of Nationality From the Perspective of EU Citizenship

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 3 , 401-414



The purpose of this article is to discuss and assess the impact of EU law upon the seemingly exclusive competence of Member States to determine the acquisition and loss of nationality. It will focus upon the protection offered by the European Union to the right to a nationality, especially with reference to the competence of Member States lawfully to withdraw the nationality of their citizens. It is argued that, in the absence of cross-border movement, the Court finds it challenging to bring matters related to the revocation of nationality (labelled as internal situations) within the scope of the Treaty. To that effect, the article considers the Court's decision in Rottmann, which—being a case on the compatibility of nationality rules with EU citizenship—helps to illustrate the manner in which nationality legislation overlaps with EU law and highlights the minimal degree of autonomy that the concept of EU citizenship currently enjoys.

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Amico di Meane Tommaso , Gianniti Luigi

La Governance economica dell'Unione europea: dalla Convenzione al Trattato di Lisbona tra crisi finanziaria e incognita greca

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, numero : 1, marzo , 107-122

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Arteaga Félix, Palomares Gustavo

La UE y su acción exterior: agenda 2020-30

in *Política Exterior*, 136 - Julio / Agosto 2010

De la reacción a la acción. La política exterior de la UE necesita planificación, estrategia, medios y liderazgo. El Tratado de Lisboa supone una nueva caja de herramientas para conseguirlo, pero primero es necesario definir qué quieren los europeos. Las dificultades para conseguir la entrada en...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Menéndez Agustín José

La ciudadanía europea tras Martínez Sala y Baumbast: ¿La consecución de un derecho europeo más humano pero menos social?

in *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 89

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Siclari Massimo

La consideración de la Carta de los Derechos fundamentales de la Unión Europea en la experiencia italiana
in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 77 , 317-345

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

P. Renou-Maissant, R. Abdesselam

La convergence européenne: une approche multidimensionnelle
in *Economie Appliquée*, N. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

La crise de croissance de l'Europe – L'Union européenne au pied du mur

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 540, juillet-août , 423-425

While the Euro may seem threatened, the governments' reaction capacity is visible yet a little belated. The European Union has its back to the wall, has to stand united, and has to complement monetary federalism with budget federalism. Only political decision makers can decide so, to allow the yet uncompleted elaboration to produce its full beneficial effects. Going beyond national selfishness for the general interest of Europe, that is the stake.

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Echinard Yann, Labondance Fabien

La crise grecque: quelques leçons d'économie européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 541, septembre , 492-496

The factors that were to guarantee the economic, social and financial stability of Greece did not work. The drift of Greece's public finances turned into a crisis of confidence. The decision made by European decision makers in cooperation with the International Monetary Fund and the European Central Bank in the night from Monday May 10 to Tuesday May 11, 2010, in Brussels allowed to put the fire out. However, the crisis should be seen as an isolates on. The Greek situation is a sign of the lack of trust towards European sovereign debts. The situation, caused by the international financial market, underlines the double problem of national public finances in a collapsing European economic governance.

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Tufano M.L.

La disciplina degli aiuti di Stato nell'Unione europea: dal controllo all'enforcement
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 2 , 381-396

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Deflou Arnaud

La liberté en droit de l'Union européenne – Un alpiniste au sommet européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 541, septembre , 540-

Freedom is a philosophical concept that can be transferred to the legal field. Though it reflects in some way a lack of constraints, law, as the protector and regulator of social relationships, tends to be a sign of constraint. There is a conflict: how to force individuals to a lack of constraints. The European Union answers that by aligning its law on an objective to be reached: ensure the free movement of people, goods, services and capital. It is by that guarantee that the Union provides its citizens with full enjoyment of their freedom. Without stating a libertarian or liberal value, it gives the word freedom the purest meaning, such as it results from the combination of various tribes.

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Bar Cendón Antonio

La nueva constitución de la Unión Europea: el Tratado de Lisboa y la reforma de los tratados constitutivos

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 25 , 167-210

La entrada en vigor, el 1 de diciembre de 2009, del Tratado de Lisboa ha supuesto la superación de una de las etapas más largas y tensas de la historia de la Unión Europea. Una etapa que estuvo caracterizada por el surgimiento de grandes expectativas con respecto al cambio en la estructura y en los contenidos sustantivos de la UE y por el frustrante fracaso de las mismas que queda reflejado en el fracaso mismo de la Constitución europea. El resultado de este proceso ha sido la formulación de un nuevo Tratado —el Tratado de Lisboa— que viene a reformar los viejos Tratados hasta ahora vigentes y a establecer una nueva estructura constitucional en la Unión, con nuevos contenidos materiales, que tratan de superar los problemas que afectaban a la UE entonces, pero también los nuevos problemas y desafíos que afronta la UE el presente. Este trabajo, pues, trata de analizar en detalle esa nueva estructura constitucional y las reformas aportadas por el Tratado de Lisboa.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Canedo Arrillaga José Ramón, Gordillo Pérez Luis Ignacio

La nueva unión europea: de la doble personalidad a la crisis de personalidad

in *Revista de derecho político*, n. 78 , 337-373



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Filippi Claudio

La questione energetica e l'Europa

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LII, n. 1

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=445&lang=it

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Camisón Yagüe José Angel

La ratificación del tratado de Lisboa en la República Checa

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 25 , 439-469

El presente artículo analiza el proceso de ratificación del Tratado de Lisboa en la República Checa, que, como se sabe, ha sido en último de los Estados miembros en ratificar dicho Tratado. Antes del proceder a la ratificación el Tribunal Constitucional checo ha dictado dos Sentencias relativas a la compatibilidad del Tratado de Lisboa con el orden constitucional nacional, en ambas indica que dicho Tratado es conforme con el orden constitucional checo.

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional2010-25-4014&dsID=PDF>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zambiras Ariane

La religion dans l'espace du politique : perspectives européennes

in *Revue française de science politique*, Vol. 60, n°5, octobre , 801

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ashton Catherine, Rosenzweig Luc

La voix de la diplomatie Européenne (entretien)

in *Politique internationale*, n°128 - été

Catherine Ashton was named EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy in November 2009, an



appointment that has raised a number of questions. Was this British labor politician the best person for such an eminent post? It is true that Ms. Ashton is neither an expert in international relations, nor a top politician. But she was Leader of the House of Lords, and Commissioner for Trade in the European Commission, giving her solid credentials, backed by an iron will. In this incisive interview, the EU's "minister for foreign affairs" reviews her primary objectives and says in no uncertain terms that she intends to prove her detractors wrong. European diplomacy will now reflect her voice on today's burning international issues, including the Israel-Palestine conflict, nuclear power in Iran and relations with Russia.

http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=128&id=921&content=synopsis

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Viessant Céline

Le budget de l'Union européenne après l'entrée en vigueur du traité de Lisbonne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 538, mai , 524-532

The Lisbon treaty did not basically change the public finances of the European Union, most of the new articles reproduce provisions contained in the treaty setting up the European union, with a few marginal changes. However the contribution of the treaty that became effective on December 1, 2009 is dual. Firstly, the treaty internationalises the pluriannual financial framework that so far depended on a more political than legal agreement between the Commission, the Council and the European Parliament. Now, leads to the passing of a regulation according to a procedure that makes the council and the parliament equal. Then the treaty removes the separation between required expenses and non required expenses, upon which the Union budget passing procedure relied, and which is therefore deeply changed. The new procedure leads, to a rebalancing of powers between the Council and the parliament in favour of the latter.

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Sauvé Jean-Marc

Le juge administratif, la démocratie et l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 540, juillet-août , 413-422

The administrative judge is a general law judge of Union law enforcement. By stating that for the first time in its ruling dated October 30, 2009, l'Assemblée du contentieux du Conseil d'Etat completed a process initiated more than forty years ago. As a result, the latter now ensures the full prevalence of that law over national law and gives it its full effect while taking an active part in the judge's dialogue. Through his legal advisor function, the administrative judge also takes part in the reinforcement of the enforcement of that law by public authorities. Two reasons explain that the administrative judge thus marks resolutely his commitment to the European integration approach. The first one is that the Union's law draws its legitimacy directly or indirectly from popular will. The latter translated in the always renewed signing of treaties by the governments representing the peoples of Europe and by the legal acknowledgement of the European construction by national law-makers. That will is also extended in the increasingly close association of the European Parliament and of national parliaments with the European decision-making process. The second reason is the fact that the Union's law is a source of democracy enrichment. By applying it, and by relying on and exceeding its requirements,



the administrative judge helps enrich and deepen the principles and values of the democracy he guarantees. In doing so he takes part in an increasingly comprehensive protection of people and of the public interest.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Godano G.

Le nuove proposte di riforma della vigilanza finanziaria europea
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 1 , 75-86

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Magnifico Giovanni

Le politiche di bilancio nell'Unione monetaria europea
in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXV, n. 3, terzo trimestre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Casado Maria

Le rôle des syndicats des fonctionnaires européens dans le contentieux de la fonction publique communautaire
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 540, juillet-août , 426-430

What is the current role of European civil servant unions? What are the benefits for their members? What function do they fulfil? What is their future? It is difficult to answer all those questions. Without carrying out a complete review of all functions that are or could be recognised for unions - which choice would require significant consideration - the analysis covers the role that European civil servant unions have in the civil service dispute, contrary to the information circulated in some union flyers. The European Union Council's decision to give up the European civil servant salary adjustment method prompted this analysis. Contrary to the legitimate expectations of union members, a union cannot introduce a collective claim other than in well defined cases. Case law, the Court's and the civil service court's practice show that there are limited modes of review and that is unchanged since the Lisbon Treaty came into effect. The TFEU kept the asymmetry regarding access to community courts by distinguishing between two active legitimisation types: privileged claimants (individuals and legal entities). The latter, including the unions reviewed in this article, have limited legitimacy compared with the former, as analysed below.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Auriol Karine



Le traité de Lisbonne et ses conséquences sur l'administration des institutions de l'Union européenne
in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 133 , 119-122

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bourrinet Jacques

Le vice et la vertu : un processus dialectique scellant le destin de la zone euro

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 541, septembre , 497-513

The euro zone was set up in 1999. In 2010, it numbers 16 of the 27 European Union member countries. The achievements of the European economic and monetary union were recently stressed at its tenth anniversary celebrations. However, that euro zone also contains, both in its structure and in its operation, many paradoxes, which, in some economists' opinion, make its fate uncertain. The development of the Greek financial crisis in early 2010 and the hesitations of the euro zone in deciding on financial support to that country showed the risks of financial destabilisation of the whole zone. It appears, indeed, that the system set up to ensure the durability of the zone (virtue) in terms of basic principles, in terms of multilateral monitoring systems for national economic policies and in terms of European institution involvement is not adequate to prevent the reoccurrence of the vice. Such reoccurrence can be identified in the various governance systems of the zone to the extent of threatening the financial stability of the euro zone and in survival. But the resulting reactions to address such dangers (financial support plan for Greece, setting up of a financial stabilisation system for the euro zone on May 10, 2010, more effective budget deficit and public debt controls) lead to think that the Greek laxity and the many drifts found in the euro zone could lead, in the end, to a reformation of the virtue.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lessay Franck

Le « non » français : le grand dérèglement

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, Hors-série, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Heine Sophie

Left versus Europe? The Ideologies Underlying the Left's 'No' to the Constitutional Treaty in France and Germany

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 11, n. 3, September, Special Issue: 'Is Populism a Side-Effect of European Integration? Radical Parties and the Europeanization of Political Competition', 313-332

The so-called 'hard Euroscepticism' is usually perceived, in the scientific literature as well as in the journalistic and



political one, as a national phenomenon: Not only are the movements opposed to the EU labelled as 'nationalistic' or 'anti-European', but they are also explained mainly by national factors - usually combined with more strategic elements. This paper challenges both of these assumptions by confronting them to an analysis of the left-wing critiques made against the Constitutional Treaty in France and Germany. It first highlights that the left-wing critiques made against the current EU mostly contain social and democratic arguments and that their identity dimension mixes national and European elements. Besides, after examining the advantages and limits of the dominant explanations given to the radical oppositions to the EU, we will propose a theoretical framework combining at the same time strategic and ideological elements - very much related to the 'agency' dimension - and a broader structural approach - insisting on the constraints encompassing social and political actions. This double endeavour - a new comprehensive analysis of the ideological content of left-wing opposition to the EU and an original explanatory approach to it - should in the end force us both to question the common terminology of 'Euroscepticism' and to grant more importance to the European dimension in the study of the radical oppositions to the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dougan Michael

Legal Developments

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 163-181

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mangozzi P.

Les caractéristiques spécifiques de l'Union européenne dans la perspective de son adhésion à la CEDH

in **Diritto dell'Unione europea**, n. 2 , 231-246

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saarilahti Ilkka, Krašovec Boštjan

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires communautaires – Septième partie : le budget général pour 2010 – Une année de relance économique au niveau européen

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 540, juillet-août , 451-470

The 2010 budget procedure is a mid-course of the financial framework for the 2007-2013 period, appended to the interinstitutional agreement dated May 17, 2006 on budget discipline and sound financial management. It was marked by the economic crisis that all European union member countries have faced since 2008. The crisis led the eU to pass a European plan for economic upturn. In order to finance that five billion euro plan, the budget authority revised the financial framework for 2007-2013 twice in 2009 on May 6, 2009, for the financing of the first part of the European 2009 upturn plan and on December 17, 2009, for the full financing of its second part in 2010. Such a double revision of a



multiple year financial framework during one single year is very rare. It is also noteworthy that the budget procedure for 2010 took place in the context of the elections for a new European Parliament, which first convened from July 14 to 16, 2009. Lastly, the budget procedure for 2010 is the last procedure that took place - until the second Council review in November 2009 - according to the budget provisions of the Nice treaty as the budget procedure for 2011 is entirely governed by the new rules of the Lisbon treaty, which became effective on December 1, 2009.

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Artino Miriam, Noël Pierre-Yves

Les perspectives d'interactions entre la CJUE et la Cour européenne des droits de l'Homme du fait de l'entrée en vigueur du traité de Lisbonne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 540, juillet-août, 446-450

The Lisbon Treaty changes the environment of fundamental rights in Europe: the Charter of Fundamental Rights of European Union becomes legally binding on almost all member countries, and can pose interpretation problems due to the existence of the Convention for the protection of the Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. But the main effect of that new legal catalogue is to extend the protection of guaranteed rights. Simultaneously, the sui generis nature of the Union allows us to express theories as to the future relationship it will be maintaining with the Strasbourg Court. Indeed should we hope for a relationship equivalent to the ones that are maintained by member countries, or is it not more appropriate to foresee a more cooperative relationship. The European Court of Human Rights has not lost interest in the Union's law. Thus in the Bosphorus ruling, the Strasbourg judges did not hesitate to judge the interactions of community law and Ireland's actions. However they found that membership was to be considered as a "legitimate interest with huge weight" letting foresee a more cooperative attitude towards it. They based that decision on the equivalence that exists between both systems. But it is just that equivalence that allows to think that more constraining relationship could emerge with the Union's membership.

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Slapin Jonathan B., Proksch Sven-Oliver

Look who's talking: Parliamentary debate in the European Union

in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 11, n. 3, September, 333-357

Legislative speeches are an important part of parliamentary activity in the European Parliament (EP). Using a new dataset on EP speeches, this paper offers an explanation for participation in legislative debates. We argue that floor speeches partially serve as a communication tool between members of parliament, their national parties, and their European political groups. EP group dissidents often go on record by taking the floor when there is a conflict between their national party and their European political group. In this instance, members give speeches for two reasons: to explain their national party's position to other members of their EP political group, and to create a positive record for themselves in the eyes of the national party to serve their own reelection purposes.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Georgakakis Didier

L'administration de l'Union européenne à la croisée des chemins

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 133, 5-16

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jean-François Jacques, Kawecki Annie

L'euro dix ans après

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, Hors-série, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dockès Pierre

L'euro un espoir déçu ?

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, Hors-série, n. 2

No abstract available

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 (2009)

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, N° 84 - Octobre

L'année 2009 confirme une tendance lourde des Etats d'une exécution trop lente et souvent imparfaite des arrêts dans lesquels ils ont été condamnés et, surtout, une augmentation des affaires pendantes et des affaires structurelles devant le Comité des ministres. Face à ce constat, celui-ci adopte une politique de statu quo totalement insatisfaisante (inefficacité des résolutions intérimaires notamment). L'Assemblée parlementaire se voit ainsi contrainte de se focaliser sur les affaires les plus urgentes. Quant à la Cour, l'activisme accru dont elle fait preuve sur le terrain de l'exécution révèle une dérive dangereuse, imputant à l'individu, et non à l'Etat, les conséquences de l'exécution imparfaite des arrêts.

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Pollack Mark A., Hafner-Burton Emilie M.

Mainstreaming international governance: The environment, gender, and IO performance in the European Union in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 5, n. 3, september , 285-313

ABSTRACT: International organizations (IOs) have moved increasingly in recent years to adopt cross-cutting mandates that require the “mainstreaming” of particular issues, such as gender equality or environmental protection, across all IO policies. Successful IO performance with respect to such mandates, we hypothesize, is determined in large part by the use of hard or soft institutional measures to shape the incentives of sectoral officials whose cooperation is required for successful implementation. We test this hypothesis with respect to two such mandates—gender mainstreaming and environmental policy integration—in a single international organization, the European Union, demonstrating a strong causal link between the use of hard incentives and IO performance in these and related mandates.

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Wonka Arndt, Baumgartner Frank R., Mahoney Christine, Berkhout Joost

Measuring the size and scope of the EU interest group population

in European Union Politics , Vol. 11, n. 3, September , 463-476

We present a new data set enumerating the population of organizations listed and/or registered as lobbyists in the European Union. In the first part of the paper we describe how we arrived at the population data set by drawing on three independent sources (CONECCS; Landmarks; European Parliament registry). We briefly discuss the validity of these registers in the context of recent substantial changes to each of them. In the second part, we present descriptive information on the number and type of groups as well as their territorial origins. In the final section, we outline potential research questions that can be addressed with the new data set for further research on the role of groups in the EU policy process.

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Scheffler Jan

Mittendrin statt nur dabei? Die Beteiligungsrechte der EU in den Sonderorganisationen und nachgeordneten Gremien der UN

in Vereinte Nationen, vol. 58, issue 2 , 51-108

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aldecoa Francisco, Guinea Mercedes

Nace la diplomacia común de la UE

in Política Exterior, 136 - Julio / Agosto 2010



El Servicio Europeo de Acción Exterior (SEAE) será responsable de formular y ejecutar la política exterior en Bruselas y representará a la Unión Europea en el mundo. Es diplomacia 'común', que no única, ya que pervive la diplomacia de los Estados miembros. La negociación sobre la creación...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lansbergen Anja, Shaw Jo

National membership models in a multilevel Europe

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 8, issue 1, 50-71

Through two interwoven sections, this paper explores some empirical dimensions and theoretical challenges related to the granting of electoral rights to resident non-nationals by states and by the European Union. The objective is to develop approaches to models of membership that, in turn, enrich citizenship studies in the European Union context, offering an approach to studying EU citizenship firmly rooted in national constitutional discourses and practices. The focus in the first section is on electoral rights granted to EU citizens under article 19 EC, which allow the nationals of member states to vote in European Parliament and local elections when resident in a host member state, under the same conditions as nationals. We then explore in the second section some membership models that suggest how member states could develop defensible approaches to the challenges of determining the boundaries of the franchise in the complex multilevel Euro-polity.

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Giumelli Francesco

New Analytical Categories for Assessing EU Sanctions

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 3, September

There is considerable debate on why are sanctions imposed, but little agreement so far. While the only consensus is that sanctions are aimed at changing the behaviour of a target, in fact, international sanctions can also be imposed to constrain actors or send signals. Since the creation of the Union in 1992, the EU has imposed 21 autonomous restrictive measures that are difficult to understand and compare without the proper analytical tools. The application of a tripartite taxonomy of the purpose of sanctions to the cases of the EU sanctions on Belarus, Zimbabwe and Uzbekistan is used to illustrate the differences and to set guidelines for a better understanding of international sanctions.

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Mathisen Gjermund

Nordic Cooperation and the European Arrest Warrant: Intra-Nordic Extradition, the Nordic Arrest Warrant and Beyond

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 79, issue 1, 1-35

No abstract available



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Fitzgibbon John, Guerra Simona

Not Just Europeanization, Not Necessarily Populism: Potential Factors Underlying the Mobilization of Populism in Ireland and Poland

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 11, n. 3, September, Special Issue: 'Is Populism a Side-Effect of European Integration? Radical Parties and the Europeanization of Political Competition', 273-291

This paper investigates the possible emergence of populism as a side-effect of the Europeanization of political competition by using a different system of case study analysis and the examples of the Republic of Ireland and Poland. In the case of Ireland, despite the lack of any institutional constraints and over 30 years of participation in European integration, there is no evidence of the emergence of a populist party. By contrast Poland, which has institutional limitations due to parliamentary representation thresholds, has seen the electoral success of a number of parties easily identifiable as populist. The analysis of the impact of the Europeanization of party competition in both cases gives evidence of the relationship with the emergence of populism. However, the two case studies show that the Europeanization of party competition is just part of the explanation for the emergence of populism, and may not necessarily be linked to it. Political culture and the perception of a crisis possibly represent stronger factors. Additionally both studies show that populist rhetoric is not just confined to the fringes but has also become a feature of the mainstream in party politics.

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Ugur Mehmet

Open-Ended Membership Prospect and Commitment Credibility: Explaining the Deadlock in EU–Turkey Accession Negotiations

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010, 967-991

After the enlargement of 2004, the European Union (EU) has introduced an open-ended framework for accession negotiations. Although the ultimate aim is still to ensure the integration of candidate countries, the timing and modality of membership is not guaranteed in advance. This article utilizes a political economy model to demonstrate that open-ended accession negotiations would lead to suboptimal outcomes in the form of inadequate convergence reforms undertaken in the candidate country and poor membership prospect offered by the EU. This analytical finding is compatible with and can be useful in understanding the dynamics of deteriorating reform output in Turkey and weakening EU commitment to Turkish membership since the start of the open-ended accession negotiations process in 2005. Two necessary conditions must be satisfied to overcome such adverse outcomes in the enlargement process: (i) the EU and the accession country must renew their commitments to reform and integration through a new political bargain; and (ii) they should follow this bargain with periodic summits for co-ordinating their commitments in the face of shocks to, or emerging deadlocks in, the process of open-ended accession negotiations.

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Rita De La Feria, Ben Lockwood

Opting for Opting-In? An Evaluation of the European Commission's Proposals for Reforming VAT on Financial Services

in *Fiscal Studies*, Volume 31, Issue 2 , 171–202

This paper provides a legal and economic analysis of the European Commission's recent proposals for reforming the application of VAT to financial services, with particular focus on their 'third pillar', under which firms would be allowed to opt in to taxation on exempt insurance and financial services. From a legal perspective, we show that the proposals' 'first and second pillars' would give rise to considerable interpretative and qualification problems, resulting in as much complexity and legal uncertainty as the current regime. Equally, an option to tax could potentially follow significantly different legal designs, which would give rise to discrepancies in the application of the option amongst Member States of the European Union (EU). On the economic side, we show that quite generally, when firms cannot coordinate their behaviour, they have an individual incentive to opt in on business-to-business (B2B) transactions, but not on business-to-consumer (B2C) transactions. We also show that opting-in eliminates the cost disadvantage that EU financial services firms face in competing with foreign firms for B2B sales. But these results do not hold if firms can coordinate their behaviour. An estimate of the upper bound on the amount of tax revenue that might be lost from allowing opting-in is provided for a number of EU countries.

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Semprun Jorge, Guez Olivier

Où va l'Europe? (entretien)

in *Politique internationale*, n°128 - été

Few men correspond to the sometimes overused notion of the "Great European" better than Jorge Semprun. A member of the French resistance during the Second World War, Buchenwald survivor, fierce opponent of the Franco dictatorship in his native Spain, a communist at odds with his party since 1964, and Minister of Culture under Felipe Gonzalez from 1988 to 1991, this multitalented intellectual (writer, philosopher, politician, etc.) is a long-standing defender of a unified Europe. Now 87, Jorge Semprun looks at the EU with concern. In this interview with Olivier Guez, he regrets the Union's lackadaisical performance. According to Mr. Semprun, European unity should not be based solely on economic links. The Old Continent needs a spiritual facet, a bit more soul. Unfortunately, the great men of the past, such as Kohl, Delors and Gonzalez, have passed the baton to the next generation, who, in the eyes of Jorge Semprun, are not cut from the same cloth.

http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=128&id=926&content=synopsis

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wille Anchrit

Political-Bureaucratic Accountability in the EU Commission: Modernising the Executive

in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 5, september , 1093-1116

ABSTRACT: The basic accountability system of the European Commission has changed over the last decade. New



structures and rules with a range of ex ante constraints and ex post incentives have combined to provide a system for more control and accountability in and over the Commission. This paper uses two concepts of accountability - a passive and an active one - to analyse the modernisation of accountability at the top of the European Commission. Drawing on documentary evidence of politics during the Prodi (1999-2004) and Barroso I years (2004-09) and on interviews held with senior Commission officials during the Barroso incumbency, it shows how strengthened accountability mechanisms and a shift in the dominant types of accountability have characterised the modernisation of the Commission's executive accountability system. In addition to legal and professional accountability systems, an elaborate mixture of accountability mechanisms was created that stressed political and bureaucratic mechanisms and that have created new expectations of accountability on the part of commissioners and their senior officials.

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Henry Nicholas

Politics beyond the state: Europe as civilization and as empire

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 8, n. 2, July, 262-280

ABSTRACT: The project of European political integration led by the European Union (EU) has provoked much speculation about what kind of political entity the EU will turn out to be. Recent scholarship has suggested that the EU can be seen as a form of empire and compared to earlier imperial formations. This review evaluates one such recent claim by Jan Zielonka that the EU resembles a 'neo-medieval empire'. In addition, two works which frame world politics in terms of civilizations are considered. It is argued that the concepts of civilization and empire are compatible and applicable to studying the EU. Although the concept of empire captures the strategic implications of European integration, the analysis of civilizations adds a cultural dimension and highlights the interconnectedness of Europe with its neighbours. Both concepts, as mobilized by the authors reviewed here, emphasize the radical pluralism and polycentric character of contemporary politics beyond the state.

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FITOUSSI Jean-Paul, GAFFARD Jean-Luc, SARACENO Francesco

Politiques macroéconomiques et réformes structurelles: Bilan et perspectives de la gouvernance économique au sein de l'Union Européenne

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, Volume 120, n° 2, mars-avril, 247-268

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Proksch Sven-Oliver, Slapin Jonathan

Position Taking in European Parliament Speeches

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 40, issue 3, July, 587-611

ABSTRACT: This article examines how national parties and their members position themselves in European Parliament



(EP) debates, estimating the principal latent dimension of spoken conflict using word counts from legislative speeches. We then examine whether the estimated ideal points reflect partisan conflict on a left–right, European integration or national politics dimension. Using independent measures of national party positions on these three dimensions, we find that the corpus of EP speeches reflects partisan divisions over EU integration and national divisions rather than left–right politics. These results are robust to both the choice of language used to scale the speeches and to a range of statistical models that account for measurement error of the independent variables and the hierarchical structure of the data.

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Curtin Deirdre, Mair Peter, Papadopoulos Yannis

Positioning Accountability in European Governance: An Introduction

in West European Politics, vol. 33, n. 5, september , 929-945

ABSTRACT: The special issue of which this paper forms the introduction takes as its central focus one particular aspect of democratic governance: accountability. It attempts to position a broad understanding of the notion of accountability within the overall context of the evolving political system of governance in Europe and in particular of the European Union. With accountability at the centre, we consider its relationship to a fairly wide range of other themes in any given political system. This introduction first looks to the concept of accountability as it stands alongside and within other major themes of contemporary political systems. The issue of accountability beyond the national democratic state is then considered, and in particular within what Sbragia has termed the 'ecology' of governance. The introduction concludes with summaries of the papers included in the special issue.

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Gifford Chris, Gonçalves Susana, Wood#378;ko El#380;bieta, Gocsal Ákos

Post-National Citizenship and Higher Education in the European Union

in European Political Science , Volume 9, Issue 3, September , 341-357

This paper is concerned with the role of higher education institutions (HEIs) in constituting European post-national citizenships. The central argument is that the Europeanisation of rights, and the administrative regulation of higher education that follows from this, are limited as instruments for developing post-national citizenship as they reinforce and conceal social and cultural divisions. An individualist and organisational conception of citizenship is contrasted with the possibilities for a post-national citizenship enacted within HEIs considered as significant political actors within a broadly conceived European public sphere.

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Fabbrini Federico

Pregiudizialità costituzionale: la riforma francese è contraria al diritto dell'Unione europea?

in Quaderni Costituzionali, numero : 2, giugno , 382-385



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beauvallet Willy, Michon Sébastien

Professionalization and socialization of the members of the European Parliament

in *French Politics*, Volume 8, Issue 2, July , 145–165

This article provides an overview of the institutionalization of the European Parliament. Quantitative analysis, based on the biographies of Members of European Parliament on the sixth term (between 2004 and 2009), underlines the emergence of specialists who dominate the parliamentary space. First, we point out convergences in the modalities of political and social recruitment. The unattractiveness of the European Parliament (EP), compared to the national political space, has favoured the recruitment of actors who are less endowed with legitimate resources. For numerous members, the EP represents an opportunity for political professionalization. Second, we underline the emergence of a parliamentary elite with specific European resources and career types.

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Il Federalista

Quale futuro per la crescita e lo sviluppo in Europa?

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LII, n. 1

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=442&lang=it

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kochenov Dimitry

Regional Citizenships and EU law: The Case of the Åland Islands and New Caledonia

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 35, issue 3 , 307-325

This article analyses the phenomenon of regional citizenships in the Member States of the European Union by focusing on the citizenships of the Member State territories lying (at least partially) outside the territorial scope of the *acquis*. It has been demonstrated that the influence of such legal status on the rights of individuals is more significant compared with citizenships of the regions lying entirely within the territorial scope of EU law. Two examples of regional citizenships are considered: the citizenship of the Åland Islands and that of New Caledonia. It is submitted that the rules on access to regional citizenships cannot discriminate on the basis of nationality, which is currently the case in both regions analysed. The analysis of regional citizenships enables the viewing of EU citizenship from a new, intriguing angle.

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European Economy News



Reinforcing economic policy coordination in Europe

in *European Economy News*, July 2010 – Issue 18

Twenty years of hard grind reducing government debt have been wiped out in less than two. Crisis-related lower tax revenues and a GDP drop beyond expectations are widely seen as the major reasons for this situation. But a proposal for a new system of early budget coordination among governments called a 'European Semester' could prevent such crises from emerging in the future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Allen David, Smith Micheal

Relations with the Rest of the World

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 205-223

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Whitman Richard G., Juncos Ana E.

Relations with the Wider Europe

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 183-204

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beaufort Viviane de

Repenser le volet externe du marché intérieur européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 541, septembre , 514-523

Globalisation leads to opportunities as well as to tensions that impact the Europe Plan. A consideration of a domestic market tools is need both in terms of the trade policy and of competition policies. The nationalist temptation is dangerous to European and useless. The European Union should be capable of a more offensive approach focusing on the principle of need and a European interest concept.

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Schmidt Helmut, Guez Olivier

Réflexions d'un grand Européen

in *Politique internationale*, n°128 - été



Now 91, the tireless Helmut Schmidt could still teach a thing or two to most German politicians. He continues to go to his office every day at weekly newspaper Die Zeit and devours the press. In this exclusive interview with Olivier Guez for *Politique Internationale*, Helmut Schmidt reflects upon his long career, one that is intertwined with the last half-century of Germany history. He addresses a broad range of major issues without missing a beat, including the people he admired (and those he didn't...), the vagaries of the Franco-German relationship, the rise of China, the Greek crisis and the future of the euro. In general, he regrets the lack of impetus in the construction of Europe and the absence of leadership. Without any major initiatives to mobilize people, Helmut Schmidt fears that the European dream will eventually go up in smoke.

http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=128&id=927&content=synopsis

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mouton Jean-Denis

Réflexions sur la nature de l'Union européenne à partir de l'arrêt Rottmann (CJUE, 2 mars 2010, aff. C-135/08)
in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, Vol. 114, n.2 , 257-280

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vigneront Philippe

Réflexions sur le soutien financier à la Grèce – Pour une lecture moins politique du traité
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 541, septembre , 489-491

Greece sustained a serious deterioration of its public accounts in 2010. It had to seek external help from its partners in the euro zone and the IMF to be able to continue to borrow on the markets. One can wonder why all the legal provisions of the Lisbon Treaty were not implemented to help Greece. The use of some articles seems to have been ignored. A more legal and less political interpretation of the treaty would have allowed to save time in the elaboration of a Greek support scenario and would have undoubtedly helped avoid suspicion arising on the soundness of the euro zone.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bossuyt Marc

Should the Strasbourg Court exercise more self-restraint? On the extension of the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights to social security regulations
in *Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 28, n. 9-12, december , 321-331

No abstract available



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Verhofstadt Guy

**Sixty Years Since the Schuman Declaration
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/index.bfr>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pank Diana

**Small states in the European Union: structural disadvantages in EU policy-making and counter-strategies
in Journal of European Public Policy**, Volume 17 Issue 6 2010, 799-817

Small states face disadvantages in shaping European policies owing to their limited bargaining power and constrained financial resources necessary for building up policy expertise and exerting influence via arguing. Nevertheless, small states can apply a variety of strategies to counterbalance size-related difficulties. Although such activity is an important precondition for success in negotiations, this article shows that some small states are considerably more active in using counter-balancing strategies than others. To explain this, the article tests hypotheses on learning, co-ordination mechanisms and legitimacy. It shows that small states are most active in negotiations if they have non-interrupted administrative work environments, motivated staff, balanced systems for the development of national positions, and have experienced a learning curve through long membership durations and through holding the office of the Presidency. By contrast, differences in specific or diffuse support of European integration do not influence activity levels.

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Conti Nicolò, Cotta Maurizio, Almeida Pedro Tavares de

Southern Europe: a Distinctive and More Pro-European Region in the EU?

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 15, Issue 1, Special issue: European Citizenship in the Eyes of National Elites: a South European View, March, 121-142

The main aim of this article is to show to what extent it is possible to talk about the South European member states as a homogeneous region with respect to the topics of European citizenship addressed in this special issue. In particular, we will address this problem by exploring both the level of homogeneity of the attitudes developed by national elites within this area, and the level of distinctiveness of such attitudes compared with the pan-European trend.

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Trichet Jean-Claude

State of the Union: The Financial Crisis and the ECB's Response between 2007 and 2009



in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 7-19

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Kilian Bertil, Elgström Ole

Still a green leader? The European Union's role in international climate negotiations

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 45, n. 3, september , 255-273

ABSTRACT: Since the early 1990s, the European Union (EU) has presented itself as a leader on climate change. Recently, however, this picture has been challenged in the media and by non-governmental organization representatives. The aim of our article is to evaluate the Union's present role in the area of international climate politics. We do this by scrutinizing the EU's own role conception, but also, and primarily, by investigating the perceptions and expectations of government representatives from outside the Union itself. Our results — reflecting external perceptions of the EU after COP 14 (Conference of the Parties) in December 2008 — demonstrate that the EU is indeed still seen as a green leader. Officials from both developing states and major powers share the view of the Union as a largely coherent and credible leader, though some observers question the correspondence between what the EU says and what it does. The EU is mainly perceived to lead by example by being a role model for other state actors. We discuss how these results fare in the light of the COP 15 Copenhagen meeting in December 2009.

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Williams Colin C.

Tackling undeclared work in southeast Europe: lessons from a 2007 Eurobarometer survey

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 10, n. 2, June , 123-145

This paper examines the nature of undeclared work in southeast Europe and evaluates the consequences for tackling such work. Reporting a survey of undeclared work in five southeast European countries (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Romania and Slovenia), a diverse array of types of undeclared work are uncovered ranging from waged employment to own-account work conducted for closer social relations such as kin, friends and neighbours. The outcome is a call for greater recognition of the diverse array of kinds of undeclared work in southeast Europe and for a wider range of policy approaches and measures to be employed when tackling such work.

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Skodvin Tora, Gullberg Anne Therese, Aakre Stine

Target-group influence and political feasibility: the case of climate policy design in Europe

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 6 2010 , 854-873

Political feasibility (or infeasibility) is often associated with target-group support (or opposition) of specific policy alternatives. We argue that target-groups' capacity to influence the spectrum of politically feasible policy options tends to



be higher when (1) target groups control resources needed by decision-makers, that (2) are agenda-setters and/or veto players in the decision-making process. In the 2008 revision of the European Union Emissions Trading Scheme (EU ETS) exemptions from the basic principle of full auctioning of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions allowances can all be traced to target-group interest representation by single veto players or blocking minorities in the European Council and the Council of Ministers. Our analysis indicates that target groups succeeded in constraining the spectrum of politically feasible policy options to the extent that their positions were unified and threats to shut down or relocate activity were perceived to be relevant, severe and credible. Our findings confirm both the significance and the limits of portfolio assignment in the Commission. Even with Directorate General (DG) Environment in an agenda-setting role, target groups acquired exemptions through their relations with veto players in the Council.

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Georgakakis Didier

Tensions within Eurocracy? A socio-morphological view

in French Politics, Volume 8, Issue 2, July , 116–144

Based on an analysis of biographies and careers of top-rank officials and members of the European Commission, this article suggests that a number of recent disputes within EU Institutions (such as the Verheugen controversy, the Kinnock reform, and so on) reflect the tensions originating from socio-morphological transformations. To put it simply, the sociological gap between Commissioners and their civil servants has never been so wide. Commissioners seem to be gaining in national political capital to the detriment of a professional commitment to EU politics. Conversely, the top-level officials increasingly appear to owe their positions to long-term investment in the EU institutions involving the production and, simultaneously, the accumulation of specific European resources and skills. Beyond the conventional issue of the differentiation processes of the political and administrative elites, this socio-morphological approach sheds new light on some of the in-depth political transformations at play within the EU institutional field.

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Barber Tony

The Appointments of Herman van Rompuy and Catherine Ashton

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 55-67

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Somek Alexander

The Argument from Transnational Effects II: Establishing Transnational Democracy

in European law journal, Volume 16, Issue 4, July

This article continues with a discussion of what the author calls the argument from transnational effects. It says that supranational or transnational forms of integration, in particular market integration, are desirable on account of



democracy itself. National democracies find themselves thereby forced to confront and to internalise the externalities that they cause for each other. A fortiori, democracy becomes supposedly emancipated from the confines of the nation state.

This article examines the argument critically at a general level. The situation under consideration concerns all cases in which, regardless of whether there is movement or not, the acts of one democracy adversely impact on the interests of others.

The article tries to identify instances where the harm is tied to a failure of representation in a transnational context and not caught by the harm principle, broadly understood.

In order to calibrate the argument's scope the article resorts to the principle of universalisation. The guiding intuition is that so long as the act of one democracy is morally justified on the basis of this principle, the argument from transnational effects does not apply. Hence the argument is of no avail where the impact of one democracy on another is perfectly legitimate. This would be the case, for example, when the effects are too insignificant to require any debate.

Determining the range of legitimate impact is a core question of transnational constitutional law. Any such determination presupposes mutually shared interest definitions. More often than not, however, the relevant interest definitions underlying universalisation are debatable. Therefore, it appears to be inevitable, at first glance, to have relations of transnational interdependency matched by transnational democratic processes.

The article then goes on to identify three different types of universalisation with reference to what can be regarded as their respective anchor. Simple universalisation is based upon shared interest definitions. Reflexive universalisation involves common views of oneself (and others). Self-transcending universalisation is grounded in the desire to live in a free society.

Reflexive universalisation requires to extend mutual sympathy. From this perspective, transnational democratic processes are tantamount to nation-building. However, one would commit a sentimentalist fallacy if one were to conclude that mutual sympathy in and of itself engenders an expansion of mutual responsibility.

The article argues that with regard to the third type of universalisation the institutionalisation of transnational democratic procedures cannot be justified. It would threaten to undermine various conceptions of a free society. It is argued that for the sake of the realisation of equal citizenship the argument from transnational effects actually needs to endorse the existence of bounded democratic communities. Unbounded transnational democracy would exercise an adverse effect on citizenship.

It also turns out that the argument from transnational effects, in its uncorrected form, remains haunted by the dilemma that the type of democracy that is envisaged by it becomes easily absorbed by administrative processes.

The article concludes that the argument from transnational effects, correctly understood, has a more modest import than its proponents would have us believe. Rather than supporting the release of democracy from its national bounds, it helps to explain why the co-existence of bounded democratic polities remains essential to equal citizenship. More forceful versions of transnational integration graft onto political societies elements that are not genuinely democratic and strangely reminiscent of different forms of rule. These are forms of rule that Aristotle would not have called 'political', for they do not involve the exercise of power by equals over equals.



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Brosig Malte

The Challenge of Implementing Minority Rights in Central Eastern Europe

in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 32, Number 4 / July , 393-411

The article examines problems of implementation of minority rights in Central Eastern Europe and explores the reasons for the implementation deficit in Estonia and Slovakia. Full implementation of minority rights norms is hampered by a combination of several factors. First, European Union conditionality was primarily focused only on the formal adoption of minority rights standards but not their proper application. Second, minority rights norms do not resonate successfully with domestically held norms. Third, minority rights norms are vaguely formulated and allow for arbitrary interpretations which complicate the application of these norms. A fourth factor examined, limitations in administrative capacities, did not play a significant role in Estonia or Slovakia.

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Bongardt Annette, Torres Francisco

The Competitiveness Rationale, Sustainable Growth and the Need for Enhanced Economic Coordination

in **Intereconomics**, Volume 45, Number 3 / May 2010 , 136-141

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Benes Vit, Karlas Jan

The Czech Presidency

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010

No abstract available

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Egeberg Morten, Heskstad Andreas

The Denationalization of Cabinets in the European Commission

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 775-786

The cabinets of the European Commission are seen to play a crucial role in the policy-making process. So far, however, they have in many respects remained 'black boxes'. In this article we 'unpack' the demographic composition in terms of



nationality of three commissions' cabinets. The standard portrayal of cabinets has been that of national enclaves and points of access. Reforms during the period have required a more multinational composition. Our study shows that not only have the new rules been implemented: the new formal requirements have become over-fulfilled and increasingly so. In 2004, 96 per cent of the cabinets contained more nationalities than formally prescribed and 57 per cent of the personnel were non-compatriots of their respective commissioners. Based on studies of comparable phenomena, it is reason to believe that decomposition of a particular demographical cluster within an organizational unit reduces the impact of such demographical factors on officials' decision behaviour.

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Connolly Richard

The EU Economy: Member States Outside the Euro Area in 2009

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 243-266

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Hodson Dermot

The EU Economy: The Euro Area in 2009

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 225-242

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Knutsen Bjorn Olav

The EU's security and defense policy (ESDP) and the challenges of civil-military coordination (CMCO): the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

in *European Security*, Volume 18, Number 4, December , 441-459

The article assesses the role of the EU in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the ability of the EU to coordinate its different means and instruments with regard to the relationship between the European Commission and the Council. The article focuses on what is referred to as civil-military coordination (CMCO) in internal EU documents. The aim is to compare the four ESDP missions in DRC since 2003 with special regard to CMCO since the aim of the EU as a comprehensive security actor is to avoid artificial distinctions between military and civilian missions. Hence, the distinctiveness of ESDP derives precisely from its civil-military synergies, and a comparative perspective on CMCO could tell us more about how the EU has developed so as to become a comprehensive security actor in a country which is of importance for EU interests. The final part of the article assesses the impact on CMCO of the newly implemented Lisbon Treaty. A suitable institutional framework as devised for in the Treaty is essential so as to shape a framework that creates a timely as well as a comprehensive response to crises.



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Padoa-Schioppa Tommaso

**The Euro Remains on the Right Side of History
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/index.bfr>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Cenevska Ilina

**The European Parliament and the European Atomic Energy Community: A Legitimacy Crisis?
in European Law Review**, Vol. 35, issue 3 , 415-424

The European Union is today going through a nuclear renaissance. This is a development accounted for primarily by the increasing energy demands of its Member States, bringing once again to the fore the often forgotten-about European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). As nuclear energy production in the European Union is increasingly gaining impetus, it is highly important that the applicable rules and instruments provided under the Euratom Treaty follow through and offer a solid backdrop from a legal point of view. The Euratom Treaty has always been preceded by its reputation as an "undemocratic treaty", especially with regard to the insufficient institutional leverage given to the European Parliament. Taking the recent Lisbon amendments to the Euratom Treaty into account, there is still, regrettably, much to be desired.

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de Bürca Gráinne

**The European Union in the negotiation of the UN Disability Convention
in European Law Review**, Vol. 35, issue 2 , 174-196

No abstract available

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De Moor Alexandra, Vermeulen Gert

**The Europol Council Decision: Transforming Europol into an Agency of the European Union
in Common Market Law Review**, vol. 47, issue 4 , 1089-1121

ABSTRACT: The long-awaited Council Decision of 6 April 2009 establishing the European Police Office (Europol) replaces the Europol Convention and transforms Europol from an intergovernmental organization into an EU agency. This article contains a critical exploration of the new provisions of the Europol Council Decision. The authors take stock



of the novelties through a comparative analysis of the Europol Convention, its Protocols, the Commission Proposal and revised versions of the Europol Council Decision. Europol is thematically dissected into clusters: legal basis, competence, tasks, governance and control. The assessment is based on the following questions: What are the major changes? Do they contribute to a better functioning of Europol? What are the missed opportunities? In what direction is Europol heading? The importance of the Europol Council Decision is that it provides Europol with a new and more flexible legal basis. The shift in competence from “organized crime” to “serious crime” is another significant change. The Europol Council Decision continues to stress Europol’s core-business, which remain information-related tasks. A “European FBI” seems far off, even with the transformation of Europol into a full-fledged EU agency. The Europol Council Decision falls somewhat short of expectations when it comes to Europol’s governance and control. Overall, the main conclusion of this article is that the Europol Council Decision is not as new as it would seem, yet new enough to herald a new era for Europol.

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Hoekman Bernard, Özden Çağlar

The Euro–Mediterranean Partnership: Trade in Services as an Alternative to Migration?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 835-857

This article discusses options to facilitate movement of workers between high-income and developing countries within the framework of trade agreements, focusing on the European Union's partnership agreements with neighbouring countries. Existing frameworks for co-operation offer the possibility of expanding temporary rather than longer-term or permanent movement of workers since extant trade agreements provide scope for negotiating specific market access commitments for services, including those delivered through the cross-border movement of natural persons. Even though the potential for such ‘embodied’ trade in services will not be anywhere near what would be associated with substantial liberalization of migration regimes, furthering the services trade dimension in the European Union's trade agreements offers significant potential Pareto gains. For the partner countries these gains from temporary movement of service providers are both direct – through greater employment and revenue from providing services in the European Union – and indirect – by helping to increase and sustain higher growth at home.

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Nicolaidis Kalipso

The JCMS Annual Review Lecture Sustainable Integration: Towards EU 2.0?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 21-54

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Arnall Anthony

The Law Lords and the European Union: Swimming with the incoming tide

in **European Law Review**, Vol. 35, issue 1 , 57-145



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Kiiver Philipp

The Lisbon Judgment of the German Constitutional Court: A Court-Ordered Strengthening of the National Legislature in the EU

in *European law journal*, Volume 16, Issue 5, September , 578-588

This article discusses the judgment of the German Constitutional Court on the constitutionality of the Treaty of Lisbon, concentrating on the court's insistence on the prerogatives of the national legislature. The court's insistence on prior national legislative ratification for the application of the simplified treaty revision procedure and of similar de facto amendment procedures, including the flexibility clause, is conservative but understandable from the perspective of German constitutional law. The prescription of prior bicameral ratification for the application of the flexibility clause makes the German government procedurally one of the most tightly controlled in the EU, although this would not be unique, and the effect of such control will depend on the cleavage between the government and the national legislature, especially the German upper chamber. None of the procedures insisted upon by the court are incompatible with EU Treaty law. Whether the new procedures will actually enhance the democratic legitimacy of EU measures in German perception will depend on the degree to which political parties in the national legislature will publicly politicise their stance on the decisions in question, allowing voters to hold them to account. All the court can do is prescribe opportunities where such politicisation may take place.

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Wind Marlene

The Nordics, the EU and the Reluctance Towards Supranational Judicial Review

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 1039-1063

The Nordic countries have no tradition of judicial review by courts and have generally been hesitant to make use of the preliminary ruling procedure in the European Union. New data indicate that Nordic courts prefer to solve as many EU-related judicial disputes as possible without involving a supranational organ such as the ECJ. Building on two comprehensive surveys of Danish and Swedish courts and judges, this study challenges the theory of judicial empowerment when explaining judicial integration in the EU. The article argues that in order to explain when and why Member State courts make use of the preliminary ruling procedure, a much deeper understanding of the prevalent legal/political culture and concept of democracy in each Member State is required. In particular, the distinction between majoritarian versus constitutional democracies may help us understand why majoritarian democracies express greater scepticism towards supranational judicial review.

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Mir Miguel Jerez, Dato José Real, García Rafael Vázquez

The Perception of the European Union by Political and Economic Elites in Spain

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 1, Special issue: European Citizenship in the Eyes of National Elites: a South European View, March , 35-56

Elite perceptions about Europe are very important in understanding the current trajectory of the European integration process, as well as the future perspectives for the continent. In this article, we present the main descriptive results of an empirical analysis looking at the attitudes of Spanish political and economic elites along the three dimensions of the IntUne project: representation, identity, and scope of governance. We examine the set of explanatory factors that may account for such attitudes. These factors are also tested through multivariate analyses. The 2007 IntUne project survey is used as the main database.

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Nifosi-Sutton Ingrid

The Power of the European Court of Human Rights to Order Specific Non-Monetary Relief: a Critical Appraisal from a Right to Health Perspective

in *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, vol. 23, issue 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Appicciafuoco Lara

The Promotion of the Rule of Law in the Western Balkans: The European Union's Role

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 741-768

The principle of the rule of law is a well-established notion at the core of modern constitutionalism and the undisputed building block of democratic governments. This principle is characterized by the breadth of its scope, the difficulty to strictly define its content, and the increasing possibility of a more or less broad interpretation. This explains the wide-ranging debate on the rule of law which has been developed over time with significant contributions from several disciplines, including philosophy, constitutional law, and international law.

Given the narrow purposes of this article, it is not possible to address these complex theoretical issues here. It is useful, however, to recall that the different legal traditions regarding the principle of the rule of law—developed in both common law and civil law systems—have some common traits which allow to acknowledge that, as accurately summarized in a distinguished scholar's definition, the rule of law corresponds to a version of the modern European State in which the legal system is assigned the function of protecting individual rights against the excessive expansion of political power and arbitrary or ultra vires exercise of authority.

The principle of the rule of law—besides its longstanding theoretical examination at the domestic law level—has, for some time, been receiving considerable attention in the international legal and political debate. Indeed, this principle is the subject matter of much controversy both because it has become one of the guiding principles in democratic transitions—which have reshaped, particularly after the end of the Cold War, the world geo-political map—and because it has been going through a significant process of re-definition evidenced by the tension that the concepts of State—in



particular the ideas of sovereignty and nation-state—and law are currently experiencing as a consequence of the dynamics of globalization.

Full text available at:

http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No8/PDF_Vol_11_No_08_741-768_Kosovo%20Context_Appicciafuoco%20FINAL.pdf

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Langlaude Sylvie

The Rights of Religious Associations to External Relations: A Comparative Study of the OSCE and the Council of Europe

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 32, number 3, august , 502-529

ABSTRACT: This article argues that religious associations have a number of substantive rights when it comes to their external relations. It does so though comparing the position of the OSCE and the Council of Europe. This article considers whether the emerging framework includes: (1) a right to legal entity status, (2) a right to establish and run charitable or educational institutions, (3) a right to privileges and substantive benefits and (4) a right to anything else. It concludes that the current developments are welcome because religious freedom has a collective aspect that is essential to the lives of many believers.

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Scott James

The Rise and Fall of Euro Preparations: Strategic Networking and the Depoliticisation of Labour's National Changeover Plan

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Vol. 12, Issue 3, August , 368-386

Although much has been written about Labour's policy towards the European single currency, few studies have explored the Treasury-led process of preparing Britain for changeover. The article attempts to address this by employing a strategic-relational framework to map the contours of the euro preparations network, to identify the key stakeholders and to chart its development between 1998 and 2008. It argues that by establishing an autonomous policy network, the government was able to pursue a highly effective strategy of depoliticisation by separating the logistical preparations for changeover from the political decision over whether to join the euro. The article also demonstrates the value of strategic networking as a flexible mechanism for managing political uncertainty and retaining institutional memory by placing the euro preparations process into hibernation after 2005.

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Chevallard Giancarlo

**The Single European Defence Equipment Market - A Building Block of the Political Union
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/index.bfr>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Miles Lee

The Swedish Presidency

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue s1, September 2010 , 81-93

No abstract available

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Österdahl Inger

The Use of Force: Sweden, the Jus ad Bellum and the European Security and Defence Policy

in **Nordic Journal of International Law**, vol. 79, issue 1 , 141-330

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Berkhout Joost, Lowery David

The changing demography of the EU interest system since 1990

in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 11, n. 3, September , 447-461

European Union scholars have used a variety of data sources to assess the contours of the EU interest community, including directories maintained by the European Commission and commercial directories of interest organizations active in Brussels. Scholars have typically relied on only one of these sources, the least comprehensive, to assess demographic change in the EU population. We construct and then use a patched-up design focused on the more comprehensive data provided by several directories of interest groups to provide a more valid assessment of demographic changes in the EU interest system since 1990.

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Lenaerts Koen

The contribution of the European Court of Justice to the area of freedom, security and justice



in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 59, issue 2 , 255-301

The aim of this article is to provide an overview of the European Court of Justice's ('ECJ') past and present contribution— both procedurally and substantively—to the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. While it is too early to speculate what the ECJ's contribution to this area will be under the provisions of the Treaty of Lisbon, which entered into force on 1 December 2009, the latter's modifications to the ECJ's jurisdiction merit close attention. After describing how the procedural limitations that were imposed on the ECJ's jurisdiction by ex Title IV of Part Three of the EC Treaty and by ex Title VI of the old EU Treaty have been almost entirely eliminated by the Treaty of Lisbon, this article posits that not only does the latter Treaty improve significantly the judicial protection of private individuals, but it also facilitates the dialogue between the Union and the national judiciaries in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. Next, the article briefly explores the special ECJ procedures which may be followed in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice in cases where time is of the essence. There, it is argued that, when having recourse to these procedures, the ECJ strives to strike the right balance between, on the one hand, swift judging and, on the other hand, the preservation of a qualitative and fair judicial procedure. As to substantive issues, drawing on examples from the fields of judicial cooperation in civil matters, asylum and judicial cooperation in criminal matters, it is argued that the ECJ's contribution to this area is largely grounded in the protection of fundamental rights. Finally, a brief conclusion supports the contention that the ECJ's contribution to the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice has favoured a 'mutual borrowing' of concepts and principles as between this area and other fields in relation to which the EU has competences, such as the internal market and competition. The Treaty of Lisbon having entered into force, an unprecedented level of coordination between different areas of EU law on both the procedural and substantive levels is to take place. Respect for fundamental rights will definitely be a unifying factor binding them all together.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hollis Simon

The necessity of protection: Transgovernmental networks and EU security governance
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 45, n. 3, september , 312-330

ABSTRACT: The remarkable increase in European security and defence integration in the past decade has presented a challenge to traditional integration theories. Although they remain relevant, these theories fail to take full account of the changing security architecture of Europe, which includes the rise of transgovernmental networks (TGNs). With a focus on EU civil protection, this article critically examines established definitions of TGNs and investigates how these networks influence the supranational and national levels of security cooperation. Findings point toward the emergence of an alternative form of European security governance that addresses the lack of authority in EU security policy.

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Borghetto Enrico, Franchino Fabio

The role of subnational authorities in the implementation of EU directives
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 6 2010 , 759 – 780

Studies on the role of regions in the EU policy process concentrate mainly on policy formulation and implementation of regional funds. In this article, we redress this bias by investigating the formal role of subnational authorities in the



implementation of EU regulatory policies, specifically in the transposition of directives. Subnational authorities play a secondary, but increasingly important, role in the application of these measures. Their impact is greater on environmental and social policies, as it is also on public contract legislation. More decentralized states display higher levels of subnational involvement but, in these states, regional participation in national policy-making and a high number of regional authorities decrease the likelihood of finding subnational measures of transposition. There is also more subnational involvement in states with territories that have both an elected government as well as special arrangements regulating their relations with the EU. Finally, subnational involvement tends to prolong the process of transposition.

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van Apeldoorn Bastiaan, Hager Sandy Brian

The social purpose of new governance: Lisbon and the limits to legitimacy

in **Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 13, Number 3, September , 209-238

This article examines the extent to which the Lisbon strategy, with its utilisation of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) as the 'new mode of governance' for supranational social policy, has delivered on the pledge of acting as a counterweight to neoliberal market integration in the EU. Adopting a critical political economy perspective, we transcend the focus on institutional form of existing approaches, and seek to explain the social purpose of Lisbon. In this context we argue that both form and content of the Lisbon strategy reflect a hegemonic project of 'embedded neoliberalism', inasmuch as the Lisbon strategy's institutional mechanisms such as the OMC reaffirm the asymmetric nature of European governance through the promotion of market-making rather than market-correcting policies, bolstering the power of transnational capital while simultaneously incorporating subordinate projects through limited forms of embeddedness. The contradictions inherent in this strategy have come to test the limits of its legitimacy.

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Costa Oriol

The unexpected EU leadership on landmines: the influence of the Ottawa Convention on the EU

in **European Security**, Volume 18, Number 3, September , 245-261

The European Union (EU) has led international politics on antipersonnel landmines (APLs) for a decade now, and its foreign policy in this domain is perceived as a success story. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the negotiations that led to the Ottawa Convention, the EU looked unable to play any relevant part. This article addresses the emergence of the EU's foreign policy on APLs by arguing, in a second image-reversed way, that the corresponding international regime has deeply influenced the EU. It has changed Member States' and EU institutions' preferences, and it has empowered pro-Ottawa and pro-integration actors. This article explores the intra-EU conditions that have facilitated this influence and the way in which the regime itself has shaped them.

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Bouillaud Christophe

Théoriser l'intégration européenne dans la post-modernité ?

in *Revue française de science politique*, vol. 60, n. 4, août , 796-800

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Soete Luc

Towards a Sustainable Knowledge-based Economy in Europe: from the Costs of "Non-Europe" to the Costs of Europe?

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 3 / May 2010 , 160-166

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pinto Maria do Céu

Turkey's Accession to the European Union in terms of impact on the EU's security and defense policies: potential and drawbacks

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.53 - No.1/2010 , 89-110

This study explores the impact of Turkey's likely entry in the European Union (EU) in terms of the EU's foreign, security and defense policies. It reviews Turkish capabilities, namely its military capabilities, which could provide the EU with valuable defense assets. There are differences related to Turkey's relations with the EU, which have increasingly spilled over into the NATO, hindering the development of cooperation over crisis management operations. The article then delves in the implications of Turkey's strategic geographical location to EU policies. It reviews how far the EU and Turkey may have convergent interests in some of the neighboring regions, especially in the Middle East.

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Alessandri Emiliano

Turkey's New Foreign Policy and the Future of Turkey-EU Relations

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 3, September

Turkey is not 'drifting' towards the east. It is in search of a new place and a new identity, given the many changes that have taken place in the domestic and international contexts, particularly since the end of the Cold War. This complex process of transformation does not in itself challenge Turkey's Western orientation, but it certainly puts it to the test. It is time for the debate on Turkey's drift to be replaced by a more serious and fruitful one on the reasons why Turkey is still important for the EU and the West and what Europe and the West mean for and can offer contemporary Turkey.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kassimeris Christos

Turkey's foreign policy options: Europe, the USA or Central Asia?
in Contemporary Politics, Vol. 16, n. 3, September , 321-336

Accession to the European Union (EU) constitutes one of Turkey's primary foreign policy objectives. However, to establish whether the country would benefit from becoming part of an integrated Europe, its foreign policy alternatives to EU membership must also be examined. The first part of this article analyses Turkey's changing relations with Europe. Against this backdrop, the article then moves to assess Turkey's partnership with the USA and the potential of maintaining a close relationship independent from Europe. The role of Russia, Turkey's old neighbours and relations with the Turkic states, as well as the potential for attaining a leading role among them, are also considered. The argument is that Turkey may exploit its geostrategic position to pursue its core foreign policy interests and even assume an important regional role. However, Ankara ought to concentrate on what has long been its priority - full Turkish membership of the EU.

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Reşat Bayer; Ziya Öniş

Turkish Big Business in the Age of Democratic Consolidation: The Nature and Limits of its Influence
in South European Society & Politics, Volume 15, Issue 2, June , 181-201

This article addresses the nature and limits of the contribution of big business to democratic consolidation by focusing on the role of TÛSİAD, the major association of big business interests in Turkey, during the country's democratisation process in the 2000s. While TÛSİAD has been an important pro-democratisation actor, big business's contribution to the consolidation process is contingent on the broader institutional and political environment. The issues of secularism and EU membership prospects play an important role in Turkish politics and in understanding TÛSİAD's stance, as they have constrained its ability to act as the vanguard of democratisation reforms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Silguy Yves-Thibault

Un peu de Pedagogie sur l'Euro

in Politique internationale, n°128 - été

Europeans should take advantage of the Greek crisis to learn some useful lessons. It's not by trying to kill the euro that we will end the crisis. At most, all that would do is to stimulate speculation, trigger inflation and re-instigate devaluations (competitive or not), with painful consequences in terms of income and employment, especially for the most disadvantaged communities. That would ruin countries with the largest euro-denominated debt, and run up deficits and debts, providing opportunities for further speculation. The solution therefore depends on Europe acting in concert and with determination. This would restore Europe's credibility and enable it to rebuild its lost confidence. Periods of crisis



have always spurred advances in Europe -let's hope that the current situation will continue this tradition.

http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=128&id=923&content=synopsis

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gennusa Maria Elena

Un'eccezione alla necessaria applicazione del diritto comunitario?

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero : 2, giugno , 379-381

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Davies Gareth

Understanding Market Access: Exploring the Economic Rationality of Different Conceptions of Free Movement Law

in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 11, n. 8 , 671-704

There has been much discussion of the proper scope of the European Treaty articles on free movement. Central to this discussion has been a debate about the best concept around which to build free movement law, and in this debate "discrimination" has been opposed to "market access." It is, however, the central thesis of this paper that the opposition is largely false. In general, measures which affect all market actors equally do not, as a matter of economic fact, impede market access. The non-discriminatory measures which impede market access, which some have felt it so important to bring within the Treaty, are therefore more mythical than real. This argument is made with reference to competition law and theory concerning barriers to market entry.

A secondary thesis of this paper is that the Court of Justice appears to understand this. While its choice of language when interpreting the free movement articles is variable and sometimes inconsistent, and does not make entirely clear what it believes the scope of these articles to be, the types of measures that it has found to be outside the Treaty are those which impose an equal burden on all products and actors in the relevant market, while the types of measures which it has found to be within the Treaty are those which impose greater burdens on a selection of products or actors in the relevant market. Whether a measure is fully equal in its market effects or in some sense selective appears to be the crucial factor in categorizing it as a restriction on cross-border trade or not.

The aim of the paper is to explore the way that different kinds of market-regulating measures actually work, and develop an economically coherent categorization which can be used as a...

Full text available at:

http://www.germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No8/PDF_Vol_11_No_08_671-704_Articles_Davies%20FINAL.pdf



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Felsager Jakobsen Mads Leth

Untangling the impact of Europeanization and globalization on national utility liberalization: a systematic process analysis of two Danish reforms

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 6 2010 , 891-908

This article uses the liberalization of the Danish electricity and telecommunication sectors to examine the impact of globalization and Europeanization on institutional reforms like utility liberalizations. The reform processes in the two sectors constitute a puzzle with very similar circumstances but different processes. This makes it possible to test a hypothesis common to key theories on the impact of Europeanization and globalization, namely that the impact of external pressure increases, the stronger, more unambiguous and comprehensive the pressure is. Based on the variation in the level of external pressure between the Danish electricity and telecommunication sectors, the hypothesis is tested in a systematic process analysis. The hypothesis is supported and can account for the puzzle. The article contributes to the literature on institutional reform and liberalization by testing the direct effect of external pressure, which has received insufficient attention in the literature.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ruggeri A.

Valori e principi costituzionali degli Stati integrati d'Europa

in *Teoria del diritto e dello stato*, n. 2-3 - 2009 , 292-330

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martens Maria

Voice or Loyalty? The Evolution of the European Environment Agency (EEA)

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 881-901

This article seeks to contribute to the debate about the role and autonomy of European agencies, and it is argued that in order to capture a fuller picture of their functioning, we need to go beyond a legal framework, taking into account institutional features that involve both formal and informal processes. We also need to follow processes over time in order to avoid snapshot images and to be able to identify dynamics of institutionalization and change. The article examines the evolution of the European Environment Agency (EEA) from its inception in 1991, and analyses its gradual transformation from a legal to a living institution in the EU system. Over the years the agency has become a more loyal partner to the Commission in the European administrative system, balancing the ability to have a credible voice on the one hand and the need for stability and a secure resource supply on the other.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Méranda Frédéric, Bonneu Mathias, Faure Samuel

What do ESDP actors want? An exploratory analysis

in *European Security*, Volume 18, Number 3, September , 327-344

This paper analyzes the preferences of European defense actors vis--vis the European security and defense policy (ESDP) with a view to identifying the main ideational points of convergence and fault lines that structure this policy domain. In an exploratory analysis that relies on an original data-set compiled from systematic interviews conducted with 73 ESDP actors in France, the UK, Germany, and Brussels, we address two research questions. First, what do ESDP actors think about ESDP? Second, can we classify their preferences according to sociological factors that underpin the ESDP domain? To conceptualize the belief system of ESDP actors, we propose a typology that distinguishes (1) the social context in which ESDP actors are embedded and (2) the specific ESDP aspects about which preferences are shaped. Our results suggest that both national and occupational variables play an important role in explaining the preferences of ESDP actors.

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Pochet Philippe

What's Wrong with EU2020?

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 3 / May 2010 , 141-146

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dakowska Dorota

Whither Euroscepticism? The Uses of European Integration by Polish Conservative and Radical Parties

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 11, n. 3, September, Special Issue: 'Is Populism a Side-Effect of European Integration? Radical Parties and the Europeanization of Political Competition' , 254-272

The impact of European integration on party politics has elicited a growing research interest. A sociological approach, focused on power relations and the redistribution of political resources by actors referring to 'Europe' has recently opened new research perspectives. This article considers to what extent the use of the reference to European integration has enabled conservative and radical Polish political parties on the right - such as Law and Justice (PiS) and the League of Polish Families (LPR) - to modulate their position in relation to other parties. The uses of European references will be analysed both in the transnational and the domestic political field in order to discuss whether - and under what conditions - the critical reference to European integration may appear as a resource that enables the strengthening of the radical party leaders' discourse and visibility on the eve and in the aftermath of accession. The article argues that taking into account the domestic context, the relations between the political parties and the temporal dimension are necessary preconditions of a valid demonstration.



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Da Conceicao Eugenia

Who Controls Whom? Dynamics of Power Delegation and Agency Losses in EU Trade Politics

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48, Issue 4, September 2010 , 1107-1126

There has been considerable debate about power delegation in EU trade politics, but few studies explore the question of how and why agency losses occur. Focusing on agricultural issues in the Doha Round, this article analyses the impact of agency losses (agency shirking and agency slippage) in the process of power delegation in EU trade politics. Are agency losses the result of the delegation structure, which stimulates the agent to adopt a different position from the principals (agency slippage), or do conflict situations arise because of conflicting interests between the interests of the Member States and those of the European Commission (agency shirking)? Based on information collected from Agence Europe and interviews with European officials, the main conclusions are that: (1) the Council–Commission relationship can be conflict-laden or co-operative depending on the negotiating stage at the international level; (2) a low degree of interest alignment among Member States increases the Commission's discretion at the international level; (3) inter-institutional conflict weakens the EU negotiating position at the international level because the other WTO members know that the EU is divided and ask for further concessions.

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Caratapanis André

Zone euro et union monétaire: dix ans plus tard, un rendez-vous manqué?

in **Revue d'Economie Politique**, Volume 120, n° 2, mars-avril

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ziller Jacques

Zur Europarechtsfreundlichkeit des deutschen Bundesverfassungsgerichtes. Eine ausländische Bewertung des Urteils des Bundesverfassungsgerichtes zur Ratifikation des Vertrages von Lissabon

in **Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht**, vol. 65, issue 1 , 157-334

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Molina Ignacio

'Innovar Europa' en tiempos de tribulación

in **Política Exterior**, 136 - Julio / Agosto 2010

El balance de la presidencia española de la UE en el primer semestre de 2010 es agrídulce. Una gestión eficaz ha



permitido la exitosa puesta en marcha del Tratado de Lisboa. El difícilísimo contexto económico ha limitado, sin embargo, las altas expectativas iniciales. El lema elegido para la cuarta...

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Delimatsis Panagiotis

“Thou shall not...(dis)trust”: Codes of Conduct and Harmonization of Professional Standards in the EU in Common Market Law Review, vol. 47, issue 4 , 1049-1087

ABSTRACT: In the absence of the country of origin principle and thus quasi-automatic mutual recognition, the creation of codes of conduct (CoC) at a European level as an alternative, soft-law method of rule-making acquires new dynamics. CoC are an example of self-regulation by associations of undertakings. CoC, while voluntary, soft-law instruments, are considered as partaking in the effort to increase the ‘awareness of Europeanness’; pursue legitimate objectives that are accepted as valid at EU level; and ultimately guarantee a high level of quality commensurate with the ever-increasing expectations of the EU citizens with a view to enhancing trust among MS as to the equivalence of services and service suppliers originating in other MS. Such rules of conduct, which are typically adopted by non-state bodies (professional associations) when they exercise their legal autonomy, can hinder the intra-EU free movement of professionals. Hence, liberalization of factor mobility enshrined in primary and secondary EU law can be jeopardized by the adoption and application of such codes, which are also foreseen in the Services Directive.

This paper aims to explore the impact of CoC on further liberalizing professional services within the EU. It critically reviews the soft-law approach adopted by the EU in this area. Finally, the paper analyses the possible content of such CoC and its compatibility with EU law, notably the rules on free movement and competition.

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Dieter Classen Claus

¿Fortalecimiento legítimo del Bundestag o lecho constitucional de procrusto?: Acerca de la sentencia del Tribunal constitucional Federal sobre el Tratado de Lisboa in Teoria y realidad constitucional, n. 25 , 237-260

La sentencia del Tribunal Constitucional Federal alemán sobre el Tratado de Lisboa (Juristenzeitung 2009, 890) reivindica con razón un papel más importante de los Parlamentos nacionales en el proceso de integración europea. Ahora bien, el Tribunal Constitucional Federal tiene en mente en este sentido sobre todo la transferencia de competencias, apenas el ejercicio de las mismas. Por lo demás, la sentencia se mueve en muchos puntos en la línea de la sentencia «Maastricht », aunque aporta en todo caso numerosas precisiones (en parte plenas de sentido; en numerosas ocasiones, sin embargo, cuestionables) y ocasionalmente cautelosos desarrollos ulteriores. Al final a uno le da la impresión de que el Tribunal Constitucional Federal intenta sobre todo, frente al tinte democrático que impregna la sentencia, capturar la dinámica de la integración europea con instrumentos jurídicos, y no tanto salvaguardarla de verdad desde el punto de vista político-democrático.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

in **International Social Science Journal** , Volume 60, Issue 196, June 2009 , 235-251

Abstract

Transferring the legitimacy or illegitimacy debate away from national discourse to the supranational agenda of the European Union (EU) requires a theoretical re-invention of legitimacy so that it meets the normative standards of the ever-enlarging European polity. After providing a taxonomy of legitimacy, this article reviews scholarly attempts to devise conceptual tools that smooth its transition from the familiar state level to the uncharted supranational level.

Inter-governmentalism, federalism and multilevel governance are the theoretical postulates revisited. Evading the temptation to apply state-loaded legitimation criteria to a "polity in formation", this study opts for a multilevel model. The latter is helpful in framing the multilayered legitimacy dilemmas stemming from the expansion of the EU into new territorial units, further functional tasks and additional loci of authority.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Mole Stuart

'A Great Global Good?' Reviewing the Modern Commonwealth

in **Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 99, Issue 408, June , 321-324

The 2009 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting has inaugurated another High-level Review of the Commonwealth and an Eminent Persons Group. This article considers previous reviews and the potential and prospects of this latest one. It reports on the Round Table Centenary Conference held at Cumberland Lodge in January 2010, which was devoted to a critical study of Commonwealth institutions and processes.

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Darbouche Hakim

'Energising' EU-Algerian Relations

in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLV, n. 3, September

With Algeria still self-excluded from the ENP, unconvinced by the UfM and indeed now seriously questioning the added value of the Association Agreement, EU-Algerian relations could not be at a lower point. Interaction within the EMP has conspicuously failed to lead to a meaningful convergence of the dyad's interests, even if it has encouraged a process of familiarisation of sorts between actors on both sides. Although energy has traditionally been the area where EU-Algerian relations are strongest, reflecting their market-rooted interdependence, it remains frustratingly under-institutionalised at the bilateral level. The conclusion of a 'strategic energy partnership' could help overcome the extant sterility of EU-Algerian relations, capturing the specificity of their shared interests and focusing minds on tailored 'enhanced



bilateralism'.

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Farrell Mary

Bridging the Gap between EU, Mediterranean and Africa relations: Partnership, Governance and (Re)-evolving Relations

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 356, été, 2010 , 169-191

This article will investigate the contrasting approaches by the EU towards the Mediterranean region and towards Africa. Despite the earlier interest shown in the Mediterranean region, and the substantial declarations, statements and initiatives that followed on from the Barcelona process, fifteen years later relations between the EU and the Mediterranean appear overwhelmed in a quagmire of confusion, contradictory positions, and widespread disaffection, if not total opposition from both individual European member states and the EU. Worse still, these reactions and attitudes can be seen in the countries that have been placed in this 'Mediterranean' grouping. By contrast, the EU relations with Africa appear to have taken on a new dynamism, and in a comparatively short period of time the European Commission has delivered an impressive number of initiatives with the seemingly broad support of the respective member states. This flurry of activity in regard to policies and instruments directed at the African continent has to be considered against the increased (and sometimes very vocal) criticism levelled at the European authorities during the Economic Partnership Agreement negotiations, and a wave of opposition that united the African and European political and interest groups. [...]

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Belokurova Elena

Civil Society Discourses in Russia: The Influence of the European Union and the Role of EU-Russia Cooperation

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 5 / September , 457-474

This article focuses on the development of Russian discourses of civil society in academic and political contexts since 1991. In this discussion, the influence of changing Russian discourses and understandings of state-society relationships on the development of voluntary organizations (civil society organizations or CSOs) will be analysed. As this article demonstrates, the direct influence of the European Union and other international actors on Russian civil society has waned with the strengthening of Russian policies of nation-building and consolidation but remains a powerful background force. However, this study also provides evidence for more subtle forms of 'Europeanization' of civil society agendas, primarily through, but not limited to, pragmatic cooperation with EU partners. The most important area where this has taken place is in the definition of social agendas which have been neglected in Russia's post-Soviet transformation.

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Scott James Wesley, Liikanen Ilkka

Civil Society and the 'Neighbourhood' — Europeanization through Cross-Border Cooperation?

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 5 / September , 423-438

This collaborative study pursues a dual objective. On the one hand, it focuses on the actual and potential roles of civil society in developing new forms of political, economic and socio-cultural cooperation within the emerging 'European Neighbourhood'. On the other hand, through this investigation of civil society networks it contributes to the 'Europeanization' debate with regard to the influence of the EU in civil society development in neighbouring states and on cross-border civil society interaction within the neighbourhood context. This will include a comparative analysis of perceptions of the EU and its role in empowering civil society as related by civil society actors. The rationale for this collection of essays is thus defined by the transformation of political relationships between the 27-member European Union and countries in its immediate vicinity. Based on research funded by the European Union's 6th Framework Programme, the authors will perform this investigation by analysing cooperation processes, the multi-level contexts within which they operate and, perhaps most importantly, the role of the EU in conditioning civil society relationships within the Neighbourhood.

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Khumalo Nkululeko, Muleta Fantu

Economic partnership agreements: African-EU negotiations continue

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 17, n. 2, august , 209-220

ABSTRACT: When they were first proposed by the European Commission to the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries — all signatories to the Lome and Cotonou agreements which provided them with preferential access to the European market — economic partnership agreements were presented as supporting regional integration and development. However, most African states regarded economic partnership agreements with suspicion, fearing that the agreements would limit their market access and their policy space. Progress on negotiations has been slow, and more than two years after they were supposed to have been concluded there are still a number of outstanding issues that the individual African regions and the European Commission have to resolve. This paper explores some of the difficulties and the progress made thus far, and proposes some measure that would address the concerns around development and regional integration in the context of the challenges posed by the global financial crisis.

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Parthasarathy G.

Emerging Trends in India–US Relations

in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 65, n°4 , 373-381

Of late the relationship with the United States has become India's most important bilateral relationship. Bilateral trade may have remained small due to India's own huge domestic market in other respects economic relations are growing fast. Bilateral investment ties have grown substantially. Institutional mechanisms involving the private sectors in both countries are active in promoting cooperation in high technology, defence procurement and production, agriculture, health and energy. Much more, however, needs to be done to expedite procedures for clearances for high-tech exports



from the US. India, in turn, is conscious of the fact that it needs to take a number of steps to take if it is to foster cooperation with the US in higher education. It also needs to be recognised that on issues like the Doha Round and Climate Change, much work needs to be done to bridge differences, though one can derive satisfaction from the fact that it was the agreement reached between President Obama and leaders of the 'BASIC' grouping that prevented a total breakdown of the Copenhagen Summit. This agreement largely reflected the understanding reached when Dr. Manmohan Singh visited Washington.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Youngs Richard, Echague Ana

Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Need for Triangulation

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 3, September

European Union policy towards the Middle East and North Africa suffers from geographic fragmentation and an increasing functional imbalance which reflects a growing trend towards securitisation. While policy towards the Mediterranean is highly institutionalised, the Gulf Cooperation Council states receive much less attention and policies towards Iran, Iraq and the occupied Palestinian territories exist in isolation. A narrow focus on an exclusionist approach to security has taken over to the detriment of political and economic concerns. The shortcomings in European foreign policy towards the broader Middle East in terms of lack of breadth and coherence need to be addressed in order to forge a more cohesive and effective policy.

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Song Xinning

European 'models' and their implications to China: internal and external perspectives

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 3, July , 755-775

European Studies in China developed very rapidly in the last twenty years. The reasons for that are not only because of the smooth evolution of EU-China relations and wider and deeper economic interdependence between two economic giants, but also the relevance of the European models to China's domestic political and social development, as well as China's external relations. The article reviews the evolution of the European Studies in China and finds out that more and more research on European affairs relates to China's internal and external development. Two major aspects of the learning process are exploited further. Firstly, European models for China's domestic political and social development, including European party politics and Democratic Socialism, European social policy and social security systems, and European regional policies. Secondly, European models for China's foreign policy and external relations, including European neighbourhood policy, European concept of effective multilateralism, Europe as an example of peaceful rise, and functionalism as the way to East Asian regional integration. The EU or Europe has higher profile in China than any other Asia Pacific country. From the domestic political and social development and China's preference in international affairs we can see the silhouette of the European models. Chinese would like to learn more from Europe than the United States. It also shows clearly that the role of the EU as a social power.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Schneider Moritz

Europeanization beyond the EU: The Dynamics of Europeanization in the Southern Mediterranean Partner States

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 356, été, 2010 , 125-137

Enlargement policy has been the EU's most effective instrument when it comes to exporting European institutions, values and standards to neighbouring countries. With growing consensus that the Union's enlargement process has almost reached its natural geographical borders, this method of Europeanization is today limited. Yet, even without the incentive of a concrete membership offer, the EU enjoys several bilateral and multilateral policy frameworks to spread its values and institutions beyond the European territory. This is the neglected external dimension of Europeanization, based on the diffusion of governance institutions, norms and identities, and could allow the Union to exert considerable influence in regional and international politics. In its relationship with the Southern Mediterranean states, the Union seeks to export its principles, normative standards and even its sui generis model of regional integration abroad. A multilateral framework supports the adoption of European patterns in the region and promotes purposeful changes to the regional institutional setting. The EU-27 not only boasts stable, prosperous institutional structures, the European project is the most successful example of regional integration in the world and its unique model of organization and governance could provide attractive solutions for the Mediterranean region [...]

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Flassbeck Heiner, Mühlich Laurissa

Gehört der regionalen Währungs Kooperation die Zukunft? Neue regionale Finanzregime als Antwort auf weltweite Ungleichgewichte

in Vereinte Nationen, vol. 58, issue 3 , 110-225

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Abhyankar Rajendra M.

India and the European Union: A Partnership for All Reasons

in India Quarterly, Vol. 65, n°4 , 393-404,

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Torre Servando de la

Iniciativas conjuntas en el mar Negro y el Mediterráneo

in *Política Exterior*, 136 - Julio / Agosto 2010

Los países ribereños del Mediterráneo y del mar Negro forman dos áreas prioritarias para la seguridad de la UE y sus suministros energéticos. Turquía será el centro de cualquier marco de cooperación. Recuerda el profesor Mustafa Aydin que el mar Negro puede considerarse como “agua corazón”.

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Basile Elena

L'OSCE e il futuro della sicurezza in Europa: profili del processo di riconfigurazione strategica degli equilibri internazionali

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXV, n. 1, primo trimestre , 55-70

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Rodríguez Benot Andrés

La Unión Europea y el Mediterráneo: ¿Hacia un marco jurídico transnacional para las relaciones familiares?

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 19/ 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gianniu Maria

La coopération euro-méditerranéenne et le processus de paix israélo-palestinien : une relation chronique et interdépendante

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 356, été, 2010 , 207-223

Quinze années après la déclaration de Barcelone et la mise en place du processus euro-méditerranéen, une chose est sûre : l'initiative européenne n'a pas engendré les résultats désirés. L'objectif principal du partenariat euro-méditerranéen était, et reste aujourd'hui, de faire du bassin méditerranéen une zone de dialogue, d'échange et de coopération garantissant la paix, la stabilité et le bien-être dans le respect de la démocratie et des droits de l'homme. Ces stipulations pompeuses et ambitieuses restent aujourd'hui, malheureusement, lettre morte. Certes, plusieurs projets de coopération ont vu le jour aux alentours du bassin méditerranéen, mais la région est loin d'être transformée en un espace de stabilité et de prospérité, voire de paix. En fait, «toutes les ambitions exprimées à Barcelone en 1995 ont été continuellement revues à la baisse».[...]



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Blázquez Rodríguez Irene

La dimensión mediterránea del Espacio de libertad, seguridad y justicia. Del Proceso de Barcelona a la Unión Europea por el Mediterráneo

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 19/ 2010

Nowadays Justice and Home Affairs are considered a basic sphere of action in the context of the Euromediterranean Partnership. As a part of the bigining the European Neighbourhood Policy have been appeared a real mediterranean dimension of Space of Freedom, Security and Justice. On the one hand, due to the Action Plans agreed between the EU and each partner on subject as immigration, crossbordermanagement and, judicial and police cooperation. And the other one, as a result of action on bilateral level, like that already existing between Kingdom of Spain and Kingdom of Marocco, as a key item towards an efficient cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Parlar Dal Emel

Le paradoxe méditerranéen de la Turquie «La Turquie pour la Méditerranée», de l'indifférence à l'ambiguïté in Europe en formation (L'), n. 356, été, 2010 , 87-108

Malgré l'histoire et la géographie montrant que la Turquie semble bien rattachée à l'espace méditerranéen, la Méditerranée reste toujours comme une vague conception dans la géopolitique imaginaire turque. Les constats de l'historien turc, Edhem Eldem prouvent également à quel point le concept de la Méditerranée est absent dans la conscience géographique, historique et culturelle des Turcs [...]. Malgré l'absence de la Méditerranée dans la conscience historique, culturelle géographique des Turcs, ceux-ci ont pris place, dès son lancement en 1995 dans le processus de Barcelone ou Partenariat euro-méditerranéen (PEM) qui avait pour objectif de créer un ensemble régional intégré auquel participeraient tous les pays membres de l'UE et les pays partenaires méditerranéens (PPM) en y instaurant une «zone euro-méditerranéenne de paix, de stabilité et de sécurité». Treize ans après son lancement en 1995, le PEM qui comportait une certaine ambiguïté vis-à-vis de ses objectifs et des résultats obtenus, a été absorbé le 13 mars 2008 par une nouvelle initiative européenne nommée «Processus de Barcelone: Union pour la Méditerranée» ou «Barcelone plus». La Turquie, pays d'exception du PEM parmi les douze autres PPM, qui est le seul candidat à l'Union européenne (UE), a longtemps considéré le PEM comme un «processus suspect» voué à la distraire de son cheminement vers l'Europe. Réticente au lancement par l'UE d'une politique méditerranéenne à part entière aussi ambitieuse que celle du PEM, la Turquie a pris sa place dans cette initiative qu'elle a considérée au départ comme un dialogue euro-arabe davantage qu'un dialogue euro-méditerranéen [...]

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation



Núñez Jesús A.

Mediterráneo: el viaje a ninguna parte de la UE

in *Política Exterior*, 136 - Julio / Agosto 2010

El mantenimiento del statu quo no puede ser el único logro de las iniciativas de la UE hacia los países del sur del Mediterráneo. De nada sirve contar con un canal de diálogo si los europeos no lo utilizan para promover reformas que beneficien a los ciudadanos. Según la vara de medir que se utilice,...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Voss Matthieu

Mind the gap! Assessing the Implementation of the EU-Tunisian Action Plan in the Field of Political Cooperation in Europe en formation (L'), n. 356, été, 2010 , 139-152

The Barcelona Process started with the ambiguous vision to offer a broad framework for cooperation between the EU and its surrounding neighbours. In 2003 there has been a change to closer cooperation, uplifting the relation from partnership to friendship. This new policy aims to establish a "ring of friends" in order to stabilize the EU's borders. Main implementation instruments of this so-called European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) have been the so-called Action Plans. These plans have been agreed bilaterally between the EU and a number of neighbouring states since 2004 with an innovative new design tailored to the speed/ability of the partner countries' transition level. This strategic change from the "one size fits all" approach, aimed to build up the possibility of external influence on domestic political reform issues. According to these Action plans, the EU offers partner countries sizeable assistance, aimed to align local-governance rules with EU legislation. They further intend to assist the implementation of commitments under contractual agreements. Therefore they are bringing huge increases in political aid to countries such as Morocco or Tunisia marking – according to the EU – a mainstreaming in democracy work.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Sagan Iwona

Post-Socialist Transformation, European Neighbourhood and Civil Society Networks between Poland, Russia and Ukraine: a Case of Multi-level Contingency

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 5 / September , 439-456

Does the EU, either through its policies or a more indirect influence on cross-border cooperation, provide an opportunity structure for promoting civil society networks within Central and Eastern European contexts of organizational and institutional asymmetry? Evidence from Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Russian (Kaliningrad) civil society cooperation suggests that the EU plays a vital role here in mediating between very different socio-political relations and providing resources for inter-state cooperation. However, the EU's more specific role as a promoter of civil society-based cross-border cooperation is less clear. As concrete EU (as well as national) assistance is limited, the onus lies with civil society actors themselves who, by and large, create de-politicized and pragmatic environments for cooperation. In concluding, the claim is made that the EU is missing valuable opportunities to promote communities of values and shared political agendas. By privileging traditional realist politics of 'interest' and neglecting the role of civil society and



cross-border cooperation, the EU, at its peril, is excluding social forces necessary for multi-level and multi-faceted regional partnerships.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Busse Matthias

Revisiting the ACP-EU economic partnership agreements — The role of complementary trade and investment policies

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 4 / July 2010 , 249-254

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Andersen Walter K.

Reviving the Momentum in US Engagement with India: An American Perspective

in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 66, n°1 , 13-33

Indo-US relations have undergone a dramatic transformation over the past decade, and the positive change is likely to be long-lasting. The Obama administration benefits from the strong underlying momentum behind recently improved bilateral relations. While important long-standing differences exist, such as Iran, Pakistan, and nuclear proliferation, these factors are unlikely to destabilize the relationship seriously, as there are important strategic interests that sustain it, as well as strong incentives on both sides to advance the well being of the global commons in space, the oceans, and technology. The Obama administration, however, has not yet been able to sustain the relationship with India at the level achieved under the previous Bush administration. So far, it has yet to come up with a positive emblematic centrepiece comparable to the civil nuclear deal pushed by the Bush administration. In large part, this is due to the greater focus now on terrorism rooted in Afghanistan and Pakistan, where India plays a relatively minor role whereas the Bush administration's concentrated on India's role as a balancing power in Asia. The challenge of the Obama and Manmohan Singh administrations is to come up with a big idea that prompts both sides to invest the political capital to reset the relationship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Vines Alex

Rhetoric from Brussels and reality on the ground: the EU and security in Africa

in *International Affairs* , vol. 86, issue 5, september , 1091-1108

ABSTRACT: This article overviews the development of African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) to date and examines EU involvement in this. The European Union is the major financial partner in both military and non-military assistance to the African Union (AU). Europe has shifted from being a major UN troop contributor towards the funding of



African-led peace operations, as well as the emergence of time-limited, high-impact, missions. With the exception of Somalia, these ESDP operations have provided little direct security benefit to Europe and their success has been limited. They have provided experimentation opportunities of ESDP capabilities in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad and Guinea Bissau. Events in the eastern Congo in late 2008 demonstrate that the EU needs to consider carefully when it intervenes militarily in Africa: non-intervention and coordinated bilateral diplomatic efforts by EU member states can be more effective.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Rodrigues Diego de Freitas

South-South horizontal cooperation: arrangements for policy consultation between India, Brazil and South Africa

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.53 - No.1/2010 , 45-66

This research seeks to examine the policy performance of international concertation of India, Brazil and South Africa based on the behavior of the countries' foreign policies related. The hypothesis is that an efficient political performance between Intermediate States depends on external political assertions and aligned in the search for achieving the preferences (institutional goals) of their agreement, designed here for evaluation as part of international institutions like the United Nations and the World Trade Organization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Comelli Michele

Sub-regional Cooperation around the Mediterranean and the Role of the EU

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, volume 15, issue 3 , 385-401

ABSTRACT: More than other seas, the Mediterranean has played not only a uniting role, acting as a bridge between different regions (Europe, Africa, and the Middle East), but also an important role in competition and division. Its geographical definition is not unchallenged, nor is its political definition, and the Mediterranean has therefore been defined by some scholars as a region connecting other regions rather than as a region per se. However, it is also considered an ensemble of different sub-regional spaces. This article argues that the many heterogeneous elements as well as the different political and economic systems and the different perceptions of security between the two shores of the Mediterranean are obstacles to the emergence of a homogeneous and organized regional space. Nevertheless, the idea of a common Mediterranean space has a normative value that could be used as a political catalyst for cooperation in the area. Numerous sub-regional cooperation initiatives have been launched in the Mediterranean basin, with mixed results. The European Union (EU) has tried to trigger cooperation both indirectly by supporting sub-regional initiatives, especially in the economic field, and directly, through the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), which was merged with the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) following the Paris Summit in July 2008. Indeed, EU-led cooperation in the Mediterranean represents the most important and comprehensive form of cooperation in the area, even though the latest developments of the UfM are not encouraging.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kukushev Rosen

The Barcelona Process as seen through British Eyes between 1995 and 2005
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 356, été, 2010, 71-85

The main purpose of this paper is to deal with the British attitude towards the Euro-Mediterranean partnership in light of the EU's efforts over a ten-year period to promote security, prosperity and peace in the Middle East and Mediterranean area, on the basis of respect for the rule of law, democracy and human rights. Great Britain's foreign policy, balancing as it does the country's position within the EU with a focus on common interests with the United States, has been particularly interesting and challenging for Middle East researchers. This paper will examine four main aspects of Britain's position in the Middle East and the Mediterranean area, demonstrating that the dominant factor in both EU-related interregional initiatives and bilateral ties is the country's struggle to include a new strategic dimension in its foreign policy. The account of British interests outlined below shows how a former European colonial empire attempted to redefine its vital political and economical interests in co-operation with its European allies and in the wake of the dominance or failures of the United States in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Another important aspect of Britain's position is that it wavers between the United States' security-driven unilateral geopolitics and Europe's multilateral diplomatic concerns. In this context, the United Kingdom's presidencies of the EU in early 1998 and in the second half of 2005 are assessed here as vital steps forward, that however fail to go far enough on the road to the emergence of a new transatlantic approach to the Middle East and the Mediterranean region. Last but not least, behind this complex regional dynamics, London's interests in bilateral relations with the Middle East and Mediterranean states might produce missing strategic links between Euro-Mediterranean partnership and unilateral efforts to reinvigorate the Arab-Israeli peace process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bernal Richard L.

The Dragon in the Caribbean: China-CARICOM Economic Relations

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 99, Issue 408, June, 281-302

In recent years the People's Republic of China (China) has expanded its economic relations with CARICOM (the member states of CARICOM are Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago). This is evident in the increase in trade and development assistance. The objective of this article is to explain the expanded and intensified economic presence of China in the CARICOM region. In order to accomplish this it is necessary to identify the motives for China's conduct in the region and the factors that account for the receptivity of CARICOM to economic relations with China. Although the focus is primarily on the economic relationship between China and the CARICOM countries, this aspect of China's involvement in the region cannot be separated from the political dimension. China's motives for a growing presence in the region are both economic and political and have to be examined in the wider context of China's overall foreign policy, its shifting world view, its superpower status and the geo-politics of the current global conjuncture. Similarly, CARICOM's conduct has to be located in the wider context of its overall foreign policy. The first section outlines the history and current status of China-CARICOM relations. This is followed by an exposition of the extent and increase in economic interaction between China and CARICOM. The third section provides an examination of China's motives for the conduct of its foreign policy in the CARICOM countries. These motives are partly influenced



by economics and partly by politics and hence have to be understood in the global geo-political context. A fourth section is devoted to explaining CARICOM's receptivity to increased economic relations with China. The final section provides a brief outlook for China-CARICOM economic relations.

Keywords: China; CARICOM; China-Caribbean Business Council; economic assistance; foreign aid; Caribbean Development Bank; direct foreign investment; 'Chinese Century'; CARIFORUM-EU Economic Partnership Agreement; debt sustainability; World Trade Organisation

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Jünemann Annette, Maggi Eva-Maria

The End of External Democracy Promotion? The Logics of Action in Building the Union for the Mediterranean in Europe en formation (L'), n. 356, été, 2010, 109-124

This paper presents first results of a broader research project on processes of interaction within Euro-Med relations. Whereas the research project covers interactions between a very broad realm of governmental and nongovernmental, national, international and transnational actors, this paper focuses on the EU as an international actor and its interaction with governments of Mediterranean Partner Countries (MPC). This paper is on the logics of action that determine recent reforms in Euro-Med relations, initiated by the EU. The starting point is the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) and its new institutional design. The former Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) was relaunched in July 2008 as the UfM at the Paris-Summit for the Mediterranean. According to the European Commission, this relaunching aimed to infuse a new vitality into the Partnership and to raise the political level of the strategic relationship between the EU and its southern neighbours. Some of the most important innovations of the UfM include the rotating co-presidency with one EU president and one president representing the Mediterranean partners, and a Secretariat based in Barcelona that is responsible for identifying and promoting projects across different sectors. The UfM has identified six priority projects which are rather functional in nature such as [...]

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De Ville Ferdi, Reynaert Vicky

The Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area: an Evaluation on the Eve of the (Missed) Deadline in Europe en formation (L'), n. 356, été, 2010, 193-206

The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), nowadays known as 'the Union for the Mediterranean' (UfM), celebrates this year its fifteenth anniversary. Following the geopolitical turbulence of the fall of the iron curtain, the EMP was created in 1995 to enhance the relations between the European Union (EU) and the Mediterranean Non-Community Countries (MNCs). It consists of three baskets: a political and security partnership, an economic and financial partnership and a partnership in social, human and cultural affairs. The overall objective of the economic and financial partnership is the creation of an 'area of shared prosperity' through 'the stimulation of the socio-economic development of the MNCs, the improvement of the living conditions of Mediterranean people and through regional integration and cooperation'. With this aim, both the EU and the Mediterranean partners agreed to establish a comprehensive and deep Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area (EMFTA) by 2010.[...]



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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Paciello Maria Cristina

**The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Euro-Mediterranean Relations
in International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLV, n. 3, September

The ongoing global financial and economic crisis, which initially emerged in North America and Europe, has increasingly spread to emerging and developing countries, including the Southern Mediterranean. The global economic crisis could pose, and is posing, a number of challenges to Euro-Mediterranean relations. On the political front, it has contributed to further undermining the political reform agenda included in the Barcelona Process and the European Neighbourhood Policy. On the economic front, the crisis is jeopardising trade integration in the Euro-Mediterranean area and could slow down the pace of economic reforms supported by the European Union in Southern Mediterranean countries.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Renuka Mahadevan, John Asafu-Adjaye

**The Implications Of European Union Sugar Price Cuts, Economic Partnership Agreement, And Development Aid For Fiji
in Contemporary Economic Policy**, Volume 28 Issue 1 , 52 - 64

The objective of this paper is to use a set of varied scenarios related to the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) and the loss of European Union (EU) sugar preferences (in the form of partial and full price liberalization) in combination with the recently committed EU development aid to examine the impact on Fiji using a dynamic computable general equilibrium model. It is shown that without aid, the loss of sugar preferences has devastating impact on real output, exports, rural employment, and other macroeconomic indicators. Without aid, the EPA scenarios, on the other hand, lead to some growth in real output but depress rural employment and non-sugar agricultural exports. Although improvements are observed across the scenarios with aid, it is argued that aid would be more effective if it directly addresses the supply-side constraints in Fiji instead of focusing on the sugar sector.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Xuetong Yan

The Instability of China–US Relations

in Chinese Journal of International Politics (The), Volume 3 Issue 3 Autumn , 263-292

China and the United States signed a joint statement during US President Barack Obama's four-day state visit to China in November 2009 in which President Obama and Chinese President Hu Jintao, 'reached agreement to advance China–US relations in the new era'. These relations, however, soured after successive fallings-out over US trade sanctions on Chinese seamless steel tubes, Secretary of State Hilary Clinton's criticism of China's internet freedom, US arms sales to Taiwan, and Obama's meeting with the Dalai Lama in the White House—that began only one month after



Obama's visit and carried on through to February 2010. Just as political commentators began to understand the reasons for this 180-degree shift over such a short period they were taken back afresh on April 2 when the relationship made a rapid recovery, evident in the hour-long telephone conversation that day between President Hu and President Obama on cooperation. Few appeared to have noticed that sudden deteriorations followed by rapid recoveries have been the norm in China–US relations since the 1990s. This article explains the enduring phenomenon using a theory of superficial friendship—namely the policy of pretending to be friends.

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Holslagm J.

The Strategic Dissonance Between Europe and China

in Chinese Journal of International Politics (The), Volume 3 Issue 3 Autumn

Relations between China and the European Union (EU) are in a profound state of transition. As one China-specialist observed, 'The breadth and depth of Europe-China relations are impressive, and the global importance of the relationship ranks it as an emerging axis in world affairs.'¹ A former European Commissioner declared in the same vein, 'We all have to become China-experts.' Premier Wen Jiabao called the Sino–European partnership 'mature, balanced and determined', citing its economic complementarity as solid evidence of further growth. This article evaluates the evolving China–EU relationship and tests its potential to develop into a strategic axis in world affairs. The next section presents a concise historical account of EU–China relations and discusses the drivers that generate expectations of a strategic partnership. The third section elaborates on Europe's conditional engagement and how it has tried to socialize China with its own norms. Finally, the article takes stock of the extent of convergence with regard to the norms that underpin international politics.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Tasche Thérèse Carolin

The project of a Union for the Mediterranean – Pursuing French Objectives through the Instrumentalisation of the Mare Nostrum

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 356, été, 2010 , 53-70

This article discusses the evolution of the French project for a Union for the Mediterranean. It aims to demonstrate that the initiative seized by Sarkozy at the beginning of his administration took a key position, reflecting changes in the approaches taken by French domestic and foreign policy with the ultimate goal to pursue national objectives in the European and international environment. Recalling the years of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership since 1995, the poor overall performance of the cooperation had brought about growing dissatisfaction amongst all partners. The following discourse will show that disillusionment with the Barcelona Process undeniably accounts for the resurgence of France's individual engagement in the Mediterranean in the first instance. However, it casts a doubt whether this was the sole motivating factor. Following the logic of Sarkozy's electoral campaign, various aspirations linked to domestic and foreign policy will come to light. Analysis thus centres on the assessment of France's national interests and shifted preferences under the newly elected French government and examines in detail several core constituents of French politics: the traditional sphere of influence, the country's positioning within the European and international community as well as the matter of 'securitisation'. Irrespective of the about-turn the French project has experienced over time, the



question remains whether France had managed to benefit from its own initiative with hindsight or whether the Mediterranean focus has lost its momentum and policy preferences got redirected once more for the sake of pursuing the country's national objectives.

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Pietrantonio Silvia

The year that never was: 1973 and the crisis between the United States and the European Community
in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , vol. 8, n. 2, June , 158-177

Abstract

In order to revitalise the neglected transatlantic ties, the Nixon administration unilaterally deliberated that 1973 was to be the 'Year of Europe'. However, 1973 did not end with the solemn renewal of the Atlantic Declaration that Kissinger had sought. On the contrary, this initiative prompted the countries of the recently enlarged EEC to engage in the first attempt to take a unitary foreign policy stance and highlighted the Nixon administration's contradictions regarding the European integration project. These contradictions, in addition to the numerous tensions that already strained transatlantic relations, gave birth to a downward spiral of incomprehension and misperceptions, seriously worsened by the unexpected deflagration of the October War. However, even though the tensions did not disappear, the European common front soon started to disintegrate, mainly under the strains imposed by the oil crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pietrantonio Silvia

The year that never was: 1973 and the crisis between the United States and the European Community
in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , vol. 8, n. 2, June , 158-177

In order to revitalise the neglected transatlantic ties, the Nixon administration unilaterally deliberated that 1973 was to be the 'Year of Europe'. However, 1973 did not end with the solemn renewal of the Atlantic Declaration that Kissinger had sought. On the contrary, this initiative prompted the countries of the recently enlarged EEC to engage in the first attempt to take a unitary foreign policy stance and highlighted the Nixon administration's contradictions regarding the European integration project. These contradictions, in addition to the numerous tensions that already strained transatlantic relations, gave birth to a downward spiral of incomprehension and misperceptions, seriously worsened by the unexpected deflagration of the October War. However, even though the tensions did not disappear, the European common front soon started to disintegrate, mainly under the strains imposed by the oil crisis.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Power Marcus, Mohan Giles

Towards a Critical Geopolitics of China's Engagement with African Development
in *Governance*, Vol. 23, n. 3, July , 462-495



China, in its quest for a closer strategic partnership with Africa, has increasingly dynamic economic, political and diplomatic activities on the continent. Chinese leaders and strategists believe that China's historical experience and vision of economic development resonates powerfully with African counterparts and that the long-standing history of friendly political linkages and development co-operation offers a durable foundation for future partnership. Both in China and amongst some Western commentators a form of exceptionalism and generalisation regarding both China and Africa has been emerging. In this article instead we seek to develop theoretical tools for examining China as a geopolitical and geoeconomic actor that is both different and similar to other industrial powers intervening in Africa. This is premised on a political economy approach that ties together material interests with a deconstruction of the discursive or 'extra-economic' ways by which Chinese capitalism internationalises. From there we use this framework to analyse contemporary Chinese engagement in Africa. We examine the changing historical position of Africa within Beijing's foreign policy strategy and China's vision of the evolving international political system, looking in particular at China's bilateral and state-centric approach to working with African 'partners'. Chinese practice is uncomfortable and unfamiliar with the notion of 'development' as an independent policy field of the kind that emerged among Western nations in the course of the 1950s and increasingly China has come to be viewed as a 'rogue creditor' and a threat to the international aid industry. Rather than highlighting one strand of Chinese relations with African states (such as aid or governance) we propose here that it is necessary to critically reflect on the wider geopolitics of China-Africa relations (past and present) in order to understand how China is opening up new 'choices' and altering the playing field for African development for the first time since the neo-liberal turn of the 1980s.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pawlak Patryk

Transatlantic homeland security cooperation: the promise of new modes of governance in global affairs
in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , vol. 8, n. 2, June , 139-157

This article investigates the development of transatlantic cooperation on homeland security. It analyses the extent to which existing forms of cooperation between states were suitable to deal with new security challenges as exemplified by the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks and investigates what solutions were elaborated to address potential handicaps. It demonstrates how existing legal and political instruments limited the effective international cooperation in the field of homeland security (i.e. flexibility, adjustability and speed of action). This led to adjustments and emergence of new modes of governance in three realms: policy; polity; and politics. Three policy areas inform the conclusions reached in this article: data protection; container security; and mutual legal assistance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Alisa DiCaprio

US Free Trade Agreements and Policy Flexibility: Will New Rules Hinder Industrialisation?
in *Development Policy Review* , Volume 28, Issue 4 , 387-410,

Free trade agreements have become a central feature of many developing countries' growth strategies, encouraged by an evaluation literature that quantifies their positive impact on trade. However, trade gains come at the cost of policy space, particularly when the partner is a developed country, and though this cost has been acknowledged, its impact



has not been explored. This article seeks to address this oversight by detailing changes to the domestic policy environment from the participation of a developing country in a US-anchored FTA and evaluating whether the resulting policy regime is flexible enough to enable a developmental government to pursue activities associated with industrialisation.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Roett Riordan

US–Latin American Relations: A Tour d’Horizon, Mid-2010

in *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, Heft 3, 2010 , 92-101

ABSTRACT: Haiti, Guantanamo, and Obama’s presence at the Summit of the Americas are on the plus side, while Honduras, the drug issue, trade, and sanctions against Iran are on the minus side of hemispheric relations. The US must come to terms with Latin America’s new self-assertiveness and independence in international politics.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Echeverría Jesús Carlos

Vicisitudes de la cooperación Euro-Mediterránea hoy

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 19/ 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Panbianco Stefania

Volatile Regionalism in the Mediterranean Area

in *Europe en formation (L’)*, n. 356, été, 2010 , 153-167

This paper suggests an analytical framework to understand Euro-Mediterranean relations at the dawn of the XXIst century. This analysis can be useful to illustrate the possible scenarios resulting from current Euro-Mediterranean cooperation and the outcomes of the EU’s Mediterranean Policy (in particular the Union for the Mediterranean, UfM, which replaced the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, EMP, launched in 1995). The basic assumption here is that Euro-Mediterranean relations are much more unstable nowadays than in the 1990s, when the Mediterranean area was described by experts as a region moving towards increasing cooperation. Several factors – like the global financial crisis, persisting economic imbalance, ongoing territorial disputes, new security threats (such as piracy), and cultural disputes such as the ‘Cartoon crisis’ – contributed to weaken, and even block, region-building processes. [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 1.Federalism

Robinson Daniel N.

Do the people of the United States form a nation? James Wilson's theory of rights
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 8, issue 2 , 287-297

There is widespread recognition of the pivotal contributions James Wilson made to the constitutional jurisprudence of the United States. Controversy continues, however, over the question of the grounding of Wilson's own jurisprudence. Some contend that he provides no consistent argument by which to derive natural rights from natural law; that his frequent references to divine sources are pro forma; that his opposition to a bill of rights for the new republic is at variance with claims he made in behalf of the plaintiff in the landmark *Chisholm v. Georgia*. An examination of Wilson's reasoning in that case, coupled with his law lectures and speeches in the Pennsylvania Ratifying Convention, establishes important distinctions between his conception of natural rights and the authoritative arguments of Grotius and Pufendorf that he cites. Moreover, rather than a refinement or derivation of precepts from venerable English sources, specifically "Magna Charta", the U. S. Constitution is understood by Wilson as the means by which a people defend themselves against the very implications drawn from such sources. The difficult task faced in *Chisholm* is that of retaining the sovereignty of the person while establishing the authority of a centralized government. It will be seen that, in approaching this task, Wilson's principal conceptual resources are Reidian and especially well suited to a new world suspicious of theories aloof to lived life

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Cagiano de Azevedo Raimondo, Heim Marc

Fédéralisme européen et politiques sociales

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 355, printemps, 2010 , 53-63

L'absence de dimension sociale dans le projet européen est, peut-être, à l'origine du retard avec lequel l'Europe s'approche, dans son processus d'intégration et d'union, de la Fédération européenne. Tout le processus de la construction européenne est très clairement d'inspiration libérale. L'échec des expériences communistes a même eu comme effet de renforcer cette tendance. L'hypothèse sous-jacente de ce modèle est que le social ne relève pas de l'économie. Il peut y avoir des retombées sociales favorables de l'activité économique. Et dans le cas de conséquences trop négatives, l'on envisagera des mesures sociales correctives, mais toujours, en quelque sorte, en marge de la logique économique, qui reste seule déterminante. L'économie a ainsi été privée d'une dimension – la dimension sociale – qui lui est tout à fait propre. Avec cette élimination – plus académique que politique – les véritables politiques économiques et sociales n'ont plus pu être orientées par un projet global. [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Favaretto Tito

Le débat sur démocratie et participation, et le projet de la Charte fédéraliste

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 355, printemps, 2010 , 65-85

Le développement rapide de la technologie et de l'industrie au xx e siècle et ses effets contradictoires sur l'évolution de la société, ont représenté et représentent encore aujourd'hui l'un de principaux thèmes de l'analyse et du débat



politiques. Alors que sur la base de l'analyse marxiste, on essayait de réaliser un système communiste, le système libéral-démocratique ne manquait pas de critiques. Ceux qui l'analysaient mettaient en lumière ses insuffisances croissantes à réaliser une vraie démocratie, déterminées par les transformations profondes liées à la société industrielle. Ils critiquaient et refusaient la solution communiste mais considéraient que le système libéral-démocratique, conditionné par l'influence de nouveaux centres incontrôlés de pouvoir et de pression, était de moins en moins en condition de permettre au citoyen une pleine et entière expression de liberté et de participation aux décisions. Comme nous le verrons par la suite, cette approche critique a suivi plusieurs courants d'analyse politique, économique et sociale, mais elle a rarement donné lieu à l'ébauche de projets organiques d'une nouvelle société où, avec le dépassement de la société libéral-démocratique, on offrirait à l'homme les instruments lui permettant d'exercer entièrement sa liberté. Parmi les rares tentatives dans ce sens il y a le courant de pensée du «fédéralisme intégral», dont Alexandre Marc peut être considéré le représentant majeur et que nous allons ici évoquer. [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Constantinesco Vlad

Le fédéralisme : d'un anti-étatisme à un a-étatisme ?

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 355, printemps, 2010, 41-52

Ce titre, un peu cryptique peut-être, mérite quelques explications. Dans la doxa fédéraliste, l'État - «le plus froid des monstres froids» - est une cible privilégiée : c'est un lieu commun de dire que le fédéralisme est un anti-étatisme. Mais l'État fédéral, lui, demeure bien un État. À partir de ce point de départ, quelque peu contradictoire, cet article essaye d'explorer le contenu et le sens d'une forme politique autre que l'État fédéral, un non-État ou un a-État : la Fédération. Davantage qu'un anti-étatisme, le fédéralisme ne serait-il pas un a-étatisme? Je présente ces réflexions, un peu désordonnées, afin d'essayer de répondre à cette question, et éprouver certaines des hypothèses sur lesquelles repose le fédéralisme d'Alexandre Marc, notamment dans le champ politique. Le sujet est complexe [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Visone Tommaso

Principio di sussidiarietà e Stato federale. Storia, idee e possibili sviluppi

in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LII, n. 1

http://manager.federalism-bulletin.eu/Bollettino/index.php?PAGE=Bollettino/Bollettino2_Details&MODE=NW

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Stepan Alfred, Linz Juan J., Yadav Yogendra

The Rise of "State-Nations"

in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 21, Number 3, July, 49-68

Must every state be a nation and every nation a state? Or should we look instead to the example of countries such as



India, where one state holds together a congeries of “national” groups and cultures in a single and wisely conceived federal republic?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Williams Daniel

'Assimilation through Self-Assertion': Aspects of African American and Welsh Thought in the Nineteenth Century

in *Comparative American Studies*, Vol. 8, n. 2 , 107-125

In this article, the aim is to problematize the common distinction made between 'assimilationism' and 'nationalism' by exploring the liberatory dimension within assimilationist thought in nineteenth century Wales and African America. Whereas what we might call the 'conservationist nationalism' of Michael D. Jones (in Wales) and Martin Delany (in America) sought to preserve what they deemed to be valuable in their people's cultures, the assimilationism of Samuel Roberts and Frederick Douglass may best be conceived of as a 'contributionist nationalism' that saw the distinctive characteristics of all peoples as significant ingredients in the making of a human civilization envisioned in universalist terms. The common contrast made between nationalism and assimilationism is too simplistic to account for the positions adopted by Roberts and Douglass. In never losing sight of the universal terrain on which to locate their arguments for social and cultural advancement, Douglass and Roberts can be seen to have embraced a position that would later be described by W. E. B. Du Bois as 'assimilation through self-assertion'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Valls Andrew

A Liberal Defense of Black Nationalism

in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 104, issue 3, august , 467-481

ABSTRACT: This article brings together work on liberal political theory and black nationalism in an attempt to both strengthen the case for black nationalism and enrich and extend liberal theory. I begin by arguing that for much of U.S. history, the classical black nationalist case for an independent state finds substantial support in recent liberal theories of secession. In the post-civil rights era, black nationalists in the Black Power movement argued for more limited forms of black autonomy, a position known as “community nationalism.” Community black nationalism makes claims similar to minority nationalist claims for limited self-determination, yet liberal multiculturalists like Will Kymlicka defend the latter while withholding support for black nationalism. I argue that black nationalism raises fundamental issues of justice and that liberal multicultural theory can be extended to support black nationalist claims.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Larabee Mark D.

Baedekers as Casualty: Great War Nationalism and the Fate of Travel Writing

in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 71, Number 3, July , 457-480



This article addresses the critically neglected relation between Baedekers and nationalism, in order to articulate the reasons for the decline of the Baedeker empire in the early twentieth century. Conditions in the First World War undermined the Baedekers' foundational concepts of landscape description. Additionally, the guidebooks emblemized a lost pre-war style of international journey. However, evidence in unexplored archival and fictional sources qualifies our understanding of these changes. This article revisits and reconciles such assessments, by explaining how the war also recast the Baedekers' mediation of international access as a form of nationalist expansionism, and hence a suspect project.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Castelli Alberto

Between Patriotism and Pacifism. Ernesto Teodoro Moneta and the Italian conquest of Libya in History of European Ideas, Volume 36, Issue 3, September , 324-329

In 1911, the prominent Italian Nobel Peace Prize laureate Ernesto T. Moneta and, with him, a number of Italian "pacifists" actively supported the invasion of Libya (carried out) by the Italian army. On the columns of "La Vita Internazionale", journal edited by Moneta since 1898, Italian "pacifists" not only agreed that it was good and convenient for Italy to conquer a part of North Africa, but showed an enthusiasm they had never manifested before in support of pacifist initiatives. The question is why an ardent pacifist and wise intellectual, as Moneta was, renounced so easily his pacifist ideals to support a bloody war and a harsh repression of the Arab rebels, as the one which followed the defeat of the Turkish army. To answer this question, the essay analyzes the articles published by Moneta and other contributors on "La Vita Internazionale" and discusses them with regard to both the international political events occurred during the first decade of the 20th century and the dominant ideologies of the time (namely irrationalism and anti-individualism). The essay concludes that Moneta's agreement with the colonialist war has been prepared and made possible by a number of pre-war ideological and political influences which had transformed his democratic and peace-oriented ideas of nation, people and state into nationalist and aggressive ones.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Owen (Quinn) Samantha

Continuing National History: the 1961 Italian Centennial of Unification Commemoration

in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 56, Issue 3, Special issue: Expansions and Contractions: The Internal and External Frontiers of Europe, September , 393-409

In 1961 the Italian nation-state celebrated one hundred years of unification with an official celebration held in the northern capital of Turin. Named Italia'61, the purpose of the event was to display what comprised and composed a united Italy in 1961 and to showcase what was bringing about a post-war Italian "renaissance". However, the 1961 celebration could not deliver the new beginning hoped for, as in the tradition of previous celebrations the organisers presented a narrative of the nation that was in support of the party and administration in power and in service of their geopolitical interests. Such intent and purpose become clear by looking at the evolution of the planning of what began as a solitary celebration specific to Turin and became the official national commemoration event for the 1961 Centennial.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Metumara Duruji Moses

Democracy and the Challenge of Ethno-Nationalism in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Interrogating Institutional Mechanisms

in *Peace, Conflict and Development*, Volume 15, Issue 15, March , 92-106

Nigeria is an amalgam of rival ethnic groups pitched against each other in a contest for power and resources that have reflected in the political processes, sometimes threatening the corporate existence of the country. Right from the constitutional conferences organized during the colonial era down to the ones organized after independence, the question of an acceptable system of co-existence has been contentious. However, the intervention of the military in the political affairs of the country and their long duration in governance, succeeded in abating the full manifestation of ethno-nationalism. But the return of the country to democracy in 1999 has enabled the suppressed ethno-national grievances to explode, throwing up issues beyond the capacities of democratic institutions. It has become a threat to the survival of the country's nascent democracy and its corporate existence. As a result, the democratic government is resorting to the tactics of previous military administrations in the management of these problems. This paper examines the State's response to an emboldened ethno-nationalism and its implications on the process of democratisation.

Full text available on-line at <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/6-Article1Final.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Beauchemin Jacques

Débat autour de l'article de Thierry Nootens sur l'utilisation du concept d'identité en histoire : à quoi servent les concepts ? Réplique à Thierry Nootens

in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, Volume 63, numéro 1, été , 115–124

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Whaley Joachim

Eine deutsche Nation in der Frühen Neuzeit? Nationale und konfessionelle Identitäten vor dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Nicodemus Frischlin und Melchior Goldast von Haiminsfeld als Beispiele

in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Jahrgang 129/2009 , 331-350

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

del Palacio Jorge

El PSOE y la cuestión nacional

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Nr 27, Julio-septiembre



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Teney Celine, Jacobs Dirk, Rea Andrea, Delwit Pascal

Ethnic voting in Brussels: Voting patterns among ethnic minorities in Brussels (Belgium) during the 2006 local elections

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Number 3, September , 273-297

In recent years immigrant origin ethnic minorities have become a non-negligible electoral group in Belgian cities. Numerous studies have been undertaken in Belgium on the link between immigrant associational life and political participation and on the profiles of politicians of immigrant origin, but not yet on party choice and voting patterns among ethnic minority groups. In this article, we present the first analysis of voting patterns of ethnic minority groups in Belgium, making use of exit poll data on the local elections for three municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region. We investigate whether non-EU immigrant origin voters have a particular party preference which cannot be explained by other background variables such as educational level or socio-economic position. We also look into the issue of preferential voting for candidates of immigrant origin. According to the theory on political opportunity structures, one would expect a lesser importance of ethnic voting in the Belgian context (in which ethnic mobilisation is discursively discouraged). Ethnic voting, however, turns out to be quite important in the Brussels' context.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Sharabi Moshe

Ethnicity, Ethnic Conflict and Work Values: the Case of Jews and Arabs in Israel

in *Peace, Conflict and Development*, Volume 15, Issue 15, March , 59-73

Work values of Arabs have not to date been studied in Israel and this paper investigates the work values of the Jews and Arabs in Israel. Between the two ethnic groups who have different cultures, there is alienation, mistrust and social tension that stems mainly from the escalating ethnic conflict (the regional Israeli- Arab/Palestinian conflict). The paper examines work values of 1201 Jews and 286 Arabs who are working in the Israeli labour market. The findings reveal significant differences in the importance of all life areas and in most of the preferred work goals. The findings can be explained by the high degree of segregation, by cultural differences, by the employment discrimination and primarily by the Israeli- Arab/Palestinian conflict.

Full text available on-line at <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/iss15-art11-with-table3.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Berger Mark T., Ghosh Devleena

Geopolitics and the Cold War Developmental State in Asia: From the Culture of National Development to the Development of National Culture in Independent India

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 182, September , 586-605



Contrary to the view of some observers who insist that the Cold War was of limited or no relevance to the transition from colonies to nation-states after 1945 we argue that the geopolitics of the Cold War played a crucial role in shaping the character and direction of the trajectories of nation-states in Asia, if not the erstwhile Third World as a whole. More particularly, the geopolitics of the Cold War provided the crucial backdrop for the rise and fall of developmental nationalism, while the post-Cold War era has set the scene for an array of cultural nationalisms. These issues are explored with a particular focus on India. The case of India makes clear that it is impossible to separate the emergence of new nation-states and their success or failure after 1945 from the geopolitics of the Cold War. It will also make clear that the shifting geopolitics of the end of the Cold War reinforced the demise of developmental nationalism. Since the late 1980s, the problems facing the nation-states of the former Third World, are being played out in a geo-political context, which includes an important shift from developmental nationalisms to cultural nationalisms, while the nation-state system itself is sliding deeper into crisis against the backdrop of the global framework of 'genuinely existing' liberal capitalism and the changing geopolitics of the early twenty-first century.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Cinar Avel

Globalism as the Product of Nationalism

in Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 27, n. 4, July , 90-108

This study is based on the argument that globalism is a product of nationalism. I argue that globalism, understood as the imagination of the world as a single place, was made possible by and accompanies the emergence of nationalism, defined as the formation of an imagined community in a given (local) discursive space. Focusing on the specific ways in which globalism is understood and experienced locally in Turkey, this study examines how the world-at-large is seen from Turkey as part and product of the founding national ideology during the 1920s and 1930s, particularly as expressed in cartoons, and how these visions and images of the globe are produced, mobilized and disseminated locally as part of ongoing nation-building efforts. I argue that during these years the global was invariably imagined as the West, referring mainly to Western Europe, and this imagining was mobilized toward the creation and projection of Turkey as a modern, Western, secular country. I argue that the founding national ideology projected an image of the West as the global-other to be taken as a model and imitated, setting norms for the creation of a new national identity and new norms of citizenship around the principles of secularism, modernity and civilization, which could only be attained by the erasure of the local.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

NootensThierry Nootens

Le concept d'identité : réplique aux professeurs Beauchemin et Létourneau

in Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Volume 63, numéro 1, été , 135-141



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Charle Christophe

Le monde britannique, une société impériale (1815-1919)?

in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 77, printemps , 7-38

British World, an imperial society (1815-1919?)

This paper tries to propose a new interpretation of the relationships between internal and external history of the British world, conceived not only through the analysis of imperial domination but in a broader view. It lays the stress on a new notion, imperial society which is a permanent stake and disputed issue between different social and ideological forces both within UK and in the regions influenced by UK. This constructivist and polemological prospect helps to discuss and clarify the main controversies of recent historiography concerning empire, imperial culture, strategies of domination and the so-called "britishness".

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Surzhko-Harned Lena

Liberal nationalism, nationalist liberalization, and democracy: the cases of post-Soviet Estonia and Ukraine

in **Nationalities Papers**, Volume 38, Issue 5, September 2010 , 623-646

Abstract

The bulk of scholarly literature views nationalism as harmful to democratic transition. Yet Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan indirectly suggest that nationalism may benefit democratization. This study shows that under the right conditions nationalism can benefit democratic transition. Building on the typology of Linz and Stepan and the liberal nationalism tradition of Yael Tamir and David Miller, this study examines the transitions in Estonia and Ukraine. It introduces an important layer, the multinational federal state, into the typologies developed by Linz and Stepan to show that nationalism can prove a useful political tool of mobilization in a multiethnic setting.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Boyd Richard

Liberty, Community and the Quest for National Self-Determination: Joseph Mazzini and the Nationalist Fallacy

in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XLV, n. 198, Maggio-Agosto

This article explores the enduring tension between individual liberty and communal liberty in the writings on Robert Nisbet, Elie Kedourie, and the nineteenth-century Italian nationalist Joseph Mazzini. In different ways, all three of these thinkers appreciate that individuals may be disposed to forego individual liberty in pursuit of the communal liberty



promised by nationalism. If this longing for community and solidarity is a perennial feature of human nature, as all three argue, then what are the conditions that encourage the growth of nationalism, fundamentalism, and other expressions of collective solidarity, and what challenges does this present to individual liberty?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Somma Alessandro

L'economia sociale di mercato. Dal nazionalsocialismo all'ordoliberalismo

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XLV, n. 198, Maggio-Agosto

L'esperienza nazionalsocialista fu la culla dell'ordoliberalismo e della sua versione postbellica: l'economia sociale di mercato. In questo lavoro si tracciano le tappe dello sviluppo del pensiero ordoliberales durante la dittatura hitleriana, a partire dalle posizioni espresse dai suoi esponenti nella fase finale della Repubblica di Weimar. Si delinea in quell'epoca l'avversione per il meccanismo democratico, considerato incompatibile con il meccanismo concorrenziale a causa della sua naturale propensione a favorire il pluralismo, e dunque lo sviluppo di corpi intermedi incompatibili con la costruzione della società del diritto privato. Da ciò le convergenze tra ordoliberalismo e nazionalsocialismo, entrambi fattori di una riforma delle libertà economiche in linea con le contingenti necessità dell'ordine proprietario, anche se ciò presupponeva la soppressione delle libertà politiche, ovvero la polanyiana grande trasformazione. Da ciò anche la riduzione del nazionalsocialismo all'antisemitismo, da cui l'ordoliberalismo fu sostanzialmente immune, riduzione utile a occultare i nessi tra l'economia sociale di mercato e lo sviluppo di poteri politici autoritari o totalitari.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Naranch Bradley

Made in China: Austro-Prussian Overseas Rivalry and the Global Unification of the German Nation

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, Volume 56, Issue 3, Special issue: Expansions and Contractions: The Internal and External Frontiers of Europe, September, 366-380

German unification is commonly seen as the outcome of a series of European wars, with the Hohenzollern dynasty asserting its model of a German Empire against a Habsburg alternative. This paper examines a broader context for the achievement of unification by looking beyond Europe to the larger dimensions of the German national project. More specifically, it focuses on a particular phase of the unification narrative and integrates it into a new global history. A telling example of the ways in which European politics was played out globally is in the history of the Austrian and Prussian voyages to East Asia undertaken in the period 1857–1862. A close examination of these expeditions reveals the extent to which Austrian and Prussian elites were aware of the need to tread the world stage, even during times of instability and uncertainty at home. The projects of domestic unification and overseas expansion were closely intertwined.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Basilien-Gainche Marie-Laure

Minorités nationales et représentations garanties

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 540, juillet-août, 431-440

Various national minority representation methods are applied in the law-making assemblies of some European countries. central and Eastern Europe countries particularly, including the Balkan states, are the countries that attempt to promote the involvement in institutions of members of minority populations, and thus prevent internal conflicts. As a result, they do not use the traditional concept applicable in most political system whereby all citizens are considered as members of the political body and therefore legitimate in taking part in representative and government selection, without taking into account their historical community of belonging. In the difficult balance to be found between unity and diversity those countries tend to lend particular attention to the particularities of their components and to the specificity of their minorities. indeed electoral law provisions reserve some seats in the lower chamber of the Parliament for national minorities or an electoral threshold exemption to allow minorities to have representatives in the lower chamber or granting minorities the right to form parliamentary groups and/or political parties. Nonetheless some countries, in the name of national unit protection, refuse to accept such systems: the baltic countries do not grant representation to their Russian-speaking minorities. This is not satisfactory to the Venice Commission for democracy by law, which lends great importance to the right of minorities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Casanova Antoine

Nation(s), identité(s), histoire : quels rapports dans le monde d'aujourd'hui?

in *Pensée (La)*, Fascicule 2010/362, 55-73

En France, en Europe et dans le monde, des débats, des combats, des stratégies portent sur la nation et le fait national. Ils se cristallisent notamment sur les manières d'envisager l'ordre présent et à venir des rapports entre les nations à l'échelle continentale et planétaire : « gouvernance » zonale et mondiale des firmes et des grandes puissances ou coopération internationale démocratique entre nations libres, égales et associées.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Escandell Xavier, Ceobanu Alin M.

Nationalisms and Anti-immigrant Sentiment in Spain

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 2, June, 157-179

This article explores links between nationalism and immigrant exclusionism in Spain's 17 Comunidades Autnomas. Drawing from social identity and marginality theories and using Anlisis Sociolgicos, Econmicos y Polticos (ASEP), 1991-2000 data results show that strong national-regional identification is a predictor of anti-immigrant sentiment among Basques, Catalans and Galicians, but not in the remaining Comunidades Autnomas. Basques, Catalans and Galicians who strongly identify with region of residence are more likely to express immigrant exclusionism than those identifying 'as regional as Spanish'. Simultaneously, 'Spanish only' respondents did not yield statistically significant results in favouring exclusionism as compared with those with dual identification across all regions.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Khaddar M. Moncef

Nationalist ruling parties, national governments ideologies, partisans and statesmen: human rights offenders and human rights defenders in the North African post-colonial states and societies

in *Journal of North African Studies* , Volume 17, Issue 1 , 67-96

This paper will examine the interaction between nationalism and constitutionalism as ideology and movement, as well as the institutional arrangement that make them instrumental politically at the hands of different socio-economic actors. Secondly, I will try to explain why among the emerging national elites, in the Maghreb, the populist nationalists prevailed on the liberal modernisers and radical intelligentsia and how they left a despotic impact on the modern embryonic relation between state and society. In the third section, the case of Tunisia is used as an illustration of how the monopolisation of nationalist ideology by particular groups prepared the terrain for concentration of power within mono-partisan and state structures. The decolonised people, instead of enjoying the promised 'national liberation' and 'public liberties', discovered that the human rights they fought for were denied by the new political system. This section is followed by an overview of the post-independence state oppression marked by statist nationalist ideology as exemplified by the particular situation that characterised the political life in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. The fifth section of this paper focuses on the five members of the Union of the Arab Maghreb (UMA: Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia) as parties to international human rights instruments, and committed, in principle, to enforcing them. The last theme to be addressed revolves around the human rights' record in North Africa between 2000 and 2008.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Núñez Xosé-Manoel

Nations and Territorial Identities in Europe: Transnational Reflections

in *European History Quarterly* , Volume 40, n. 4, October , 669-684

de Santiago de Compostela, xoseml.nunez@usc.es

Abstract

This essay aims to explore the question of the difference between 'Eastern' and 'Western' European nationalism in historical terms, and to inquire whether it makes sense to refer to a dichotomy between ethnic and civic nationalism intrinsically related to that divide, ascribing them to certain areas of Europe according to historians' own 'mental maps'. Taking into account the existing links between nationalism, national history and the emergence of history as an academic discipline, an exploration of the 'territorial entanglements' still evident in a large part of the scholarly literature will attempt to highlight the key issue as to whether it is possible to identify a 'European way' of studying nationalism and territorial identities, or whether it is more convenient to proceed to a 'reprovincialization' of European nationalism(s).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Gibler Douglas M.



Outside-In: The Effects of External Threat on State Centralization

in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 54, n. 4, august , 519-542

ABSTRACT: Although centralization is thought to be a common response to external threats to the state, few theories develop the mechanisms by which domestic centralization occurs. Fewer still consistently demonstrate that centralization is indeed a common response to external threats in all states. This article therefore develops a comprehensive theory of domestic change in the shadow of external threat. Salient threats to the state create strong incentives for opposition forces to support the leader in power, even in non-democracies. The leadership then uses these favorable domestic political climates to decrease the number of institutional veto points that can stop future leader-driven policy changes. Collectively, this two-part theory provides a unified model of domestic behavioral change (also known as rally effects) and institutional centralization (defined by a declining number of veto players). In addition, by defining salient threats as challenges to homeland territory, the article provides some of the first domestic-level evidence that territorial disputes are fundamentally different from other types of international conflicts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Létourneau Jocelyn

Pour une épistémè ouverte, plurielle et compréhensive

in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, Volume 63, numéro 1, été , 125-133

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Evans Martin

Primary Patriotism, Shifting Identity: Hometown Associations in Manyu Division, South-West Cameroon

in *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute*, Volume 80, Number 3 , 397-425

People's participation in hometown associations reveals a deep sense of belonging to their home place. It has been argued that promotion of this 'primary patriotism' by associations is potentially divisive as it may engender parochialism, increase the focus on autochthony, and enhance ethnicization of the political landscape. Contrasting views, however, do not see hometown associations as necessarily inimical to wider social and political cohesion, but as potential sites for civic engagement and citizenship formation at different levels, reflecting the shifting identity that individuals hold. The article explores these issues among the two main tiers of association in Manyu Division, South- West Province, Cameroon. It briefly describes their history and activities, then considers how the identities mobilizing them are constructed in three interlinked ways: geohistorical and genealogical; neotraditional; and national political. It concludes that while these associations occasionally engage in divisive politics in different spheres, analysis needs to balance this against their other activities and relationships. Most hometown associations continue in their original, social role of mutual support among rural–urban migrants, although their expansion into development at home has had more mixed results. Furthermore, concerns about parochialism are often hard to reconcile with the multiple levels of associational life observed.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Radcliffe Sarah A.

Re-Mapping the Nation: Cartography, Geographical Knowledge and Ecuadorean Multiculturalism

in *Journal of Latin American Studies* , Volume 42, Issue 02, July , 293-323

Starting from an understanding that maps of an entire nation-state territory reflect and regulate state projects and expressions of national identity, rather than providing detailed technical information for decision making, this paper examines the national maps of race/ethnicity produced under Ecuador's state-led multiculturalism. Using national-scale cartography as a means to examine contested processes of rearticulating state, citizen and nation, the paper analyses recent transformations in cartography, nation building and geographical knowledge in Ecuador. Directing a critical analysis towards the ways maps of indigenous populations are produced, circulated, authorised and read provides a distinctive lens by which to explore postcolonial questions of belonging, rights and presence. The paper discusses how, despite the emergence of innovative maps, the plurinational project envisaged by indigenous cartographers remains stymied by a series of material, cultural and postcolonial limitations.

Abstract

Partiendo de un entendimiento de que los mapas de todo el territorio de un Estado-nación reflejan y regulan proyectos estatales y expresiones de identidad nacional, en vez de proveer información técnica detallada para la toma de decisiones, este artículo examina los mapas nacionales de raza-etnicidad producidos por el multiculturalismo encabezado por el Estado en Ecuador. Utilizando una cartografía a escala nacional como forma de examinar procesos en disputa que buscan la rearticulación del Estado, la ciudadanía y la nación, el material analiza las recientes transformaciones en la cartografía, la construcción nacional y los conocimientos geográficos en Ecuador. Desarrollando un análisis crítico acerca de la forma en que los mapas de las poblaciones indígenas son producidos, circulados, autorizados y leídos, el artículo provee un enfoque distintivo para explorar cuestiones poscoloniales de pertenencia, derechos y presencia. El artículo discute cómo, pese a la emergencia de mapas novedosos, el proyecto plurinacional concebido por cartógrafos indígenas permanece atrapado por una serie de limitaciones materiales, culturales y poscoloniales.

Abstract

O artigo examina os mapas nacionais de raça e etnicidade produzidos no âmbito do multiculturalismo promovido pelo estado equatoriano partindo do pressuposto que o mapa territorial do estado-nação reflete e regulamenta projetos de estado e expressões de identidades nacionais, ao contrário de fornecer informações técnicas para tomadas de decisões. Utilizando-se da cartografia produzida para escala nacional como caminho para estudar processos contestados de re-articulação do estado, do cidadão e da nação, o artigo analisa transformações recentes na cartografia, construção da nação e conhecimentos geográficos no Equador. Direcionar uma análise crítica quanto à maneira em que mapas de populações indígenas são produzidos, circulados, autorizados e interpretados fornece uma lente distinta pela qual é possível explorar questões pós-coloniais relacionadas ao pertencimento, aos direitos e à presença. O artigo discute como, a despeito do desenvolvimento de mapas inovativos, o projeto plurinacional envisioned por cartógrafos indígenas está bloqueado por uma série de limitações materiais, culturais e pós-coloniais.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism



Page Ben, Evans Martin, Mercer Claire

Revisiting the Politics of Belonging in Cameroon

in *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute*, Volume 80, Number 3 , 345-370

The article introduces a themed section in the journal on hometown associations in Cameroon. It outlines the impact of ten years' work in this field and argues that notions of autochthony remain central in understanding Cameroonian politics. However the three articles go on to argue that some of the claims about home, belonging and politics are difficult to reconcile with the hazier reality observed on the ground. The articles aim to disturb any universal, inevitable or overly tidy segue between questions of belonging and claims of political segmentation. Too often the existing literature moves too quickly to an analysis that foregrounds only the worrisome dimensions of a politics of belonging, thus leaving little space for other interpretations. To explore this dilemma the article continues by exploring a land dispute in Bali Nyonga, north-west Cameroon. It shows (1) how ideas of belonging remain central to the practice of politics; (2) how the politics of belonging has changed over time; and (3) how it is possible to foreground an alternative 'politics of conviviality', which would otherwise be shaded out by the dominance of the politics of belonging within the literature.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Dick Lyle

Sergeant Masumi Mitsui and the Japanese Canadian War Memorial: Intersections of National, Cultural, and Personal Memory

in *Canadian Historical Review (The)*, Volume 91, Number 3, September , 435-463

For much of the twentieth century, military commemoration operated in a context of pan-Canadian remembrance. This emphasis overlooked the groups outside the mainstream that pursued their own goals through military service and commemoration, which sometimes differed from and challenged the hegemony of national collective memory. A case in point is the Japanese Canadian War Memorial in Vancouver and its intersections with the military service of Masumi Mitsui and other Japanese-Canadian soldiers of the First World War. After the war, the Japanese-Canadian veterans fought for the right to vote in provincial elections, which they eventually secured in 1931, thereby becoming the first Asian Canadians to attain the franchise in British Columbia. The veterans' wartime service could not prevent anti-Japanese-Canadian sentiment before and during the Second World War, leading to the seizure of their properties and their forced removal from the coast. The article foregrounds Mitsui's return to Vancouver in 1985 as the honoured guest in a ceremony to relight the lantern at the Japanese Canadian War Memorial. Drawing on insights of the philosopher of history Walter Benjamin, this history is approached in light of Benjamin's account of storytelling traditions and the 'now-time' of historical agency.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jeremy Adelman

The Rites of Statehood: Violence and Sovereignty in Spanish America, 1789–1821

in *Hispanic American Historical Review (The)*, Volume 90, Number 3, August 2010

This essay explores the varieties of expressions of political violence during the revolutionary conjuncture, 1789 to 1821, across Spanish America from New Spain to Buenos Aires. It challenges some of the familiar ways in which historians



have pointed to violence as an inevitable effect of the end of empire, and instead argues that violence became a means to engage in the political process that brought down empire. At the same time, it argues that the role of violence in bringing down the old regime and creating new institutions and habits of rule and protest was at least as important as the role of the public sphere and elections, which historians have recently accented. Indeed, the essay suggests ways in which historians of the public sphere might consider the rituals and languages of violence as part of public conduct, while it was the opening of the public sphere that created a means, or space, to push vindictive patterns of violence into more vindictive directions. Violence was not of a piece, a constant display of carnage. The essay accordingly seeks to illustrate the varieties of uses of political violence and its changes over time, from the first crises of the 1790s to the widespread savagery of the 1810s.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Feldman-Savelsberg Pamela, Ndonko Tiokou

Urbanites and Urban Villagers: Comparing 'Home' Among Elite and Non-Elite Bamiléké Women's Hometown Associations

in *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute*, Volume 80, Number 3 , 371-396

Most work on the political implications of hometown associations has focused on male elites. This contribution attends instead to the gendered varieties of hometown associations, exploring variations in the bases of shared identity among six Bamiléké women's hometown associations – hailing from Ndé Division, Western Province, and organized in both elite and neighbourhood-based non-elite associations – in Yaoundé, Cameroon. It suggests several ways to reconceptualize hometown associations and belonging. Addressing the situationally specific ways Bamiléké women use and interpret 'home', the unit of belonging, it differentiates among actors and associations by gender and status. Viewing the autochthony debate from the perspective of allogènes, it reveals that the emotions of memory, marginalization and recognition are central to belonging, understandings of home, and involvement in hometown associations. Finally, it suggests that differences in associations' network structure affect both orientations and actions toward the home place, and at times an 'ethnicization' of 'home'. The non-elite hometown associations exhibit the dense, bounded networks of 'urban villages' and strive to bring 'home' to the city. Members of elite hometown associations are urbanites, developing social networks consisting of more diverse and specialized ties, which may account for more universalistic discourse about bringing 'development' to the hometown.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bernecker Walther L.

Zwischen 'Nation' und 'Nationalität': das Baskenland und Katalonien

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 36-37, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/I09F7X,0,Zwischen_Nation_und_Nationalit%E4t%3A_das_Baskenland_und_Katalonien.html

Inhalt:



- Einleitung
- Regionalistischer Widerstand
- Vom Zentralstaat zum Staat der Autonomen Gemeinschaften
- Rechtsnatur und Kompetenzen der Autonomen Gemeinschaften
- Radikalisierungstendenzen
- Entwicklungen im Baskenland
- Entwicklungen in Katalonien
- Schlussbemerkung

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Poma Vittorio

"Il Federalista" compie cinquant'anni

in **Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LII, n. 1

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=448&lang=it

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Duff Andrew, Adriaenssens Philippe

9 May 2010: Taking the Next Steps in the Federation of Europe - Joint Declaration of the Union of European Federalists & the Young European Federalists

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/index.bfr>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Kinsky Ferdinand

Alexandre Marc aujourd'hui

in **Europe en formation (L')**, n. 355, printemps, 2010, 33-39

Chaque pensée humaine peut avoir des sources différentes : l'expérience personnelle, l'éducation reçue, l'influence du penseur précédent et/ou des amis contemporains, les tendances à la mode, une ou plusieurs idéologies encore



vivantes, une conviction religieuse ou le contraire.

La pensée et l'action d'Alexandre Marc – il soulignait toujours l'obligation de combiner les deux – étaient fondées sur toutes ces sources: l'expérience de la révolution marxiste-léniniste en Russie, ensuite la rencontre des penseurs personalistes les plus importants des années 1920-1930, la crise économique mondiale de 1929-1930 et, par conséquent l'arrivée des dictateurs au pouvoir dans plusieurs pays européens, notamment de Hitler en Allemagne, la deuxième guerre mondiale et la résistance, ensuite l'exil en Suisse, puis la menace soviétique pendant la Guerre froide. À cela s'ajoutèrent les phénomènes de la crise de civilisation, comme celle de la famille, la société et la politique, ainsi que l'importance des valeurs fondées sur la philosophie personaliste et sa foi chrétienne. Cofondateur du Mouvement fédéraliste européen pendant la résistance et après la guerre avec Altiero Spinelli, Alexandre Marc a ensuite fondé le CIFE comme une école de pensée et de formation fédéraliste et personaliste. [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Kakabadse Andrew, Kakabadse Nada K., Kouzmin Alexander, Kalu Kalu N.

Calling on Jefferson: the 'custodiary' as the fourth estate in the Democratic Project in Contemporary Politics, Vol. 16, n. 3, September , 279-299

Aimed at reinforcing the democratic values of freedom of speech and increased diversity in civic access to the means of communication, this paper examines the concept of democracy within an information and communication technology-mediated context. Discussion proceeds with an analysis of orthodox views adopted by Jefferson and the architects of the American Constitution. Building on the Jeffersonian tradition, a critique is presented of present-day, non-transparent constraints on the democratic values of freedom of speech, information access and the structural constraints mitigating unfettered public access to critical information and debate on fundamental social and political issues of the day. The proposed 'custodiary' model for the new Democratic Project is premised on the development of a constitutional framework which encourages information diversity and freedom of access and expression as a way of bringing back 'discourse' into democratic praxis.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Roy Christian

Humaniser l'entreprise d'après Alexandre Marc à la fin des années 1930 : Convergences avec l'antiproductivisme contemporain in Europe en formation (L'), n. 355, printemps, 2010 , 87-127

Après un tiers de siècle d'hégémonie, le consensus néolibéral semble parvenu à un point d'essouffement, annonciateur d'un effondrement semblable à celui des discours marxistes et keynésiens qu'il remplaça à l'issue du tiers du siècle précédent. Il est aujourd'hui devenu non moins difficile d'ignorer les limites du système capitaliste laissé à sa propre logique qu'alors celles du système communiste et du compromis social-démocrate. Qui plus est, on voit maintenant émerger de-ci de-là, et parfois même converger, des courants critiques et contestataires qui refusent de choisir entre ce qu'ils considèrent à juste titre comme des variantes d'un même système productiviste, condamné par les faits qu'il invoque aussi bien que par l'esprit qu'il ignore. Ils rejoignent ainsi à maints égards, souvent sans le savoir, les constats, les intentions et les projets élaborés en France dans les années 1930 par des groupes d'intellectuels dits «non-conformistes», qui eux aussi renvoyaient dos à dos ces formes rivales du productivisme, en y ajoutant le fascisme.



Si le rôle de premier plan d'Alexandre Marc parmi ceux-ci est relativement bien connu dans le contexte de leur élan initial du début de la décennie, alors qu'il fonda le plus original d'entre eux: le mouvement personnaliste Ordre Nouveau, il y a peut-être davantage de parallèles instructifs à tirer avec notre moment historique d'une phase un peu plus tardive de son engagement, s'inscrivant notamment dans les milieux de l'édition catholique et les centres de formation fédéraliste préfi gurant le CIFE. [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Pistone Sergio

Il contributo alla cultura federalista di Francesco Rossolillo

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LII, n. 1

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=444&lang=it

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

lozzo Alfonso

Il dividendo sociale di Meade. Dal debito al patrimonio pubblico

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LII, n. 1

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=446&lang=it

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Italia Vittorio

Il fondamento del Diritto regionale e l'“Ordinamento giuridico” di Santi Romano

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Tarchi Marco

Il pensiero di Alain de Benoist: una fonte indispensabile

in *Diorama*, n. 298, aprile-giugno

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations



de Benoist Alain

Il "Figaro-Magazine", Ordre Nouveau, il '68

in *Diorama*, n. 298, aprile-giugno

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Lépine Frédéric

Introduction à la pensée d'Alexandre Marc : un paradigme ?

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 355, printemps, 2010 , 5-12

Alexandre Marc nous a quittés le 22 février 2000. Fondateur du Centre international de formation européenne (CIFE), et de la présente revue, il n'a jamais cessé d'intéresser et souvent de fasciner ses contemporains, tant par sa réflexion intellectuelle que par son action militante en faveur du fédéralisme et de l'intégration européenne. Dix ans après le décès de l'auteur, l'Europe en formation souhaite revenir sur l'héritage qu'il nous a laissé. Remercions Jean-Pierre Gouzy d'avoir pris l'initiative de ce numéro spécial qui, loin d'une démarche hagiographique, vise avant tout à poser les premiers jalons d'une actualité de la pensée de Marc. Nous préférons parler de « premiers jalons » que d'une approche déjà construite, car les nombreuses vies du personnage permettent difficilement à l'histoire–histoire du militantisme comme histoire des idées – de saisir déjà sa spécificité. Sans parler du fait qu'il faut laisser passer au moins une génération avant de pouvoir bénéficier d'un véritable recul sur une pensée. [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Pieczewski Andrzej

Joseph Retinger's conception of and contribution to the early process of European integration

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 17, Issue 4, August , 581-604

The origins of the European Union are especially connected to its so-called founding fathers. One of them was Polish politician Joseph Retinger, who represented a functionalist point of view. This article aims to throw light on Retinger's contribution to uniting the Old Continent. The method applied in this article is a comparative analysis of Retinger's ideas with the early phases of integration. Many significant initiatives taken with a view to the future integration of Europe, such as the founding of the European League for Economic Co-operation (1946), the Congress of Europe held in The Hague (1948), the founding of the European Movement (1948), or the establishment of the Council of Europe (1949) to give just a few examples can all be associated with Retinger's activity. The author concludes that the importance of Retinger's European activities (concerning the early period after the Second World War) were so huge that he should be ranked among the pioneers of the modern European Union.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations



Frank Martin

Kant und das Recht nach dem Krieg

in *Zeitschrift für Philosophische Forschung*, Band 64, Heft 4, 2010

This essay tries to critically analyze Kant's right after war. It examines the contribution of Kant's right after war to the contemporary debate about jus post bellum. It starts with the assumption that the key to the understanding of Kant's law of war is his conception of the state of nature. The structure of the right after war will be reconstructed by analyzing the place of the right within Kant's law of peoples. The features of the right after war will be divided into two groups and examined. Certain limitations of Kant's perspective will be identified. The underlying principles of Kant's law of war will be used to discuss other, not in the right after war included features, which are related to the post bellum phase.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Miozzi Vittorio

La critica alla globalizzazione e la lezione di Alain de Benoist

in *Diorama*, n. 298, aprile-giugno

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Gouzy Jean-Pierre

Le fédéralisme d'Alexandre Marc et le combat pour l'Europe

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 355, printemps, 2010 , 13-32

Le fédéralisme d'Alexandre Marc, comme on le sait, prend corps, d'une part, dans l'héritage des lignées proudhoniennes, aux sources du socialisme libertaire du XIX^e siècle (même si «la propriété c'est le vol» sa Philosophie de la misère vaudra à Proudhon l'hostilité de Karl Marx qui fustigera la «misère de la philosophie»); et, d'autre part, plonge ses racines dans la pensée personaliste telle qu'elle commencera à s'épanouir dans les années 1930, avec Emmanuel Mounier, entre autres, même si la démarche «marcienne», pour autant, ne se confond pas avec celle du fondateur de la revue *Esprit*. Et pour cause, Mounier n'a jamais été sensible aux charmes du fédéralisme. Qui plus est, Alexandre Marc, au fil de son œuvre se référera constamment à Charles Péguy, auquel il a d'ailleurs consacré un ouvrage au début des années 1940. [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Majocchi L.V.

Opinioni e considerazioni di un federalista

in *Diritto comunitario e degli scambi internazionali*, n. 1 , 151-167

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Marhold Hartmut

**Quelques réflexions sur l'actualité de la pensée d'Alexandre Marc
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 355, printemps, 2010 , 129-162**

Quand il est question, dans les lignes qui suivent, de réviser certains aspects de la pensée d'Alexandre Marc, dans la perspective de son actualité, il faut avoir à l'esprit que cette pensée n'a jamais été un bloc, n'a jamais été conceptualisée de façon définitive, s'est développée au fil des années, n'est pas toujours clairement distincte de la pensée d'un groupe (Ordre nouveau, UEF...) – et n'est donc pas très bien définie. Or, il peut y avoir différentes façons de percevoir cette pensée, ce qui implique que celle prise comme référence ici n'est pas la seule possible. Cette première remarque préliminaire en appelle une deuxième : la réflexion présentée ici est décidément celle d'un lecteur individuel, basée sur une lecture, une perception personnelle de la pensée d'Alexandre Marc. Je parlerai donc parfois dans la première personne grammaticale, dans cet article, conscient du fait qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une analyse qui peut, d'office et en vertu de méthodes scientifiques, prétendre à une acceptation intersubjective – bien qu'elle prétende à développer des arguments raisonnables, et contribuer ainsi à un dialogue ouvert sur son objet. [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Marc Alexandre

**Quelques réflexions sur l'avenir de l'Europe (Inédit, 1944)
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 355, printemps, 2010 , 163-170**

Exilé en Suisse durant les deux dernières années de la guerre de 1939-1945, Alexandre Marc ne cesse de suivre et de commenter les événements, collaborant à différents journaux de la Résistance, notamment Temps présent (où il signe une tribune régulière du pseudonyme Scrutator).
Début 1944, entrevoyant la fin de la guerre, Alexandre Marc rédige de nombreux projets pour «réorganiser» la France et construire l'Europe : Fédérer les forces françaises, Comment et pourquoi il faut fédérer les forces françaises, Quelques Réflexions sur l'avenir de l'Europe.
Ce dernier texte fait l'objet, le 24 mars 1944, d'une première ébauche, qui sera corrigée et développée deux mois plus tard. C'est cette seconde version, datée 16 mai 1944 (restée, semble-t-il, inédite), que nous publions ci-après. [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Brown Garret W.

**The Laws of Hospitality, Asylum Seekers and Cosmopolitan Right - A Kantian Response to Jacques Derrida
in European Journal of Political Theory, Vol. 9, n. 3, July , 308-327**

The purpose of this article is to respond to Jacques Derrida's reading of Immanuel Kant's laws of hospitality and to offer a deeper exploration into Kant's separation of a cosmopolitan right to visit (Besuchsrecht) and the idea of a universal



right to reside (Gastrecht). Through this discussion, the various laws of hospitality will be examined, extrapolated and outlined, particularly in response to the tensions articulated by Derrida. By doing so, this article will offer a reinterpretation of the laws of hospitality, arguing that hospitality is not meant to capture all the conditions necessary for cosmopolitan citizenship or for a thoroughgoing condition of cosmopolitan justice as Derrida assumes. This is because hospitality could be understood as the basic normative requirement necessary to establish an ethical condition for intersubjective communication at the global level, where discursive communication regarding the substance of a future condition of cosmopolitan justice is to be subjected to global public reason.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

**“Altiero Spinelli” Chair Created at Buenos Aires University
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/index.bfr>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Benavides Carlos, Duarte Carlos

Political and economic governance and indigenous governments. structural limits and divergent interpretations of pluriethnic rights at the general system of participations

in *Analisis politico* , Vol. 23, issue 68 , 26-42

Este artículo revisará las transformaciones legislativas, así como las concepciones y efectos de la implementación del Sistema General de Participación (SGP) en los pueblos indígenas. Las relaciones institucionales, públicas y privadas que se desprenden del sistema de transferencias, se analizarán utilizando las nociones de "governabilidad", "governanza" y "gobierno propio". Desde este punto de vista, buscamos caracterizar los límites tecnocráticos y presupuestales de los derechos civiles y políticos establecidos por la constitución de 1991 para las poblaciones indígenas

full text available at:

<http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/anpol/v23n68/v23n68a02.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Frei Norbert

1945 – 1949 – 1989: Dealing with Two German Pasts

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 56, Issue 3, Special issue: Expansions and Contractions: The Internal and



External Frontiers of Europe, September , 410-422

Apart from denazification, the Americans in particular promoted in western Germany after 1945 the “invention” of contemporary history as an academic discipline and as a political and moral task. In this way important foundations were laid for a self-critical engagement with the past. This engagement — which for decades was associated with the generation of the Flakhelfer — was ultimately able to overcome the counter-movement in the politics of the past which commenced above all in the Federal Republic from 1949, but which became visible in the GDR as well. Since 1989/90 an open engagement with the rule of the SED and the Stasi has been possible in the East of Germany as well, to quite some extent capable of building on the critical historical research carried out in the West. There is much which speaks in favour of a judicious comparison of the fluctuations in the dealings with both pasts, but it is also apparent that the second cannot be understood in the absence of the first.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rodotà Stefano

A Constitution for the Web

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXIII, n. 2, July

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

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Varisco Andrea Edoardo

A Study on the Inter-Relation between Armed Conflict and Natural Resources and its Implications for Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding

in **Peace, Conflict and Development**, Volume 15, Issue 15, March , 38-58

The article investigates the inter-relation between armed conflict and natural resources and its implications for conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The first part discusses and clarifies the nexus between natural resources and armed conflict, arguing that the former have a strong link with the latter only when natural resources have particular natural and geographical characteristics and when a country experiences peculiar political, societal and economic situations. The article shows how this inter-relation is various and diverse, at the point that even scholars who studied it have sometimes disagreed on their researches. The second part analyses the implications for conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Since changing the natural and geographical characteristic of natural resources is almost impossible, the article argues that conflict resolution and peacebuilding policies should be aimed to reduce those political, societal, and economic situations that, if inter-related with the presence of natural resources in a country, can affect armed conflicts. The analysis discusses how the presence of natural resources should be addressed during the resolution of a conflict and should be considered during the post-conflict peacebuilding phase. Finally, it tries to identify how international actors can have an effective role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding when natural resources are at stake.

Full text available on-line at <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/3-Article7Final.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hill Lisa

Adam Smith's cosmopolitanism: the expanding circles of commercial strangership
in *History of Political Thought*, Vol. 31, Issue 3 , 449-473

This article explores Adam Smith's (1723-90) cosmopolitanism by examining his conception of the ideal global regime and his attitudes to classical cosmopolitanism, British imperialism, American independence, war, mercantilism, benevolence, global integration, specialization, patriotism and his own alleged nationalism. It is argued that Smith shares with the Stoics the ideal of a world community but his cosmopolitanism is based, not on the sympathetic workings of universal benevolence, but on mutual enablement and the desire for and satisfaction of exponential material enrichment. Such a state precludes conflict and territorial rivalry. Patriotism will not disappear but will be moderated by a pacific desire for prosperity via free trade. Eventually fierce nationalistic sentiments and intense alliances between security allies will be subdued by a development-induced aversion to conflict and the habits of amicable strangership underlying commercial cosmopolitanism. The article outlines the efficient mechanisms by which this is to be achieved and, in so doing, shows why, for Smith, economic cosmopolitanism is at once desirable, necessary and natural.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Frost Tom

Agamben's Sovereign Legalization of Foucault
in *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Volume 30, Number 3, Autumn , 545-577

This article compares Michel Foucault's way of thinking about sovereignty and law within biopower to the reading given to Foucault's work and its development by the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben. It is argued that Agamben supports the expulsion thesis in order to generate critical distance for his own re-imagining of biopower. The expulsion thesis is a controversial account of the position of law in Foucault's work that does not reflect Foucault's own nuanced views. A post-structuralist account of Foucault and law is then used to show that Agamben's conception of law is actually much more similar to Foucault's than Agamben at first claimed. The real thrust of Agamben's work is found in his connecting political philosophy to ontology. Agamben's claim that the questioning of law is a fundamental ontological issue calls into question the very concept of subjectivity. This leads Agamben to embark upon a radical reconceptualization of sovereignty in relation to the subject and the law. Despite opening new areas of inquiry in relation to Being and law, Agamben's attempt to move beyond Foucault's work is called into question, with particular emphasis upon whether Agamben's work is truly ontological.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Felix Fuders

Alternative concepts for a global financial system : an answer to the present world financial crisis
in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 43,
No. 166 , 45-56

Neither interest-capitalism nor communism are natural economic forms, that is, they do not match human nature, but



rather are forced by government, meaning that both are destined to fail. Communism leads to laziness and neo-liberalism to greed. In a healthy, that is, natural economic system, neither a planned economy nor interest exist, both of which lead to constrain freedom. With communism, people are enslaved through the forced labour inherent in a planned economy; in an interestbased economy, people are enslaved through the burden of interest, which multiplies exponentially and eventually makes it impossible for an economy to supply households sufficiently, since the exponentially multiplying interest must be earned and paid for.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Short Nicola, Kambouri Helen

Ambiguous universalism: theorising race/nation/class in international relations

in **Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 13, Number 3, September , 268-300

Although in the past decades the study of international relations (IR) has become much more sensitive to questions of culture, identity and movement, racism has remained an under-theorised area. The marginalisation of race in IR has become much more striking in the 1990s because of the renewed interest in migration and other intercultural exchanges as 'security threats', as well as the emergence of nationalism and putatively 'ethnic' conflict as a central basis of strife in the post-Cold War era. This article is an attempt to discuss new forms of racism in international relations with particular reference to American policy responses to September 11. Drawing from the work of Etienne Balibar, we argue that a contemporary neo-racism, a kind of 'racism without races', grounded in ambiguity and contradiction, is present in international relations simultaneously as a problem of knowledge and as a problem of political practise. Our aim is to contribute to the strategic movement of international relations theory from a conception of race as a marginal category in IR to one that is more fully theorised, including its history and present role in constituting the discipline and its relationship to power, hierarchy and inequality.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shahla F. Ali

Barricades and Checkered Flags: An Empirical Examination of the Perceptions of Roadblocks and Facilitators of Settlement Among Arbitration Practitioners in East Asia and the West.

in **Pacific Rim Law & Policy Journal (The)**, Vol. 19, No. 2 - April

Contemporary research on roadblocks and facilitators of settlement has thus far been framed by standard economic modeling and distributive bargaining theories. Each of these frameworks provides helpful insights into those elements that assist or hinder the settlement process. However, each of these models has thus far not examined how particular roadblocks and facilitators of settlement operate in the context of international commercial arbitration proceedings from a comparative cross-cultural perspective. How diverse regions approach roadblocks and facilitators of settlement in the context of the integration of global markets is a new arena for research and practice. To date, most research on international arbitration has focused exclusively on Western models of arbitration as practiced in Europe and North America. While such studies accurately reflected the geographic foci of international arbitration practice in the mid-20th century, in recent years, the number of international arbitrations conducted in East Asia has grown steadily and on par



with growth in Western regions. This article presents a cross-cultural examination of how international arbitrators in East Asian and Western countries view the particular factors that help or hinder the settlement process in international arbitration. The result of a 115-person survey and 64 follow up interviews shed light on the underlying cultural attitudes and approaches to perceived roadblocks and facilitators of settlement in international arbitration. The findings indicate that arbitration practitioner's perceptions of the factors influencing the achievement of settlement as well as specific barriers to settlement demonstrate a high degree of convergence across regions. At the same time, regional and socio-economic distinctions are reflected in varying arbitrator perceptions regarding arbitrator proclivity towards making the first move towards settlement in arbitration, the degree of focus on past facts and legal rights as opposed to exploring creative solutions and orientation toward adversarial procedures.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kopstein Jeffrey S.

Beyond Dictatorship and Democracy: Rethinking National Minority Inclusion and Regime Type in Interwar Eastern Europe

in Comparative Political Studies , Volume 43, No. 8-9 , 1089-1118

Most standard models of democratization privilege class-based actors and the regimes they prefer to account for patterns of dictatorship and democracy. These models are ill suited, however, to explain political regime change in interwar Eastern Europe, where the dominant cleavage was not class but nationality. As a consequence, neither the process of regime change nor the resulting regime outcomes in Eastern Europe conform to the standard Western European models. Through a detailed analysis of key episodes of regime change in interwar Czechoslovakia and Poland, the authors explore the different ethnic and social coalitions on which political authority was built and the circumstances under which these two countries made the transition from one regime type to another. The depth of the ethnic divide meant that sustaining democracy in Eastern Europe required sidelining the urban bourgeoisie of the majority ethnic group from a dominant role in political life, a finding quite at odds with common views of the origins of democracy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shaw Timothy M., Ashworth Lucian M.

Commonwealth perspectives on International Relations

in International Affairs , vol. 86, issue 5, september , 1149-1165

ABSTRACT: The parallel development of the inter- and non-governmental Commonwealths on the one hand and the field of International Relations and its oldest journal, The Round Table, on the other, should not go unnoticed at the start of the second decade of the century. This article suggests that the Commonwealth nexus has always constituted a distinctive perspective and debate in both the metropole and the rest of the Commonwealth's expanding official and unofficial networks. The Commonwealth 'School' both reinforces and contrasts with other non-US and non-hegemonic approaches presently animating the field.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pino Giorgio

Conflitti tra diritti fondamentali. Una critica a Luigi Ferrajoli

in *Filosofia Politica*, numero 2, agosto 2010 , 287-306

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Katrougalos George

Constitutional Limitations of Privatization in the USA and Europe: A Theoretical and Comparative Perspective

in *Constellations*, Vol. 17, Issue 3, September , 407-425

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8675.2010.00602.x/abstract>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Morales Moya Antonio

Crisis de la identidad española y situación actual del hispanismo

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Nr 27, Julio-septiembre

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cole Laurence, Therr Philip

Current Challenges of Writing European History

in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 40, n. 4, October , 581-592

Reflecting on how the parameters and content of European history have changed since the foundation of European History Quarterly 40 years ago, the article considers also the impact on European history of general developments within the historical discipline, such as the spread of cultural history, the various 'turns' of postmodernism, and the 'globalization of historiography'. It suggests that European history can only be considered to be 'in crisis', if the field is understood as the sum of national histories. It further explores the ways in which European history has become increasingly 'Europeanized' and the problems encountered in this process.

<http://ehq.sagepub.com/content/40/4/581.full.pdf+html>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fine Robert



Dehumanising the dehumanisers: reversal in human rights discourse

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 6, Issue 2, August 2010 , 179-190

Abstract

If the legitimacy of international humanitarian and human rights law lies, in part at least, in its capacity to confront dehumanising actions in the modern world, we may speak of the limits of this achievement. It is well known that people who commit genocide or crimes against humanity typically dehumanise those against whom their crimes are committed and that the humanitarian and human rights dimensions of international law were developed in response to the radicalisation of this phenomenon. The expanded scope of international criminal justice caught a cosmopolitan imagination because it seemed to restore an idea of humanity in the face of organised attempts to eradicate the very idea of universal humanity. It also caught a cosmopolitan imagination because it seemed to restore the humanity of the perpetrators as well. They were no longer to be treated as beasts liable to the 'punishment' of the victors but to be brought to trial, held accountable for their deeds and converted back into responsible human beings. Today, however, I suggest that we face a double temptation: in confronting those who commit crimes against humanity to represent them as inhuman monsters rather than responsible human beings; in our compassion for victims of crimes against humanity, it is to represent them merely as victims and not as moral and political subjects. In either case, there can arise a reversal of the problem we are trying to address. I do not suggest this tendency is inevitable but where it is present it indicates an insufficiently reflective relation to international law. I address the problem of reversal through a discussion of three authors (Rawls, Habermas and Arendt) and three issues ('pariah peoples', 'criminal states' and 'monstrous perpetrators').

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Seshagiri Lee

Democratic Disobedience: Reconceiving Self-Determination and Secession at International Law
in *Harvard International Law Journal*, Volume 51, Issue 2, (Summer 2010)

This Article seeks to better define the scope of the right to self-determination at international law and its relationship with unilateral secession. After an introductory overview, Part I begins by rooting internal self-determination in five societal institutions that support democratic rule. Among these institutions is the recognition of the fallibility of political systems and the acceptance of civil disobedience as an expressive claim for a new legal order. Part II seeks to "uncouple" external self-determination from unilateral secession, expanding the scope of the right to self-determination on the international plane. In doing so, it draws an analogy between unilateral succession and civil disobedience, where secessionist declarations of independence can be seen as moral claims to be legitimized through state recognition. Lastly, Part III introduces the concept of "democratic disobedience" as a means to support democratization on a global scale. It argues that the demonstration of a commitment to democratic principles can give increased force to secessionist claims in the eyes of democratic states. Furthermore, though secession is more likely to be effected from non-democratic states, democracies are not completely immune from secessionist cries and thus have an incentive to maintain healthy democratic institutions. The result is a model whereby new democracies may more readily gain international recognition and existing democracies may be self-preserving. The ideational goal is self-determination for all.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Elkins Zachary

Diffusion and the Constitutionalization of Europe

in Comparative Political Studies , Volume 43, No. 8-9 , 969-999

This article begins with a rather forceful defense of the explanatory role of formal institutions—and, in particular, constitutions—in the study of democratization. Important aspects of constitutions play a significant part in shaping the quality, type, and survival of institutional arrangements in new democracies. With this assumption, the article turns seriously to theories of constitutional design, any of which must grapple with the overwhelming prima facie evidence of constitutional diffusion. It is well known that constitutional ideas travel easily across contexts. However, scholars until now have lacked even basic empirical evidence regarding the patterns of constitutional similarity across time and space. This article introduces exactly this sort of evidence in the context of 19th-century Europe, employing a new data set expressly designed for such a purpose. The analysis uncovers a number of new insights regarding the spread of constitutional ideas in Europe, insights that disturb some of the classic narratives of democratization in these cases.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Spiro Peter J.

Dual citizenship as human right

in International Journal of Constitutional Law, Vol. 8, issue 1 , 111-130

Dual citizenship has become an unexceptional status in the wake of globalization yet remains at the sufferance of states. This essay advances the novel claim that dual citizenship should be protectable as a human right. In light of the threat that dual nationals once posed to stable bilateral relations, states were justified, historically, in suppressing the status. As that threat has dissipated, the values of freedom of association and liberal autonomy implied by citizenship ties should trump lingering state resistance. Failure to recognize the status also burdens the exercise of political rights by raising the cost of naturalization. Insofar as dual citizenship undermines state solidarities, that interest is too diffuse to justify nonapplication of associational and self-governance norms. There is growing evidence from state practice that dual citizenship is appropriately situated in a human rights framework

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Alzaga Villaamil Oscar

El consenso (del proceso constituyente a las prácticas postconstitucionales)

in Teoría y realidad constitucional, n. 25 , 113-128

Analiza como ha evolucionado el consenso en la primera y posteriores legislaturas y finalmente muestra sus inquietudes ante la prevalencia de discursos sin diálogo.

Full text available at:



<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional2010-25-4003&dsID=PDF>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pelletier Nathan

Environmental sustainability as the first principle of distributive justice: Towards an ecological communitarian normative foundation for ecological economics

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 69, Issue 10, 15 August , 1887-1894

The ecological economic concern with environmental sustainability embodies the normative orientations of the field. This concern is foremost a matter of distributive justice, the definition of which determines the relevance of the appropriate scale and efficient allocation criteria. Yet it would appear that the discipline lacks a shared, internally consistent set of ethical premises by which this concern might be legitimized. Various authors have embraced a Rawlsian conception of liberal justice as the appropriate banner for ecological economics in place of the consequentialist–libertarian foundations of neoclassical economics (including environmental economics). It is argued here that this is insufficient in so far as it is premised on a vision of a discrete, self-sufficient economic actor. Instead, it is posited that an ecological economic ethic must proceed from an understanding of the economic actor as community member — a recognition implicit in recent ecological economic contributions focused on discourse ethics and deliberative democracy. An ecological communitarian conception of distributive justice, which views the well-being of the individual as inseparable from the integrity of its implicate, mutually constituting human and non-human natural communities, is advanced as the appropriate basis for the ecological economic world-view. In this light, the thermodynamic foundations of ecological economics are seen to provide the necessary departure point for normative decision-making oriented towards ensuring sustainability in economic organization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Romano Andrea

Europa e Antieuropa nell'ideologia del laburismo britannico contemporaneo

in **Ricerche di Storia Politica**, numero 2, agosto

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Crossland James

Expansion, Suspicion and the Development of the International Committee of the Red Cross: 1939–45

in **Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 56, Issue 3, Special issue: Expansions and Contractions: The Internal and External Frontiers of Europe, September , 381-392

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has often been maligned for its actions, or lack thereof, during the Second World War. In particular the Committee has been criticised for its apparent inability to compromise its mandate



to provide impartial and non-politicised relief. This article discusses some of the problems of this interpretation of ICRC history by showing that, contrary to the image of the ICRC as a "well-meaning amateur", the Committee responded to the challenges of the Second World War with a series of bold initiatives that were crucial to the organisation's long-term development. Not only did these initiatives improve the success of the ICRC's humanitarian mission, but they also stand as testament to an organisation that, though devoid of diplomatic status and political power, was able to conduct its work whilst being restricted by the policies of belligerent governments and the physical dangers of total war.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Aranda Gilberto, Ovando Cristian, Corder Alejandro

Experiencias paradiplomáticas en la región de Tarapacá y su proyección subregional

in *Estudios internacionales* : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile, Vol. 43 / 2010 / Nr 165

Paradiplomacy is represent in a cathegory that shows new international reality thornies, that has occurred this last decade in Latin America. This one points out, following a consolidated tendency in several world's latitudes, to the emergency of subnational actors, arisen from regions and communes, from specific areas of the State's administration and private actors interested in the development of their comunities, which try to become internatinalized with efficiency and find an active place in the globalization. This reality is clear in the "winning regions" of our country, especially in regions as Tarapaca, because of it international historic vocation, it has inserted itself in a progresive and succesful way in the international agreement, especially with the regions of the countries that have constituted the Andean subregion; despite of the existence of some institutional and contextual limitations.

To characterize this present experiences in the region of Tarapaca, according to the theoric discussion and contribution of primary resources, is the aim of this article.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Raaflaub Kurt A.

Friedenskonzepte und Friedenstheorien im griechischen Altertum

in *Historische Zeitschrift*, Volume 290, Issue 03 (June 2010) , 593-619

Conceptualizing and Theorizing Peace in Ancient Greece

Abstract

Some of Euripides′ and Aristophanes′ plays dramatize the brutality of war and desirability of peace. Herodotus bluntly criticizes Greek failures to settle disputes by nonviolent means. Thucydides analyzes in detail the causes of outbreak and persistence of both civil strife (stasis) and war. Philosophers try to define the social purpose of war and thereby to set meaningful limits for it. Already the Iliad is intensely concerned about the cruelty of war and pays close attention to issues of peace and just war, and Hesiod considers peace one of the most essential communal values. Beyond the level of lamenting the misery of war and yearning for peace, however, the Greeks made efforts to



conceptualize and even theorize war and peace (both within and among communities) and to use this contrast as a structuring principle in literature, political thought, and philosophy. Such efforts are visible already in the early poets and philosophers; they were intensified by the sophists in the fifth and the political philosophers in the fourth century. Given the increasing frequency and intensity of war in the fifth century, this perhaps seems hardly surprising. It is, though, if we consider what we know of concerns about peace in other ancient or early societies, from China to the Americas, in which war was no less pervasive, its consequences for the defeated no less cruel. This paper surveys the evidence that survives for Greek concepts and theories of peace, examines the impact of such theoretical thinking on political practice, and briefly compares the resulting picture with that visible in other Mediterranean and West Asian societies. It then seeks to explain and place in its intellectual context the emergence, unique in this part of the ancient world, of a highly differentiated, sophisticated, and pervasive public discourse on peace and of concepts and theories of peace.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nirmal B.C.

Good Governance and Human Rights as Democratic Values

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 20th Issue, 2/2009

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Singh Ranjit

Good Governance and Human Rights: The Indian Context

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 20th Issue, 2/2009

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nomani Zafar Mahfooz

Good Governance and Sustainable Development in India: An Assessment of Enviro- Legal Strategy and Human Right Institutional Mechanism

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 20th Issue, 2/2009

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Carlotto Ilaria

I giudici comuni e gli obblighi internazionali dopo le sentenze n. 348 e n. 349 del 2007 della Corte costituzionale: un'analisi sul seguito giurisprudenziale (Parte I)



in *Politica del diritto*, n. 1 , 41-100

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Carlotto Ilaria

I giudici comuni e gli obblighi internazionali dopo le sentenze n. 348 e n. 349 del 2007 della Corte costituzionale: un'analisi sul seguito giurisprudenziale (Parte II)

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 2 , 319-332

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Desai Niranjan

India and Africa: A New Engagement

in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 65, n°4 , 413-429

With 54 independent nations that constitute more than a quarter of the membership of the UN, Africa collectively will have more political clout and gradually emerge as an important voice on important global issues. India's historical ties with Africa are old but the future realities demand a re-orientation of India's policy towards the continent. Africa is strategically and geopolitically important for India. East African seaboard, from the Horn of Africa to South Africa, falls within India's maritime strategic neighbourhood. Therefore, there is geo-strategic compulsion for collaboration between India and Africa to maintain the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace to promote trade and enhance mutual security concerns. The growing insecurity in the Indian Ocean region only underlines this aspect. Besides, Africa would increasingly become an important source for oil and minerals and other raw materials for the growing needs of the rapidly expanding Indian economy. At the same time, developing African economies could become important markets for India's capital and consumer goods. Also, the presence of a large Indian diaspora in Africa adds a special dimension to India-Africa relationship. It is important therefore to revisit India's foreign policy priorities towards Africa which this article attempts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fiori Stefano

Is H.A. Simon a theoretician of decentralized planning? A comparison with F.A. Hayek on planning, market, and organizations

in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 21, Number 2 / June 2010 , 145-170

Herbert A. Simon acknowledged Friedrich A. Hayek as a founder of the notion of bounded rationality; yet Simon



considered Hayek's perspective incomplete, and, more in general, their views on market mechanisms, planning, and organization exhibit considerable differences. The comparison between these authors sheds light on Simon's interpretation of planning, which emerges within his theory of organization (and not in traditional debates on socialism). Contrary to Hayek, he maintained that planning, in specific circumstances, is more advantageous than the market; and in both administration and organization, it involves a decentralized structure based on near independent sub-units. Decentralization of decisions also appears in social planning, which evolves through continuous interactions among planners (i.e., agents and institutions), and it is a process connoted by the absence of "fixed goals". Finally, Simon defined modern economies more in terms of "organizational economies" than in those of "market economies" and this highlights a further difference with respect to the Austrian economist. This leads to analysis of the nature of organizations as hierarchical and "near-decomposable" structures, which refers to Simon's theory of complexity and gives an epistemological explanation to the relation between centralization and decentralization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fiore Laura

L'islam di A.J. Toynbee. Prima di Huntington, oltre Huntington

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900*, numero 3, luglio

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Haine Jean-Yves

La crise européenne de l'internationalisme libéral

in *Etudes Internationales*, 2, Juin 2010

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Légaré Kathia

La « capture » locale du programme de consolidation de la paix. Entre hybridité et continuité de l'ordre politique

in *Etudes Internationales*, 2, Juin 2010

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Núñez Martínez María

Las cartas autonómicas de Cuba y Puerto Rico: Primer antecedente del estado autonómico
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 25 , 335-372

Los deseos descentralizadores de Cuba y Puerto Rico se manifiestan por primera vez en los orígenes del Estado Constitucional español, especialmente en los procesos constituyentes de 1812 y 1836; posteriormente, a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, a los mismos se unirá el objetivo de una autonomía administrativa y política, especialmente en el caso de Cuba. La respuesta del Estado español, tardía siempre, se manifestará mediante las Cartas Autonómicas que conocerán su publicación cuando ya el desarrollo de los acontecimientos hagan inviable dicha solución. No obstante, tal otorgamiento Estatutario o de «Constitución Autonómica», supondrá el primer antecedente de dicho modelo de organización territorial del Estado y acaso, el único aspecto originario del constitucionalismo español

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hindess Barry

Liberalism: rationality of government and vision of history
in *Social Identities*, Volume 16, Issue 5, September 2010 , 669-673

Abstract

The paper addresses two issues arising from Foucault's work. One concerns his treatment of liberalism in *The Birth of Biopolitics*, which is probably more familiar through the work of the (mostly) British 'governmentality' school, and the other concerns a comment on relations between the West and the rest in *The Order of Things* that seems to express an insensitive Eurocentrism. I argue that we cannot make sense of liberalism without grasping the place of this Eurocentrism in eighteenth/nineteenth century western thought.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kastoryano Riva

Minorités et politique étrangère: espace transnational et diplomatie globale
in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 75, n° 3, automne

Les minorités de diaspora deviennent –et particulièrement en Europe– de véritables acteurs politiques. Elles contribuent à remodeler les États d'accueil, préservant des identités de plus en plus souvent garanties par des législations spécifiques. Elles contribuent ainsi à la reconfiguration des espaces diplomatiques grâce à leur rôle de représentation d'«ambassadeurs privés». La complexité de leurs relations avec les États donne lieu à un nouvel espace diasporique dénationalisé et à une diplomatie fondée sur la situation de minorité de certains groupes sociaux, notamment religieux.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Oppermann Kai, Röttsches Dagmar

NGOs as catalysts for international arms control? The ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in the United States

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 13, Number 3, September , 239-267

The article investigates the role of pro-arms control non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in furthering the domestic ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in the United States. The study starts out from the two-level framework for analysing domestic ratification processes of international agreements, and it introduces the concept of audience gains to complement this framework: being the counterpart of audience costs, audience gains denote positive contributions of domestic non-state actors to formal ratification processes. The article distinguishes two complementary pathways for NGOs to generate audience gains, that is, the pathways of 'mobilising consensus' and of 'persuading veto players'. Two in-depth case studies on the ratification of the CWC and the CTBT in the US explore the extent to which pro-agreement NGOs were indeed successful in employing the two pathways. The evidence of the case studies is that NGOs were more influential catalysts of the ratification of the CWC than with respect to the CTBT. The article's findings on the prospects for NGOs to push the domestic ratification of international agreements are expected to be of more general relevance beyond the field of arms control.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lango John W.

Nonlethal Weapons, Noncombatant Immunity, and Combatant Nonimmunity: A Study of Just War Theory

in *Philosophia*, Volume 38, Number 3, September 2010 , 475-497

Abstract

Frequently, the just war principle of noncombatant immunity is interpreted as morally prohibiting the intentional targeting of noncombatants. Apparently, many just war theorists assume that to target means to (intend to) kill. Now that effective nonlethal weapons have been envisaged, it should be evident that there is no conceptual connection between intentionally targeting and intentionally killing. For, using nonlethal weapons, there could be intentional targeting without intentional killing. This paper explores the question of whether the noncombatant immunity principle should be revised, so as to allow uses of nonlethal weapons. Preliminary to answering this question, some other questions are explored, among which are the following. Why should a noncombatant immunity principle be accepted? Why is it morally permissible to intentionally target enemy combatants? Are noncombatants grievously harmed when they are incapacitated by nonlethal weapons? Is it morally permissible to intentionally incapacitate enemy combatants with nonlethal weapons, while knowingly but not intentionally incapacitating noncombatants? In order to focus on moral questions involving nonlethal weapons, questions about their effectiveness or legality are set aside. Instead of the idea



of noncombatant immunity as expressed above, a delimited principle of noncombatant immunity is proposed—namely, that, in the conduct of war, the intentional grave injuring or killing of noncombatants is morally prohibited. Also proposed is a principle of noncombatant targeting, which would allow some uses of nonlethal weapons to intentionally incapacitate noncombatants.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Farley Joshua, Costanza Robert

Payments for ecosystem services: From local to global

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 69, Issue 11, 15 September , 2060-2068

Payment for Ecosystem Services (PES) is becoming increasingly popular as a way to manage ecosystems using economic incentives. The environmental economics approach to PES tries to force ecosystem services into the market model, with an emphasis on efficiency. The ecological economics approach, in contrast, seeks to adapt economic institutions to the physical characteristics of ecosystem services prioritizing ecological sustainability and just distribution and requiring a transdisciplinary approach. This paper summarizes the results of a participatory “atelier” workshop held in Costa Rica. We developed a set of principles (the Heredia Declaration) for PES systems and report on evolving initiatives in several countries. We discuss how the distinction between ecosystem goods (which are stock-flow resources) and ecosystem services (which are fund-service resources) and the physical characteristics of the fund-services affect the appropriate institutional form for PES. We conclude that PES systems represent an important way to effectively manage fund-service resources as public goods, and that this represents a significant departure from conventional market institutions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Albert Richard

Presidential values in parliamentary democracies

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 8, issue 2 , 207-236

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

De Pasquale P.

Respingimenti, rimpatri e asilo: la tutela degli immigrati irregolari nell'UE

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 1 , 19-52

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Silvestrini Gabriella

Rousseau, Pufendorf and the eighteenth-century natural law tradition

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 36, Issue 3, September , 280-301

The relationship between the political theory of Rousseau and modern natural law continues to be the subject of debate, both with regard to Rousseau's faithfulness to the idea of natural law itself and regarding the precise extent of the debt he owed to his predecessors. In this article the author re-examines this relationship by focusing attention on what has been defined as the protestant tradition of natural law. In particular she concentrates on the political and theoretical exercise that Jean Barbeyrac had sought to perform by constructing a particular version of this tradition, namely that of using the science of natural law to promote a policy of tolerance between protestants and to justify the right of citizens to resist catholic sovereigns who denied them religious freedom, as well as the right of protestant countries to come to the aid of persecuted fellow believers. The thesis asserts that Rousseau was fully aware of this exercise, just as he was aware that some of Barbeyrac's ideas had been adopted and reworked by another illustrious Genevan, Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui, a member of the Small Council, to support anti-populist and antidemocratic politics in Geneva. Viewed in this way it is possible to perceive in Rousseau's political thought not so much a "first crisis" of natural law as an intention to reformulate this science from a republican perspective in order to derive rigorous principles of political law from it. And in developing his republican political theory Rousseau took up and overturned the analysis of democratic sovereignty carried out by Pufendorf, who in opposing the "pro-monarchist" excesses of authors such as Hobbes and Horn had unhesitatingly demonstrated the complete validity of democratic sovereignty.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ruggeri Antonio

Sistema integrato di fonti, tecniche interpretative, tutela dei diritti fondamentali

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 2 , 3-40

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Newton Scott

The Sterling Devaluation of 1967, the International Economy and Post-War Social Democracy

in *English Historical Review (The)*, Volume CXXV, Issue 515, August

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rosenkranz Nicholas Quinn

The Subjects of the Constitution

in *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 62, issue 5 , 1209-1292



Two centuries after *Marbury v. Madison*, there remains a deep confusion about quite what a court is reviewing when it engages in judicial review. Conventional wisdom has it that judicial review is the review of certain legal objects: statutes, regulations. But strictly speaking, this is not quite right. The Constitution prohibits not objects but actions. Judicial review is the review of such actions. And actions require actors: verbs require subjects. So before judicial review focuses on verbs, let alone objects, it should begin at the beginning, with subjects. Every constitutional inquiry should begin with a basic question that has been almost universally overlooked. The fundamental question, from which all else follows, is the who question: who has violated the Constitution?

Full text available at:

<http://www.stanfordlawreview.org/content/volume-62>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Karner Christian

The Uses of the Past and European Integration: Austria between Lisbon, Ireland, and EURO 08 in Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, Volume 17, Number 4, July , 387-410

This article examines Austrian national identity negotiations through a qualitative analysis of the country's ideologically heterogeneous media, with a focus on Austria's most widely read paper (and its popular readers' letters pages) between April and August 2008. This turbulent period coincided with widening opposition to the EU's Lisbon reform treaty, Austria's co-hosting of the European football championship, and the collapse of the country's coalition government. This analysis of media coverage and readers' letters focuses on the rhetorical strategies underpinning various discursive constructions of Austria's place within the EU. The following key findings are discussed: projections of perceived social ills and resulting anxieties onto the EU; the interpretative uses of the past—historical episodes selected from Austrian and other national contexts—to make sense of and politicize the present; constructions of 'European ideals' in juxtaposition to perceived 'European realities'; and competing models of national identity in relation to the European 'network state.'

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hyson Stewart

The ombudsman and e-government in Canada in Canadian Public Administration, Vol. 53, issue 2 , 183-200

In a 1966 issue of this journal, Sir Guy Powles drew on John Milton's 1644 book *Areopagitica* to remind us of the importance to democracy of the right to seek redress of grievances. Based on this premise, Powles introduced, described and justified the office of the ombudsman as a specialized institution for handling the public's administrative grievances that had become so commonplace in the modern administrative state of the mid-twentieth century. By logical extension, this article examines how the ten provincial and territorial ombudsman offices have adopted electronic communication technology in the early years of the twenty-first century to settle more effectively administrative grievances. Specific focus is on the contrast and analysis of the web sites of the ten provincial ombudsman offices to see if they fulfil the potential of this new technology.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bassi Marco

The politics of space in Borana Oromo, Ethiopia: demographics, elections, identity and customary institutions
in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 4, Issue 2, July , 221-246

This article addresses the protracted state of political violence in and around the Borana and Guji zones of Oromia region after the introduction of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. To account for the persistence of the conflict, we must elaborate on the connections between ethnic identity, natural resource and customary institutions by introducing the notion of “primary identity”. Since the turn of the millennium there is in Ethiopia a theoretically grounded attempt to co-opt customary institutions and elders into modern governance, particularly in the pastoral sector. Field-research focused on the interplay of customary and modern politics during two electoral events, the 2004 referendum organised to solve the border issue between the Somali Regional State and Oromia, and the 2005 national elections. Analysis of local political dynamics indicates that the strategy of the federal government was shaped by the need to control the insurgency of the Oromo Liberation Front. Local political motivations also played a role. The combination of these two factors resulted in systematic abuse of human rights and the manipulation of development and refugees policies, involving an informal “demographic politics of space” that displaced the Borana Oromo from a large area of their customary territory, relegating them into a state of permanent food dependency. It is argued that the restoration and strengthening of customary governance holds the best prospect for improving this situation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Majidi Mohammad Reza, Dehshiri Mohammad Reza

The right of all nations to access science, new technologies and sustainable development

in **International Social Science Journal** , Volume 60, Issue 197-198, September/December 2009 , 455-465

Abstract

This article explores the need for reflection on the right of developing countries to science and technology in addition to explaining the place of the scientific rights of nations in human rights as a whole. The discussion was conducted in relation to sustainable development. Through the examination of the current situation and the challenges to sustainable development, and taking into account the imbalance in the distribution of the benefits of science and new technologies, the authors advocate a comprehensive approach to promote cooperation and capacity-building in this area. They argue that linkages should be adopted between micro-levels and macro-levels of analysis by elevating rights and related issues from individuals to the national level in the field of the right to science and technology, and from the national to the international level in the field of sustainable development in order to institutionalise and ensure individual and national rights to science, technology and sustainable development. The authors also believe in a multidimensional perspective based on the balanced flourishing of the material and immaterial aspects of humankind in order to realise these rights in the context of dialogue and cultural diversity and to promote the culture of sustainable and dynamic peace based on justice in knowledge societies.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Clavin Patricia

Time, Manner, Place: Writing Modern European History in Global, Transnational and International Contexts
in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 40, n. 4, October , 624-640

The article examines the origins and relationships between global, transnational history and international history, and the potential of these fields of enquiry to reshape European history. Divided into three parts, and drawing on a range of global and European examples, the article examines some of the ways in which transnational history holds the potential to blur established chronological boundaries and offer new approaches to the mapping of time. Global and transnational history has also helped to identify new processes and relationships in modern history, posing, in particular, new questions of comparative history and of Europe's relations with the world. The article concludes by identifying new sites of historical enquiry in European history and proposing additional ones.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Evans Richard _J.

What is European History? Reflections of a Cosmopolitan Islander
in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 40, n. 4, October , 593-605

There have been many attempts to define 'European History'. The concept did not exist until the emergence of the idea of 'Europe' itself, which can be dated to the Early Modern period, when 'Christendom' no longer seemed a viable geographical concept in view of the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the expansion of Christian missions overseas. By the late eighteenth century, the reforms of Peter the Great had led to the expansion of the idea of 'Europe' beyond the area imagined by Ancient geographers to include a large part of Russia. More recently, attempts to equate European history with the history of the member states of the European Union have met with little favour. In the UK, European history conventionally means the history of the European Continent, not including the British Isles. Argument about the cultural parameters of European history continues, and forms an essential part of any study of the subject.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Golder Ben

What is an anti-humanist human right?
in *Social Identities*, Volume 16, Issue 5, September 2010 , 651-668

Abstract

Responding to recent engagements with Foucault, this paper argues that in his late work Foucault does not submit to the 'moral superiority' of humanism and introduce a liberal humanist subject. Rather, Foucault's late investigations of



subjectivity constitute a continuation and not a radical departure from his earlier positions on the subject. Such a reading helps us to assess Foucault's late supposed 'embrace' of, or return to, human rights - which is here re-interpreted as a critical anti-humanist engagement with human rights, conducted in the name of an unfinished humanity. In this way, the paper engages not only with the way in which mainstream accounts of human rights tend to assimilate anti-foundational and post-structural challenges, but also with the quality of Foucault's own political legacy and future in the age of human rights, 25 years on.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nielsen Philipp

What, Where and Why is Europe? Some Answers from Recent Historiography
in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 40, n. 4, October

Writing the history of a continent is generally a tricky business. If the continent is not even a real continent, but rather 'a western peninsula of Asia' (Alexander von Humboldt) without a clear definition of where the continent becomes peninsula, things do not get any easier. Despite these problems there is no dearth of trying. In fact, writing European histories seems to become more fashionable by the year — ironically just as the political and institutional expansion of Europe is losing steam. While the European Union is catching its breath, the historians are catching up. With the first wave of post-Euro and post-big-bang-Enlargement literature written, it is time for the reviewer to survey the landscape — and to provide some guideposts for future exploration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bachmann Jan

“Kick Down the Door, Clean up the Mess, and Rebuild the House” - The Africa Command and Transformation of the US Military

in *Governance*, Vol. 23, n. 3, July , 564-585

The recent establishment of the US Africa Command (AFRICOM) embodies the resurgence of counterinsurgency arguments within the transformation of the US military. The command's emphasis on its “non-traditional” character that includes civil activities, a focus on the population's security, as well as its interagency approach intensified the controversy about the role of the military in US foreign policy. Rather than merely focusing on how to succeed in asymmetric warfare, AFRICOM proposes a long-term commitment of US forces in situations where violent conflict is not apparent and has to be prevented. This “proactive peacetime engagement” on the continent targets crucial communities and their perceptions through humanitarian and development projects. Africa is likely to become a testing ground for the US military's expansion into “non-traditional” activities ranging from counterinsurgency to conflict prevention. Blending security and development in this radical way may make the distinction between civil and military intervention vanish.