Bulletin n. 2/2006 - September 2006

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America's Constitution and the Yale School of Constitutional Interpretation
in Yale Law Journal (The), Vol. 115, n. 8, June , 18

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Armijo L.E., Faucher P., Dembinska M.
Compared to What? Assessing Brazil's Political Institutions
in Comparative Political Studies , Vol. 39 n. 6 , 759-786

A rich and plausible academic literature has delineated reasons to believe Brazil's democratic political institutions—including electoral rules, the political party system, federalism, and the rules of legislative procedure—are suboptimal from the viewpoints of democratic representativeness and policy-making effectiveness. The authors concur that specific peculiarities of Brazilian political institutions likely complicate the process of solving societal collective action dilemmas. Nonetheless, Brazil's economic and social track record since redemocratization in the mid-1980s has been reasonably good in comparative regional perspective. Perhaps Brazil's informal political negotiating mechanisms, or even other less obvious institutional structures, provide sufficient countervailing influences to allow "governance" to proceed relatively smoothly despite the appearance of chaos and political dysfunction.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Dudley Jr E.C., Rutherglen G.
Deforming the Federal Rules: An Essay on What's Wrong with the Recent Erie Decision
in Virginia Law Review, Vol. 92 n. 4 , 707 - 748

This essay discusses two troubling decisions of the Supreme Court under the Erie doctrine. In Gasperini v. Center for Humanities, Inc., 518 U.S. 415 (1996), the Court held that a state statute providing for enhanced appellate review of jury verdicts must be followed by federal trial courts (but not federal courts of appeal) in diversity cases. This decision creates a rule that is a pastiche of federal and state law, but neither the one nor the other. Through such ad hoc lawmaking, the decision almost turns the Erie doctrine on its head by creating "'a transcendental body of law outside of any particular State but obligatory within it.'" And in Semtek International Inc. v. Lockheed Martin Corp., 531 U.S. 497 (2001), the Court held that a dismissal that "operates as an adjudication upon the merits" nevertheless does not preclude a subsequent action in a different forum on the same claim. We are left to wonder what kind of judgment is necessary to actually bring litigation to a close.

These decisions are puzzling and for that reason have attracted a chorus of academic criticism. Yet decisions so complex and counterintuitive demand explanation as much as criticism and this essay seeks to explain how the Supreme Court has reached this impasse in applying and expounding the Erie doctrine. Part I locates the initial problem with the decision in the unwonted complexity of the Court's holdings. Convoluted legal doctrine may be the natural consequence of hard-fought constitutional controversies, but the principles underlying the Erie doctrine should by now have been long settled. In Gasperini and Semtek, the Court could have reached a better decision in each case by the simple expedient of directly confronting the choice whether to give full effect to a Federal Rule of Civil Procedure, and if not, declaring it partially or wholly invalid. Part II offers an explanation of why the Court did not take this course. There are three components to this explanation: first, implicit or explicit doubts about the scope and validity of the Federal Rules; second, a tendency to give the Federal Rules an artificially narrow interpretation to avoid perceived conflicts with state law; and third, a resort to case-by-case determinations when a federal rule is claimed to infringe upon a state substantive right as the dominant means of resolving questions under the Erie doctrine. This essay concludes with some reflections on consequences of these decisions for the stability of the Federal Rules and their ability "to secure the just, speedy, and inexpensive determination of every action."

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Weichlein Siegfried
Europa und der Föderalismus. Zur Begriffsgeschichte politischer Ordnungsmodelle
in Historisches Jahrbuch, Jahrgang 125/2005

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Bolleyer Nicole
Federal Dynamics in Canada, the United States, and Switzerland: How Substates' Internal Organization Affects Intergovernmental Relations
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 36, n. 4, Fall , 471-502

This article argues that internal substate dynamics can systematically account for the organization of intergovernmental relations (IGR) in dual federal systems. Whereas majoritarian executive-legislative relations tend to weaken the institutionalization of intergovernmental arrangements (IGAs), power-sharing executive-legislative relations tend to facilitate it. Two of the mechanisms at work serve to illustrate this point. Given one-party majority cabinets, complete government alternations strongly alter actors' interest constellations over time, thereby increasing the costs of maintaining stable cross-boundary IGR. Moreover, the heavy impact of a potential electoral loss induces politicians to shift blame to other governments, thereby undermining cross-boundary cooperation. Majoritarian dynamics also weaken integration between IGAs. Furthermore, integration is weakened by compulsory power-sharing structures unbridged by party ties. In contrast to noncompulsory party cooperation, such internal constitutional divides easily undermine the setup of strong interorganizational linkages.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Vaughan S.
Identité ethnique et fédéralisme en Éthiopie du Sud
in Politique africaine, n. 99 , 22 - 42

This article analyzes forms of local ethnic identity and their transformations. It does so through the prism of locally defined representations of collective interests that have been elaborated upon since the time of ethnic federalism. Supposed « ethnic conflicts » emerge in local competition for the control of access to land or to the resources of urban centers. In cases where state-controlled resources are allocated according to the political criteria of « nationality », identity markers have been (re)formulated and (re)constructed in keeping with local perceptions of interest and gain.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Arbós Marín X.
La globalització i els sistemes federals
in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals, n. 1 , 37 - 60

This article is a revised analysis of the work by Lazar, Telford and Watts (2003) The Impact of Global and Regional Integration on Federal Systems. A Comparative Analysis, Harvey Lazar, Hamish
Telford and Ronald L. Watts (eds.): The Impact of Global and Regional Integration on Federal Systems. A Comparative Analysis, Montreal and Kingston: McGill- Queen's University Press, 2003.
The article's starting point is the book's mainthesis, that is, an analysis of the consequences that such different integration processes can have both on the institutional structures and on the collective
identities of federal systems; in this sense and in the light of these changing pressures on the nature of federalism, the article raises a question: to what extent federalism and federal arrangements
would remain a reference for carrying out institutional reforms as well as for a politically and socially practicable system.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Resnik J.
Law's Migration: American Exceptionalism, Silent Dialogues, and Federalism's Multiple Ports of Entry
in Yale Law Journal (The), Vol. 115 n. 7 , 1564–1670

Legal theorists are engaged in understanding the legitimacy of techniques by which principles of rights-holding travel across borders. Sovereigntists in the United States object to that migration. The history of both protest about and the incorporation of "foreign" law provides important lessons for contemporary debates. Through examples from conflicts about slavery, the rights of women, and the creation of the United Nations, I chart the anxiety occasioned when American law interacts with human rights movements. At times, through silent absorption rather than express citation, some of the "foreign" sources become lost in translation, and the new rights become constitutive elements of "American" identity.

To conceive of these debates as engaging only questions of national boundaries is, however, to miss the reliance on federalism as a justification for declining to participate in transnational rights work. Yet America's federalist structure also serves as a path for the movement of international rights across borders. As illustrated by the adoption by mayors, city councils, state legislatures, and state judges of transnational rights stemming from the U.N. Charter, the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Kyoto Protocol on global warming, the debate about transnationalism is deeply democratic, with significant popular engagement reframing American norms. Such local government actions require revisiting legal doctrines that presume the exclusivity of national power in foreign affairs—as that which is "foreign" is domesticated through several routes

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Ziller J.
Les apports de la Constitution pour l'Europe à la théorie du fédéralisme
in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals, n. 1 , 79 - 96

This article analyzes the role that in the medium and long term the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe will have eventually in the process of European integration. In spite of the failed results
of the French and Dutch referenda for its ratification, the Treaty, claims the author, will readopt a central role in the future of the European Union. From this perspective, the author explores different
aspects and features of the Treaty: he firstly deals with the debate about the nature of the Treaty itself, that is, whether it is just a treaty or whether it can be considered a constitution; secondly,
the discusses about the possible political directions the Treaty sets for Europe: whether it establishes a path for a federation, a confederation or a third way. Thirdly, the author looks at other central
features of the Treaty such as the right of secession of the Member States, the recognition of national institutional structures, the establishment of the European Union's institutions, the regulation
of relations between the European Union and the Member States, and the primacy principle.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Aronovitch Hilliard
Seceding The Canadian Way
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 36, n. 4, Fall , 541-564

The Canadian Supreme Court's 1998 decision on whether Quebec has a right to secede was initially lauded for granting both the federal government and secessionists their due. The Court found there to be an implicit Constitutional right for Quebec to secede, but by negotiation of the terms, not one-sided action. It thus deemed secession both a legal and a political phenomenon. This paper critically reassesses the decision in light especially of recent discussions about constitutionalizing secession. It argues that while a right to "nonunilateral" secession is warranted on general moral-political grounds, it should not be encoded or interpreted as a constitutional right, nor should it be called upon except to avoid systematic injustice.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Klabbers Jan.
The Right to be Taken Seriously: Self-Determination in International Law
in Human Rights Quarterly, Volume 28, Number 1, February 2006

This article suggests that viewing the right to self-determination as an enforceable right possibly leading up to secession is no longer tenable, if it ever was. Instead, courts and quasi-judicial tribunals have reconceptualized self-determination as a legal principle rather than a right and have severed the connection with secession. Hence, this article argues that self-determination has been turned into a procedural norm; and this reconceptualization can be defended in terms of republican political theory.

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Viviani Schlein M.P.
Tradizione e modernità nel federalismo elvetico
in Regioni (Le), n. 6 , 12031225

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Garcia- Escudiero Marquez P.
A vueltas con la reforma constitucional del senado: de la opciones a las decisiones
in Teoria y realidad constitucional, n. 17 , 195 - 221

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Allegretti Umberto
Costituente e costituzionalismo: continuità e discontinuità
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIII, n. 4

No abstract available

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

Costituzione e sistema elettorale dopo il referendum
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 13

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraEdit.cfm?eid=82&edoc=Lanchester4.pdf

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Punset Blanco R.
De un Senado a otro. Reflexiones y propuestas para la reforma constitucional.
in Teoria y realidad constitucional, n. 17 , 107 - 142

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Dogliani Mario
Difendere la Costituzione: un atto di realismo
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIII, n. 4

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Antonini Luca
Dobbiamo recuperare lo spirito "nuovo" del 1947
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 16

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5556&edoc=09082006033143.pdf

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Onida Valerio
Dopo il referendum: quali riforme per il regionalismo italiano?
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 14

L'esito del referendum costituzionale del 25 giugno ha probabilmente molte spiegazioni e molti significati. Qui vorrei solo riflettere brevemente su ciò che esso può significare e comportare in ordine al futuro dell'assetto regionalistico della Repubblica. Apparentemente era questo il tema centrale del progetto sottoposto agli elettori: non perché nella sostanza ne rappresentasse la parte più importante o più incisiva, ma perché la forza politica che più si era impegnata sul progetto, facendone la propria bandiera – la Lega Nord – aveva interesse a presentare, e in effetti presentava, il progetto sotto il titolo simbolico della "devoluzione", come frutto di una sua battaglia storica a favore di più ampie

autonomie regionali. Qui però sta anche un aspetto paradossale della vicenda. Era infatti un vero paradosso il fatto che venisse presentato, da fautori e avversari, come disegno “federalista” o comunque di ulteriore rafforzamento (volta a volta sperato o temuto) delle autonomie un progetto che – a parte il comma sulla cosiddetta devoluzione – conteneva soprattutto modifiche e misure in senso accentratore o di restringimento anche significativo delle autonomie medesime...

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Fondazione per la Sussidiarietà
Forum sul referendum costituzionale
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 16

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5560&edoc=09082006032443.pdf

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Fracanzani C. Marcello
L'insidiosa sussidiarietà nella riforma del Titolo V della Costituzione
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 18

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5833&edoc=19092006035808.pdf

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Ruiz Ruiz J.J.
La "catarsis" del Senado espanol
in Teoria y realidad constitucional, n. 17 , 371 - 392

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Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
De Pretis Andrea
La nuova ripartizione di competenze tra Federazione e Länder nella riorganizzazione del sistema federale tedesco
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 15

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5429&edoc=19072006010005.pdf

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Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Oeter S.
La posición del Bundesrat en el sistema constitucional alemán
in Teoria y realidad constitucional, n. 16 , 181 - 210

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Woelk Jens
La riforma del sistema federale tedesco: riuscito il primo atto
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 15

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5430&edoc=18072006091236.pdf

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Mancini Susanna
L'Unione europea nella revisione costituzionale
in Quaderni Costituzionali, numero : 2, giugno , 332-334

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Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Woelk J.
Modernizzare lo Stato federale tedesco: una fatica di sisifo?
in Regioni (Le), n. 6 , 1119 - 1156

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Garcia martinez M. A.
Senado, Estado autonomico y colaboracion legislativa
in Teoria y realidad constitucional, n. 17 , 223 - 260

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences
Rivers Christina
"Conquered Provinces"? The Voting Rights Act and State Power
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 36, n. 3, Summer , 421-442

Congress will soon review key provisions of the Voting Rights Act (VRA). A perennial concern has been the act's effect on federalism. In 1982, Congress amended the VRA both to prevent discriminatory electoral outcomes and to enhance minority political power. Since the 1990s, the Supreme Court has adjudicated the VRA in a way that limits states' use of race to protect that power. An informal alliance has since emerged between Congress, the Justice Department, states, and minority voters against what they view as a retrogressive voting rights jurisprudence. This article will argue that Congress should restore state autonomy to use race as a remedial factor when districting by reaffirming the spirit and intent of the 1982 amendments.

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Kweit Mary Grisez, Kweit Robert W.
A Tale of Two Disasters
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 36, n. 3, Summer , 375-392

The report to the U.S. president entitled The Federal Response to Hurricane Katrina concludes that in the event of catastrophic disasters the traditional intergovernmental response to disaster should give way to a more dominant role of the national government. This article considers whether it is possible to respond effectively to disaster in the traditional, intergovernmental mode by comparing the response to Katrina with the response, which was widely considered to be successful, to another disaster, in Grand Forks, North Dakota. The research suggests that an intergovernmental response can be successful if those who respond to the disaster interact in a collaborative network. The article considers whether such collaborative networks can be created and evaluates some of the recommendations from The Federal Response to Hurricane Katrina as potentially helping to create collaborative networks.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Clarke Jeremy A.
Beyond the Democratic Dialogue, and Towards a Federalist One: Provincial Arguments and Supreme Court Responses in Charter Litigation
in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique, Volume 39 - Issue 02 - June 2006 , 293 - 314

Abstract. A vigorous debate surrounding the “democratic dialogue” has done much for the understanding of our post-Charter parliamentary democracy. At the same time, it has diverted valuable attention from the settlement of the Charter with Canada's other constitutional pillar: federalism. This paper argues that the reconciliation of the Charter's national standards with the provincial diversity recognized by our federal Constitution is given expression by a federalist dialogue, occurring alongside, and even before, its democratic counterpart. An examination of several recent cases before the Supreme Court in which provincial policies have been impugned by the Charter provides evidence that

provincial governments and the principles of federalism have a role to play in Charter interpretation, and that this role is often conceded by the Supreme Court in response to provincial factums. This discussion does not conclude the grand questions of federalism in the Charter era, but it does raise some definitive questions to propel the debate.

Résumé. Le débat rigoureux concernant le « dialogue démocratique » a grandement contribué à la compréhension de notre démocratie parlementaire post-Charte. Au même moment, cependant, ce débat détourne de l'attention de la conciliation de la Charte avec l'autre pilier constitutionnel, le fédéralisme. Cet article défend que la réconciliation des standards nationaux de la Charte avec la diversité des provinces, reconnue par notre constitution fédérale, prend voix par le biais d'un dialogue portant sur les principes du fédéralisme qui se manifeste parallèlement, et même avant, son analogue démocratique. Une étude de plusieurs cas récents devant la Cour Suprême dans lesquels les politiques provinciales ont été contestées par la Charte démontre que les gouvernements provinciaux ainsi que les principes du fédéralisme ont un rôle à jouer dans l'interprétation de la Charte, et que ce rôle est souvent accordé à la Cour Suprême en réponse aux mémoires provinciaux. Par elle-même, cette discussion ne résolut pas les grandes questions du fédéralisme dans la Charte, mais elle soulève néanmoins des questions importantes qui relancent le débat.

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Palley Howard A.
Canadian Abortion Policy: National Policy and the Impact of Federalism and Political Implementation on Access to Services
in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Vol. 36, n. 4, Fall , 565-586

The Canada Health Act requires provinces and territories to provide medically necessary services and to provide equal access to such services. Since 1995, the governing Liberal Party has issued statements indicating that it views abortion services as medically necessary services. Yet the operation of health delivery systems in Canada is primarily reserved for the provinces and territories. Provincial and territorial access to abortion services is significantly affected by bottom-up political implementation, where national policy is often undermined and "trumped" by the politics and pressures operative within provincial and territorial political systems and by other intense interest group pressures.

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Kischel Uwe
Darf der Gesetzgeber das Bundesverfassungsgericht ignorieren?
in **Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts** , Band 131 (2006), Heft 2, Juni 2006

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Garat Pablo Maria
El federalismo argentino y la crisis de su estrado federal
in **Cuaderno de federalismo**, 2006-Vol:19-Nr:19

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Conlan Tim
From Cooperative to Opportunistic Federalism: Reflections on the Half-Century Anniversary of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
in Public Administration Review, September-October 2006 - Vol. 66 Issue 5 , 663-676

In 1955, the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations—the Kestnbaum Commission—embellished the intellectual framework of cooperative federalism and laid out a policy agenda for promoting it. Since then, our intergovernmental system has evolved from a predominantly cooperative federal–state–local system to one characterized by corrosive opportunistic behavior, greater policy prescriptiveness, eroding institutional capacity for intergovernmental analysis, and shifting paradigms of public management. These trends threaten to undermine effective intergovernmental relations and management. Recent developments, however, offer some promise for building new institutions of intergovernmental analysis, more effective paradigms of intergovernmental public management, and greater horizontal cooperation.

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Roitsch Jutta
Föderaler Schlußakt. Von der kreativen Kooperation zum ruinösen Wettbewerb
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, August, 2005 , 977-984

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Wilson Robert Hines
Governance and Reform of the State: Signs of Progress?
in Latin American Research Review, Volume 41, Number 1, 2006 , 165-177

Democratization and reform of the state in Latin America have been prominent concerns during the last two decades. Responding to authoritarian governments, many constituted by military dictatorships, and to the exhaustion of the state-led development model, the region was ripe for reform. An exciting period of sweeping political and economic change has followed, driven by a range of internal and external factors but manifested according to the unique context of individual countries. The euphoria that accompanied the end of authoritarian governments and the high expectations of social reform and justice have been substantially tempered with the slow progression of the difficult work of instituting democratic governance. Although falling below initial expectations, progress has in fact been made and sufficient time has passed to allow for more rigorous assessments of reform.

Understanding the forces of change and the roles of various actors and institutions involved in state reform is critical for several reasons. In many countries, reform of the state and consolidation of democracy are occurring simultaneously. In addition, high levels of social inequality are quite visible as urbanization rates in the region approach those of the advanced economies, not to mention the fact that the region has a significant number of the world's largest metropolitan areas.

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McGuire Michael
Intergovernmental Management: A View from the Bottom
in Public Administration Review, September-October 2006 - Vol. 66 Issue 5 , 677-679

Intergovernmental management is more than just intergovernmental relationships involving the federal government. Though Professor McGuire agrees that the federal government has become more intrusive and opportunistic since the mid-20th century—resulting in less cooperative intergovernmental relations—he argues that collaborative management is much more prevalent than it is depicted in Dr. Conlan's analysis. A bottom-up view suggests that local and regional activity can be both opportunistic and collaborative, and such a perspective must be considered in any discussion of managing federalism.

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Gormley Jr. William T.
Money and Mandates: The Politics of Intergovernmental Conflict
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 36, n. 4, Fall , 523-540

The federal government's relationship with the states depends in part on the level of federal aid and the number of federal mandates. Environmental policy, with less federal aid and more mandates, differs from education policy and health policy. The volume of intergovernmental litigation is heavier and rhetorical references to intergovernmental partnerships by agency heads are more common in environmental policy. Waivers are more common in education policy and health policy, but that appears to be a function of congressional policies largely barring environmental policy waivers. Federal judges are more supportive of the federal government's position on environmental protection and education than its position on health care. Overall, federal funding and mandates appear to have an impact on state governments, federal bureaucrats, and federal judges.

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Houck O.A.
O Canada: the story of rafferty, oldman, and the great whale.
in Boston College International and Comparative Law Review, Vol. 29 n. 2 , 175 - 244

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Cole Richard L.., Kincaid John
Public Opinion on U.S. Federal and Intergovernmental Issues in 2006: Continuity and Change
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 36, n. 3, Summer , 443-459

A 2006 trend survey found that Americans most often select local government as giving them the most for their money, followed by the federal and state governments. African Americans are most supportive of the federal government as giving them the most for their money; Hispanics are most supportive of local government. As in many previous years, the local property tax was viewed as the worst tax, followed by the federal income tax, state sales tax, and state income tax. Americans displayed reduced trust and confidence in the federal government; however, trust in all three spheres of government—federal, state, and local—dropped between 2004 and 2006, possibly reflective of the poor response of all governments to Hurricane Katrina. Analysis of surveys since 1972 reveals that there has been a long-term decline in the public's support for the federal government and a corresponding increase in support of state and especially local governments.

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Levinson Daryl J. Pildes Richard H.
Separation of parties, not powers
in Harvard Law Review, Vol. 119 · June 2006 · No. 8 , 2312-2386

American political institutions were founded upon the Madisonian assumption of vigorous, self-sustaining political competition between the legislative and executive branches. Congress and the President would check and balance each other; officeholders would defend the distinct interests of their different institutions; ambition would counteract ambition. That is not how American democracy turned out. Instead, political competition and cooperation along relatively stable lines of policy and ideological disagreement quickly came to be channeled not through the branches of government, but rather through an institution the Framers could imagine only dimly but nonetheless despised: political parties. Few aspects of the founding generation’s political theory are now more clearly anachronistic than their vision of legislative-executive separation of powers. Yet few of the Framers’ ideas continue to be taken as literally or sanctified as deeply by courts and constitutional scholars as the passages about interbranch relations in Madison’s Federalist 51. This Article reenvisions the law and theory of separation of powers by viewing it through the lens of party competition. In particular, it points out that during periods — like the present — of cohesive and polarized political parties, the degree and kind of competition between the legislative and executive branches will vary significantly and may all but disappear, depending on whether party control of the House, Senate, and Presidency is divided or unified. The practical distinction between party-divided and party-unified government thus rivals, and often dominates, the constitutional distinction between the branches in predicting and explaining interbranch political dynamics.

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Dinan John, Krane Dale

The State of American Federalism, 2005: Federalism Resurfaces in the Political Debate

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 36, n. 3, Summer , 327-374

After several years during which federalism was rarely a prominent or explicit issue in political debates, it was in several ways thrust into the public consciousness in 2005. It was not that the president or Congress ceased sacrificing state and local interests to substantive policy goals, as shown by the costly REAL ID Act, stringent new federal requirements in the Temporary Aid to Needy Families reauthorization, and congressional intervention in the Terri Schiavo case. However, Hurricane Katrina, and particularly the delayed and ineffective intergovernmental response, generated substantial debate about the appropriate federal role in disaster relief. In addition, state and local governmental opposition to the No Child Left Behind Act intensified and generated significant attention during the year, particularly as a result of a Utah statute asserting the precedence of state over federal law and a Connecticut lawsuit against the act. Meanwhile, state governments continued to address a number of policy problems that federal officials were unable or unwilling to confront, especially regarding environmental, health-care, and labor issues. Finally, although the Supreme Court in 2005 continued its recent (2003–2004) trend of pulling back somewhat from its late-1990s Congress-curbing decisions, federalism issues figured quite prominently in the senate confirmation hearings for Chief Justice John Roberts and Justice Samuel Alito.

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

Subsection 4.The legislative branch

Watts Ronald L.

Federal second chambers compared

in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 15

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5483&edoc=27072006094033.pdf

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

Subsection 4.The legislative branch

Corradino Michele

I principi di garanzia quali limiti alla potestà legislativa regionale in materia di procedimento amministrativo

in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 18

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5866&edoc=20092006000716.pdf

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

Subsection 5.The executive branch

Bauer Michael W.

Co-managing programme implementation: conceptualizing the European Commission's role in policy execution

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 5 / August , 717-735

This article presents a concept aimed towards a better understanding of the European Commission's role during the

implementation of European policies. This constitutes a research deficit. While our knowledge about the Commission's ability to set the agenda and to influence decision-making has continuously advanced, we lag behind in understanding the Commission's behaviour in policy implementation. The article proposes a mechanism that explains Commission acting throughout policy execution on the basis of resource interdependencies. It argues that the Commission has an intrinsic motivation to overcome informational asymmetries during policy implementation in order to stabilize its ordinary functions in policy drafting and decision-making. The central theoretical argument is thus based on the vulnerability of the Commission due to its lack of a formal say in national policy execution while it is held responsible for implementation deficiencies by the other European institutions. In order to diminish that dilemma – which occurs especially when European programmes stretch over repetitive policy cycles – the Commission needs what is termed implementation management capacity (IMC).

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 5.The executive branch
Carlassare Lorenza
Strutture di governo e strutture di garanzia nell'attuazione della Costituzione
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIII, n. 4

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Bosworth Matthew H.
"An Innate Sense of Fairness": State Responses to the U.S. Supreme Court's Sovereign Immunity Decisions
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 36, n. 3, Summer , 393-420

The U.S. Supreme Court's recent revival of state sovereign immunity is usually cited as a significant development in modern U.S. federalism. These decisions giving states a powerful defense against lawsuits lead to the question: How will the states react to the Court's rulings? How likely is it that states will consent to be sued? This article discusses the consequences of the Court's sovereign immunity rulings specifically concerning state legislative debates over immunity waiver bills. It explains why some states have been willing to waive immunity, despite the Court majority's fears of a flood of lawsuits if states did not enjoy immunity.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Edlin Douglas E.
Judicial Review without a Constitution
in Polity, Volume 38, Number 3, July , 345-368

In the United States, judicial review is understood, since Marbury v. Madison (1803), as judicial evaluation of government action to ensure compliance with the Constitution. But before and after Marbury, state and federal courts

developed and practiced a form of judicial review in which common law principles, along with or instead of a canonical document, were the foundational body of legal doctrine against which public actions were assessed. This article carefully examines the cases in which this alternative form of judicial review emerged, and corrects certain misconceptions that Marbury must be the only form of judicial review that has existed or can exist in this country. More particularly, the article clarifies a failure by certain writers to distinguish properly between common law and natural law as matters of legal theory and legal doctrine. In correcting some of these theoretical and historical errors, the article outlines an understanding of judicial review that more fully captures its development during the formative period of American constitutional thought.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Comiskey Michael
The Senate Confirmation Process and the Quality of U.S. Supreme Court Justices
in Polity, Volume 38, Number 3, July , 295-313

Some critics of the confirmation process for U.S. Supreme Court nominees have claimed that the contentiousness of the contemporary process has induced presidents to nominate lesser known figures of lesser merit to the High Court, rather than first-rate legal scholars of well known and likely controversial views. This dynamic has led, in the words of one commentator, to a "Court of mediocrity." This paper tests that thesis by analyzing the results of a survey of constitutional law scholars on the overall "quality" of the Court's twentieth-century appointees. The results place none of the justices appointed since the late 1960s in the survey's highest category: "Excellent." However, the results indicate that the recent justices are, as a whole, just as able as the average justice of earlier in the twentieth century. A majority of the recent justices score above the mean rating of their earlier twentieth-century predecessors at a statistically distinguishable level. Moreover, the discussion of the survey results shows that the conditions for the appointment of great justices are still present.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Urofsky Melvim I.
Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall: What Kind of Constitution Shall We Have?
in Journal of Supreme Court History, July 2006 - Vol. 31 Issue 2 , 109-125

Although they were third cousins once removed—both descended from William Randolph of Turkey Island, one of the first settlers in Virginia—John Marshall and Thomas Jefferson had little familial affection for one another. During the disputed contest of 1800, the future Chief Justice felt "almost insuperable objection" to the man who eventually become the third President, declaring him "totally unfit for the chief magistracy of a nation which cannot indulge these prejudices without sustaining deep personal injury." 1 For his part, Jefferson reciprocated, and his cousin became the embodiment of all he despised in the judiciary. He wrote of Marshall as a man of "lax lounging manners … and a profound hypocrisy."2

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Newmyer R. Kent
Thomas Jefferson and the Rise of the Supreme Court
in **Journal of Supreme Court History**, July 2006 - Vol. 31 Issue 2 , 126-140

American constitutional history in the early national period seems at times to be a conversation—or an argument—among Virginians. There's James Madison, George Washington, George Mason, John Taylor of Caroline County, Judge Spencer Roane, John Randolph of Roanoke, to mention only some. At the center of this constellation were John Marshall and Thomas Jefferson.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Kellermann Kersten
A Note on Intertemporal Fiscal Competition and Redistribution
in **International Tax and Public Finance**, vol. 13, no 2-3 , 151-161

This paper studies fiscal competition among jurisdictions in a dynamic framework, where the degree of mobility of private capital across jurisdictions boundaries is perfect. The optimal tax on mobile capital is a source tax that taxes away factor rents. Further we show that taxation of mobile capital can redistribute income in favor of the immobile factor labor. This is because the factor rents generated by public inputs and appropriated by mobile capital exceed the efficient level of public expenditure for investments.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Sadeh Tal
Adjusting to the EMU - Electoral, Partisan and Fiscal Cycles
in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 7, n. 3, September , 347-372

This study argues that coordination of electoral cycles among European Union (EU) member states and greater similarity in the partisan bias of their governments would make their membership in the single currency easier and cheaper by harmonizing their fiscal policies and would thus contribute to the sustainability of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). This argument is supported by applying a two-step least squares regression analysis to a cross-section of 325 dyads among 26 European countries. The article adds to the debate on the sustainability of the EMU with wider country and criteria coverage than is available in most of the existing literature, and by considering endogenous optimal currency area criteria as well as political variables within a single framework. It also contributes by studying the effects of political variables on real exchange rates and by applying a methodology that corrects estimates for the endogeneity of variables.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Mink Mark, de Haan Jacob
Are there Political Budget Cycles in the Euro Area?
in European Union Politics , Vol. 7, n. 2, June , 191-211

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
Ladu Giampaolo
Armonizzazione della finanza pubblica nell'attuazione del federalismo fiscale
in Comuni d'Italia, n. 3 , 59 - 63

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
Braun Dietmar
Between Market-Preserving Federalism and Intergovernmental Coordination: The Case of Australia
in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique, Volume 12, Issue 2, Summer 2006 , 1-36

This article investigates Australia's economic success since the 1990s. As this was set in motion by fundamental political reforms, it asks to what extent Australian-type federalism has been an important factor in the reform process. By using two approaches - the market-preserving federalism approach of Weingast, which stresses the virtues of "limited government", decentralisation and competition together with the intergovernmental coordination approach of Scharpf which argues for a "problem-solving" orientation of territorial actors -, the structure of Australian federalism, changes in the working of the federal system in the 1990s, and effects on policy-making are scrutinised. The article demonstrates that a particular combination of a rather centralised federal structure and a particular type of intergovernmental coordination, i.e. collaboration, supplemented by the strong influence of new public management ideas, has been conducive to political reforms in Australia. This suggests that a decentralised and competitive version of federalism, as defended by Weingast, is not a necessary condition for embarking on a successful reform path in federal countries. In future research, both approaches or analytical dimensions should be used in order to better understand the relationship of intergovernmental relations and policy reforms.

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

Comparing welfare states in Australia and Canada: A party competition theory of welfare state development
in **Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**, Vol. 44 n. 2 , 167 - 189

Using a 'most-similar-systems' design, several major theories of welfare state development are shown to have some weaknesses in comparing the Australian and Canadian welfare states during the Golden Age. I offer instead a party competition theory, with the degree of party system polarisation as a key variable. Located in a highly polarised party system, the Australian Liberals adopted a directional social policy strategy and further shifted the Australian welfare state in favour of the middle class. Located in a less polarised party system, the Canadian Liberals adopted a more proximity-based brokerage strategy of social policy and co-opted the left's popular social policies.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Johnson Debra
Developments in the Economies of Member States Outside the Euro Area
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue s1, September , 213-230

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
Verdun Amy
Economic Developments in the Euro Area
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue s1, September , 199-212

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
Treisman Daniel
Fiscal Decentralization, Governance, And Economic Performance: A Reconsideration
in **Economics and Politics**, Volume 18 Issue 2

In countries with tax-sharing systems, assigning local governments a large share of locally generated revenues is often thought to promote economic development. The more local officials benefit from local economic activity, the more supportive of business and less corrupt they should be, resulting in higher output. Some attribute China's rapid growth to its high local retention rates and Russia's 1990s stagnation to the central clawback of local revenues. I show that such arguments ignore an important actor in the game – the central government. If increasing the local tax share improves incentives for local authorities, it worsens them for central officials. The net effect on output is indeterminate.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Losco V.

Gli sviluppi della equalizzazione fiscale in Germania nella nuova legge di perequazione

in Regioni (Le), n. 6 , 1099 - 1117

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

Nishimura1 Yukihiro

Human Fallibility, Complementarity, And Fiscal Decentralization

in Journal of Public Economic Theory, Vol. 8 Issue 3

This paper examines economic growth properties under alternative fiscal organizations when a bureau's decisions are fallible. A country consists of J jurisdictions, which need a public service. In a centralized government, one authority decides on services in every jurisdiction. In a decentralized government, J authorities are in charge of each public service. An authority can have high ability or low ability, and an authority with high ability draws a good project with higher probability. We first show that the decentralized government provides the same average quality of public services, with lower variance, than does the centralized government. We then apply this result to an economic growth model where the value of the Solow residual is a constant elasticity of substitution (CES) function of public services. We show that there is a critical value of the degree of complementarity below which fiscal decentralization is more desirable than fiscal centralization for an expected economic growth, and the decentralized government has a lower variance of GDP growth

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Conrad Robert F.

Interjurisdictional Taxation and Attribution Rules

in Public Finance Review, Vol. 34, No. 5 , 505-526

An economic model of interjurisdictional taxation is developed and used to analyze the effects of different attribution rules on the location of production, sales, and input use. To illustrate the usefulness of the model, two methods of attribution are studied: separate accounting and formulary apportionment. It is shown that if the tax systems across jurisdictions are identical and neutral, then the attribution method is arbitrary. It is also shown that separate accounting rules can be developed using standard economic definitions even in cases where this method is claimed to fail

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Rizzo Leonzio

Le inefficienze della competizione fiscale: una rassegna dei principali modelli teorici

in Economia Politica, Fascicolo 2 , 89-120

The choice of local tax rates and local public good levels in an interregional economic system cannot be efficient when there is mobility of persons or goods. In fact in a federal system each region chooses tax rates and/or local public goods taking into account only the level of its welfare and not the level of the welfare of all regions of the federation. We examine how the literature deals with this issue, looking at some interesting particular cases: tax competition on consumption goods (Mintz - Tulkens, 1986; Kanbur - Keen, 1993; Bordignon, 1995; Hamilton - Slutsky, 1997; Scharf, 1999) and on factors of production (Zodrow - Mietzkowsky, 1986 Wildasin, 1988; Bucotvesky, 1991; Wilson, 1986; 1991). We discuss the policy implications of these theoretical analyses, pointing out the empirical relevance of the fiscal relationship among regions in a federation (Besley - Case, 1995; Besley - Griffith - Klemm, 2001; Devereux - Lockwood - Redoano, 2002). We finally discuss some recent literature on the role of vertical externalities (Keen - Kotsogiannis, 2002; Rizzo, 2005) and interregional transfers (Wildasin, 1991; Dalbhy, 1996; Bucovetsky - Smart, 2002; Esteller-Moré - Solé-Ollé, 2002; Köthenburgen, 2002; Rizzo, 2003).

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Calabrese Stephen, Epple Dennis, Romerd Thomas, Sieg Holger
Local public good provision: Voting, peer effects, and mobility
in Journal of Public Economics, Volume 90, Issues 6-7 , 959-981

Few empirical strategies have been developed that investigate public provision under majority rule while taking explicit account of the constraints implied by mobility of households. The goal of this paper is to improve our understanding of voting in local communities when neighborhood quality depends on peer or neighborhood effects. We develop a new empirical approach which allows us to impose all restrictions that arise from locational equilibrium models with myopic voting simultaneously on the data generating process. We can then analyze how close myopic models come in replicating the main regularities about expenditures, taxes, sorting by income and housing observed in the data. We find that a myopic voting model that incorporates peer effects fits all dimensions of the data reasonably well.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Arestis Philip, Chortareas Georgios
Monetary policy in the euro area
in Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, Volume 28, Number 3 , 371 - 394

We examine the conduct of monetary policy as implemented by the European Central Bank (ECB) throughout the euro area. Two distinct but closely related approaches are utilized, both of which rely on the assumption that monetary policy can be usefully characterized in terms of a simple Taylor rule-type of reaction function. First, the ECB policy is assessed against the benchmark of the Bundesbank's reaction function and, second, we impose ad hoc Taylor rules. The policy maker's perception about the equilibrium real interest rate is important. Our analysis suggests that such perceptions may have changed over the period of the ECB's short life.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Carnegie Garry D., Baxter Claude

Price Setting for Local Government Service Delivery : An Exploration of Key Issues
in **Australian Journal of Public Administration**, Volume 65, Number 3 , 103-111

Local governments in Australia are constantly seeking to raise additional revenue to fund higher service demands. One key revenue source is service fees and charges, including fines. Premised on the notion of user pays, service fees and charges represent a significant proportion of total revenue for many local governments, especially in New South Wales, Queensland and Tasmania. This exploratory essay addresses a number of key issues related to this revenue source in order to stimulate discussion and debate on matters which are presently under-examined in the literature. The article examines the philosophy underpinning price setting, the identification of the principles of price setting, the adoption of applicable price setting models, the need to adhere to National Competition Policy and also the applicability of differential pricing of service delivery within local government. Calls for more open approaches and enhanced disclosure relating to service provision and pricing are made.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Marcellino Massimiliano
Some stylized facts on non-systematic fiscal policy in the Euro area
in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, Volume 28, Issue 3 , 461-479

We derive a set of stylized facts on the effects of non-systematic fiscal policy in the four largest countries of the Euro area. We find relevant differences across countries in the effects of non-systematic fiscal policy, and substantial uncertainty about the size of these effects. Yet, in general, expenditure shocks are usually rather ineffective in increasing output growth, and can require deficit financing. Tax policies also appear to have minor effects on output, but usually tax increases do not have negative effects. Disaggregating expenditures and receipts yields some interesting results, in particular increases in government consumption decrease output in all countries, while social benefits can increase it.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Bertoldi M.
Struttura e limiti del welfare americano
in **Stato e mercato**, n. 1 , 55-90

The US welfare is evolving along an unsustainable path. By 2050 the share of the federal welfare programs alone will approach 25% of GDP, i.e. a share higher than the current share of the federal government in the economy. Because of the strain that the growing pension and public health programs will put on the budget, taxation will have to rise and its share of GDP more than double from now to 2050. If, in addition, we suppose that the current account deficit will stay at current levels, the US foreign debt will rise above 100% of GDP. Therefore, if the current trends persist, in 2050 the US will be a much less attractive country for work and investment, burdened as it will be by high taxes and huge macroeconomic imbalances. In the last 15 years ambitious plans have been put forward to guarantee the solvency of the US welfare system. But these attempts failed or are faltering. The main explanation of these failures may reside in a number of US structural rigidities that make it very difficult to pass reforms implying a significant amount of income redistribution.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Dynarski Susan M., Scott–Clayton Judith E.
The Cost of Complexity in Federal Student Aid: Lessons from Optimal Tax Theory and Behavioral Economics
in National Tax Journal, 59, June , 319-56

The federal system for distributing student financial aid rivals the tax code in its complexity. Both have been a source of frustration and a focus of reform efforts for decades, yet the complexity of the student aid system has received comparatively little attention from economists. We describe the complexity of the aid system, and apply lessons from optimal tax theory and behavioral economics to show that complexity is a serious obstacle to both efficiency and equity in the distribution of student aid. We show that complexity disproportionately burdens those with the least ability to pay and undermines redistributive goals. We use detailed data from federal student aid applications to show that a radically simplified aid process can reproduce the current distribution of aid using a fraction of the information now collected

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Matha Thomas Y.
The Euro and Regional Price Differences of Individual Products in an Integrated Cross-Border Area
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 3, September , 563-580

Using individual supermarket prices, this article shows that, even for a narrowly defined geographical and highly integrated cross-border area, absolute deviations from the law of one price (LOP) rise, as distance increases and borders are crossed. Being inside the former Belgian-Luxembourg monetary association has the opposite effect. The latter result suggests that the euro will increase European integration and will help to reduce regional and cross-border price differences in the long term. Furthermore, larger differences in packaging sizes result in larger price deviations. The opposite is the case for prices observed within the same retail group.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Buettner Thiess, Wildasin David E.
The dynamics of municipal fiscal adjustment
in Journal of Public Economics, Volume 90, Issues 6-7 , 1115-1132

The dynamic fiscal policy adjustment of local jurisdictions is investigated empirically using a panel of more than 1000 U.S. municipalities over a quarter of a century. Distinguishing own-source revenue, grants, expenditures, and debt service, the analysis is carried out using a vector error-correction model which takes account of the intertemporal budget constraint. The results indicate that a large part of the adjustment in response to fiscal imbalances takes place by offsetting changes in future expenditures. In addition, the results show that fiscal imbalances are financed to a significant extent by subsequent changes in grants. Decomposition of the sample according to average city population reveals that the basic pattern of fiscal adjustment is robust, although intergovernmental grants play a much more pronounced role in

maintaining budget balance for large cities.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Ebner Alexander
The intellectual foundations of the social market economy: Theory, policy, and implications for European integration
in Journal of Economic Studies, Volume 33 Issue 3

This paper suggests that an adequate understanding of the notion of the social market economy, which has become a prominent aspect of debates on the social model of the European Constitution, is to be assessed in the context of the historist tradition in German economic and social thought.
Design/methodology/approach – The paper explores the intellectual history of the notion of the social market economy and its conceptual relevance for a dynamic European social model by highlighting Alfred Müller-Armack's contributions to ordoliberalism and their relationship with German historism, in particular with Gustav von Schmoller's approach to Socialpolitik.
Findings – The paper finds that the decisive concern of the notion of the social market economy is the reconciliation of economic dynamism and social cohesion in a basic setting of legal rules and cultural values, reaching beyond common interpretations that focus more narrowly on institutional aspects of social policy.
Practical implications – By highlighting the interplay of economic, social and cultural dimensions, the paper suggests an extension of the conceptual horizon of current debates on the social model of the European Union, promoting policy implications that account for the possibilities of balancing conflicting social interests in the process of integration.
Originality/value – The paper applies a reconstruction of the intellectual history of the notion of the social market economy to the problem of designing a social order for the European Union with its underlying discourse on the constitutional status of a European social market economy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Gravel Nicolas, Poitevin Michel
The progressivity of equalization payments in federations
in Journal of Public Economics, Volume 90, Issues 8-9 , 1725-1743

We investigate the conditions under which an inequality averse and additively separable welfarist central government would choose to set up a progressive equalization payments scheme in a federation with local public goods. A progressive equalization payments scheme is a list of per capita net (possibly negative) subsidies – one such net subsidy for every jurisdiction – that are decreasing with respect to jurisdictions per capita wealth. We examine this question in a setting where the case for progressivity is a priori the strongest, namely: all citizens have the same utility function, inhabitants of a given jurisdiction have the same wealth and are not able to move across jurisdictions and there is no cross-jurisdiction competition in the setting of tax rates. We show that the central government favors a progressive equalization payments scheme for all distributions of wealth and population sizes if and only if its objective function is additively separable between each jurisdiction's per capita wealth and number of inhabitants. When interpreted for a mean of order r social welfare function, and assuming the absence of congestion in the local public good, this condition is shown to be equivalent to the requirement that the individual indirect utility function be additively separable between

wealth public good price and be raised at the power 1/r before its agregation by means of the mean-of-order r social welfare function. Some implications of this restriction to the case where the individual's direct utility function is additively separable are also derived.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Bloch Francis, Zenginobuz E. Ünal
Tiebout equilibria in local public good economies with spillovers
in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume 90, Issues 8-9

This paper analyzes the effects of spillovers on the equilibrium population distribution across jurisdictions in a local public good economy with free mobility. Spillovers are parametrized by a matrix [αij] where αij [0, 1]. When spillovers are symmetric and close to 0 or 1 (pure local public goods and pure public goods), all equilibrium jurisdiction structures are symmetric. However, any population distribution can be sustained in equilibrium for some value of the spillover parameter α. In the class of utility functions with additive externalities, we identify the unique family of utility functions for which equilibria are symmetric except for an isolated value of α. This is a class of utility functions which are linear in the public good and a power function of the private good, u(c, γ) = − A(1 − c)β + γ. With this specification of utility, we show that an increase in α results in a more fragmented equilibrium population distribution, and that when spillovers are asymmetric and large, a jurisdiction which is more centrally located (i.e. benefits more from the public goods provided in other jurisdictions) has a larger population in equilibrium.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Costa-Font Joan, Rico Ana
Vertical Competition in the Spanish National Health System (NHS)
in **Public Choice**, Volume 128, Numbers 3-4 , 477-498

In unitary states, competitive decentralisation structures can take place by increasing the visibility of politically accountable jurisdictions in certain policy responsibilities such as health care. Drawing from the Spanish decentralisation process we examine the mechanisms (and determinants) of vertical competition in the development of health policies in the Spanish National Health System. The Spanish example provides qualitative evidence of vertical competition that assimilates government outcomes of unitary states to that of federal structures. The Spanish experience indicates that the specific vertical competition mechanisms in place until 2002 are likely to be responsible for significant policy innovation and welfare state development.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Cavelaars Paul
Why the world should love the euro: The welfare implications of EMU for third countries
in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, Volume 28, Issue 2 , 326-337

This paper studies the welfare consequences of the monetary union in Europe. It develops a monetary game which stresses the importance of international spillovers and the internalisation of externalities as a result of EMU. It is shown that in the context of this framework the EMU has a positive welfare impact on the rest of the world, even though the welfare impact of EMU on European countries themselves is ambiguous.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Alphandéry Edmond, Ubide Angel
Why we should re-nationalise the Stability Pact's disciplines
in Europe´s World, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_2.2_Alphandery_Why_we_should_re-nationalise.pdf

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)
Galbraith James k.
Endogenous doctrine, or, why is monetary policy in America so much better than in Europe?
in Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, Volume 28, Number 3 , 423 - 432

This paper briefly examines the evolution of economic doctrine used to justify monetary policies at the Federal Reserve since World War II. The main finding is that while individual doctrines rarely withstand close scrutiny, they do change with some regularity and in evident response to circumstance. The ability to shift the public face (and perhaps the private basis) of monetary decision making gives the Federal Reserve, for all its faults, an advantage over the European Central Bank, which is constitutionally committed to its "line"--and therefore unable to accommodate itself to new evidence, new theory, or new states of the world.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)
Plümper Thomas, Troeger Vera E.
Monetary Policy Autonomy in European Non-Euro Countries, 1980–2005
in European Union Politics , Vol. 7, n. 2, June , 213-234

We argue that the European currency union (ECU) reduced the de facto monetary policy autonomy of EU countries abstaining from introducing the euro. The large share of imports from euro zone countries renders a close alignment of monetary policy to the interest rate set by the European Central Bank (ECB) necessary if the monetary authorities of countries outside the ECU want to impede the import of inflation from the euro zone or a declining competitiveness of the domestic industry. In turn, the increasing role of the euro as an international reserve medium equal to the US dollar reduced the monetary policy autonomy of countries importing more goods and services from the euro zone than from the dollar zone. An empirical analysis of monetary policy in the United Kingdom, Denmark and Sweden lends support to our theoretical argument. Analysing the shortterm adjustments of central bank interest rates in these three EU countries, which did not introduce the euro, we show that these countries' monetary policies more closely follow the ECB's policy than they followed the Bundesbank's policy before 1994. In addition, we demonstrate the diminishing influence of the

dollar on monetary policy in the UK, Denmark and Sweden since the countries of the Economic and Monetary Union harmonized monetary policies.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)
Sardoni C., Wray L.R.
Monetary policy strategies of the European Central Bank and the Federal Reserve bank of the United States
in Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, Volume 28, Number 3 , 451 - 472

In the debate on monetary policy strategies on the two sides of the Atlantic, it is now almost commonplace to contrast the Fed and the European Central Bank (ECB) by pointing out the flexibility and capacity to adjust of the former and the rigidity and extreme caution of the latter, and its obsession with low inflation. In looking at the foundations of the two banks' strategies, however, we do not find differences that can provide a simple explanation for their divergent behavior, nor, above all, for the very different economic performance in the United States and Euroland in recent years. Not surprisingly, both central banks share the same conviction that money is neutral in the long run, and even their short-term policies are based on similar fundamental principles. The two policy approaches really differ only in terms of implementation, timing, competence, and so on, but not in terms of the underlying theoretical orientation. We then draw the conclusion that monetary policy cannot represent a significant variable in the explanation of the different economic performances of Euroland and the United States. The two economic areas' differences must be explained by considering other factors, among which the most important is fiscal policy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)
Fontana Giuseppe
The Federal Reserve and the European Central Bank: a theoretical comparison of their legislative mandates
in Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, Volume 28, Number 3 , 433 - 450

In academic and policy circles, the assumption is often made that the Fed and the European Central Bank (ECB) have a perfectly identical understanding of what monetary policy can achieve and they follow the same policy strategy. This assumption seats uncomfortably with the different legislative mandates of the Fed and the ECB. Drawing on a critical analysis of the "new con-sensus" view in macroeconomics and its policy recommendations, this paper argues that the dual mandate of the Fed allows for a less restrictive set of theoretical assumptions than the single mandate of the ECB, and, for this reason, has to be preferred.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Caravita di Toritto Beniamino
Abrogazione o razionalizzazione delle Province?
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 18

Il recente dibattito estivo sulla abolizione delle Province non tiene - clamorosamente - conto di un dato cruciale, se non risolutivo: del fatto, cioè, che le Province sono un livello istituzionale riconosciuto in Costituzione, la quale, dopo la riforma del 2001 (confermata, peraltro, da due voti referendari nel 2001 e nel 2006), prevede esplicitamente che "la Repubblica è costituita dai Comuni, dalle Province, dalle Città Metropolitane, dalle Regioni e dallo Stato" (art. 114, comma 1), che "Comuni, Province, Città Metropolitane e Regioni sono enti autonomi, con propri statuti, poteri e funzioni, secondo i principi fissati dalla Costituzione" (art. 114, comma 2), che "i Comuni, le Province e le Città Metropolitane sono titolari di funzioni amministrative proprie e di quelle conferite con legge statale o regionale" (art. 118, comma 2) e, ancora, che "i Comuni, le Province, le Città Metropolitane e le Regioni hanno autonomia finanziaria di entrata e di spesa" (art. 119, comma 1). Abolire le Province, insomma, non è possibile con un tratto di penna, ma nemmeno con una semplice legge ordinaria: richiede - sotto il profilo delle fonti - una legge di revisione costituzionale che riordini complessivamente l'architettura istituzionale italiana, intervenendo in profondità sul testo costituzionale...

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Kelly Josie
Central Regulation of English Local Authorities: an Example of Meta-Governance?
in Public Administration, August 2006 - Vol. 84 Issue 3 , 603-621

This paper discusses how the UK government has reconfigured its regulation of English local authorities by moving from direct oversight to using an indirect independent agency as a vehicle of meta-governance. This theme is discussed through two strands: first, by examining how several factors eroded central government's capacity to directly regulate councils. The second strand examines the strategies used by the Audit Commission, an independent agency, to assert its authority over councils and how its hegemony is sustained by facilitating and participating in horizontal and vertical networks across government, specialist policy and stakeholders' communities

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Goldfrank Benjamin, Schneider Aaron
Competitive Institution Building: The PT and Participatory Budgeting in Rio Grande do Sul
in Latin American Politics & Society, Vol. 48, Nr. 3

In the late 1990s, the Workers' Party (PT) government of the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul introduced participatory budgeting, a process in which citizens establish annual investment priorities in public assemblies. This innovation was one of several attempts by incumbent parties to structure political conflict using budget institutions. The character of participatory budgeting is most evident in its policymaking processes and policy outcomes. The process circumvented legislative arenas where opponents held a majority, privileged participation by the PT's voter base, and reached into opposition strongholds. The outcomes favored the interests of potential supporters among poor and middle-class voters. The political project proved vulnerable to its own raised expectations: it failed to sustain the image of clean government; brought tax increases along with fiscal insecurity; and left unfulfilled the participants' expectations for targeted investments. This article highlights the role of participatory budgeting, indeed all budgeting, in partisan actors' institutional choices.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Gong Ting
Corruption and local governance: the double identity of Chinese local governments in market reform
in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 19, Number 1, March , 85-102

This paper examines China's corruption in the context of its changing central–local relations. It contends that it is not so much decentralization as the incompleteness of power devolution that has contributed to the spreading of corruption in China. The incompleteness can be seen in the development of the double identity of local government as both a state political agent and a local economic principal. As state agents, local governments obtain increased discretionary power to make and implement policies and, at the same time, they also assume the role of local economic principals to protect, promote and even directly manage local economies. The dual identity places both broad discretionary power and immediate economic benefits within easy reach of local officials. Focusing on two prevalent forms of corruption in China today, illegal land transfers and 'little money lockers', the paper shows how the deep involvement of local officials in economic affairs, coupled with unbridled discretionary power, provides opportunities and incentives for corruption.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Piraino Andrea
Dal Testo unico ad una "Carta di principi" per le Autonomie Locali
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 16

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5561&edoc=08082006234529.pdf

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Bonifacino Norma Elida
Federalism y regimen municipal
in Cuaderno de federalismo, 2006-Vol:19-Nr:19

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Bose Marc, Wirth Peter
Gesundschrumpfen oder Ausbluten?
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 21-22, 2006

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
De Siano Ambrogio
Il TUEL e la funzione amministrativa degli enti locali: la sussidiarietà e l'adeguatezza delle risorse finanziarie
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 16

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5531&edoc=09082006034517.pdf

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Martini Giovanni
Il TUEL e la funzione amministrativa degli enti locali: la sussidiarietà e la definizione delle materie e dei compiti
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 16

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5533&edoc=27072006041655.pdf

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
de Chiara Alberto
Il TUEL e la funzione normativa degli enti locali
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 16

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5530&edoc=02082006001051.pdf

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Silenzio Pasquale
Il principio di sussidierieta': riferimenti legislativi e giurisprudenziali. Incidenza sull'autonomia normativa degli enti locali
in Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza, n. 7 , 883 -888

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Kersting Norbert
Interkommunale Kooperation oder Wettbewerb?
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 21-22, 2006

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Speranza Giuliana
L'ordinamento delle autonomie locali: lo Statuto e la nuova struttura organizzativa dei Comuni del Trentino Alto Adige
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 18

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/ApplMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5835&edoc=19092006062421.pdf&CFID=3349345&CFTOKEN=83390872

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Hernan Armesto Diego
La Garantia federal y los poderes judiciales de provincia
in Cuaderno de federalismo, 2006-Vol:19-Nr:19

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Cortese Fulvio, Parolari Sara
La Provincia di Trento e la riforma amministrativa dell'autonomia speciale
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 15

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5492&edoc=26072006005706.pdf

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Sørensen Rune J.
Local government consolidations: The impact of political transaction costs
in Public Choice, Volume 127, Numbers 1-2

Local government in Norway comprises a large number of small municipalities. Cost efficiency can be improved by consolidating local authorities, and central government has designed a framework to stimulate voluntary mergers. Existing theories suggest that political transaction costs will impede consolidations. (1) Generous grants compensate diseconomies of scale. Central government has promised small municipalities that grant levels will be maintained, but policy promises may not be credible. (2) Property rights to local revenues are nullified when consolidations have been implemented. High-revenue municipalities will therefore go against merger with a poorer neighbor. (3) A consolidated local council may be composed of different political parties, and it may therefore pursue other policies than an existing

council. Expected changes in party strength can lead municipalities to oppose a proposed consolidation. (4) Senior politicians are less likely to support mergers, particularly if they come from small polities.
We offer an explicit test of these propositions based on data for Norwegian local government. Elected politicians and administrative leaders are more interested in consolidating when efficiency gains are large. Local revenue disparities and to some extent dissimilar party preferences are significant impediments to voluntary mergers. Additionally, smaller municipalities are often prepared to sacrifice some efficiency gain to remain independent polities.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Caulfield Janice L.
Local government reform in China: a rational actor perspective
in International Review of Administrative Sciences , June 1 2006, Volume 72, No. 2 , 253-267

There has been a series of comprehensive reform initiatives in recent Chinese history aimed at improving bureaucratic efficiency, flexibility and innovation through management and fiscal decentralization. The local government sector in China carries major functional responsibilities from economic development to social welfare provision. It is responsible for over 70 percent of total government expenditure. Now, in the new millennium, the Chinese central government seeks to transform local government as part of its market liberalization strategy. This includes ‘privatizing’ local enterprises (a process begun during the 1990s) and a rationalization of local bureaucracy. Although still a highly centralized administration, there has been a significant move away from a uniform approach to local government where now differentiation between regions and localities is actively encouraged. Within a still tightly constrained political structure, however, the reforms have done more than improve China’s economic output. They have created incentives for local officials to engage in rent seeking and utility-maximizing behaviours. The article explores the reform initiatives and critically assesses results against this background.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
M. Garcia Canales
Los gobiernos autonomicos: grandes definiciones y competencias
in Revista de Estudios Políticos , n. 132 , 43 - 68

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
di San Luca Guido Clemente
Nodi problematici e prospettive di riforma del Testo Unico degli Enti Locali
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 16

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5532&edoc=02082006001344.pdf

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Malfatti E., P. Passaglia (coordinatori), Ferro G.C.A., Scordo R., Conga C.M., Scarlatti F., Pignatelli N., Napoli C.
Principio cooperativo e sistema delle autonomie: attività normative e rapporti organici
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 9

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=4347&edoc=04052006023006.pdf

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Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Raco Mike, Parker Gavin, Doak Joe
Reshaping spaces of local governance? Community strategies and the modernisation of local government in England
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 24, Issue 4, August , 475-496

The preparation of Community Strategies (CS) has been required of Local Strategic Partnerships and local authorities in England since the passing of the Local Government Act 2000. The authors examine the process and content of two CSs in southern England as part of an ongoing project to understand their impact and explore ways in which CSs may be prepared in a meaningful and effective manner. They critically evaluate a number of dimensions of CS formulation, including: the important role of local political and cultural context; the extent to which they reflect and reproduce a shift from representational to participatory forms of democracy; the impact of national policy agendas; the role of place identity; the relative influence of local government officers and members; and the dynamics and implications of particular forms of conflict mediation and consensus building. They conclude that the process of CS formation studied illustrates the tensions and opportunities contained within the Labour government's modernisation agenda. Governmentalities of active citizenship and participatory democracy mingle with more representational and managerial modes of local governance, creating hybrid structures, processes, and outcomes that shape the process of strategy formulation. All this is set within a context of a dynamic and variable set of place identities and pervasive resource (inter)dependencies which both close down and open up the range of issues and interests that are drawn into the process of CS formulation.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Albertazzi .
"Back to our roots" or self-confessed manipulation? The uses of the past in the Lega Nord's positing of Padania
in National Identities, Vol. 8 n. 1 , 21 - 39

The Italian populist movement Lega Nord once famously claimed that the north of Italy was a nation ('Padania') that should be granted independence. Padania was posited by the party through a combination of outrageous anti-Italian statements, gatherings in places of historic and symbolic significance and through the selective appropriation of the past. This article takes this new 'nation' as a case study through which to further our understanding of the discursive strategies of nationalist movements, as they reinvent and rewrite history and redefine identities. It argues that some

within the Lega, far from simply adopting a covert strategy of reinvention of the past (like many of their fellow nationalists do), openly advocated such strategy as a means of 'liberation'. Moreover, the analysis highlights crucial contradictions between: the reality of strong, heterogeneous local identities in northern Italy and the effort of creating a new unitary community in the area; the needs of a hyper-modern economy and the longing for a mythic past; and, finally, a dubious rediscovered paganism and rooted Catholic traditions. The article argues that the lack of territorial and symbolic coherence in northern Italy was a crucial factor in making the Lega's attempts at re-invention less than compelling.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Gallez L., Gors B.
Aspetti recenti del federalismo regionale e del decentramento territoriale in Belgio
in Regioni (Le), n. 6 , 1055 - 1082

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
Ruggiu I.
Aspetti recenti della devolution nel Regno Unito: uno Stato territoriale a metà tra occasionalismo riformista, asimmetria e pax partitica
in Regioni (Le), n. 6 , 1157 - 1178

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
Fontán A.
Autonomías, Constitución y Monarquía
in Nueva Revista de Politica Cultura y arte (Spagna), n. 106

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
Day Stephen
Barriers to Federal Democracy in Iraq: Lessons From Yemen
in Middle East Policy, Volume 13, Issue 3, September , 121-139

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
Calamo Specchia Marina
Dalla sovranità indivisa alla sovranità condivisa: la riforma sul decentramento in Francia e il riparto implicito di competenze normative tra Stato, collettività territoriali, e Unione Europea
in **Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo**, n. 2 , 55-94

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Brancati Dawn
Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?
in **International Organization**, issue 3, vol. 60, july , 651-685

ABSTRACT: Political decentralization is widely believed to reduce ethnic conflict and secessionism in the world today. Yet decentralization is more successful in reducing conflict and secessionism in some countries than in others. In this article, I explore why this difference occurs. I demonstrate using a statistical analysis of thirty democracies from 1985 to 2000 that decentralization may decrease ethnic conflict and secessionism directly by bringing the government closer to the people and increasing opportunities to participate in government, but that decentralization increases ethnic conflict and secessionism indirectly by encouraging the growth of regional parties. Regional parties increase ethnic conflict and secessionism by reinforcing ethnic and regional identities, producing legislation that favors certain groups over others, and mobilizing groups to engage in ethnic conflict and secessionism.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Urrutia Juan
El principio confederal
in **Politica Exterior**, 111 Mayo/Junio 2006

El plan Ibarretxe y el Estatut catalán han dado vida a la idea de la España plurinacional y el espectro del Estado confederal. Algunos temen el principio de la desintegración de España, para otros es una solución positiva a los problemas actuales de organización política.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Condor S., Gibson S., Abell J.
English Identity and Ethnic Diversity in the Context of UK Constitutional Change
in **Ethnicities**, Vol. 6 n. 2 , 123-158

At the time of the devolution settlement in the UK, there was widespread concern that the establishment of the Scottish Parliament and National Assembly for Wales would prompt a rise in English identity at the expense of British identity

and, in turn, threaten polyethnic constructions of citizenship. Such presumptions typically rested on reified understandings of the category labels British and English, and conflated the construct of national identity with the constructs of territorial belonging, social inclusion and citizenship. Post-devolution survey data do not currently reveal a decline in British identity in England. Measures of attachment to Englishness vary as a function of ethnic origin of respondent, but also as a function of question wording. A qualitative interview study of young adult Pakistani-origin Muslims in Greater Manchester, north-west England, illustrates how Englishness may be understood to pertain variously to an exclusive cultural or racial category, or to an inclusive territorial entity or community of political interest. Ethnic constructions of English identity need not imply exclusive understandings of citizenship, but their meaning depends crucially on the ways in which nationality and identity are in turn understood in relation to matters of polity and civil society. Conversely, inclusive understandings of national identity do not guarantee the existence of effective ethnic integration or substantive ethnic equality.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Sotelo Ignacio
España: un federalismo tan necesario como improbable
in Politica Exterior, 111 Mayo/Junio 2006

Si el Estado de las Autonomías ha contribuido de forma decisiva al crecimiento económico y social de España, ha fracasado en su objetivo principal: poner coto al los nacionalismos. ¿Cómo hacer de nuestro Estado unitario un Estado federal que funcione?

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Escobar-Lemmon Maria C.
Executives, Legislatures, and Decentralization
in Policy Studies Journal, Vol. 34, Issue 2, May , 245-263

This article considers the role of executives and legislatures in authoring decentralizing legislation to study the type of decentralization each sought to achieve. I find that differences across branches are more significant than differences across political parties. The executive played a significant role in the process of decentralization emphasizing administrative forms of decentralization. Congressional efforts to write laws, on the contrary, focused on the political aspects. Thus, the involvement of both branches in policymaking contributed to the multidimensional form and high degree of decentralization in Colombia.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Requejo Rodriguez P.
Experimentación normativa y organización territorial del estado
in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals, n. 2 , 125 - 176

The 2003 Amendment of the French Constitution has introduced, among some other changes, the express recognition of “legal experimentation”, as a legal technique to reinforce decentralization. This technique allows to provisionally set the content of regulation from both its decision-making and implementation processes. In this sense, both the institution that defines the rule (that enacts it) and the institution that has to implement it, can evaluate the actual results of that provisional regulation and establish and define its final version according to such an evaluation. This legal technique can have consequences that go far beyond the mere search for legal efficacy, such as the impacts upon the democratic principle. One can ask whether legal experimentation can be of any use in Spain for clarifying several aspects related to the development of political decentralization, particularly as a means to better define the limits of a highly controversial constitutional power in hands of central institutions: that of enacting state-wide basic legislation. In the last years, Spanish central institutions have made a very broad reading about the scope of this constitutional competence. Its legal implementation has actually reduced the legal and political margin of manoeuvre left to the Autonomous Communities (AC). In turn, the AC have reacted back by several means, such as appealing to the Constitutional Court and as shielding powers in their own Statutes of Autonomy. As long as central government does not redefine the basic aspects of a regulation by reducing them to the mere ruling principles, legal experimentation could be useful in Spain in order to promote cooperation between central government and the AC in settling the scope of their competences without unconstitutionally challenging the distribution of powers provided by the Constitution.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Zheng Yongnian
Explaining the Sources of de facto Federalism in Reform China: Intergovernmental Decentralization, Globalization, and Central–Local Relations
in Japanese Journal of Political Science, Volume 7, Issue 2, August , 101-126

China does not have a federalist system of government. Nevertheless, with deepening reform and openness, China's political system in terms of central–local relations is functioning more and more like federalism. Federalism as a functioning system in China has been understudied. This paper defines the political system existing in China as de facto federalism, and attempts to explore the sources and dynamics of this de facto federalism. China's de facto federalism was mainly driven by two related factors, i.e. decentralization and globalization. This paper argues that while economic decentralization in the 1980s led to the formation of de facto federalism, globalization since the 1990s has accelerated this process and generated increasingly high pressure on the Chinese leadership to institutionalize existing de facto federalism.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Konitzer Andrew, Wegren Stephen K.
Federalism and Political Recentralization in the Russian Federation: United Russia As the Party of Power
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 36, n. 4, Fall , 503-522

This article analyzes trends in Russian federalism by examining the rise of United Russia as a party of power. For the

first time in post-Soviet history, a pro-presidential party of power has been successfully established, both reflecting and facilitating political recentralization. This article traces United Russia's role in this recentralization process and examines the factors that have allowed United Russia to succeed as the central government's instrument for deepening and consolidating political centralization where other attempts have failed. The impact of political recentralization has changed the face and nature of Russian federalism in a very short period of time and raises concerns that the political trajectory of Russia is away from a federalist structure and toward a unitary state.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Garcia-Escudero Marquez Piedad
Federalismo, regionalismo y descentralizacion en Europa: Suiza, Italia y Gran Bretana
in **Cuadernos de pensamiento político**, 2005-Vol:0-Nr:8 , p. 157

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
Bastida Francisco J. , Benito Bernardino
Financial reports and decentralization in municipal governments
in **International Review of Administrative Sciences** , June 1 2006, Volume 72, No. 2 , 223-238

Some reforms implemented in the Spanish municipal sector have led to an increasing managerial decentralization. This decentralization has made municipal financial statements lose relevance, since devolved entities are not disclosed in these statements. Accordingly, we have made an empirical analysis of 54 big Spanish municipalities in order to evaluate the impact of decentralization on the municipal financial statements. The survey shows a great concern among practitioners about the importance of global reports. Furthermore, devolved entities should be included in the global reports if the municipality has the authority to approve their budget. This feature shows a legal/budgetary bias of municipal officials, who focus on legal and budgetary constraints more than on managerial indicators. We think this bureaucratic approach should evolve to another one with a higher degree of private sector management techniques.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Arter David
From ‘spectator democracy’ to ‘inclusive democracy’? The peripatetic Scottish committees as linkage
in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 16, Number 3 / September , 239-262

Between the creation of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 and June 2005 its committees held over seventy formal meetings and a vastly greater number of informal meetings outside the parliament building in Edinburgh. Having traced the extent of the various forms of committee activity outside the capital, this paper explores the implications for

representative democracy. It juxtaposes the notions of ‘spectator democracy’ and ‘inclusive democracy’ and asks whether these peripatetic practices have contributed to increasing the amount of popular participation in the political process and to moving Scotland some way towards becoming a small, ‘inclusive democracy’. The focus is on the committee-civil society relationship and committees as linkage. Parliamentary committees are depicted as representing policy constituencies, each ‘committee constituency’ comprising a range of affected interests, both organised (mobilised) and non-mobilised actors. This paper presents two models of political representation—the ‘corporate democracy model’ and the ‘inclusive democracy model’—with contrasting implications for the balance of influence within the ‘committee constituency’. Using data from committee meetings outside Edinburgh, it tests the hypothesis that the committees' ‘extra-mural’ activity should be viewed as a counter-corporatist strategy legitimised by reference to the principle of inclusivity.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Groppi T.
Giustizia costituzionale e stati decentrati. l'esperienza della corte costituzionale italiana
in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals, n. 1 , 11 - 35

In this article, the author analyzes whether and to what extent, the 2001 reform of the Italian Constitution,aimed at enhancing regional legislative power, had any impact upon the role of the Italian
constitutional court (Corte Costituzionale)as a mechanism to warrant the distribution of powers between the regions and central institutions. In this sense, the author starts by providing a general
picture of the role of constitutional courts in federal and decentralized systems. Secondly, she analyzes the roles played by the constitutional court up to and after the 2001 reform. Finally the
author discusses what should be the role of the court in the most immediate future.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Font I Llovet T., Merloni F.
Il regionalismo spagnolo tra riforma costituzionale e riforma statutaria
in Regioni (Le), n. 6 , 1179 - 1202

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
Hagmann T., Khalif M. H.
La Région Somali d’Éthiopie. Entre intégration, indépendance et irrédentisme
in Politique africaine, n. 99 , 43 - 62

With the introduction of « ethnic federalism » by Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, Somalis have finally been accorded autonomy in eastern Ethiopia. But fifteen years after the Derg, Ethiopian-Somali identity is still disputed and the question of self-determination is far from being resolved. The inhabitants of the Somali region are struggling with three options : integration into Ethiopia, independence based on territory and genealogy or irredentism toward the defunct Democratic Republic of Somalia.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Pontier Jean-Marie
La décentralisation entre ferveuret désenchantement
in Revue administrative (la), n. 351 - Mai , 295-306

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
Leyland P.
La multy-Layered constitution e il trattato di devolution nelle regioni inglesi
in Regioni (Le), n. 1 , 9 - 43

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
Marquez Armando Mario
La regionalizacion como expresion del federalismo
in Cuaderno de federalismo, 2006-Vol:19-Nr:19

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
Clinchamps N.
Les collectivités d'outre-mer et la Nouvelle-Calédonie : Le fédéralisme en question
in Pouvoirs, n. 113

Le statut des COM et celui de la Nouvelle-Calédonie évoquent, à certains égards, la logique fédérale. D'une part, elle se manifeste sous l'angle de l'autonomie, mais avec des nuances. En Polynésie française, seule COM autonome, elle transparaît assez clairement au regard des règles de répartition des compétences, mais beaucoup moins à l'observation

des mécanismes de contrôle juridictionnel. En Nouvelle-Calédonie, elle se trouve dépassée car l'autonomie est axée sur l'émancipation. D'autre part, la transposition, en France, des lois de participation et de superposition la marginalise. Au final, cela rend quelque peu stérile le débat sur son existence.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Bleriot L.
Les départements et régions d'outre-mer : Un statut à la carte
in **Pouvoirs**, n. 113

La réécriture de l'article 73 de la Constitution réalisée à l'occasion de la révision constitutionnelle de 2003 tend à modifier l'architecture du département d'outre-mer institué en 1946. Le dispositif a été conforté à la faveur de la dérogation au droit commun. Ce renforcement de l'exception constituée par l'adaptation juridique permet aux populations de ces collectivités d'envisager une évolution statutaire «à la carte », qui se traduit tant au niveau du droit organique que du droit matériel. Ainsi, l'évolution institutionnelle différenciée devient désormais possible. Le corollaire de cette « autonomie institutionnelle » consiste dans le renforcement de leur autonomie normative. Les collectivités domiennes se voient en effet dotées d'une faculté d'adaptation considérablement amplifiée et disposent désormais d'un véritable pouvoir normatif.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Frosina Laura
Lo Statuto catalano alla svolta: il 'sì' del congresso dei deputati
in **Federalismi**, Anno IV, n. 9

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=4348&edoc=04052006023112.pdf

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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
Berglund Sara, Gange Ieva, van Waarden Frans
Mass production of law. routinization in the transposition of European directives: a sociological- institutionalist account
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 13, Number 5 / August , 692-716

This paper assesses the claim that there is a problem with delayed transposition of directives within the EU, using a new dataset on the transposition of directives in the fields of utilities and food safety regulation in the Netherlands, Germany, the UK, Spain and Greece. This dataset overcomes most of the problems that have plagued previous data. In 65 per cent of the cases transposition was delayed, and the average delay was seven months. There is thus indeed a problem with delayed transposition. In order to explain this problem, a sociological institutionalist approach is used. The findings point to the importance of administrative routinization. Whether or not transposition is accomplished with little delay depends on whether there are administrative departments with the explicit task to specialize in transposition, and whether they have had the time and resources to develop routines or standard operating procedures for doing so.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Kemmerling Achim, Bodenstein Thilo
Partisan Politics in Regional Redistribution - Do Parties Affect the Distribution of EU Structural Funds across Regions?
in European Union Politics , Vol. 7, n. 3, September , 373-392

The current debate on the role of regional politics in the European Union (EU) is dominated by approaches that focus upon either intergovernmental bargaining or multi-level governance. Because Structural Funds are the main EU-wide redistributive policy, we propose to apply the traditional literature on partisan politics and national redistribution to the case of the EU. We use a new data set on both the distribution of Structural Funds across regions and the distribution of vote shares for different factions of the European Parliament. These data provide empirical details for some of the partisan competition that takes place at the regional level. Specifically, we show that the traditional left vs. right cleavage can have an impact on the size of regional transfers.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Bassanini Franco
Portata e conoscenze del referendum
in Mulino (il), n. 4, luglio-agosto, 2006 , 628-638

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
Ponthoreau M.C.
Recenti sviluppi della decentralizzazione alla francese: aspettando l'atto terzo.
in Regioni (Le), n. 6 , 1083 - 1097

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
F.H. Llano Alonso
Reforma territorial y politica nacional desde la perspectiva de Jose Ortega y Gasset
in Revista de Estudios Políticos , n. 131 , 113 - 140

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
Hudson Ray
Regional Devolution and Regional Economic Success: Myths and Illusions about Power
in Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography, Vol. 88, Issue 2 , 159-172

The proposition that regional devolution in and of itself will lead to economic success has become deeply embedded in beliefs and policy discourses about the determinants of regional prosperity, and in turn has led to political demands for such devolution. In this paper I seek critically to examine such claims, using the case of the north-east of England as the setting for this examination. The paper begins with some introductory comments on concepts of power, regions, the reorganization of the state and of multi-level governance, and governmentality, which help in understanding the issues surrounding regional devolution. I then examine the ways in which north-east England was politically and socially constructed as a particular type of region, with specific problems, in the 1930s — a move that has had lasting significance up until the present day. Moving on some six decades, I then examine contemporary claims about the relationship between regional devolution and regional economic success, which find fertile ground in the north-east precisely due to its long history of representation as a region with a unified regional interest. I then reflect on the processes of regional planning, regional strategies and regional devolution, and their relationship to regional economic regeneration. A brief conclusion follows, emphasizing that questions remain about the efficacy of the new governmentality and about who would be its main beneficiaries in the region. The extent to which devolution would actually involve transferring power to the region and the capacity of networked forms of power within the region to counter the structural power of capital and shape central state policies remains unclear.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Gambino Silvio
Riorganizzazione territoriale dello Stato e principio di sussidiarietà tra riforme costituzionali e legislative. Il caso italiano in prospettiva comparatistica
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 11

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=4838&edoc=30052006092357.pdf

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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
Franzese Robert J., Hays Jude C.
Strategic Interaction among EU Governments in Active Labor Market Policy-making - Subsidiarity and Policy Coordination under the European Employment Strategy
in European Union Politics , Vol. 7, n. 2, June , 167-189

The European Union (EU) recently committed to becoming ‘the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based

economy in the world.' Active labor market (ALM) policies are a critical part of the European Employment Strategy (EES) – the plan designed to achieve this objective. ALM policies entail several possible externalities that, spilling across national boundaries, may create incentives for European governments to free ride off the efforts of their neighbors. We provide empirical evidence that the national best-response functions for ALM spending (worker-training programs in particular) are indeed downward sloping; an increase in expenditures in one country decreases equilibrium expenditures in its neighbors. Therefore, levels of ALM spending may well be too low, notwithstanding the mildly increasing coordination fostered through the EES framework. Stronger enforcement procedures may be necessary if the European Union is to achieve its EES objectives.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Bradbury Jonathan
Territory and Power Revisited: Theorising Territorial Politics in the United Kingdom after Devolution
in Political Studies, Volume 54, Issue 3, October , 559-582

The article seeks to contribute to theoretical analysis of political decentralisation in the UK occasioned by devolution to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland in 1998–9. It examines the contribution that can be made by Jim Bulpitt's 1983 book, Territory and Power in the United Kingdom. First, it argues that Bulpitt's critique of conventional wisdoms in the early 1980s remains highly relevant to reflecting on shortcomings in the literature today. Key among these is the lack of a common conceptual language for analysis, and Bulpitt's overarching re-conceptualisation of the field as the study of 'territorial politics' would repay renewed reflection. Secondly, the article clarifies Bulpitt's own centre perspective and argues that its application is best understood today as a realist historical institutionalist account of UK territorial politics. In so doing Bulpitt also provides an enduring methodological and interpretative challenge to assumptions of state centralism. Thirdly, the article argues that key methodological/interpretative insights can be adapted from Territory and Power in analysis of UK territorial politics and the advent of devolution. This reinforces the utility of Bulpitt's historical institutionalism to contemporary analysis. Finally, it argues that Territory and Power's concepts and methods, understood in these ways, would bear application in comparative studies of political decentralisation.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Gamper A.
The austrian constitutional convention: continuing the path to reform the federal state?
in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals, n. 2 , 9 - 46

This article discusses the different debates and attempts to reform the Austrian federal system over the last fifteen years. The article is based on a historical perspective that describes the most relevant developments of Austrian federalism during the 20th century, highlighting the importance of the centralisation process through the constant transfer of powers from the Länder to the Federal Government, as well as various debates in this regard. According to the author, since 1995, the year of Austrian adhesion to the European Union, two opportunities have been missed to carry out a general reform of the federal system which could contribute to compensating the centralisation process. The first missed opportunity is directly related to the Austrian adhesion to the European Union. The Länder agreed to the

adhesion under the conditionthat the Federal Constitution would include their participation in European decision-making processes. By focussing on this point, the Länder set aside the opportunity to take advantage of the debate and, as a consequence, press for structural reform of the federal system. The second missed opportunity was related to the dispersion of proposals resulting from the work of the Austrian Constitutional Convention. The Convention, created in 2003, had the mission of discussing those aspects of the reform of the Constitution that regulated the federal structure of the country and, as a consequence, of making a first draft reform. The incapability of establishing and defining common ground for reform, together with the lack of flexibility and of seeking political commitment, weakened the role of the Convention and, thus, any possibility to carry on with the reform.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Thompson Nicola
The practice of government in a devolved Scotland: the case of the designation of the Cairngorms National Park
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 24, Issue 3, June , 459-472

Proponents of devolution have argued that devolved governing leads to enhanced democratisation. This democratisation process is argued to be the result both of new governance structures and of new practices of governing which produce a new, more democratic, politics. The case of Scottish devolution is one example of where constitutional change was constructed as heralding a ‘new politics’. This proposition is analysed through a specific policy intervention in the devolved Scotland—the designation of a national park in the Cairngorms. This designation is traced from the instigation of national parks legislation to the formal creation of the park. The claim that devolution can bring about a more open and participatory approach to governing is critiqued. It is proposed that, although democratisation has a formed a political rationality of devolution, the actual practices of governing owe more to traditional rationalities of managerialism.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Morrone Andrea
Un impegno riformista dopo la rivoluzione sconfitta
in Mulino (il), n. 4, luglio-agosto, 2006 , 658-669

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
Vandelli Luciano
Un “no” per riaprire il confronto
in Mulino (il), n. 4, luglio-agosto, 2006 , 639-649

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
Gazzetta Cristina
Unità e diversità: il dilemma del federalismo russo
in Archivio giuridico, n. 1 , 21 - 48

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Schlesinger Stephen
America and the United Nations: A Delicate Relationship
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Vol. 28, n. 4 / August , 319-321

The Bush record belies the fact that the UN, from its beginning, has been an American creature. In the postwar era, the United States realized that it could no longer work alone to peace in the world and to avert the terrible possibility of a third world war except by working with a global body whose animating philosophy was collective security.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Rodman Kenneth A.
Compromising Justice: Why the Bush Administration and the NGOs Are Both Wrong about the ICC
in Ethics and International Affairs, n. 1, vol. 20, spring

ABSTRACT: The critics of the ICC in the Bush administration and its supporters within the human rights community have one thing in common: they assume that the ICC can evolve into a powerful institution independent of states, either to constrain American power or to act on a duty to prosecute to end impunity for perpetrators. Both overestimate the ability of the court to pursue a legalism divorced from power realities. The former attribute to the court powers it is unlikely to exercise, particularly if the United States remains outside the treaty. This is due, in part, to the safeguards within the Rome Statute, but more importantly, to the court's dependence on sovereign cooperation, which will lead it to place a high premium on cultivating the good will of the most powerful states. The latter overestimate the degree to which courts by themselves can deter atrocities. The ICC's effectiveness in any particular case will therefore be dependent on the political consensus of those actors capable of wielding power in that area. They also underestimate the need to compromise justice—at least, prosecutorial justice—in cases in which bargaining and compromise are the central means of facilitating transitions from armed conflict or dictatorship, and in cases in which the strength of the perpetrators and the limits of one's power would make legal proceedings either futile or counterproductive to other interests and values. Hence, decisions to prosecute must first be subjected to a test of political prudence, and then take place according to due process and the rule of law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system

Jones Adrian L.

Continental Divide and the Politics of Complex Sovereignty: Canada, The United States and the International Criminal Court

in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique, Volume 39 - Issue 02 - June 2006 , 227 - 248

Abstract. As a recent instance of transnational cooperation and governance, encompassing a novel combination of international and supranational legal properties, the International Criminal Court provides an instructive forum for considering increasingly complex sovereignty. This paper considers why Canada and the United States have pursued such divergent policies toward the Court. I argue that these postures are informed by their subjective conceptions of state sovereignty, a reflection of varying interests, values and capacities. As such, this case study illuminates factors that may influence patterns and limitations of transnational cooperation by states.

Résumé. Comme exemple récent de coopération et de gouvernance transnationales, englobant une combinaison innovatrice de caractéristiques juridiques internationales et supranationales, la Cour pénale internationale constitue un forum instructif pour l'étude de la complexité croissante de la souveraineté. Cet article examine pourquoi le Canada et les États-Unis ont adopté des politiques aussi divergentes à l'égard de la Cour. J'avance que leurs positions sont fondées sur leurs notions subjectives de la souveraineté des États et qu'elles reflètent les divergences de leurs intérêts, de leurs valeurs et de leurs capacités. En définitive, cette étude de cas met en lumière les facteurs susceptibles d'influencer les modèles et les limites de la coopération transnationale entre les États.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system

Pocar Fausto

Criminal Proceedings before the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), n. 1, vol. 5 , 89-102

The ad hoc Criminal Tribunals have shown, by their case law, how practically to go about judicial enforcement of international humanitarian law at the international level and have guided the formation of other international and mixed criminal courts. Following the precedent set at the Nuremberg trials, the most important legacy of the ad hoc Tribunals has been the development and effective enforcement of the entire body of international humanitarian law put into place since the end of World War II, which seeks to maintain a proper balance between prosecuting individuals for grave breaches of international humanitarian law and upholding due process norms including protection of the rights of the accused. The path paved by the ad hoc Tribunals is crucial for the future regulation of the behaviour of States and individuals in times of conflict and has triggered increased attention to and enforcement of international humanitarian law in various other jurisdictions, including, in the first place, in the International Criminal Court. These are some of the author's conclusions following an analysis of the challenges faced by the ad hoc Tribunals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Lanciotti Alessandra
Il rispetto del diritto internazionale a Guantanamo
in **Federalismi**, Anno IV, n. 15

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5431&edoc=21072006082512.pdf

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Bronzini Giuseppe
La Dichiarazione del 1998 sui Core labour rights e la rinascita dell'Oil
in **Democrazia e diritto**, Anno XLIV, n. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Luers William H.
Looking to a Refashioned U.S. Partnership with the United Nations
in **American Foreign Policy Interests**, Vol. 28, n. 4 / August , 323-327

Asserting that there has never been a time when the demands for global teamwork have been greater, the author focuses on six goals that have the possibility of being attained only if the United States and the United Nations enter into a partnership to deal with historic challenges.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Dickmann Renzo
L'efficacia delle risoluzioni del Consiglio di sicurezza delle Nazioni Unite nell'ordinamento comunitario
in **Federalismi**, Anno IV, n. 10

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=4593&edoc=18052006020918.pdf

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Glen Carol M.
Multilateralism in a unipolar world: the UN Security Council and Iraq
in **International Relations of the Asia-Pacific**, Volume 6, Number 2, August , 307-323

The end of the cold war brought a new era in international politics that had the potential for creating a more cooperative and peaceful world. At the heart of this 'new world order' was to be the United Nations Security Council, which would finally be able to fulfill its obligations under the UN Charter. In the immediate post-cold war years it appeared that this optimism was well founded as the Security Council became increasingly active in authorizing peacekeeping and peace-building missions. Just over a decade later, however, the crisis over Iraq again brought serious concerns regarding the UN's purpose and legitimacy. This article examines the circumstances surrounding the recent UN Security Council dispute in order to illuminate the merits of multilateral cooperation. It also asks, more fundamentally, whether multilateralism can be sustained in a unipolar world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Bolton John R.
No More Business as Usual
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Vol. 28, n. 4 / August , 285-287

The case for reform, especially reform of the management structures of the UN, as advanced by the current U.S. permanent representative to the world body.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Bures Oldrich
Regional peacekeeping operations: Complementing or undermining the united nations security council?1
in Global Change, Peace & Security, n. 2, vol. 18, june , 83-99

ABSTRACT: This article provides an analysis of the perils and benefits of regional peacekeeping operations (PKOs), with a special focus on their ability to serve as a complement to and/or enhancement of their United Nations (UN) counterparts. The author contends that there are two sides to the debate about the regionalization of peacekeeping. On one hand, regional PKOs offer a number of advantages to their purely UN counterparts, primarily due to their proximity to conflict zones, common culture, and greater legitimacy. On the other hand, past experience with regional PKOs suggests that there are significant problems with the idea of regionalization as an optimum mechanism for organizing PKOs. Serious doubts remain about whether the need and desire for cooperation between the UN and regional arrangements (RAs) will ultimately translate into a workable and efficient system.

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

Renewing our global values: a multilateralism for peace, prosperity and freedom
in **Harvard Human Rights Journal**, vol. 19, 2006 , 1-28

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Wouters Jan, Ruys Tom
Security Council Reform: a New Veto for a New Century?
in **Revue de droit militaire e de droit de la guerre**, vol. 1-2 , 139-174

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Hyvarinen Joy
The 2005 World Summit: UN Reform, Security, Environment and Development
in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 15, Issue 1, April , 1-10

This article reviews the negotiations leading up to the High-Level Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, which centred on United Nations reform, a review of the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and a follow-up of major UN conferences. The article considers the human security concept and the different perspectives of developed and developing countries in environmental negotiations. It provides an overview of the negotiations in the months before the Summit. The final part of the article considers the outcome of the World Summit and institutional questions related to the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the new UN Peace-Building Commission.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Politi Mauro; Gioia Federica
The Criminal Procedure before the International Criminal Court: Main Features
in **Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)**, n. 1, vol. 5 , 103-123

This article provides a broad and comprehensive overview so as to confirm the starting assumption that the ICC proceedings do not entirely mirror either the adversarial or the inquisitorial system. Elements drawn and inspired from both traditions are to be found in the Rome Statute and the other institutive instruments of the Court which concur to create an innovative procedural framework aimed at preserving the fairest and most efficient features of both. It will be for the Court's practice to show whether this framework will be able to live up to the ambitious goal pursued by the Rome Conference: the creation of a model for international criminal justice which is not only fair and impartial (both requirements being necessary in order to achieve any form of justice), but is also efficient and expeditious.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Imber Mark
The Reform of the UN Security Council
in International Relations, n. 3, vol. 20, september , 328-334

ABSTRACT: This article focuses on the United Nations' reform debates, particularly those surrounding changes to the Security Council. These debates are largely about rules, both formal and informal, that shape the roles of the veto powers and the ways in which other member-states can attain a seat on the Council. In order to implement the largely rule-governed system of collective security, it is necessary to have a Security Council that reflects a legitimate structure of authority. As the current debate demonstrates, however, the rules governing the powers of the Security Council raise numerous questions of legitimacy and authority, questions that are at the heart of a rule-governed order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Finkelstein Lawrence S.
The Rule of Law, the United States, and the United Nations: An Ambiguous Record
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Vol. 28, n. 4 / August , 297-303

The ambiguity, the author states, derives from the initial U.S. judgment that priority be given to international peace and security, which it considered to be the prerequisite to the rule of law. That determination, he concludes, is the key to understanding the evolution of U.S.-UN relations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Luck Edward C.
The Survivors: The United States and the United Nations in Troubled Times
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Vol. 28, n. 4 / August , 293-296

An analysis that illuminates recent poll findings about American perceptions of the UN, provides a message for candidates seeking to become the next secretary general, and concludes that the United States never had a choice between a strong national defense and a commitment to international law and organization. America needs both.

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

The U.S.–UN Relationship—A Difficult but Necessary Partnership
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Vol. 28, n. 4 / August , 311-318

In seeking to answer the two questions that she extrapolated from her analysis of the U.S. approach to the UN—Is the shift from UN bashing on the part of the Bush administration real? Is the UN up to the job?—the author provides a comprehensive analysis of the reforms associated with the 2005 World Summit.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
vanden Heuven William J.
The United Nations: The Failure of American Leadership
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Vol. 28, n. 4 / August , 337-340

The author states that for the first time in 62 years, since President Roosevelt made his speech in support of the founding of the United Nations, the U.S. government is controlled by those who reject the country's historic commitment to the world body and undermine its possibilities. What the United States should do, he affirms, is fulfill the responsibilities of the world's only superpower and lead the UN not by command and directive but by diplomacy and careful concern for the interests of others.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Hoveyda Fereydoun
The United States and the United Nations: From Close Relationship to Estrangement
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Vol. 28, n. 4 / August , 333-336

From its inception, the United Nations played a major role in U.S. foreign policy, and the United States reaped significant benefits from its cooperation with the world body. The author argues that in accepting the universality of the UN, the United States contributed to its own predicament. In attempting to remedy the consequence, America, he recommends, should abandon its support for authoritarian regimes in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East and back drives for human rights in the United Nations and elsewhere as well.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Forman Shepard
The United States and the United Nations: One Strand in a Multilateral Strategy
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Vol. 28, n. 4 / August , 329-332

In arguing that a narrow concept of utilitarianism is having a profound effect on multilateral institutions, especially the UN, the author states that alternating between hectoring and using the organization selectively cannot continue to characterize the U.S. stance toward the UN. The United States, he argues, must take a role in defining the UN's role and in building its capacity to act in areas where national and global interests coincide, signaling a return to ethical utilitarianism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Weiss Thomas G.
U.S.–UN Relations and the Use of Force After the World Summit
in **American Foreign Policy Interests**, Vol. 28, n. 4 / August , 305-309

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Tondini Matteo
UN Peace Operations: The Last Frontier of the Extraterritorial Application of Human Rights
in **Revue de droit militaire e de droit de la guerre**, vol. 1-2 , 175-242

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Tolbert David, solomon Andrew
United Nations Reform and Supporting the Rule of Law in Post-Conflict Societies
in **Harvard Human Rights Journal**, vol. 19, 2006 , 26-62

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Wilkins Hugh
United Nations Secretary-General's High Level Panel on System Wide Coherence and the environment: incremental change or UN reform?
in **International Journal of Global Environmental Issues**, Volume 6, Issue 4 , 285-300

The UN High-Level Panel on System Wide Coherence is to explore how the United Nations system can work more coherently and effectively in the areas of environment, development and humanitarian assistance. Regarding

environmental issues, the Panel has focused on: mainstreaming environment in development decision-making; the institutional framework for the UN system's environment activities; coherence in the UN's normative work in the field of environment. To inspire meaningful changes in the area of environment, the Panel should focus on making sustainable development an overarching principle of UN activities, clustering of multinational environmental agreements and significantly strengthening UNEP.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Biden Jr. Joseph R.
Who Needs the United Nations? We All Do
in **American Foreign Policy Interests**, Vol. 28, n. 4 / August , 289-291

Senator Biden evaluates the importance of the UN to the United States, singling out the organization's provision of humanitarian assistance and peacekeeping, as well as the global role that it can play in addressing the most lethal threats faced by the United States–the combination of radical fundamentalism and weapons of mass destruction.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Robinson Andrew M.
Would International Adjudication Enhance Contextual Theories of Justice? Reflections on the UN Human Rights Committee, Lovelace, Ballantyne and Waldman
in **Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique**, Volume 39 - Issue 02 - June 2006 , 271 - 291

Abstract. This article seeks to advance thinking about contextual theories of justice as found in Carens' Culture, Citizenship, and Community and Parekh's Rethinking Multiculturalism by considering the suggestion that such theories would be enhanced by the incorporation of an element of international adjudication. It explores possible advantages and disadvantages of this proposal both theoretically and by reflecting on Canadian experience with the UN Human Rights Committee (HRC) in its Lovelace, Ballantyne and Waldman views. The article concludes that international adjudication would enhance contextual theories of justice if it incorporated key elements of the HRC's individual communication procedure, including the non-binding nature of its decisions.

Résumé. Cet article tente de faire avancer la réflexion sur les théories contextuelles de la justice qu'on retrouve dans Culture, Citizenship, and Community de Carens, ainsi que dans Rethinking Multiculturalism de Parekh. L'article suggère que ces théories gagneraient à incorporer un élément d'arbitrage international. Il explore les avantages et désavantages possibles de cette proposition tant du point de vue théorique qu'en réfléchissant à l'expérience canadienne du Comité des droits de l'homme de l'ONU dans les causes Lovelace, Ballantyne et Waldman. L'article conclut que l'arbitrage international pourrait améliorer les théories contextuelles de la justice s'il incorporait les éléments clés de la procédure de communication individuelle du Comité des droits de l'homme de l'ONU, y compris le caractère non contraignant des décisions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Meyer-Ohlendorf Nils
Would a United Nations Environment Organization Help to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals?
in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 15, Issue 1, April , 23-29

As a follow-up to the 2005 United Nations World Summit, Jan Eliasson, President of the sixtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly, plans that the General Assembly will take up the issue of international environmental governance (IEG) in spring 2006. This may provide an opportunity to start negotiations on creating a United Nations Environment Organization (UNEO) in the larger context of reforming the UN. Against this background, this article discusses the need for IEG reform, the advantages and disadvantages of creating a UNEO and its potential in helping to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. The article concludes that a UNEO – as a UN specialized agency – may have greater political clout than the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) currently commands, which is only a programme based on a resolution of the General Assembly. Given its increased political weight, a UNEO could be a better tool to address environmental needs in developing countries, and help to achieve poverty and development goals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Hedi Bchir Mohamed , Jean Sébastien, Laborde David
Binding Overhang and Tariff-Cutting Formulas
in Review of World Economics (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv), Vol. 142, No. 2,

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Nielsona Daniel L., Tierneyb Michael J., Weaverc Catherine E.
Bridging the rationalist–constructivist divide: re-engineering the culture of the World Bank
in Journal of International Relations and Development, Volume 9, Number 2, June , 107-139

In this article, we seek to explain reform patterns at the World Bank. Traditional realist and institutionalist theories say little about the process of change within international organizations ('IOs'). Drawing upon the insights of relatively new rationalist and constructivist approaches, we develop and test a model of IO change that combines insights from rationalism and constructivism. Our explanation integrates the 'top-down' logic of a rationalist principal-agent model — targeting the redesign of organizational structures, hiring procedures and promotional standards, and the 'bottom-up' logic of sociological constructivism — focusing on the transformation of bureaucratic culture. We find that reform outcomes hinge upon the ability of change entrepreneurs to disrupt both the logics of consequence and appropriateness that shape the preferences and behaviour of bureaucratic actors. We evaluate our model by examining four distinct aspects of the World Bank's Strategic Compact (1997–2001), which included attempts to alter project management, organizational culture, and the mission of the institution itself.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Ghérari Habib, Chemain Régis
Chronique: l'Union européenne et l'Organisation mondiale du commerce 2004-2005 - Première partie
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 498, mai , 335-341

Now the chronicle of the settlement of disputes at the World Trade Organisation is yielding to a new, both closer and distinct, chronicle dedicated to the European Union and to the World Trade Organisation. Indeed it seems more advisable to focus on the place and the role of the European Union in the WTO. Several reasons encourage this: i) the RMCUE's natural calling, the role and the weight of the EU within the WTO, both as a mayor player of agreements administered by the WTO and the renegotiations thereof, and a major champion of compliance with those agreements within the dispute settlement system; ii) policies and values that the EU intends to promote (development co-operation, taking into account of non-commercial values, among other things). But new approach does not mean rupture from the past, as shown by the structure of the chronicle: the first part is dedicated to the dispute before the dispute settlement body, which the EU is involved in, thus coming back to the main theme of the old system, fully dedicated to dispute settlement. The second part to be published later, will mainly focus on the EU's management of textile trade liberalisation (as from January 1, 2005) and to the stands taken by the EU at the Ministers' conference in Hong Kong (December 2005), whose work is known to be still in progress (April 2006).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Best Jacqueline
Co-opting cosmopolitanism? The International Monetary Fund's new global ethics
in Global Society, Vol. 20, n. 3, July , 307-327

In recent years, International Monetary Fund (IMF) leaders have eschewed their traditional emphasis on technical discourse and have drawn on a number of liberal moral arguments to justify their policies. While this shift is encouraging in some respects, the financial reforms that the Fund has been proposing appear to reinforce rather than to reduce their efforts to universalise neo-liberal polices. Moreover, there are tensions between Fund leaders' moral rhetoric and the likely impact of their policies on economic justice. Why, then, has it been so easy for the IMF to adopt a liberal ethical rhetoric? In order to answer this question, I first draw on liberal ethical theories to assess the Fund's moral arguments and then consider the implications for liberal ethics of the IMF's co-optation of their arguments. I argue that liberal moral theories need to begin treating economics as political rather than technical if they are to develop a robust challenge to global neo-liberal policies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Mersch Christian
Die Welt der Patente. Eine soziologische Analyse des Weltpatentsystems
in Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

Patent World
Towards a Sociological Analysis of the World Patent System

Patents are becoming increasingly important in modern society. This holds, on the one hand, for the economy, where broad patent portfolios are of growing strategic value for research-intensive multunational enterprises. On the other hand, this is true of the academic realm, where selling patent licenses is becoming an increasingly vital part of many scientists´ everyday business. For this reason, this article intends to explore the patent as a sociological object of investigation. The paper is guided by the assumption that the modern patent system can be described as a global communication system. Taking into account that patent rights are nation-state-bounded rights (the principle of territoriality), this hypothesis could appear counterintuitive when arguing from a conventional globalization-theoretical point of view. It is maintained that this seeming contradiction between territoriality and globality can be resolved within a world society theoretical framework. Universalism and globality are analytically differentiated. Whereas patent rights are only valid within national boundaries, they can only be granted after a universal examination of the requirement of novelty. Inventions will only be protected legally if the underlying technical knowledge was not publicly accessible before the application date. As a consequence, each observation of the patentability requirements is inevitably incorporated into the global context of a comparison of documents of technical knowledge: the patent world. Sociologically, the patent system must be analysed as a world system, notwithstanding the persisting national fragmentation of patent law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Passadakis Alexis
Die neue Geographie des Welthandels
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, September, 2006 , 1035-1038

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Baldwin Matthew
EU trade politics — heaven or hell?
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 6 / September , 926-942

The analysis begins by examining a paradigm of successful EU trade politics (‘heaven’), and what it might constitute. It argues that both the EU trade policy process and the dynamics of EU trade politics are essentially positive factors. However, while this ‘heaven’ might exist in theory (and did in reality, to an extent, in the latter years of the last century), a series of largely external factors, notably those relating to development and globalization, have made EU trade politics more complex and difficult to manage. The remedy lies not in trying to ‘seal off’ the EU trade policy process from politics, but in seeking overtly political solutions, such as flanking policies to encourage public support for trade openness, taking a serious look at the idea of ‘collective preferences’, and instituting a greater role for the European Parliament.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Erik Jones
Europe's market liberalization is a bad model for a global trade agenda
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 6 / September , 943-957

European Union (EU) policy-makers use the single European market as a model for extending the global trade liberalization agenda, specifically to encompass flanking issues ranging from environmental sustainability to labour market regulation to social protection. They thus seek to transform the traditional multilateral trade liberalization agenda into a more comprehensive framework for global economic integration. The problem is that the single market has succeeded primarily insofar as it is European and not global in scope. Although multilateral negotiations have reduced tariffs and quotas, they are much less successful at embracing a wider agenda. Three conclusions are suggested: global trade liberalization should focus on a shallow agenda of economic issues; any ‘deeper’ pattern encompassing labour market, social, and environmental concerns is more likely to succeed at the regional level (or in bilateral agreements); and the challenge for the future is to resolve disputes between national, bilateral, and regional institutions – perhaps best through the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Baldwin Robert E.
Failure of the WTO Ministerial Conference at Cancun: Reasons and Remedies
in World Economy, Volume 29, Number 6 , 677-696

This paper first discusses four general developments in the world trading system that have made it increasingly difficult in recent years for nations to reach multilateral agreements aimed at further liberalising international trade, namely: (1) the increased technical complexity and disruptive domestic economic effects of the issues being negotiated; (2) the shift in relative bargaining power among the negotiating participants in favour of the developing countries; (3) the proliferation of bilateral and regional free trade agreements in contrast to multilateral agreements, and (4) the increased emphasis on achieving `fairness' rather than reciprocity in trade liberalisation. Differences in negotiating positions of the participants on the major specific negotiating subjects of the Doha Round, such as new rules covering investment, competition policy, government procurement policy, and trade facilitation, agricultural liberalisation, changes in anti-dumping and countervailing duty rules, the tariff-cutting rule to increase access to non-agricultural markets, and further liberalisation in the services sector, are then considered as well as the likelihood of reaching compromises on these matters. Finally, the possibilities of reaching acceptable balances of concessions and gains are considered for such key participants as the Group of 20 developing countries, the European Union, the United States and other industrial countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Toye J., Toye R.

How the UN moved from full employment to economic development
in **Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**, Vol. 44 n. 1 , 16 - 40

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Petersmann Ernst-Ulrich
Human Rights, Constitutionalism and the WTO; Challenges for WTO Jurisprudence and Civil Society
in **Leiden Journal of International Law**, Volume 19 (2006) Issue 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Tricarico Antonio, Biggeri Ugo
La fine dell'era Wto? Conseguenze dell'accordo di Hong Kong e futuri scenari internazionali
in **Democrazia e diritto**, Anno XLIV, n. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
McGuire Steven
No more euro-champions? The interaction of EU industrial and trade policies
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 13, Number 6 / September , 887-905

Trade liberalization makes markets more contestable and so opens opportunities for firms: it also exposes domestic firms to more severe competition. Governments come under conflicting pressures to ensure foreign market access whilst preventing ‘unfair’ competition from abroad in the domestic market. Liberalization under both the single market and the WTO has placed greater emphasis on innovation policy as a mechanism to encourage firm adjustment and raise competitiveness. These policies tend to be ‘horizontal’, economy-wide attempts to enhance competitiveness. However, some recent calls for returns to national or European champions are a reminder of the attractiveness of sector-specific policies in the face of international competitive pressures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Redish Angela
Recent contributions to the history of monetary and international financial systems: A review essay
in **European Review of Economic History**, Volume 10, Issue 02

I review recent monographs on the history of monetary and international financial regimes, which have explored the origins of the gold standard and the extent and sources of capital market integration. The studies of the emergence of the gold standard have adopted variously long term and shorter term perspectives, and arrive at different conclusions concerning the relative contributions of technological and political factors. The histories of capital markets document the extent and sources of the openness of late nineteenth century capital markets, and reach conflicting conclusions on the role that the gold standard played in capital market integration.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Edwards Martin S.
Signalling credibility? The IMF and catalytic finance
in **Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 9, Number 1, March , 27-52

International Monetary Fund (IMF) programmes are thought to function as a seal of approval to international markets although evidence suggests that Fund programmes do not attract capital inflows. Existing studies fail to address the effects of selection into IMF programmes, which raises questions about the robustness of the findings. Correcting for selection bias, I find that states under Fund programmes experience significant outflows of portfolio investment, which is a 'most likely case' for catalytic effects. The source of this capital flight is the 'medicine' (the Fund programme), not the 'disease' (the economic downturn necessitating the IMF programme). I argue that austerity deters portfolio inflows through its effects on future returns. These findings confirm previous studies and have broader implications for both the influence of IMF programmes and the politics of economic reform.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Das Dilip K.
The DOHA Round of Multilateral Negotiations and the Embellishing Role of the Developing Economies
in **International Trade Journal**, vol. 20, Number 3 / Fall , 307 - 354

Despite unanswered questions about causality, trade expansion is associated with rapid real GDP growth in the developing economies. While the WTO's mandate is to liberalize multilateral trade and support its rule-based conduct, its operations have definite development relevance. After a history of non-participation in the multilateral trading system, the developing economies began to participate in it in almost an explosive manner. Several developing economies have not only emerged as important traders since the mid-1980s but as G-21 they have also made their presence felt in the on-going multilateral trade negotiations. They made decisive contributions to the July Framework Agreement of 2004. The role of the developing economies in the Doha Round of multilateral trade negotiations has gone on steadily growing. It has been christened the Development Round. It deals with several areas of special interests to the developing economies—agriculture, non-agricultural market access and services being some of the more important ones—and eventually hopes to correct the imbalances in the multilateral trade regime. A successful Doha Round would indeed contribute favorably to growth, have a discernable favorable impact over the incidence of poverty and help in achieving the first MDG

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Sacerdoti Giorgio
The Dispute Settlement System of the WTO: Structure and Function in the Perspective of the First 10 Years
in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), n. 1, vol. 5 , 49-75

The dispute settlement system of the World Trade Organization (the "WTO") presents a number of innovative features within the various models of international justice existing at the turn of the millennium. Ten years after its establishment, it is worthwhile to examine its key features in the light of a comparative analysis, exploring its strengths and weaknesses, and highlighting aspects of general interest and possible developments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Young Alasdair R., Peterson John
The EU and the new trade politics
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 6 / September , 795-814

Over the past twenty years trade politics within the European Union (EU) have changed in three ways. First, the concerns of traditional trade actors have shifted to more ‘behind-the-border’ issues, especially regulation and investment. Second, new actors – parliaments, non-trade agencies, and non-governmental organizations – have become more engaged. Third, the leadership of the EU (and the United States) has been challenged by influential developing countries. The EU has responded to the new trade politics by advocating a ‘deep’ trade agenda: seeking multilateral agreements on the making of domestic rules. This response reflects the EU's own experience of market integration. Where the new trade politics have affected EU policy it has been through changing views about the purposes and priority of trade policy at the highest political levels, rather than more directly via interest group lobbying. While the EU has been unsuccessful in promoting its agenda within the World Trade Organization, it is pursuing it through other forums where its influence is greater.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
De Bièvre Dirk
The EU regulatory trade agenda and the quest for WTO enforcement
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 6 / September , 851-866

The European Union (EU) has increasingly called for regulatory agreements in the World Trade Organization (WTO) in areas such as investment, competition, environment, and labour. Why has the EU attempted to satisfy such new demands by pursuing regulatory goals within the WTO rather than within other international organizations? I suggest two

reasons for the EU's choice of the WTO. First, the nature of issue linkage in international trade negotiations has changed from exclusive exchanges of market access to the exchange of market access for regulation. Owing to the diversity of domestic constituency demands and consensus decision-making, the EU is particularly reliant on such broad issue linkages. And second, judicialization and the possibility of cross-retaliation in the WTO have enhanced the credibility of WTO commitments, increasing the organization's attractiveness for issue linkages across policy fields. I show how these two factors have contributed to the EU's attempt to place regulatory issues on the agenda of the Doha Development Round.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Trachtman Joel P.
The World Trading System, the International Legal System and Multilevel Choice
in European law journal, July 2006 - Vol. 12 Issue 4 , 469-485

This article develops a theory of multilevel choice of regulatory jurisdiction based on normative individualism, and suggests how certain features of the World Trade Organization (WTO) might be understood in terms of this theory. The WTO has some capacity for positive integration, as demonstrated in, for example, the harmonised minimum standards for intellectual property protection contained in the TRIPS agreement. Yet the WTO has generally not been used as a site for re-regulation in areas congruent with its de-regulation. However, in a limited way, and in particular contexts, it provides certain incentives for re-regulation at other sites. For example, both the SPS Agreement and the TBT Agreement encourage the formation of harmonised rules. These agreements require Member States to use international standards as a basis for their measures, with important exceptions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Dickins Amanda
The evolution of international political economy
in International Affairs , issue 3, vol. 82, may , 479-492

The 'invisible college' of international political economy (IPE) is a house divided. The field is split between the rationalist species that dominates in the US and a diverse genus of critical scholars. Recent developments in IPE suggest, however, that there is scope to rebuild the invisible college. An increasing awareness of normative questions should make rationalist scholars more receptive to critical work, while critical scholars are discovering an independent identity as they reinvent themselves in the tradition of classical political economy. There is much to gain from a renewed exchange between rationalist and critical scholars, particularly in the context of empirical work, as demonstrated by the vivid politics of the global bioeconomy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Iozzo Alfonso, Mosconi Antonio
The foundation of a cooperative global financial system
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XIX, n. 2, June , 6-11

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Eichengreen Barry, Razo-Garcia Raul
The international monetary system in the last and next 20 years
in Economic Policy, Vol. 21 Issue 45

The last two decades have seen far-reaching changes in the structure of the international monetary system. Europe moved from the European Monetary System to the euro. China adopted a dollar peg and then moved to a basket, band and crawl in 2005. Emerging markets passed through a series of crises, leading some to adopt regimes of greater exchange rate flexibility and others to rethink the pace of capital account liberalization. Interpreting these developments is no easy task: some observers conclude that recent trends are confirmation of the 'bipolar view' that intermediate exchange rate arrangements are disappearing, while members of the 'fear of floating school' conclude precisely the opposite. We show that the two views can be reconciled if one distinguishes countries by their stage of economic and financial development. Among the advanced countries, intermediate regimes have essentially disappeared; this supports the bipolar view for the group of countries for which it was first developed. Within this subgroup, the dominant movement has been toward hard pegs, reflecting monetary unification in Europe. While emerging markets have also seen a decline in the prevalence of intermediate arrangements, these regimes still account for more than a third of the relevant subsample. Here the majority of the evacuees have moved to floats rather than fixes, reflecting the absence of EMU-like arrangements in other parts of the world. Among developing countries, the prevalence of intermediate regimes has again declined, but less dramatically. Where these regimes accounted for two-thirds of the developing country subsample in 1990, they account for a bit more than half of that subsample today. As with emerging markets, the majority of those abandoning the middle have moved to floats rather than hard pegs. The gradual nature of these trends does not suggest that intermediate regimes will disappear outside the advanced countries anytime soon.

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

Damro Chad

The new trade politics and EU competition policy: shopping for convergence and co-operation

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 6 / September , 867-886

As firms increasingly trade and invest internationally, the decisions of competition regulators can increasingly interact with the political decisions that govern trade policy. Competition regulators prefer promoting international convergence and co-operation as a means to avoid trade-related and other political interventions in their regulatory decisions. This article employs a venue shopping model of policy change to identify those international organizations through which the European Union's Directorate General Competition is most likely to seek co-operation and convergence in international competition policy. The Directorate General Competition shops among four different international organizations – the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, the World Trade Organization and the International Competition Network. Five different legal features frame and determine Directorate General Competition's preference for selecting among these different venues, which, in turn, helps to explain the current and future dynamics of competition policy in the new trade politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations

Holmes Peter

Trade and 'domestic' policies: the European mix

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 6 / September , 815-831

With increasing economic interdependence, policies and regulations that were once thought of as 'domestic' become subject to international trade negotiation and rules. The EU has developed a sophisticated approach to balancing sovereignty and liberalization within the single market, and in recent years has also sought to apply some of the same approaches to the multilateral arena. But the EU is reaching the limits of its own approach internally and has seen great resistance to the explicit extension of the World Trade Organization (WTO) agenda into further regulatory spheres, notably at the WTO at the Cancun meeting. Yet the underlying problems remain. If the WTO cannot negotiate the balance between trade liberalization and regulatory autonomy, whether in food safety or services, there is a risk of excessive reliance being placed on the dispute settlement system, and further challenges to the legitimacy of the WTO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations

Woods Ngaire, Lombardi Domenico

Uneven patterns of governance: how developing countries are represented in the IMF

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 13, Number 3 / August 2006 , 480 – 515

The IMF is governed by a 24-member Executive Board which represents 184 countries. Although often prized as a small and efficient decision-making body, the Board represents some countries more effectively than others. This is due to the institutional structure and incentives within which the Board operates. Prime among them is a system of constituencies which have formed and evolved as countries have sought to improve their position in the organization. These groups vary in size, shared interests, and distribution of power. Their effectiveness is not only affected by these attributes. It is

also determined by decision-making rules across the institution, by the lack of formal accountability of Board members, and by the strength of other coalitions of countries acting informally within the institution. The analysis implies that representation on the IMF Board could be improved without altering the size of the Board.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
McCrudden C., Gross S. G
WTO Government Procurement Rules and the Local Dynamics of Procurement Policies: A Malaysian Case Study
in European Journal of International Law, Vol. 17 n. 1 , 185 - 213

This article examines efforts to create binding international rules regulating public procurement and considers, in particular, the failure to reach a WTO agreement on transparency in government procurement. The particular focus of the discussion is the approach taken by Malaysia to these international procurement rules and to the negotiation of an agreement on transparency. Rules governing public procurement directly implicate fundamental arrangements of authority amongst and between different parts of government, its citizens and non-citizens. At the same time, the rules touch upon areas that are particularly sensitive for some developing countries. Many governments use preferences in public procurement to accomplish important redistributive and developmental goals. Malaysia has long used significant preferences in public procurement to further sensitive developmental policies targeted at improving the economic strength of native Malays. Malaysia also has political and legal arrangements substantially at odds with fundamental elements of proposed global public procurement rules. Malaysia has, therefore, been forceful in resisting being bound by international public procurement rules, and has played an important role in defeating the proposed agreement on transparency. We suggest that our case study has implications beyond procurement. The development of international public procurement rules appears to be guided by many of the same values that guide the broader effort to create a global administrative law. This case study, therefore, has implications for the broader exploration of these efforts to develop a global administrative law, in particular the relationship between such efforts and the interests of developing countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Bosshard Peter
Weltbank und Korruption
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, September, 2006 , 1039-1042

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Shaffer Gregory
What's new in EU trade dispute settlement? Judicialization, public–private networks and the WTO legal order
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 6 / September , 832-850

There is a recursive relationship between the judicialization of international trade relations and the development of public–private partnerships in the EU to address international trade claims. The more legalized international trading system creates stronger incentives for well-placed private actors to engage public legal processes. At the same time, to litigate effectively in the WTO system, government officials need the specific information that businesses and their legal representatives can provide. Officials therefore strive to establish better working relations with industry on trade matters. As a result, the EU's decision-making process for the investigation, litigation and settlement of trade claims has become a dynamic, ad hoc, hybrid, multi-tiered process in which private interests are deeply implicated. The process is neither purely intergovernmental nor purely private, but rather involves public–private networks operating in the shadow of international trade law. The process changes and adapts through trial and error.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Voigt Karsten D.
Religion is the wild card in transatlantic relations
in Europe´s World, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_1.5_Voigt_Religion_is_the_wild_card.pdf

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Serfaty Simon
A Challenged and Challenging Europe: Impact on NATO-EU-US Relations
in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLI, n. 1, January-March

Challenged from within, Europe may be tempted to turn inward, economically as well as politically. The paradox is that, even as a house without windows, Europe will still remain increasingly open to a world that the events of 9/11 have made more dangerous, more intrusive, more unpredictable, and all the more demanding of Europe's attention as America's capacity for leadership is widely questioned. As a result, a challenged Europe may also be a challenging Europe because, even as an unfinished Union, it is a power in the world whose far-reaching influence responds to its global interests and relies on the transformative potential of its non-military capabilities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Mouritzen Hans
Choosing Sides in the European Iraq Conflict: A Test of New Geopolitical Theory
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 2, June , 137-163

Focusing on the Euro-Atlantic conflict over the Iraq war operation in early 2003 (the ‘European Iraq conflict’), the purpose of the present article is to explain the pattern of Atlantic (vs. Continental) predispositions among European

countries. It argues that this is the best suited conflict in the post-Cold War era to illuminate this stable and fundamental pattern. Whereas systemic power distribution, size, public opinion, or government ideology all fail to account for the positioning of states in the conflict (and balance of threat applies only modestly), a theory of 'past and present geopolitics' is outlined that seems able to explain states' predispositions and, hence, their positionings in this specific situation. It is remarkable that 'old-fashioned' geopolitical dynamics can be identified even within the Euro-Atlantic zone of 'peace and prosperity'—not only at its fringes, but also in its very heart.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Nathan Laurie
Domestic Instability and Security Communities
in **European Journal of International Relations** , Vol. 12, n. 2, June , 275-299

The problem of political instability is neglected in the literature on security communities. In this article I argue that domestic stability, defined as the absence of large-scale violence in a country, is a necessary condition of these communities. Domestic violence precludes the existence of security communities because it renders people and states insecure; it creates the risk of cross-border destabilization and violence; and it generates uncertainty and tension among states, inhibiting trust and a sense of collective identity. I conclude that the benchmark of a security community—dependable expectations of peaceful change—should apply as much within states as between them. This is consistent with the work of Karl Deutsch, whose pioneering concept of a security community is widely understood to mean the absence of interstate war. Deutsch, in fact, was equally concerned with large-scale internal violence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Gibler Douglas M.
External Threat and Democracy: The Role of NATO Revisited
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 43, Number 4, July , 413-431

This article examines the role of NATO in aiding democratic transitions and survival in the former Soviet republics. The authors argue that the level of external threat is a determining factor in centralization, militarization, and ultimately regime type. States tend to be democratic or are likely to make the transition toward democracy when threat levels are low, while autocracies are more likely to be found in states targeted by higher levels of threat. Building on recent findings examining the link between democracies and alliance, the authors demonstrate that NATO has been an effective guarantor of territorial sovereignty and independence in the Baltic states, Ukraine, and Moldova, reducing the level of threat experienced by each state, thus assuring the survival of decentralized and democratic governments. Former Soviet republics targeted by high levels of threat have reverted to or maintained centralized, autocratic forms of government.

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

de Brichambaut Marc Perrin, Kapanadze Sergi
How things turned nasty for the nice guys of the OSCE
in Europe´s World, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_1.6_Perrin_de_Brichambaut_How_things_turned_nasty.pdf

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Singer David E.
La strategia degli Stati Uniti per la sicurezza
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXVIII, n. 151 , 491-494

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Barany Zoltan
NATO's Post-Cold War Metamorphosis: From Sixteen to Twenty-Six and Counting
in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 8, Issue 1, March , 165-177

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Benantar Abdennour
NATO, Maghreb and Europe
in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 11, Number 2, July , 167-188

The security climate in the Mediterranean has changed. In less than one decade, the region has moved from mutual distrust and a discourse of threats to dialogue and security cooperation. The events of 11 September have accelerated the cooperation dynamic between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Europe, on the one hand, and the Maghreb states on the other. However, the current regional initiatives appear to be unable to impact decisively on the unresolved conflicts in the region and/or to prevent tensions. In this contribution, I analyse these initiatives and highlight their main shortcomings, while paying particularly attention to NATO's Mediterranean dialogue, the most important of these security frameworks. In this context, I investigate US initiatives in the Maghreb and the delicate balancing act that these perform in relation to Morocco and Algeria. I also examine the Maghreb states' approaches to the NATO dialogue and the idea of a Maghreb security system, which is currently undermined by the prevailing 'self-help' approaches to security. Finally, I analyse the detrimental impact of the multiplication of partnerships for the establishment of comprehensive regional structure, as well as the drawbacks of a process of excessive securitization of the 'soft' security challenge in the Mediterranean.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
White Stephen, Korosteleva Julia, Allison Roy
NATO: The View from the East
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 2, June , 165-190

Relations between Russia, Ukraine and Belarus and NATO have placed more emphasis on cooperation than confrontation since the Cold War, and Ukraine has begun to move towards membership. At the popular level, on the evidence of national surveys in 2004 and 2005, NATO continues to be perceived as a significant threat, but in Russia and Ukraine it comes behind the United States (in Belarus the numbers are similar). There are few socioeconomic predictors of support for NATO membership that are significant across all three countries, but there are wide differences by region, and by attitudinal variables such as support for a market economy and for EU membership. The relationship between popular attitudes and foreign policy is normally a distant one; but in Ukraine NATO membership will require public support in a referendum, and in all three cases public attitudes on foreign policy issues can influence foreign policy in other ways, including the composition of parliamentary committees. In newly independent states whose international allegiances are still evolving, the associations between public opinion and foreign and security policy may often be closer than in the established democracies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Rywkin Michael
Security and Stability in Central Asia: Differing Interests and Perspectives
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Vol. 28, n. 2 / April , 193-217

This comprehensive summary of a recent conference on Central Asia identifies the competing interests of the United States, Russia, and China in the region and presents a set of policy recommendations formulated by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, Inc.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Hills Alice
The Rationalities of European Border Security
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 1, March , 67-88

Any account of European security that ignores border security is incomplete, and any account of border security that disregards functional issues is unfinished. Border security is an empirical manifestation of a state's adaptation to its political environment, so a comprehensive analysis of European security requires that both the empirical and conceptual parameters of border management should be identified. However, this is problematic. Not only is functional security benignly neglected by the academy, but also border management is based on competing political imperatives,

operational necessities, and social realities, rather than a coherent theoretical framework. Although the rationalities of European border security have yet to be systematically analysed, the Schengen accord is unlikely to provide the foundations needed for a comprehensive paradigm of European (border) security. This article focuses on the empirical and practical—rather than theoretical—dimensions of border security in order to rebalance the debate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Epstein Rachel A.
When Legacies Meet Policies: NATO and the Refashioning of Polish Military Tradition
in **East European Politics and Societies**, Volume 20, Number 2, May , 254-285

Polish military tradition has long revolved around the ideal of defending the country's territorial, political, and cultural integrity. Given Poland's history of partition, occupation, and foreign domination, however, the institutionalization of democratically accountable civilian control over the armed forces had never been an objective, let alone a reality. Thus, when the North Atlantic Treaty Organization committed to expanding its membership in the mid-1990s, there was a notable clash of Polish military legacies on one hand and NATO's proposed policies on the other. In analyzing the interaction between domestic traditions and international pressure, the author argues that NATO greatly accelerated the consolidation of democratic civilian control in Poland. By removing key elements of Polish military tradition from both the rhetoric and practice of Polish public policy, the alliance had the practical effect of cultivating a civilian interest in far-reaching oversight while undermining the preexisting societal consensus in Poland that had long brooked high levels of military political authority.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Espiritu Augusto
"To Carry Water on Both Shoulders": Carlos P. Romulo, American Empire, and the Meanings of Bandung
in **Radical History Review**, Issue 95, Spring 2006

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Lightfoot Simon
A good international citizen? Australia at the World Summit on Sustainable Development
in **Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 60, n. 3 / September , 457-471

Australia has often been identified as a middle power in foreign policy terms. This article assesses the worth of the concept in understanding the role of Australia in global environmental governance. Using a case study of the role played at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, it assesses whether Australia conformed to a classic middle power role, building coalitions as a 'good international citizen' or whether its role was more like a veto state, preventing positive

change. This is done via a reflection of Australia's Summit priorities and an assessment of its impact over the Summit outcomes. The article shows that Australia was able to offer leadership in certain specific areas, but overall domestic policy preferences, a growing mistrust of multilateralism, and a strong defence of the national interest meant that Australia played the role of a veto state, often in coalition with the United States of America.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Doyle Joseph S.
An international public health crisis: can global institutions respond effectively to HIV/AIDS?
in **Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 60, n. 3 / September , 400-411

The United Nations Millennium Project (2005) describes the HIV/AIDS epidemic as a 'global catastrophe, threatening social and economic stability in the most affected areas, while spreading relentlessly into new regions'. Multilateral institutions under the leadership of the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS and World Health Organization have been charged with coordinating the worldwide response. Yet with attention and funding diverted between bilateral, regional and multilateral aid providers, and little discernible success in containing the global epidemic to date, it remains an open question whether traditional global institutions are able to effectively combat HIV/AIDS. It is argued that bilateral relationships are still heavily relied upon at present as traditional multilateral arrangements struggle for resources and political attention. The critical questions discussed here are whether global institutions should, can and will respond effectively to the HIV/AIDS crisis. This analysis finds that the most readily organised and deployed global response will likely involve an alliance of public and private agencies that can escape some of the domestic, political and organisational constraints inherent in existing HIV/AIDS funding arrangements. Ultimately, newer hybrid arrangements that have emerged recently, like the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, may offer a more enduring global regime to control the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The corollary is that UN agencies alone in their traditional form, hampered by multilateral practicalities, will be less effective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Loriaux Sylvie
Beneficence and distributive justice in a globalising world
in **Global Society**, Vol. 20, n. 3, July , 251-266

This paper argues that distributive justice requires a higher degree of enforceability and responsibility than beneficence and that therefore the current world order gives us strong reasons to recognise a global duty of justice to help the poor satisfy their basic needs. It proceeds in three steps. The first part considers the conceptual distinction between duties of justice and duties of beneficence. The second part examines the role that international institutions might play in activating duties of justice, by focusing on two dichotomies that are often used in order to distinguish between beneficence and justice, namely the imperfection/perfection dichotomy and the non-enforceability/enforceability dichotomy. In this respect, it is argued that perfection and enforceability of duties are necessary but not sufficient

conditions for distributive duties to be conceived as duties of distributive justice. Therefore, the third part proposes an additional dichotomy focusing on the distinct moral reasons that underlie duties of beneficence and duties of distributive justice, namely the corrective/causal responsibility dichotomy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Xiang Lanxin
China and Europe together could break the mould of global politics
in Europe´s World, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_1.4_Xiang_China_and_Europe_together.pdf

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Burton Antoinette
Cold War Cosmopolitanism: The Education of Santha Rama Rau in the Age of Bandung, 1945-1954
in Radical History Review, Issue 95, Spring 2006

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Elliott Lorraine
Cosmopolitan environmental harm conventions
in Global Society, Vol. 20, n. 3, July , 345-363

The global politics of the environment is increasingly a politics of transnational harm that raises important questions about injustice and global ethics. One response to the injustices of environmental harm is found in the demands for cosmopolitan harm conventions—social practices that define what is permissible in relations between human beings in a way that does not privilege the interests of insiders over outsiders. This article explores the theory and practice of cosmopolitan environmental harm conventions with particular attention to the issues of rights, obligations and a politics of consent. It concludes that while many existing environmental harm conventions are often only marginally cosmopolitan, despite appearances to the contrary, cosmopolitan ideas are sufficiently robust to provide a theoretical and ethical road map for dealing with global environmental injustice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Van Den Anker Christien
Cosmopolitan institutions: Justice, governance and political economy
in Global Society, Vol. 20, n. 3, July , 233-238

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Cheah Pheng
Cosmopolitanism
in Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 23, nn 2-3, May , 486-496

In modernity, the concept of cosmopolitanism has changed from an intellectual ethos to a vision of an institutionally embedded global political consciousness. The central problem that troubles cosmopolitanism from its moment of inception in 18th-century philosophy to the globalized present is whether we live in a world that is interconnected enough to generate institutions that have a global regulatory reach and a global form of solidarity that can influence their functioning. Examination of Kant's pre-nationalist cosmopolitanism, Marx's postnationalist cosmopolitanism, and decolonizing socialist nationalism indicates the normative attraction of the nation as a mode of solidarity. Contemporary arguments about new cosmopolitanisms focusing on the rise of transnational networks of global cities, postnational social formations created by migrant and diasporic flows and Habermas's recent revival of Kant's project of cosmopolitan democracy have likewise failed to address the persistence of nationalism as a normative force within the field of uneven globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Shah Nisha
Cosmopolitanizing and decosmopolitanizing globalization: Metaphorical re-description and transformations of political community
in Globalizations , Vol. 3, n. 3, September , 393-411

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Pierik Roland, Werner Wouter
Cosmopolitism, Global Justice and International Law
in Leiden Journal of International Law, Volume 18 (2005) Issue 4 , pp 679-684

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Valladão Alfredo G A

Democratic Hegemony and American Hegemony
in **Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Vol. 19, n. 2, June , 243-260

The emergence of an ‘American democratic empire’, rising from the global informational and transportation revolution, that has its epicentre situated on the territory of the United States (US), has produced a profound metamorphosis in world affairs. National power elites, including those in America, are confronting a dilemma. They are compelled to accept, favour and even defend the so-called globalisation process in order to avoid further erosion of their economic and political power. On the other hand, this process is also directly threatening this same power. The paradox is that the US is the main promoter and defender of last resort of the new global ‘order’, which at the same time is restricting its own margins for sovereign action. The ‘democratic empire’ is thus fostering the rise of a democratic hegemonism at the expense of a ‘US hegemonism’. This democratic hegemonism is a gradually rising—and fragile—consensus on a proliferating set of perceptions and values, stressing individual freedom, responsibility and political and social activism. This consensus arises from the material possibilities of a more individualistic way of life and the increasing capacity of single individuals or organised groups to participate in global and local political decision-making processes. This is a process that favours the empowerment of interest groups whose reference is no longer solely the nation-state. Hence, traditional power elites are progressively losing their ability to present themselves as the ultimate embodiment of a national ‘general interest’. The irony of the seemingly intractable contradiction between US hegemonism and democratic hegemonism is that the actual spreading of the logic of the latter is closely dependent on US power and willingness to defend its own national interest. The greatest challenge for the coming decades will be the construction of supranational governance institutions under democratic hegemony, so as to avoid a classic imperial self-isolation of the US—a situation that would trigger the inevitable demise of democratic hegemonism and, for the time being, of any order as such.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Brunkhorst Hauke
Demokratie in der globalen Rechtsgenossenschaft. Einige Überlegungen zur poststaatlichen Verfassung der Weltgesellschaft
in **Zeitschrift für Soziologie**, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

Democracy in the Global Legal Community
Reflections on the Post-Statist Constitution of the Global Society

One most important aspects of globalization is the enormous increase in legal norms which no longer can be ascribed to a single nation-state. The evolving global legal system transcends all state borders, and the complexity of this system producing the need for higher-level regulations which are constitutional on a first level of functional constitutionalization (funktionale Verfassung). A new separation of powers between post-statist legislation and state-based implementation and enforcement of law is making the structural coupling of law, politics, and possible in the European Union as well as in the international community or in relation to global functional systems. But the structural coupling of law, politics, and economy is only a poor and not at all sufficient answer to the new constitutional questions. It is here that the older distinction between the Rule-of-Law-constitutionalization of already existing regimes (herrschaftsbegrenzende V.) and the democratic constitution of new regimes (herrschaftsbegründende V.) comes into play. Global and regional

constitutional organizations like the EU, the WTO or the UN reveal a deep tension between these two concepts of a constitution. the egalitarian rights which are explicitly declared in all these constitutions contradict the non-egalitarian principles of representation which structure the daily production of norms. The structural violation of egalitarian representation causes a hegemonic structure of global law, and the non-egalitarian production of more and more norms which are binding for states and their citizens poses a growing threat for national democracy. On the other hand, there are some developments towards democratizing the supranational organizations, and there is some evidence for the growth of power of a heterogenous but antihegemonic global public.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Romano Sergio
Gli Stati Uniti, la Russia e l'Unione Europea
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXVIII, n. 151 , 468-471

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Alexander Jeffrey C.
Global Civil Society
in Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 23, nn 2-3, May , 521-524

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Peters Anne
Global Constitutionalism Revisited
in Leiden Journal of International Law, Volume 19 (2006) Issue 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Cammack Paul
Global Governance, State Agency and Competitiveness: The Political Economy of the Commission for Africa
in British Journal of Politics & International Relations , Vol. 8, Issue 3, August , 331-350

The Commission for Africa has been presented as a moral crusade, and linked by its proponents to the 'anti-globalisation' activism of such campaigns as 'Make Poverty History'. But detailed analysis of the genesis and

content of its report reveals direct continuity with EBRD and World Bank programmes from the 1990s onwards. It continues and extends a series of supranational initiatives aimed at endowing transitional and developing states with the capacity to pursue and legitimise capitalist development. Its principal focus is shown to be on the need to enhance the capacity of the state to impose and maintain the social relations of capitalist production. The emphasis on restoring rather than replacing state agency is identified as a constant feature of such projects, related to the promotion of competitiveness in the global capitalist economy. Finally, this is shown to be a feature shared with New Labour's programme for the 'modernisation' of Britain, and the broader theoretical implications are briefly explored.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Marchetti Raffaele
Global governance or world federalism? A cosmopolitan dispute on institutional models
in Global Society, Vol. 20, n. 3, July , 287-305

This paper contributes to the debate on cosmopolitan democracy by defending a model of cosmo-federalism, based on a consequentialist reading of the principle of freedom of choice. Adopting a radical democratic perspective on citizens' participation to public self-legislation, the paper first develops an analysis of the current institutional system in terms of international exclusion, and then proposes an alternative conceptualisation of the notion of citizenship as multilayered and all-inclusive. Within this framework, a critique of recent proposals for a cosmopolitan reform of global governance is drawn on the grounds of an insufficient implementation of the congruence principle. In opposition to cosmopolitan governance, a new model of world organisation is finally presented for the federal reform of the UN system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Patomäki Heikki
Global justice: A democratic perspective
in Globalizations , Vol. 3, n. 2, June , 99-120

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Caney Simon
Global justice: From theory to practice
in Globalizations , Vol. 3, n. 2, June , 121-137

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Lera St. Clair Asunción
Global poverty: Development ethics meets global justice
in **Globalizations** , Vol. 3, n. 2, June , 139-158

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Mahlert Bettina
Globale Ordnung und globaler Konflikt: Talcott Parsons als Theoretiker des Ost-West-Konfliktes. Eine Anmerkung zur Theoriegeschichte von
in **Zeitschrift für Soziologie**, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

Global Order and Global Conflict: Talcott Parsons as a Theorist of the Cold War
A Contribution to the History of Theories of "World Society"

By drawing from various texts on the political situation during World War II and the Cold War, this article assesses to what extent the theory of Talcott Parsons can be understood as a precursor of today´s debate about globalization and world-society. As will be shown, Parsons approaches these issues from two perspectives. On the one hand, he refers to his theory of modern values; on the other hand, he relates his argument to a more general sociology of conflict. With regard to the first dimension he somewhat surprisingly argues that there is a strong consensus of values between East and West. However it is due to the ideological differences that the common values have become invisible. Hence, the quest for mitigating mechanisms must take into account situational constraints. For that purpose the sociology of conflict offers an adequate analytical tool. Finally, both perspectives entail themes which – though relatively unnoticed – have fed into today´s theories of world society. These are the idea of a modern world culture and the notion of a global extension of functional sub-systems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Koopmann Georg, Straubhaar Thomas
Globalisierung braucht starke Institutionen
in **Internationale Politik** , n. 9, 61. Jahrgang, September , 9-15

ABSTRACT: Die Liberalisierung des Welthandels gerät durch die Schwäche der WTO ins Stocken. Grund genug, das multilaterale Regelwerk gegen nationale Lobby-Interessen zu verteidigen.
Seit Jahrzehnten ringt die Weltwirtschaft darum, Grenzen zu öffnen, Zölle abzubauen, Dumping zu stoppen. Doch nach einer Phase erfolgreicher Liberalisierung droht nun eine Erosion des multilateralen Regelwerks und die Renaissance bilateraler Abkommen. Dabei ist die Stärkung des WTORegimes unverzichtbar – um die wachsende Ungleichheit zwischen den Handelspartnern auszugleichen, den institutionellen Wettbewerb zwischen den Staaten zu zähmen und die Globalisierung zu gestalten.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Harris N.
Globalización y tendencias en la gestión de las ciudades
in Gestion y politica publica, Vol. 15 n. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Del Vecchio Angela
Globalization and its Effect on International Courts and Tribunals
in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), n. 1, vol. 5 , 1-11

There is a need for the international community to make provision for and construct a system of rules and sanctions with far greater binding force than the previous system and which draws its strength of application from the setting up of new international tribunals endowed with personal, subject matter and territorial jurisdiction. It is precisely these courts and tribunals, when ruling that individual cases fall within the scope of the general interests of the community as a whole, which are the institutions best equipped to respond to globalization. Moreover, it is increasingly recognized that courts and tribunals have law-making powers since in the current international legal order the effects of their decisions are often not limited to a single case, i.e. the decisions can be universally valid at least within the geographical area in which the court operates or the sector in respect of which it enjoys jurisdiction. In this connection, the author explores the effects of globalization on international courts and tribunals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
de Sousa Santos Boaventura
Globalizations
in Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 23, nn 2-3, May , 393-399

What is generally called globalization is a vast social field in which hegemonic or dominant social groups, states, interests and ideologies collide with counter-hegemonic or subordinate social groups, states, interests and ideologies on a world scale. Even the hegemonic camp is fraught with conflicts, but over and above them, there is a basic consensus among its most influential members (in political terms, the G-7). It is this consensus that confers on globalization its dominant characteristics. The counter-hegemonic or subordinate production of globalization is what is called insurgent cosmopolitanism. It consists of the transnationally organized resistance against the unequal exchanges produced or intensified by globalized localisms and localized globalisms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Esty Daniel C.
Good Governance at the Supranational Scale: Globalizing Administrative Law
in Yale Law Journal (The), Vol. 115, n. 7, May , 1490-1562

This Article examines the tension between the demonstrable need for structured international cooperation in a world of interdependence and the political strain that arises whenever policymaking authority is lodged in global institutions. It argues that the tools of administrative law, which have been used to legitimate regulatory decisionmaking in the domestic context, should be deployed more systematically when policymaking is undertaken at the international level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Esty D.C.
Good Governance at the Supranational Scale: Globalizing Administrative Law
in Yale Law Journal (The), Vol. 115 n. 7 , 1490–1562

This Article examines the tension between the demonstrable need for structured international cooperation in a world of interdependence and the political strain that arises whenever policymaking authority is lodged in global institutions. It argues that the tools of administrative law, which have been used to legitimate regulatory decisionmaking in the domestic context, should be deployed more systematically when policymaking is undertaken at the international level. While acknowledging the inevitable lack of democratic underpinnings for supranational governance, this Article highlights a series of other bases for legitimacy: expertise and the ability to promote social welfare; the order and stability provided by the rule of law; checks and balances; structured deliberation; and, most notably, the institutional design of the policymaking process as structured by principles and practices of administrative law. In developing the logic for procedural legitimacy as a foundation for good governance at the supranational scale, this Article advances a taxonomy of possible global administrative law tools. It then evaluates against this template of good governance procedures some existing decisionmaking procedures in the international trade, public health, and environmental policy regimes. The core conclusion is this: Even if supranational governance is limited and hampered by divergent traditions, cultures, and political preferences, developing a baseline set of administrative law tools and practices will strengthen whatever supranational policymaking is undertaken.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Lo Schiavo Lidia
Identità e società civile internazionale: ricognizioni intorno all'uso di un concetto
in Teoria Politica, Vol. 22, Fascicolo 2 , 34

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Oberthür Sebastian, Gehring -Thomas
Institutional Interaction in Global Environmental Governance: The Case of the Cartagena Protocol and the World Trade Organization
in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 6, Issue 2, May , 1-31

The competitive quest of the Cartagena Protocol and the WTO for authority to regulate international trade in genetically modified organisms (GMOs) exemplifies a typical interaction between international institutions with diverging objectives. This article first develops a conceptual framework for the analysis of institutional interaction that emphasizes disaggregation of complex interaction situations into separate cases of clearly directed inter-institutional influence. These cases can follow different causal mechanisms. Second, applying this framework to the interaction between the Cartagena Protocol and the WTO reveals that existing commitments have driven parties toward a step-wise delimitation of the institutions' jurisdictions. Although the WTO acquired a firstmover advantage by structuring the regulatory field, the Cartagena Protocol showed surprising strength in exploiting the remaining room for maneuver. The structure of international governance thus steers institutions with differing objectives toward a jurisdictional balance that, while reflecting existing power relations, limits the potential for conflict and frames available policy choices.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Van Den Anker Christien
Institutional implications of global justice as impartiality: Cosmopolitan democracy
in Global Society, Vol. 20, n. 3, July , 267-285

This article develops an argument on the type of implications a theory of global justice as impartiality would generate for global institutions. The main conclusion is that a theory of citizenship including political obligations towards fellow citizens could be used as a basis for a theory of global citizenship with duties towards fellow human beings. The article ends with a sketch of improvements to existing institutions like the United Nations and the Human rights doctrine, especially the inclusion of the aim of democracy in international law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Miklos Andras
Institutions in cosmopolitan justice
in Global Society, Vol. 20, n. 3, July , 239-250

This paper focuses on a distinction between two kinds of theories about the role of institutions in cosmopolitan justice. Some philosophers claim that principles of egalitarian justice apply to institutional schemes only, and do not apply to the actions of individuals. Others think that principles of egalitarian justice apply also to the actions of individuals. The purpose of this article is to clarify this debate with a view on cosmopolitan justice by examining whether institutions can make a non-instrumental difference to what people ought to do with regard to distributive justice. The starting point is the outlining of two strategies arguing for the special significance of institutions in cosmopolitan justice. The first strategy

demands the global application of principles of justice on the basis of regarding institutions as possible channels of collective harm. The second strategy argues that institutions enable a more effective discharging of individual duties that we have independently of participation in institutions. In contrast to these two strategies, the argument is made for regarding institutions as making a non-instrumental difference to what people ought to do with regard to cosmopolitan justice. The argument emphasising the constitutive role of global institutions in distributive justice is based on the conditional character of moral duties and on the systematicity of institutional schemes. The thesis is justified by reference to institutions' capacity to solve coordination problems and conflicts raised by the fact of disagreement, and their capacity to determine a unique set of just distributive rules, given the essentially underdetermined character of the demands of justice

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Alvarez J.E.
International organization then and now
in American journal of international law, Vol. 100 n. 2 , 324 - 347

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Sinatti Piero
La Russia e gli Stati Uniti
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXVIII, n. 151 , 472-486

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Chopo Y.G.
La politica hostil de Estados Unidos contra la Corte Penal Internacional: los acuerdos del artículo 98 o la búsqueda de la impunidad
in Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional, Vol. 57 n. 1 , 145-170

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Latouche Serge
Les illusions de la techno-démocratie de marché mondialisée
in Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto, volume XLIII, 134 (2006) , 181 - 192

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Bartelson Jens
Making Sense of Global Civil Society
in European Journal of International Relations , Vol. 12, n. 3, September , 371-395

This article purports to explain why the concept of global civil society recently has attracted so much interest within academic and political discourse. Given the ambiguity and apparent incoherence of this concept, its centrality within contemporary International Relations and political theory is puzzling. The article argues that once we pay attention to the function of the concept of domestic civil society within different historical contexts, we are better able to understand the logic governing the usage of global civil society as well. Much like its domestic antecedents, theories of global civil society provide answers to the question of how to govern effectively, in this case by constituting the global realm as a sphere of governmental activity, as well as by justifying the exercise of authority within this emergent sphere. The article concludes by discussing the ethical implications of the concept of global civil society, disputing its emancipatory potential.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Ong Aihwa
Mutations in Citizenship
in Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 23, nn 2-3, May , 499-505

Mutations in citizenship are crystallized in an ever-shifting landscape shaped by the flows of markets, technologies, and populations. We are moving beyond the citizenship-versus-statelessness model. First, the elements of citizenship (rights, entitlements, etc.) are becoming disarticulated from each other, and becoming re-articulated with universalizing criteria of neoliberalism and human rights. Such ‘global assemblages’ define zones of political entitlements and claims. Second, the space of the ‘assemblage’, rather than the national terrain, becomes the site for political mobilizations by diverse groups in motion. Three contrasting configurations are presented. In the EU zone, unregulated markets and migrant flows challenge liberal citizenship. In Asian zones, foreigners who display self-enterprising savoire faire gain rights and benefits of citizenship. In camps of the disenfranchised or displaced, sheer survival becomes the ground for political claims. Thus, particular constellations shape specific problems and resolutions to questions of contemporary living, further disarticulating and deterritorializing aspects of citizenship.

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

Normative Hierarchy in International Law
in **American journal of international law**, Vol. 100 n. 2 , 291 - 323

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Partzsch Lena
Partnerschaften - Lösung der globalen Wasserkrise?
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 25, 2006

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Albert Mathias
Politik der Weltgesellschaft und Politik der Globalisierung: Überlegungen zur Emergenz von Weltstaatlichkeit
in **Zeitschrift für Soziologie**, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

Politics of World Society and Politics of Globalization: Notes on the Emergence of World Statehood

This article juxtaposes a “globalization“ and a “world society“ perspective. It demonstrates how both could be read as irreconcilable conceptualizations of political and social change, yet seeks to identify possible points of contact between them. A number of commonalities can indeed be defined, although a “methodological nationalism” divides both approaches and their particular views of politics. Both share an emphasis on ideal types, which distort real historical developments, as well as some residual elements of the “Westphalian model” – possibly inherited from classical understandings of the very concept of “society” itself. It is argued that more substantial common ground could be gained by focusing on emerging structures of world statehood. The thesis is developed that emerging world statehood is a kind of inclusive statehood which does not compete with traditional claims of exclusive sovereignty. While structures of “global governance“ provide the basis of world statehood, it starts to consolidate only on the basis of a global governance increasingly grounded in (world) law and the emergence of a world public. In addition, it is possible to register the first harbingers of a semantics of world statehood.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Herberg Martin
Re-Embedding the Disembedded : Die Umweltstandards multinationaler Konzerne in der globalen Steuerungsarchitektur
in **Soziale Welt**, Jahrgang 56, Heft 4, 2005 , 399-416

Re-embedding the disembedded. Environmental self-regulation in multinational enterprises as a building block of global

governance

Globalization is associated with a decline of the nation state's capacity to regulate the economy, but at the same time, a variety of private governance mechanisms has emerged in the lacunas of the prevailing legal and institutional order. Compared to previous forms of private self-regulation on the national level, these structures feature a new degree of autonomy, which has led to a broad debate on a Global Law without a State« and phenomena of informal and 'disembedded' norm-making. The article deals with the case of environmental protection in multinational enterprises, reconstructing the governance mechanisms in a transit from the published codes and guidelines further to the micro processes on the shop floor. The analysis is conducted from a socio-legal view, scrutinizing the emergent governance mechanisms under aspects of effectivity as well as under the aspect of possible legal references - and thus evaluating the chances of re-embedding them into the institutional system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Sneddon Chris, Howarth Richard B., Norgaard Richard B.
Sustainable development in a post-Brundtland world
in Ecological Economics, Volume 57, Issue 2, 1 May , 253-268

Not yet two decades after the publication of Our Common Future, the world's political and environmental landscape has changed significantly. Nonetheless, we argue that the concept and practice of sustainable development (SD)–as guiding institutional principle, as concrete policy goal, and as focus of political struggle–remains salient in confronting the multiple challenges of this new global order. Yet how SD is conceptualized and practiced hinges crucially on: the willingness of scholars and practitioners to embrace a plurality of epistemological and normative perspectives on sustainability; the multiple interpretations and practices associated with the evolving concept of “development”; and efforts to open up a continuum of local-to-global public spaces to debate and enact a politics of sustainability. Embracing pluralism provides a way out of the ideological and epistemological straightjackets that deter more cohesive and politically effective interpretations of SD. Using pluralism as a starting point for the analysis and normative construction of sustainable development, we pay particular attention to how an amalgam of ideas from recent work in ecological economics, political ecology and the “development as freedom” literature might advance the SD debate beyond its post-Brundtland quagmire. Enhanced levels of ecological degradation, vast inequalities in economic opportunities both within and across societies, and a fractured set of institutional arrangements for global environmental governance all represent seemingly insurmountable obstacles to a move towards sustainability. While these obstacles are significant, we suggest how they might be overcome through a reinvigorated set of notions and practices associated with sustainable development, one that explicitly examines the linkages between sustainability policies and sustainability politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Morgera Elisa, Marín Durán Gracia
The 2005 UN World Summit, the Environment and the Role of the EU: Priorities, Promises and Prospects
in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 15, Issue 1, April , 11-22

This article analyses the role of the EU in the 2005 United Nations World Summit, with specific reference to

environmental protection and sustainable development issues. The article will discuss the EU priorities in the pre-Summit process; its negotiating position during the informal sessions and the high-level segment of the sixtieth session of the General Assembly; and its pledges in the successive discussions on the follow-up and implementation of the Summit outcome. It will conclude by evaluating the impact of the EU on the final Summit Outcome Document, and the challenges the EU faces in effectively contributing to follow-up and implementation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Gurowitz Amy
The Diffusion of International Norms: Why Identity Matters
in **International Politics** , Vol. 43, n. 3, July , 305-341

As the literature on international norms grows beyond documenting that norms matter, scholars have increasingly responded to the challenge that they must account for why and when they matter by looking at variation in the impact of those norms across time and place. This article looks at issues surrounding state identity as one understudied factor in determining why norms matter more in some places than others. We know that domestic and international actors often use norms to back-up and make arguments for which they often have few or weak domestic resources. But the context for the use of those norms is important. Mobilization and invocation of international norms domestically occurs within the context of a state's identity and the degree to which those norms are helpful to the actors who use them depends, among other things, on the identity of the target state. This article joins the discussion about norm diffusion by examining two cases involving the incorporation of non-citizens: Germany and Japan. A comparison of these cases suggests that identity and identity crises matter in understanding the differential diffusion of international norms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Williamson Oliver E.
The Economics of Governance
in **American Economic Review**, Vol. 95, No. 2, May 2005

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
De Wet Erika
The Emergence of International and Regional Value Systems as a Manifestation of the Emerging International Constitutional Order
in **Leiden Journal of International Law**, Volume 19 (2006) Issue 3

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Shafir Garshon, Briysk Alison
The Globalization of Rights: From Citizenship to Human Rights
in Citizenship Studies, n. 3, vol. 10, july , 275-287

ABSTRACT: Globalization is shifting the balance away from membership-based citizenship towards universal human rights, thus we ask: how are new human rights generated? We argue that the movement for human rights follows on the heels of the much older and richer tradition of citizenship, as can be seen from the fact that many of the new claims put forward by human rights activists seek to define traditional citizenship rights as universal human rights. Most recently, we witness attempts by NGOs and CSOs to bring health, rights-based development, and identity rights under the umbrella of human rights. We examine the changing but continuous relationship of these two rights traditions, the gains made by human rights activists and the global solidarity and national enforcement capacity needed to underwrite their further progress.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Babu Ramesh
The Liberal Capitalist West as the New 'Global State'
in International Studies, n. 3, vol. 43, april , 291-304

ABSTRACT: Over the last few decades, especially since the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the collapse of communism, the world is transiting from 'international' politics to 'global' politics. The transformation comes in the wake of the very old inclusive and constitutive process of expansion of the West, westernization of the international society and that of the globe. This is a compelling phenomenon and has been mainly built on the political, legal and economic ideas (and also the culture) of the liberal capitalist West. The governing structures, organizational patterns and institutional practices of most countries in the world are also inspired by the West. This is the foundation of the nature, extent and form of power the liberal capitalist West led by the US exercises over the rest of the world. This kind of power is increasingly becoming similar in many respects to what the State exercises in the international system. Hence, the liberal capitalist West could be seen as the virtual Global State. Such a conceptualization of the extant global reality has significant implications for the traditional theories of State in international politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Hout Wil
The Only Game in Town? European Social Democracy and Neo-Liberal Globalization
in Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft, Heft 2, 2006 , 9-26

ABSTRACT: The "new" European social democracy is not against globalization but rather in favor of shaping it in a

reforming kind of way. To this end the central political-ideological and programmatic documents propagate the creation or strengthening of the institutional framework of global governance, and emphasize the need for regulation to avoid the undesired consequences of liberalization. Of course, the neoliberal agenda still shapes practical politics. Increasing social instability, however, could soon improve the chances of social democratic reform ideas being realized.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Linklater Andrew
The harm principle and global ethics
in Global Society, Vol. 20, n. 3, July , 329-343

Various international legal conventions create the obligation not to cause `serious bodily or mental harm' to members of one's society or to other social groups. The existence of these obligations raises the question of whether widespread aversion to pain and suffering provides the best foundation for `moral progress' in world politics. Support for a global version of the harm principle is evident in various liberal moral and political writings, but these are vulnerable to two lines of criticism. Some critics have argued that the concept of harm is more complex and elusive than liberals suggest; others that the liberal version of the harm principle is inadequate because it privileges the negative obligation to avoid injury over positive obligations of rescue. Having reviewed these debates, this paper argues for a global version of the harm principle which defends negative and related positive obligations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Stone Sweet Alec
The new Lex Mercatoria and transnational governance
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 5 / August , 627-646

Over the past four decades, the transnational business community has successfully built a private system of transnational governance: the new Lex Mercatoria. The actors who operate this system – firms, their lawyers, international arbitrators, and legal academics – have evolved, and use, ‘a-national’ principles of contract and a system of private ‘courts’ to organize and regulate cross-border commercial exchange. National legal systems have adapted to the Lex Mercatoria, thereby enhancing the latter's autonomy, and the EU has begun to move in the same direction.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Park Susan
Theorizing Norm Diffusion Within International Organizations
in International Politics , Vol. 43, n. 3, July , 342-361

International Organizations (IOs) promote and diffuse norms within world politics. This prompts the question: where do

these norms come from? This inquiry analyses how IOs have been perceived within the emerging norms literature where IOs are 'norm diffusers' within the international system, and finds that the way in which IOs themselves internalize norms has not been taken into account. This poses a potentially fruitful new avenue of inquiry into why and when IOs behave as norm diffusers. An interpretation of when and why IOs internalize norms is offered by positing that IO identities are not fixed and that they are 'norm consumers' socialized by state and non-state actors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Lamy Pascal
Towards Global Governance?
in Revue Tocqueville - The Tocqueville Review, VOL. XXVII, No. 1, Printemps , 7 - 26

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Koenig Matthias
Weltgesellschaft, Menschenrechte und der Formwandel des Nationalstaats
in Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

World Society, Human Rights and the Transformation of the Nation-State

This article deals with world polity factors accounting for the transformation of the classical nation-state, as articulated in conflicts over the recognition of collective identities. Elaborating neo-institutional world polity theory, the article analyzes the semantic change of human rights in the course of its institutionalization. It is claimed that it was the world-wide diffusion of the classical nation-state model, whose paradoxical consequences have generated a new model of multicultural citizenship, legitimating the de-coupling of state membership, individual rights and national identities. This argument is based on empirical evidence from a qualitative historical analysis of international legal discourse on human rights, particularly on freedom of religion. The sources (1945-2001) show a semantic change in human rights, in which the principle of national self-determination is superseded by state obligations to recognize a diversity of primordial or traditional identities. The findings explain a crucial aspect of the transformation of the nation-state. They also underline the fact that the neo-institutional world polity approach needs to be elaborated with respect to a multi-level analysis of overlapping processes of institutionalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Agné Hans
A Dogma of Democratic Theory and Globalization: Why Politics Need not Include Everyone it Affects
in European Journal of International Relations , Vol. 12, n. 3, September , 433-458

This article examines and questions a principle in democratic theory which has become particularly fashionable in analyses of globalization and European integration, namely that everyone affected by a decision should be able to participate in making it. It is found that this principle is too strong to fit with the meaning of democracy, leads to tautological arguments, is indeterminate in politically important cases and, if its indeterminacy is rectified, fails to support ideas of political equality and accountability. Removing this principle from the concept of democracy implies, among other things, that empirical analysis becomes more significant, indeed necessary, for assessment of effects of globalization on democracy. Parallel to the development of critical arguments is the defence of a theoretical alternative according to which the delimitation of democratic communities should be decided on the grounds of what effect it produces in terms of autonomy for everyone, those included as well as those excluded.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Pozo-Martin Gonzalo
A Tougher Gordian Knot: Globalisation, Imperialism and the Problem of the State
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 19, n. 2, June , 223-242

This article aims to provide an overview of the debates around globalisation, and to rehearse an empirical, ideological and theoretical critique of Globalisation Theories. This assessment focuses on the inability of these approaches to understand the state and modern sovereignty as, respectively, a capitalist state and a modern capitalist sovereignty, that is, as part of the social relations of power which constitute the capitalist mode of production. The globalisation debates, which were more often than not predicated on some degree of antagonism between the global process and the nation-state, have proved unable to account for a nation-state which has historically advanced in a close organic relationship with global capitalism. The problem of the state is then used to introduce a review of Marxist contributions to the understanding of imperialism. A brief genealogy of Marxist thought on this subject introduces a discussion of theories of the new imperialism, which have gained considerable purchase in the wake of the United State's reinforced pursuance of an imperial agenda after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, and are again assessed from the angle of the under-theorised notion of the state. This critical review of the imperialism–globalisation debate is meant to underscore the need for a fully fledged Marxist theory of the state which will be able not only to avoid the mistakes built into liberal views about international affairs, but which will also elucidate the relationship between domestic capitals and the state administration, so as to better explain the specific forms of interstate conflict.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Baccari M.P.
Alcuni principi del diritto romano per la difesa dell'uomo nella globalizzazione
in Teoria e diritto dello Stato, Vol. 1 / 05 , 1-26

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Olmstead Sheila M., Stavins Robert N.
An International Policy Architecture for the Post-Kyoto Era
in American Economic Review, Vol. 96, No. 2, May 2006

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Mazower Mark
An international civilization? Empire, internationalism and the crisis of the mid-twentieth century
in International Affairs , issue 3, vol. 82, may , 533-566

This article explores the notion of an international civilization in nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century thinking on international relations and the state system. This idea was fundamental to Victorian thinking about relations between Europe and the rest of the world, and was particularly important in reconciling the universal claims of liberal thought with the spread of European imperial control in Africa and Asia. Between the First and Second World Wars, however, the collapse of liberalism and the rise of ideological conflict within Europe led to the gradual retreat from eurocentric claims to civilizational predominance. The emergence of a genuinely global international order after 1945 through the United Nations occurred simultaneously with the collapse of the idea of an international civilization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Della Sala Vincent
Antiterrorismo e stato: dalla sicurezza nazionale alla sicurezza umana
in Quaderni di sociologia, N. 39/2005 anno XLIX, 2005

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Hack Lothar
Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Totalität. Von Marx' kapitalistischer Gesellschaftsformation zu Wallersteins Analyse der
in Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

In Search of the Lost Totality.
From Marx' Societal Formation of Capitalism to Wallerstein's "World-Systems Analysis"?

As theoretical frame, but also as snappy formula, "Wallerstein's world-system" has made a brillant career during the last three decades. In the seventies, world-systems analysis, presented by Wallerstein (and others) meant an important contribution for conceptualizing societal and political structures in such a way that entities, hitherto defined by nation-states – territories, classes, societies – , were analyzed in its relevant world-economic context. In this connection motives of Marx and Max Weber were – frequently broken – taken up, as well as contributions of dependency theory (A. G. Frank) and social historiography (F. Braudel, K. Polanyi). The term "world-system", previously used by several authors, was now related to capitalist expansion and step by step converted into an ambitious research program. Systematic and conscientious interpretation unveils that Wallerstein's specific way of proceeding, conceptualizing "world-systems" – empires, world-economies – as central units of analysis, leads to serious problems of theorizing (drawing border-lines, internal differentiation, aftermindedness). Reach, range and limits of the world-systems approach can be demonstrated by its way of handling actual themes such as "globalization" and "US hegemony ".

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Sanjeev Goyal, Sumit Joshi
Bilateralism And Free Trade
in **International Economic Review**, Vol. 47 Issue 3

We study a setting with many countries; in each country there are firms that can sell in the domestic as well as foreign markets. Countries can sign bilateral free-trade agreements that lower import tariffs and thereby facilitate trade. We allow a country to sign any number of bilateral free-trade agreements. A profile of free-trade agreements defines the trading regime. Our principal finding is that, in symmetric settings, bilateralism is consistent with global free trade. We also explore the effects of asymmetries across countries and political economy considerations on the incentives to form trade agreements

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Tosato Domenico
Commercio internazionale e globalizzazione delle economie nelle tematiche della Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali
in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 73, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 171-188

The present paper offers an enlarged version of a text read on the occasion of the Round Table presentation of the New Series of the Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali. The aim of the paper is to present a critical evaluation of the problems posed by the extraordinary increase in the trade flows, un direct foreign investment and financial capital movements that characterises the present phase of the international relations among the industrialised Countries of the Western World, the developing Countries and the newly industrialised Countries of the Far East. In line with the main findings of economic theory, the paper shares the idea that international trade is beneficial to all trading partners, in as much as it leads to a more efficient resource allocation. The available empirical data support this conclusion. The paper highlights, however, the problems of income distribution and unbalanced growth that may result from trade and links these problems to the present situation of the advanced Countries, that are facing the threat of exports from low labour

cost competitors. In this specific context the problem of international sourcing of manufacturing components and services is examined and the possible effects on the economies of the advanced Countries considered. The need for a better coordination of trade policy, especially in the field of financial capital movements, is underlined in order to make the movement toward globalisation more beneficial to and better accepted by all Countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Chapman Robert L.
Confessions of a Malthusian restrictionist
in Ecological Economics, Volume 59, Issue 2, 12 September , 214-219

The current discussion over the ethical propriety of using environmental degradation arguments to restrict immigration is at an impasse. One group argues from a neo-liberal globalization perspective and rejects such arguments, while the other take a more internationalist approach accepting restrictions. I argue that the neo-liberal position is seriously flawed since it leads to the elimination of 'places' –a morally important category– and that from an internationalist view immigration restriction based on environmental degradation is ethically justifiable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Duffield Mark
Continuar matando: Gobernación global, humanitarismo y terror
in Relaciones internacionales : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales , nº 3. Octubre 2005

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Hasse Raimund, Krücken Georg
Der Stellenwert von Organisationen in Theorien der Weltgesellschaft. Eine kritische Weiterentwicklung systemtheoretischer und neo-institutionalistischer Forschungsperspektiven
in Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

The Significance of Organizations in Theories of the World Society
A Critical Extension of Research Perspectives of Systems Theory and New Institutionalism

Systems theory and new institutionalism are characterized by two similarities: They (1) are based on a comprehensive concept of world society, and they (2) emphasize the significance of organizations. Against this background the relation between organization and society is investigated. Conceptional shortcomings of both theories are identified, and a critical extension of the new institutionalist approach is outlined. The main focus is on heterogeneous effects of mediating agencies such as consultants and state institutions. This allows an emphasis on processes of differentiation which are ignored in the new institutionalism and which open up new research perspectives for systems theory as well.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Greve Jens, Heintz Bettina
Die "Entdeckung" der Weltgesellschaft. Entstehung und Grenzen der Weltgesellschaftstheorie
in Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

The "Discovery" of World Society
Emergence and Limits of the Theory of World Society

This article analyzes the “parallel discovery” of world society by Niklas Luhmann, by Peter Heintz, and by John Meyer and his school. The first section of the article scrutinizes two central traditions in the social sciences to which their world society theories refer, namely the theories of the international system (Kaplan, Riggs, Parsons, and Lagos among others) and the critical discussions of modernization theory which lead to dependence theory and world system theory. In the second section the three conceptions of world society are described in detail. We argue that world society theories are marked by five common assumptions which distinguish world society theory from previous theories and also from currently prominent globalization research. First, world society theories assume that in the course of history one encompassing world society has emerged. Second, this society denotes an independent form of social reality which, accordingly, provides a new object for sociology. Third, this object is marked by irreducible properties. Fourth, world society theories assume “macro determination,” i.e. they consider occurrences in the word society as a consequence of world society. Fifth and finally, they apply the notion of society at the global level. In the concluding section we suggest complementing the macro-sociological outlook of world society theory with a micro-sociological perspective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Münch Richard
Die Konstruktion des Welthandels als legitime Ordnung der Weltgesellschaft
in Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

The Construction of World Trade as a Legitimate Order in World Society

The functional differentiation of the world economy from the segmentally differentiated system of nation-states can only be adequately conceived of if we abandon the dual thought pattern of economy/politics. This process is embedded in a fundamental institutional and cultural change which is moving away from national solidarity and justice toward transnational solidarity and justice. The inclusion of nations in the world economy has decreasing effects on inequality between nations and increasing effects on inequality within nations. From the world trade order as agreed upon by states a transnational order is emerging which is forming the core of an evolving world society, which itself sets limits to the latitude of freedom in decision-making which states have. This article tries to point out this process of change starting from Emile Durkheim's study on the division of labor. The process is explored with regard to the fundamental principles of the world trade order, to central points of controversy in world trade, and to the inclusion of developing countries in the world economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Cooper Robert
El nuevo imperialismo liberal
in Relaciones internacionales : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales , nº 1. Marzo 2005

En 1989, el equilibrio de poder y el modelo imperial, característicos de los últimos tres siglos, llegaron a su fin en Europa. Ese año marcó no sólo marcó el fin de la Guerra Fría, sino también, y más significativamente, el final del sistema europeo de estados cuyo origen se remonta a la Guerra de los Treinta Años. El 11 de Septiembre nos reveló una de las implicaciones de este cambio.

Para entender el presente, necesitamos comprender previamente el pasado, ya que éste sigue todavía con nosotros. Generalmente, el orden internacional estaba basado en la hegemonía o en el equilibrio. El sistema hegemónico surgió en primer lugar; en el mundo antiguo, orden significaba imperio. Dentro de éste se disfrutaba del orden, la cultura y la civilización. Fuera de él, se encontraban los bárbaros, el caos y el desorden. La idea de la paz y del orden a través de un único centro de poder hegemónico ha permanecido con fuerza desde entonces. Los imperios, sin embargo, no están concebidos para promover el cambio. Mantener el imperio unido – cuando la esencia de éste reside en su diversidad – normalmente requiere un estilo político autoritario; los cambios, especialmente en la sociedad y en la política, conducirían a la inestabilidad. Históricamente, los imperios han sido generalmente estáticos.

En Europa, se encontró un camino intermedio entre el caos y el imperio, lo que se llamó el pequeño estado. Éste logró establecer la soberanía pero, solamente, dentro de una jurisdicción geográficamente limitada. De esta forma, se consiguió el orden en el interior del estado al precio de la anarquía internacional. La competición entre los pequeños estados de Europa constituyó una fuente de progreso pero, al mismo tiempo, el sistema estaba constantemente amenazado; por un lado, por la vuelta al caos y por el otro, por la hegemonía de una única potencia. La solución a todo esto la ofreció el equilibrio de poder, un sistema de alianzas que se contrapesaban y que pasó a ser visto como la condición para la libertad en Europa. Las coaliciones fueron exitosamente dispuestas con el fin de combatir las ambiciones hegemónicas; primero de España, después de Francia, y finalmente de Alemania.

Pero el sistema de equilibrio de poder también poseía una instabilidad inherente, el riesgo constante de la guerra, y fue probablemente esto lo que causó su colapso. La unificación de Alemania en 1871 creó un estado demasiado poderoso para poder ser contrapesado por cualquier alianza europea; los cambios tecnológicos elevaron el coste de la guerra a niveles insoportables y el desarrollo de la sociedad de masas y de la política democrática hicieron inviable el cálculo amoral necesario para que el sistema de equilibrio de poder funcione. Sin embargo, en ausencia de cualquier otra alternativa, éste persistió, y lo que emergió en 1945 no fue tanto un nuevo sistema sino más bien la culminación del viejo. El antiguo equilibrio de poder multilateral en Europa se convirtió en un equilibrio de terror bilateral a nivel mundial; la simplificación última del sistema de equilibrio de poder. Pero no fue construido para perdurar en el tiempo. El equilibrio de poder nunca consiguió adaptarse al espíritu más universalista y moralista de finales del siglo XX.

La segunda mitad del siglo XX no asistió simplemente al fin del equilibrio de poder sino también a la despedida del modelo imperial; en cierto sentido, los dos fenómenos van juntos. Un mundo que empezó el siglo dividido entre los imperios europeos, llega a su final con la desaparición de todos, o casi todos: el Imperio Otomano, el alemán, el austriaco, el francés, el británico y finalmente, los Imperios Soviéticos que ya no son más que un recuerdo. Esto nos deja con dos nuevos tipos de estado: en primer lugar, aquéllos – normalmente antiguas colonias – en los que, de algún modo, el estado prácticamente dejó de existir; una zona “premoderna” en la que el estado ha fallado y donde se libra una guerra hobbesiana de todos contra todos (países como Somalia y, hasta hace poco, Afganistán). En segundo lugar, surgen los estados pos-imperiales, “posmodernos”, que dejaron de pensar en la seguridad en términos de

conquistas. Y en tercer lugar, obviamente, quedan todavía los tradicionales estados “modernos” que se comportan como los estados están acostumbrados a hacerlo; es decir, siguiendo los principios maquiavélicos y la razón de estado (estados como India, Pakistán y China).

El sistema posmoderno en que vivimos nosotros, los europeos, no se fundamenta en el concepto de equilibrio, ni enfatiza la soberanía o la distinción entre los asuntos nacionales y los internacionales. La Unión Europea se ha convertido en un sistema altamente desarrollado de interferencia mutua en los asuntos internos de cada estado, incluso en lo que se refiere a cerveza y salchichas. El Tratado de Fuerzas Convencionales en Europa (CFE en sus siglas en inglés), según el cual las partes firmantes deben notificar la localización de sus armas pesadas y permitir inspecciones, sitúa ciertas áreas muy cercanas al núcleo duro de la soberanía nacional de cada país bajo constreñimientos internacionales. Es importante reconocer la significativa revolución que esto constituye. Además, evidencia la paradoja de la era nuclear en la que para defenderse, uno tenía que estar preparado para destruirse a sí mismo. El interés común de los países europeos para evitar una catástrofe nuclear ha demostrado ser capaz de superar la habitual lógica estratégica de desconfianza y ocultación. La vulnerabilidad mutua se ha convertido en transparencia mutua.
Las principales características del mundo posmoderno son las siguientes:
- La disolución de la distinción entre asuntos nacionales e internacionales.
- La interferencia mutua en asuntos domésticos (tradicionales) y la vigilancia recíproca.
- El rechazo al uso de la fuerza en la resolución de disputas y la consecuente codificación de reglas de comportamiento auto-impuestas.
- La creciente irrelevancia de las fronteras: consecuencia del papel cambiante del estado, así como de los misiles, automóviles y satélites.
- La seguridad basada en la transparencia, la apertura, la interdependencia y en la vulnerabilidad recíproca.

La idea misma de una Corte Penal Internacional es un ejemplo sorprendente de la disolución, en el mundo posmoderno, de la distinción entre asuntos nacionales e internacionales. Ahora, la razón de estado y la amoralidad de las teorías maquiavélicas sobre el arte de gobernar, que han definido las relaciones internacionales en la era moderna, han sido sustituidas por una moralidad que se aplica tanto a las relaciones internacionales como a los asuntos nacionales; de ahí la reaparición del interés por la guerra justa.

Aunque este sistema afronta problemas que hacen imposible el equilibrio de poder, esto no ha provocado, sin embargo, la desaparición del estado nación. Mientras la economía, la actividad legislativa y la defensa se encuentran, probablemente, cada vez más influidas por las estructuras internacionales, y las fronteras territoriales pierden importancia, las instituciones identitarias y democráticas continúan teniendo un carácter fundamentalmente nacional. En consecuencia, los tradicionales estados continuarán siendo, en un futuro próximo, la unidad fundamental de las relaciones internacionales, a pesar de que algunos de ellos hayan dejado de comportarse de forma convencional.

¿Cuál es el origen de este cambio fundamental en el sistema de estados? El principal argumento es que “el mundo se ha vuelto honesto”. Muchos de los estados más poderosos ya no quieren combatir o conquistar; dos características propias de los mundos premoderno y posmoderno. El imperialismo en el sentido tradicional ha muerto, por lo menos entre las potencias occidentales.

Si esto es verdad, no deberíamos pensar en la Unión Europea o en la OTAN como las principales causas del medio siglo de paz que hemos disfrutado en Europa Occidental. El hecho fundamental es que los países europeos occidentales ya no quieren luchar entre ellos. La OTAN y la UE han desempeñado, sin embargo, un importante papel al sostener y reforzar esta posición. La contribución más importante de la OTAN ha sido la apertura que ha suscitado, ya que fue y sigue siendo una sólida herramienta para construir la confianza intra-occidental. La OTAN y la UE han sido las responsables de proveer una estructura que permitiera la reunificación de Alemania, sin que esto significara una amenaza al resto de Europa, como lo fue en 1871. Aquellas promovieron miles de encuentros entre ministros y oficiales que permitieron que todos los involucrados en las decisiones sobre la guerra y la paz tuvieran un conocimiento mutuo notable. Comparado con el pasado, esto representa una estabilidad y calidad en las relaciones políticas sin

precedentes.

La UE es el ejemplo más desarrollado de un sistema posmoderno. Representa la seguridad a través de la transparencia, y la transparencia a través de la interdependencia. La UE es más un sistema transnacional que supranacional; es decir, una asociación voluntaria de estados, más que estados subordinados a un poder central. El Estado Europeo es el sueño pendiente de una era anterior, basado en la premisa de que los estados nación son fundamentalmente peligrosos y que la única manera de dominar la anarquía entre las naciones es imponiéndoles la hegemonía. Pero si el estado nación es un problema, el súper-estado seguramente no sería una solución.

Los estados europeos no son los únicos miembros de un mundo posmoderno. Fuera de Europa, Canadá es un estado posmoderno; Japón también lo es por tendencia pero su localización le impide desarrollarse completamente en esa dirección. Estados Unidos es un caso más dudoso; no está claro que el Gobierno estadounidense o el Congreso acepten la necesidad o deseabilidad de la interdependencia, o que admitan sus corolarios de apertura, vigilancia e interferencias mutuas en el mismo grado que la mayoría de los gobiernos europeos. En otros lugares, lo que en Europa se ha convertido en una realidad es una aspiración. La Asociación de Naciones del Sudeste Asiático (ASEAN en sus siglas en inglés), el Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas (ALCA), el Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR) e incluso la Organización de la Unidad Africana dejan entrever, al menos, el deseo de llegar al modelo posmoderno, y aunque es difícil que se realice a corto plazo, la imitación es, sin duda más fácil que la invención.

Dentro del mundo posmoderno, no existen amenazas a la seguridad en el sentido tradicional; es decir, sus miembros no contemplan la posibilidad de invadirse. Si bien en el mundo moderno, siguiendo la máxima de Clausewitz, la guerra es un instrumento de la política, en el posmoderno es una señal de fracaso. Pero, mientras que los miembros de éste pueden no representar una amenaza entre ellos, la existencia de este riesgo es una constante en los estados modernos y premodernos.

La amenaza del mundo moderno es la más familiar. Aquí, el clásico sistema de estados, del que nació el mundo posmoderno, permanece intacto y sigue operando según los principios del modelo imperial y la preeminencia del interés nacional. Si se llega a la estabilidad, ésta vendrá del equilibrio entre las distintas fuerzas agresoras. Sin embargo, son significativas las pocas áreas del mundo donde existe tal equilibrio. Pero surge el riesgo de que pueda aparecer en algunas zonas un elemento nuclear para la ecuación.

El desafío que se presenta al mundo posmoderno es el de acostumbrarse a la idea de dobles estándares. Entre nosotros funcionamos sobre la base del derecho y de la seguridad a través de la cooperación abierta. Pero cuando tratamos con estados fuera del continente posmoderno europeo, necesitamos volver a los métodos más rudos de una era anterior – fuerza, ataque preventivo, fraude; todo lo que sea necesario para tratar con aquellos estados que todavía viven en el mundo del siglo XIX. Respetamos la ley entre nosotros, pero cuando estamos en la selva nos vemos obligados a hacer uso de la ley de la jungla. Durante el largo periodo de paz en Europa, ha surgido la tentación de no prestar atención a nuestras defensas, tanto físicas como psicológicas, lo que representa uno de los grandes peligros del estado posmoderno.

El mundo premoderno ofrece un desafío nuevo. Se trata de una compilación de estados fallidos. Aquí, el estado deja de cumplir el criterio weberiano de detentar el monopolio del uso legítimo de la fuerza. Bien haya perdido su legitimidad, bien haya perdido el monopolio del uso de la fuerza; normalmente ambas van de la mano. Los ejemplos de colapso total son relativamente raros, pero el número de países en riesgo va en ascenso. Algunas áreas de la antigua Unión Soviética son claras candidatas, incluyendo Chechenia. Todas las grandes áreas productoras de droga a nivel mundial forman parte del mundo premoderno. Hasta tiempos recientes, no existía una verdadera autoridad soberana en Afganistán, así como tampoco existe en el interior de Burma o en algunas partes de Sudamérica donde los cárteles de la droga amenazan al monopolio estatal del uso de la fuerza. En toda África, los países están en riesgo. No hay ninguna zona del mundo exenta de peligro. En tales áreas, el caos es la norma y la guerra es una forma de vida. En la medida en que existe un gobierno, éste opera de forma similar a un sindicato del crimen organizado.

El estado premoderno puede ser demasiado débil incluso para garantizar la seguridad de su propio territorio y

todavía menos representar una amenaza a nivel internacional. Sin embargo, puede proporcionar una base para el surgimiento de actores no estatales que podrían ser un peligro para el mundo posmoderno. Si los actores no estatales - especialmente los sindicatos de la droga, del crimen o terroristas - consideran la posibilidad de utilizar las bases premodernas para atacar a las partes más ordenadas del mundo, los estados organizados se verán obligados a responder. Si se convierten en demasiado peligrosos para ser tolerados por los estados, es posible imaginar un imperialismo defensivo. No sería descabellado si contemplamos la respuesta occidental al caso de Afganistán, desde esta perspectiva.

¿Cómo debemos tratar el caos premoderno? Intervenir en una zona de estas características es arriesgado. Si la intervención se prolonga demasiado se puede volver insostenible a los ojos de la opinión pública, y si no es exitosa puede afectar negativamente al gobierno que la ordenó. Sin embargo, el precio de abandonar a los países a su suerte, como hizo Occidente con Afganistán, puede ser todavía mayor.

¿Qué forma debe tomar la intervención? La manera más lógica de tratar el caos y una de las más empleadas en el pasado es la colonización. Pero ésta es considerada inaceptable por los estados posmodernos (y, por azar, también por algunos estados modernos). Estamos asistiendo hoy a la emergencia del mundo premoderno debido, precisamente, a la muerte del imperialismo. Imperio e imperialismo son palabras de las que se abusa en el mundo posmoderno. Hoy día no existen potencias coloniales dispuestas a llevarlo a cabo, aunque las oportunidades, probablemente incluso la necesidad de la colonización, sean todavía mayores de lo que alguna vez fueron en el siglo XIX. Los marginados por la economía global se arriesgan a caer en un círculo vicioso. Gobierno débil significa desorden y eso significa inversiones decrecientes. En los años 50 del pasado siglo, Corea del Sur tenía un PIB per cápita inferior al de Zambia; el primero ha logrado su inclusión en la economía global, el segundo, por el contrario, no.

Todas las condiciones para el imperialismo están ahí, pero tanto su oferta como su demanda se han desvanecido. Y, sin embargo, los débiles todavía necesitan a los fuertes y los fuertes siguen necesitando un mundo ordenado. Un mundo en el que los eficientes y bien gobernados exporten estabilidad y libertad, y que esté abierto a la inversión y crecimiento- sin duda, esta situación parece deseable.

Por lo tanto, es necesario un nuevo tipo de imperialismo que sea aceptable en un mundo de derechos humanos y valores cosmopolitas. Podemos empezar a diseñarlo: un imperialismo que, como todo imperialismo, pretende traer el orden y la organización pero que descansa sobre el principio de voluntariedad.

El imperialismo posmoderno adquiere dos formas. Primero está el imperialismo voluntario de la economía global. Normalmente, éste está desarrollado por un consorcio internacional a través de instituciones financieras internacionales tales como el FMI o el Banco Mundial – es una característica del nuevo imperialismo que sea multilateral. Estas instituciones proveen de ayuda a los estados que están deseando encontrar su camino de vuelta a la economía global y al virtuoso círculo de inversión y prosperidad. Por otra parte, imponen exigencias que creen ir dirigidas a la resolución de los fracasos políticos y económicos que provocaron su necesidad original de ayuda. Actualmente, la teología de la ayuda enfatiza cada vez más la cuestión de la gobernanza. Si los estados desean beneficiarse de ella, están obligados a permitir la injerencia de las organizaciones internacionales y de los estados extranjeros (así como, por distintas razones, el mundo posmoderno también se ha abierto).

La segunda forma de imperialismo posmoderno se puede denominar el imperialismo de los vecinos. La inestabilidad en tu vecindario provoca amenazas que ningún estado puede ignorar. Mal gobierno, violencia étnica y crimen en los Balcanes representan una amenaza a Europa. La respuesta ha sido crear un protectorado voluntario de Naciones Unidas en Bosnia y Kosovo. No resulta para nada una sorpresa que en ambos casos el Alto Representante sea un europeo. Europa proporciona gran parte de la ayuda que mantiene a Bosnia y Kosovo, y a la mayoría de los soldados (aunque la presencia de EE UU sea un factor de estabilidad indispensable). En una acción sin precedentes, la UE ha ofrecido acceso unilateral al mercado libre a todos los países de la ex-Yugoslavia para todos los productos, incluyendo gran parte de la producción agrícola. No se trata solamente de soldados que llegan en nombre de la comunidad internacional, se trata de policía, jueces, agentes penitenciarios, banqueros centrales y otros. Las

elecciones están organizadas y supervisadas por la Organización para la Seguridad y Cooperación en Europa (OSCE). La policía local está financiada y entrenada por NN UU. Más de un centenar de ONGs desempeñan una labor subsidiaria en esta tarea –en muchas áreas, indispensable.

Además, es necesario resaltar un punto adicional. Es peligroso si un estado vecino es capturado de alguna forma por el crimen organizado o desorganizado- que es a lo que normalmente conduce el colapso estatal. Sin embargo, Osama Bin Laden ha demostrado recientemente a quienes todavía no se habían dado cuenta que hoy, todo el mundo es, por lo menos potencialmente, nuestro vecino.

Los Balcanes son un caso especial. En otras partes de Europa Central y del Este, la UE está involucrada en un programa que conducirá a una ampliación progresiva. En el pasado, los imperios impusieron sus leyes y sistemas de gobierno. En este caso nadie está imponiendo nada; más bien, se está asistiendo a un movimiento voluntario de auto-imposición. Cuando un país es candidato a entrar en la UE, debe aceptar lo que se le da – una cantidad enorme de leyes y regulaciones – como en su momento lo hicieron los países miembros. Pero el premio es que una vez dentro, tendrá voz y voto en la Commonwealth. Si este proceso constituye un tipo de imperialismo voluntario, el estado final puede ser descrito como un imperio cooperativo. “Commonwealth” puede que no sea, en realidad, una mala denominación.

La UE posmoderna ofrece una visión del imperio cooperativo, una libertad y seguridad comunes, sin la dominación étnica y el absolutismo centralizado a los que estaban sujetos los antiguos imperios. Pero también sin la exclusividad étnica que es la marca de autenticidad del estado nación – inapropiada en una era sin fronteras e imposible de poner en práctica en regiones tales como los Balcanes. Un imperio cooperativo podría ser la estructura política doméstica que mejor se adaptase a la realidad alterada del estado posmoderno; una estructura en la que cada uno tiene su participación en el gobierno, en la que no hay un único país que domina y en la que los principios reinantes no son étnicos sino legales. Desde el centro se requerirá una forma de proceder muy sutil; la “burocracia imperial” debe estar bajo control, sujeta a la rendición de cuentas como siervo, y no amo, de la Commonwealth. Tal institución debe estar tan dedicada a la libertad y a la democracia, como sus partes constituyentes. Como Roma, esta Commonwealth proveería a sus ciudadanos de algunas de sus leyes, de moneda y de alguna carretera ocasional.

Probablemente, ésta es la visión. ¿Se puede realizar? Solamente el tiempo lo dirá. La cuestión es cuánto tiempo necesitamos. En el mundo moderno, sigue la carrera secreta para adquirir armas nucleares. En el mundo premoderno los intereses del crimen organizado – incluyendo el terrorismo internacional- crecen más y más rápidamente que el estado. Puede que no quede mucho más tiempo.

* Robert Cooper es diplomático británico y asesor del Primer Ministro Tony Blair. Este ensayo está publicado con el título The Post-modern State en la colección Reordering the World: the long term implications of September 11, editada por The Foreign Policy Centre. Fuente:http://observer.guardian.co.uk/print/0,3858,4388912-102273,00.html
Artículo traducido por RAQUEL FERRAO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Hutchings Ross

Empire and the state: a critical theoretical assessment

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 60, n. 3 / September , 429-438

In recent years there has been increasing use of the term ‘empire’ to describe US primacy in world affairs. This should not be viewed merely as an indictment of US power: there are genuine insights to be gained from the study of imperial formations in contemporary politics. Yet there remains confusion and disagreement over the true meaning of ‘empire’.

Progressive schools of thought in the academic discipline of international relations can facilitate a fresh understanding of ‘empire’—one that is suited to the complexities of the contemporary global scene.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Dalglish Carol
From globalization to the ‘global village’
in Global Change, Peace & Security, n. 2, vol. 18, june , 115-121

ABSTRACT: The concept of a global village has been brought about by the rapid development of information technology, the global media and faster lower cost travel. We now know what is happening on the other side of the world. But does that make us a ‘village’.? There are few shared values and limited intercultural understanding in today's business world. One of the challenges confronting business is how to succeed in a culturally diverse, interdependent business environment. This paper explores the significance of cultural diversity for business success and provides a framework for bringing about the necessary changes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Featherstone Mike
Genealogies of the Global
in Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 23, nn 2-3, May , 387-392

The term global suggests all-inclusiveness and brings to mind connectivity, a notion that gained a boost from Marshall McLuhan's reference to the mass-mediated ‘global village’. In the past decade it has rapidly become part of the everyday vocabulary not only of academics and business people, but also has circulated widely in the media in various parts of the world. There have also been the beginnings of political movements against globalization and proposals for ‘de-globalization’ and ‘alternative globalizations’, projects to re-define the global. In effect, the terminology has globalized and globalization is varyingly lauded, reviled and debated around the world. The rationale of much previous thinking on humanity in the social sciences has been to assume a linear process of social integration, as more and more people are drawn into a widening circle of interdependencies in the movement to larger units, but the new forms of binding together of social life necessitate the development of new forms of global knowledge which go beyond the old classifications. It is also in this sense that the tightening of the interdependency chains between human beings, and also between human beings and other life forms, suggests we need to think about the relevance of academic knowledge to the emergent global public sphere.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Mamadouh Virginie, Dijkink Gertjan

Geopolitics, International Relations and Political Geography: The Politics of Geopolitical Discourse
in **Geopolitics**, Vol. 11, n. 3, Autumn , 349-366

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Malik Suhail
Global Sovereignty
in **Theory, Culture & Society**, Volume 23, nn 2-3, May , 512-517

Taking globalization to be in large part a consequence of American domination, we follow Derrida's characterization of this domination as being a mode of sovereignty of world-scale institutions and force. Such sovereignty, which is also a roguery, is the primary actual condition for a global knowledge. Bataille's characterization of rogue sovereignty, however, proposes that knowledge is eclipsed under such a condition by an experience that is irreducibly an unknowing. Knowledge is thus corroded by – or, at best, in a critical relation to – the manifestation of a global experience generated by the actual conditions of globalization.

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Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Pimentel David, Pimentel Marcia
Global environmental resources versus world population growth
in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 59, Issue 2, 12 September , 195-198

To secure a quality life for current and future generations, sufficient land, water, and energy must be available. Worldwide today there is evidence that food production and distribution processes are problematic; more than 3.7 billion humans are now malnourished. With the imbalance growing between population numbers and vital life sustaining resources, humans must actively conserve cropland, freshwater, energy, and biological resources. There is a need to develop renewable energy resources. Humans everywhere must understand that rapid population growth damages the earth’s resources and diminishes human well being.

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Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Berdot J-P.,Léonard J.
Globalisation et gouvernances territoriales: une introduction
in **Economies et Sociétés**, Mars-avril (Hors série N. 41)

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Norel P.
Globalisation financière et transformation des régulations conjoncturelles
in Economies et Sociétés, Mars-avril (Hors série N. 41)

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Schneider Gerard
Globalisierung = Frieden?
in Internationale Politik , n. 6, 61. Jahrgang, Juni , 118-123

ABSTRACT: Globalisierung reduzierte die innere und äußere Aggressivität von National-Staaten, heißt es oft. Obwohl wirtschaftlich integrierte Staaten tatsächlich weniger Kriege führen als Autarkien, ist die außenwirtschaftliche Öffnung zuweilen mit einem erhölten Konfliktrisiko verknüpft. Ferner kann eine Allianz zwischen dem Exportsektor und dem "militärisch-industriellen Komplex" eine Regierung dazu verleiten, ihr Land in die Weltwirtschaft zu integrieren und gleichzeitig außenpolitisch aggressiv auftreten zu lassen. Daher ist die These, wonach Freihandel Frieden schafft, deutlich zu qualifizieren.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Mahnkopf Birgit
Globalisierung, Armut und Gewalt
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Juli, 2006 , 817-827

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Joseph Jonathan
Globalization and Governmentality
in International Politics , Vol. 43, n. 3, July , 402-418

Justin Rosenberg gives a very interesting account of the conditions that produce the globalization literature and provides a compelling critique of the theory itself. I want to supplement this with an account of the social conditions that sustain such views. In short, my project is to relate globalization theory to contemporary forms of governmentality and to neo-liberalism in particular. Ultimately this leads me to slightly different conclusions. That is, not the death of globalization theory, but the way it interacts with and is sustained by contemporary practices, techniques and technologies of governmentality.

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Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Munck Ronaldo
Globalization and contestation: A Polanyian problematic
in Globalizations , Vol. 3, n. 2, June , 175-186

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Mittelman James H.
Globalization and development: Learning from debates in China
in Globalizations , Vol. 3, n. 3, September , 377-391

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Hoogvelt Ankie
Globalization and post-modern imperialism
in Globalizations , Vol. 3, n. 2, June , 159-174

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Sapir André
Globalization and the Reform of European Social Models
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 2, June , 369-390

Globalization implies changes that create both threats and opportunities. The challenge for Europe is to become flexible in order to avail of the opportunities this brings and surmount the threats. This requires reforming labour market and social policies. When thinking about such reforms the notion of a single 'European social model' is largely irrelevant. There are four different European social models, each with its own performance in terms of efficiency and equity. The Nordic and the Anglo-Saxon models are both efficient, but only the former manages to combine equity and efficiency. The Continental and Mediterranean models are inefficient and unsustainable; they must therefore be reformed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Rees William E.

Globalization, trade and migration: Undermining sustainability

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 59, Issue 2, 12 September , 220-225

I examine the impact of expanding international trade and migration on prospects for global sustainability from a strictly biophysical/ecological/behavioral perspective. My starting premise is that techno-industrial society is inherently unsustainable. Humans have a natural propensity to expand to occupy all accessible habitats and use all available resources. Because of continuous growth propelled by improving technology, the modern human enterprise is already in a state of ecological overshoot. Globalization and trade exacerbate the situation by shuffling resources around and short-circuiting the negative feedback that would otherwise result from local resource degradation. This allows population and material growth within each individual trading region to exceed local biophysical limits. This, in turn, accelerates the depletion of natural capital everywhere and ensures that all now trade-dependent regions hit global limits simultaneously. Large-scale migration also worsens matters by reducing negative feedback and enabling increased resource consumption. Moreover, because resource scarcity is likely to precipitate conflict among self-identifying 'tribal' groups within multi-cultural societies, uncontrolled migration may create conditions that impede the implementation of policy measures required for ecological sustainability. Global sustainability is thus most likely to be achieved through policies that foster increased regional self-reliance, encourage greater investment in local natural capital, and favor the development of strong, diverse local economies 'in place.' Such measures will raise local (and therefore global) bio-capacities and reduce both the pull and push factors in international migration.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Mariutti Gian Paolo, Cuomo Pasquale

Globalizzazione e storia

in **Novecento**, n. 13, ottobre

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Kose M. Ayhan, Prasad Eswar S., Terrones Marco E.

How do trade and financial integration affect the relationship between growth and volatility?

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 69, Issue 1, June 2006

The influential work of Ramey and Ramey [Ramey, G., Ramey, V.A., 1995. Cross-country evidence on the link between volatility and growth. American Economic Review 85, 1138–1151 (December).] highlighted an empirical relationship that has now come to be regarded as conventional wisdom—that output volatility and growth are negatively correlated. We reexamine this relationship in the context of globalization—a term typically used to describe the phenomenon of growing international trade and financial integration that has intensified since the mid-1980s. Using a comprehensive new data set, we document that, while the basic negative association between growth and volatility has been preserved during the 1990s, both trade and financial integration significantly weaken this negative relationship. Specifically, we find that, in a regression of growth on volatility and other controls, the estimated coefficient on the interaction between volatility and

trade integration is significantly positive. We find a similar, although less robust, result for the interaction of financial integration with volatility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Bifulco Daniela
I diritti sociali nella prospettiva della mondializzazione
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIII, n. 4

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Serra Enrico
Il futuro della diplomazia
in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, Volume 73, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 122-125

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Nardin Terry
International political theory and the question of justice
in International Affairs , issue 3, vol. 82, may , 449-465

The aim of the international justice theorist is to find coherence among ideas about justice at the international or global level. Linking justice to coercion and law can bridge the gap between just war theory and theories of international distributive justice. The idea of humanitarian intervention illustrates how the argument might go. Underlying that idea is the idea of a duty to protect. That duty is often thought to be an imperfect and therefore unenforceable duty based on a principle of beneficence. But we can also think of it as a perfect, enforceable duty to resist the violent, where that duty rests directly on the principle of respect, unmediated by beneficence. Respect also implies action to prevent non-violent harms. To do nothing while people are dying of starvation or disease is to fail to respect them as human beings by making their wellbeing a matter of indifference. We can therefore justly be compelled to prevent such harms by being taxed to support efforts to prevent them. A theory of justice that made the duty to protect central would ground the theory of international distributive justice in the justice—coercion link that underlies just war theory.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Ciriacono Salvatore
La globalizzazione. Appunti ai margini del Congresso di Scienze Storiche (Sydney, luglio 2005)

in Quaderni Storici, n. 1, aprile , 305-318

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Petrignani Rinaldo
La lunga assenza dell'Europa
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXVIII, n. 151 , 530-540

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Blair Tony
Le sfide del mondo globale
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXVIII, n. 151 , 462-468

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Busino Giovanni
Les sciences sociales et les défis de la mondialisation
in Revue européenne des sciences sociales - Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto, volume XLIII, 134 (2006) , 33 - 44

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Matutinović Igor
Mass migrations, income inequality and ecosystems health in the second wave of a globalization
in Ecological Economics, Volume 59, Issue 2, 12 September , 199-203

This paper compares conditions for intercontinental migrations during the first and the second globalization waves and proposes a system model describing basic relationships between migrations, income inequality, economic growth and environment. The model suggests that in a situation where a strong asymmetry in economic power and wealth dominates global economic and political relations, further trade and migration liberalization may have predominantly negative impact on Southern natural systems, while solving little or nothing of the poverty problems. In the North, uncontrolled immigration may in the long run produce economic, social, and probably ethnic tensions which costs could by far exceed the medium-term benefits (rejuvenation of active population and reduction in the strain imposed on the

pension system).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Bernal-Meza Raúl
Multilateralismo e unilateralismo na política mundial: América Latina frente à Ordem Mundial em transição
in Revista Brasileira de Política internacional , Vol. 48 - No. 1/2005

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Daly Herman E.
Population, migration, and globalization
in Ecological Economics, Volume 59, Issue 2, 12 September , 187-190

Environmetalists sometimes court political correctness by soft-pedaling the controversial issues of population, migration, and globalization. However, these interrelated problems are central to the very possibility of national policies in the sevice of democracy, environmental protection, and social justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Masala Antonio
Processi globali e nuovo ruolo dello stato
in Politico (Il), n. 209, anno LXX, maggio-agosto , 259-288

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Van Der Heijden Hein-Anton
Recent trends in global environmental politics
in Environmental Politics, Volume 15, Number 3, June , 490-495

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Robinson William
Reification and Theoreticism in the Study of Globalisation, Imperialism and Hegemony: Response to Kiely,

Pozo-Martin and Valladão*

in **Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Vol. 19, n. 3, September , 529-533

This commentary critiques the nation-state framework of analysis that informs papers published by Ray Kiely, Gonzalo Pozo-Martin and Alfredo Valladão in a section appearing in the Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 19:2 (2006), on the theme of globalisation, imperialism and hegemony. Kiely, Pozo-Martin and Valladão reify the state and the inter-state system by giving them an agency independent of historical social forces. They fail to put forward a conception of agency and institutions that could address the central problematic of the political management, or rule, of global capitalism. They presuppose a state-based understanding of global politics that ignores the reality of transnational capital and transnational social forces and that reduces global capitalism to international capitalism. We should focus not on states as fictitious macro-agents but on historically changing constellations of social forces operating through multiple institutions, including state apparatuses that are themselves in a process of transformation as a consequence of collective agencies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Tyrell Hartmann

Singular oder Plural – Einleitende Bemerkungen zu Globalisierung und Weltgesellschaft

in **Zeitschrift für Soziologie**, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

Singular or Plural – Preliminary Remarks on Globalization and World Society

This article gives an introduction to problems of world society and globalization. It looks into the history of the concepts of “world society” and “globalization”; it also looks at the”careers” of these terms and at the different schools of thought related to them. The article focuses on semantics, whereby the core of the matter is the observation of language use, in particular that of singular and plural, which are often opposed to one another. In this way the article first analyzes (and compares) the older terms “development,” “modernization,” and “modernity,” i.e. “multiple modernities.” Then, in the field of “globalization” (among others) the opposition of “globalization” – strictly used in the singular form –, on the one hand and of “globalizations” (in the plural), as used by several authors in a programmatic way, on the other hand. Finally, in the field of world society one can find the plural of societies as opposed to the “singularity” of the world society (one single worldwide society); but one can find “world societies, ” as well.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Thompson Helen

The Case for External Sovereignty

in **European Journal of International Relations** , Vol. 12, n. 2, June , 251-274

Critics of sovereignty have argued that it produces outcomes that violate universal moral principles. This article offers a qualified defence of external sovereignty by returning to some of the arguments first deployed to support claims to it.

The article argues that if claims to external sovereignty are understood in part as a critique of the ambitions of powerful states, then the presumption of it in international politics, not as an absolute value but a crucial consequential consideration, could act as a restraint on the power of the world's strongest states by making justifications for war somewhat more difficult.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Lim Ewe-Ghee
The Euro's Challenge to the Dollar: Different Views from Economists and Evidence from COFER (Currency Composition of Foreign Exchange Reserves) and Other Data
in IMF Policy Discussion Papers, June 2006 , Working Paper No. 06/153

This paper examines opposing views on the euro's challenge to the dollar as an international currency. One view emphasizes Europe's large economy and diversification effects as undergirding a vigorous challenge. The other emphasizes "network externalities," particularly undergirding continued dollar dominance. The data to date support the second view but also show the euro has significantly overtaken the legacy currencies as a reserve currency. Generally, large economic size alone is insufficient to challenge the network externalities supporting vehicle currencies, but scope exists for the euro to advance as an international store of value. The paper discusses the euro's medium-term prospects.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Krisch N.
The Pluralism of Global Administrative Law
in European Journal of International Law, Vol. 17 n. 1 , 278 - 287

As public power is increasingly exercised in structures of global governance, principles of domestic law and politics are extended to the global level, with serious repercussions for the structure of international law. Yet, as this article seeks to show for the emerging global administrative law, this extension is often problematic. Using administrative law mechanisms to enhance the accountability of global regulation faces the problem of fundamental contestation over the question of to whom global governance should be accountable. National, international and cosmopolitan constituencies are competing for primacy, and this results in an often disorderly interplay of accountability mechanisms at different levels and in different regimes. This pluralist structure, based on pragmatic accommodation rather than clear decisions, strongly contrasts with the ideals of coherence and unity in modern constitutionalism and domestic administrative law. However, given the structure of global society, it is likely to endure and it is also normatively preferable to alternative, constitutionalist approaches. It helps avoid the friction that may result from a federal-type distribution of powers and the practical problems of a consociational order, and by denying all constituencies primacy it reflects the legitimacy deficits of each of them. Mirroring divergent views on the right scope of the political order, it also respects everybody's equal right to political participation. A pluralist global administrative law thus presents an alternative to problematic domestic models for ensuring accountability in the circumstances of global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Kiely Ray
United States Hegemony and Globalisation: What Role for Theories of Imperialism?
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 19, n. 2, June , 205-221

This article examines the return of the subject of imperialism to the social sciences since 2001, focusing in particular on Marxist and Marxist-related attempts to reconstruct an analysis of the US-led international order based on this concept. It does so by first examining attempts to update Marxist and Marxian work to understand contemporary globalisation, and then points to both the weaknesses of these approaches and international events that have undermined these theories. The paper then examines the return of imperialism in some detail. While the international order can still be described as imperialist, the article is sceptical of many accounts of the 'new imperialism'. This is partly because the utility of classical theories was questionable in the pre-1914 era, and are even more so now. Theorising imperialism in turns of surplus capital or a spatial fix ignores the direction of capital flows, both before the First World War, and in the current era. Moreover, as Marxist and Marxian theories of globalisation point out, the current era is one of greater openness and international integration than the pre-1914 era, and there is far greater cooperation between the core capitalist states, as well as sovereign states in the developing world. Contemporary imperialism is characterised by US hegemony but also greater global interdependence, and US military domination does not guarantee its economic domination. At the same time however, US hegemony is closely related to neo-liberalism and, despite as much as because of US intentions, these same policies undermine the prospects for development in the 'South'. In this respect, US attempts to 'Americanise' the world are undermined by US hegemony and the imperialism of free trade.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Gaam Narottam
United States, Globalization and the International System
in International Studies, n. 3, vol. 43, april , 305-316

ABSTRACT: The belief that globalization has resulted in a multipolar global village transcending political, territorial, economic and socio-cultural particularities seems to be mistaken. On the contrary, it has been a convenient metaphor for the US to promote its own political and economic thinking on all nations at the expense of their cultural, social, economic and political diversity through the instrument of Transnational Corporations (TNCs) and the process of homogenization of production, labour and trade. The developing countries have remained captive to the wishes of these US-based corporations.
Globalization has not meant more democratization, freedom, independence or emergence of a multipolar world and regional powers. Instead, it has become an expedient euphemism for the US to decide the economy of the entire globe by its own domestic imperatives of providing a luxurious life style to its own citizens. The disintegration of Soviet Union and the end of Cold War, instead of ushering in a new world order, has resulted in the emergence of the US as a great leviathan, which by virtue of its own military prowess feels free to spread auits own liberal market economy binding all the nations of the world to all its nuances at the cost of their independence and sovereignty. American foreign policy

behaviour with respect to Afghanistan, Iraq and global climate change negotiations is a testimony to this fact.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Mense-Petermann Ursula
Unternehmen im Transnationalisierungsprozess : Zum Problem der Herstellung de-facto-akzeptierter Entscheidungen in transnationalen Integrationsprozessen
in Soziale Welt, Jahrgang 56, Heft 4, 2005 , 381-397

Enterprises in the process of transnationalization: The problem of producing de-facto-accepted decisions

So-called Transnational Enterprises are considered to be most important actors for economic globalization. The present article analyses problems of integration and control that enterprises are confronted with in the process of transnationalization. Especially, problems resulting from the embeddedness in different cultural contexts of corporate headquarters and the different subsidiaries worldwide are considered. A comparative analysis of the transnational integration processes of two foreign subsidiaries of the Volkswagen Group shows, on the one hand, the considerable organizational challenges of a transnational strategy, on the other hand, points to newly emerging forms of integration and control. While in the first case study the focus mainly is on the problematic aspects of a transnationalization strategy, the second case study with 'appreciation' (Anerkennung) identifies a resource for control that has rarely been considered in studies on transnationalization up to now.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Holzer Boris
Vom globalen Dorf zur kleinen Welt: Netzwerke und Konnektivität in der Weltgesellschaft
in Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

From the Global Village to the Small World: Networks and Connectivity in World Society

Social relationships in world society are increasingly deterritorialized, i.e. they go beyond spatial boundaries and the confines of face-to-face-interaction. Many observers characterize the contemporary organization of social relationships as networks that constitute a form of global interconnectedness. Examples from various societal subsystems appear to corroborate this hypothesis. But what about social networks in general, i.e. contacts that are not based on the operations of subsystems? This paper discusses global social networks and draws on recent research on the small world-phenomenon, i.e. the property of large networks to combine a high degree of local clustering with a relatively low average path distance between nodes. The rather abstract interests of this research program are combined with social network theory in order to analyse the role of social networks in world society. It is argued that the network concept of “connectivity” provides a viable alternative to restricted concepts of world society that presuppose too much unity and integration.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Schimank Uwe
Weltgesellschaft und Nationalgesellschaften: Funktionen von Staatsgrenzen
in Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

World Society and National Societies – Functions of National Borders

As a consequence of its functional differentiation, modern society has been a world society from ist inception. The globalization dynamics of the last several decades are merely conspicuous manifestations of this constitutive feature of modernity. However, a common sense understanding of modern society as a plurality of national societies emphasizes out an important fact: The functionally differentiated world society has reproduced itself as a plurality of national societies, chiefly, on the basis of a second-order segmentary differentiation. A functional analysis of national borders shows that they fulfill important functions for the constitution of the agency of participants, for the social integration of society for the integration of its systems, and for societal evolution. If the dynamics of ongoing globalization erodes these functions, world society will be confronted with a serious problem of reproduction.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Schwinn Thomas
Weltgesellschaft, multiple Moderne und die Herausforderungen für die soziologische Theorie. Plädoyer für eine mittlere Abstraktionshöhe
in Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

World Society, Multiple Modernity and the Challenges for Sociological Theory
A Plea for an Intermediate Level of Abstraction

In the current theoretical discussion, sociology is faced with the challenge of having to rethink the status of modernity. The classics of the discipline do not offer any safe guidelines in this respect. An adequate theory has to take into account the fact that today's modernity is distributed worldwide as a common context, yet without a convergence of societal patterns. To this end, this article reviews several sociological theories which tackle this problem: research on the world society, on the one hand; studies in the wake of modernization theory, on the other. The basic problem consists in grasping the relationship between divergence and convergence in global developments. This is done via the concept a of world-system or with the help of an expanded understanding of "modernity." The author concludes that the selection and examination of theoretical approaches to globalization situated on an intermediate level of abstraction should be favored over the very abstract and hence analytically impoverished concepts "world society" and "modernity." The problem of levels (communication, reference, and order), the range and quality of the respective orders (the criteria of meaning and rationality, the capacity for obstruction), the problem of integration and dependency on the path followed, and, finally, the relationship between culture and structure on a global level are addressed in this discussion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Schriewer Jürgen
Wie global ist institutionalisierte Weltbildungsprogrammatik? Neo-institutionalistische Thesen im Licht kulturvergleichender Analysen
in Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

Re-Examining Institutionalized World-Level Educational Ideology: Neo-Institutionalist Assumptions in the Light of Cross-Cultural Analysis

The global diffusion of a "world-level developmental program and educational ideology" is one of the central assumptions of the neo-institutionalist "world polity" model. This article is meant to put this assumption to the test by means of cross-cultural analyses. These analyses are informed by concepts – particularly those of "reflection theories specific to particular subsystems of society," and of "externalizations" characteristic of such reflection theories – which were developed by Niklas Luhmann in the context of his theory of self-referential social systems. From the vantage point of this conceptual approach, our analyses are meant to explore both the extent and the content of a purportedly world-wide homogenization, or "isomorphism," of educational knowledge. Content analyses of important Spanish, (Soviet) Russian, and Chinese education journals which cover the period from the 1920s up to the 1990s reveal, however, fluctuations between periods of international openness and those of socio-centric seclusion (integrated into each of the nation-specific discourse developments) and differences regarding major reference societies, models, and "world-views" (between these discourses), which are by far greater than would be compatible with neo-institutionalist assumptions. In other words, the basic patterns underlying these findings are governed rather by the socio-logic of externalization than by evolutionary forces fueling world-level standardization. A concluding discussion of these findings throws into relief the meaning dimensions of socio-culturally specific discourse constellations and relates these dimensions to models developed with a view to conceptualizing the very nature of an increasingly globalized modern world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Stichweh Rudolf
Zum Gesellschaftsbegriff der Systemtheorie: Parsons und Luhmann und die Hypothese der Weltgesellschaft
in Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

On the Concept of Society in Systems Theory: Talcott Parsons, Niklas Luhmann and the Hypothesis of World Society

This essay analyzes the concept of society in Talcott Parsons and in Niklas Luhmann – and it looks for the connecting lines from their respective concepts of society to ideas of world society. In Talcott Parsons there is a strong disposition towards understanding society in terms of territoriality, the territorial control of physical force, and in terms of nationality. These tendencies are partially thwarted by the Aristotelian traditions Parsons looks back to, by the interdisciplinary models he imports into sociology (the concept of species from Mayr, the idea of the single origin or of the psychological unity of mankind), and by some empirical circumstances of international system building which impose themselves.

Luhmann, too, considers the Aristotelian concept of society, but he interprets society consistently as the most extensive social system. For Luhmann in present-day society this can only be realized as the system of world society. This essay tries to demonstrate that three references are fundamental for both theoreticians: The collective singular “society” as pointing to the emergence of forms of sociality specific to mankind; the coexistent plurality of many societies as characteristic of the major part of the history of mankind; and finally the question about the extraordinary situation of our times, in which the word “society” can only be made use of in a meaningful way by speaking about a single system of world society.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes
Powers Kathy L.
Dispute Initiation and Alliance Obligations in Regional Economic Institutions
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 43, Number 4, July , 453-471

States increasingly incorporate alliance obligations into the design of multilateral trade agreements to deter aggression. Regional economic institutions (REIs) are such an example. This policy activity raises the question of whether REI military alliance obligations send signals and function as institutional constraints that deter aggression. Hypotheses regarding the influence of (1) shared REI military alliance obligations on dispute initiation and (2) REI military alliance obligations on whether a potential challenger will initiate a militarized dispute against a potential target are tested. African REIs, states, and their dispute initiations from 1950 to 2000 compose the sample. Logit analysis of time-series, cross-section data is the method employed. African REI military alliances are an example of African international relations’ exceptionalism and innovation in institutional design. Findings suggest African REI military alliance obligations reduce the propensity for aggression between member-states and reduce the likelihood that a potential challenger will attack a potential target and a potential target will be the object of attack. The evidence in this article indicates that such commitments reduce dispute initiation among African states.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes
Dobson Lynn
Normative theory and Europe
in **International Affairs** , issue 3, vol. 82, may , 511-524

European integration has fascinated students of international relations and of history since the 1950s. Over the past 15 years or so it has begun to attract attention from political philosophers too. As a result, the nature of the theorizing has altered. Accordingly, this article presents some remarks on the transition from explanatory theory to normative political theory in relation to the EU, and on the context and nature of recent theoretical work. A topic of wide concern is whether and how the EU might be justified, and this is discussed in the light of an approach to public justification associated with the philosopher John Rawls. Some difficulties in applying this approach to international institutions are noted.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes

Harrison John

Re-reading the new regionalism: A sympathetic critique

in **Space and Polity**, Volume 10, Number 1 / April , 21-46

This paper provides a sympathetic critique of the new regionalism—currently one of the leading debates taking place in English-speaking human geography. By unpacking the new regionalism from its dual origins in economic geography and political science, the paper engages with some of its inherent lines of weakness by: developing a critique arguing that it is inappropriate on the part of the new regionalism to neglect the role of the state in the resurgence of regions in the reconstituted capitalist space economy; exploring the accusation that the new regionalism has become enmeshed in multifaceted scalar politics and associated tangled policy hierarchies; and, arguing that, through policy-transfer programmes, path- dependency, social capital and soft institutionalism, the new regionalism has been constructed on inadequate foundations. Finally, in developing this sympathetic theoretical and methodological critique towards the new regionalism, this paper speculates on how new regionalists should actually go about 'doing' regional regulation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes

Brou Daniel, Ruta Michele

Special Interests And The Gains From Political Integration

in **Economics and Politics**, Volume 18 Issue 2

This paper presents a formal study of economic influence by special-interest groups under political integration and separation. We first show that countries where more groups are organized to lobby gain from political integration on economic grounds. The reason is that a more organized country, under a political union, can affect policies in the other country to its advantage, something that a less organized country can do to a lesser extent. We then study the interaction of political integration and endogenous lobbying structure. We show that political integration affects the formation of interest groups. Moreover, if a country is more organized before political integration, this will continue to be the case afterward.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes

Kirkham Richard , Cardwell Paul James

The European Union: A Role Model for Regional Governance?

in **European public Law**, Volume 12 (2006) - Issue 3 , 403 - 431

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes

Neyer Jürgen

The deliberative turn in integration theory

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 13, Number 5 / August , 779-791

Deliberative approaches build on a large body of normative and positive political theory, which highlights the contribution of argumentative interaction for the coherence of a polity, its social acceptance and its normative acceptability. The purpose of this overview is to show the richness of deliberative approaches in integration studies and to stimulate researchers to apply them to empirical work. Deliberative approaches are a promising alternative to more established theoretical approaches. Their comparative strength is that they provide normative guidance to integration studies, open up a new research agenda for the analysis of interaction in European politics, and offer innovative interpretations for understanding the institutional design and the political process of the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes

Mazzoleni Martino

The first Tripartite agreement in the EU. An actor-centred analysis of an experimental multi-level interaction

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 16, Number 3 / September , 263-279

Tripartite agreements and contracts have recently emerged as possible forms of a more direct, active and horizontal partnership between levels of government within the European Union. In 2004 an experimental agreement on sustainable mobility was signed by the Commission, the Italian government and the region of Lombardy. This article proposes an actor-centred analysis of the process which has led to the agreement. It is argued that multi-level governance is a reality that works, although only for some regions enjoying the necessary resources and political weight, and without entailing a distortion of authority structures and relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes

Duina Francesco

Varieties of Regional Integration: The EU, NAFTA and Mercosur

in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 28, Number 3 / July , 247-275

The closing of the twentieth century witnessed the proliferation of regional trade areas: a reinvigorated EU became one of almost 170 integration efforts. The first comparative analyses have suggested that these RTAs, despite sharing broadly similar objectives, are remarkably different projects. This article contributes to these works by examining two under‐explored dimensions of variation: the laws of RTAs and how organizations – in particular interest groups, businesses and national administrations – have adjusted to their new legal environments. The article then suggests that the observable variation is likely to endure: the legal systems of RTAs reflect institutional realities in the member states, especially local legal traditions and power arrangements. The analysis focuses on the EU, NAFTA and Mercosur, using evidence from three realms: working women, dairy products and labour rights. The article concludes with some

reflections on cross‐RTA trade and the possibility of future convergence, competitiveness and the function of regulation in RTAs.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Jakobeit Cord
Fünf Jahre NEPAD
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 32-33, 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Fusacchia Alessandro
La Libia nella comunità internazionale
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXVIII, n. 151 , 573-586

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Kaplan Seth
West African Integration: A New Development Paradigm?
in Washington Quarterly (The), Vol. 29, Issue 4 - Autumn 2006

Helping long-troubled regions such as West Africa requires nothing less than embracing a new development paradigm. Instead of simply continuing to pump billions annually into the region's many dysfunctional regimes, local leaders and the developed world should focus on regionalism

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 3.Cooperations and integration in Central and North America
Lederman Daniel, Servén Luis
Tracking NAFTA's Shadow 10 Years on: Introduction to the Symposium
in World Bank Economic Review (The), Volume 19 • 2005 • Number 3

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is arguably the first "case study" of what might be expected from the increasing number of preferential trade agreements involving both developed and developing economies. Ten years after the treaty's inception, it is time to assess how its outcomes compare with initial expectations. The articles in this symposium issue provide insights into the effects of NAFTA on economic geography, trade, wages and migration, and

foreign investment from Mexico's perspective. The contributions paint a complex post-NAFTA reality characterized by persistent intrabloc trade barriers, interregional inequality within Mexico, labor market outcomes that seem closely tied to migration patterns and international trade and investment, and foreign investment flows that appear weakly related to trade agreements. NAFTA seems to be the first trade agreement in history for which the traditional static trade creation or diversion effects are likely negligible—and hard to identify in any case.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Granados Jaime, Cornejo Rafael
Convergence in the Americas: Some Lessons from the DR-CAFTA Process
in World Economy, Volume 29, Number 7 , 857-891

The proliferation of trade agreements in the Americas is a major cause for concern as it might fragment or inhibit the emergence of a hemispheric trading system. In addition to establishing a free trade area between the US and six countries in Latin America, the DR-CAFTA consolidates a set of trade arrangements among those six Latin American countries. The approaches and techniques employed to achieve this consolidation should be studied by policy analysts and negotiators of broader hemispheric-wide negotiations since the DR-CAFTA is in fact a microcosm of the spaghetti bowl of trade agreements now existing in the Americas. This paper points out the potential consequences of the proliferation of trade agreements in the Americas and provides an analysis of the convergence techniques and approaches used in the DR-CAFTA, in particular in the areas of market access and rules of origin.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Klom Andy
Latin America and International Trade: Regionalism and Beyond
in Latin American Research Review, Volume 40, Number 3, 2005 , pp. 354-364

When at the beginning of the 1990s Latin America left debt crisis and dictatorships behind it, a new chapter started for many Latin Americanists as well. The transformation towards, or restoration of, democracy in various societies of the Western Hemisphere became the next phase in the careers of many scholars. At the same time a new type of expert entered the field of Latin American Studies: the trade specialist. The 1990s became the decade of the so-called "Washington Consensus" and of "Open Regionalism," setting off a whole process of financial and economic transformation within and between Latin American countries. The new type of Latin American analyst focused on emerging, or re-emerging, trends in different parts of Latin America of trade liberalization and regional economic integration. Often presented as part of the same package of reforms identified as the Washington Consensus, trade liberalization and regional integration were actually stimulated in Latin America by both endogenous and exogenous factors.
Within Latin America previous decades had seen a variety of pan-American or subregional initiatives aimed at creating free trade areas or common markets within sections of the hemisphere. Some succeeded, such as in the Caribbean; others, after eventful starts in the 1960's, like the Andean Pact or in Central America, faltered under the burden of the unruly economic and political decades that followed....

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Sá Pinto Messias de, Guimarães Maria Helena
O Mercosul e a ALCA: os interesses (irre)conciliáveis da União Européia e dos EUA
in Revista Brasileira de Política internacional , Vol. 48 - No. 1/2005

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Valle Valéria Marina
O peso das relações inter-regionais com a União Européia em relação a outras alternativas de política externa do Mercosul
in Revista Brasileira de Política internacional , Vol. 48 - No. 1/2005

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Miles William
One Continent, One Currency? Varieties of Common Currency Experience in Europe and Latin America
in Kyklos, August 2006 - Vol. 59 Issue 3

Currency unions have been promoted as a means to increase trade, investment and growth. A crucial issue in giving up the domestic currency is the loss of a mechanism to absorb real external shocks. High real exchange volatility between countries considering such a policy would suggest that a currency union could be quite costly in terms of large, persistent misalignment and thus balance of payments imbalances. Von Hagen and Neumann (1994) assessed the readiness of nine European countries for Euro-zone membership by examining real exchange rate variability. In this paper we analyze their predictions, and find them to be quite accurate for Europe. All of the nations which appeared ready for the Euro have joined. Of the three which did not appear prepared, two have retained their own currency, and the third has experienced real appreciation and stagnant exports. Given the prescience of this method, we apply it to nine Latin American nations. A number of countries in this region have begun to form a currency union by unilaterally adopting the U.S. dollar. The Von Hagen-Neumann method finds very high real exchange rate variability between the U.S. and the Latin American nations-indeed much higher than that between Germany and the countries which would later adopt the Euro-so adopting the dollar could cause very painful adjustment in Latin America.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Serra Maria Isabel, Pazmino Maria Fernanda, Lindow Genevieve, Sutton Bennett, Ramirez Gustavo
Regional Convergence in Latin America

in IMF Policy Discussion Papers, May 2006 , Working Paper No. 06/125

This paper presents empirical evidence on convergence of per capita output for regions within six large middle-income Latin American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru. It explores the role played by several exogenous sectoral shocks and differences in steady states within each country. It finds that poor and rich regions within each country converged at very low rates over the past three decades. It also finds evidence of regional "convergence clubs" within Brazil and Peru- the estimated speeds of convergence for these countries more than double after controlling for different subnational levels of steady state. For the latter countries and Chile, convergence is also higher after controlling for sector-specific shocks. Finally, results show that national disparities in per capita output increased temporarily after each country pursued trade liberalization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Vinuesa Raúl Emilio

The MERCOSUR Settlement of Disputes System

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), n. 1, vol. 5 , 77-87

The establishment of a common market for the southern cone (Mercosur) States was scheduled to be accomplished by the end of 1994. During the transition period, member States were to adopt general rules of origin, a system for the settlement of disputes and safeguards clauses, as contained in the respective annexes to the Asunción Treaty. This article describes the subsequent methods for the settlement of disputes among the Mercosur member States

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Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Ward B.D., Jayaraman TK

A Single Currency for Pacific Island Countries: An SVAR Analysis

in Economia internazionale, Volume LIX, No. 4 - February 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Kellow Aynsley

A new process for negotiating multilateral environmental agreements? The Asia–Pacific climate partnership beyond Kyoto

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 60, n. 2 / June , 287-303

The Kyoto Protocol is widely regarded as representing a failed approach to the problem of climate change, especially since the US and Australia have declined to ratify, and developing countries such as India and China—sources of much future emissions growth—have signalled an unwillingness to take on obligations for binding reductions within the framework of an extended Kyoto-like instrument. A new Asia–Pacific Partnership to deal with the problems has emerged and held its first meeting in Sydney in January 2006. Involving Australia, China, India, Japan, Korea and the US, this

new partnership provides not only an approach better suited to the interests and resource endowments of the region, but a new model for negotiating multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs). In the past, MEAs have been beset by a dilemma, in that the slow pace of their negotiation was overcome by devices (such as lowest common denominator measures, creative ambiguity, iterative functionalism, and double standards provisions) that limited their effectiveness. This article argues that by involving only six parties which account for half of existing emissions, the new Partnership provides the opportunity for better policy to be developed among a smaller number of parties, with the potential to overcome the pitfalls of past MEAs.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Belyaev A. Sergey
Eurasian institutional arrangements: emergence of new alliances
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XIX, n. 2, June , 45-48

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Boillot Jean
Inde et Asie du Sud: opportunité démographique, mondialisation et coopération régionale
in Politique Etrangère, 2/2006 (été)

Les projections d'évolution de la population de l'Asie du Sud font entrevoir une fenêtre d'opportunité pour un développement économique appuyé sur une forte progression de la population en âge de travailler. L'Inde pourrait valoriser cette carte afin de maximiser son potentiel de croissance et élargir sa place dans l'économie mondiale. Cependant, au-delà du poids de ce pays dans les échanges de services, la place de l'Inde dans l'économie globale dépend aussi d'équilibres régionaux instables

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Wook Lee Yong
Japan and the Asian Monetary Fund: An Identity–Intention Approach
in International Studies Quarterly, issue 2, vol. 50, june , 339-366

ABSTRACT: Why did Japan propose the creation of the Asian Monetary Fund (AMF) that intentionally excluded the United States from membership in the middle of the Asian financial crisis? I argue that the immediate cause of Japan's AMF proposal lies in Japan's interest in defending the Asian model of economic development against the U.S.-led IMF bailout operation in Thailand. The exclusion of the United States was the key in realizing such an interest. Following an identity approach to international relations, I will demonstrate how Japan's Ministry of Finance (MOF) officials' conception of Japan and the United States as the two rivals promoting different models of economic development (i.e.,

Japan's state-led vs the U.S. market-based economic development) contributed to the making of Japan's AMF proposal. In doing so, I theoretically develop an identity–intention analytical framework designed to establish causation between an identity and a policy choice that emerge from a social, interactive structure. The framework offers a better way of dealing with the overdetermination of given interests as well as the underspecification of the kinds of interests at stake to which rational theorizing of international relations is often vulnerable.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Chaplygin Vladimir, Hughes Hallett Andrew, Richter Christian
Monetary integration in the ex-Soviet Union: A 'union of four'?
in **Economics of Transition**, January 2006 - Vol. 14 Issue 1 , 47-

The governments of four ex-Soviet countries recently discussed forming a currency union. To examine the economic feasibility of this proposition, we use conventional techniques and show that the arrangement is likely to find it difficult to handle the lack of structural symmetry, the asymmetric pattern of shocks, and the lack of market flexibility among the potential participants. Moreover, the union would be a unilateral one. It would require an unusual degree of political commitment to survive. Nonetheless, there are some subtleties in the timing and pattern of mutual dependence between Russia and Kazakhstan, and to a lesser extent in Belarus, which may reduce the strain from a currency union in those countries. Otherwise, the black market will have to provide the necessary market flexibility

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Eichengreen Barry
The Parallel-Currency Approach to Asian Monetary Integration
in **American Economic Review**, Vol. 96, No. 2, May 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lasserre Isabelle, Juncker Jean-Claude
La fin d'un rêve ? Entretien avec Jean-Claud Juncker
in **Politique internationale**, n°109 - Automne - 2005

The 50-year-old prime minister of Luxembourg is often considered one of the last great Europeans of our time. President of the European Union during the first half of 2005, he had a front-row view of the crisis that shook Brussels after both France and the Netherlands said "no" to the European Constitution. In this interview with Isabelle Lasserre, he doesn't hide his disappointment, even bitterness at this rejection of Europe. It was undoubtedly the political authorities who were neither able to explain, nor communicate their enthusiasm, nor overcome misunderstandings. But today the crisis is so deep, according to Juncker, that we can't totally exclude the risk of seeing Europe come unraveled. In his view, the young generation no longer has any concept of the ideals of peace and reconciliation that guided the founding fathers. And today's European leaders, obsessed by short-term goals, have lost their sense of mission.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Thouvenin Jean-Marc
"Patriotism économique" et ideal européen
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 497, april , 217-218

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Fusacchia Alessandro
"The party must go on!" Il finanziamento pubblico dei partiti politici europei
in Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, Vol. XXXVI, Numero 1, Aprile , 87-114

In November 2003, at the end of a ten-year process, the EU passed legislation (Regulation (EC) No 2004/2003) on the granting of public subsidies to European political parties, thus laying down the conditions governing both their funding and their implicit recognition. The article explores in detail this normative framework and the political implications of the European party ﬁnance law. It is argued that the case for granting political parties EU public subsidies has been based on the same arguments as national party-funding legislation and that the European legislation contains provisions that resemble those applicable within member states, despite the fact that political parties perform substantially different functions at European and national level owing to the special features of the EU's institutional and political architecture. It is also argued that the granting of EU subsidies to political parties has very largely been cast within the debate on the «democratic deﬁcit», but it is unlikely to contribute substantially to remedying that deﬁcit and to fostering the development of a party system at EU level that can help to kickstart momentum towards integration. The article analyses the European party ﬁnance law by comparison with the national legislation of several member states, and presents a preliminary assessment of the impact of the new Regulation on the European political landscape during the ﬁrst two years of application.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Moore Carolyn
'Schloss Neuwahnstein'? Why the Länder continue to strengthen their representations in Brussels
in German Politics, Volume 15, Number 2, June , 192-205

The establishment of representative offices in Brussels marked the start a qualitative new step in the engagement of the German Länder in European Union (EU) policy. Despite a contested birth, more than 20 years' operation in Brussels have seen these offices become full elements of the sponsoring Länder administrations. This article argues that in both functional and operational terms, the Brussels Länder offices have developed over time to approximate the role played by their federal level counterparts, the Länder representations in Berlin. Enhanced investment by the Länder in their EU

presence underscores the increasing relevance of EU issues for the exercise of their domestic policy responsibilities. However, the Länder offices in Brussels remain disputed entities, as federal and Länder government views of their mission and appropriate engagement differ sharply. Thus, while direct engagement in Brussels has become the norm for the Länder administrations, tensions over access to the EU sphere continue to mark Bund-Länder relations in Brussels – more that ten years after a legal solution was established. The article concludes by considering the broader implications of this situation.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Boniface Xavier
1954-2005 : quand les Français disent non à l'Europe
in Revue des deux mondes, Mai 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Walker Neil
A Constitutional Reckoning
in Constellations, Vol. 13, Issue 2 June , 140-150

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mitzman Arthur
A Premature Obituary: Europe's Post-Referendum Vita Nuova
in Constellations, Vol. 13, Issue 2 June , 190-204

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Andréani Gilles
A Realist Assessment of Europe
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Vol. 28, n. 2 / April , 143-153

An analysis of the significance of the no votes cast in the Dutch and French referendums based on six propositions designed to ascertain the European Union's commitment to constitutional union.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Elli Mauro
A political-tinted rationality: Britain vs. EURATOM, 1955-1963
in Journal of European Integration History, n. 1, vol. 12 , 105-124

ABSTRACT: Nuclear engineering was a flamboyant attribute of power status that could avail to substantiate the idea of Britain as a first-class country. Hence the study of British self-perception regarding EURATOM shows to what extent prestige influenced supposedly rational, scientific choices in a decision-making process affected by approach, adopted by the Foreign Office from 1960, could not prevail on the unremitting hostility of the UK Atomic Energy Authority. The latter intended not merely fencing off military activities, but also keeping control of R&R projects, such as the fast breader reactor. The final result was a comprehensively negative, unrealistic negotiating position.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ferrera Maurizio
Amici o nemici? Integrazione europea e modelli sociali nazionali
in Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, Vol. XXXVI, Numero 1, Aprile , 3-26

Since its inception in the late 1950s and for about three decades the process of European integration (EI) did not signiﬁcantly interfere with the logic of functioning of the nation-based welfare states. EI had essentially to do with «market making» at a continental level. Solidarity, redistribution and social justice only concerned national communities and remained essentially a business of national governments. The 1990s have however witnessed the emergence of increasing strains in the relationship between «Europe» and «solidarity». With its emphasis on sound budgets, competition, market promotion, free circulation etc., EI has increasingly transformed itself as a source of «threat» for the national social models. Competition rules and the four freedoms have started to interfere with various domestic practices of social sharing. This logic of «opening» tends to clash with the logic of «closure» which historically inspired the formation of welfare states and which still largely underpins their programs today. The tension between the two logics is clearly revealed by opinion surveys. So far, the «tightening» of the link between EI and the nation-based welfare state has been promoted by the former («Brussels»), privileging «market making» and insisting on the need for reform and «modernization» of traditional social protection schemes at the domestic level. But some adaptation is needed also on the side of EI, i.e. of its overall mission, institutional logic and constitutional framework. This is admittedly a difﬁcult task, but it is not beyond reach. The paper suggests a number of strategies for reconciling within the EU institutional framework the reasons and «logics» of the two prime drivers of progress on the European tradition, i.e. the marketplace and the welfare state.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Pennings Paul

An Empirical Analysis of the Europeanization of National Party Manifestos, 1960–2003
in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 7, n. 2, June , 257-270

This article provides a comparative analysis of the degree of Europeanization of national party manifestos. The research is based on a newly established database, which comprises digitized party manifestos of relevant parties in the period 1960–2003 in most of the established member states. The unit of analysis is the frequency of 'co-mentions' of 20 policy areas and (aspects of) Europe and the European Union. The results show that the degree to which parties acknowledge the increasing impact of Europe on policy-making depends on factors such as the time period, the type of policy sector, the duration of EU membership, the general attitude of parties towards European integration and the degree of internal consensus on European issues. Hence, references to Europe do not (only) reflect the process of European integration itself, but are affected by both insti tutional and party strategic factors.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kerber Wolfgang, Grundmann Stefan
An optional European contract law code: Advantages and disadvantages
in **European Journal of Law and Economics**, Volume 21, Number 3 , 215-236

Should the EU introduce an Optional European Contract Law Code and what should it look like? By applying economic theories of federalism and regulatory competition (legal federalism), it is shown why an Optional Code would be a very suitable legal instrument within a two-level European System of Contract Laws. By allowing private parties' choice of law to a certain extent, it can combine the most important advantages of centralisation and decentralisation of competences for legal rules. Through differentiated analyses of three kinds of contract law rules (mandatory substantive rules, mandatory information rules and facilitative law), important conclusions can be reached: which kinds of contract law rules are most suitable to be applied on an optional basis (e.g. facilitative law) and which might be less so (e.g. a core of information regulations). Furthermore a number of additional general conclusions about the design and scope of an Optional EU Code and some conclusions in regard to sales law are derived.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mitzen Jennifer
Anchoring Europe's civilizing identity: habits, capabilities and ontological security
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 13, Number 2 / March , 270-285

What effects might the deepening CFSP have on the EU's identity as a civilian and civilizing power? While greater military capabilities might seem to threaten that identity, raising the specter of 'great power Europe', such fears might not be warranted. Building on the assumption that actors need stable identities – in Anthony Giddens' term, ontological security – and achieve them by routinizing relations with significant others, I examine the routines through which EU member states secure their civilian and civilizing identity. I argue that the publicity and deliberation inherent in those routines can help to stabilize healthy security relations among EU member states and in Europe's external relations,

thus strengthening the EU's role as a civilizing power.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Benhabib Seyla, Isiksel Türküler
Ancient Battles, New Prejudices, and Future Perspectives: Turkey and the EU
in Constellations, Vol. 13, Issue 2 June , 218-233

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Berezin Mabel
Appropriating the "No": The French National Front, the Vote on the Constitution, and the "New" April 21
in Political Science and Politics, issue 2, vol. 39, april , 269-272

ABSTRACT: On the evening of May 26, 2005, with the polls suggesting that the European Constitution was veering toward defeat, Jacques Chirac made a final exhortation to the French public. He argued that the French were voting not on a sectarian political issue but on an issue that would determine the future of themselves, their children, France, and Europe. Chirac characterized the choice before French citizens as "neither right nor left." His use of a phrase more commonly associated with Vichy displayed an uncharacteristic historical amnesia and suggests that Chirac and his party were grabbing at straws in those final days.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kopstein Jeffrey, Reilly David
As Europe Gets Larger, Will It Disappear?
in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 8, Issue 1, March , 140-149

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Chieffi Lorenzo
Banca Centrale e sviluppi della governance europea
in Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario, n. 3-4. , 1085-1108

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dür Andreas, Mateo Gemma
Bargaining Efficiency in Intergovernmental Negotiations in the EU: Treaty of Nice vs. Constitutional Treaty
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 28, Number 4 / September , 381-398

Two conditions have to be met for bargaining in Intergovernmental Conferences (IGCs) in the EU to be efficient. On the one hand, an effective preparation of the negotiations is essential to provide governments with the necessary information to engage in issue linkages. On the other hand, mediation provided by the EU's Presidency is indispensable for the finding of compromises and for the elaboration of a final package deal. Systematic evidence from the IGCs of 2000 and of 2003–04 confirms the explanatory power of the article's argument. As a result of largely ineffective preparation and mediation during the IGC of 2000, the Treaty of Nice (2001) could not (or only provisionally) resolve many of the issues that had led to the convocation of the negotiations. In contrast, largely effective preparation and mediation enabled the far–reaching compromises included in the Constitutional Treaty (2004).

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ivaldi Gilles
Beyond France's 2005 referendum on the European constitutional treaty: Second-order model, anti-establishment attitudes and the end of the alternative European utopia
in **West European Politics**, n. 1, vol. 29, january , 47-69

ABSTRACT: The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview and characterisation of the rejection of the European Constitutional Treaty by a majority of voters in France's referendum held on 29 May 2005. Whilst pointing to the salience of political discontent with the incumbent right-wing government and some elements of the longstanding crisis in French national party politics, the analysis places the emphasis on the central role played by social issues in the referendum, the transposition at the European level of the mechanism of the evaluation by voters of traditional parties' performances and responsiveness to the country's social malaise and the unilateral termination by a majority of left-wing voters of the 'social welfare and economic growth' confidence pact that they had made with their national political elites on the occasion of the Maastricht referendum in 1992.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Delanty Gerard
Borders in a Changing Europe: Dynamics of Openness and Closure
in **Comparative European Politics**, n. 2/3, vol. 4, july/september , 183-202

ABSTRACT: European borders are characterized by alternating hard and soft forms on one axis and open and closed forms on another. The border is a networked and fluid process rather than a fixed line; it is constituted in new and

changing relations between cores and peripheries, and is the site of political contestations where power and culture interact. Europe's internal national borders are not merely modified by the growing significance of a European external frontier, but both internal and external borders are influenced by the wider global context. This dimension has so far been missing from the existing literature on Europeanization and borders. Borders exist not on the edge of the territory of the state, but in numerous points within and beyond it. The changing nature of the border has implications for identity, since the system of classifications the border establishes provides identities with a means of distinguishing insiders from outsiders. The emerging networked border challenges existing notions of a European identity defined by the closed borders of culture or territory. The result is that Europe's external border will be post-imperial.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Karp Jeffrey, Bowler Shaun
Broadening and deepening or broadening versus deepening: The question of enlargement and Europe's 'hesitant Europeans'
in European Journal of Political Research, issue 3, vol. 45, may , 369-390

ABSTRACT: The European Union sees the inclusion of many Eastern European states – enlargement – as a natural progression in the process of building an 'ever closer union'. For the European Commission in particular, the process of enlargement (broadening) is part of the process of integration and acts as a complement to the development of a stronger role for the European Union and its institutions or deepening of integration. Yet as the first Irish referendum on the Nice Treaty showed, not all of European's citizens see the two processes of enlargement and integration in the same light. This article addresses two related questions. First, how are attitudes towards deepening and broadening related, and do European citizens see them as complementary or contradictory? Second, and related to the first, what factors drive popular attitudes towards enlargement?

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Enrique de Ayala José
Carta de Europa: El incierto futuro de la UE
in Politica Exterior, 113 Septiembre/Octubre 2006

Los ciudadanos europeos se sienten cada vez más lejanos de la UE. Este desencanto sucede en un momento en que los retos para las naciones europeas –seguridad energetica, inmigración, medio ambiente, delincuencia organizada, terrorismo– no pueden abordarse desde un plano puramente nacional.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Elvert Jürgen
Changing Places. The European House Revisited
in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, Volume 73, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 15-21

This article investigates the history of the idiom "European house", which, as a rethorical figure, has been introduced into the debate about the extension of the European political and societal system by Mikhail Gorbhachev in the 1980ies. Firstly, the Author is exposing the phrase's roots in ancient Greek thought; secondly its development under particular consideration of the image of Europe as living-space for the continent's inhabitants until the 20th century is verified. A third aspect of the article is dealing with the various concepts of the 'finalité politique' of the European integration process since 1950ies. Finally, under particular consideration of the ongoing discussion about the future of the integration process at the background of the current constitutional crisis, the article is identifying the lack of consensus about the future shape of the EU as one of the main reason for it. At the same time it is recommending the recollection of the design of a "Europe of concentric circles", which had been introduced in the mid-1990ies, as a possible model for the "European house" to be completed.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Grasso Giorgio
Collegialità della Commissione e Ministro degli affari esteri europeo
in Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario, n. 3-4. , 1167-1178

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ziller Jacques
Come riportare la Costituzione europea sul giusto binario?
in Quaderni Costituzionali, numero : 2, giugno , 357-359

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ferrara Gianni
Commissione europea e indirizzo politico
in Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario, n. 3-4. , 1068-1076

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Balduzzi Renato
Commissione europea e sistema dei partiti: responsabilità collegiale e presidenzialismo
in Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario, n. 3-4. , 1077-1084

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Del Valle Gálvez A.
Constitution espagnole et Traite constitutionnel europeen - La Declaration du Tribunal Constitucional du 13 decembre 2004
in Les Cahiers de droit europeen, Vol. 41 n. 5-6 , 705 - 724

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Smith Michael
Crossroads or cul-de-sac? Reassessing European foreign policy
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 2 / March , 322-327

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Wissmann Matthias
Das Modell der abgestuften Mitgliedschaft
in Internationale Politik , n. 5, 61. Jahrgang, Mai , 64-68

ABSTRACT: Die Europäische Union steckt in der Zwickmühle zwischen gewollten und zugesagten Neuaufnahmen und der Überforderung ihrer internen Strukturen. Ein Ausweg aus diesem Dilemma könnte eine abgestufte Mitgliedschaft sein: Die Beitrittskandidaten werden zunachst in die weniger vergemeinschafteten Politikfelder integriert; ihre weitere Einbindung erfolgt dann nach Massgabe ihrer Fähigkeit und Bereitschaft.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Astola Madariaga J.
De la legitimidad democrática de la Unión Europea y de la legitimación democrática de sus decisiones : una reflexión sobre el proyecto de Constitución europea
in Teoria y realidad constitucional, n. 15 , 201 - 234

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lord Christopher
Democracy and the European Union: Matching means to standards
in **Democratization**, Vol. 13, n. 4, August , 668-684

In justifying recent European Union Treaty changes, member-state governments have claimed that publics are doubly represented in the EU: through their elected governments and through the European Parliament. This review evaluates 'dual representation' as a means of delivering democratic standards. It concludes that present institutional arrangements contain some means of aligning policy outcomes with citizen preferences but they do not match up so well to 'input' or procedural conditions for public control with political equality. One troubling aspect of this is that there are good normative grounds for holding 'input' standards to be prior to 'output' ones. Another is that difficulties of public control are, on Union matters, more acute in relationships between representatives and voters than in those between representatives and other power holders.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Leonard Mark
Der Europäische Union im Zeitalter der Referenda
in **Europaische Rundschau**, Heft 1, 2006

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Massarrat Mohssen
Der Iran und Europas Versagen
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Mai, 2006 , 544-547

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Garcia Herrera M.G.
Derechos nuevos y nuevos derechos en la Union europea
in **Teoria e diritto dello Stato**, Vol. 1 / 05 , 27-54

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process
Moravcsik Andrew
Die Verfassung ist tot! Es lebe die Verfassung!
in **Europaische Rundschau**, Heft 1, 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Maurer Andreas
Die Vermessung des europäischen Tiefgangs: Extrakonstitutionelle Umwege aus der Verfassungskrise
in **Politische Vierteljahresschrift**, Heft 2, 47. Jahrgang, Juni , 264-274

ABSTRACT: Der negative Ausgang der Volksabstimmungen in Frankreich und in den Niederlanden zum Vertrag über eine Verfassung für Europa (VVE) hat die Europäische Union in den Zustand einses interen Systems überführt. Die Optionen für eine Ausweg hieraus sind sortfäaltig, systematisch und vor allem unpathetisch zu analysieren. Eine Verlängerung des Ratifikationsverfahrens ist risikoreich und hängt massgeblich von der Bereitschaft der politischen Akteure Europas ab, an den im VVE erziehlten politischen und institutionellen Reformpaketen festzuhalten. Ein Austritt oder Ausschluss aller Staaten, die nicht zur Übernahme des VVE bereit sind, erscheint gegenwärtig politisch inopportun. Reformstrategien auf der Grundlage des Status quo sind schliesslich nur dann Erfolg versprechend, wenn sich die Akteure dafür einsetzen, dass die unter Parlamentariern, Regierungsvertretern und grossen Teilen der organisierten Zivilgesellschaft konsentierten Neuerungen im VVE auch eingehalten werden. Zwar liessen sich einzelne Elemente des VVE auf der Basis des geltenden Vertragsrechts oder extrakonstitutionell durch Formen der verstärkten Zusammenarbeit umsetzen; um Zugewinn an Hanlungsfähigkeit und Effektivität stünde hierbei aber eine Verschärfung des Demokratie- und Transparenzdefizits entgegen.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Wobbe Theresa
Die Verortung Europas in der Weltgesellschaft. Historische Europasemantik und Identitätspolitik der Europäischen Union
in **Zeitschrift für Soziologie**, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft", 2005

Situating Europe Within World Society. Historical Semantics and the Identity Politics of the European Union

This contribution discusses the question how the shifting historical semantics of Europe correspond with its changing structural place within world society. The first section examines Europe’s self-description as well as its internal and external webs during the early modern period (I). The second part discusses Europe’s self-definition as the center of the world and the loss of this position, covering the period between 1800 and 1945 (II). Since establishing the European Community after 1945, a new global situating has been taking place. Externally the Community invokes the global values of modern society; internally it is developing distinct norms. Furthermore, in its identity politics it has mobilized sediments of its historical semantics (III). It will be argued that the European Union’s identity is not limited to historical semantics alone. Rather, three dimensions co-exist, viz. the global level of modern values, the national level of cultural

diversity, and the supranational level of the Union's norm system. In the interplay of these dimensions the regionalization of the European self-description within the world manifests itself.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Andersen Svein S., Sitter Nick
Differentiated Integration: What is it and How Much Can the EU Accommodate?
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 28, Number 4 / September , 313-330

How much differentiated integration can the European Union accommodate? Not all member states are equally eager or able to participate in all aspects of integration, and the impact of EU policy on the member states varies across states and policy sectors. Whereas much of the literature on differentiated integration has focused primarily on formal opt–outs, this article widens the term to capture both the formal and informal arrangements for policy opt–outs as well as the differences, or discretionary aspects, associated with putting EU policy into practice. The article draws on organisational theory to elaborate a broad and flexible understanding of European integration that links the literature on integration and Europeanisation, and proceeds to explore different types of European integration. The core question is therefore: what is differentiated integration, and how much can the EU accommodate? Is differentiated integration a robust path for the EU project?

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Schneider Christina J.
Differenzierte Mitgliedschaft und die EU-Osterweiterung: Das Beispiel der Arbeitnehmerfreizügigkeit
in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique, Volume 12, Issue 2, Summer 2006 , 67-94

Die Arbeit untersucht die Auswirkungen der Vergabe eingeschränkter Mitgliedschaftsrechte auf den Verlauf und die Ergebnisse der EU-Osterweiterung. Die Studie zeigt auf, dass die EU-Mitgliedstaaten Übergangsfristen für die Liberalisierung der Arbeitsmärkte durchsetzten, um die zu erwartenden Erweiterungsgewinne zugunsten der, von der Freizügigkeit negativ betroffenen Altmitglieder - Deutschland, Österreich und Italien - umzuverteilen und so ein Scheitern der Aufnahmeverhandlungen zu verhindern. Die Diskussionen der EU-Mitglieder über die Einführung einer eingeschränkten Arbeitnehmerfreizügigkeit für die Neumitglieder und ein Überblick über andere Verhandlungskapitel legen nahe, dass die Verteilung differenzierter Mitgliedschaftsrechte an neue Mitglieder eine bedeutsame Handlungsalternative insbesondere zur Nichtmitgliedschaft darstellt.

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Ellison David L.
Divide and Conquer: The European Union Enlargement's Successful Conclusion?
in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 8, Issue 1, March , 150-164

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Van de Steeg Marianne
Does a public sphere exist in the European Union? An analysis of the content of the debate on the Haider case
in European Journal of Political Research, issue 4, vol. 45, june , 609-634

ABSTRACT: This article sets out how the public sphere can be studied through an analysis of the content of a specific debate. A public discourse can be said to pertain to a European Union-wide public sphere where the discourse within the EU is significantly different from that developed in non-EU countries, where such differences are not nationally defined, and where the debates in individual newspapers (which provide the fora for a public sphere) should be connected on the basis of some underlying factors. These conditions are tested with a quantitative analysis of the newspaper debate in 1999 and 2000 on the sanctions of the EU-14 against Austria. To the extent that the conditions are found, it can be concluded that there exists a European public opinion. The objective of studying this specific case is to demonstrate that, as far as an EU issue is concerned, there are already signs of an EU transnational political community.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Houy Nicolas
Doit-on renégocier la Constitution européenne ?
in Economie Appliquee, N. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bieling Hans-Jürgen
EMU, financial integration and global economic governance
in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 13, Number 3 / August 2006 , 420 – 448

This article regards the EMU as part of a broader strategy to revitalize the European economy by creating a strong European base within the transnational finance-led regime of accumulation. Examining the broader implications of this strategy, the article applies the Coxian conceptual triangle of state–civil society complexes, social relations of production and world order. As far as the reconfiguration of the European state–civil society complex is concerned, the article shows first that the European Union has built up quite remarkable, however, primarily introverted governance capacities in the fields of monetary and financial market policies. Secondly, with respect to the social relations of production, it points out that changes within the European financial environment tend to undermine the particular social conditions and relations which have underpinned innovation and productivity growth so far. Finally, in terms of world order, the article shows that the material and organisational capacities of the EU are still much too weak to challenge the dominant role of the US. Nevertheless, under conditions of global trade imbalances, economic stagnation, and the crises of social

reproduction and political legitimacy it is likely that transatlantic cooperation will become more difficult.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Edquist Kristin
EU social-policy governance: advocating activism or servicing states?
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 4 / June , 500-518

This article examines the implications of EU governance tools for social activism in Europe, specifically whether benchmarking, best practices, the open method of co-ordination, or mainstreaming delimit the kinds of activism non-governmental and other organizations can pursue under EU auspices. This is possible because EU governance models give member states ultimate discretion on the design and implementation of EU social policies, and EU governance principles are based on specific normative commitments. I explore whether EU governance therefore renders activist confrontation of states unlikely, constrains policy participants' learning, particularly of perceived radical lessons, or allows only state-led challenges to market and social structures. To the extent that any of these dynamics entails EU governance, the models should be viewed with caution, and European social activists should be prepared to choose between conceding to state agendas or working outside EU governance margins. Cases include EU gender and social inclusion policies.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Guerrieri Paolo, Caratelli Irene
EU's Regional Trade Strategy, the Challenges Ahead
in International Trade Journal, Vol.20, Number 2 / Summer , 139 - 184

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Calleya, Stephen C
EU-Turkish Relations: Prospects and Problems
in Mediterranean Quarterly, Volume 17, Number 2, Spring 2006

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Rüger Carolin
EU-Verfassung zur Wiedervorlage

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2006 , 919-921

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bénassy-Quéré Agnès, Schwellnus Cyrille, Ünal-Kesenci Deniz
Echanges internationaux : services compris
in **Lettre du CEPII**, N° 255 Avril 2006

Les positions fortes de l'Union européenne dans le commerce international de services se situent principalement dans la finance et l'assurance, ainsi que dans l'informatique où elles sont désormais contestées par de grands émergents. Le Royaume-Uni apparaît comme le seul grand pays européen spécialisé dans les services à forte croissance. Mais une part importante des "échanges" internationaux de services s'opère par l'activité des entreprises implantées à l'étranger ; dans certains cas, celui de la France notamment, leur prise en compte modifie sensiblement le diagnostic. Les atouts des différents pays européens pourraient être remodelés par la réalisation du marché intérieur des services. En éliminant certaines réglementations, la directive services ouvrira à la concurrence des marchés dans certains cas encore très fermés. Elle pourrait dynamiser des échanges intra-européens aujourd'hui relativement peu développés.

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Maestro Buelga G.
El sistema de competencias en la constitución económica europea: unión y estados miembros
in **Revista de Derecho Constitucionál Europeo** , n. 5 Anno 3

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Vergara Paniagua A.
Europa : reflexiones en torno a lo postnacional, lo nacional y el Estado-Nación
in **Cuadernos europeos de Deusto**, n. 34 , 149 - 166

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
de Villepin Dominique
Europa braucht klare Grenzen
in **Europaische Rundschau**, Heft 1, 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Enrique de Ayala José
Europa, actor global. La desunión hace la debilidad
in Politica Exterior, 110 Marzo/Abril 2006

La situación en Irán y la victoria de Hamás en las elecciones palestinas ofrecen a los europeos la posibilidad de demostrar su papel como mediador respetado en la resolución de conflictos. La capacidad de desempeñar un papel internacional con éxito sólo se conseguirá si los miembros de la UE tienen el coraje de relegar sus egoísmos nacionales y sus miedos para avanzar decididamente hacia una unión política.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Weidenfled Werner
Europa: Identität und strategische Perspektive
in Europaische Rundschau, Heft 1, 2006 , 37-59

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Cantaro Antonio
Europa: unita nella diversità?
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIII, n. 3

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Stern K.
Europaische Verfassung und Grundrechte-Charta nach dem Nein der Franzosen und Niederlader
in Teoria e diritto dello Stato, Vol. 1 / 05 , 97-110

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Verheugen Günter

Europas neue Identität.
in **Internationale Politik** , n. 5, 61. Jahrgang, Mai , 6-17

ABSTRACT: Das entgültige Urteil über die grösste Beitrittsrunde zur Europäischen Union wird die Geschichte fällen. Zwei Jahre nach der Aufnahme von zehn neune Ländern zieht der verantwortliche EU-Kommissar Günter Verheugen eine positive Bilanz: viele vorhergesagte Wirkungen sind eingetreten. Die Union hat eine sehr dynamische Wirtschaftsregion hinzugewonnen, die neuen Länder machen konstruktive EU-Politik, Sicherheit und Stabilität auf dem gesamten Kontinent sind gewachsen.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hooge Liesbet, Marks Gary
Europe's Blues: Theoretical Soul-Searching after the Rejection of the European Constitution
in **Political Science and Politics**, issue 2, vol. 39, april , 247-250

ABSTRACT: The Spanish, French, Dutch, and Luxembourg referenda on the Constitutional Treaty are the latest, but certainly not the last, flashpoints in a contentious European Union. The era in which EU politics was determined by national and European elites ended about 15 years ago. With the Maastricht Accord of 1991, decision making on European integration entered the contentious world of party competition, elections, and referenda.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Eder Klaus
Europe's Borders: The Narrative Construction of the Boundaries of Europe
in **European Journal of Social Theory**, Volume 9, No. 2, May 2006 , 255-271

This article argues that the social construction of the borders of Europe is the combined effect of a historical trajectory in which the construction of its outer and its inner boundaries interact. These boundaries make sense to the people because they have a narrative plausibility. On such narrative resonance, real hard borders are grounded. The idea of narrative boundary construction is embedded in a minimalist theory of identity that claims that anything can serve as a boundary within a historically specific situation. The only restriction regarding boundary construction is that a new boundary continues the narrative – either in a continuous or a discontinuous way, either as conservative caring for a tradition or as a revolutionary break with a tradition. This radical break with substantialist notions of Europe's borders and identity implies that such trajectories do not imply any necessity. Whether the European integration process is continuing an old narrative or whether it points towards a specific discontinuity in the further telling of Europe's story, is historically contingent. Europe has just to continue to tell a story about itself that makes narrative sense.

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Aliboni Roberto

Europe's Role in the Gulf: A Transatlantic Perspective
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLI, n. 2, April-June

The Middle East and the Mediterranean have never been favourable to strong transatlantic convergence. The subject of terrorism has always brought to the fore differences between the United States and Europe, first in the Palestinian-Israeli context, then in the first wave of terrorism unleashed in the 1980s. This difference in assessment of the strategic importance of terrorism reflects on democracy promotion policies. In the US policy towards the Greater Middle East, democratisation as a response to terrorism is based on a pessimistic cultural assessment of the societies concerned. In the European view, democracy promotion plays a pivotal role in the Mediterranean and the Middle East but is regarded as a long term transformation requiring a number of cooperative responses on both sides.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Galbreath David
European Integration through Democratic Conditionality: Latvia in the Context of Minority Rights
in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , n. 1, vol. 14, april , 69-87

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dorussen Han, Nanou Kyriaki
European Integration, Intergovernmental Bargaining, and Convergence of Party Programmes
in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 7, n. 2, June , 235-256

Over the past 50 years, the European Union (EU) has dramatically increased its policy-making power. However, there remains considerable variation over time as well as across policy areas in the relative power of the EU and the member states. The variation is likely to influence EU-wide bargaining. Following the logic of bargaining games with domestically constrained actors, or two-level games, the changes in the bargaining environment may also influence party competition within the member states of the European Union. Using manifesto data for 1951–2001, this article examines convergence of party programmes across Western Europe. It is shown that European integration has increasingly constrained the range of policy platforms. Moreover, we generally find a stronger effect if and when countries are actually members of the EU. European integration bolsters programmatic convergence of Euro-friendly as well as Eurosceptic parties. However, European integration particularly influences the convergence of Eurosceptic parties in EU member states.

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Pridham Geoffrey

European Union Accession Dynamics and Democratization in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and Future Perspectives
in **Government and Opposition** , Vol. 41, n. 3, June , 373-400

EU influence in encouraging and promoting democratic consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe has been extensive, though in a wide rather than deep sense. But, as shown by the enlargement process up to 2004, accession dynamics are the crucial force driving governments in the region to meet the EU's political conditionality. Despite the latter's deficiencies, it has by and large contributed towards democratic consolidation in the new member states notwithstanding some negative aspects of accession. The clear lesson for further enlargement in post-Communist Europe is that EU pressure and promise over integration will be decisive in new candidate states, even though their capacity to achieve the political conditions is more problematic. It follows too that any lessening of EU commitment is likely to undermine democratization efforts there.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Vrbensky Rastislav
European Union Integration: A Means to Achieve Human Development
in **Review of International Affairs (The)** , Vol. LVII, n. 1122, April-June

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bruno Isabelle, Jacquot Sophie, Mandin Lou
Europeanization through its instrumentation: benchmarking, mainstreaming and the open method of co-ordination … toolbox or Pandora's box?
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 13, Number 4 / June , 519-536

Understanding Europeanization through its instrumentation raises the issue of the supposed neutrality of policy tools used as soft modes of action. The aim of this article is to assess how this ‘new governance’ tends to guide policy-making on a specific path. Indeed, European construction cannot be restricted to the direct impact of Community law or to the indirect effects of economic integration. A new form of non-constraining co-ordination has been developing since the mid-1990s. In order to explain how the cognitive mechanisms of Europeanization work, we open the ‘toolboxes’ that allow European institutions to have an effect on national representations and practices. The use of benchmarking for building the European Research Area, the elaboration of gender equality policy according to the principle of mainstreaming, and the open method of co-ordination (OMC) in the field of pension reforms, illustrate how such policy instruments lead national governments to meet the competitiveness requirements of the Lisbon strategy.

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Europe's World
Europe's World Guide to the EU in 2020
in Europe´s World, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_2.11_Europes_World_guide_to_the_EU_in_2020.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
König Thomas, Proksch Sven-Oliver
Exchanging and voting in the Council: endogenizing the spatial model of legislative politics
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 5 / August , 647-649

We present a new model of Council decision-making which attempts to reflect the political processes inside the Council more accurately. For the analysis of EU legislative decision-making we propose a two-stage exchange model assuming that actors know the outcome of the spatial model in which the Commission makes a proposal requiring the support of a qualified majority of member states in the consultation procedure. Our model assumes that member states consider this outcome as the reference point for making exchange efforts to find a more acceptable solution. The model suggests that member states can exclude the Commission and exchange resources which control the outcome of the proposal's issues, as long as the exchange solution promises a more beneficial outcome than the spatial model does. The empirical analysis applies the spatial model in the two-dimensional policy of the Honey directive and illustrates the differences to our two-stage exchange model. In addition to taking a closer look at decision-making inside the Council, we believe that our two-stage model can provide further insight into the process by determining the value of the issues, the power of the actors and their demand and supply in the control of issue outcomes. The analysis reveals that all member states profit from the exchange solution which is also located close to the outcome.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Szyszczak Erika
Experimental Governance: The Open Method of Coordination
in European law journal, July 2006 - Vol. 12 Issue 4 , 486-502

The open method of coordination (OMC) has increased the competence of the European Union to regulate areas where the traditional Community legislative processes are weak, or where new areas require coordination of Member State policy, either as part of the spillover of the integration project as a result of economic and monetary union, or as a result of the case law of the European Court of Justice. The OMC is viewed as an aspect of new, experimental governance, which is part of the response by the EU to regulatory shortcomings. This article explores the normative aspects of the OMC using case studies. The article examines the conditions in which the OMC emerges, the conditions upon which it thrives, and the claims that are made for its effectiveness as a new form of governance

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Truszczynski Jan
Eyewitness to the birth of EU's common security culture
in Europe´s World, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_2.8_Truszczynski_eyewitness_to_the_birth.pdf

Commentary by Jean-Yves Haine

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Koopmann Martin
Failed Mediation: Germany and the European Political Union
in Journal of European Integration History, n. 1, vol. 12 , 9-24

ABSTRACT: Since the Treaties of Rome had come into effect, the economic integration in the community had made good progress. But the Treaties didn't provide for political cooperation. Federal chancellor Adenauer as well as the French president de Gaulle however considered the economic union only as a first step towards the the actual objective, the political union of West Europe. During the negotiations on the initiative taken by Paris in the year 1960 for a political union (the Foucht plans) however, it became rapidly clear that the member States of the EEC disagreed on the purpose of such a political union. The gap between de Gaulle's striving for West Europe to gain greater independence from the USA on the one hand and the expectation that a political union, complementary to NATO, would further stabilize the Federal Republic and West Europe on the other hand, couldn't be bridged in the end. This conflict not only divided France and the Federal Republic. It also clearly revealed the deep divergence between the key players in the field of foreign affairs in Bonn. As during the long-running debate over the Foucht plans, the French attitude became more intransigent and at the same time the influence of the German "Atlanticists" became stronger, the Federal government failed in its attempt, to save the project by the means of a constructive mediation.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Greco Ettore, Padoa-Schioppa Tommaso, Silvestri Stefano
Fifteen Proposals for a Bipartisan European Policy in Italy
in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLI, n. 1, January-March

Despite the important achievements of the past few years (the euro, enlargement, the drafting of the Constitutional Treaty, interventions in the Balkans and the growing diplomatic role in the Middle East), Europe is at a standstill, plagued by widespread scepticism. This, combined with prolonged economic stagnation, could deteriorate into a serious crisis. Italy is confronted with this delicate situation at a time when its political system is still searching for a balanced approach to the question of what should be "partisan" and what should be "bipartisan" in a regime of alternating governments. This article provides a map of the principal issues on Italy's European agenda in the three major fields of

economic and social policy, foreign and security policy, and institutional reform within the Union, and puts forward proposals for some positions on which it is in Italy's interest to maintain continuity.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Varwick Johannes
Finalität ohne Ende
in Internationale Politik , n. 5, 61. Jahrgang, Mai , 69-79

ABSTRACT: Nur eines lässt sich über den Ausweg der gegenwärtigen Krise der EU mit Gewissheit sagen: Er ist komplex und wird weder einem zentralistischen Ideal gerecht werden noch in einem Renationalisierung münden. Wahrscheinlicher ist ein Muddling-through, bei dem einige Kernstaaten vorangehen und die übringen in ihre Dynamik zwingen.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Vincze Hajnalka
Flessibilità e coesione. La logica ed i tranelli dell'integrazione differenziata
in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLVIII, n. 1 , 56-64

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gehler Michael
From Paneurope to the Single Currency: Recent Studies on the History of European Integration
in Contemporary European History , Volume 15 - Issue 02 - May 2006 , 273 - 289

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bildt Carl
Galuben wir noch an Europa?
in Internationale Politik , n. 5, 61. Jahrgang, Mai , 54-63

ABSTRACT: Statt die bisherige Geshichte der Europäaischen Union nach dem Fall des Ostblocks als Erfolgsgeschichte zu begreifen, macht sich im Westen Europa-Pessimismus breit. Vie viele Länder werde man noch aufnehmen können, fragen sich etliche Bürger und Politiker. Doch eine wirtschaftliche und kilturelle Integration des Balkans und langfristig der Kaukasus-Region würde auch Westeuropa mhr Frieden und Wohlstand bringen.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dinan Desmond
Governance and Institutional Developments: In the Shadow of the Constitutional Treaty
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue s1, September , 63-80

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Karakas Cemal
Gradual Integration: An Attractive Alternative Integration Process for Turkey and the EU
in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, Volume 11, Issue 3 , 311-331

The continuing dispute on Turkish accession within the EU illustrates that negotiations still hold much potential for controversy and that their outcome is completely open. If accession might not take place, then accordingly the European Council decision of 16/17 December 2004 ‘it must be ensured that the Candidate State concerned is fully anchored in the European structures through the strongest possible bond.’ How exactly this shall look like has not been elaborated in detail within the negotiation framework. Gradual Integration could develop into a realistic option for integration beyond full membership for the EU as well as for Turkey. At its core, it envisages a partial sectoral integration and is simultaneously a dynamic model in which integration could proceed in progressive stages. Turkey would not only be integrated economically but also politically, and would receive the right to participate in decision-making. Furthermore, Turkey would keep its status as an accession candidate, i.e. full membership would not be ruled out a priori. This is a key for Turkey and, at the same time, saves the EU from a loss of credibility.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Reviglio Franco
Grazie alla finanza straordinaria siamo rimasti in Europa. Solo con l'abbattimento del debito vi resteremo
in **Economia Pubblica**, Fascicolo 1-2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Raunio Tapio, Wright Alex
Holyrood and Europe: an incremental response to deparliamentarization
in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 16, Number 3 / September , 281-296

Over time, the influence of parliaments has been called into question and academic studies have tended to portray them

as inherently reactive. The net result has arguably been the 'deparliamentarization' of contemporary politics. Their limited influence has been further circumscribed by external constraints, including European integration. The situation for regional legislatures is exacerbated further because their executives are usually one step removed from decision making in the EU. Whilst both the multi-level governance and the Europeanization of domestic policy concepts have served to highlight the involvement of regional actors in the EU, questions remain as to the efficacy of regional legislatures over European affairs. Examining the Scottish Parliament, this article argues that despite its lack of formal powers over the UK government's conduct in the EU, Holyrood has succeeded in carving out a distinctive role for itself, albeit that this relates primarily to those EU issues that are of direct relevance to Scotland.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hobolt Sara Binzer
How Parties Affect Vote Choice in European Integration Referendums
in Party Politics, Volume 12, Number 5, September , 623-647

Direct democracy allows citizens to undercut the will of their elected representatives. Yet, while the electorate has the final say in referendums, political parties are in a privileged position to influence voters' perceptions of the issue on the ballot. By developing a model on voting behaviour in referendums, this article examines how and to what extent parties can influence referendum outcomes. It argues that as pivotal information providers in referendum campaigns, political parties can influence the framing of and uncertainty associated with the ballot proposal and thus, in turn, affect voting behaviour. These propositions are evaluated empirically in a 'controlled comparison' of the two Danish referendums on the Maastricht Treaty, as these cases allow us to examine how changes in party strategies affect changes in referendum outcomes.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gunven Asa
How can Europe meet its responsabilities in the world?
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XIX, n. 2, June , 26-30

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Csajbók Attila, Rezessy András
Hungary's Eurozone Entry Date: What do the Markets Think and What If They Change Their Minds?
in Contemporary Economic Policy, Volume 24, Number 3 , 343-356

This article investigates the potential impact of a shift in market expectations about a country's eurozone entry date on long-term yields and the spot exchange rate in a simple uncovered interest parity (UIP) framework. The results suggest

that the size of the reactions depend on how far the entry date is postponed, how far current inflation is from the Maastricht-satisfying level, and whether the credibility of the central bank's target inflation path is sensitive to changes in the expected entry date. In the empirical part, the authors apply the framework for Hungary and draw some policy conclusions for the timing of ERM II entry.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Helmut P. Gaisbauer
Ideologie oder Strategie? Polnischer Euroskeptizismus nach dem EU-Beitritt
in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 2006/2 , 173-187

IDEOLOGY OR STRATEGY? Polish Euroscepticism after EU-accession

This contribution is concerned with public and party-based euroscepticism in Poland after EU-accession. The main question is whether the European elections in June 2004 meant a "eurosceptical backlash" from a Polish view or not. As the analysis clearly shows, this election can be termed second order. As follows from that, there is not a direct relationship between public and party-based euroscepticism. By drawing on two different models to analyse party position on Europe the article shows that most of the eurosceptical positions of Polish party can be explained by party competition and only to a minor degree by ideology.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Quagliarello Gaetano
Il declino dell'Europa nell'età contemporanea
in Nuova Storia Contemporanea, Anno X, n. 2, marzo-aprile

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Cangelosi Rocco
Il futuro dell'Europa: riflessioni sulla "pausa di riflessione"
in Comunità Internazionale (La), n. 2, vol. LXI, secondo trimestre , 235-244

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Costas Melakopides

Implications of the Accession of Cyprus to the European Union for Greek-Turkish and Euro-Turkish Relations
in **Mediterranean Quarterly**, Volume 17, Number 1, Winter 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Graetz M.J., . Warren Jr. A.C.
Income Tax Discrimination and the Political and Economic Integration of Europe
in **Yale Law Journal (The)**, Vol. 115 n. 6 , 1186–1255

In recent years, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has invalidated many income tax law provisions of European Union (EU) member states as violating European constitutional treaty guarantees of freedom of movement for goods, services, persons, and capital. These decisions have not, however, been matched by significant EU income tax legislation, because no EU political institution has the power to enact such legislation without unanimous consent from the member states. In this Article, we describe how the developing ECJ jurisprudence threatens the ability of member states to use tax incentives to stimulate their domestic economies and to resolve problems of international double taxation. We conclude that the ECJ approach is ultimately incoherent because it is a quest for an unattainable goal in the absence of harmonized income tax bases and rates: to eliminate discrimination based on both origin and destination of economic activity. We also compare the ECJ's jurisprudence with the resolution of related issues in international taxation and the U.S. taxation of interstate commerce, and we consider the potential responses of both the European Union and the United States to these developments.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Saryusz-Wolski Jacek
Institutional Reform - A Pragmatic Point of View
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLI, n. 1, January-March

Enlargement is not the cause of the EU's problems, instead it has become the scapegoat of the failed Constitutional Treaty. Contrary to what was predicted there is no paralysis in the Council, even though the Nice voting system is still being used. In reality, the predicted division between old and new beneficiaries has not materialised; after enlargement, the total number of confrontational votes has actually decreased. The referenda in France and the Netherlands proved beyond any doubt that institutional reform is not high on the citizens' agenda. Citizens are interested in what decisions are taken not in how they are taken. The focus should be on delivery. The existing potential has to be used with more determination, more consistency.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Grimm D.
Integración por medio de la Constitución : propósitos y perspectivas en el proceso europeo de

constitucionalización
in **Teoria y realidad constitucional**, n. 15 , 53 - 70

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Collard-Wexler Simon
Integration Under Anarchy: Neorealism and the European Union
in **European Journal of International Relations** , Vol. 12, n. 3, September , 397-432

The process of integration and the pacification of Western Europe can be seen as one of the most significant developments in international relations at the turn of the century. Yet the European Union (EU) remains under-theorized and neglected in the neorealist canon. This article explains the difficulty of neorealism at explaining the EU. At a historical level, the breadth and depth of European integration challenge neorealist predictions regarding sustained cooperation, relative gains, interdependence, international institutions, balance of power, and bandwagoning. At a systemic level, the EU manifests anomalous forms of mixed hierarchy and functional differentiation. Neorealist attempts to develop auxiliary theories to account for the anomalies created by the EU has created a degenerative research program that is either incomplete, logically flawed, or empirically false. This article concludes by pinpointing the failure of neorealism, proposing theoretical renovations, and drawing policy implications

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Walsh James I.
Intelligence-Sharing in the European Union: Institutions Are Not Enough
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue 3, September , 625-643

The European Union (EU) has developed three institutions to facilitate intelligence-sharing between its Member States: the Berne Group, Europol and the European Union Military Staff. These institutions serve the useful function of creating technical mechanisms for the diffusion of intelligence among national authorities. But they do not tackle the problem of mistrust, which is the key barrier to fully effective intelligence-sharing. This article shows that mistrust of the interests of other Member States inhibits intelligence-sharing, that existing institutions fail to overcome this mistrust and suggests changes that could lead to more effective sharing.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Padis Marc-Olivier
Introduction. Le traité constitutionnel passe, les questions restent…
in **Esprit**, n. 326, juillet 2006 , 100-105

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Le Gloannec Anne-Marie
Is Turkey Euro-Compatible? French and German Debates about the "Non-Criteria"
in Constellations, Vol. 13, Issue 2 June , 263-274

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Taras Kuzio
Is Ukraine Part of Europe's Future?
in Washington Quarterly (The), Vol. 29, Issue 3 - Summer 2006

Brussels cannot indefinitely insist that Kiev pursue reforms to prove its commitment to European values without an offer of future EU membership. Thus far, only NATO has offered Ukraine a safe haven in the West, but the EU will only be able to put off a decision until 2008.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Jacoby Wade
Is the New Europe a Good Substitute for the Old One?
in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 8, Issue 1, March , 178-196

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Neyts-Uyttebroeck Annemie
It's time governments told the truth about the EU
in Europe´s World, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_2.3_Neyts_Its_time_governments.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mandrino Carlo

Italy and Germany between peace and adhesion to the European Union
in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XIX, n. 2, June , 16-19

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ponzano Paolo
L'Europa ha veramente bisogno di una Costituzione?
in **Democrazia e diritto**, Anno XLIV, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Di Leo Rita
L'Unione Europea: tanto rumore per nulla?
in **Democrazia e diritto**, Anno XLIII, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Russo Franco
L'europeismo di sinistra dei movimenti no global
in **Democrazia e diritto**, Anno XLIII, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Quermonne, J-L
L'émergence d'un droit constitutionnel européen
in **Revue internationale de droit comparé**, Vol. 58 n. 2 , 581-592

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Giovannetti Tommaso

La Commissione europea di fronte al Parlamento
in **Rivista di diritto costituzionale**, 2005 , 352-394

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lasserre Isabelle
La Passion de l'Europe - Entretien avec José Manuel Durão Barroso
in **Politique internationale**, n°112 - Été - 2006

José Manuel Barroso has a truly thankless task. Since his appointment as president of the European Commission, the former Portuguese prime minister has criss-crossed the continent to build consensus among the citizens (and sometimes leaders) of the European Union's member states. Following a severe setback in May 2005 when both French and Dutch voters rejected the project for a European constitution, the president of the Commission has been hard at work convincing the E.U.'s 25 member states of the virtues of integration. In this exclusive interview, Barroso draws on his enthusiasm and talent to underline his deepest conviction: in a globalized world, there is no other solution for Europeans but to move ever closer together. It's the only way the continent can remain competitive against the rest of the planet and strengthen its diplomatic influence. Western European nations seem to have become inward-looking, but Barroso points to the enthusiasm of the ten latest member-states. The European dream, says President Barroso, remains very much alive and kicking.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
González Vallvé José Luis
La construcción europea
in **Politica Exterior**, 106 Julio/Agosto 2005

Europa es más un proceso que un producto. Esta fase de construcción de la nueva UE presenta características novedosas y singulares respecto de otros desarrollos en apariencia similares.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Rupnik Jacques
La crise de l'Union européenne vue d'Europe centrale
in **Esprit**, n. 326, juillet 2006 , 121-137

The EU crisis as seen from Central Europe.

While new member integration is a success and has not put any spanner in the works of the EU, the process is happening in the middle of the crisis triggered by the founding countries' rejection of the constitutional bill.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Leonard Mark
La democrazia in Europa. Come L'Unione europea potrà sopravvivere nell'era dei referendum
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 3 , 83-97

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schambeck Herbert
La destinée « européenne » de l'Autriche
in Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande, 38 (2006), 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Serra Pasquale
La questione dello stato. Elementi per una teoria antiperfettista di Europa
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIII, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Granelli Sante
Le crisi del Medio Oriente e le responsabilità dell'Europa
in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLVIII, n. 1 , 26-49

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Marzouki Nadia
Le discours des néoconservateurs sur l'adhésion de la Turquie à l'Union européenne (2000-2005)
in Raisons politiques, N° 21, Février 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Laurent Sylvain
Le droit d'initiative citoyenne - En attendant l'entrée en vigueur de la constitution européenne...
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 497, april , 221-225

By allowing one million European citizens to take the initiative to ask the Commission to submit a bill within its jurisdiction, the treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe achieved indisputable progress towards direct democracy. Certainly the constitutional treaty for the moment and as the case stands, is awaiting unlikely implementation due to the negative referenda in France and The Netherlands. Yet article I-47 deserves consideration. In addition to European citizens already seizing the right, an early application of this provision now seems possible. Thus it is important to define the conditions for exercising the European initiative right. From the European Commission's role to the material and financial means provided to citizens, from the legal guarantees offered to champions of an initiative to how the content of the initiative is determined, many factual and legal elements need to be determined in order to achieve the legal efficiency of this new civic right.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Tezcan Ercüment
Le processus d'adhésion de la Croatie à l'Union européenne: de nouvelles conditions allant au-delà des critères de Copenhague?
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 497, april , 235-241

Each enlargement has its own operating methods. As part of the enlargement process towards the Balkans, the European Union asks more than just the Copenhagen criteria from Croatia as well as other Balkan countries. The Copenhagen criteria were materialised by the stabilisation and association process conditions. Thus, the Copenhagen criteria are relativised by such conditions. Obviously, if the European Union wants to accept a country as member, it is its responsibility to set membership terms for that country. But beyond the Union's discretionary power, it is the hostility between those countries and their duty to come to terms with their pasts that required new European Union membership conditions. However, the effective application of such criteria is difficult, because even if due to the case of General Ante Gotovina the opening of negotiations with Croatia was postponed sine die on March 16, 2005, they were resumed on October 3, 2005, even with General Gotovina still on the run.

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Allemand Frédéric
Le rapport Spaak-Uri: 50 ans après
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 498, mai , 296-301

On April 21, 2006, the Spaak-Uri report celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. The event went unnoticed, even though the document was the vital basis upon which the Rome treaties were designed. Yet in the prospect of decisions to be taken

by the European Council in June 2006 on the constitutional future of the European Union, the memory of that report, of its writers and of the background behind its elaboration is indisputably a useful source of inspiration for current European leaders. An immediate response to the rejection by France of the treaty establishing a European defence Community, the Spaak-Uri report was the fruit of the work of a "minority that knew what it wanted": Jean Monnet, Paul Henri Spaak, Pierre Uri, Louis Armand, Jan Willem Beyen, as well as the expression of deep faith in the European ideal. From the date Jean Monnet left the chairmanship of the High Authority to the Messina conference where foreign affairs ministers approved the report, this article describes the negotiation process, the difficulties met and the bold methods used.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dulphy Anne, Manigand Christine
Le référendum français du 29 mai 2005
in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, Volume 73, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 22-41

The refusal that France opposed at the time of the referendum of May 29, 2005, coming from one of the principal founder Countries, caused a shock in the widened European Union. The referendum campaign showed once again that this type of consultation creates one privileged moment of democratic life, not without risk of simplification, diversion and confusion. Thus the constitutional treaty caused a virulent opposition mixing together subjects without direct bonds with the text and expressing the aspiration to another Europe. So it is necessary to study the distribution of the French public opinion between "yes" and "no", then to determine the issues of each one of these positions.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Deakin Simon
Legal Diversity and Regulatory Competition: Which Model for Europe?
in European law journal, July 2006 - Vol. 12 Issue 4 , 440-454

Two models of regulatory competition are contrasted, one based on a US pattern of 'competitive federalism', the other a European conception of 'reflexive harmonisation'. In the European context, harmonisation of corporate and labour law, contrary to its critics, has been a force for the preservation of diversity, and of an approach to regulatory interaction based on mutual learning between nation states. It is thus paradoxical, and arguably antithetical to the goal of European integration, that this approach is in danger of being undermined by attempts, following the Centros case, to introduce a Delaware-type form of inter-jurisdictional competition into European company law.

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Vignes Daniel, Chaltiel Florence, Thouvenin Jean-Marc, Augier Tessier Laure, Bonnerot Lebouché Paméla, Desgouis Laurent, Guilloud Laetitia, Paris Alexandre
Les occasions manquées pour l'intégration européenne du fait de la non-entrée en vigueur du Traité établissant une Constitution pour l'Europe - Deuxième partie: l'Union et ses institutions

in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 499, juin , 371-390

II. The Union and its institutions.
1. The European Council, the Union's Council of Ministers and the European Parliament.
2. The Commission revision.
3. The Court of Justice reform.

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Vignes Daniel, Chaltiel Florence, Thouvenin Jean-Marc, Augier Tessier Laure, Bonnerot Lebouché Paméla, Desgouis Laurent, Guilloud Laetitia, Paris Alexandre
Les occasions manquées pour l'intégration européenne du fait de la non-entrée en vigueur du Traité établissant une Constitution pour l'Europe - Première partie
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 498, mai , 325-334

Foreword.
I - The European Union, Structures, Legal System and Basic Rights (in this issue).
1. The Union and democracy, a few basic breakthroughs; the removal of pillars; the Union's legal status; reinforced co-operation (including for the PESC); the right to withdraw; revision processes.
2. The Union and its legal system; Union jurisdiction simplification; the subsidiarity and proportionality principles; legal deed simplification in the Union.
3. The Union and basic rights.

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Vignes Daniel, Chaltiel Florence, Thouvenin Jean-Marc, Augier Tessier Laure, Bonnerot Lebouché Paméla, Desgouis Laurent, Guilloud Laetitia, Paris Alexandre
Les occasions manquées pour l'intégration européenne du fait de la non-entrée en vigueur du Traité établissant une Constitution pour l'Europe - Troisième partie: l'Union, ses politiques et ses actions
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 500, juillet-août , 478-494

III - The Union, its policies and actions.
1. Internal policies and actions.
2. The Union's external action.
3. Specific status policies.
A - The foreign Common Security Policy
B - The liberty, security and justice space

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lattarulo Alessandro

Lo sguardo cosmopolita dell'Europa
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIII, n. 4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Woll Cornelia
Lobbying in the European Union: From sui generis to a comparative perspective
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 3 / April , 456-469

This article reviews the literature on lobbying in the European Union. After initial surveys of the landscape of non-governmental actor participation, theoretical investigations have focused on the modes of network governance and later on the phenomenon of Europeanization. Yet studies have increasingly moved away from considering EU lobbying as a sui generis phenomenon. Normalizing the study of interest group participation in the EU and understanding the opportunities and constraints that are characteristic for it has led more and more scholars to adopt a comparative perspective. The most interesting parallels exist between Washington and Brussels, but unfortunately there have been very few attempts to explore the connection between the American literature on lobbying and EU studies. This article makes a first step towards such a comparison and points to concepts common in comparative politics that could provide considerable insight into the study of EU lobbying.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Nelly D.
Los modos de accion exterior de la union europea
in Analisis politico , n. 56

Este artículo propone un marco de análisis del sistema europeo de acción exterior de la Unión Europea para contribuir en la comprensión de su funcionamiento. Elaborado a partir del concepto de modos de acción exterior, este artículo estudia el caso del Caucaso del sur. Esta aproximación propone representar, comprender y explicar la acción exterior europea en una región sobre la cual la literatura disponible acerca de las políticas de la UE y sus Estados miembros es casi inexistente, y en donde sus políticas y acciones reflejan sólo parcialmente sus lógicas de poder y sus factores determinantes.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
de Vreese Claes H., Boomgarden Hajo G.
Media Effects on Public Opinion about the Enlargement of the European Union
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 2, June , 419-436

Studies of public support for matters of European integration tend either to neglect or inadequately model the role of the mass media. This study investigates how news media content affects public support for the enlargement of the EU. Other influences on support for integration, such as economic evaluations, anti-immigration sentiment, domestic political considerations and cognitive mobilization are accounted for. The study draws on two-wave panel surveys and media content analyses of television news and national newspapers. The results suggest that media coverage of EU affairs matters to change in public opinion about EU enlargement. The effects of the news media, however, are conditional upon the visibility and consistency in tone of the news.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Koenig Thomas, Mihelj Sabina, Downey John, Gencel Bek Mine
Media framings of the issue of turkish accession to the EU
in **Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research**, Volume 19, Number 2 / June , 149-169

Recent empirical research has argued that there is a movement towards a Europeanized public sphere in the European Union. Based on a representative sample from the British, French, Slovenian, Turkish, and US-American press, this article explores via a novel content analytic method that codes frames semi-automatically through keywords, in how far the discourses about the proposed accession of Turkey to the EU approximate a European public sphere. The findings show that discourses do not fulfill basic standards of democratic deliberation: Not only are there vast differences in the intensity of the debates, but the distribution of the main frames that structure the discourse – a "clash of civilizations" between "Islamic Turkey" and "Christian Europe" on the one hand versus a liberal-multiculturalist project that unifies different civilizations under one political roof on the other – are differently distributed across the countries surveyed. The actual manifestations frames vary by country. All frames employed also consider collectivities rather than individuals the major parties of the discourse, a conception that runs against the tenets of rational-democratic deliberations.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Jo Sam-Sang
Memory and Interest in European Integration: The 1992 Ratification Crisis Resolution
in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , n. 1, vol. 14, april , 89-105

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Panke Diana
More Arguing Than Bargaining? The Institutional Designs of the European Convention and Intergovernmental Conferences Compared
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 28, Number 4 / September , 357-379

Overall, the Nice Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) was not a story of success in deepening integration. Therefore, all hopes shifted to the European Convention. According to a widely shared expectation in the constructivist literature, the Convention's institutional design facilitates argumentative discourses and consensus outcomes above lowest common denominator solutions. Rationalist approaches, on the other hand, assume for all institutional settings that bargaining is conducive to compromise, often close to lowest common denominator outcomes. This article theoretically assesses the impact of institutional variables on dynamics of interactions and illustrates its claims empirically. Based on a bridge–building approach between rationalists and constructivism, it identifies scope conditions under which polity and policy variables are conducive to argumentation and consensus or to bargaining and compromise. It concludes that the most prominent constructivist institutional variables, such as transparency or plurality of actors, were less important for the achievements of the European Convention than policy variables. The comparison of institutional designs reveals that Conventions are even less conducive to argumentative dynamics than Intergovernmental Conferences.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process

Ekengren Magnus

New Security Challenges and the Need for New Forms of EU Cooperation: The Solidarity Declaration against Terrorism and the Open Method of Coordination

in European Security, Volume 15, Number 1, March , 89-111

The new transnational security threats, such as terrorism, challenge traditional methods of European Union cooperation. In the era of threats to inter-state peace the Union engendered security through ‘passive’ integration in the form of the abolition of European borders. Today the EU is increasingly given the responsibility for creating security and safety, both externally and internally, by the means of ‘active’ security instruments such as the European Security and Defence Policy and the Solidarity Declaration of 2004. The challenge is that these policies and principles require a vision beyond that of a free market, common threat perceptions and effective coordination of the crisis management capacity of EU member states. This article argues that the practical needs following this qualitative step, such as the strategic engagement of new security actors and levels of EU governance on a long term basis, are very similar to the ones that the Open Method of Coordination has attempted to resolve in EU cooperation in the field of welfare policies. It suggests that this method should be used also to strengthen the Union security policy and crisis management capacity.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process

Lerch Marika, Schwellnus Guido

Normative by nature? The role of coherence in justifying the EU's external human rights policy

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 2 / March , 304-321

In order to assess the EU's ‘normative power’, the article compares the justification of the EU's external policy regarding the death penalty and minority protection, respectively. Starting from the assumption that policies can be justified by utility- , value- or rights-based arguments, it reasons that in complex argumentations all types are deployed, so that

coherence between different justifications is an important legitimizing factor. In the death penalty case, EU policy developed in line with the requirements of argumentative coherence, while in the case of minority protection, the shift from utility- to value-based arguments exposed incoherence between the internal and external application of the policy. This incoherence triggered a discursive 'realignment strategy', linking the external policy back to established EU norms. However, this does not suspend the tension between the different internal and external approaches to minority protection, thereby diminishing the EU's normative power in this issue area.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Manners Ian
Normative power Europe reconsidered: beyond the crossroads
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 13, Number 2 / March , 182-199

The idea of being civilian, military, and civilizing at the same time is undoubtedly very seductive to the armies of academics now writing on EU military force. It is tempting to think that the EU can have-its-cake-and-eat-it-too in militarizing its normative power. In contrast, in my reconsideration of normative power Europe I suggest that militarization of the EU need not necessarily lead to the diminution of the EU's normative power, if the process is characterized by critical reflection rather than the pursuit of 'great power'. However, I will further argue that militarizing processes beyond the crossroads provided by the European Security Strategy are already weakening the normative claims of the EU in a post-11 September world characterized by the drive towards 'martial potency' and the growth of a Brussels-based 'military-industrial simplex'.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bianco Giovanni
Noterelle in tema di Commissione europea e deficit democratico
in **Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario**, n. 3-4. , 1149-1152

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Richter Sándor
On the Future of the Financial Redistribution across Member States in the EU
in **Acta Oeconomica**, Volume 56, Number 1 , 1 - 43

The order and modalities of cross-member state redistribution as well as the net financial position of the member states are one of the most widely discussed aspects of European integration. The paper addresses selected issues in the

current debate on the EU budget for the period 2007 to 2013 and introduces four scenarios. The first is identical to the European Commission's proposal; the second is based on reducing the budget to 1% of the EU's GNI, as proposed by the six net-payer countries, while maintaining the expenditure structure of the Commission's proposal. The next two scenarios represent radical reforms: one of them also features a '1% EU GNI'; however, the expenditures for providing 'EU-wide value-added' are left unchanged and it is envisaged that the requisite cuts will be made in the expenditures earmarked for cohesion. The other reform scenario is different from the former one in that the cohesion-related expenditures are left unchanged and the expenditures for providing 'EU-wide value-added' are reduced. After the comparison of the various scenarios, the allocation of transfers to the new member states in terms of the conditions prevailing in the different scenarios is analysed.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Crettez Bertrand, Deloche Régis
On the unification of legal rules in the European Union
in European Journal of Law and Economics, Volume 21, Number 3 , 203-214

Unification of legal rules in Europe is not a new phenomenon. However, nowadays, Europe is still an area with many different jurisdictions. This paper studies the process of unification of legal rules in the European Union within a non-cooperative game-theoretical framework. This paper contributes to the understanding of the process by concentrating on the role of the European Commission.

In the law-and-economics literature, it is argued that national legal rules will converge more or less spontaneously through the works of legislators and judges. But legal convergence in the European Union is not inevitable: preferences toward legal rules differ across nation-states; substituting a legal system for another one is costly; a coordination problem may arise.

We first study the interactions of two nation-states who choose non-cooperatively their legal rules. We shall argue that the action of the Commission is, at first sight, likely to eliminate the coordination problem (under certain conditions). Two factors are at work. First, the Commission has a certain expertise which enables it to propose new and perhaps more efficient rules (so that the choice of unification does not reduce to select a particular nation-state legal system). Second, the Commission may use a system of fines that induces nation-states to abide by its rules (once these rules are adopted by nation-states).

Next, we refine our first model: the process of legal unification is viewed as a game where nation-states choose the game that they will play. They choose if they will try to reach an agreement without resorting to the actions of the Commission, or if they will play the game implicitely proposed by the Commission. This captures more precisely the action of the Commission, its `right of initiative'', the publication of proposals in `green'' or `white papers''. In this second model, a coordination problem may arise.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Fatum Rasmus
One monetary policy and 18 central bankers: The European monetary policy as a game of strategic delegation

in **Journal of Monetary Economics**, Volume 53, Issue 4, May 2006 , Pages 659-669

This paper employs a multi-country delegation monetary policy model and argues that a decision-making mechanism based on the median voter theorem where intensity of preferences cannot play a role does not capture important aspects of policy setting in the European Monetary Union. Replacing the median voter mechanism with a less restrictive “weighted mean mechanism”, it is shown that strategic delegation can lead to a surprising degree of central bank inflation aversion. This finding supports the “The Twin Sister Hypothesis” and the perception of the European Central Bank implementing the policy of the Bundesbank rather than a more inflationary monetary policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Crum Ben

Parliamentarization of the CFSP through informal institution-making? The fifth European Parliament and the EU high representative

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 13, Number 3 / April , 383-401

This article examines whether the European Parliament has been able to use the institution of the High Representative as a lever to increase its powers in the EU's common foreign and security policy. Since it is found that the EP's strategy towards the HR has neither brought it any informal powers nor been instrumental in forcing the proposal of an EU Foreign Minister, a formal intergovernmentalist position appears to be vindicated. Yet from an institutionalist perspective it may be retorted that the few attainments of the EP so far are a consequence of it having a far higher sensitivity to failure on CFSP-related issues than on well-institutionalized European Community policies. As a future Foreign Minister will be better able than the HR to secure some degree of political independence from the Council, this may well lead the European Parliament to reassess its strategy and to adopt a more assertive stance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Henderson Karen, Sitter Nick

Political Developments in the EU Member States

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue s1, September , 171-198

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Gabriel Oscar W., Zmerli Sonja

Politisches Vertrauen: Deutschland in Europa

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 30-31, 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Barbier Cécile
Poursuivre la ratification du Traité établissant une Constitution pour l'Europe
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 499, juin , 365-370

Since its enlargement, the European Union is very different from what it was with fifteen countries and, even more, from the founding fathers' European Economical Community. The fall of the Berlin wall prompted the unification of the continent, and the vacuum generated by the disappearance of the East-West separation was bridged by the United States, whose dominance is far from being absolute since the 9.11. attacks, but whose unilateralism prevails. In a context marked by economic globalisation, emerging economic powers such as China and India also constitute new challenges for the Union. In the beginning of the XXIth century the Union's main challenges for the Union are to take in its latest enlargement and find the place it deserves in the world. The treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe (CT) provides a new basis to the Union, and new assets, without replacing what already exists. It brings more democracy to the Union and contains some breakthroughs, including in social areas. Apart from everyone's expectations, the CT is not frozen, it is a step in the Union's early constitutionalisation process. It is probably the aspect the least understood by European public opinions leading, as a results, to its rejection in France. After The Netherlands' no, the refusal of the CT by two founding countries member of the Euro zone slowed the ratification process and prompted the Union to engage in a new period of thinking. This article defends the concept that adding a meeting clause to the CT setting a date for its next revision could be a way of eliminating the uncertainties related to its future. This requires a two-step process: renewal in June 2006 under the Austrian presidency of the European Council's June 2005 statement supporting the validity of continuing the ratification process, followed, under the German presidency (first half of 2007) by the addition to the CT of a meeting clause setting the time for its revision and identifying some items to be revised, including social and economic governance. The preparation of the revision will be entrusted to a European Convention, which employers and trade unions will take part in, and which will hear the civil society.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schmidt Susanne K.
Probleme der Osterweiterung. Kleine Länder in der Europäischen Union
in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 16. Jahrgang (2006), Heft 1 , 67-85

Problems of Eastern Enlargement
Small Countries in the European Union

One characteristic of the recent enlargement round is that – with the exception of Poland – small countries have joined the Union. The necessary institutional changes have been widely discussed in the context of the Treaty revisions. This article takes Katzenstein's (1985) classic study as its starting point and asks whether small countries have – next to institutional – additional advantages. Differentiating between absolute and relative smallness, it becomes apparent that small states are often dependent upon the exploitation of regulatory niches, which erode through membership in international organizations. It is concluded that political-economic advantages of small countries have to be differentiated – smallness does not automatically lead to advantages as discussions, for instance of tax competition,

seems to imply.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schmidt Vivien A.
Procedural democracy in the EU: the Europeanization of national and sectoral policy-making processes
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 5 / August , 670-691

The EU's ‘semi-pluralist’ policy-making processes have had a differential impact on its member states' policy-making processes as a matter of institutional ‘fit’, with greater disruption to the statist systems of France and Britain than to the corporatist systems of Germany and Italy. Such ‘macro’ patterns of adjustment to the EU are complicated, however, by the ‘micro’ patterns of policy-making in any given policy sector. These may differ from the ‘macro’ pattern at EU or national level. This raises the question of whether we can still talk about Europeanization in terms of ‘macro’ patterns of national policy-making. This article answers in the affirmative, demonstrating with the matched pairs of cases of France and Britain, Germany and Italy, that despite the fact that national patterns are less distinctive than in the past, they nevertheless remain distinguishable along a continuum from statist through corporatist, although pluralism has become a new default option in between the two.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gliddon Paul
Programmes Subjected to Interference: The Heath Government, Broadcasting and the European Community, 1970–1971
in History, Vol. 91, Issue 303, July 2006 , 401 - 424

The treatment by radio and television of the issue of European Community membership during the Heath government in 1970–1 remains a contentious episode in British political history not least because of that government's alleged intrusion into broadcasters' 'independence'. The government was anxious to win public support for the European Community before the crucial parliamentary vote of 1971 on the principle of joining, and saw broadcasting as a vital weapon. This article argues that the Heath government tried hard to influence, sometimes heavy-handedly and unconstitutionally, BBC and ITVs' coverage of the issue. However, broadcasters and indeed the public largely resisted the government's blandishments. Markedly unbalanced coverage of the Community was rare – and rested on journalists' decisions rather than on pressure from Whitehall. This article argues that relations between the government and broadcasters did not contribute to media bias except sometimes in the area of agenda setting. At the time, however, political elites believed the myths that broadcasting was a useful weapon and that the public was coming round to the idea of joining the European Community. Although this article suggests that those myths were hardly justified, they encouraged parliament to vote for the principle of membership. Thus Heath won a critical battle, and thereby did much to shape the future of British and European politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Allegretti Umberto
Proposta per l'Europa
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIII, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
O'Dwyer Conor
Reforming Regional Governance in East Central Europe: Europeanization or Domestic Politics as Usual?
in East European Politics and Societies, Volume 20, Number 2, May , 219-253

In recent years, a number of East Central European (ECE) governments have undertaken to radically alter the territorial structures of their public administration. Some have suggested that this development represents the growing Europeanization of ECE politics, in particular the role of the European Union. This article questions that view by examining the crucial role of domestic party politics in the enactment and implementation of regional governance reform. It does so through a close comparison of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Smith Michael, Allen David
Relations with the Rest of the World
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue s1, September , 155-170

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lavenex Sandra, Schimmelfenning Franck
Relations with the Wider Europe
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue s1, September , 137-154

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Duff Andrew

Rinegoziare la costituzione
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIII, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Leiße Olaf
Rumänien und Bulgarien vor dem EU-Beitritt
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 27, 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Timmermann Heinz
Russland und die EU-25 nach der Erweiterung
in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 2006/2 , 141-156

RUSSIA AND THE EU-25 AFTER ENLARGEMENT

Russia and the European Union show a great number of common interests. They include: economic cooperation with main emphasis on the energy dialogue, peaceful formation of Europe as a whole, mutual relations concerning research, education and culture as well as intensification of human contacts. First ambitious expectations came true only insufficiently and were at times overlapped by crises. This is based especially on objective and subjective asymmetries between the partners, on different interpretation of the meaning of values for the partnership, on rivalry of influence in the "intermediate zone" (Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova) as well as in Russian fears of a growing influence of hardliners in EU politics after Center European states have joined the EU that are known for their critical attitude with regard to Russia. The four practically orientated road maps for the realization of the projected Common European Spaces offer the chance to deepen the relations between Russia and the EU in the course of a new version of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) expiring 2007. For the sake of continuity and sustainability of the Agreement the Europeans believe that the new treaty should refer to the common values quoted in the PCA and in the Summit Declarations. In view of growing authoritarian tendencies in the "System Putin" a constructive-critical approach of the EU with regard to Russia is recommended.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
de Schoutheete Philippe, Swieboda Pawel
Scenarios for escaping the constitutional impasse
in Europe´s World, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_2.4_de_Schoutheete_Scenarios_for_escaping.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bitterlich Joachim
Six priorities for tackling the EU crisis
in Europe´s World, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_2.6_Bitterlich_Six_priorities_for_tackling_the_EU_crisis.pdf

Commentary by Aurore Wanlin

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mérand Frédéric
Social Representations in the European Security and Defence Policy
in Cooperation and Conflict, n. 2, vol. 41, june , 131-152

ABSTRACT: Why are international institutions designed in one way and not another? Using the European security and defence policy (ESDP) as a case study, this article suggests that the social representations dominating the national and organizational world of institution-makers are key to our understanding the shape and content of an emerging institution of international security cooperation.A focus on social representations, which are the product of institutional practices, helps to break the interest/idea dichotomy that underpins most theories of preference formation when they try to explain institutional designs.This article shows that foreign and defence policy-makers from France, Germany and the United Kingdom have shaped ESDP by projecting their respective social representations, notably with regard to the role of the state, the nature of security challenges and the purpose of their organization.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ferrero Francesco
Some arguments in support of a pan-European referendum
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XIX, n. 2, June , 23-25

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
James Harold, Posner Elliot
Sources of Institutional Change: The Supranational Origins of Europe's New Stock Markets
in World Politics, n. 1, vol. 58, october

ABSTRACT: The article explains a curious turn in European political economies. Between 1995 and 2005 national financial elites in twelve Western European countries created almost twenty competing new stock markets designed to improve financing alternatives for entrepreneurial companies. For a region supposedly averse to risk and U.S.-style capitalism, it is surprising that most of the new markets were modeled on the U.S.-based Nasdaq Stock Market, an iconic American institution. The author's structured comparisons of the new markets to one another, to previous ones, and to proposals that never saw the light of day reveal that the primary causes behind the creation, form, and timing of Europe's new markets lie in the political skills, motivations, and actions of supranational European Union bureaucrats. Challenging leading social science explanations for the cross-border convergence of domestic institutions, these findings show that the accumulated effects of day-to-day action by these supranational bureaucrats are potential causes of institutional innovation. The argument adds to a growing body of detailed empirical research on the domestic and global impact of the European regional polity and contributes to scholarly debates about market formation.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process

Nykos Stacy

Strategic interaction among courts within the preliminary reference process – Stage 1: National court preemptive opinions

in **European Journal of Political Research**, issue 4, vol. 45, june , 527-550

ABSTRACT: While scholars today are well-acquainted with how the European Community preliminary reference process works, little research has been done to investigate strategic court interaction – that is, intentional, procedural court behaviour employed to influence the substantive direction of legal evolution, within that process. The present investigation, which is part of a larger project examining such court behaviour throughout the referral process, focuses on the initial stage: the decision to refer. Within that stage lies the opportunity for national courts to stack the interpretive deck for the entire decision-making process via a preemptive opinion, the submission of which is neither required, suggested nor prohibited by written procedural guidelines. It is assumed that courts are strategic institutions that seek to maximize their policy objectives, and therefore, national courts submit preemptive opinions to obtain that goal. Such strategic behaviour, however, is influenced by intervening factors – namely the acceptance of European Court of Justice intervention, national judicial procedure, issue complexity and individual court experience.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Wessels Wolfgang, Faber Anne

Strategien und institutionelle Perspektiven nach der Verfassungskrise: „Funktionalistische“ und „institutionalistische“ Wege zu einem neuen europäischen Verhandlungspaket

in **Politische Vierteljahresschrift**, Heft 2, 47. Jahrgang, Juni , 252-263

ABSTRACT: Der Europaische Rat hat als einzige europäische Institution die Möglichkeit, die EU aus ihrem gegenwäartigen "Tal der Ratlosigkeit" zu führen. Unter der Führung einre neuen Generation von Staats- und Regierung schefs ist ab 2007 ein europäisches Verhandlungspaket mit drei Schwerpunkten zu erwarten: 1. ein "Europa der Projekte", d.h. die Identifizierung von policies and Projekten gemeinsamen Interesses, 2. die "Flexibilisierung" der EU zur Erleichterung der europäischen politics bzw. der Kompromissfindung zwischen den Mitgliedstaaten sowie 3.

institutionelle bzw. konstitutionelle Reformen der europäischen polity, für die der Verfassungvertrag der zentrale Referenzrahmen und Orientierungspunkt bleiben wird. Für die weitere Entwicklung der EU ist jedoch kein einfacher "Königsweg" absehbar.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dangerfield Martin
Subregional Integration and EU Enlargement: Where Next for CEFTA?
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 2, June , 305-324

The fifth enlargement of the EU has necessitated various adjustments to the pan-European trade and integration framework. This article discusses ways in which the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA) has been affected by this process. What was CEFTA's role in the EU pre-accession process? How did CEFTA downsizing affect trade arrangements between the enlarged EU and the remaining CEFTA members? Also, how realistic is the idea that the end of CEFTA's role in central Europe could be a prelude to its revitalization as a vehicle for multilateralization of trade arrangements in the south east European setting?

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Scuto Filippo
Sul rafforzamento della cooperazione tra gli Stati membri in materia di asilo: verso la realizzazione della "seconda fase" di un regime comune europeo
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 13

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5225&edoc=28062006003752.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schütze Robert
Supremacy without pre-emption? The very slowly emergent doctrine of Community pre-emption
in Common Market Law Review, issue 4, vol. 43 , 1023-1048

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kohler-Koch Beate, Rittberger Berthold
The 'Governance Turn' in EU Studies
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue s1, September , 27-49

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kiiver Philipp
The Composite Case for National Parliaments in the European Union: Who Profits from Enhanced Involvement
in European Constitutional Law Review, Volume 2 - Issue 02 , 227-252

National parliaments near-universally endorsed in the European Union constitution-building process – Case for national parliaments a composite one: different scholarly approaches and national and European institutions support a greater role for national parliaments for different reasons – The overall endorsement of national parliaments remains a balancing act between competing agendas – Future reforms and treaty-drafting efforts most likely will continue to favour approaches of open-ended political content – No risk for the national governments nor Union institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
RachmanGideon
The Death of Enlargement
in Washington Quarterly (The), Vol. 29, Issue 3 - Summer 2006

The potential death of the EU enlargement process is a huge blow to the goals of spreading prosperity and democracy in Europe. Nevertheless, the prospect of membership has still not completely lost its potency to spur reform. The risk is that all parties involved might suffer a bitter disillusionment in the end.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Taggart Paul
The Domestic Politics of the 2005 French and Dutch Referendums and their Challenge for the Study of European Integration
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue s1, September , 7-26

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Leal-Arcas R.
The EU Institutions and their Modus Operandi in the World Trading System
in Columbia Journal of European Law, Vol. 12 n. 1 , 125 - 198

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Sjursen Helene
The EU as a 'normative' power: how can this be?
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 2 / March , 235-251

Existing conceptions of the EU as a 'civilian'/'normative'/'civilizing' power lack precision and are normatively biased. There may be 'normative' or 'civilian' dimensions to EU foreign policy, yet it is problematic to imply, as such conceptualizations do, that the EU is a 'force for good' without identifying criteria and assessment standards that make it possible to qualify, substantiate or reject such a claim. How can we know that the EU's pursuit of norms is legitimate? One possible 'critical standard' might be to consider that a putative 'normative' or 'civilian' power would act in order to transform the parameters of power politics through a focus on strengthening the international legal system. From such a perspective there is, however, a tension in the EU's approach to international affairs.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Oddvar Eriksen Erik
The EU – a cosmopolitan polity?
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 2 / March , 252-269

The parameters of power politics have changed in Europe and the EU exports the rule of law, democracy and human rights worldwide. The criteria for judging the polity's normative quality may be derived from cosmopolitanism, i.e. whether it subjects its actions to the constraints of a higher ranking law. The author establishes this criteria, its theoretical and institutional underpinnings, and provisionally assesses whether the EU in fact complies with it. We may question whether the EU's external foreign and security policy is actually consistent with cosmopolitan tenets but we need an approach that does not rule this out as a logical possibility. We thus need a theoretical approach that does not predetermine the answer to the question of what order is possible as do realism as well as idealism.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
de Búrca Gráinne
The European Constitution Project after the Referenda
in Constellations, Vol. 13, Issue 2 June , 205-217

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bellamy Richard
The European Constitution is Dead, Long Live European Constitutionalism
in Constellations, Vol. 13, Issue 2 June , 181-189

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Alber Jens
The European Social Model and the United States
in European Union Politics , Vol. 7, n. 3, September , 393-419

The notion of a European social model assumes that European societies have certain features in common that distinguish them from the United States. Analysing longitudinal data on the dimensions of state, economy and society three findings stand out: (1) for most indicators the range of variation within the European Union is bigger than the gap between Europe and the United States; (2) counter to the idea of policy convergence, differences in the developmental trajectories of countries with different institutional arrangements persist; (3) despite having extended welfare states similar to those of Continental European countries, Scandinavian nations have performed as well as the Anglo-Saxon countries in terms of employment and growth dynamics. Hence there are not only different social models in Europe but also different pathways to success.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bowman Jonathan
The European Union Democratic Deficit - Federalists, Skeptics, and Revisionists
in European Journal of Political Theory, Vol. 5, n. 2, April , 191-212

I outline the current debate over the European Union democratic deficit in terms of differing methodological approaches towards the realization of freedom and basic rights to political participation. Federalists opt for a model of freedom as noninterference and autonomous self-determination by proposing to tie basic rights in the EU to a univocal form of European-wide popular sovereignty. Although skeptics argue that the EU lacks the fundamental basis for such European-wide democratic self-determination, they ultimately defend a similar view of freedom as noninterference with

their appeal to the collective will of the member states. Democratic revisionists instead point to the novel democratic potential of institutions in the EU such as the Open Method of Coordination for mediating overlapping sovereignties. I conclude using the example of basic rights to effective participation for immigrants and minorities to illustrate the strengths of the revisionist view over views that appeal to the principle of subsidiarity.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Diez Thomas, Stetter Stephan, Albert Mathias
The European Union and Border Conflicts: The Transformative Power of Integration
in **International Organization**, issue 3, vol. 60, july , 563-593

ABSTRACT: Our article analyzes the impact of the European Union (EU) on border conflicts, in particular how integration and association are related to conflict transformation. We approach this issue from a theoretically as well as empirically grounded constructivist perspective. On this basis we propose a stage model of conflict development, based on the degree of securitization and societal reach of conflict communication. We argue that the EU can transform border conflicts and propose a four pathway-model of EU impact. This model comprises forms of EU impact that are, on the one hand, either actor-driven or indirectly caused by the integration process and have, on the other hand, as their main target either particular policies or the wider society in border conflict areas. We then apply this model to a comparative study of border conflicts, thereby analyzing the conflicts in Northern Ireland, Greece-Turkey, Cyprus, Europe's North (EU-Russia) and Israel-Palestine. We finish with a specification of the conditions of positive and negative EU impact.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Meunier Sophie, Nicolaïdis Kalypso
The European Union as a conflicted trade power
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 13, Number 6 / September , 906-925

The EU is a formidable power in trade. Structurally, the sheer size of its market and its more than forty-year experience of negotiating international trade agreements have made it the most powerful trading bloc in the world. Much more problematically, the EU is also becoming a power through trade. Increasingly, it uses market access as a bargaining chip to obtain changes in the domestic arena of its trading partners, from labour standards to development policies, and in the international arena, from global governance to foreign policy. Is the EU up to its ambitions? This article examines the underpinnings of the EU's power through trade across issue-areas and across settings (bilateral, inter-regional, global). It then analyses the major dilemmas associated with the exercise of trade power and argues that strategies of accommodation will need to be refined in each of these realms if the EU is to successfully transform its structural power into effective, and therefore legitimate, influence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process
Christou George
The European Union: What Role in the Cyprus Conflict?
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLI, n. 2, April-June

With the belief that the EU would act as a catalyst in the period prior to the accession of the (Greek) Cypriot government to the European club on 1 May 2004 having ended in disappointment, this article looks at the more complex internal/external dynamics now at play in the current milieu. A key question raised is the extent to which the EU can effectively prevent the potential short-term negative effects emerging as a result of the its failure to realise its objectives for the north, from crystallising into further developments that could make reunification of the island impossible. To do this, it will have to exploit the opportunities that exist to facilitate movement towards reunification, a difficult but not impossible task if the EU takes into account the demands of all actors involved.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Auel Katrin
The Europeanisation of the German Bundestag: Institutional change and informal adaptation
in **German Politics**, Volume 15, Number 3, September , 249-268

At first glance, the Europeanisation of the German Bundestag seems quite straightforward: in reaction to the process of European integration the Bundestag acquired a set of comparatively strong participation and scrutiny rights in EU politics. It therefore seems rather astonishing that German members of parliament make only very little use of these rights. Different explanations have been put forward in the literature, such as the complicated decision-making system of the EU and the government's gate-keeper position within it, institutional flaws of the German scrutiny system as well as the overall consensus on European integration and the low electoral salience of EU issues. The paper contributes to this discussion in two respects: On the one hand, it offers an additional explanation for the infrequent use of formal instruments. The main argument is that the formal instruments of scrutiny in EU affairs are incompatible with both the overall logic of a parliamentary system as well as the challenges of policy-making in the EU multilevel system. On the other hand, the paper argues that the exclusive focus on the use of formal parliamentary scrutiny rights leads us to overlook more informal means of parliamentary influence and therefore to underestimate the involvement of German parliamentarians in EU affairs. Thus, in order to fully assess processes of parliamentary Europeanisation, we need to take forms of informal or strategic Europeanisation into account.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dujardin Vincent
The Failed Attempt to Relaunch the WEU and the Issue of the First Enlargement
in **Journal of European Integration History**, n. 1, vol. 12 , 25-42

ABSTRACT: Between February 1969 and April 1970, France practised the empty chair policy at meetings of ministers of the Western European Union. This lead to a real crisis in the institution, the origins of which are set out in the following paper, together with various interests at stake. The crisis had arisen following the proposal from the Belgian Foreign

Office, in October 1968, to develop consultations within the WEU on economic and monetary matters, technology, but also foreign policy and defendence. While France, under General Charles de Gaulle, rejected the proposal out of hand, the United Kingdom, called a meeting of the WEU Standing Committee in London on 14 February and upheld the invitation even when France refused to participate. The ensuing crisis was directly linked to the issue of British accession to the EEC, but also served to demonstrate the tensions between larger and smaller countries. The Belgian Foreign Office, supported by the United Kingdom alone, actually discovered how difficult it was for a small country to get its views across when the "big" countries did not share its interests. Not surprisingly, a direct link can be drawn between this crisis and the Soames affair. In addition, the WEU crisisof 1968-1970 placed the question of British accession at the forefront of European affairs for several months.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Brouard Sylvain, Tiberj Vincent
The French Referendum: The Not So Simple Act of Saying Nay
in Political Science and Politics, issue 2, vol. 39, april , 261-268

ABSTRACT: For the second time in the history of the French Vth Republic, the first having led to the resignation of Charles De Gaulle in 1969, a president lost a national referendum. On May 29, 2005, 54.7% of French voters rejected the European Constitutional Treaty, even though France was one of the major proponents of the European Convention which led to the Constitution's drafting. The victory of the “no” vote had been foreseen, but neither the margin of victory, nor the high turnout (almost 70.5%) were expected. The rejection of the Constitution raised two concerns: the first related to the position of France in Europe, the second to its domestic impact. Why did the French electorate vote as it did? Did voters make up their minds based on national cues, the European issue being generally of little importance even in European elections (Franklin, Marsh, and McLaren 1994; Van der Eijk and Franklin 1996)? Is the referendum result the consequence of a growing anti-European attitude, which could cause considerable damage to the process of EU integration? Will a new cleavage grounded on attitudes to Europe and capable of altering the traditional left-right organization emerge in the French political system?

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Napel Stefan, Widgrén Mika
The Inter-Institutional Distribution of Power in EU Codecision
in Social Choice and Welfare, Volume 27, Number 1 , 129-154

This paper analyzes the a priori influence of the European Parliament (EP) and the Council of Ministers (CM) on legislation of the European Union adopted under its codecision procedure. In contrast to studies which use conventional power indices, both institutions are assumed to act strategically. Predicted bargaining outcomes of the crucial Conciliation stage of codecision are shown to be strongly biased towards the legislative status quo. Making symmetric preference assumptions for members of CM and EP, CM is on an average much more conservative because of its internal qualified majority rule. This makes CM by an order of magnitude more influential than EP, in contrast to a seeming formal parity between the two ‘co-legislators’.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mengozzi Paolo
The Judicial System of the European Community And Its Recent Evolution
in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), n. 1, vol. 5 , 125-132

The Treaty of Nice triggered considerable change in the European Community's judicial system. Immediately it gave rise to a modification. It foresees the establishment of judicial panels charged to hear and determine at first instance certain classes of action or proceedings brought in specific areas. Furthermore, it adds that "the decisions given by judicial panels may be subject to a right of appeal on points of law only or, when provided for in the decision establishing the panel, a right of appeal also on matters of fact, before the Court of First Instance". This article analyses the consequences of these recent changes.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Brunkhorst Hauke
The Legitimation Crisis of the European Union
in Constellations, Vol. 13, Issue 2 June , 165-180

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Casanova José
The Long, Difficult, and Tortuous Journey of Turkey into Europe and the Dilemmas of European Civilization
in Constellations, Vol. 13, Issue 2 June , 234-247

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Diez Thomas
The Paradoxes of Europe's Borders
in Comparative European Politics, n. 2/3, vol. 4, july/september , 235-252

ABSTRACT: This article starts from the observation that the standard accounts of European integration see the integration process as transcending political, social or economic borders. Against this, I point out the ambiguous nature of this process, which overcomes but also constructs new borders, resulting in what I identify as five border paradoxes:

the subversion paradox; the international/world society paradox; the enlargement paradox; the normative power paradox and the paradox that lies in the simultaneity of multiple European spaces. I argue that recognition of these paradoxes will make our analyses less simplistic and help us discuss more openly the political choices in front of us.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Rogelia Pastor- Castro
The Quai d'Orsay and the European Defence Community Crisis of 1954
in History, Vol. 91, Issue 303, July 2006 , 386 - 400

In August 1954 the French National Assembly plunged the western alliance into crisis when it rejected the Treaty of Paris, which would have instituted a European Defence Community and a West German contribution to defence. While West German rearmament and the rise and fall of the EDC have been the subject of considerable historical debate, little attention has been paid to the specific role of the Quai d'Orsay in the crisis and even less to the influence of its decision-makers and leading officials. These individuals were of particular importance in deciding the EDC's fate when they were asked to devise a compromise solution. Their experiences in the wartime resistance and their legal backgrounds shaped their views and perception of EDC's benefits for France; as a result their conclusions were diametrically opposed to the EDC's objectives

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Koepke Jason R., Ringe Nils
The Second-order Election Model in an Enlarged Europe
in European Union Politics , Vol. 7, n. 3, September , 321-346

On 1 May 2004, the European Union (EU) welcomed its new member states from Central and Eastern Europe. This paper considers to what extent one of the most widely tested and supported theories of voting behavior in Western Europe, the second-order election model, applies in the enlarged EU. We test the model using election data from the new member states and find that voters do not cast protest votes against their incumbent national governments in second-order elections, that is, elections where voters believe little to be at stake. This finding contradicts one of the model's basic propositions and runs counter to the empirical reality in the old member states, with potentially significant implications for inter and intra-institutional politics in the EU.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dehousse Renaud
The Unmaking of a Constitution: Lessons from the European Referenda
in Constellations, Vol. 13, Issue 2 June , 151-164

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Cooper Ian
The Watchdogs of Subsidiarity: National Parliaments and the Logic of Arguing in the EU
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 2, June , 281-304

The 2004 Constitutional Treaty features an 'early warning system' (EWS) in which national parliaments will scrutinize European legislative proposals to assess whether they comply with the principle of subsidiarity. In constructivist terms, this procedure effectively sets up the Commission and the national parliaments as interlocutors in an argument over when and how the EU should legislate. At a minimum, this system – which should be expanded to include proportionality – will alleviate the 'democratic deficit' by enhancing the parliamentary scrutiny of EU legislation. If it works well, it will improve the subsidiarity compliance of EU legislation and produce a clearer substantive definition of the principle.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Majone Giandomenico
The common sense of European integration
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 5 / August , 607-626

The rejection of the Constitutional Treaty and the various events following the negative referenda provide an excellent occasion for reconsidering the real meaning of European integration. Paradoxically, the integration process is often praised for its clumsy and ultimately unsuccessful attempts to mimic the nation state, while its truly important contribution to European civilization – the establishment of a supranational constitutional order – is belittled or even ignored. An example of this distorted vision is the debate on the so-called democratic deficit – a condition which could be easily corrected if a majority of Europeans supported a supranational federal state. Since it is obvious that no such majority exists, now or in the foreseeable future, the ‘democratic deficit’, however defined, is the price we pay for wishing to integrate our national economies while preserving the core of national sovereignty. The current crisis is methodological rather than systemic: it amounts to a rejection of the stealthy approach to European integration – cryptofederalism – which has entailed the triumph of process over outcome. The legitimacy problem of the EU can be solved by limiting, rather than continuously expanding, the competences of the supranational institutions.The institutional system established by the founding fathers was not designed for effective policy-making, but largely to pursue objectives of negative integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Wagner Wolfgang
The democratic control of military power Europe
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 2 / March , 200-216

The development of a ESDP has raised concerns over the EU's identity as a ‘civilian power’. Whereas concerns over a gradual replacement of civilian policy instruments by military force have been most prevalent, this article focuses on a neglected dimension of the civilian power-concept, namely on the repercussions of the ESDP for the democratic control of security and defence policy. It argues that the Europeanization of defence politics leads to a democratic deficit because national parliaments' capacity to control executive decisions to use military force has been weakened by the ESDP and neither the European Parliament nor the former WEU assembly has been able to compensate for this loss of parliamentary control. This democratic deficit may not only damage the legitimacy of EU-led military missions but may also compromise the EU's ability to lead by virtuous example.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Cammaerts Bart
The eConvention on the Future of Europe: Civil society and the Use of the Internet in European Decision–making Processes
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 28, Number 3 / July , 225-245

This article aims to critically assess claims that the Internet could facilitate the participation of civil society organisations in (European) policy–making processes. Participation is a much contested notion, strongly interlinked with power and the ability to change outcomes. While deliberation and consultation are put forward as ways to counter the crisis of representative democracy, they raise numerous questions at the same time. Civil society is a similarly contested notion, which prompts academics, as well as policy makers, to delineate the different spheres of influence. Thus, civil society cannot be conceived of as a single actor. It is comprised of very distinct organisations, employing different strategies to achieve different goals. By analysing the results of an indicative survey of civil society organisations active within the Convention on the Future of Europe, this article evaluates the constraining and enabling factors of this innovative policy–making approach from a civil society perspective, assesses the potential of the Internet to facilitate the process and addresses the issue of intra–movement tensions and differences.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Trybus Martin
The new European Defence Agency: A contribution to a common European security and defence policy and a challenge to the Community acquis?
in Common Market Law Review, issue 3, vol. 43 , 667-703

No abstract available

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Caporaso James A., Wittenbrinck Joerg
The new modes of governance and political authority in Europe
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 13, Number 4 / June , 471-480

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Boyka Stefanova
The "No" Vote in the French and Dutch Referenda on the EU Constitution: A Spillover of Consequences for the Wider Europe
in **Political Science and Politics**, issue 2, vol. 39, april , 251-255

ABSTRACT: The Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe is widely regarded as a turning point in the history of European integration. It was designed to reconcile two key dimensions of the European construction: the deepening of integration and the need to ensure the democratic character of the European Union (EU). The Constitution provides for the convergence of the model of regional integration and that of democratic government. It contains simplified legal instruments and procedures which enhance the status of the Union as a political system. The open deliberations on the constitutional text and its ratification through popular referenda or parliamentary endorsement extend democratic principles and procedures typical of domestic politics to regional integration.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Fattibene Rosanna
Trasformazione del pouvoir constituant nel processo di integrazione europea. Dal potere costituente al potere precostituente
in **Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo**, n. 1 , 197-228

No abstract available

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
La Malfa Giorgio, De Andreis Marco
Treating Europe's Ills: Diagnosis and prescription
in **Europe´s World**, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_2.5_La_Malfa_De_Andreis_treating_Europes_ills.pdf

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Payne, Donald M.
Turkey and the European Union
in Mediterranean Quarterly, Volume 17, Number 2, Spring 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gordon Philip, Taspinar Omer
Turkey on the Brink
in Washington Quarterly (The), Vol. 28, Issue 3 - Summer 2005

It is time to revisit the conventional wisdom that Turkey has no strategic options other than the West. The problem today is not Islamization, but a growing nationalist frustration with the United States and Europe. All the ingredients for a Turkish nationalist backlash are in place.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Zucconi Mario
Turkey's Vital and Turbulent Road to the European Union
in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLI, n. 1, January-March

Most analyses of the profound transformations Turkish politics have undergone in the last decade explain them as simply motivated by the desire to fulfil conditions for EU accession, but the article suggests that changes have been far more complex and that Turkey has developed a truly symbiotic relationship with Europe. Realising that the electoral victories of political Islam in the nineties reflected an important maturation of political representation in the country (a more direct and politically consolidating one, due to the Islamic culture of a majority of the population, than the one offered by the traditional, secularist parties), the article shows on the one hand, that the oppositional past of the governing Justice and Development Party makes it better suited to lead a profound, EU-driven transformation of Turkish laws and institutions while, on the other, its strong identification with Europe has made its ruling the country and the reforms it has brought acceptable to large sectors of the public and of the elites who identify with secularist positions.

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Steunenberg Bernard
Turning Swift Policy-making into Deadlock and Delay
in European Union Politics , Vol. 7, n. 3, September , 293-319

Most member states of the European Union (EU) have some difficulty in transposing EU directives. Despite the

obligation to comply with EU law, member states are often slow to adopt national policies implementing directives. In this paper I analyse this problem by focusing on the coordination of transposition in the domestic policy arena. Coordination is approached as a game in which one or more higher-level players decide on policy when lower-level players are unable to make a decision. Based on the model developed in the paper, lower-level players sometimes appear to have discretion in shaping the policy transposing a directive. Furthermore, if a single player coordinates the transposition process, the implementing policy differs from the policy specified by the directive. However, a decisionmaking process with more than one higher-level player can result in deadlock, leading to a literal transposition of a directive. Moreover, deadlock between the deciding players may delay the transposition process. Both mechanisms are illustrated by two cases of decision-making on EU directives in The Netherlands: the cocoa and chocolate products directive and the laying hens directive. The analysis shows that the framework developed in this paper contributes to the understanding of transposition.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ramírez González V., Palomares Bautistam A., Márquez García M.L.
Un método para distribuir los escaños del Parlamento Europeo entre los Estados miembros de la UE
in **Revista espanola de ciencia politica**, n. 14

En este trabajo se presenta un método para distribuir los escaños del Parlamento Europeo entre los Estados de la Unión Europea, teniendo en cuenta las restricciones establecidas en el artículo I-20 del proyecto de Constitución Europea. El método propuesto puede aplicarse a la composición actual de la UE, y también si varía el número de Estados, o las poblaciones de los mismos. Se basa en ajustar las cuotas de cada país de forma que verifiquen las limitaciones constitucionales y que sus redondeos al número entero más próximo constituyan un reparto de los escaños del Parlamento.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Losano M.G.
Una carta fondamentale per l'Unione Europea: costituzione o trattato?
in **Teoria e diritto dello Stato**, Vol. 1 / 05 , 69-96

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Di Salvo Titti
Una costituzione per L'Europa sociale
in **Democrazia e diritto**, Anno XLIII, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Aarts Kees, Van der Kolk Henk
Understanding the Dutch "No": The Euro, the East, and the Elite
in Political Science and Politics, issue 2, vol. 39, april , 243-246

ABSTRACT: The Dutch have been counted among the staunchest supporters of European integration ever since the parliamentary ratification of the European Community for Coal and Steel in late 1951. The major political parties—the Christian Democrats (CDA) and its forerunners, the Labor Party (PvdA), and the liberal parties VVD and D66—supported all important European treaties of the past decades. Only the smaller orthodox-Calvinist parties, some smaller left-wing parties, and, more recently, the List Pim Fortuyn (LPF) have opposed these treaties in parliament. This overwhelmingly large support in the Second Chamber of the Dutch parliament included the Treaty of Rome of 2004—the treaty establishing a constitution for Europe. One hundred twenty-eight out of 150 members of parliament favored the ratification of the European Constitution.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Boev Ivan
Une adhésion en suspens? L'état de préparation et les enjeux du prochain élargissement
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 499, juin , 406-416

The European Union membership of Bulgaria and Romania still faces several uncertainties, both in terms of the dates and conditions of the completion of the first enlargement of the organisation towards Western Europe. It seems to be dependent on the stakes that exceed the issue of the state of readiness of both candidate countries. Such stakes appear behind the monitoring measures applied by the Commission. Although they are based on common eligibility criteria established also for countries that joined the European Union on May 1, 2004, the measures at issue are unprecedented in the history of enlargement. They can result in postponing the membership, initially planned for January 1, 2007, by one year, and/or in the implementation of various safeguard/exclusion clauses. Such a decision may however have serious implications not only on both candidate countries, but also on the European project as a whole.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Goulard Sylvie
Union Européenne : Les racines de la crise
in Politique internationale, n°109 - Automne - 2005

There are a number of reasons for the French vote on May 29, 2005 ["no" to the European Constitution]: an unpopular government, tactical errors by the "yes" camp, intrinsic faults with the constitutional treaty. But these reasons alone cannot explain everything. The real roots of the rejection of the Constitution run far more deeply, and are intertwined

with history, starting with a French penchant for revolutions, whereas the European Union calls on a spirit of compromise. Furthermore, since 1789 France has favored equality over liberty; and there is also the long-standing centralized government structure in France. Without overestimating its role, France needs to revamp its way of thinking and its political practices if it is to reinvigorate the original project for a European community. Europe must understand that it has created expectations outside its borders, and that its internal divisions are minor in relation to the hopes it inspires in distant lands

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Vighi Fabio, Feldner Heiko
United States of Europe or Free Trade Zone? No Thanks! Slavoj Žižek on the Future of Europe
in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 9, No. 3, August 2006 , 337-354

This article seeks to unravel the theoretical implications of Slavoj Žižek's plea for a leftist Eurocentrism, focusing specifically on his defence of the 'No' vote in the French and Dutch referenda on the European Constitution (29 May and 1 June 2005, respectively). While most liberal commentators have read these results as a blow to the hopes of a United Europe against the overwhelming geopolitical power of the United States, Žižek argues that the French and Dutch 'No' votes express a deep-seated desire for a radically changed idea of Europe - a desire disclosing the need to move beyond the very notion of liberal democracy in order to 'reinvent that which is to be defended': democracy itself. While exploring the theoretical background to Žižek's argument on Europe through an in-depth analysis of its psychoanalytic foundations (Lacan), the article also contextualizes it within the Marxist tradition, looking particularly at Lenin's 1915 pamphlet, "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe".

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dumoulin André
Vers une autonomisation de l'Europe en matière stratégique?
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 499, juin , 357-364

Europe's strategic independence is not guaranteed. Historically, it often was the objective never achieved through such and such institutional initiative. However, nowadays, the wondering around NATO's globalism and the reasonable increase in power of the ESPD within the European Union cause the re-emergence of this objective, often described as an "inaccessible star". In addition to the many conditions, are the internal requirements specific to the operation of the Union and to the difficulty for decision-makers to switch from the concept of Europe as a strict civil power (which it never really was) to Europe as a mayor player, which it is not yet, or which some countries refuse to assume in a law-making and political-military area.

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Garton Ash Timothy

Warum gehört Großbritannien zu Europa?
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Juni, 2006 , 695-706

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Moravcsik Andrew
What Can We Learn from the Collapse of the European Constitutional Project?
in Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Heft 2, 47. Jahrgang, Juni , 219-241

ABSTRACT: The draft European constitution sought to legitimate the EU by inducing more popular deliberation about Europe's future. This strategy was doomed to failure because it is inconsistent with basic empirical social science about how advanced democracies work. Salient political rhetoric and increased opportunities to participate do not, as a rule, generate more intensive and informed public deliberation or greater public trust, identity and legitimacy - particularly where the issues in question are not highly salient. Two conclusions follow. First, the failure of constitutional reform is, paradoxically, evidence of the success and stability of the existing "European constitutional settlement". The rhetoric of federalism has not changed to reflect this new reality. Second, prescriptive analysis of real world constitutional reform requires that normative theorists draw more heavily on empirical social science in order to ascertain to what extent institutions actually have the consequences ideally ascribed to them.

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Sjursen Helene
What Kind of Power? European Foreign Policy in Perspective
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 2 / March , 169-181

The argument that the EU is a humanitarian – normative, civilian, civilizing – power has gained considerable attention. Echoing discussions about recent developments in the international system towards a post-Westphalian order, the EU's actual foreign policy is in many ways a test case for such developments. However, much remains to be done in terms of finding a satisfactory theoretical basis from which to examine this argument. The study of the putative humanitarian dimension to the EU's foreign policy may benefit from legal and normative theory and from sociological insights into modern politics. On this basis we may find a better starting point for examining whether the EU's humanitarian dimension is comprehensible as well as justifiable.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Thomson Robert, Hosli Madeleine
Who Has Power in the EU? The Commission, Council and Parliament in Legislative Decision-making
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 2, June , 391-417

What is the relative power of the European Commission, the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament (EP) in the European Union (EU)? Both scholars and practitioners of EU affairs provide different answers to this seemingly straightforward question. In this article, we examine the balance of power among these three actors in the context of legislative decision-making. We report the results of a small survey among a select group of practitioners of EU affairs. Their judgements on the relative power of the three organizations vary considerably. We distinguish between two contrasting views: a Council-centric view that attributes more power to the Council of Ministers than to the Commission and Parliament, and a supranational view that attributes large amounts of power to the supranational organizations relative to the Council. To test the veracity of these alternative views, we incorporate them into two variants of a simple and testable bargaining model that makes forecasts of decision outcomes, based on information on actors' preferences. The models are then applied to a dataset that includes information on EU actors' policy positions on 162 controversial issues of which the decision outcomes are known. The variant of the bargaining model incorporating the Council-centric view provides significantly more accurate forecasts.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Doyle Orla , Fidrmuc Jan
Who favors enlargement?: Determinants of support for EU membership in the candidate countries' referenda
in European Journal of Political Economy, Volume 22, Issue 2, June 2006 , pp. 520-543

This paper investigates macro and micro determinants of support for EU membership in the new member and candidate countries of the EU. We find that favorable individual and regional characteristics are positively correlated with support for accession and voter participation. In contrast, those who should benefit from future EU transfers are less likely to participate and/or support EU membership. It appears that voters in the new member states assign greater weight on future benefits from liberalization and integration than on potential gains through redistribution. This pattern is similar to the support for market-oriented reforms, suggesting that voters may see EU membership as the ultimate step in the transition from communism to democracy and a market economy.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Stoiber Edmund
Why Europe needs a subsidiarity early-warning mechanism
in Europe´s World, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_2.1_Stoiber_Europe_needs_a_subsidiarity.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Follesdal Andreas, Hix Simon
Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 3, September , 533-562

Giandomenico Majone and Andrew Moravcsik have argued that the EU does not suffer a 'democratic deficit'. We disagree about one key element: whether a democratic polity requires contestation for political leadership and over policy. This aspect is an essential element of even the 'thinnest' theories of democracy, yet is conspicuously absent in the EU.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Garton Ash Timothy
Y a-t-il des fondations morales de l'Europe ?
in Esprit, n. 326, juillet 2006 , 106-120

Are there moral foundations to Europe?

What type of power can Europe avail itself of? Fully aware as he is of Europe's weaknesses, the British history scholar reviews the legitimacy of the EU under a variety of angles (history, culture, welfare systems, etc.).

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Zürn Michael
Zur Politisierung der Europäischen Union
in Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Heft 2, 47. Jahrgang, Juni , 242-251

ABSTRACT: Der europaische Verfassungsvertrag ist fürs Erste an den gesellschaftlichen Widerständen in Frankreich und den Niederlanden gescheitert. Weshalb sind die Referenden gescheitert? Hat damit die Europäische Integration ihren Zenit überschritten und steht uns gar eine Renationalisierung bevor? In diesem thesenartigen Forumsbeitrag möchte ich argumentieren, dass das Scheitern des Verfassungsvertrags als Ausdruck einer Politisierung der Europäischen Union gesehen werden kann. Im Zuge dieser Politisierung werden politische Prozesse jenseits des Nationalstaates nicht mehr mit den üblichen Effektivitätsmassstäben zwischenstaatlicher Politik, sondern mit Ansprüchen einer guten politischen Ordnung konfrontiert. Demgegenüber meinen die Regierungen der Mitgliedsländer immer noch, europäische und internationale Politikprozesse gegenüber der nationalen Öffentlichkeit in traditioneller Form darstellen zu können. Das ist allerdings zum Scheitern verurteilt. So gesehen ist die Zukunft des Europäischen Projektes ergebnisoffen. Wir stehen vor eineer Weggabelung. Entweder gelingt es, den neuen Bewertungsansprüchen an europäische Politik zu genügen oder aine partielle Renationalisierung der europäischen Politik wird wahrscheinlich.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Benvenuti Andrea
`Layin' Low And Sayin' Nuffin': Australia's Policy Towards Britain's Second Bid To Join The European Economic Community (1966-67)

in Australian Economic History Review, Volume 46, Number 2 , 155-175

This article examines the problems and challenges which confronted the Australian government in its response to Britain's second attempt to join the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1967. While an adequate body of literature exists on Australia's policy towards Britain's first application to the EEC (1961-63), the Australian government's response to the 1967 bid has been completely ignored by historians. This article, therefore, aims to make a historical contribution to the understanding of Australia's policy towards Britain's `turn to Europe'.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hyde-Price Adrian
'Normative' power Europe: a realist critique
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 13, Number 2 / March , 217-234

This article offers a neorealist analysis and critique of liberal-idealist notions of the EU as a 'normative' or 'civilian' power. It argues that structural realist theory can shed considerable light on the emergence, development and nature of EU foreign and security policy co-operation. In contrast to liberal-idealism's reductionist and explicitly normative approach to the EU as an international actor, structural realism emphasizes the systemic determinants of EU foreign and security policy. It stresses the significance of bipolarity for the emergence of the EEC/EPC, and argues that the development of the ESDP is a function of systemic changes in the structural distribution of power. This has created a unipolar world and a multipolar Europe. In this context, the EU is used by its member states as a collective instrument for shaping its external milieu by a combination of hard and soft power.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Milner Henry
"YES to the Europe I want; NO to this one." Some Reflections on France's Rejection of the EU Constitution
in Political Science and Politics, issue 2, vol. 39, april , 257-260

ABSTRACT: I spent the 2004–2005 academic year in France, culminating with the May 29th referendum on the European Union constitutional treaty. Fifty-five percent of voters rejected it. Three days later, 62% of Dutch voters followed suit. These were unexpected results, especially in France, a country where 80% declare themselves in favor of European integration. In other member states, a simple rule generally applies: those whose priority is to strengthen the EU are on the "yes" side, while the "no" is identified with those who emphasize national interests. In the Netherlands, though the murder of filmmaker Theo van Gogh by an Islamic radical was a factor, the "no" forces won essentially because they persuaded enough people that the direction the Constitution would take the Netherlands went against Dutch interests. To do so, they played on the resentment that Brussels took their money but ignored Dutch concerns—"the same people who fooled you with the euro are fooling you now with this constitution."

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Cagiati Andrea
È possibile costruire un'avanguardia europea?
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXVIII, n. 151 , 541-549

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Dimon Denise
EU and US Regionalism: The Case of Latin America
in International Trade Journal, Vol.20, Number 2 / Summer , 185 - 218

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Dickmann Renzo
Appunti sulle prospettive della cooperazione transfrontaliera fra enti locali infraregionali
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 14

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=5306&edoc=11072006011711.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Mortellaro Isidoro D.
Cambio di stagione. Europa e mediterraneo alla prova del XXI secolo
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIII, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Jerch Martin, Lorca y Gonzalo Escribano Alejandro V.
De Barcelona a Luxemburgo: la política euromediterránea
in Politica Exterior, 107 Septiembre/Octubre 2005

En noviembre de 2005 se cumplirán 10 años de la Conferencia de Barcelona que dio lugar a un nuevo sistema de cooperación entre la Unión Europea y los Países Terceros del Mediterráneo. Un repaso de la última década transmite cierta frustración sobre lo poco alcanzado pero demuestra la necesidad de continuar ese camino, aunque sea de forma

diferente.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Reiterer Michael
Die Europäische Union. Partner oder Vorbild für Ostasien?
in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 2006/2 , 157-172

THE EUROPEAN UNION. Partner or Role Model for East Asia?

In today's interdependent world the foreign policy interests of the European Union stretch towards East Asia. Any economic or political problem (Straits, Korean Peninsula, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and of mass destruction) makes itself felt immediately in Europe too. The political and economic balance in East Asia in flux, Japan, China and to a certain extent India vie over influence. The EU is economically present and develops various concepts for cooperation for various policy areas. China manages well to present itself aptly as a new, rising but trustworthy partner, to the detriment of Japan. The role model of European integration could serve as a useful political tool because of the increasing talks and studies about cooperation and integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Schott Jeffrey J.
Free Trade Agreements and US Trade Policy: A Comparative Analysis of US Initiatives in Latin America, the Asia-Pacific Region, and the Middle East and North Africa
in International Trade Journal, Vol.20, Number 2 / Summer , 95 - 138

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Deas Iain,Lord Alex
From a new regionalism to an unusual regionalism? The emergence of non-standard regional spaces and lessons for the territorial reorganisation of the state
in Urban Studies, Volume 43, Number 10 , 1847 - 1877

This paper reports on the results of research to explore a range of attempts to develop new regional forms, and considers the degree to which they accord to conceptualisations of the 'new regionalism' and accounts of the changing territorial structure of the state. It highlights the array of new regional configurations which now extends across the territory of the European Union, discussing the influence exerted by the growth of interest in European spatial planning over the course of the 1990s and considering the degree to which readings of new regionalist rhetoric have informed both the creation and substance of a number of recently conceived regional entities. The paper concludes by

considering the implications posed by the growth of these new regional configurations for attempts to interpret the rescaling of governance and the reterritorialisation of the state.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Frédéric Volpi
Introduction: Strategies for Regional Cooperation in the Mediterranean: Rethinking the Parameters of the Debate
in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 11, Number 2, July , 119-135

This account maps out the key discourses and policies that shape the response of regional political actors to the 'new terrorism' associated with radical Islamist groups after 9/11. It details the dominant representations of international security before and after 9/11 in relation to an elusive notion of security community in the Mediterranean. In particular it stresses the dilemmas of securitization at the regional level in a context where the state system remains the dominant frame of reference for conceiving and organizing cooperation. Finally it highlights how the discourse on the 'new terrorism' creates a superficial agreement between states north and south of the Mediterranean but largely fails to recognize the different security dilemmas experienced by each state and does not meaningfully capture the dynamics of national and global jihadism.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Allegri G. (coordinatore), Colacchi E., Rafanelli A., Ribezzo F., Tourougou S.
L'associazione delle Isole del Mediterraneo
in Federalismi, Anno IV, n. 9

http://www.federalismi.it/federalismi/applMostraDoc.cfm?Artid=4347&edoc=04052006023006.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Spoltore Stefano
La Cina, il Mercosur e una assente: l'Europa
in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLVIII, n. 1 , 50-55

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Varvitsiotis Ioannis
Let's build on neighbourhood policy with an EU-backed "Commonwealth"
in Europe´s World, Issue 3, Summer

http://www.europesworld.org/PDFs/Issue3/EW3_2.10_Varvitsiotis_Lets_build_on_neighbourhood.pdf

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Manchin Miriam
Preference Utilisation and Tariff Reduction in EU Imports from ACP Countries
in **World Economy**, Volume 29, Number 9 , 1243-1266

Despite the long relationship between the European Union and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries aimed at encouraging their exports while stimulating growth and investment, the ACP states still face difficulties in integrating into the world economy. This paper examines the non-least developed ACP countries preferential trade with the EU using data on EU member states' imports eligible for preferences under the Cotonou agreement for the period 2001 at the 8-digit level. Using data on tariffs and preferential quota applicable on each 8-digit product for the year 2001 ad-valorem tariff rates were calculated. The paper also investigates the existence of a threshold in the offered duty reduction under which traders have no incentives to ask for preferences since the costs of obtaining these exceeds their benefits. Our results showed that the higher the value of preferences offered, the higher the probability that preferences are requested. Using endogenous threshold estimation techniques we also provided evidence that there exists a minimum value of preferences needed for traders to request preferences. More specifically, if the difference between preferential and third country tariff rates are lower than 4 per cent, there are no incentives for traders to request preferences since the costs of obtaining the preferences are expected to be higher than the benefits from obtaining the preferences. Our results additionally indicate that country specificities also play an important role in the decision whether requesting preferences or not and how much to import.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Bicchi Federica, Martin Mary
Talking Tough or Talking Together? European Security Discourses towards the Mediterranean
in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 11, Number 2, July , 189-207

The tense security environment produced by 9/11 and subsequent terrorist bombings in Madrid, London as well as in Arab states from Morocco to Jordan had an impact on the understanding of various actors about political Islam, but this did not automatically entail a convergence of views or solutions to existing dilemmas. This article examines examples of security discourse towards Islam at three levels: at the level of the national member state (in the case of the United Kingdom), at the level of the European Union (EU) and at the level of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP.) It highlights that while there has been a progressive securitization of political Islam at the national level within the UK, there is an absence of a coherent agenda on the part of the EU, and between the EU and the Arab Euro-Mediterranean partners there is increasing divergence towards security issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation

Cirielli Paolo

The Euro-Mediterranean Energy Partnership

in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, Volume 73, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 42-66

In the energy sector, the evolution of the relations set up between the Member States of the European Union and its Partners of the Southern Mediterranean brings to light some characteristics of the euro-mediterranean energy regulatory system. The institutional framework has developed more than in other fields of cooperation, and has set up a three-level organisation (with Ministerial Conference, the Energy Forum and the Remep). These bodies have produced a wide regulation - from Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreements and multilateral regional programmes, to new ENP Action Plans and ENP Agreements - to promote conditions likely to develop structural reforms in the Mediterranean Partners, in order to achieve the objective of establishing an integrated Euro-Med Energy Market. Ten years after the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs held in Barcelona, which was the starting point of this comprehensive process, this study draws up an overall assessment of the Energy Euro-Med Partnership, highlights its main achievements and shortcomings and outlines future perspectives in energy cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation

Guerrieri Paolo, DimonDenise

The Trade Regionalism of the United States and the European Union: Cooperative or Competitive Strategies?

in International Trade Journal, Vol.20, Number 2 / Summer , 85 - 93

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation

Sánchez-Ancochea Diego

Trade Liberalization and Economic Integration in the Americas: Causes and Consequences

in Latin American Politics & Society, Vol. 48, Nr. 2 , 171-180

Ninety-seven percent of economists in U.S. academic institutions favor free trade (Prasch 1996). At the same time, many in the neoclassical camp believe that governments will be reluctant to embrace trade liberalization because of the existence of a small but powerful coalition of domestic interest groups that depend on protection for the maintenance of their rents. Why, then, does trade liberalization take place? Does it always contribute to economic growth and sustainable development? While neoclassical economists usually answer these questions (particularly the second one) through cross-country econometric analyses that use dubious proxy variables for trade liberalization (Rodríguez and Rodrik 2001), other social scientists prefer to pursue case studies of particular countries, regions, and economic sectors. The five books reviewed in this essay constitute a rich and varied representation of this methodology and shed much light on the causes and consequences of trade liberalization and economic integration in the Americas.
After decades of protectionism and a state-led development model, trade liberalization has extended throughout Latin America since the 1980s through unilateral measures and regional and multilateral agreements. How was this shift possible? Was it the result of external pressures or of domestic preferences?

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Ravenhill John
US and EU Regionalism: The Case of the Western Pacific Rim
in **International Trade Journal**, Vol.20, Number 2 / Summer , 219 - 261

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Bicchi Federica
'Our size fits all': normative power Europe and the Mediterranean
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 13, Number 2 / March , 286-303

The article focuses on the normative connotation of European foreign policy and makes three points. First, through the criteria of inclusiveness and reflexivity, it draws a distinction between 'normative power Europe' and Europe as a 'civilizing power'. Second, the article puts forward a sociological institutionalist interpretation of the EU as a 'civilizing power'. It suggests that much of the EU's action can be characterized as an unreflexive attempt to promote its own model because institutions tend to export institutional isomorphism as a default option. Third, the article shows the utility of a sociological institutionalist analysis by examining the case of the EU's promotion of regionalism in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Suárez Sipmann Marcos
África-Europa: Cooperación transfronteriza
in **Politica Exterior**, 106 Julio/Agosto 2005

La Unión Europea es fundamental para lograr las metas de la Nepad y de las Naciones Unidas, que incluyen asuntos tan relevantes como derechos humanos, democracia y buen gobierno.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 1.Federalism
Arcidiacono Bruno
"Non par la guerre, à la manière des sauvages": Kant et l'avènement de l'état de droit entre les nations
in **Journal of the History of International Law**, Volume 8, Issue 1 , 39-89

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 1.Federalism
Inman Robert P., Rubinfeld Daniel L.
Federalism and the Democratic Transition: Lessons from South Africa
in American Economic Review, Vol. 95, No. 2, May 2005

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 1.Federalism
Müller Jan-Werner
On the Origins of Constitutional Patriotism
in Contemporary Political Theory, Vol. 5, n. 3, August , 278-296

Political theorists tend to dismiss the concept of constitutional patriotism for two main reasons. On the one hand, constitutional patriotism — understood as a post-national, universalist form of democratic political allegiance — is rejected on account of its abstract quality. On the otherhand, it is argued that constitutional patriotism, while apprearing universalist, is in fact particular through and through. According to this genealogical critique, it is held that constitutional patriotism might have been appropriate in the context when it originated — namely West Germany, a half-nation with a deeply compromised sense of nationality on account of the Nazi past — but it is not universally applicable. This article reconstructs the origins of constitutional patriotism arguing that both the 'protective' and state-centred patriotism of Dolf Sternberger, and the 'purifying' patriotism of Jurgen Habermas — focused mainly on the public sphere — can indeed be understood as relying on 'supplements of particularily'. However, there are also normative connections between universalist constitutional morality and militant democracy on the one hand, and universalist constitutionalist morality and an imperative to remember on the other. Thus, the genealogical critique by itself is insufficient to invalidate the idea of constitutional patriotism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Smith Anthony D.
"Set in the silver sea": English national identity and European integration
in Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 12, Issue 3, July 2006 , 433-452

Although many short-term reasons for a specifically English Euro-scepticism have been proposed, a long-term perspective is required to provide a fuller and more rounded treatment of this important and topical political issue. It needs to be grasped in terms of cultural, political and religious factors in English history, specifically, the antiquity and political character of a sense of English national identity, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the nature and impact of Protestant covenantalism. Among the factors that have shaped a sense of English national identity are its insular, geopolitical situation, the early development of a centralised English state, and the concomitant growth of a unified

English legal system. To the existing sense of national identity under the Tudors was added a strong current of religious separatism, manifested first through Henry VIII's break with Rome and his vindication of monarchical supremacy in a national church, and second through the Puritan return to the idea of election modelled on the Old Testament narrative of the Exodus and Covenant of the Israelites. These currents have lent to the sense of English national identity a strong oppositional character, in contrast to the transterritorialism of Christendom characteristic of the leading Roman Catholic powers. This can be seen both by comparing English with French historical trajectories, and more recently, in terms of the separate, but allied, position of England in relation to European integration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Burrow John
A common culture? Nationalist ideas in 19th-century European Thought
in History of European Ideas, Volume 32, Issue 3, September , 333-344

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Schwarz Hans-Peter
Auf dem Weg zu einem aufgeklärten Patriotismus?
in Politische Studien, Heft 407, 57. Jahrgang, Mai-Juni , 26-31

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Wilkins Fanon Che
Beyond Bandung: The Critical Nationalism of Lorraine Hansberry, 1950-1965
in Radical History Review, Issue 95, Spring 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Hahn Patricia von
Chinesischer Chauvinismus. Nationalitätenkonflikte im Reich der Mitte
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Juni, 2006 , 733-741

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Wehler Hans-Ulrich
Ein aufgeklärter Patriotismus - Über die Identitäten der Deutschen und die Gefahr neuer Subkulturen
in Politische Studien, Heft 407, 57. Jahrgang, Mai-Juni , 21-25

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Matheson Tamara Chaplin
Embodying the Mind, Producing the Nation: Philosophy on French Television
in Journal of the History of Ideas, Volume 67, Number 2, April , 315-341

Following WWII the French state deployed television as an instrument of nation-building. The televising of philosophy, visible in 3500 programs aired between 1951 and 1999, contributed to this project. This article examines forty philosophy shows produced for national broadcast in France during the 1960s. It argues that philosophy's dialogic structure rendered it suited to capitalize on television technology. These shows (featuring Hyppolite, Canguilhem, Ricoeur, Foucault and Badiou) also demonstrate how the state used philosophy to reify an image of national superiority at a time when, under the impress of decolonization and modernization, France's role in the global arena was in question.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Kumar Krishan
English and French national identity: comparisons and contrasts
in Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 12, Issue 3, July 2006 , 413-432

The English and the French are both former imperial peoples, and to that extent they share certain features of national identity common to peoples who have had empires. That includes a 'missionary' sense of themselves, a feeling that they have, or have had, a purpose in the world wider than the concerns of non-imperial nations. I argue that nevertheless the English and the French have diverged substantially in their self-conceptions. This I put down to a differing experience of empire, the sense especially among the French that the British were more successful in their imperial ventures. I also argue that contrasting domestic histories – evolutionary in the English case, revolutionary in that of the French – have also significantly coloured national identities in the two countries. These factors taken together, I argue, have produced a more intense sense of nationhood and a stronger national consciousness among the French than among the English.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Janssens David
Habeas Corpus? - Pierre Manent and the Politics of Europe
in European Journal of Political Theory, Vol. 5, n. 2, April , 171-190

This article examines and assesses Pierre Manent's critique of the European political project and his concomitant endorsement of the nation-state. It first presents Manent's basic arguments against the European Union, focusing on his Aristotelian understanding of political forms and his notion of the body politic. Subsequently, it argues that Manent's position, in part due to its Aristotelian underpinnings, is deeply problematic, in that it disregards the contingency and the element of representation that are necessarily inherent in the foundation of every body politic. As a result, Manent's critique tends to downplay the contingency of the nation-state and to overplay the contingency of the European Union.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Varikas Eleni
L'intérieur et l'extérieur de l'État-nation. Penser… outre
in Raisons politiques, N° 21, Février 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Bruckner Pascal
Multiculturalism: Nationalism of the Minorities
in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 23, Issue 3, June , 23-26

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Visvanathan Shiv
Nation
in Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 23, nn 2-3, May , 533-538

The essay traces the definitions of nation through various stages, outlining the consequences of each definition. It emphasizes that the movement to exclusivity has been genocidal and then hints at the possibility of re-reading the idea of nation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Kamer Hansrudolf
Nationale Triebkräfte in der globalisierten welt – Unterschiedliche Spielformen eines erstarkenden Patriotismus

in **Politische Studien**, Heft 407, 57. Jahrgang, Mai-Juni , 39-49

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Robinson Guy M., Pobrić Alma
Nationalism and identity in post--Dayton Accords: Bosnia-Hercegovina
in **Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)** , Volume 97, Issue 3, July , 237-252

The Dayton Accords, concluded in November 1995 following the recent bloody conflict in the former Yugoslavia, established Bosnia-Hercegovina as a country of two entities: a Croat-Muslim federation and Republika Srpska, dominated by Bosnian Serbs. The conflict created a substantial refugee problem and a transformation through ethnic cleansing of the mosaic of ethnically intermingled communities that was characteristic of pre-war Bosnia. Within this turmoil of dislocation, trauma and continuing distrust between the ethnic groups the new state is gradually being established. Reconstruction is progressing; new institutions are being created and new (or redefined) identities are emerging in response to the changing economic and political circumstances. This paper draws upon ethno-symbolic arguments and elements of banal nationalism to analyse contradictory aspects of evolving nationalist identities in Bosnia, especially within the Muslim (Bosniak) population. Drawing upon recent ethnographic field-work, it focuses both on visible elements of nationalism and identity within the urban landscapes of the capital, Sarajevo, and the city of Mostar to the south, and less tangible cultural signifiers as symbolised in the emergence of the term 'Bosniak' and the reconstruction of the national (formerly regional) museum.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Lieven Anatol
Nationalism in the Contemporary World
in **Russian politics and law**, Volume 44, Number 1 / January-February , 6 - 22

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Gottlob Michael
Nationalismus in Indien: Einheit in der Vielfalt als eine Frage der historischen Perspektive
in **Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft**, Jahrgang 54, Heft 5, 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Lewis Jeff
Paradise defiled: the Bali bombings and the terror of national identity
in European Journal of Cultural Studies, Volume 9, No. 2, May 2006 , 223-242

The spread of global Jihadist terrorism was brutally announced in the 2002 Bali bombings. The attacks marked a significant moment in the relationship between Australia and Bali. The bewilderment characterizing Balinese and Australian responses to the 2002 bombings is linked to processes of globalization and the 'de-bordering' of knowledge, most particularly as it resonates through locally constituted 'ideology', beliefs and identity. While for the Bali Hindu communities this cultural expressivity is located in Vedic mythology, rituals and principles, for many Australians it appears to be associated with various forms of political ideology and 'nationalism'. It is unsurprising that Australia's first commemoration of the bombing was iterated through a profound grief, rendered more acute by nationalism and national pride. It heroized the victims through the heroization of nation; the assailants were motivated by a desire not merely to destroy Australians and Australia but the very basis of the modern nation itself – freedom, democracy, justice and history.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Böhr Christoph
Patriotismus, Multikulturalismus, Nationalismus: Welchen Weg gehen die Deutschen?
in Politische Studien, Heft 407, 57. Jahrgang, Mai-Juni , 32-38

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Deets Stephen
Reimagining the Boundaries of the Nation: Politics and the Development of Ideas on Minority Rights
in East European Politics and Societies, Volume 20, Number 3, August , 419-446

The collapse of communism reshaped European debates on minority rights. By the 1980s, the different institutionalizations of turn-of-the-century perspectives created an ideational divide between East and West. Since 1989, Western norms have not simply transferred East, as intellectuals and politicians in the region challenged and reinterpreted the norms in novel ways. Fifteen years later, European minority norms are elaborated in much greater detail than ever before, but consensus on core issues remains elusive. The article first explores the roots of this ideational divide and how recent trafficking of ideas between East and West Europeans has caused both to reexamine their core assumptions on the rights of minority communities, particularly with regards to individualism, collective autonomy, and justice. The second part examines how these controversies over norm interpretation appear in minority

policy debates in Eastern Europe, including minority autonomy, education, and the Hungarian Status Law.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Lesaffer Randall
Stephen C. Neff, War and the Law of Nations: A General History
in **Journal of the History of International Law**, Volume 8, Issue 1 , 135-140

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Saxton Gregory D., Benson Michelle A.
Structure, Politics, and Action: An Integrated Model of Nationalist Protest and Rebellion
in **Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 12, Number 2, Summer 2006 , 137-175

This article presents an integrated model of contentious nationalist activity, with structure, politics, and action assuming equal roles in an interdependent causal system. The model is tested using simultaneous equation systems on 130 ethno-nationalist groups from 1990 to 1998. The results confirm the vital, indirect role of grievances and group identity on protest and the powerful direct and indirect effects of political opportunity structure variables on protest and rebellion. Repression is shown to have a particularly escalatory impact on the conflict process.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Burton Antoinette, Espiritu Augusto, Wilkins FanonChe
The Fate of Nationalisms in the Age of Bandung
in **Radical History Review**, Issue 95, Spring 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Patten Alan
The Humanist Roots of Linguistic Nationalism
in **History of Political Thought**, Vol. 27, Issue 2 , 221-262

The paper argues that modern 'linguistic nationalism' has intellectual roots in Renaissance humanist thought. In their study of classical antiquity, the humanists found a powerful model of the relationship between language and politics, one which had eloquence as its central concept and theorized language as a source of social and political power and as a

vehicle for glorifying the deeds of statesmen. This model was originally revived by the humanists in the context of their belief that the Latin language had been badly degraded and corrupted since the fall of Rome. Emphasizing the power and glory that would accompany a return to Latin eloquence, they advocated a programme of Latin revival. By the sixteenth century, poets and intellectuals who were immersed in Renaissance humanism, and who were oriented to the political problems of emerging European nation-states, began applying this model to the vernacular. The view eloborated here suggests a factor that is ignored by both modernist accounts of nationalism and their critics: the importance at the threshold of modernity of a specific pre-modern conception of language and politics that had been retrieved and adapted to contemporary circumstances by Renaissance humanists.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Tournon Jean
The Uneasy Relationship of Ethnicity and Nationalism: The French-Speaking Populations of North America
in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Volume 12, Number 2, Summer 2006 , 239-253

Surveying the destiny of two contemporary North American ethnic groups of French origins, the Acadiens and the Canayens, this article attests to the difficult coexistence between ethnicism and nationalism. Ethnic attachments have had a hard time when facing four successive nationalisms: the French colonial, the British imperial, the Canadian federal, and the Québécois souverainist.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Cipolloni Marco
Tra Francia e Spagna. Post-nazionalismo e nazionalità “debole” in Catalogne Nord
in Spagna Contemporanea, Anno XIV, n. 28

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Cattaneo Mario A.
Dignità umana e pace perpetua: Kant e la critica della politica
in Studi Kantiani, Anno XVIII, 2005 , 229-234

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Albertini Mario

Elezione europea, governo europeo e Stato europeo

in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLVIII, n. 1 , 65-76

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Rensmann Lars

Europeanism and Americanism in the Age of Globalization - Hannah Arendt's Reflections on Europe and America and Implications for a Post-National Identity of the EU Polity

in European Journal of Political Theory, Vol. 5, n. 2, April , 139-170

The article examines Hannah Arendt's analysis of 'pan-nationalist Europeanism' and anti-Americanism which may serve inherently problematic identity-generating functions for the European project. For Arendt, this specific form of Europeanism is often intimately linked to mobilizations of widely spread fears of global sociocultural and economic modernization, which is frequently perceived as 'Americanization'. In addition, however, those fears may reflect self-referential politics of 'Americanism' abroad and also originate in 'objective' structural international imbalances. According to Arendt, then, Americanism on one side and Europeanism on the other side of the Atlantic should be challenged as two ideologies facing, fighting and, above all, resembling each other as all seemingly opposed ideologies. In light of the current transatlantic cleavages, it is argued with Arendt that it is in the EU's best interest to avoid binary, culturalized legitimizations of Europeanism and (anti-)Americanism. Instead, it is the eminent political task to positively resignify the EU as a new, truly post-national project and polity in its own right. Adapting and expanding Arendt's framework, conceptual and normative implications for a self-reflexive, unique and future-oriented EU political identity and response to globalization are indicated and discussed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Albertini Mario

I principi di azione del manifesto di Ventotene

in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLVIII, n. 2 , 90-96

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Müller Jan-Werner

Julien Benda's Anti-Passionate Europe

in European Journal of Political Theory, Vol. 5, n. 2, April , 125-137

In the early 1930s, Julien Benda provided one of the most uncompromising visions for a united Europe. In line with his rationalist universalism, Benda sought a continent that was cleansed of passion and particularism, and called on European intellectuals to act as a rationalist vanguard in constructing such a Europe. However, Benda fatefully wavered between polity-building strategies of reshaping and redirection. For the most part, Benda seemed to demand nothing less than a comprehensive reshaping of the moral and political psychology of European citizens. However, his universalism faltered frequently, and he conceived of Europe rather as a large nation, in which the ‘passion for reason’ would come to dominate other passions. Such ambiguities - and failures to draw a clear line between normative ideals and the pragmatics of polity-building - persist in many present debates on European unification.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
James David
Kant and Hegel on the Right of Rebellion
in History of Political Thought, Vol. 27, Issue 2 , 331-348

I compare Kant's position on the issue as to whether there exists a right of rebellion with the position that can be attributed to Hegel on this issue. I argue that while Kant must concede that such a right exists when the state no longer respects what he calls the universal law of right. Hegel offers us grounds for thinking that a right of rebellion may exist even when the state has achieved the form of a Kantian Rechtstaat. I appeal to Hegel's understanding of right as the concrete expression of the general will and his account of poverty in order to establish this conclusion.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Dellavalle Sergio
Kant, l’ordine internazionale e l’integrazione europea
in Filosofia Politica, n. 2, Agosto , 245-274

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Padoa-Schioppa Tommaso
L'Europa della Malinconia
in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLVIII, n. 1 , 9-25

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Federalista (Il), editoriale
L'eredità di Altiero Spinelli
in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLVIII, n. 2 , 83-89

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Batista A.
La union sudamericana en el pensamiento de Alberto Methol Ferre
in Geosur : publicacion mensual , n. 307 - 308 , 31 - 35

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Spinelli Altiero
Manifesto dei federalisti europei
in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLVIII, n. 2 , 97-123

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Nacci Michele
Mazzini democratico europeo
in Iride, Numero 47, Aprile , 153-160

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Mastellone Salvo
Mazzini's International League in the Light of the London Democratic Manifestos (1837-1850)
in Pensiero Politico (Il), anno XXXVIII, n. 3, settembre-dicembre 2005 , 445-453

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Spinelli Altiero
Nuovo corso
in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLVIII, n. 2 , 124-133

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Wyrwa Ulrich
Richard Nikolaus Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894–1972) und die Paneuropa-Bewegung in den zwanziger Jahren
in Historische Zeitschrift, Band 283, Heft 1: August 2006 , 103-122

Aufgrund seiner vielfältigen Aktivitäten wird Graf Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi immer wieder als Pionier und Stichwortgeber der europäischen Einigung genannt. Mit seiner 1923 erschienenen programmatischen Schrift "Paneuropa" hatte er nicht nur ein prägnantes politisches Schlagwort geprägt, sondern gleichzeitig öffentlichkeitswirksam eine Paneuropa-Union gegründet, für die er namhafte Persönlichkeiten des politischen Lebens gewinnen konnte. Nach knappen biographischen Hinweisen über Coudenhove-Kalergi, der 1894 in Tokio als Sohn einer

Japanerin und eines aus einem alten flämischen Adelsgeschlecht stammenden österreichisch-ungarischen Diplomaten geboren wurde, werden zunächst seine frühen Schriften und seine Aktivitäten in den ersten
Jahren der Paneuropa-Union diskutiert. Abschließend werden die Aporien und Ambivalenzen von Paneuropa sowie die Zwiespältigkeiten der intellektuellen Biographie Coudenhoves beleuchtet. Gezeigt wird, daß
Paneuropa nur aus dem intellektuellen Kontext der Zwischenkriegszeit verstanden werden kann und kaum Berührungspunkte mit der aktuellen
Debatte über die Gegenwart und Zukunft Europas hat.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Deligiorgi Katerina
The role of the ‘plan of nature’ in Kant's account of history from a philosophical perspective
in British Journal for the History of Philosophy, Volume 14, n. 3, August 2006 , 451-468

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Spinelli Altiero
Verso l'Unione europea
in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLVIII, n. 2 , 134-148

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Caranti Luigi
Verso la pace kantiana
in Critica liberale, nn. 125/126 - Marzo - Aprile 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Pirni Alberto
Virtù e cosmopolitismo in Kant
in Studi Kantiani, Anno XVIII, 2005 , 99-116

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Ramadan Tariq
"Ihr bekommt die Muslime, die Ihr verdient". Euro-Islam und muslimische Renaissance
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Juni, 2006 , 673-685

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Henkel Heiko
"The journalists of Jyllands-Posten are a bunch of reactionary provocateurs". The Danish cartoon controversy and the self-image of Europe
in Radical Philosophy, Issue: 137 - May/June 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Adi Hakim
A New Kind of Imperialism
in Radical History Review, Issue 95, Spring 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Vitiello Vincenzo
Alle origini dell'Europa: filosofia e cristianesimo
in Pensiero (Il), XLIV, 2005/2 , 7-26

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Rahmani Sina, Rudd Mark
Anti-imperialism and Its Discontents: An Interview with Mark Rudd, Founding Member of the Weather Underground
in Radical History Review, Issue 95, Spring 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Runge Irene
Auf der Suche nach einer europäischen jüdischen Identität
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Juni, 2006 , 686-694

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Baccaro Lucio
Civil society meets the state: towards associational democracy?
in Socio-Economic Review, 4 (2) , 185-208

This article discusses the ‘associational democratic’ model of relationship between state and civil society organizations, which recommends devolution of as many regulatory functions as possible to local groups and associations with detailed knowledge of problems and possible solutions, extensive monitoring capacities and the potential to deliberate about generalizable as opposed to purely sectional interests. The goal is to introduce greater doses of realism in a model that has, so far, mostly been confined to abstract, normative discussions. The article does so by discussing two themes in particular: the link between associational democracy and neo-corporatism, and the relationship between deliberation—a crucial element in the normative model—and bargaining

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Picazo P. G.
De la guerra perenne a una paz precaria: las relaciones internacionales y el proceso de la civilización
in Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional, Vol. 57 n. 1 , 15-48

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Ferguson Niall
Empires with Expiration Dates
in Foreign Policy, Issue 156, September / October

Empires drive history. But the empires of the past 100 years were short lived, none surviving to see the dawn of the new century. Today, there are no empires, at least not officially. But that could soon change if the United States—or even China—embraces its imperial destiny. How can they avoid the fate of those who came before them?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Reynolds Susan
Empires: a problem of comparative history
in Historical Research, Vol. 79, Issue 204 , May 2006 , 151 - 165

Most historians of empires probably start by assuming that what they are interested in are relatively large polities that consist of a ruling part (the metropolis) and other parts (colonies or peripheries) that it dominates as a result of military conquest or political or economic bullying, and that are retained and governed separately from the metropolis rather than being directly absorbed in it. Not all the polities called empires over the centuries, however, have had all these characteristics. Surveying some of the variations in characteristics may help in deciding what it may be most profitable to compare with what.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Susato Ryu
Hume's oscillating civilization theory
in History of European Ideas, Volume 32, Issue 3, September , 263-277

Hume's repeated mentions of the vicissitudes of civilization have thus far been neglected, overlooked, or misinterpreted

by Hume scholars. Although his references to the "death" or "ruin" of a nation are somewhat hyperbolic, his cyclical view of history was neither mere rhetoric nor necessarily pessimistic. This paper aims to show that Hume's notion of historical fluctuations was deeply connected with his understanding of the universality of human nature. It also placed Hume in a strategic position from which he could criticize both those who believed in the possibility of perpetual progress and those who forecast the successive decline of the human world. To explore Hume's position in more detail, we must first examine the reasons his argument was often misunderstood, especially in the context of the "rich country–poor country" debate. We also need to examine how Hume's view of the cyclical nature of history, consistently held, can be reconciled with his status as one of the champions of modern civilization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Peut-être Mpélé Jean
Identité et cosmopolitique en Afrique subsaharienne
in Raisons politiques, N° 21, Février 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Gambino Silvio
Il diritto a un giudice autonomo e indipendente. Ri-forma di stato e sistema di giustizia nell'ottica interna, comparata e comunitaria
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIII, n. 3

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Andersen Torben M., Spange Morten
International interdependencies in fiscal stabilization policies
in European Economic Review, Volume 50, Issue 5, July 2006

Trade links imply that business cycle fluctuations are transmitted among trade partners. To the extent that fiscal policy can mitigate business cycle fluctuations international interdependencies in
stabilization policies arise. We analyse in a two country general equilibrium model the role of fiscal policy in mitigating risk or providing implicit insurance in the presence of capital market imperfections and adjustment failures (rigid wages). It is shown that there is a welfare case for an active stabilization policy, and that it is larger in the presence of adjustment failures (rigid wages). Non-cooperative policy decisions imply inefficiencies in fiscal stabilization policies, which in the case of flexible wages may imply too much stabilization, whereas stabilization is always insufficient in the case of rigid wages.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Ritz Hauke
Iranische Petro-Euro
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Mai, 2006 , 541-543

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Yakemtchouk Romain
L'Union européenne et l'Islam
in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, numero 497, april , 226-234

The Mohammed's drawings scandal is a challenge both for Europe and for Islam. All efforts should be made to smooth the cultural diversities of both those centres of civilisation and prevent them from clashing. Article 13 of the Amsterdam Treaty (October 2, 1997) will give the European Union clear powers to act against any discrimination, including those based on religious beliefs. The EU presidency has strongly reacted against the statements of Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi (September 2001) regarding the "superiority" of Western civilisation. In 2002, the EU initiated its strategy to fight Islamophoby and anti-Semitism; at the round table held in 2003, the European commissioner Anna Diamantopoulos said that Europe could not allow the legitimate fight against terrorism to be used to justify the exclusion of Muslim communities. Following the Mohammed's drawings, the EU stress that freedom of the press requires respect for religious beliefs; however, the Commission has no legal basis to establish binding regulations in that area.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Linklater Andrew
Le principe de non-nuisance et l'éthique mondiale
in Etudes Internationales, 2, Juin 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Thibault Jean-François
Les relations internationales et la crise de la pensée politique moderne selon Jean-Jacques Rousseau
in Etudes Internationales, 2, Juin 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Ward Lee
Locke on the Moral Basis of International Relations
in American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 50, Issue 3 , 691-705

This article aims to focus analysis of Locke's theory of international relations away from the familiar discourse of sovereignty and natural law and toward a different discourse involving self-government and international society. It argues that Locke's conception of international society balanced interrelated, overlapping, and even competing claims about sovereignty and natural law in a normative framework in which the right of self-government replaced the principle of sovereignty as the moral basis of international relations. Thus, for Locke the norms deduced from the law of nature govern the international state of nature even as independent societies remain the primary executors of the law of nature in international society. The article concludes by considering how Locke's reflections on international relations may contribute to our understanding of contemporary debates about sovereignty, the use of force, and the ethics of intervention.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Zarza Mensaque Alberto
Los derechos humanos y el federalismo argentino
in Cuaderno de federalismo, 2006-Vol:19-Nr:19

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Colombo E.
Multiculturalismo quotidiano: una definizione sociologica della differenza
in Rassegna italiana di sociologia, n. 2 , 269 - 296

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Watkins Robert E.
Negotiating Rights and Difference: Liberalism, Cosmopolitanism, and Democracy
in Political Theory , Volume 34, n. 5, October , 628-633

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Mitzen Jennifer
Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma
in European Journal of International Relations , Vol. 12, n. 3, September , 341-370

This article proposes that in addition to physical security, states also seek ontological security, or security of the self. Ontological security is achieved by routinizing relationships with significant others, and actors therefore become attached to those relationships. Like its physical counterpart, the ontological security motive is a constant. But states may adhere to routines rigidly or reflexively, and variation in attachment style has implications for security-seeking. This article conceptualizes the individual-level need for ontological security, scales it up to states, and applies the ontological security-seeking assumption to the security dilemma. Realists argue that states want to escape security dilemmas but uncertainty prevents them. Ontological security-seeking suggests that states may not want to escape dilemmatic conflict. Because even dangerous routines provide ontological security, rational security-seekers could become attached to conflict. Ontological security-seeking sheds new light on seemingly irrational conflict, and suggests lines of research into the stability of other outcomes in world politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Gatzweiler Franz W.
Organizing a public ecosystem service economy for sustaining biodiversity
in Ecological Economics, Volume 59, Issue 3, 20 September , 296-304

The core question this paper attempts to address is how social organization needs to respond to biodiversity features and functions in order to achieve its sustainable use. Scholars have suggested that the governance of complex systems should be dispersed across multiple centers of authority and that any regulative system needs as much variety in the actions that it can take as exists in the system it is regulating. Further, it has been argued that complex ecosystems and biodiversity can successfully be maintained by complex, polycentric, multi-layered governance systems which have a variety of response mechanisms. But how should polycentric governance of biodiversity be organized? Borrowing from the organization of public economies in metropolitan areas we distinguish between production and provision of public ecosystem services and suggest the direction of institutional change for the organization of a public ecosystem service economy. If the market alone cannot solve the allocation of public ecosystem services, economic efficiency criteria based on hypothetical markets are not sufficient. Therefore, we suggest design principles which go beyond economic efficiency and provide examples of the emergence of polycentric governance from an Ethiopian coffee forest conservation project.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Menegatti M.

Political Cycles and International Interdependence
in **Economia internazionale**, Volume LVIII, No. 3 - August 2005

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Hanson Stephen E.
Postimperial Democracies: Ideology and Party Formation in Third Republic France, Weimar Germany, and Post-Soviet Russia
in **East European Politics and Societies**, Volume 20, Number 2, May , 343-372

Post-Soviet Russia, the early Third Republic in France, and the Weimar Republic in Germany can be understood as cases of "postimperial democracy" —a situation in which a new democratic regime emerges in the core of a former empire that has suddenly collapsed and where democratic elections continue for at least a decade. However, the regimes consolidated in these cases—republican democracy in France, Nazi dictatorship in Germany, and weak state authoritarianism in Russia—vary dramatically. These divergent results reflect the impact of new ideologies, which generated collective action among converts by artificially elongating their time horizons in an environment of extremely high uncertainty. In France, ideological clarity allowed radical republicans to outflank more pragmatic parties; in Germany, ideological clarity allowed the Nazis to mobilize more successfully than centrist parties; and in post-Soviet Russia, the absence of any compelling new political ideology—democratic or antidemocratic—has rendered political parties too weak to challenge even a very weak state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Krishna A.
Poverty and Democratic Participation Reconsidered: Evidence from the Local Level in India
in **Comparative Politics**, Vol. 38 n. 4

Conventional wisdom suggests that a direct relationship exists between greater wealth and higher democratic participation. However, an original database compiled for fifty-three governments in two states in northern India, including interviews with over 2,000 village residents, shows that information, education, and gender are more important for democratic participation, while wealth and social status matter relatively little. Policies that enable people to educate and inform themselves better should help raise poor people’s stakes in democracy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Stoler Ann Laura, Bond David
Refractions Off Empire: Untimely Comparisons in Harsh Times
in **Radical History Review**, Issue 95, Spring 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Roosevelt Grace
Rousseau versus Rawls on International Relations
in European Journal of Political Theory, Vol. 5, n. 3, July , 301-320

This article uses Rousseau's little-known responses to the Abbé de Saint-Pierre's Project for Perpetual Peace and his fragments on 'The State of War' as a foil for Rawls's claim that the international society he envisions in The Law of Peoples constitutes a 'realistic utopia'. The main conclusion is that in a post-9/11 world Rousseau may have more to teach us about the possibilities for international security than Rawls does, since Rousseau's theory accounts for the moral corruptibility of both individuals and groups. Most of the article focuses on comparing Rousseau's and Rawls's assumptions about human nature, but the final section also includes a brief discussion of their contrasting views of reason and the common good. The two philosophers agree, however, that the possibilities for international justice can only evolve out of the careful practice of local justice

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Hardt Michael
Second Empire; or, The Eighteenth Brumaire of George W. Bush
in Radical History Review, Issue 95, Spring 2006

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Donnelly Jack
Sovereign Inequalities and Hierarchy in Anarchy: American Power and International Society
in European Journal of International Relations , Vol. 12, n. 2, June , 139-170

How is unrivalled American power reshaping 21st-century international society? Is the United States an empire, in fact or in the making? This article attempts to elaborate the conceptual resources required to answer such questions. I focus on multiple forms of hierarchy in anarchy and diverse practices of sovereign inequality—concepts that most mainstream perspectives ignore, find paradoxical, or even dismiss as self-contradictory. After defining empire and hierarchy in anarchy, I present a typology of international orders tuned to thinking about empire and its alternatives. The central section of the article explores three classes of formal inequalities common during the Westphalian era—special rights of Great Powers, restricted rights for outlaws, and a wide range of particular practices of 'semi-sovereignty'. I then sketch ten historically grounded models of hierarchical international relations. Two brief applications to contemporary American power seek to illustrate the value of this conceptual apparatus. Throughout, my focus is on appreciating the precise nature and considerable variety of international inequalities. I argue that the concepts of hierarchy in anarchy and

sovereign inequality, but not empire, are essential for understanding the shape and development of contemporary international order.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Dinah Shelton
Subsidiarity and Human Rights Law
in Human Rights Law Journal, n. 1-4, vol. 27, april , 4-11

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Gat Azar
The Democratic Peace Theory Reframed: The Impact of Modernity
in World Politics, n. 1, vol. 58, october

ABSTRACT: This article argues that the democratic peace theorists have overlooked the defining development that underlies that peace of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: the industrial-technological revolution. Not only did that revolution make democracy on a country scale possible; it also made all the countries that experienced the revolution—democratic and nondemocratic—far less belligerent in comparison with preindustrial times. The democratic peace did not exist among premodern democratic and republican city-states, not because they were not democratic or liberal enough but because they were premodern. Other factors that have emanated from the modern transformation and may generate greater aversion to war apply mostly to liberal democratic countries while being only variably connected to their regime. Such factors include the staggering rise in the standard of living; the decrease in hardship, pain, and death; the dominance of metropolitan life and the service economy; the spread of the consumer and entertainment society; sexual promiscuity; women's franchise; and the shrinking ratio of young males in the population.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Coley Linda
The difficulties of empire: present, past and future
in Historical Research, Vol. 79, Issue 205, August 2006 , 367 - 382

Although empire is now an intensely fashionable subject of enquiry, much contemporary comment is relatively uninformed and lacks historical context. This is particularly significant in the light of the United States' purported new imperialism. This article considers the problems faced by those attempting to define empire, whether in the past or the present. It traces the origins of American imperialism to the beginnings of the republic and before, and compares it with the British experience, arguing in all cases for the importance of a wide-ranging and comparative approach to empire.

Finally, it urges historians and political commentators to move beyond a concentration on dead European empires, to look as well at other and at present-day versions of the phenomenon, and to re-examine the overlap between nation and empire.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Yurdusev A. Nuri
Thomas Hobbes and international relations: from realism to rationalism
in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 60, n. 2 / June , 305-321

This article attempts to provide a correction to the exclusive realist interpretations of Thomas Hobbes. It makes the point that Hobbes is not as close to a realist understanding of international relations as has been prevalently held. Given Hobbes's conception of man and the state of nature, the formation of Leviathan and the law of nature, it is here argued that Hobbes gives us a perception of international relations which is not always conflictual and comprises the adjustments of conflicting interests, leading to the possibility of alliances and cooperation in international relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Vanderschraaf Peter
War or Peace? A Dynamical Analysis of Anarchy
in Economics and Philosophy, Volume 22, Issue 02, July 2006 , 243-279

I propose a dynamical analysis of interaction in anarchy, and argue that this kind of dynamical analysis is a more promising route to predicting the outcome of anarchy than the more traditional a priori analyses of anarchy in the literature. I criticize previous a priori analyses of anarchy on the grounds that these analyses assume that the individuals in anarchy share a unique set of preferences over the possible outcomes of war, peace, exploiting others and suffering exploitation. Following Hobbes' classic analysis of anarchy, I maintain that typically in anarchy some moderate individuals will most desire mutual cooperation while other dominators will most desire to exploit others' cooperation. I argue that once one allows for different types of individuals in anarchy, any a priori analysis of anarchy requires unrealistic assumptions regarding the agents' common knowledge of their situation. However, this move also suggests a dynamical analysis of anarchy, one that assumes no common knowledge. In the Variable Anticipation threshold model developed here, individuals modify their behavior as they learn from repeated interactions. I present specific instances of this model where the individuals in anarchy converge to different equilibria corresponding to either peace or war, depending on the initial conditions. I show that individuals are liable to converge to Hobbes' war of all against all even if only a small percentage of are dominators. The presence of only a few “nasty” individuals gradually drives all, including those inclined to be “nicer”, to imitate the “nasty” conduct of these few. This dynamic analysis suggests that the Hobbesian war in anarchy is indeed inevitable in most realistic circumstances.

You have the same propension, that I have, in favor of what is contiguous above what is remote. You are, therefore, naturally carry'd to commit acts of injustice as well as I. Your example both pushes me forward in this way by imitation,

and also affords me a new reason for any breach of equity, by showing me, that I shou'd be the cully of my integrity, if I alone shou'd impose on myself a severe restraint amidst the licentiousness of others. (David Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature)