



## Bulletin n. 3/2006 - December 2006

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#### **A Theory of Federal Common Law**

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, Vol.100 n. 2 , 585 - 654

No abstract available

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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*

Leo Christopher

#### **Deep Federalism: Respecting Community Difference in National Policy**

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 39 - Issue 03 - September 2006 , 481-506

The literatures of both federalism and urban politics conclude that economic, technological and political changes on a global scale have produced limitations on the capacities of national governments, while enhancing the economic and political importance of urban-centred regions. A practical implication is that cities have become central to the study of federalism. This article attempts a synthesis of what we can learn from the federalism and urban politics literatures about the governance of cities in the twenty-first century. It considers the argument in favour of charter cities, as well as the advocacy of a stronger central government to preserve the social safety net, and concludes that both positions are premised on a traditional, hierarchical view of intergovernmental relations, a view that is out of keeping with the exigencies of a borderless world. Instead, it poses the following question: How can we have policies that are truly national and yet fully take into account the very significant differences among regions and communities? The article draws on recent research on the impact of federal policies regarding homelessness and immigration in Vancouver, Winnipeg and Saint John, as well as other research, to consider whether the federal government is doing the best it can to preserve national standards while respecting community difference. It concludes by defining three policy models that show varying degrees of promise in achieving that objective.

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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*

Noel Alain

#### **Democratic Deliberation in a Multinational Federation**

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 9, n. 3, September , 419-444

Democratic deliberation is an aspiration that, in the most favorable conditions, remains difficult to achieve. In divided or multinational societies, the requirements of democratic theory appear particularly daunting. This essay surveys the



Canadian debate about democratization and constitutional politics to better understand the significance of democratic deliberation in a concrete case, when principles are evoked in a context where institutions, interests, identities and power also matter. The article proposes to think of deliberation and power politics as closely intertwined and, in fact impossible to separate. Even in the best conditions, multinational deliberations always remain imperfect exercises in practical reason.

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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***

O'dwyer C., Ziblatt D.

**Does Decentralisation Make Government More Efficient and Effective?**

**in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**, Vol. 44 n. 3 , 326 - 343

In this paper we use a broad cross-national sample to test decentralisation's relationship with two important indicators of the quality of governance: efficiency and effectiveness. Contrary to much of the conventional wisdom, we find that the effects of decentralisation are minimal when controlling for basic structural variables such as per capita GDP and degree of democracy. In addition we find that different types of decentralisation – fiscal, administrative, and political – have differing and sometimes opposing impacts on the quality of governance. Finally, we find that political decentralisation in particular is associated with higher government efficiency among high GDP per capita countries while it is associated with lower government efficiency among low GDP per capita countries.

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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***

Simeon R., Turgeon L.

**Federalism, nationalism and regionalism in Canada**

**in Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals**, n. 3 , 11 - 42

• This article analyses the capacity of Canadian federalism to articulate and accommodate the dual and regionalist character defining Canada through a range of arguments and opinions both for and against that have been generated both within the Canadian Federation and abroad. From the standpoint of the Quebec sovereignists, federalism is highly restrictive of the Quebec nation's freedom to express itself, by itself, within the Canadian context as well as within international ambits; for Quebec nationalists, the term Quebec "nation" implies-indeed, requires-a "Quebec state". But, from the standpoint of the Quebec federalists (a good number of whom understand Quebec as a sociological and political nation), the future of Quebec lies with its membership of the Canadian Federation, however much this has to recognise Quebec as a "differential society" within Canada, and however much it has to ensure that Quebec will develop and promote its interests as a nation. For yet others, the decentralist character of Canadian federalism, and the extensive provisions for asymmetry built into the system, mean that Quebec is already perhaps the most powerful sub-national government in the world, such that it already has the powers necessary to fulfil its national destiny, within the federation. Opinion outside Quebec ranges from those who accept this view, and embrace asymmetry, to those who argue that Quebec is simply one of ten existing provinces, each of which is distinct, and which should all be treated as equals in accordance with the constitutional and political framework.



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

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**Ferrari G.F.**

**Federalismo, regionalismo e decentramento del potere in una prospettiva comparata**

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 4 , 589 - 647

No abstract available

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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*

**Bifulco R.**

**Il modello italiano delle Conferenze Stato-autonomie territoriali (anche) alla luce delle esperienze federali**

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2-3 , 233 - 268

No abstract available

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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*

**Herzog Roman**

**Kooperation und Wettbewerb - Essay**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 50, 2006

No abstract available

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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*

**Caravita B.**

**Le sedi della concertazione**

in **Federalismi**, Anno IV, n. 23

La trattazione del tema "Le sedi della concertazione" richiede che vengano poste immediatamente alcune premesse teoriche e metodologiche e che venga sciolto un interrogativo circa il rango del livello normativo con cui si intende operare. Le premesse teoriche e metodologiche dalle quali intendo prendere le mosse sono le seguenti: innanzitutto, non esiste più alcuna differenza rilevante – almeno sotto il profilo qualitativo, ferme rimanendo le diverse origini storiche, la non risolutiva denominazione costituzionale come stato federale, la stessa autopercezione dell'ordinamento – tra stato federale e stato regionale; in secondo luogo, in tutte le più recenti esperienze federali e regionali la vecchia e tralaticia idea che lo stato federale sia caratterizzato da due soli livelli di governo, quello federale federale e quello statale, rimanendo le autonomie locali nella sfera di controllo delle entità federate è ormai tramontata: le Costituzioni federali moderne garantiscono direttamente il livello delle autonomie locali...



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

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**Kesavan V.**

**The Three Tiers of Federal Law**

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, Vol.100 n. 2 , 1479 – 1635

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2.Constitutional reform*

**Nicotra Ida**

**Audizione parlamentare del 11.12.2006 sullo stato di attuazione e su prospettive di riforma del Titolo V**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 25

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2.Constitutional reform*

**Lothar M.**

**El Estado federal experimental**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 6 anno 3

The German federal reform that has taken place in 2006 represents the introduction of new elements that contributes to surpass the federal structure cooperative-unitarian (previously modified through elements of subsidiarity). In this way, a new model of Federal State of concurrence arises (a new distribution of competitions between Federation and Länder aimed to facilitate the political process, instead of blocking it) and experimental (it recognizes the possibility of the diversity in the legislation within the Federation).

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

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**Alguacil Gonzales-Aurioles J.**

**El federalismo alemán ante la integración europea**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 6 anno 3

The well-known problems that the participation in European integration creates to the orders politically decentralized had been already confronted by the German federalism before this reform, although only in a partial way and achieving little effectiveness. The new regulation tries to palliate these existing deficiencies. Regarding the ascending phase of creation of the European Law, the competitions in which the Länder can participate directly have been reduced. The reform of the third section of article 53 FL tries to facilitate a fast and easy decision-making. In the descendent phase or execution phase of the European Law it seems logical to establish a system of responsibilities, although the objective would not



have to be the distribution of responsibilities, but the securing of the fulfilment of the obligation, maybe by means of the instruments of the cooperative federalism. If the participation of the Länder in the general deficit of Germany is evident, it seems to be clear that they must also assume part of the responsibility for the shared law breakings too.

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Oeter S., Wolff J.

**La posición del Bundesrat tras la reforma del federalism**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 6 anno 3

The 1 of September of 2006 has come into force the fiftieth second and until now more important reform of the Fundamental Law of Bonn. The so called "reform of the federalism" pretends, on the one hand, to clarify the system of distribution of competitions between the Federation and the Länder, and, on the other hand, to accelerate the legislative procedure at federal level reducing the number of federal laws that need the favorable vote from the Bundesrat to be approved (the so called "Zustimmungsgesetze"). This reduction of the quota of "Zustimmungsgesetze", that, according to the most optimistic calculations, could reach to the forty percent, could make suppose that the position of the Bundesrat in the constitutional structure of the federal State has been clearly weakened for this reform. The object of the present work its to solve two questions, if the constitutional reform has really affected substantially the position of the Bundesrat like central agency of participation of the Länder in the federal policy and to what extent. The reached conclusion, after a detailed analysis of the most important changes and the rules that have not been modified, is that, in fact, it is not possible to appreciate any outstanding change in the position of the Bundesrat within the organic and functional structure of the German federal State.

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

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De Petris A.

**La reforma del ordenamiento federal en Alemania: Ende gut, alles gut?**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 6 anno 3

The present article describes the recently activated reform process in which the German federal legal system is immersed at the present time. In order to explain this process the author makes a detailed review of the political chronicle which have accompanied it, referring all the factors that from first moment were decisive for its blockade and those which, later, helped to dissolve the process. With this aim, a description of the complicated game of interests between Federal State and their different Länder, as well as between the political groups represented inside them is made. To conclude, the article adds a summarized analysis of the effective contents of the reform that finally took place by means of an agreement among the Federal State and the Länder.

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

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Palermo Francesco

**La riforma degli "altri Senati". I casi di Germania e Spagna**

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 3, settembre , 561-563



No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

**Chiti Vannino**

**Le prospettive di riforma del Senato in Italia**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 22

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

**Soriano J. E.**

**Reforma constitucional y la crítica en Alemania del modelo**

in *Revista de Occidente*, n. 304

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

**Ruggeri Antonio**

**Riforme costituzionali e decentramento di poteri alle autonomie territoriali in Italia, dal punto di vista della teoria della Costituzione**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 22

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

**Gutierrez Gutierrez I.**

**Sentido y alcance de la reforma del federalismo alemán**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo*, n. 6 anno 3

The fiftieth second reform of the Fundamental Law of Bonn has been considered as the most important since 1949. The study, after summarizing the process that has led to this reform and to define its fundamental characteristics, analyzes the outstanding attempt to move from the present “cooperative federalism” to a new “competitive federalism” which is supposed to agree better with the demands of the globalization. This conclusion remarks that the present understanding of the German federal principle, closely linked to the postulate of the social State, it results resistant in its main aspects against the constitutional reform; this reform develops itself in political and institutional channels that incorporate a guarantee of stability. As a epilogue, Ignacio Gutiérrez points out the possible utility of his analyses in order to study the transformations of the territorial arrangement of power inside Spanish or European fields.





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**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*

**Bolleyer Nicole**

**Consociationalism and Intergovernmental Relations - Linking Internal and External Power-Sharing in the Swiss Federal Polity**

**in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 12, Issue 3, Autumn 2006 , 1-34

For several decades, comparative politics has treated the Swiss political system as the prime example of a power-sharing polity in which consociationalism and cooperative intergovernmental relations co-exist in a mutually reinforcing manner. Surprisingly enough, so far the linkages between these two types of power-sharing have been neither adequately theorized nor empirically analyzed. In order to substantiate how intra-governmental power-sharing facilitates intergovernmental cooperation, this paper proposes a rational choice approach specifying different mechanisms driving actors' choices in favour of or against strong intergovernmental arrangements (IGAs). Just to mention two of the mechanisms at work: given multi-party executives in the cantons, over time, party compositions hardly change and ideological differences between cantonal executives are moderate. Hence, a fairly stable horizontal interest profile characterized by little ideological divergence facilitates the setting-up of strongly institutionalized IGAs. These mechanisms are examined empirically, first, by systematically assessing the organization of Swiss intergovernmental relations and second, by identifying the motives of Swiss intergovernmental actors to establish the given structures on the basis of in-depths interviews. While the results indicate that intra-cantonal power-sharing facilitates inter-governmental institutionalization, they also reveal what culturalist approaches on Swiss federalism presupposing actors' inclination towards cooperation commonly overlook, namely Swiss actors' strategic moves to guard own powers and defend institutional self-interests affecting organizational developments in the intergovernmental arena.

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**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*

**Schenke Wolf-Rüdiger**

**Das 'gefühlte' Misstrauen. Zur Verfassungsrechtslage nach der Entscheidung des Bundesverfassungsgerichts vom 25 August 2005 zur Vertrauensfrage nach Art. 68 GG**

**in Zeitschrift für Politik**, Jahrgang 53, Heft 1, 2006 , 26-49

No abstract available

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**Schneider Hans-Peter**

**Der Kotau von Karlsruhe. Zur Kapitulation des Bundesverfassungsgerichts vor der Politik**

**in Zeitschrift für Politik**, Jahrgang 53, Heft 2, 2006 , 123-142



No abstract available

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

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Williams Brad

**Federal–regional relations in Russia and the Northern Territories dispute: the rise and demise of the ‘Sakhalin factor’**

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 19, Number 3, September , 263-285

This paper examines a relatively unexplored aspect of the Russo-Japanese territorial dispute: the involvement of subnational actors. It focuses in particular on the sustained campaign of domestic lobbying and paradiplomacy by elites from the Far East region of Sakhalin aimed at preventing the Russian central government from transferring the South Kuril Islands/Northern Territories to Japan during the 1990s. It explores the various responses to the ‘Sakhalin factor’ from federal authorities in Russia, as well as private and public bodies in Japan, highlighting the subsequent localization and pluralization of diplomatic channels. The paper also considers why the ‘Sakhalin factor’ became so prominent, pointing to a synergy of factors that include the high-profile anti-concessionary campaigns of the Sakhalin political elite, the fallout from Russia's troubled attempts at state building and a possible convergence of interests between Boris Yeltsin and regional authorities. The paper concludes with an analysis of how Vladimir Putin's federal reforms, launched in 2000, have diminished Sakhalin's authority over the South Kuril Islands.

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

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Eppler Annegret

**Föderalismusreform und Europapolitik**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50, 2006

No abstract available

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**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**

Scharpf Fritz W.

**Föderalismusreform: Weshalb wurde so wenig erreicht?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50, 2006

No abstract available

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

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Burkhart Simone, Manow Philip

**Kompromiss und Konflikt im parteipolitisierten Föderalismus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland**

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 16. Jahrgang (2006), Heft 3 , 807-824





Compromise and Conflict  
Party-political German Federalism

The extent of the German second chamber's legislative influence in situations of divided government has remained controversial. Using insights from the judicial review literature we contend that a strong opposition dominance in the Bundesrat usually does not lead to strong, open party-political conflict and the frequent failure of government's initiatives. Rather, the government anticipates the opposition's veto-potential and introduces more moderate proposals. However, if the opposition's majority in the Bundesrat is narrow, both government and opposition opt for less moderate policy positions and legislation is characterized by intense party-political conflict. The paper's hypotheses are tested on a detailed data set comprising all legislative activity in Germany between 1976 and 2002. The results confirm the importance of 'legislative autolimitation' of the government and thereby underline the substantial influence of German Federalism on legislation.

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

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Selb Peter

**Multi-Level Elections in Switzerland**

**in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 12, Issue 4, Winter 2006 , 49-75

Why do election results at national and regional parliamentary elections in Switzerland differ so widely? And why are these differences more pronounced in some constituencies than in others? This study discusses competing theoretical views of the linkage between elections held at multiple federal levels, and empirically tests their predictions using official election statistics and contextual data from Swiss national and cantonal elections between 1999 and 2003. Despite the spatially and temporally limited scope of this analysis, one conclusion suggests itself: current theories of the linkage suffer from their neglect of features of the electoral systems which may vary between different types of elections. Taking these institutional variations into account, we find a strong systematic relationship between election outcomes at different levels. Moreover, the linkage of election outcomes is, to some extent, contingent upon the degree to which regions are integrated into the national political system: while national trends in party support tend to drive election outcomes in nationally well-integrated cantons, election results ostensibly follow regional electoral developments in more peripheral cantons.

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**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*

Reutter Werner

**Regieren nach der Föderalismusreform**

**in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 50, 2006

No abstract available

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**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*

**Cantillon Bea, De Maesschalck Veerle, Rottiers Stijn, Verbist Gerlinde**

**Social redistribution in federalised Belgium**

**in West European Politics**, n. 5, vol. 29, november , 1034-1056

ABSTRACT: The federalisation of Belgium has led to a fragmentation of competences in the field of social policy. Only social security has remained an exclusive federal responsibility. However, there have been calls for further federalisation in this policy area. The prominence of interregional financial transfers fuels such calls, while its opponents point out that, among other things, federalisation would result in greater poverty and inequality in Wallonia, a Region that is already disadvantaged in economic terms. In this contribution we first outline the territorial organisation of social policy in a federalised Belgium. We then analyse social transfers between Flanders and Wallonia, focusing on their size and determinants. We demonstrate that these transfers have a considerable equalising and anti-poverty effect. Next, we explore the theoretical arguments for and against federalising social policy, supplemented with examples from the Belgian case. We conclude with an overview of the discussion and indicate some future policy directions.

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**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*

**Taccogna Gerolamo**

**Struttura federale dello Stato, provvista finanziaria dei Länder e perequazione economica territoriale in una recente decisione del Tribunale Costituzionale tedesco**

**in Federalismi**, Anno IV, n. 22

La decisione che si propone qui all'attenzione ha risolto una controversia promossa dal Land Berlino innanzi al Giudice costituzionale (Bundesverfassungsgericht) per sentire dichiarare...

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**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*

**Downey Arthur T.**

**The Conflict between the Chief Justice and the Chief Executive: Ex parte Merryman**

**in Journal of Supreme Court History**, November 2006 - Vol. 31 Issue 3 , 221-234

Rarely does the clash of ideas on the scope of governmental authority get reduced to a direct conflict between leaders of the branches of government. However, early in the Civil War period, the Chief Executive and the Chief Justice confronted each other in a direct fashion. The stakes were high, because the issues related to the conflict between national security and personal liberty.

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**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*

**Menzel Donald C.**



**The Katrina Aftermath: A Failure of Federalism or Leadership?**

in *Public Administration Review*, November-December 2006 - Vol. 66 Issue 6 , 808-811

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

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Watts Ronald L.

**The distribution of powers, responsibilities and resources in federations**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 20

Video della conferenza tenuta dal Prof. Ronald L. Watts presso la Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, dell'Università di Roma 'La Sapienza'. Roma 16 ottobre 2006

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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*

Vitolo Alfredo M.

**El Poder Legislativo Bicameral**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 20

Si realizamos un análisis de los diferentes sistemas de estructuración estatal, encontraremos que son variadas las soluciones que se brindan en el derecho comparado respecto de la organización del poder...

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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*

Petrillo P.L.

**Il ruolo delle seconde camere in Kazachstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan e Afghanistan tra esigenze di rappresentanza e Islam**

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 3 , 1283 - 1300

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Lanchester F., Watts R. L., Caravita B., Lippolis V., Quagliariello G., Lanzillotta L.

**Le seconde Camere negli ordinamenti federali**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 20

Video della conferenza, Roma 17 ottobre 2006.



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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*

Lanchester Fulco

**Le seconde Camere negli ordinamenti federali**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 20

Introduzione al seminario.

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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*

Goldsmith Jack, Manning John F.

**The President's Completion Power**

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 115, n. 9, September , 2280-2312

This Essay identifies and analyzes the President's completion power: the President's authority to prescribe incidental details needed to carry into execution a legislative scheme, even in the absence of congressional authorization to complete that scheme. The Essay shows that the completion power is a common explanation for very different presidential powers, including the administration of a presidential statute, prosecutorial discretion, and the use of force abroad without express congressional authorization. Maintaining that the widespread use of the completion power is a partial vindication of Chief Justice Vinson's neglected dissent in the *Youngstown Steel Seizure* case, this Essay argues that the completion power sheds light on a structural symmetry that cuts across Articles I, II, and III of the Constitution—namely, that each of the three branches has some degree of inherent power to carry into execution the powers conferred upon it. The Essay also examines normative questions about the scope and limits of the power.

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Rosenfeld M.

**Comparing constitutional review by the European Court of Justice and the U.S. Supreme Court**

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 4 n. 4 , 618-651

Although neither is a constitutional court, both the U.S. Supreme Court and the European Court of Justice engage in extensive constitutional review. While the European Union does not have a constitution, the European Court often engages in what amounts functionally to constitutional review, particularly in relation to the EU's quasi-federal structure. This article, comparing the two courts as constitutional adjudicators, explores the differences in style and rhetoric between the two, locating each in their respective institutional and cultural settings. It compares their approaches to interpretation as well as the source and scope of their legitimacy. Both courts have engaged in the constitutionalization of politics and seem at risk of politicizing their constitutions. The threats to their respective powers and legitimacy are, however, different. The U.S. Supreme Court is vulnerable to internal forces—the President, Congress, and national public opinion—whereas the European Court is mainly vulnerable to external forces—the member states and, particularly, the latter's constitutional courts.



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*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

**Horowitz Donald L.**

**Constitutional Courts: A Primer for Decision Makers**

**in Journal of Democracy**, Volume 17, Number 4, October , 125-137

Judicial review is a growing institution. Originating in the United States two centuries ago, the power to declare governmental action, whether legislative or executive, unconstitutional has spread around the world in the last half century. A carefully designed and properly limited constitutional court could be of inestimable benefit to the creation of the rule of law. Equally, a badly designed constitutional court, with unspecified or poorly specified powers, can become an object of political struggle, an impediment to democracy, and a negative influence on the development of the legal system.

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

**Chinn Stuart**

**Democracy-Promoting Judicial Review in a Two-Party System: Dealing With Second-Order Preferences**

**in Polity**, Volume 38, Number 4, October , 478-500

The tension between judicial review and democratic principles remains the most significant problem in modern constitutional theory. Yet this tension may be resolved in the context of "political stalemate." Political stalemate arises when both parties in a two-party system find it electorally advantageous to ignore a given political issue, even when majorities favor reform on that issue. This can occur when (a) majorities favor reform as only a secondary preference, and (b) a swing-voting minority exists which has intense preferences against reform. When political stalemate materializes, judicial activism toward reform serves democratic ends primarily by breaking the stalemate and encouraging open contestation on the issue. These are functions that electoral mechanisms simply cannot perform, and they point toward a democratic defense of the Supreme Court's decisions in *Griswold v. Connecticut* and *Lawrence v. Texas*.

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*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

**Lenaerts Koen, Gutman Kathleen**

**Federal Common Law in the European Union: A Comparative Perspective from the United States**

**in American Journal of Comparative Law**, vol. 54 - n. 1 , 1 - 122

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

**Redish Martin H.**



## **Good Behavior, Judicial Independence, and the Foundations of American Constitutionalism**

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 116, n. 1, October , 139-158

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

**Prakash S., Smith S. D.**

#### **How To Remove a Federal Judge**

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 116 n. 1

Most everyone assumes that impeachment is the only means of removing federal judges and that the Constitution's grant of good-behavior tenure is an implicit reference to impeachment. This Article challenges that conventional wisdom. Using evidence from England, the colonies, and the revolutionary state constitutions, the Article demonstrates that at the Founding, good-behavior tenure and impeachment had only the most tenuous of relationships. Good-behavior tenure was forfeitable upon a judicial finding of misbehavior. There would have to be a trial, the hearing of witnesses, and the introduction of evidence, with misbehavior proved by the party seeking to oust the tenured individual. Contrary to what many might suppose, judges were not the only ones who could be granted good-behavior tenure. Anything that might be held—land, licenses, employment, etc.—could be granted during good behavior, and private parties could grant good-behavior tenure to other private individuals. Impeachment, by contrast, referred to a criminal procedure conducted in the legislature that could lead to an array of criminal sanctions. In England and in the colonies, impeachment was never seen as a means of judging whether someone with good-behavior tenure had forfeited her tenure by reason of misbehavior. Whether a landholder, employee, or government officer with good-behavior tenure had misbehaved would be determined in the ordinary courts of law. Moreover, the vast majority of state constitutions did not equate good-behavior tenure with impeachment either. To the contrary, many distinguished them explicitly. Taken together, these propositions devastate the conventional conflation of good-behavior tenure with impeachment. More importantly, they indicate that the original Constitution did not render impeachment the only possible means of removing federal judges with good-behavior tenure. Given the long tradition of adjudicating misbehavior in the ordinary courts, Congress may enact necessary and proper legislation permitting the removal of federal judges upon a finding of misbehavior in the ordinary courts of law.

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

**Prakash Saikrishna, Smith Steven D.**

#### **How To Remove a Federal Judge**

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 116, n. 1, October , 72-137

Most everyone assumes that impeachment is the only means of removing federal judges and that the Constitution's grant of good-behavior tenure is an implicit reference to impeachment. This Article challenges that conventional wisdom. Using evidence from England, the colonies, and the revolutionary state constitutions, the Article demonstrates that at the Founding, good-behavior tenure and impeachment had only the most tenuous of relationships. Good-behavior tenure was forfeitable upon a judicial finding of misbehavior. There would have to be a trial, the hearing of witnesses, and the introduction of evidence, with misbehavior proved by the party seeking to oust the tenured individual. Contrary to what





many might suppose, judges were not the only ones who could be granted good-behavior tenure. Anything that might be held—land, licenses, employment, etc.—could be granted during good behavior, and private parties could grant good-behavior tenure to other private individuals. Impeachment, by contrast, referred to a criminal procedure conducted in the legislature that could lead to an array of criminal sanctions. In England and in the colonies, impeachment was never seen as a means of judging whether someone with good-behavior tenure had forfeited her tenure by reason of misbehavior. Whether a landholder, employee, or government officer with good-behavior tenure had misbehaved would be determined in the ordinary courts of law. Moreover, the vast majority of state constitutions did not equate good-behavior tenure with impeachment either. To the contrary, many distinguished them explicitly. Taken together, these propositions devastate the conventional conflation of good-behavior tenure with impeachment. More importantly, they indicate that the original Constitution did not render impeachment the only possible means of removing federal judges with good-behavior tenure. Given the long tradition of adjudicating misbehavior in the ordinary courts, Congress may enact necessary and proper legislation permitting the removal of federal judges upon a finding of misbehavior in the ordinary courts of law.

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

***Subsection 6. The judiciary branch***

de Reede Joost L.

**Protection of Basic Constitutional Features in India and Europe**

in **European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 2, Issue 03 , 476-482

Book Review

PRAN CHOPRA (ed.), *The Supreme Court versus the Constitution. A Challenge to Federalism* (New Delhi, Sage Publications 2006)

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

***Subsection 6. The judiciary branch***

Davies Ross E.

**The Other Supreme Court**

in **Journal of Supreme Court History**, November 2006 - Vol. 31 Issue 3 , 221-234

"The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court."

—U.S. Const. art. III, § 1 (emphasis added)

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

***Subsection 6. The judiciary branch***

Dorsen N.

**The selection of U.S. Supreme Court justices**



in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 4 n. 4 , 652-663

The selection process for U.S. Supreme Court justices has grown ever more complex. Presidents have the constitutional power to nominate justices, and, in doing so, they have employed several criteria at different times, including professional merit, ideological compatibility, and political support by the president and his advisers. Under the Constitution, the Senate has the authority to consent to or reject appointees. In recent decades it has used public hearings to ascertain a nominee's qualifications and, within certain limitations, the nominee's ideological attitudes. This process is intensely political and, as such, it reflects the Supreme Court's broad authority as the final interpreter of the Constitution, many of whose provisions raise highly contestable issues of great political significance. This article discusses these matters in light of Supreme Court appointments over the past century.

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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*

**Crémer Jacques, Palfrey Thomas R.**

**An equilibrium voting model of federal standards with externalities**

in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume: 90, Issue: 10-11 , 2091-2106

This paper proposes a framework for studying policy making in a federal system in the presence of spillover externalities. Local jurisdictions choose local policies by majority rule subject to standards that are set by majority rule at the federal level. We characterize the induced preferences of voters for federal policies, prove existence of local majority rule equilibrium, provide an example of non-existence of global majority rule equilibrium, and explore the welfare properties of federal standards in the presence of spillovers

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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*

**Haddow R. , Schneider Steffen G. ,Klassen Thomas R.**

**Can Decentralization Alleviate Labour Market Dysfunctions in Marginal Jurisdictions? Active Labour Market Policies in Nova Scotia and Saxony-Anhalt**

in *Canadian Public Policy* , Volume 32 Number 3 , 317-338

An influential discourse now promotes decentralization in the active labour market policy field. Drawing upon evidence from Nova Scotia and Saxony-Anhalt, two marginal jurisdictions within the Canadian and German federations, this article questions the decentralization argument. The institutional setting of policy making in these two jurisdictions differs in fundamental ways, but policy outcomes have been unsatisfactory because subnational governments in each region lacked the resources to exploit the particular advantages of their setting. Decentralization may be workable in the active labour market field, but policymakers who wish to pursue it should first consider the kinds of obstacles, such as those identified here, that it can face.

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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*

**Bosch Roca N.**

**El finançament dels governs subcentrals en els països federals**



in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, n. 3 , 87 - 120

• The purpose of the article is to describe the main characteristics of the financing of sub-central bodies in federal states. The article focuses chiefly on bodies of an intermediate level, that is, the states that form the federation. The analysis is based on the experience of Germany, Australia, Austria, Canada, Switzerland and the USA. At the same time, the article makes references throughout to the financing of the [Spanish] Autonomous Communities to determine whether this is in line with the sub-central financing of those countries analysed. Finally, it also highlights the manner in which the model of financing in the new Catalan Statute of Autonomy brings us closer to the characteristics of a federal model. The article's analysis proceeds through the assessment of a series of underlying issues: the degree of decentralization in federal states, both with reference to expenses and income from taxation; expense functions by levels of government; income structure in governments of an intermediate level, highlighting the degree of financial dependence; the tributary power and assignation of taxes at a sub-central level; the subsidies of taxation levelling, and finally the political-institutional mechanisms of coordination between the various levels of government.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Treisman D.

**Explaining Fiscal Decentralisation: Geography, Colonial History, Economic Development and Political Institutions**

in *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 44 n. 3 , 289 - 325

Why are some countries more fiscally decentralised than others? Scholars have attributed such differences to geographical, cultural, institutional and economic factors. Using a dataset of 66 countries, I test various hypotheses. The results suggest territorially larger-but not necessarily more populous-countries are more fiscally decentralised. Former colonies of Spain or Portugal are more centralised, while former Soviet states are particularly decentralised. Economic development leads to greater expenditure decentralisation, but affects revenue decentralisation less, rendering local governments in richer countries more dependent on central transfers. Federal states are more decentralised, in part because federalism is more common among more developed countries. Ethnolinguistic divisions did not correlate with decentralisation. Neither the level nor duration of democracy had any clear effect. Longitudinal analysis suggested democratisation is associated with a significant but tiny increase in decentralisation.

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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*

Economides George, Miaouli Natasha

**Federal transfers, environmental policy and economic growth**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 28, Issue 4 , 680-699

We study the effects of commonly used cross-country transfer programs on uncoordinated national environmental policies, economic growth and natural resources in a federal economy. Natural resources are a federation-wide public good. In each member country, production degrades the environment, but clean-up policy can improve it. Clean-up policy is financed by taxes on polluting firms' output and cross-country redistributive transfers. We solve for a symmetric Nash equilibrium among national governments. Transfer policies that lead to higher pollution taxes make existence harder, and are harmful not only to growth but also to the environment. The best way to improve environmental quality is



to implement a taxation system that stimulates growth and broadens tax bases to finance national clean-up policies.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Nicholson-Crotty Sean, Theobald Nick, Wood Dan

**Fiscal Federalism and Budgetary Tradeoffs in the American States**

in *Political Research Quarterly*, n. 2, vol. 59, june , 313-321

ABSTRACT: Despite the massive scale of state-level budgeting, there currently exists no theoretically grounded and empirically sound examination of budgetary tradeoffs at this level of government. In order to provide such an examination, we extend a well-accepted approach to tradeoffs at the federal level in order to accommodate the unique intergovernmental aspects of state-level budgeting. We develop expectations that need for a good, ideology of state-level decisionmakers, and the relative amounts of federal grants received in each expenditure category all influence tradeoff decisions. We test these hypotheses in an analysis of budgetary decisions in all 50 states between 1971 and 1996.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Thornton John

**Fiscal decentralization and economic growth reconsidered**

in *Journal of Urban Economics*, Volume 61, Issue 1 , 64-70

Recent studies examining the relation between fiscal decentralization and economic growth have failed to take account of the extent of the independent taxing powers available to sub-national governments and thus have substantially overstated the degree of effective decentralization. Results from a cross section study of 19 OECD member countries suggest that when the measure of fiscal decentralization is limited to the revenues over which sub-national governments have full autonomy, its impact on economic growth is not statistically significant.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Brueckner Jan K

**Fiscal federalism and economic growth**

in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume: 90, Issue: 10-11 , 2107-2120

This paper uses an endogenous-growth model with overlapping generations to explore the connection between fiscal federalism and economic growth. The analysis shows that federalism, which allows public-good levels to be tailored to suit the differing demands of young and old consumers, who live in different jurisdictions, increases the incentive to save. This stronger incentive in turn leads to an increase in investment in human capital, and a byproduct of this higher investment is faster economic 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*

Kessing Sebastian G. , KonradKai A., Kotsogiannis Christos

**Foreign direct investment and the dark side of decentralization**

in **Economic Policy**, volume 22 issue 49

Both in the developed and developing world, decentralization of fiscal policy is frequently argued to foster investment, because allowing investors to choose between competing locations should make it difficult for each jurisdiction to tax the investment's returns. We point out that this 'horizontal' dimension of decentralization cannot eliminate ex post incentives to tax investments once they are irreversibly located in a jurisdiction, and that the negative ex ante investment effects of such 'hold up' problems are actually stronger when decentralization inevitably leads to multiple levels of taxation power in each location. Empirically, we detect significant negative effects on FDI of the 'vertical' dimension of decentralization, measured by the number of government layers, in a data set containing many countries and many suitable control variables. Indicators of overall fiscal decentralization do not appear to affect the investment climate negatively per se, but our theoretical arguments and empirical results suggest that policymakers should consider very carefully the form and degree of government decentralization if they aim at improving the investment climate.

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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*

Schneider Hans-Peter

**Föderale Finanzautonomie im internationalen Vergleich**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 50, 2006

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Pickup Mark

**Globalization, Politics and Provincial Government Spending in Canada**

in **Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique**, Volume 39 - Issue 04 - December 2006 , 883-917

Using time series, cross-sectional econometric modelling, an analysis is made of competing political and economic determinants of Canadian provincial government fiscal policy during the 1980s and 1990s. It is determined that provincial government spending responses to trade liberalization are dependent upon the ideology of the government and conditioned by the degree of provincial unionization. When relatively high levels of unionization prevail, those governments that typically spend the most reduce total spending to a lowest common denominator. However, when unionization is low, provincial government spending responses to increasing trade openness is primarily compensatory.



This is in contradiction to the “race to the bottom” theory. The contingent nature of the provincial government spending response to trade openness means that despite overall pressures for fiscal convergence, political, economic and regional factors continue to contribute to distinct provincial spending policies.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Buglione Enrico**

**La finanza regionale nella Costituzione: opportunità della riforma del 2001**

in *Rivista di politica economica*, VII-VIII 2006 - Luglio-Agosto

Understanding how the 2001 amendment of Title V of the Constitution, in particular Article 119, will impact on the fiscal autonomy of the ordinary statute regions requires looking at: the dynamics of regional fiscal autonomy over the period up until when the 1948 Constitution was revised; the interpretation given by the Constitutional Court to a number of provisions contained in Article 119, as amended; some basic principles of fiscal federalism which with the 2001 constitutional reform become key reference points when choosing the arrangements to be used for financing the...

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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*

**Schneider Friedrich**

**Legislative Malapportionment and the Politicization of Germany's Intergovernmental Transfer System**

in *Public Finance Review*, Volume 34, No. 6 , 637-662

Legislative bargaining theory suggests that fiscal transfers among member states of a federation are determined to a substantial degree by political representation effects. Malapportionment of the states' population in the legislature is claimed to lead to disproportional benefits of overrepresented states. The article analyzes empirically the determinants of funds in Germany's intergovernmental transfer system. The authors expand previous investigations to include the effects of both the bicameral system in Germany and the postreunification period. Using data for the period from 1970 to 2002, the authors find that malapportionment in the upper house leads to disproportional state shares of per capita transfers. Estimates also indicate that the impact of overrepresentation has somewhat increased over time. Disproportional representation in the lower house does not seem to matter, as the institutional framework of decision making in the lower chamber is not too supportive to constitute a bias towards overrepresented states.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Badriotti Augusta, Fornasini Margherita, Vaneecloo Clément**

**L'evoluzione della Costituzione in Belgio e in Italia: un'analisi delle relazioni fiscali intergovernative**

in *Rivista di politica economica*, VII-VIII 2006 - Luglio-Agosto

The discussion around the adequateness of the Constitution to the current economic setting is still ongoing. To see





where, this discussion will lead eventually, it is interesting to compare the Italian decentralization process with a similar process undertaken in Belgium. This contribution compares Belgian and Italian decentralised processes and their outcome in terms of national fiscal settings. It is argued that political and economic factors are to be analysed jointly if one wants to understand decentralization trends. The potential for politico-fiscal conflicts seems lower in Italy, while the probability of secession might be higher in Belgium.

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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*

**Landesmann Michael A., Stehrer Robert**

**Modelling International Economic Integration: Patterns of Catching-up and Foreign Direct Investment**  
in *Economia Politica*, Fascicolo 3

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Kotsogiannis Christos , Schwager Robert**

**On the incentives to experiment in federations**

in *Journal of Urban Economics*, Volume 60, Issue 3 , 484-497

Conventional wisdom has it that policy innovation is better promoted in a federal rather than in a unitary system. Recent research, however, has provided theoretical evidence to the contrary: a multi-jurisdictional system is characterized—due to the existence of a horizontal information externality—by under-provision of policy innovation. This paper presents a simple model that introduces political competition for federal office and emphasizes that such competition plays an important role in shaping the incentives for experimentation. For, in this case, political actors use the innovative policies to signal ability to the electorate. This effect may offset the effect that arises from the incentive to free ride, and so a federal system may generate more innovation than a unitary one.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Carnegie G., Baxter C.**

**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.

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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*

**Faguet Jean-Paul , Wietzke Frank-Borge**

**Social funds and decentralisation: optimal institutional design**

**in Public Administration and Development**, Volume 26, Issue 4 , 303 - 315

Most of the 60+ developing countries that have established social funds (SFs) are decentralising their governments as well. But the question of how to tailor SFs - originally a highly centralised model - for a decentralising context has received relatively little attention in the literature. We first examine evidence on the ability of SFs to adapt to a decentralised context. We then lay out the implications of decentralisation for SF institutional design step-by-step through the project cycle. The topic is doubly important because social funds can increase their effectiveness, and the sustainability of their investments, by reorganising internal processes to take advantage of the political and civic institutions that decentralisation creates. Local government has an informational advantage in local needs and characteristics (time and place), whereas SFs have access to better technology and knowledge of sectoral best practice. The key is to create institutional incentives that best combine these relative advantages.

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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*

**Marton James, Wildasin David E.**

**State government cash and in-kind benefits: Intergovernmental fiscal transfers and cross-program substitution**

**in Journal of Urban Economics**, Volume 61, Issue 1 , 1-20

US states provide both cash and health insurance benefits for the poor, partially financed by fiscal transfers from the Federal government. The 1996 welfare reform drastically reduces Federal support for cash transfers at the margin, lowering the relative price to states of providing benefits to the poor through Medicaid. This paper analyzes the comparative-statics response of state governments to such changes in intergovernmental transfers, showing (in central cases) that they can contribute not only to reductions in state expenditures on cash benefits but to increases in expenditures on Medicaid, whether or not beneficiary populations are mobile among states.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Grazzini Lisa, Petretto Alessandro**

**Tax Competition between Unitary and Federal Countries**

**in Economics of Governance**, Volume 8, Number 1

We analyse taxation of capital in a two-country model, where one country is unitary while the other one is federal, consisting of two identical regions. Both national and regional governments levy a tax on capital. The countries play a noncooperative game between them, with the government of the federal country acting as a Stackelberg leader with respect to its regional governments. We show under what circumstances, at equilibrium, the federal country sets its tax rate inefficiently low, while the unitary country sets it inefficiently high.



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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*

**Camargo Brito Ricardo**

**The Globalization Debate Revisited: An Assessment of the n"Constraints" of Fiscal Policy on the Nation-State**

**in Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile**, Vol. 39 /

2006 / Nr. 153 , 37

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Tavares Samia Costa**

**The political economy of the European customs classification**

**in Public Choice**, Volume 129, Numbers 1-2 , 107-130

Customs classification is an important element in a country's trade policy. How a good is classified can affect the rate of duty that applies, the coverage of non-tariff barriers, and the formulation and application of rules of origin.

Reclassifications can occur because of the introduction of a new product, but also because of protectionist motives. This paper is the first attempt at explaining these reclassifications. Focusing on the European Union, I examine whether the number of tariff lines in an industry result from the introduction of new products or from protectionist lobbying. The analysis focuses on 90 manufacturing industries over 12 years. Results suggest that protectionist lobbying does play a role in explaining changes in the EU's customs classification.

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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*

**Beetsma Roel , Giuliadori Massimo, Klaassen Franc**

**Trade spill-overs of fiscal policy in the European Union: a panel analysis**

**in Economic Policy**, volume 21 issue 48

We explore international spill-overs from fiscal policy shocks via trade in Europe.

To assess and quantify the channels through which a fiscal expansion stimulates domestic activity, foreign exports, and foreign output, we estimate a dynamic empirical model of government spending, net taxes, and output, and combine its estimates with a panel model of trade linkages across European countries. The baseline estimates of both models are quite robust and statistically significant. Our results indicate that trade spill-overs of fiscal shocks should be taken into account when assessing the character and intensity of economic integration in the European Union.

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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*



Brühlhart Mariusa, Jametti Mario

**Vertical versus horizontal tax externalities: An empirical test**

in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume: 90, Issue: 10-11 , 2027-2062

We study taxation externalities in federations of benevolent governments. Where different hierarchical government levels tax the same base, one can observe two types of externalities: a horizontal externality, working among governments of the same level and leading to tax rates that are too low compared to the social optimum; and a vertical externality, working between different levels of government and leading to suboptimally high tax rates. Building on the model of Keen and Kotsogiannis [Keen, Michael J., Kotsogiannis, Christos, 2002. Does federalism lead to excessively high taxes? *American Economic Review* 92 (1) 363–370], we derive a discriminating hypothesis to distinguish vertical and horizontal tax externalities based on measurable variables. This test is applied to a panel data set on local taxes in a sample of Swiss municipalities that feature direct-democratic fiscal decision making, so as to maximize the correspondence with the “benevolent” governments of the theory. We find that vertical externalities dominate – they are thus an observed empirical phenomenon as well as a notable extension to the theory of tax competition.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Schneider A.

**Who Gets What from Whom? The Impact of Decentralisation on Tax Capacity and Social Spending**

in *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 44 n. 3 , 344 - 369

This project studies patterns of decentralisation and public finance in 68 countries where local and national statistics are available. Six indicators of decentralisation are clustered around fiscal, administrative and political dimensions, and these dimensions had independent and surprising relationships with the resources governments collected and what they did with their money. First, politically decentralised regimes taxed less overall and spent less on social policies. Second, administrative decentralisation showed a positive impact on social policies, but neither administrative nor fiscal decentralisation had a systematic relationship to tax capacity. These results suggest that multi-level governance might best be pursued in a partial fashion. Political centralisation may favour the actors and interests that seek large amounts of progressive public action, while administrative decentralisation may allow competition, information and innovation to lead to efficient and effective public policies. Other things being equal, political centralisation and administrative decentralisation may achieve high levels of effective, efficient and redistributive public action.

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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)*

KÉBABDJIAN G.

**Crédibilité de la Banque centrale européenne et policy-mix en Europe: une proposition iconoclaste**

in *Economies et Sociétés*, Juin-juillet (série "Monnaie" (ME) N. 5)

No abstract available

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



*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

HAUGUEL J-C.

**La crédibilité de la Banque centrale européenne: fondements et perspectives**

**in Economies et Sociétés**, Juin-juillet (série "Monnaie" (ME) N. 5)

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Spinelli Franco, Trecroci Carmine

**Maastricht: New and Old Rules**

**in Open Economies Review**, Volume 17, Numbers 4-5 , 477-492

Thanks to the Maastricht Treaty and similar arrangements, central banks nowadays enjoy considerable independence. This is generally believed to be the result of relatively recent debates, which led to the conclusion that sheltering monetary authorities from the pressures of fiscal policymakers is a prerequisite for monetary stability. However, in history this point has in fact been a recurrent tenet. We start with David Ricardo's arguments in favour of central bank independence and against monetisation of public deficits. After WWI, the latter issue was at the heart of the 1920 International Financial Conference of the League of Nations, which fostered and guided the establishment of many new central banks, and shaped various policymaking arrangements of today's monetary authorities.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Tovmo Per

**Budgetary Procedures and Deficits in Norwegian Local Governments**

**in Economics of Governance**, Volume 8, Number 1 , 37-49

This paper provides an empirical analysis of the connection between budgetary procedures and deficits in Norwegian local governments. We argue that centralized budgetary procedures have an advantage in overcoming common-pool resource problems in the decision-making process and will lead to lower deficits. This hypothesis is tested on a panel data set of Norwegian local governments. The results add to the existing evidence of a negative connection between deficits and the degree of centralization of the budget process. Special emphasis is put on the problem with potential biased estimates resulting from endogeneity of the budgetary variables.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Geys Benny ,Heyndels Bruno

**Disentangling The Effects Of Political Fragmentation On Voter Turnout: The Flemish Municipal Elections**

**in Economics and Politics**, Volume 18 Issue 3

Political fragmentation has been shown to be an important determinant of electoral turnout. We introduce an empirical approach that allows disentangling the impact of two dimensions of such fragmentation: the number of parties and the



size inequalities between those parties. This is important as it allows us to assess the size, significance, and direction of the individual effects of each element – an aspect disregarded in previous research. Our empirical analysis of the 2000 Flemish municipal elections shows that a higher number of parties competing in the election lowers turnout. The size inequalities between the parties exert a positive – though insignificant – influence on voter participation.

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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)***

**Robert Rüdiger**

**Globalisierung als kommunales Projekt**

**in Zeitschrift für Politik**, Jahrgang 53, Heft 2, 2006 , 212-226

No abstract available

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

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

**Evans Bob, Joas Marko, Sundback Susan, Theobald Kate**

**Governing local sustainability**

**in Journal of Environmental Planning and Management**, Volume 49, Number 6, November , 849-867

This paper draws upon the DISCUS (Developing Institutional and Social Capacity for Sustainable Development) research project, co-funded by the European Commission. The project was undertaken during 2001 – 2004 and involved an in-depth study of 40 European towns and cities in order to understand the institutional and social factors and conditions that might contribute to policy 'achievement' or 'failure' in local sustainable development policy and practice. Based on the findings of this research it proposes a conceptual framework for local sustainable development, linking the concepts of institutional capital, social capital and governance to provide a model for understanding the governing of local sustainability. The research shows that in those cases that exhibit sustainable development policy achievements, there are also greater levels of civil society activity and knowledge regarding sustainability issues, and high levels of institutional capacity. Confident local government is crucial to the development of institutional capacity and to institutional learning. One aspect of this is local authorities being equipped to address the longer-term issues and to have a strategic vision for a sustainable future.

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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)***

**Vion Antoine**

**L'affirmation des gouvernements urbains dans l'union europeenne: une legitimisation professionnelle diffuse**

**in Politique européenne** , n. 19, 2006

En s'appuyant sur certains acquis de la sociologie des professions, notamment les travaux d'Eliot Freidson et Andrew Abbott, l'article analyse les limites du processus d'institutionnalisation de la représentation des gouvernements urbains en Europe, et les effets dynamisants de la structuration d'une politique régionale pour l'affirmation d'enjeux et de savoirs spécifiques au gouvernement urbain. Dans un deuxième temps, il montre que ce n'est donc pas par des modèles d'analyse top-down ou bottom up d'eupéanisation des politiques publiques que l'on peut comprendre l'affirmation des





gouvernements urbains, mais par une attention plus soutenue aux relations transnationales et aux coopérations interprofessionnelles qui le caractérisent.

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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)***

Koenig Pierre

**La Bavière et le fédéralisme aujourd'hui**

in *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, 38 (2006), 3

No abstract available

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

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

Boudreau Julie-Anne, Keil Roger

**La réconciliation de la démocratie locale et la compétitivité internationale dans le discours réformiste à Toronto**

in *Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique*, Vol. 25, no 1, 2006

Based on the example of Toronto, this article seeks to understand why many activists use the language of local democracy in their struggle against neoliberalism. Recent urban reforms have often been legitimated as "necessary" for global competitiveness. Yet, these reforms have been perceived by residents as a direct threat to their quality of life. While this antagonism has long been analysed as the opposition between "use value" and "exchange value", the return to power of a centre-left regime in Toronto is better characterized by a synthesis between these two poles, which exemplifies the process of normalizing neoliberalism.

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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)***

Fontan Jean-Marc, Hamel Pierre, Morin Richard, Shragge Eric

**Le développement local dans un contexte métropolitain. La démocratie en quête d'un nouveau modèle ?**

in *Politique et sociétés, revue de la Société québécoise de science politique*, Vol. 25, no 1, 2006

Traditionally, local development in the urban context is defined at the level of neighbourhoods. We hypothesize that, with the influence of globalization, social actors, particularly those in local communities, should be turning towards urban spaces because it is the level not only for economic development, but also for managing social and environmental problems. In order to test our hypothesis, we examined empirically the practices of community organizations in the Montreal region, particularly as regards their approach and plans for local development and their commitment to local democracy. However, the results of this study did not allow us to confirm that hypothesis. That can be explained, at least in part, by the fact that the Montreal region has only recently become defined as a political space.



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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)*

**Bulkeley Harriet , Kern Kristine**

**Local Government and the Governing of Climate Change in Germany and the UK**

**in Urban Studies**, Volume 43, Number 12 , 2237 - 2259

This paper argues that, in order to address the challenges of climate change, attention needs to be focused not only at the international level but also on how climate protection policy is taking shape locally. It provides a comparative analysis of local climate change policy in Germany and the UK. By moving the focus from an analysis of the formal competencies of local government to the multiple modes of governing through which climate protection is taking place, the similarities between the two countries are brought into view. In both cases, actions are concentrated in the energy sphere and municipalities are increasingly deploying self-governing and enabling approaches to undertaken emissions reductions. The paper argues that the impacts of EU policies, financial crises and the political challenges of implementing climate change policies are changing the capacity for local intervention, with potentially significant consequences for medium- and long-term goals for climate protection.

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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)*

**Geys Benny**

**Looking across borders: A test of spatial policy interdependence using local government efficiency ratings**

**in Journal of Urban Economics**, Volume 60, Issue 3 , 443-462

Spatial patterns in (local) government taxation and spending decisions have received a lot of attention. Still, the focus on taxation or expenditure levels in previous studies may be incomplete. Indeed, (rational) individuals are likely to consider the level of spending on (or taxation for) public goods provision simultaneously with how much public goods they actually receive—thus assessing the ‘price/quantity’ of government policies. Therefore, the present paper argues that incumbents may want their ‘price/quantity’ ratio to be close to that in neighbouring regions. Analysing Flemish local governments’ efficiency ratings for the year 2000 (which relate total spending to the quantity of locally provided public goods), we confirm the existence of neighbourhood effects in local government policies.

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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)*

**Pearce Graham, Ayres Sarah**

**New patterns of governance in the English region: assessing their implications for spatial planning**

**in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 24, Issue 5, October , 909-927

Compared with the constitutional changes introduced elsewhere in the United Kingdom, in the English regions a more cautious approach has been adopted based on administrative decentralisation. A key feature of the government’s reforms has been the strengthening of regional spatial planning and the transfer of the regional planning function to unelected regional assemblies. We examine how far these reforms have assisted regions to achieve greater discretion over planning policies and a more corporate approach to spatial planning. Our central argument is that, given the



absence of elected regional government in England, there are outstanding institutional, cultural, and resource obstacles to extending regional freedoms and flexibilities. Nonetheless, the introduction of new statutory regional spatial strategies, together with a greater commitment in Whitehall to coordinate regional budgets, offers a potential way forward.

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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)***

**Belaïdi Nadia, Renaud-Hellier Emmanuelle**

**On sustainable management in the local governance of water: a prospective localised study**  
**in *International Journal of Sustainable Development*, Volume 9, Number 2 , 180-198**

In the face of the changes in the planet's natural resources and of their unequal distribution, it is becoming more urgent that contemporary societies oversee environmental assets in a global manner. Although international directives, when they are transposed into national laws, may set specific objectives, meeting them at the local level is as yet an uneven enterprise. Nevertheless we hope to demonstrate, using a case-study involving local tensions over water resources, that public management of the crisis may be developed that effectively involves the civic society, by using the incentives and enforcement tools of central government and of local institutions.

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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)***

**Dollery Brian, Wallis Joe, Allan Percy**

**The Debate that Had to Happen But Never Did: The Changing Role of Australian Local Government**  
**in *Australian Journal of Political Science*, n. 4, vol. 41, december , 553-567**

**ABSTRACT:** The past few decades have witnessed a significant transformation in the composition of Australian local government service provision away from its traditional narrow emphasis on 'services to property' towards a broader 'services to people' approach. This process has occurred by default in an ad hoc incremental manner with virtually no debate on the changing role of local councils, unlike the New Zealand experience where a similar transition in service delivery generated public debate. In an effort to stimulate a 'debate that had to happen but never did', this paper seeks to establish whether a significant shift in the service mix of Australian municipalities has indeed taken place and then evaluates three stylized models of local government that could be adopted in Australia: minimalist councils; optimalist councils; and maximalist councils.

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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)***

**Ross C.**

**The tortuous path of local government reform in the Russian federation**  
**in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 32 n. 5 , 639 - 658**

This is an account of the evolution of Russian local government since the emergence of the Russian Federation as a sovereign state in 1991. The three major reforms of local government, in 1991, 1995 and 2003, are discussed in detail, showing how the notion of local autonomy and local government competences received recognition in the law of 1991, and how the principle of separation of local government from the administration of the state was enshrined in the



Constitution of 1993, even as the representative bodies in local government were cut back. It goes on to describe the 1995 local government reform, which sought to provide an institutional basis for that constitutional principle, but how this foundered in practice due to pressure from regional authorities hostile to local autonomy, and how electoral considerations strengthened these demands. The reform of 2003 is analysed, showing its limitations and dangers from the point and the influence of the electoral cycle in strengthening the hand of regional opponents of local autonomy.

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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)***

**Le Blanc Marie-France**

**Two Tales of Municipal Reorganization: Toronto's and Montreal's Diverging Paths Toward Regional Governance and Social Sustainability**

**in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique**, Volume 39 - Issue 03 - September 2006 , 571-590

In Toronto and Montreal, territorial reorganizations modified the arrangements governing regional cooperation, the channels for citizen participation, and the composition of the civic community, all important factors that define the margins local authorities have to control and shape economic and social development. In both cases, these changes brought about a realignment of local civic forces and modified political arrangements at the metropolitan level, leading each city to break from its former path of development.

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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)***

**Sandford Mark**

**Westminster Executive meets local government 'culture': overview and scrutiny in three English county councils**

**in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 24, Issue 6, December , 929-946

The Local Government Act 2000 established the system of 'overview and scrutiny' in a majority of English local authorities. Ostensibly an attempt to transfer some of the features of the parliamentary/government decisionmaking process, the new system has not been able entirely to replace its predecessor. An analysis of three case-study county councils shows that they have adapted the overview and scrutiny system to existing political preferences, which owe much both to existing local government practice and to the prevailing cultures within the councils. Culture has influenced the structure of committees, their relationship to the executive, officer relationships, questioning, and use of the call-in function.

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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***

**Swenden Wilfried, Maarten Theo Jans**

**'Will it stay or will it go?' Federalism and the sustainability of Belgium**

**in West European Politics**, n. 5, vol. 29, november , 877-894



**ABSTRACT:** This article provides an overview of the federalisation of Belgium. It first discusses why Belgium acquired a federal character when the politics of the centre already recognised the multilingual character of the Belgian state. Subsequently the authors discuss the specificities of the Belgian federal system when it is placed in a comparative perspective. The presence of two different types of regions - Regions and Communities - the steering capacity of a small group of political elites reluctant to give up political control, the presence of institutional asymmetries, the initially dual nature of dividing competencies and the slow development of intergovernmental relations are highlighted as specific features of Belgian federalism. In the final section, the authors assess the assets and liabilities of federalism from the viewpoint of institutional stability. They argue that while Belgian federalism contains significant institutional shock absorbers and issues of common interest, the further unravelling of the centre in a confederal direction is more likely.

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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*

della Cananea Giacinto

**Autonomie regionali e vincoli comunitari**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 25

Nella problematica riguardante il finanziamento degli enti territoriali, è usuale esaminare i nessi che si instaurano tra l'autonomia riconosciuta a tali enti e i limiti entro i quali essa può essere esercitata. D'altronde, il concetto di autonomia, del quale l'autonomia finanziaria costituisce una specificazione, "riguarda principalmente ... [gli] ordinamenti [non originari]". L'autonomia, si può aggiungere, è un concetto di tipo relazionale. Esso designa, cioè, la condizione giuridica in cui si trovano due o più enti nei loro rapporti reciproci, piuttosto che la condizione in cui essi si trovano in sé e per sé. Più precisamente, l'autonomia riguarda i rapporti che corrono tra gli enti non originari o – secondo un altro ordine di idee – non sovrani e l'ente originario o sovrano. L'ente di questo tipo è, per antonomasia, lo Stato, al quale si contrappongono gli altri enti territoriali ("autarchici", secondo l'ordine di concetti prevalente nel periodo meno recente). Peraltro, sul piano concettuale si può applicare questa messa a punto a qualsiasi rapporto che si instauri, in virtù di una o più norme oppure in via di fatto, tra un ordinamento di grado superiore e uno o più ordinamenti di grado inferiore...

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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*

Kubal Mary Rose.

**Contradictions and Constraints in Chile's Health Care and Education Decentralization**

in *Latin American Politics & Society*, Vol. 48, Nr 4

Proponents of social service decentralization often claim that transferring service administration to lower levels of government facilitates increases citizen participation and governmental accountability while improving allocative efficiency and equity in service distribution. Using the cases of health and education decentralization in Chile, this article evaluates whether and under what conditions social service decentralization programs are likely to deliver on these promises. It discusses the tensions between equity and efficiency goals and how these may play out given different accountability mechanisms in local public choice, principal-agent, and real-world "hybrid" decentralization models. The case studies illustrate the difficulty of balancing the need for central standards and funding with local autonomy, but suggest that accountability mechanisms that emerged following Chile's transition to democracy in 1990 led to improvements in both equity and efficiency in decentralized service administration



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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*

Dauda Carol L.

**Democracy and decentralisation: local politics, marginalisation and political accountability in Uganda and South Africa**

in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 26, Issue 4 , 291 - 302

While democratic decentralisation is viewed as an important vehicle for development in sub-Saharan Africa, its viability in practice is often doubted. Lack of resources, expertise, marginalised populations and the inexperience of local electors are all barriers to successful decentralisation. However, often overlooked are the diverse ways in which local people use the opportunities provided by democratic decentralisation to engage local authorities and demand accountability. Using examples from Uganda and South Africa,<sup>1</sup> this article demonstrates how local people use democratic openings to meet the challenges of marginalisation and demand accountability. While the data is from the mid to late 1990s, the evidence presented here is relevant to the continuing debate over democratic decentralisation for it reveals something that is not always recognised: lack of resources is not necessarily the problem; developing political capacity for demanding accountability for existing resources is what is important. The implication is that for decentralisation to be effective, practitioners must develop a better understanding of local political engagement so that their efforts may strengthen rather than thwart emerging political relations of accountability.

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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*

Cao H., Vaca J.

**Desarrollo regional en la Argentina: la centenaria vigencia de un patrón de asimetría territorial.**

in *EURE - Revista latinoamericana de estudios urbano regionales*, Vol. 32 n. 95

No abstract available

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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*

Formigoni Roberto

**Forme di attuazione del Titolo V della Costituzione**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 23

In un decennio in cui le Regioni sono state, in diversi Paesi europei, motore di innovazione, la Lombardia ha saputo interpretare con autorevolezza il proprio ruolo, ponendosi all'avanguardia...

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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*

Ferraiuolo Gennaro

**Il Consiglio delle Autonomie Locali nelle previsioni dei nuovi Statuti delle Regioni ordinarie**





in **Federalismi**, Anno IV, n. 23

Sussidiarietà e leale collaborazione: sono questi i principi progressivamente affermatasi quali cardini del processo di decentramento che è andato ridefinendo...

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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*

Zanardi Alberto

**Il federalismo differenziato nell'articolo 116 della Costituzione: una breve nota**

in **Federalismi**, Anno IV, n. 22

L'articolo 116, 3° comma della Costituzione prevede che singole Regioni a statuto ordinario possano assumere forme e condizioni particolari di autonomia...

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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*

Rolla G.

**Il lento sviluppo del regionalismo in Italia**

in **Quaderni Regionali**, n. 2, 341 - 364

No abstract available

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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*

Blanco Valdés R.L..

**La Spagna, il federalismo e Godot**

in **Politica del diritto**, n. 2, 321 - 336

No abstract available

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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*

Zorzi Giustiniani A.

**La metamorfosi dello Stato unitario: décentralisation francese e devolution britannica a confronto**

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 2-3, 269 - 337

No abstract available

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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*



Demmig Adele Anzon

**La “modernizzazione” del federalismo in Germania: spunti di riflessione per l’attuazione e l’aggiornamento del regime delle competenze legislative nell’ordinamento italiano**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 20

Il mio intervento sarà concentrato essenzialmente sul tema centrale della distribuzione delle competenze legislative tra Stato e Regioni...

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Devas N., Delay S.

**Local democracy and the challenges of decentralising the state: An international perspective**

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 32 n. 5 , 677 - 695

Decentralisation has been a major element of governance reform in developed, developing and transitional countries over the past two decades. The driving forces have differed, as have the outcomes. This paper reviews a number of issues concerned with decentralisation, drawing comparisons between the experience in Central and Eastern Europe with that in a range of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The analysis focuses in six key areas: the size of local government units and the need for an intermediate tier; structures for local democratic control; citizen participation and engagement of civil society; assignment of financial resources; central – local relations; and the impact of decentralisation on service delivery, poverty reduction and corruption. The conclusion is that decentralisation needs to be carefully designed and implemented if it is to achieve the desired outcomes.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Whyte Nicholas

**Montenegro's Referendum**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLI, n. 3, July-September

Montenegro's aspiration to independence from Serbia was fulfilled on 21 May 2006, when Montenegrins voted for independence in a free and fair referendum. The European Union exerted itself as a moral and political authority in this process, at first using its soft power to broker a deal between Serbia and Montenegro, and then helping Montenegro's government and opposition to come to an agreement on the referendum. It is questionable, however, if this was a success for European diplomacy; first of all because the process' success was mainly due to Serbia and Montenegro's correct behaviour, and then because the outcome of the referendum was not exactly the one desired by most European policymakers.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Faberon J.Y.

**Nouvelle Calédonie et Polynésie française: des autonomies différentes**

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 68 , 691 - 712



No abstract available

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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*

**Swianiewicz P.**

**Poland and Ukraine: Contrasting paths of decentralisation and territorial reform**

**in Local Government Studies**, Vol. 32 n. 5 , 599 - 622

This contribution compares the development of local government systems in Poland and Ukraine, attempting to explain why two neighbouring countries, ostensibly similar in many respects, have arrived at quite different approaches. The analysis focuses on territorial organisation and inter-budgetary finance, and shows Poland to have moved decisively in the direction of a Northern European logic of local government, with relatively large first-level local authorities, a fairly strong second level for delivering services requiring economies of scale, and a relatively weak regional level. Ukraine by contrast has yet to overcome the contradictions created by the opposing principles of state (districts, and therefore large services not part of local government except in cities) and society – small municipalities based on individual communities. The ambitious inter-budgetary finance reforms since 2000 in Ukraine, which have reduced regional control over local authorities, are analysed, as are the different options for future territorial reorganisation.

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*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Padula Carlo**

**Principio di sussidiarietà verticale ed interesse nazionale: distinzione teorica, sovrapposizione pratica**

**in Giurisprudenza Costituzionale**, fasc. 1 , 816-840

No abstract available

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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*

**Manor J.**

**Renewing the Debate on Decentralisation**

**in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics**, Vol. 44 n. 3 , 283 - 288

There is an extensive literature on decentralisation, but most studies focus on one (or only a few) of the many cases that have emerged in recent years. The three papers which follow offer a welcome corrective by considering substantial numbers of countries, and by identifying priorities for future research. Treisman asks why governments do (or do not) pursue fiscal decentralisation and reaches conclusions that are both fresh and controversial. O'Dwyer and Ziblatt assess the impact of decentralisation on government effectiveness and efficiency. Their definitions and tools differ from those used by others, so their findings supplement but sit uneasily alongside other analyses. Schneider's complex paper considers the impact of various types of decentralisation on social policies. It will ignite controversy on several fronts – not least because it finds that deconcentration has the most positive impact, while others regard deconcentration on its own as a form of centralisation. The debates that these papers will fuel are badly needed, but contending analysts must find ways of countering the tendency to talk past one another.



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*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Cotta Maurizio, Poggi Gianfranco, Mastropaolo Alfio, Ziblatt Daniel

**Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism**

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XXXVI, Numero 2, Agosto , 283-308

No abstract available

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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*

Trench Alan

**The Government of Wales Act 2006: the next steps in devolution for Wales**

in *Public law*, Winter , 687-696

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Flogaitis S.

**Administrative Law of International Organizations: With Special Regard to the United Nations**

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, Vol. 18, No. 1 , 271-288

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Texier Philippe

**Changement aux Nations Unies. Droits de l'homme, une réforme en demi-teinte**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, octobre 2006 , 3

En mars 2006, le Conseil des droits de l'homme des Nations unies a remplacé la Commission des droits de l'homme, décriée pour sa « politisation ». L'un de ses premiers actes aura été de condamner, en juillet, les violations du droit humanitaire au Liban et de mettre en place une commission d'enquête. Si le Conseil innove par rapport à la Commission, l'opposition radicale des Etats-Unis a limité la portée de la réforme.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Sinha Manoj Kumar



**Commission on Human Rights to Human Rights Council: A Long Journey**

in *Indian Journal of International Law*, Volume 46, issue 2 , 265-271

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Benzing Markus**

**Community Interests in the Procedure of International Courts and Tribunals**

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, n. 3, vol. 5 , 369-408

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Ambos Kai**

**Die Rolle des Internationalen Strafgerichtshofs**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 42, 2006

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Gilligan Michael**

**Is Enforcement Necessary for Effectiveness? A Model of the International Criminal Regime**

in *International Organization*, issue 4, vol. 60, october , 935-967

ABSTRACT: Recently, scholars have questioned whether enforcement mechanisms are necessary to make regimes effective. This article provides a model of the international criminal regime in which the regime changes state behavior even though it possesses no enforcement mechanisms. The article also answers several prominent criticisms of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Critics claim that the ICC is at best futile because it lacks the power to apprehend the criminals it is meant to prosecute. Even worse, the ICC may be harmful because it will induce atrocious leaders to hold on to power longer than they would if they could step down with immunity for past crimes. The model in this article suggests those criticisms may be inaccurate. I model the interaction between a leader and a foreign state that has the option of offering that leader asylum. I examine the effect of the creation of an ICC-like institution on that interaction. The model produces three main findings. (1) Leaders' reigns will not be prolonged as a result of the regime. (2) Although the institution has no enforcement power, some leaders (those with such a high probability of being deposed that they would willingly surrender to the institution rather than try to stay in office) will be punished by it. In those circumstances, the foreign state has no incentive to offer the leader asylum. (3) The institution may deter some atrocities at the margin

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



*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Lavranos Nikolaos

**Judicial Review of UN Sanctions by the Court of First Instance**  
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 11, Issue 4, 471-490

With its judgments in the Yusuf, Kadi and Ayad-cases, the CFI reaffirmed that UN Security Council Resolutions enjoy supremacy over all EC law and are therefore not reviewable – except if jus cogens is violated. However, as a sort of compensation the CFI has created on the basis of the Guidelines of the Sanctions Committee an obligation for the Member States to treat requests for delisting properly and expeditiously, while individuals derive a right from those Guidelines to request from the state a proper handling of the delisting request.

With its Bosphorus judgment, the ECtHR certified this lack of judicial review before the European courts by refusing to review EC law unless the fundamental rights protection within the EC is ‘manifestly deficient’. Thus, there is no effective judicial review against UN sanctions before the ECJ/CFI and ECtHR available. Consequently, national courts are required to fill up this lacuna by providing judicial review as a last resort. The German Constitutional Court illustrated with its European Arrest Warrant judgment that it is able and willing to take up this responsibility.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Brahimi Lakhdar

**L'ONU survivra-t-elle en 2034?**

in *Politique Etrangère*, 4/2006 (hiver)

Le futur de l'ONU dépend au premier chef des grandes puissances : quelles seront-elles demain, quels seront leurs choix? Dans tous les scénarios pourtant, les États-Unis occupent une place centrale: qu'ils gardent leur prééminence et maintiennent leur politique actuelle de marginalisation de l'ONU et du droit international; que Washington doive s'accommoder de l'émergence d'autres pôles de puissance; ou qu'elle réalise qu'il est de son intérêt de renforcer les Nations unies.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Orrù Elisa

**La Corte Penale Internazionale tra etica, politica e diritto**

in *Ragion Pratica*, numero 2, dicembre 2006, 515-532

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Scovazzi Tullio

**La crisi delle Nazioni Unite**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 152, 839-855





No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Fulci Francesco Paolo

**La riforma del Consiglio di Sicurezza e l'Europa: realtà e prospettive**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 152, 773-782

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Canevari Agnese

**La riforma della Carta delle Nazioni Unite del 1963-1965**

in *Italia Contemporanea*, n° 244, settembre 2006

Il saggio analizza la riforma delle Nazioni Unite del 1963-1965 relativa all'allargamento del Consiglio di sicurezza (da 11 a 15 membri) e del Consiglio economico e sociale (da 18 a 27 membri), realizzata grazie alle peculiari condizioni internazionali degli anni sessanta. A partire dalle origini delle Nazioni Unite, vengono brevemente delineate le premesse storico-politiche e gli elementi giuridico-istituzionali che stanno alla base dell'esigenza di riforma, nonché il processo di evoluzione dell'organizzazione quale reazione alla paralisi del Consiglio di sicurezza dovuta al reiterato uso del diritto di veto. All'inizio degli anni sessanta la decolonizzazione e l'avvio della distensione tra Stati Uniti e Unione Sovietica costituirono le principali dinamiche del contesto internazionale che resero possibile nel 1963 l'approvazione degli emendamenti della Carta delle Nazioni Unite, divenuti effettivi nel 1965 dopo la ratifica da parte di due terzi degli Stati membri, compresi i cinque membri permanenti, come previsto dalle procedure dell'art. 108. Il saggio ricostruisce il dibattito politico della XVIII Assemblea generale del 1963: in questo contesto gli Stati afroasiatici richiesero un'equa rappresentanza negli organi delle Nazioni Unite ottenendo il supporto degli Stati latinoamericani, in contrapposizione ai membri permanenti che votarono contro l'allargamento dei consigli o si astennero. È poi analizzato nel contesto internazionale il difficoltoso percorso verso il successo della riforma, che in ultima istanza dipendeva dalla ratifica dei membri permanenti: nel 1964 si presentò un concreto rischio di crollo delle Nazioni Unite in seguito alla crisi politico-finanziaria aggravata dall'iniziativa degli Stati Uniti per l'applicazione dell'art. 19 e ulteriormente acuita dal recesso dell'Indonesia nel 1965. Ma durante il corso di quell'anno la situazione si capovolse e tutti i membri permanenti ritennero per opportunità politica di modificare la loro posizione consentendo l'entrata in vigore della riforma della Carta il 1° settembre 1965.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*



Valenzuela Herald Muñoz

**Las Naciones Unidas en tiempos de cambio**

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 39 / 2006 / Nr. 155 , 159-176

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Ranieri Umberto

**L'Europa, l'ONU e la missione italiana in Libano**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 152 , 723-727

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko

**Millennium Development Goal 8: Indicators for International Human Rights Obligations?**

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, Volume 28, Number 4, November 2006

Millennium Development Goal 8 is arguably the most significant step since the Covenant on Economic Social Rights in taking the idea of global solidarity and international responsibilities for development from a statement of principle to international policy. It commits the international community to strengthen partnership for poverty reduction, and defines benchmark targets and indicators of progress. This article examines this goal as a human rights tool to measure progress and hold states accountable. It argues that the concept of international obligations concerns, at the core, state policies that address obstacles that developing countries cannot address on their own. It also presents a conceptual framework for human rights measures. The article then analyses Goal 8 indicators and targets against the commitments made in the 2000 Millennium Declaration and the 2002 Monterrey Consensus, as well as policy priorities identified in recent studies commissioned by the United Nations. The article concludes that Goal 8 is weak as a human rights framework because it lacks quantitative and time bound benchmarks. The targets are expressed as general objectives rather than concrete policy changes and it is narrow in the scope of policy issues addressed. For the human rights agenda, the most glaring gaps are the need for systemic reforms to enhance the needs of developing countries in international decision making. The article calls on the international community to review Goal 8, and shift international cooperation from charity to solidarity.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Olla Brundu Paola

**Ottobre 1971, la Cina comunista nel Consiglio di sicurezza, Taiwan espulsa dalle Nazioni unite: analisi di una sconfitta americana**

in *Carte e la Storia (Le)*, n. 2, dicembre 2006



No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Müller Daniel

**Procedural Developments at the International Court of Justice**

**in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)**, n. 3, vol. 5 , 529-546

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Ramírez Orozco-Souel Paola

**Quand le Guatemala siège au Conseil... d'insécurité**

**in Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, septembre 2006 , 8-9

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Willets Peter

**The Cardoso Report on the UN and Civil Society: Functionalism, Global Corporatism, or Global Democracy?**

**in Global Governance**, n. 3, vol. 12, july-september , 305-324

ABSTRACT: The Report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations–Civil Society Relations was published in June 2004. It strongly endorsed the case for wider participation of civil society in all aspects of the UN's work, both at the headquarters and at the country level. However, the panel members displayed little understanding of the existing NGO consultative arrangements. Many of its recommendations were impolitic or impractical. The report was intellectually incoherent because it embodied three competing theoretical frameworks: functionalism, neocorporatism, and democratic pluralism. The functionalist emphasis on expertise and the neocorporatist emphasis on engaging stakeholders cannot offer criteria for participation on an all-embracing democratic basis. Reform is needed to provide facilities and resources to enhance participation by marginalized groups.

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

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Roscini Marco

**The Efforts to Limit the International Criminal Court's Jurisdiction Over Nationals of Non-Party States: A Comparative Study**

**in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)**, n. 3, vol. 5 , 495-527



The purpose of this article is to discuss and compare the multilateral and bilateral efforts to prevent the ICC from exercising its jurisdiction over nationals of states non-parties to the Rome Statute. In particular, the US secured the adoption of Security Council resolutions no. 1422 (2002), 1487 (2003), 1497 (2003), 1593 (2005) and launched a campaign for the conclusion of bilateral non-surrender agreements: the differences between the resolutions and between them and the agreements are analysed. None of the resolutions above can be qualified as an exercise of the Security Council's power to request the ICC not to commence or proceed with investigations or prosecutions under Article 16 of the Rome Statute, as this provision was not conceived to cover future and hypothetical cases. Furthermore, by adopting resolutions 1422 and 1487 and by including the paragraphs on the exclusive jurisdiction of the contributing state in resolutions 1497 and 1593, the Security Council acted *ultra vires*, since no threat to the peace can be found in order to justify the exercise of Chapter VII powers. The resolutions are also in contrast with the principles and purposes of the UN. As to the bilateral non-surrender agreements, they cannot be qualified as "international agreements pursuant to which the consent of the sending State is required to surrender a person of that State to the Court" as required by Article 98 (2) of the Statute, since they prohibit the surrender to the ICC of any individual who is "present" on the territory of the other party and they do not require the state to which the accused has been transferred to investigate and prosecute the case. Should Italy conclude a non-surrender agreement with the US, it would incur international responsibility. The law giving effect to such an agreement in the Italian legal order would also be in contrast with Articles 10 (1) and 11 of the Constitution.

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

### *Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Zifcak Spencer

#### **United Nations reform: Heading North or South?**

in **Global Change, Peace & Security**, n. 3, vol. 18, october , 135-152

ABSTRACT: When the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, introduced his report 'In Larger Freedom' in March 2005, he set the organization on a path to pursue perhaps the most ambitious program for its reform since 1945. As part of that program, the Secretary-General proposed major changes to three key UN bodies: The Security Council, the General Assembly and the Commission for Human Rights. This article traces the progress of attempts to restructure these organs in the lead up to and following the World Leaders' Summit held at the UN in New York in September 2005. It is argued that, while some incremental institutional changes were effected at the Summit, the larger ends of the reform program were frustrated by the inability of the North and the South to agree on appropriate ways forward. This in turn reflected the radically different visions the contending parties had of the organization's nature and fundamental priorities.

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

### *Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Zifcak Spencer

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March 2005, he set the organization on a path to pursue perhaps the most ambitious program for its reform since 1945. As part of that program, the Secretary-General proposed major changes to three key UN bodies: The Security Council, the General Assembly and the Commission for Human Rights. This article traces the progress of attempts to restructure these organs in the lead up to and following the World Leaders' Summit held at the UN in New York in September 2005. It is argued that, while some incremental institutional changes were effected at the Summit, the larger ends of the reform program were frustrated by the inability of the North and the South to agree on appropriate ways forward. This in turn reflected the radically different visions the contending parties had of the organization's nature and fundamental priorities.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Hurrell Andrew, Narlikar Amrita

**A New Politics of Confrontation? Brazil and India in Multilateral Trade Negotiations**

**in Global Society**, Vol. 20, n. 4, October 2006 , 415-433

Particularly in the North-South confrontation at the Cancun Ministerial Conference in 2003, developing countries seemed to be presenting a unified stance of resistance against the developed world. These developments were greeted with considerable surprise in the scholarly as well as policy communities, not least because many theorists of International Relations had predicted increasing homogenisation and policy convergence by developing countries around liberal solidarist norms. In this paper, we analyse the apparent revitalisation of the Third World, and evaluate the policies of developing countries at and around Cancun to assess the claims that this heralds a more activist and less accommodating period in North/South relations. We buttress this general analysis by probing further into the policies of two of the major players, namely Brazil and India. We argue that recent policy changes can be explained by learning and adaptation by developing countries within the specific institution of the World Trade Organisation. We examine this adaptation along four planes: coalitions, insider activism, negotiation strategies, and transnational coalitions. Domestic politics in both our country cases play, at best, a supportive role. We also investigate the extent to which these shifts in trade politics might be seen as broader shifts in foreign policy.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Waller Marguerite

**Addicted to Virtue: The Globalization Policy-Maker**

**in Social Identities**, Volume 12, Number 5, September 2006 , 575-594

The dominant economic institutions whose version of globalization dominates today have sustained a remarkably devastating homogeneity of thought and policy-making. Drawing upon Joseph Stiglitz's Globalization and its Discontents, World Bank annual bank reports, the writings of Italian political theorist Antonio Gramsci, trauma and addiction theory, and other analytical and documentary resources, this essay investigates the imperviousness of the economic policy-making subject position to evidence of the violence that its economic policies have visited upon lives, cultures, and ecosystems.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Jensen Michael Friis, Gibbon Peter

**Africa and the WTO Doha Round: An Overview**

*in Development Policy Review* , Volume 25 Issue 1

Developing countries, and especially Least Developed Countries, were promised a WTO 'Development Round' at Doha in 2001. In fact, the Round's agenda became dominated by topics and proposals of little relevance and at times threatening for some groups of developing countries, particularly those in sub-Saharan Africa. As a result, African engagement in the Round has been generally low and defensively articulated, though some fringe gains have been achieved. If and when the Round is revived, these could be complemented by a more aggressive stance on preferences. This, in turn, will need to be backed by greater exploitation of the heightened role of moral argument in international political and economic discourse.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

McBeth Adam

**Breaching the Vacuum: A Consideration of the Role of International Human Rights Law in the Operations of the International Financial Institutions**

*in International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 10, Issue 4, December 2006 , 385-404

This article takes a timely look at the operations of the World Bank and the IMF through the prism of international human rights law. While these institutions have historically insisted that they have no obligations under human rights law, recent years have seen a shift towards recognising the social impact of their operations and imposing safeguards to minimise detriment. Thus, the institutions are already taking some human rights concerns into consideration in an ad hoc fashion, but are not doing so within the framework of international human rights law. However, international human rights law provides a ready-made framework for evaluating and balancing social impact of the kind that currently concerns the institutions. This article argues that the international financial institutions can already be characterised as holding obligations under international human rights law and examines ways in which those legal norms might be applied in the practical contexts of development projects and structural adjustment programmes. However, it concludes that any such obligations could not be externally enforced and would be up to the institutions themselves to implement.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Dunoff J. L..

**Constitutional Conceits: The WTO's 'Constitution' and the Discipline of International Law**

*in European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 17 n. 3

International legal scholarship, particularly trade scholarship, is preoccupied with questions of constitutionalism. However, neither WTO texts nor practice suggest that the WTO is a constitutional entity. The disjunction between scholarship and practice is puzzling: Why would scholars debate the WTO's (non-existent) constitutional features? Although the term is used in different ways, leading accounts of constitutionalism at the WTO share an impulse to





channel or minimize world trade politics. Paradoxically, however, the call for constitutionalism triggers precisely the contestation and politics that it seeks to pre-empt. This creates an even larger puzzle: If constitutional discourse sparks the very politics it seeks to avoid, why do scholars continue to use this discourse? This paper explores the conditions that give rise to debates over constitutionalism, and explores whether the timing and prominence of constitutional debates reflect disciplinary anxieties that have been heightened by recent geopolitical developments. Might international lawyers use constitutional discourse as a rhetorical strategy designed to invest international law with the power and authority that domestic constitutional structures and norms possess? If so, this strategy may be self-defeating. Critical evaluation of constitutional claims may highlight the lack of constitutional structure or legitimating foundations of the WTO, and international law more generally. The paper closes by suggesting that other forms of constitutionalism may be imagined, including those designed to invite political debate and contestation, or to empower democratic and deliberative decision-making.

The problem of international constitutionalism is the central challenge faced by international philosophers in the 21st century.

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

#### ***Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations***

Laird Sam

#### **Economic Implications of WTO Negotiations on Non-agricultural Market Access**

**in *World Economy***, Volume 29, Number 10 , 1363-1376

The economic implications of current WTO negotiations are likely to be far reaching. The World Bank and UNCTAD estimate annual global gains in agriculture and non-agricultural products (including fish) of about \$70&#8722;150 billion each under various scenarios and technical assumptions. Liberalising trade in services could be even more important, especially if agreement were reached to facilitate the temporary movement of labour (Mode 4 under the General Agreement on Trade in Services, GATS). Some qualifications, however, are in order. First, gains are likely to be spread unevenly across countries and across sectors; and, second, short-term adjustment costs might precede long-term gains. Much depends on how ambitious liberalisation is and on policies to facilitate adjustment. This paper examines the Doha mandate in non-agricultural market access (NAMA) and the current state of the WTO negotiations, in particular some key proposals being considered at the December 2005 Ministerial Meeting in Hong Kong. We analyse various scenarios and their implications for trade, welfare, output, employment, revenues and preferences, as well as the distributional effects across countries and sectors. We note possible adjustment problems related to balance of payments and structural adjustment, as well as revenue and preference losses. These suggest the need for 'aid for trade' to help developing countries realise gains possible from WTO negotiations.

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

#### ***Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations***

Kirton John

#### **Explaining Compliance with G8 Finance Commitments: Agency, Institutionalization and Structure**

**in *Open Economies Review***, Volume 17, Numbers 4-5 , 459-475

Do the world's major powers keep the international commitments they make? To provide an answer, this study constructs and tests a multilevel model of the course and causes of member country's compliance with the finance



commitments they make at the Group of Eight (G8) major democracies' annual summit. It first examines how G8 leaders deliberately craft their commitments in ways that embed "compliance catalysts" designed to improve the chances that their commitments will be complied with during the following year. It then explores how the work of the G8's ministerial institution for finance improves the compliance the leaders' commitments receive. It finally assesses the distribution of vulnerability and capability in the international system to determine if agency and institutions act autonomously, or are predetermined or overwhelmed by system structure in causing G8 "promises made" to become G8 "promises kept". The analysis concludes that G8 agency and institutionalization matter, while system structure has only an indirect impact. When leaders at their summit embed their finance commitment with a specific timetable to be met, and with a priority placement in their declaration, greater compliance comes. When their G7/8 finance ministers remember and repeat the same commitment in the year before and in the year after the summit, compliance rises as well. A combination of increasingly equal vulnerability and capability among the G8 members inspires finance ministers to remember and repeat such commitments, but does not directly increase compliance. Thus compliance is largely endogenous to the G8, driven by agency and institutionalization, and not directly by structural forces in the wider world. The G8 remains a leader's summit after all.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

**Exploring the Intensive and Extensive Margins of World Trade**

**in Review of World Economics (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv), Vol. 142, No. 4**

World trade evolves at two margins. Where a bilateral trading relationship already exists it may increase through time (intensive margin). But trade may also increase if a trading bilateral relationship is newly established between countries that have not traded with each other in the past (extensive margin). We provide an empirical dissection of post-World War II growth in manufacturing world trade along these two margins. We propose a "corner-solutions version" of the gravity model to explain movements on both margins. A Tobit estimation of this model resolves the so-called "distance puzzle". It also finds more convincing evidence than recent literature that WTO-membership enhances trade.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

**Cottier Thomas**

**From Progressive Liberalization to Progressive Regulation in WTO Law**

**in Journal of International Economic Law, Volume 9, Number 4, 779-821**

This paper addresses conceptual problems of special and differential (S&D) treatment of developing countries (DCs). Observing that past and present avenues have largely failed, it suggests the concept of progressive regulation in the field of prescriptive rules. Based on the idea of progressive liberalization, it develops a new concept of graduation inherent to substantive rules and suggests taking recourse to individual scheduling of commitments. Learning from the idea of progressive liberalization, commensurate to diverging levels of development, it is submitted that graduation, based on recourse to economic factors within substantive rules, and scheduling of additional commitments could replace traditional perceptions of S&D treatment and render World Trade Organization (WTO) more responsive to the needs of developing Member States of the WTO. As an example, this paper applies these concepts to the problem of patenting pharmaceutical products.



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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

**Kapstein Ethan B.**

**Justice et économie mondiale**

**in Politique Etrangère**, 4/2006 (hiver)

1La "justice économique internationale" n'est pas une notion aisée à définir. On tente ici de spécifier trois approches possibles de ce concept: une approche "communautariste", une approche "internationaliste libérale" et une approche "cosmopolitiste". Cette dernière, qui entend apporter la justice aux pauvres du monde, prend de plus en plus de place dans le débat international, y compris à travers l'action d'institutions comme la Banque mondiale ou le Fonds monétaire international.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

**Mirakhor Abbas, Zaidi Iqbal Mehdi**

**Rethinking the Governance of the International Monetary Fund**

**in IMF Policy Discussion Papers**, December 2006 , Working Paper No. 06/273

This paper attempts to set out the principal issues that need to be resolved in formulating a proposal for quotas and voice reform in the IMF that could command broad support. Following John Rawls, we argue that "justice is the first virtue of social institutions," and we use his theory of justice to provide a method for understanding what should be the case, in the context of voice and voting shares, before international institutions, such as the IMF, are to be justifiable to their members. The implementation of this process suggests, among other things, that a major revision of the quota formulas is long overdue, and leaving this unaddressed raises serious questions regarding the IMF's governance which could develop into a core mission risk and jeopardize the relevance of the institution.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

**Lawrence Robert Z.**

**Rulemaking Amidst Growing Diversity: A Club-of-Clubs Approach to WTO Reform and New Issue Selection**

**in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 9, Number 4 , 823-835

The diverse nature of World Trade Organization (WTO) membership makes it highly unlikely that members will all be willing and able to sign on to the full range of agreements that many members might find desirable. The paper proposes an approach in which the WTO would supplement its core agreements with additional 'clubs' to which only some members would subscribe. The approach is a compromise in which diversity can co-exist with a more extensive set of commitments for willing members. The paper provides suggestions for how the clubs would be selected and how they would operate. Clubs would be chosen where they could help promote the WTO's central missions: lowering barriers to trade, reducing the discriminatory effects of domestic policies, and enhancing economic development through trade. All WTO members would participate in negotiating club rules, but members would be free not to join. Clubs would use the



Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) to deal with disputes, but suspension of concessions in the event of violations would be confined to the provisions of the same club in which the violation occurred.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Tharakan P. K. M.

**Storm Signals: An Analysis of the Trade Policy Review of the European Communities**  
in *World Economy*, Volume 29, Number 10, 1301-1310

Trade Policy Review of the European Communities 2004 provides greater transparency, and better understanding of the trade policies of the EC. The WTO Secretariat's Report and the Comments of the Representatives rightly warn of the possibility of major problems arising because of the shortcomings of the Common Agricultural Policy of the EC, and the systematic back-loading in the implementation of the WTO Agreement on Textiles and Clothing. The discrepancy between the simultaneous allegiance to multilateralism and preferential trade arrangements is another difficulty which the EC and some other members of the WTO are facing. As a major player on the international trade scene, the EC's policy decisions will have a crucial effect on multilateral trade negotiations.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

S. Ponte, Raakjær Jesper, Campling Liam

**Swimming Upstream: Market Access for African Fish Exports in the Context of WTO and EU Negotiations and Regulation**  
in *Development Policy Review*, Volume 25 Issue 1

The changing nature of the international trade regime presents a series of new challenges to fish industries on the African continent. This article explores how WTO and EU trade negotiations and regulation impact market-access possibilities for African fish exports. It comes to the conclusion that while bilateral negotiations with the EU have been beneficial for some African countries, collective bargaining power in the context of Economic Partnership Agreements might produce more strategic outcomes in the medium term.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Trachtman J. P.

**The Constitutions of the WTO**  
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 17 n. 3

Constitutions have many dimensions. These dimensions include at least the following: an economic constitution in the sense of a set of rules for transactions in and institutionalization of authority; an interfunctional constitution that allows for the integration of various social values; a political constitution that reflects the cultural and democratic integrity of a group of people; a legal and judicial constitution that provides rules for the making of other rules, and for determining supremacy and the scope of judicial application of rules; a human rights constitution that limits the sphere of



governmental authority, and a redistributive constitution founded on social solidarity. The WTO 'constitution' has already grown along some of these dimensions. As we assess the constitutional development of the WTO, we must first analyse these dimensions separately. Second, we must examine how these dimensions relate to one another. Third, we must examine how these dimensions of the WTO 'constitution' relate to the general international legal system's constitution and to the constitutions of other international organizations. Fourth, we must examine how these dimensions of the WTO 'constitution' relate to the domestic constitutions of the WTO's member states. Finally, we must examine the 'tertiary' rules that relate these different constitutions to one another.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Tarasofsky Richard, Palmer Alice

**The WTO in crisis: lessons learned from the Doha negotiations on the environment**

in *International Affairs* , issue 5, vol. 82, September , 899-915

Even before the Doha Round of international trade talks in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) had been suspended in July 2006, there was little sign of progress in the negotiations on the relationship between WTO rules and multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs). If the Round is resumed, this and many other important issues on the WTO agenda will have to take a back seat while the big ticket items—agriculture and market access—are resolved. Meanwhile, governments acting outside the WTO will continue to agree to new MEA commitments that relate to trade policy without a clear understanding of how the design and implementation of those commitments is affected by WTO rules. This article examines some of the options for governments to clarify the relationship between WTO rules and MEAs, both inside and outside the WTO. It sets out the nature and experience of the relationship, before examining ways in which governments in the WTO and in the UN system could work towards better global governance of trade and sustainable development.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Subedi Surya P.

**The notion of free trade and the first ten years of the World Trade Organization: how level is the "Level playing field"?**

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 53, Issue 2 , 273-296

This article is designed to provide a critical analysis of the successes and failures of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in certain key areas of international trade during its first decade. The WTO, which came into existence on 1 January 1995, celebrated its tenth anniversary in 2005, with the WTO officials claiming that the past ten years had been a success for the organization. Indeed, it has seen an expansion of its activities in recent years and has thus become one of the most important international organizations. Nearly 150 states, developed and developing, small and big, powerful and weaker, have now become members of this organization. Towards the end of 2005 a major WTO agreement, the TRIPS, was amended in favour of public health and full liberalization of trade in textile and clothing also became a reality in 2005.





However, the WTO, established as it was primarily to further liberalize international trade, is supposed to create a level playing field in a number of other key areas, including agriculture, in order for it to enable nations to compete on an equal footing across the board. Has the WTO lived up to its expectations over the past ten years? Has the level playing field become truly level in all major areas over the past decade? After examining these questions in some detail, this article argues that the WTO has limited success in some of the core areas and the playing field has not become as level as it should have been by the time it entered its second decade. The Doha Development Round of multilateral trade negotiations, which began in 2001, has not made any substantial progress.

The Sixth Ministerial Conference held in Hong Kong in December 2005, the closing month of the tenth anniversary of the WTO, failed to make a breakthrough. Although the failure in Hong Kong was not as disastrous as was in the third conference in Seattle in 1999 or in the fifth conference in Cancun in 2003, the deadlock witnessed in Hong Kong, especially with regard to the liberalization of trade in agriculture, has put the WTO itself at a crossroads. Since the Hong Kong meeting a series of deadlines for various stages of negotiations for moving the Doha Round negotiations forward have been missed. A formal meeting on 1 July 2006 of the Trade Negotiations Committee, which comprises the entire WTO membership, resulted in a failure. The WTO members could not agree on formulas for reducing tariffs and subsidies, various flexibilities, and other disciplines, especially on the liberalization of trade in agriculture. Achieving a truly level playing field should be about balancing the interests of various groups of states as well as the respective environments and interests of different traders and consumers living in different countries and the WTO has a long way to go to achieve this objective.

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Khalili-Roméo Marianne

**Tribunal africain pour la Banque mondiale. «Bamako», d'Abderrahmane Sissako**  
**in Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, octobre 2006 , 29

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Collier Paul

**Why the WTO is Deadlocked: And What Can Be Done About It**  
**in World Economy**, Volume 29, Number 10 , 1423-1449

The GATT was hugely successful, yet its successor organisation is to date failing. This paper argues that the expansion in both scope and membership make it radically more difficult for a purely bargain-based organisation to succeed. Three factors limit the scope for deals that would be recognised as mutually beneficial. Many developing countries are accustomed to transfers rather than bargains; the poorest countries have no basis for bargaining; and even where mutual advantage is possible it requires cross-sectoral deals which are only feasible with new rules that are unattractive to many WTO members. The paper proposes solutions to these new problems. It proposes an explicit component of 'transfer' in the form of non-reciprocated liberalisation. It proposes a plurilateral solution to the tension between rules





and sovereignty. It links these through a 'grand bargain' that offers transfers in return for plurilateralism. For the marginalised countries it proposes time-bound preferences in OECD markets along the lines of AGOA. Finally, to recreate for the larger developing countries similar incentives for liberalisation to those previously achieved for developed countries, it proposes a limited MFN, through which they could restrict their liberalisations to include only other developing countries.

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Hippler Jochen

**'Counterinsurgency' - Neue Einsatzformen für die NATO?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 43, 2006

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Touzovskaia Natalia

**EU-NATO Relations: How Close to 'Strategic Partnership'?**

in *European Security*, Volume 15, Number 3, September , 235-258

The paper analyses the developing relations of the European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, both adapting to a new international security environment and building a network of interactions with each other. While the nature and functions of these two organisations remain different, their aims are becoming closer and new capabilities are being formed to achieve the same goals. The paper looks first at the declared level of cooperation with its benefits and limits, questioning whether this level corresponds to the practical one. It then envisages the modalities of EU-NATO practical cooperation in Bosnia and in the Western province of Sudan, Darfur.

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Rühle Michael

**Entwicklungslinien des Atlantischen Bündnisses**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 43, 2006

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Gordon Stuart

**Exploring the Civil-Military Interface and its Impact on European Strategic and Operational Personalities:**



**'Civilianisation' and Limiting Military Roles in Stabilisation Operations?**

**in European Security**, Volume 15, Number 3, September , 339-361

Whilst the strategic and operational 'personalities' of states and international organisations are shaped by a wide range of variables, increasingly the structure and characteristics of the operational civil-military interface have become significant shaping factors in their own right. This has been driven by two interrelated processes: adaptations in the nature and objectives of international intervention operations and a repositioning of state and international organisations' assistance, military and political intervention strategies in relation to one another. These have generated a number of institutional and policy adaptations amongst several European states, NATO and the EU. This paper charts particularly significant or innovative changes within Denmark, the United Kingdom, NATO and the EU.

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Daalder Ivo, Goldgeier James**

**Global NATO**

**in Foreign Affairs**, September/October 2006, Vol 85, Number 5

The advent of a new global politics after the Cold War has led NATO to expand its geographic reach and the range of its operations. Now, NATO must extend its membership to any democratic state that can help it fulfill its new responsibilities. Only a truly global alliance can address the global challenges of the day.

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Jain Purnendra**

**Japan–Australia security ties and the United States: the evolution of the trilateral dialogue process and its challenges**

**in Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 60, n. 4 / December , 521-535

This article considers recent developments in Australia–Japan security and defence ties and their trilateral dimension with the United States. I argue that the security links bilaterally and through their main ally the US have scope for development while the three nations share perceptions of security and strategic matters. However, there are elements of inherent unpredictability that may come into play to hinder the move towards a further strengthening of the current trilateral security arrangement. Possible impediments come from both external and internal sources making it difficult for the three nations to transform their trilateral security relations into an institution, alliance or treaty that formally links the three partners strategically.

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Dumoulin André**

**L'OTAN, un mois avant Riga**



in *Politique Etrangère*, 3/2006 (automne)

La préparation du sommet de Riga de novembre 2006 annonce des divergences plus ou moins feutrées sur les enjeux de l'Alliance atlantique. Va-t-on vers une troisième réforme – après celle du début des années 1990 et celle du tout début du siècle ? L'Alliance a-t-elle vocation à devenir une « organisation globale » de sécurité ? Nombre d'hypothèses dépendent de la manière dont les Européens décideront ou non de prendre en main leur sécurité, et donc des avancées ou blocages de l'Union.

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Moreno Maurizio**

**La NATO e l'Unione Europea**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 152 , 760-772

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Di Paola Giampaolo**

**La globalizzazione della sicurezza, l'Europa e la NATO**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 152 , 733-744

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**John R. Schmidt**

**Last Alliance Standing? NATO after 9/11**

in *Washington Quarterly (The)*, Vol. 30, Issue 1 - Winter 2006/07 , 93- 106

During and after the NATO leaders meeting in Riga in November, how they and their successors manage the frictions generated by NATO-EU competition will determine the future of the transatlantic alliance

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Dufourcq Jean**

**Les stratégies occidentales à l'épreuve de la mondialisation**

in *Politique Etrangère*, 3/2006 (automne)



Les Occidentaux peuvent-ils encore mettre en oeuvre des stratégies communes ? Cela suppose d'abord d'identifier les acteurs susceptibles de les formuler et de les soutenir. Pour y parvenir, il faut prendre en compte les mutations de la notion de sécurité, qui privilégie désormais les dimensions internes aux sociétés. Faire émerger une notion de sécurité durable, c'est intégrer les catégories de la sécurité humaine et de la sécurité culturelle, et changer les règles de la régulation multilatérale.

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Musu Costanza

**NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue: More than Just an Empty Shell?**

*in Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 11, Number 3, November , 419-424

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Lindley-French Julian

**The Capability–Capacity Crunch: NATO's New Capacities for Intervention**

*in European Security*, Volume 15, Number 3, September , 259-280

In September 2006 NATO's role in Afghanistan expanded to cover the whole of the country. With 32,000 troops under NATO command Stage 4 of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) represents an open-ended commitment to rebuilding a country long torn by war and instability. The Alliance's showpiece for advanced military transformation, the the NATO Response Force (NRF) represents a down payment on the future of transatlantic military co-operation. Taken together these two developments reflect the reality of NATO's new interventionism of an Alliance that bears little or no resemblance to that which won the Cold War. NATO today is an organisation designed for global reach and global effect, undertaking operations at their most robust. Unfortunately, the re-design of NATO's architecture has not been matched by a parallel development in Alliance military capabilities. NATO's big three, the US, Britain and France, have taken steps to improve their military capabilities. However, the transformation of NATO's other militaries has proved slow and uneven, leaving many members unable to fulfil any meaningful role. Thus, as NATO today plans for both robust advanced expeditionary warfare and stabilisation and reconstruction vital to mission success in complex crisis management environments a gap is emerging. Indeed, in an Alliance in which only the Americans can afford both military capability and capacity most NATO Europeans face a capability–capacity crunch, forced to make a choice between small, lethal and expensive professional military forces or larger, cheaper more ponderous stabilisation and reconstruction forces. This article explores the consequences of the crunch and the implications for NATO's current and future role as the Alliance struggles to find a balance between fighting power and staying power.

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



*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Herms Drath Viola

**Toward a New Atlanticism**

**in American Foreign Policy Interests**, Vol. 28, n. 6 / December , 425-431

This article traces the concept of the New Atlanticism from 1989, when it was proposed by then Secretary of State James Baker, to the present, when a number of European and American leaders are calling for the creation of a transatlantic political institution that would be empowered to address global problems ranging from humanitarian crises to socioeconomic, cultural, and environmental concerns. Because the objectives of the New Atlanticism transcend the overarching objective of security that NATO was established to achieve, they require a new institution formed specifically to ameliorate or resolve a number of interrelated problems manifest in the world. In its advocacy of a New Atlanticism, this article raises the fundamental question designed to determine whether a new Atlantic Partnership will be formed: Is Europe willing and able to act on the knowledge that it is in its own interests to help the United States resolve crises in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, where the national interests of the United States are at stake? In other words, will Europe become America's indispensable partner?

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Wöbse Anna-Katharina

**'To cultivate the international mind'. Der Völkerbund und die Förderung der globalen Zivilgesellschaft**

**in Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft**, Jahrgang 54, Heft 10, 2006 , 852–863

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Goldsmith Benjamin

**A Universal Proposition? Region, Conflict, War and the Robustness of the Kantian Peace**

**in European Journal of International Relations** , Vol. 12, n. 4, December , 533-563

**ABSTRACT:** This article assesses the robustness of the liberal or 'Kantian' peace propositions by challenging two common practices: pooling data for different geographic regions, and using conflict at any level as a proxy for interstate war. The findings indicate that there are substantial differences between regions in the effects of democracy, economic interdependence, and international organizations. Conflict (all MIDs) and war have considerably different relationships to these key variables, and to each other, across regions. While I do not argue that these results undermine the general Kantian peace propositions, they do represent powerful qualifications that provide insight into theoretical foundations and raise related questions of specification error. They also point to the continuing importance of concepts such as security communities and norms as liberal factors distinct from the Kantian variables.

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



*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Linnér Björn-Ola

**Authority through synergism: the roles of climate change linkages**

**in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 16, Issue 5, September-October , 278-289

This article examines the conceptual basis of synergies between the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and other international organizations and agreements. It discusses why synergies are made, what kinds there are and their potential consequences. Considering actors' divergent goals, synergies do not necessarily imply win-win outcomes. The article distinguishes between positive and negative synergetic effects, which should be explicated at different levels, such as the differing goals of various agreements, institutions, parties and social groups. Efforts of international organizations to increase synergy can be regarded as attempts to build authority. Yet, synergy is also used by countries to influence this process. Current synergetic efforts may profoundly affect the relocation of authority in global environmental governance, not only by streamlining mandates, practices and objectives, but also by leading to more powerful international organizations (e.g. WTO) increasingly taking precedence over climate change agreements.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Görg Christoph, Brand Ulrich

**Contested Regimes in the International Political Economy: Global Regulation of Genetic Resources and the Internationalization of the State**

**in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 6, Number 4, November , 101-123

This article analyses the complex interconnections between global environmental politics and trade politics against the background of biodiversity politics. Genetic resources are one of the most important inputs in post-Fordist economies: they are the raw materials of the new biotechnology companies. The system of global environmental governance that has emerged in recent years was established by a number of international institutions and organizations to serve as a political-institutional framework for emerging global markets. To date, this system has not proved to be an effective regulative framework. On the contrary, it is highly contradictory and contested. We develop theoretical and empirical arguments why and in which form the transforming national state remains crucial in global environmental politics. We call this transformation the "internationalization of the state." It is argued that the emerging post-Fordist relationships with nature, as a highly contested process, are stabilized by a new kind of global political regulation and domination. This article is theoretically informed by the concept of "societal relationships with nature," regulation and critical state theory as well as Gramsci's concept of hegemony.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Chappell Louise

**Contesting Women's Rights: Charting the Emergence of a Transnational Conservative Counter-network**

**in Global Society**, Vol. 20, n. 4, October 2006 , 491-520

In recent years it has been claimed by human rights advocates that an "unholy alliance" has emerged internationally to counter the equality claims of the transnational women's rights movement. Using the literature on transnational social





movements and counter-movements, this article assesses the interaction between what are conceived of as state and non-state-based conservative patriarchal actors with the transnational women's movement at a series of UN conferences throughout the 1990s and into the new millennium. It suggests that a transnational counter-network has indeed emerged and outlines the prevailing political opportunity structures that have made its mobilisation possible. It also outlines the alternative frames which the counter-network has used in presenting its arguments. The paper indicates that accounts of domestic-level counter-movements hold some explanatory power for studying the emergence of such a movement at the transnational level, but it also suggests that the literature needs to be supplemented with an analysis of the crucial role played by governments as allies or even as network members in influencing this process.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Mugwanya George William**

**Criminal justice through international criminal tribunals: Reflections on some lessons for national criminal justice systems**

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, n. 1, vol. 6

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Pevehouse John**

**Democratic International Governmental Organizations Promote Peace**

in *International Organization*, issue 4, vol. 60, october , 969-1000

ABSTRACT: The Kantian peace research program has produced generally robust results on the role of democracy and international trade in reducing the risk of international conflict. Yet a key theoretical linkage in the Kantian argument, that of international governmental organizations (IGOs) to peace, has proved less robust and more problematic. We propose a new theoretical perspective focusing on the contributions of a particular kind of IGO—that composed largely of democracies—to peaceful conflict resolution through aiding credible commitments, dispute settlement, and socialization to peaceful behavior. A set of statistical tests provides strong support for our hypotheses that such densely democratic IGOs are far more likely to engender peaceful relations between members than are more homogenous IGOs. This is true when controlling for regime type, interdependence, and several realist-oriented influences. The peace-inducing influences affect both democratic and nondemocratic member states.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Dahrendorf Ralph**

**Democratici senza democrazia**

in *Lettera Internazionale*, n. 89, 2006 , 4-6

No abstract available



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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Bruneau Thomas, Trinkunas Harold**

**Democratization as a Global Phenomenon and its Impact on Civil-Military Relations**

**in Democratization**, Vol. 13, n. 5, December , 776-790

The most recent wave of democratization has placed control over military and security forces in the hands of elected officials in more countries than ever before. Despite the implications of this trend for international security, scholarly work on democratization and civil-military relations has tended to focus on purely local actors, interests, and strategies when explaining outcomes. When the impact of global trends is considered at all, the focus has been on imitation effects or structural changes in the international system. This is at odds with the reality that the international community has deliberately created a large number of programmes and institutions to promote democratization. This article argues that global democracy promotion efforts by leading powers, such as the United States and members of the European Union, have propagated a particular liberal understanding of civil-military relations which, in most parts of the world, has clearly privileged civilian control over two other elements of democratic civil-military relations, defence efficiency and military effectiveness. However, in the face of emerging transnational threats, new and old democracies have begun to focus once again on the dimensions of effectiveness and efficiency in their security sectors.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Bäckstrand Karin**

**Democratizing Global Environmental Governance? Stakeholder Democracy after the World Summit on Sustainable Development**

**in European Journal of International Relations** , Vol. 12, n. 4, December , 467-498

**ABSTRACT:** One of the most pressing problems confronting political scientists today is whether global governance has democratic legitimacy. Drawing on an analysis of the World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg in 2002, this article advances and empirically deploys an ideal-typical model of a new approach to key areas of global governance—‘stakeholder democracy’. This work is located in the context of the changing practices of global governance, in which concerns about legitimacy, accountability, and participation have gained prominence. Sustainability is an arena in which innovative experiments with new hybrid, pluri-lateral forms of governance, such as stakeholder forums and partnership agreements institutionalizing relations between state and non-state actors, are taking place. A central argument is that sustainability governance imperfectly exemplifies new deliberative stakeholder practices with general democratic potential at the global level. In examining these governance arrangements, we draw together the nascent elements of this new ‘model’, such as its distinctive takes on political representation and accountability.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*



Löhr Isabella

**Der Völkerbund und die Entwicklung des internationalen Schutzes geistigen Eigentums in der Zwischenkriegszeit**

in **Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft**, Jahrgang 54, Heft 10, 2006 , 890–910

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Fuchs Eckhardt

**Der Völkerbund und die Institutionalisierung transnationaler Bildungsbeziehungen**

in **Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft**, Jahrgang 54, Heft 10, 2006 , 888–899

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Borowy Iris

**Die internationale Gesundheitspolitik des Völkerbundes zwischen globalem Denken und europäischem Führungsanspruch**

in **Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft**, Jahrgang 54, Heft 10, 2006 , 864–875

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Beisheim Marianne, Brunnengräber Achim

**Eine Runde der Abnicker? Die parlamentarische Demokratie in der Globalisierungsfalle**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Dezember, 2006 , 1499-1506

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Thakur Ramesh, Van Langenhove Luk

**Enhancing Global Governance Through Regional Integration**

in **Global Governance**, n. 3, vol. 12, july-september , 233-240

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Agathangelou Anna M., Killian Kyle D.

**Epistemologies of Peace: Poetics, Globalization, and the Social Justice Movement**

**in Globalizations** , Volume 3, Issue 4, December , 459 - 483

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Gillespie Alexander

**Facilitating and Controlling Civil Society in International Environmental Law**

**in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 15, Issue 3, November , 327-338

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are typically viewed as one of the essential actors in sustainable development, at both the domestic and international levels. However, despite generally warm international support for NGOs, and pledges to support their inclusion, their involvement is governed by seven considerations, which actively enhance or retard their participation. These considerations relate to (1) whether participation of both international and domestically based NGOs is allowed; (2) NGO qualifications that are required; (3) the level of NGO participation fees; (4) the accreditation vetting process; (5) NGO access to subsidiary bodies; and (6) whether NGO oral contributions and (7) written contributions are permitted. This article seeks to elaborate on these seven considerations and analyse how they are utilized to facilitate and control civil society in international environmental processes.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Maus Ingeborg

**From Nation-State to Global State, or the Decline of Democracy**

**in Constellations**, Vol. 13, Issue 4 December , 465-484

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Fuchs Eckhardt, Schulz Matthias

**Globalisierung und transnationale Zivilgesellschaft in der Ära des Völkerbundes**

**in Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft**, Jahrgang 54, Heft 10, 2006 , 837–839

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*



Collins Cath

**Grounding Global Justice: International Networks and Domestic Human Rights Accountability in Chile and El Salvador**

in *Journal of Latin American Studies* , Volume 38 - Issue 04 - November 2006 , 711-738

The UK detention of former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet in 1998 was hailed at the time as an unprecedented demonstration of the possible efficacy of 'global civil society' networks in holding former heads of state to account for crimes against humanity. This article nonetheless questions the concept, as well as the practical efficacy, of globalised civil society action or 'human rights lawyering' as a trigger for the prosecution of past human rights violations. Based on extensive field research, the article argues that domestic factors, including domestic actor pressure and national judicial change, have proved more significant than international law or international activism in recent re-irruptions of the human rights accountability issue in Latin America's Southern Cone. The case of El Salvador, meanwhile, shows that transnational initiatives, while occasionally successful in their own right, have not been able to interrupt or foreshorten domestic post-transitional trajectories to the extent of independently creating favourable accountability conditions.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Krüger Hans-Peter

**Hassbewegungen. Im Anschluss an Max Schelers sinngemäße Grammatik des Gefühlslebens**

in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 54. Jahrgang, Heft 6, 2006 , 867-883

Though Scheler elaborated his phenomenology already before and after World War I, it had been confirmed nowadays, at the beginning of a World Civil War for participation in World Civil Rights. Emotional states (perspective of third person) and feelings (perspective of first person) are taken like words that make sense in utterances, i. e. in emotional movements during activities or in moods. The difference between one's own I and another I is enabled by a self-relation of ambivalent sympathy differing from empathy.

Only movements of love enable a self-binding in values of personality. Such values make possible a world stage for performing the interplay of persons and their appropriate goods. For observers, love is building up and hate is destroying such a life scene. One should not confuse these movements with passions and affects that are mechanisms of habit-forming. Under the pressure of globalisation, the most challenging mixture consists in movements of hatred and "ressentiments" (Nietzsche) in lower middle classes of all cultures.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Flickinger Hans-Georg

**Im Namen der Freiheit. Über die Instrumentalisierbarkeit der Menschenrechte**

in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 54. Jahrgang, Heft 6, 2006 , 841-852

The jusnaturalistic attempts to found the human rights are inconsistent. Instead of legitimizing human rights based on the fact of liberty, liberty is considered as a result of a liberal process of juridification. Thus, the claim for global



implementation of the human rights turns the model of liberal society the unic order of liberty which should be – from this point of view – implanted even using violence.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Martens Kerstin

**Institutionalizing societal activism within global governance structures: Amnesty International and the United Nations system**

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 9, Number 4, December , 371-395

Since the 1990s, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have increasingly participated within the forums of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). Whereas most studies have focused on demonstrating that NGOs shape the processes and programmes of IGOs, little research has been conducted to examine how they accomplish this. Applying social movement theory, I develop an approach for examining NGO institutionalization within structures of global governance as provided by IGOs. This angle emphasizes the professionalization of NGOs on one hand and the formalization of regulations with intergovernmental institutions on the other as the factors explaining changes in their pattern of activities as regards IGOs. In the empirical part, the theoretical propositions are evaluated in relation to one of the most prominent and active NGOs in the United Nations (UN) context: Amnesty International. The paper is based on semi-structured expert interviews held with NGO representatives to the UN.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Muñoz José A.

**International Opportunities and Domestic Protest: Zapatistas, Mexico and the New World Economy**

in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 5, Number 3, December 2006 , 251-274

The EZLN (Zapatista Army of National Liberation) uprising in Chiapas, Mexico, in 1994 took advantage of many political opportunities in an economic and politically liberalizing state. Most significantly, the negotiation and passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) generated issues over which to mobilize and created political openings in the system to support mobilization. While NAFTA highlighted the dark side of globalization with its negative effects on living conditions in southern Mexico, it also ushered in political reforms that protected human rights and brought great international attention to Mexico. Many nations were watching to see whether Mexico had reached economic and political maturity. Taken together, these political opportunities provided the context for the EZLN to mobilize as a political movement.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Brown





**Kantian Cosmopolitan Law and the Idea of a Cosmopolitan Constitution**

in *History of Political Thought*, Vol. 27, Issue 4 , 661-684

The purpose of this article is to outline a Kantian form of cosmopolitan law and the jurisprudence involved in the creation of a cosmopolitan constitution. This article explores and discusses Kantian cosmopolitan law, the idea of cosmopolitan right, the laws of hospitality and a Kantian approach to constitutional cosmopolitanism. In doing so, the article argues beyond Kant's discussion of constitutionalism, suggesting that a written constitution not only articulates many of Kant's cosmopolitan concerns, but also provides a reasonable ethical foundation for an international society. Throughout this discussion, more particular aspects of Kant's legal conception of cosmopolitanism are examined, focusing on the possibility of an ethical cosmopolitan order based on jurisprudence, the necessity of a minimal consensus bound by constitutional provisions, and the corresponding legal obligations maintained by cosmopolitan law.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Levade A., Mathieu B.

**L'internationalisation du droit constitutionnel**

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, Vol. 18, No. 1 , 161-215

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Courtin Christophe

**Le Forum social mondial, objet politique non identifié**

in *Esprit*, n. 329, novembre 2006 , 162-163

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Delmas-Marty Mireille, Lamy Pascal

**Les voies d'un ordre mondial**

in *Debat (Le)*, N° 142 novembre-décembre 2006 , 4-18

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Heintz Bettina, Müller Dagmar, Schiener Heike

**Menschenrechte im Kontext der Weltgesellschaft. Die weltgesellschaftliche Institutionalisierung von**



**Frauenrechten und ihre Umsetzung in Deutschland, der Schweiz und Marokko**

in *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, Jahrgang 35, Heft 6, Dezember 2006

Human Rights in World Society

The Global Institutionalization of Women's Rights and Their Implementation in Germany, Switzerland, and Morocco

In the last few decades human rights have become increasingly institutionalized, legalized, and enlarged. Women's rights are a particularly successful example of the global institutionalization of human rights. After reconstructing the institutionalization of women's rights at the global level this article compares their implementation in Germany, Switzerland, and Morocco. The three case studies show that the link between the global and the national level, is weaker than a neo-institutional world-polity approach would expect.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Feldman D.

**Modalities of Internationalisation in Constitutional Law**

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 131-160

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Bäckstrand Karin

**Multi-stakeholder partnerships for sustainable development: rethinking legitimacy, accountability and effectiveness**

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 16, Issue 5, September-October, 290-306

The role of transnational partnerships in contemporary global environmental discourse raises larger questions of the legitimacy, effectiveness and accountability of networked governance. This article advances a conceptual framework for evaluating the legitimacy of partnership networks. Furthermore, it examines, in particular, the multi-stakeholder partnerships for sustainable development announced at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg 2002. Partnership networks have been branded as a new form of global governance with the potential to bridge multilateral norms and local action by drawing on a diverse number of actors in civil society, government and business. Does the rise of global partnerships imply a re-location and diffusion of authority from government to public-private implementation networks? Recent evaluations of the Johannesburg partnerships suggest that they can gain from a clearer linkage to existing institutions and multilateral agreements, measurable targets and timetables, more effective leadership, improved accountability, systematic review, reporting and monitoring mechanisms.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Held David, Patomäki Heikki



**Problems of Global Democracy: A Dialogue**

*in Theory, Culture & Society*, Volume 23, n. 5, September , 115-133

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rosendal G. Kristin

**Regulating the use of genetic resources - between international authorities**

*in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 16, Issue 5, September-October , 265-277

This article examines interaction between multilateral agreements and the assessment of implementation efforts. The first aim is to portray how regulations emanating from different international regimes are developed and implemented in an interdependent manner. The second main theme concerns the assessment of implementation measures in a situation of interaction. The focus here is on the high level of interaction between regulations pertaining to genetic resources and technological utilization of these through bioprospecting. Particular attention is given to where authority stems from in this context of multiple and interacting institutions. What is the most legitimate framework for making authoritative decisions on the use of genetic resources? Empirical evidence suggests a dual development. First, norm diffusion through international institutions increasingly plays a legitimizing role in international transactions with genetic resources. At the same time, there is a high correlation between dominating countries and key economic interests in the global economy of life sciences, and these interests wield their authority and power through a different set of institutions.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Stripple Johannes

**Rules for the environment; reconsidering authority in global environmental governance**

*in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 16, Issue 5, September-October , 259-264

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Cohen Jean L.

**Sovereign Equality vs. Imperial Right: The Battle over the "New World Order"**

*in Constellations*, Vol. 13, Issue 4 December , 485-505

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Papisca Antonio



### **Sussidiarietà, orizzonte mondiale. La «diplomazia delle città»**

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, n. 2, anno 3, maggio-agosto

**ABSTRACT:** Good governance is world-wide suffering, human rights and the practice of democracy are suffering as well even in those countries where their experience is long-standing. The ongoing crisis of democracy, that somebody wants to export (even by bombing) is mainly due to the fact that issues relating to representative and participatory articulations of democracy continue to be addressed with reference to the «space» of nation-state in despite of a political reality in which huge and heavy decisions are taken outside and beyond that suffocating space.

Time has come for international-transnational democracy as necessary for internal and international peace, finally for sustainable good governance at all levels. Since local government institutions are forced to deal directly with problems that belong to the political agenda of world order, local authorities are fully legitimated to claim and actually play a visible role in international affairs. Local polities are closer than other institutions to the vital needs of citizens. «Being territory, but not border», they are the primary (territorial) pole of subsidiarity also in the international system. Because of the ongoing processes of globalisation and transnationalisation, subsidiarity game to be effective should be played in the world space. Multilateral institutions are the world upper pole of subsidiarity. Local polities have a crucial interest in strengthening and democratising the United Nations, the European Union and other legitimate international institutions. To achieve more adequate space in those institutions is a central goal of Cities Diplomacy, as necessary for their institutional health. Local polities should have more than an NGOs consultive status, that is the possibility to provide formal «advisory acts» within the international decision-making processes. The case of Italy is worth mentioning, because thousands new Statutes of Municipalities and Provinces include the so-called «peace human rights norm» that reads: «The Commune X (the Province X), in conformity with the Constitution principles that repudiate war as a means to resolve international disputes, and with the principles of International Law of human rights, recognises peace as a fundamental right of the human being and of the peoples. To this purpose it is committed to take initiative and cooperate with civil society organisations, schools and universities». By this statutory rule, Italian Communes and Provinces formally pledge to comply with the principles of the United Nations Charter, in particular with Article 28 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: «Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realised». The very fact of taking over this «global» responsibility fits well the inner nature of the Local Polity as «being territory, not border». Cities Diplomacy is made by all concrete initiatives, especially public policies, that contribute to the construction of «social and international order», that is to build up internal and international peace in accordance with Article 28 quoted above. Therefore Cities Diplomacy should be conceived and carried out as an essential help to global governance. The first help should be provided at home, by pursuing the goals of the «inclusive city», that is by providing equal opportunities for the enjoyment of all human rights (civil, political, economic, social, cultural rights) for all and political participation to all those living in the city. The aim is to meet in a consistent way the requirements of «plural citizenship», which implies harmonising national (bureaucratic, historical) citizenships with the «universal citizenship» of «all members of the human family» (Universal Declaration). The ratio of the new, plural citizenship based on human rights is «ad omnes includendos», differently from the old «ad alios excludendos». To give way to this new concept of citizenship large educational and formational programs are needed. They should be carried out in close co-operation with civil society organisations, schools, universities. In front of the failed experience of development co-operation as monopolised by central governments, it is absolutely necessary to mobilise more human and material resources to carry out direct cooperation between cities. Since genuine co-operation is a substantial contribution to good global governance, the «political» profile of the so-called decentralised co-operation cannot but increase. To carry out tasks of comprehensive peace-building from below up to the United Nations, local authorities should be aware of the strenght of «soft power» and of the skills that are required to use it in the most effective way.



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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Boggio Andrea**

**The Global Enforcement of Human Rights: The Unintended Consequences of Transnational Litigation**  
in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, Volume 10, Issue 4, December 2006 , 325-340

In the last few years, a growing number of individuals whose basic rights are violated have filed transnational human rights claims in foreign countries. By placing the individual as a holder of basic rights at the core of the process of development, the capability approach, as put forward by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, provides a fertile theoretical framework to assess translational human rights litigation. The paper shows that transnational claims are problematic in two regards: 1) they undermine development by discouraging foreign companies from investing in countries that are sources of transnational claims and by weakening local governments and judiciaries; 2) the conflict resolution process is inadequate because financial and practical constraints prevent stakeholders from directly participating in the process, and because assessing damages and enforcing award judgments will most likely be unfair. The path to be taken involves developing a stronger rule of law, stronger local institutions and independent judiciaries in those developed countries where the violations of basic human rights take place.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Battini S.**

**The Globalisation of Public Law**  
in *Revue européenne de droit public*, Vol. 18, No. 1 , 27-50

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Buchanan Allen, Keohane Robert**

**The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions**  
in *Ethics and International Affairs*, n. 4, vol. 20, december , 405-438

ABSTRACT: We articulate a global public standard for the normative legitimacy of global governance institutions. This standard can provide the basis for principled criticism of global governance institutions and guide reform efforts in circumstances in which people disagree deeply about the demands of global justice and the role that global governance institutions should play in meeting them. We stake out a middle ground between an increasingly discredited conception of legitimacy that conflates legitimacy with international legality understood as state consent, on the one hand, and the unrealistic view that legitimacy for these institutions requires the same democratic standards that are now applied to states, on the other.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hettne Björn, Söderbaum Fredrik

**The UN and Regional Organizations in Global Security: Competing or Complementary Logics?**

in *Global Governance*, n. 3, vol. 12, july-september , 227-232

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Oliveira Nythamar de

**Zu einer hermeneutischen Begründung der Menschenrechte**

in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 54. Jahrgang, Heft 6, 2006 , 829-839

The article seeks to show how the normative thrust of globalization can be said to favor the process of democratization in emergent societies, such as Brazil, insofar as civil society, social movements, and NGOs account for a local action capable of effecting a universalizable rule of law. By resorting to liberal models of social democracy inspired by Immanuel Kant's political thought, such as the ones proposed by John Rawls and Jürgen Habermas, without any partisan commitments to the different programs of the leftist spectrum, I argue for a recasting of deliberative, participative democracy that realizes the promotion of human rights through an international reflective equilibrium.

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

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Arrighi Giovanni

**À la recherche de l'État mondial**

in *Actuel Marx*, N° 40 (novembre 2006)

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

De Sousa Fernando

**A democracia, face política da globalização?**

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , Vol. 49 - No. 1/2006

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Amin Samir





**Au-delà de la mondialisation libérale : un monde meilleur ou pire ?**

in *Actuel Marx*, N° 40 (novembre 2006)

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Giraud Pierre-Noël

**Comment la globalisation façonne le monde**

in *Politique Etrangère*, 4/2006 (hiver)

La globalisation et ses conséquences en matière de finance et de commerce internationaux ont de puissants effets sur les économies nationales. Elles favorisent la progression des pays émergents; laissent peu de place aux autres pays du Tiers-Monde, réduits à attendre que les émergents délocalisent ce qu'ils n'entendent plus faire; et accroissent partout les inégalités économiques internes. Ces inégalités, ainsi que les pressions migratoires, sont les débats pressants de ce monde globalisé.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Ramonet Ignacio

**Conflits, commerce, environnement... Un nouvel état du monde**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, septembre 2006 , 1, 14, 15

Symptômes : censée réguler les relations internationales, l'Organisation des nations unies peine à mettre sur pied la force d'interposition au Liban tant la politique menée par Washington et ses alliés, à travers la « guerre au terrorisme », ne fait qu'exacerber les conflits ; de son côté, l'Iran lance un défi au Conseil de sécurité, en l'invitant à des « négociations sérieuses » sur le nucléaire. Le monde devient chaque jour plus incertain. De nouveaux acteurs émergent, notamment en Asie, des questions se font plus pressantes : injustice sociale, pauvreté, flux migratoires, commerce, environnement. Le cours de ce qu'on appelle la mondialisation semble prendre un tournant.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Mora j., Rodriguez R.

**Conocimiento e informacion en la sociedad global**

in *El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual* , n. 139

No abstract available

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



*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Khondker Habibul Haque

**Cultural Conflicts, Fundamentalisms, and Globalization**

in **Globalizations** , Volume 3, Issue 4, December , 441 - 448

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Milanovic Branko

**Economic Integration and Income Convergence: Not Such a Strong Link?**

in **Review of Economics and Statistics**, Volume 88, Issue 4 , 659-670

We would expect that the process of globalization between 1870 and 1914 and subsequent disintegration of the world economy during the interwar period would have led first to income convergence and then to income divergence between the participating countries. But in fact we find stronger evidence for income convergence during the interwar period than during the first globalization. Similarly, the average level of import protection in the world cannot be shown to have either helped or hampered convergence. The evidence for trade-induced convergence is therefore weak.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Thompson Grahame F.

**Exploring Sameness and Difference: Fundamentalisms and the Future of Globalization**

in **Globalizations** , Volume 3, Issue 4, December , 427 - 433

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Fischer Thomas

**Frauenhandel und Prostitution. Zur Institutionalisierung eines transnationalen Diskurses im Völkerbund**

in **Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft**, Jahrgang 54, Heft 10, 2006 , 876–887

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Teusch Ulrich

**Globalisierung damals und heute. Zur Aktualität von Karl Kautskys Imperialismustheorie**

in **Zeitschrift für Politik**, Jahrgang 53, Heft 2, 2006 , 188-211



No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Schulz Matthias**

**Globalisierung, regionale Integration oder Desintegration?**

in **Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft**, Jahrgang 54, Heft 10, 2006 , 840–851

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Martin Philippe, Rey Hélène**

**Globalization and Emerging Markets: With or Without Crash?**

in **American Economic Review**, Vol. 96, No. 5, December 2006

We analyze the effects of financial and trade globalization on the likelihood of financial crashes in emerging markets. While trade globalization always makes crashes less likely, financial globalization may make them more likely, especially when trade costs are high. Pessimistic expectations can be self-fulfilling and lead to a collapse in demand for goods and assets. Such a crash comes with a current account reversal and drops in income and investment. Lower-income countries are more prone to such demand-based financial crises. A quantitative evaluation shows our model is consistent with the main stylized facts of financial crashes in emerging markets.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Lang Michael**

**Globalization and Its History (Review Article)**

in **Journal of Modern History**, Volume 78, Number 4, December 2006 , 899-931

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Mazzoni Alberto**

**Globalizzazione, commercio internazionale e giustiziabilità di pretese private fondate su norme internazionali**

in **Diritto del Commercio Internazionale**, 20.2 Aprile-Giugno , 255-270

No abstract available

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



*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**McGinty Matthew**

**International environmental agreements among asymmetric nations**

in **Oxford Economic Papers**, Volume 59 Number 1 , 45-62

This paper generalizes the benchmark model of self-enforcing international environmental agreements (IEAs) by allowing for all possible coalitions of  $n$  asymmetric nations. Asymmetries introduce gains from trade in pollution permits, reducing the incentive to deviate from a properly designed agreement. Coalitions are stable when the aggregate payoff to members is greater than the sum of individual payoffs from leaving the coalition. A benefit-cost ratio rule is proposed which distributes any remaining surplus after each coalition member receives their payoff as a non-signatory. Simulations of 20 asymmetric nations illustrate that even when the gains to cooperation are large, IEAs can achieve substantial emissions reductions. For example, when the benefit-cost ratio is one, stable coalitions can result in 47% of the difference between the full and no cooperation outcomes, compared with 5% for symmetric nations. Furthermore, 72% of the global payoff difference is obtained, relative to 9% for symmetry.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Matsuura Koïchiro**

**L'enjeu culturel au coeur des relations internationales**

in **Politique Etrangère**, 4/2006 (hiver)

Plus la sphère du mondialisé s'accroît, plus l'ampleur des différences à appréhender augmente. La compréhension et le maintien de la diversité culturelle sont donc aujourd'hui impératifs, d'où la nécessité de développer de véritables politiques culturelles, intégrant tous les acteurs: organisations internationales, États, sociétés civiles, secteur privé. L'éducation et la préservation du patrimoine (au sens extensif) constituent sans doute les enjeux les plus immédiats.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Laïdi Zaki**

**La gauche doit-elle craindre la mondialisation ?**

in **Esprit**, n. 329, novembre 2006 , 115-126

Should left-wing politics fear globalisation?

What exactly lies behind French left-wing reluctance vis-à-vis globalisation? On top of an opportunity to mark oneself out from right-wing politics, one can also find a time-honoured doctrinal irresolution over capitalism as well as a more recent tendency to give in to an ambient pessimism that fails to identify any opportunities in the ongoing transformation.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Belliti Daniela**



**La sfida per l'identità. Religione e politica nella globalizzazione**

in *Intersezioni : Rivista di storia delle idee*, numero 3, dicembre 2006 , 431-450

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Olstein Diego

**Le molteplici origini della globalizzazione. Un dibattito storiografico**

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900* , n. 3, luglio 2006

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Chesnais François

**Les contradictions et les antagonismes propres au capitalisme mondialisé et leurs menaces pour l'humanité**

in *Actuel Marx*, N° 40 (novembre 2006)

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Graz Jean-Christophe

**Les hybrides de la mondialisation : acteurs, objets et espaces de l'économie politique internationale**

in *Revue française de science politique*, Volume 56, Numéro 5, Octobre , 765-788

The notion of hybrid is often used in analyses of the growing influence of non state actors and informal mechanisms of power in the context of globalisation. Yet, the notion has hardly ever been conceptualised. Building upon critical approaches in international political economy, this article provides a theoretical account of the concept of global hybrids. Recent scholarship on globalisation tends to focus on the private/public nexus of the actors involved in new forms of institutional arrangements and authority. Here, actors, objects and space are analysed as joint issues. The paper argues that global hybrids confers authority on private actors previously deprived of such attributes, includes a new class of objects closely related to the political implication of science and technology, and spreads out in a space where the endogenous logic of territorial sovereignty gives way to an exogenous logic reinforcing the transnational underpinning of capitalism.

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

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Franzese, L.

**L'età della globalizzazione ovvero dell'autonomia e della sussidiarietà**

in *Jus*, n. 1 , 17-36

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Multilateralising Regionalism: Spaghetti Bowls as Building Blocs on the Path to Global Free Trade**

in *World Economy*, Volume 29, Number 11

This paper addresses the final steps to global free trade - what they might look like, what sort of political economy forces might drive them, and what the WTO might do to help. Two facts form the point of departure: (1) Regionalism is here to stay; world trade is regulated by a motley assortment of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral trade agreements; (2) this motley assortment is not the best way to organise world trade. Moving to global duty-free trade will require a multilateralisation of regionalism. This paper presents the political economy logic of trade liberalisation and uses it to structure a narrative of world trade liberalisation since 1947. The logic is then used to project the world tariff map in 2010, arguing that the pattern will be marked by fractals - fuzzy, leaky trade blocs made up of fuzzy, leaky sub-blocs (fuzzy since the proliferation of FTAs makes it impossible to draw sharp lines around the Big-3 trade blocs, and leaky since some FTAs create free trade 'canals' linking the Big-3 blocs). The paper then presents a novel political economy mechanism - spaghetti bowls as building blocs - whereby offshoring creates a force that encourages the multilateralisation of regionalism. Finally, the paper suggests three things the WTO might do to help multilateralise regionalism.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Diorama

**Occidente, globalizzazione e strategie di dominio culturale**

in *Diorama*, n. 279, settembre-ottobre

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Edwards Martin S.

**Public opinion regarding economic and cultural globalization: evidence from a cross-national survey**

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 13, Number 4 / October 2006 , 587 – 608





Empirical studies of public opinion regarding globalization have to date addressed only economic integration. By way of comparison, we know much less about public opinion regarding cultural globalization. In addition, there has been little head-to-head testing of alternative explanations for public opinions in these areas. I contrast four arguments: skills, partisanship, economic evaluations, and beliefs about the free market, consumerism, and modern life, which I test using survey information taken from 17 developed and developing countries from 2002. I find that values are a powerful and understudied explanation for variations in public opinion. Regardless of whether the question dealt with economic or cultural globalization, views about the free market, consumerism, and modern life had more explanatory power than evaluations of the economy or partisanship, and roughly the same explanatory powers as skill levels. These findings provide important insights into the sources of the globalization backlash and have important implications for how globalization should be both studied and theorized.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Mbembe Achille**

**Qu'est-ce que la pensée postcoloniale? (Entretien)**

in *Esprit*, n. 330, décembre 2006 , 117-133

What is post-colonial thinking? An interview with Achille Mbembe

The faults in Europe's universalism, especially when confronting its colonial history, have nurtured a variety of critical perspectives in the West. Why does the "post-colonial" way of thinking look so original? It grew up as a transnational, eclectic vein from the very start, enabling it to combine the anti-imperialist tradition, the fledgling 'subaltern studies' and a specific take on globalization.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Randeria Shalini**

**Rechtspluralismus und überlappende Souveränitäten: Globalisierung und der 'listige Staat' in Indien**

in *Soziale Welt*, Jahrgang 57, Heft 3, 2006

Legal plurality and overlapping sovereignties: Globalisation and the 'cunning state' of India.

The article addresses the issues of legal plurality, overlapping sovereignties, the consequent fragmentation of state action and the increasing unaccountability of international financial and trade organizations, transnational corporations as well as of states and NGOs which characterize the new architecture of global governance. It will be argued that the widely prevalent diagnosis of the growing irrelevance of the state and the erosion of its sovereignty overlooks the prevailing importance of the state as its laws and policies play a key role in transposing neo-liberal agendas to the national and local levels. The article introduces the idea of the cunning state in an attempt to shift the focus of study from a consideration of state (in)capacity measured against a Western ideal to a delineation of state strategies. It is argued that whereas weak states lack the capacity to protect the interests of vulnerable citizens, cunning states show strength or weakness depending on the domestic interests at stake. The paper focuses on the dynamic of legal politics against impoverishment and dispossession caused by the new global designs of intellectual property protection, biodiversity



conservation and privatisation of the commons in India. The case studies point to the emergence of intertwined structures of rule, overlapping sovereignties and complex processes of legal transnationalisation that have reconfigured the relations between law, state, and territoriality. They also reveal pragmatic issue-based alliances between civil society and the state. Finally, they point to the need to ground the study of globalisation in a fine-grained ethnography, linking the micro- to the macro-level and to explore the specificity of various trajectories of legal plurality and its transnationalisation in specific contexts and cases.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Commission of the European Communities**

**Rising International Economic Integration**

in *European Economy News*, 6, 2005

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Andriani Silvano**

**Squilibri e disuguaglianze nell'economia globalizzata**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 5 , 44-52

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Orrego Vicuña Francisco**

**The Globalization of nationality**

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 38 / 2005 / Nr. 150 , 119

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Coleman William, Wayland Sarah**

**The Origins of Global Civil Society and Nonterritorial Governance:**

in *Global Governance*, n. 3, vol. 12, july-september , 241-262

ABSTRACT: In this article, we examine two possibly competing hypotheses on the origins of global civil society. The



first suggests that global civil society has developed rationally over a long period of time, continuous with the development of domestic civil society in democracies. The second postulates that global civil society is a relatively new phenomenon, one that has emerged to respond to unprecedented challenges to democracy as a result of globalization. Drawing on a case study of global politics surrounding plant biotechnology, we evaluate these two hypotheses. Our findings support the second, more institutionalist, possibility. We then use these findings to comment on how global civil society might be defined and how it relates to democracy.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Devezas Tessaleno, Modelski George

**The Portuguese as System-builders in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Case Study on the Role of Technology in the Evolution of the World System**

in **Globalizations** , Volume 3, Issue 4, December , 507 - 523

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Layne Christopher

**The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment**

in **International Security**, n. 2, vol. 31, fall

The conventional wisdom among U.S. grand strategists is that U.S. hegemony is exceptional—that the United States need not worry about other states engaging in counterhegemonic balancing against it. The case for U.S. hegemonic exceptionalism, however, is weak. Contrary to the predictions of Waltzian balance of power theorists, no new great powers have emerged since the end of the Cold War to restore equilibrium to the balance of power by engaging in hard balancing against the United States—that is, at least, not yet. This has led primacists to conclude that there has been no balancing against the United States. Here, however, they conflate the absence of a new distribution of power in the international political system with the absence of balancing behavior by the major second-tier powers. Moreover, the primacists' focus on the failure of new great powers to emerge, and the absence of traditional "hard" (i.e., military) counterbalancing, distracts attention from other forms of counterbalancing—notably "leash-slipping"—by major second-tier states that ultimately could lead to the same result: the end of unipolarity. Because unipolarity is the foundation of U.S. hegemony, if it ends, so too will U.S. primacy.

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Weiss Anita M.

**Towards Understanding Difference but not 'Sameness': A Response to Grahame Thompson**

in **Globalizations** , Volume 3, Issue 4, December , 449 - 453

No abstract available



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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Reitan Ruth

**Who's Afraid of the Lion's Roar? Commentary on Grahame Thompson's 'Exploring Sameness and Difference' in Globalizations**, Volume 3, Issue 4, December, 455 - 458

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Duschinsky Robbie

**'The First Great Insurrection against Global Systems': Foucault's Writings on the Iranian Revolution in European Journal of Social Theory**, Volume 9, No. 4, November 2006, 547-558

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Haaland Jan, Kind Hans Jarle

**Cooperative and Non-Cooperative R&D Policy in an Economic Union in Review of World Economics (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv)**, Vol. 142, No. 4

What are the consequences of decentralized R&D policies within an economic union? Do non-cooperative policies generate too high R&D subsidies? To address such questions, we construct a simple model where firms invest in quality-improving R&D. With goods produced in different countries within an economic union, we compare non-cooperative and cooperative R&D policies. We show that non-cooperative policies imply too small R&D subsidies for horizontally differentiated goods and too high subsidies for close substitutes. Furthermore, small countries have less incentive to subsidize R&D than large countries, resulting in an unwarranted vertical product differentiation between goods produced in different countries.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Basrur Rajesh

**Decentralizing Theory: Regional International Politics in International Studies**, n. 4, vol. 43, october, 419-424

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Kavalski Emilian

**From the Western Balkans to the Greater Balkans Area: The External Conditioning of "Awkward" and "Integrated" States**

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 17, Number 3, Summer 2006

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Sohn Chan-Hyun, Lee Hongshik

**How FTAs Affect Income Levels of Member Countries**

in *World Economy*, Volume 29, Number 12, 1737-1757

The purpose of this paper is to analyse whether FTAs cause the income levels of member economies to converge or diverge. Although existing studies predict the possibility of convergence among FTA members to a certain degree, they fail to provide definitive evidence. By using the concept of accelerating convergence, this study aims to estimate the pure convergence effects of FTAs, separate from the conventional notion of income convergence, so-called "accelerating convergence". The neoclassical model of economic growth has been extended to incorporate varying steady states for an open-economy framework. Applying the system GMM method to a dynamic panel of data consisting of major FTAs - comprising the European Union, NAFTA, Mercosur and AFTA, and encompassing the cases of launching an FTA, expanding membership or deepening FTA integration - we find considerable evidence for the income convergence effect of FTAs.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Diouf Abdou

**Afrique: l'intégration régionale face à la mondialisation**

in *Politique Etrangère*, 4/2006 (hiver)

Après les indépendances, l'Afrique s'est dotée d'une bureaucratie continentale à l'efficacité réduite. La marginalisation du continent dans les années 1990 a suscité de nouvelles logiques: la création de l'Union africaine, le développement des organisations sous-régionales, le NEPAD, divers processus d'intégration "par le bas". On est peut-être au seuil de la définition d'organisations du troisième type: traitant des problèmes transversaux en associant tous les acteurs, étatiques ou non.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Nyanduga Bahame Tom

**Conference paper: Perspectives on the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the entry into force of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights**



in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, n. 2, vol. 6

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Buigut Steven K., Valev Neven T.

**Eastern and Southern Africa Monetary Integration: A Structural Vector Autoregression Analysis**  
in *Review of Development Economics*, Volume 10, Number 4

This paper uses VAR techniques to investigate the potential for forming monetary unions in Eastern and Southern Africa. All countries in the sample are members of various

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Mbazira Cristopher

**Enforcing the economic, social and cultural rights in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights: Twenty years of redundancy, progression and significant strides**  
in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, n. 2, vol. 6

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Amadou N. R. Sy

**Financial Integration in the West African Economic and Monetary Union**  
in *IMF Policy Discussion Papers*, September 2006 , Working Paper No. 06/214

This study assesses the degree of financial integration in the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU). The structure of the financial sector and its institutional arrangements indicate that financial integration is well advanced in some aspects. Common and foreign ownership of banks is very high and cross-border transactions are frequent in the government securities markets. Common institutions help achieve a high degree of similarity of rules. There is nonetheless scope for further financial integration as indicated by persistent deviations from the law of one price, limited cross-border bank transactions, and differences in treatment. Policy measures could therefore help achieve greater financial convergence.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Pretorius Louwrens

**Government by or over the People? The African National Congress's Conception of Democracy**  
in *Social Identities*, Volume 12, Number 6, November 2006 , 745-769





The paper offers an interpretation of the African National Congress's conception of democracy. The interpretation is framed by three questions. Who are the people? How should the people govern? How should capital, capitalists and civil society be governed? Attention is given to the party's views on participatory democracy, its vanguardist claims and its views on aspects of state-capital and state-civil society relations. It is proposed that the party's tendency to discount diversity of interests, to persist with claims to superior understanding of complex issues and to preach hegemony as a virtue might signify government over the people rather than government by the people.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Eboussi Boulaga Fabien**

**Penser africain: raison, identité et liberté. (Entretien)**

in *Esprit*, n. 330, décembre 2006 , 106-116

Africa's way of thinking: reason, identity and liberty. An interview with

A philosopher and the founder of *Terroirs*, an African periodical focusing on the social sciences and culture, Boulaga avails himself of the liberty to consider Africa as "a novel concept". Feeling free vis-à-vis tradition and distrustful of abstract cosmopolitanism, he affirms African identity against anything that would queries or undermine it.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Freeman Jr. Chas**

**The GCC at 25: A Tour d'horizon**

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 13, Issue 4, December , 148-153

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Bussotti Luca**

**Un tentativo di aggregazione regionale nell'Africa australe. La Southern African Development Community**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 5 , 221-236

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*



Klesner Joseph L.

**Economic Integration and National Identity in Mexico**

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 12, Number 3-4, Autumn-Winter 2006 , 481-507

In the past two decades Mexico has experienced rapid globalization, especially through economic integration with the United States. Mass attitudes have remained proudly Mexican and have become more focused on the nation, at the expense of more local identities. Many Mexicans, especially those more likely to benefit from economic integration, would consider some surrender of sovereignty, while others fear the loss of cultural identity due to the forces of globalization.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*

Belaubre Christophe

**Frontières étatiques et réseaux sociaux : le projet de Fédération centraméricaine (1822-1827)**

in *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, a. 53, n. 2,

L'Amérique centrale est aujourd'hui un espace géopolitique fortement structuré et divisé selon le modèle de l'État-nation. Cette architecture politique complexe, que certains analystes comparent à la situation des Balkans, autant par son caractère « belligène » que par la diversité des populations qui y vivent, n'a pas toujours été une zone privilégiée d'application de la doctrine Monroe. Au début du XIXe siècle, après l'Indépendance, les acteurs politiques cherchèrent à mettre en place une voie originale de développement qui combinerait les constitutions américaine et européennes. Ils projetèrent leur avenir vers une Fédération, fomentèrent une identité aujourd'hui complètement perdue, celle de la nation centraméricaine. À partir d'une approche des événements politiques axés sur la micro-histoire sociale, nous revenons sur une affaire qui est symptomatique des difficultés que les Centraméricains ne parvinrent pas à surmonter: les pratiques et les réseaux sociaux hérités de l'Ancien Régime qui minèrent la tentative d'inventer un citoyen centraméricain.

Central America is today a heavily structured geopolitical space divided along the nationstate model. This complex political architecture, which certain analysts compare to the Balkan situation as much for its "bellicose" character as for its diverse populations, has not always been a zone where the Monroe Doctrine had a privileged application. In the early nineteenth century, after independence, political actors searched to establish an original path of development that combined American and European constitutions. They projected their future as a Federation and fomented an identity that is today completely lost, that of the Central American nation. From an approach to political events based on a social micro-history, we return to an affair that is symptomatic of the difficulties that Central Americans did not succeed in surmounting: the practices and social networks inherited from the Ancien Regime that undermined the effort to invent a Central American citizen.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*

McBride Stephen

**Reconfiguring Sovereignty: NAFTA Chapter 11 Dispute Settlement Procedures and the Issue of Public-Private Authority**



in **Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique**, Volume 39 - Issue 04 - December 2006 , 755-775

This article focuses on the claim that authority is shifting from public into private hands. To partially test that thesis it examines the procedures for settling disputes under NAFTA Chapter 11 (itself an example of the broader category of investor-state provisions found in bilateral investment agreements and some international conventions). The article detects evidence of a delegation or transfer of public authority to private processes. It deals only incidentally with NAFTA Chapter 11's grant to investors of the right to make direct claims against signatory governments; rather, it concentrates on the procedures for resolving such claims, and the means available to states to assert the public interest. Specifically, this article examines the way that the NAFTA Chapter 11 dispute resolution mechanism is rooted in private arbitration processes and seeks to determine the effectiveness of the means available to public authorities to alter decisions emanating from them, if they are deemed to be contrary to the public interest.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

**Medina-Nicolas Lucile**

#### **Central American Borders at the Core of the Regional Integration Process**

in **Geopolitics**, Vol. 12, n. 1, February , 78-108

At the beginning of the 2000 decade, boundaries are at the heart of the Central American reality. Three of four conflicts listed for the American continent by the International Boundaries Research Unit (IBRU) in 2004 were occurring in the isthmus. Since the end of the 1980s, the states of this area have initiated a process of democratic pacification and regional economic integration. The diplomatic relations maintained by these neighbouring states are an essential element of this process, yet their shared borders, so often an object of national tension, are still prone to conflict. Over the past few years, Central American borders have been the subject of new research, due to both renewed regional and increased world interest in this topic. This renewed interest is accompanied by Central American authorities' interest in encouraging binational co-operation. The aim of this paper is to examine the Central American boundary-design process and present the causes of the still-existing border disputes, with the intention of understanding better what is at stake today in the promotion of trans-border co-operation on the scale of the Central American region. Rather than focus on the classic territorial view of boundaries as dividers and as mechanisms for defusing conflicts between states, this article concentrates on the awakening of political wills that has resulted in the emergence of transnational relations and thus given value to Central American borders as privileged spaces of interaction. The Central American case is used to try to illustrate how the synthesis of the theories of boundary studies and border studies can be both positive and stimulating.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

**De A. Medeiros Marcelo**

#### **Dinâmica subnacional e lógica centro-periferia: os impactos do Mercosul na economia política dos estados de Pernambuco, Bahia, São Paulo e Rio Grande do Sul**

in **Revista Brasileira de Política internacional** , Vol. 49 - No. 1/2006



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Alvarez Carlos A. (Intervista a )

**Il Mercosur: economia e istituzioni nelle politiche dell'integrazione**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 5 , 152-160

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Martinez W.A.

**La integracion politica en el centro-america**

in *Geosur : publicacion mensual* , n. 315-316 , 3-11

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Bertossi R.

**Mercosur: Cumbre ampliada. Foto o proyecto comun?**

in *Geosur : publicacion mensual* , n. 317-318 , 19 -22

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Souto Maior Luiz A. P.

**O Brasil e o regionalismo continental frente a uma ordem mundial em transição**

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , Vol. 49 - No. 2/2006

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Beeson Mark

**American Hegemony and Regionalism: The Rise of East Asia and the End of the Asia-Pacific**

in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 11, n. 4, Winter , 541-560



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Grasso Marco**

**An Ethics-based Climate Agreement for the South Pacific Region**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 6, Number 3, September , 249-270

The aim of this article is to describe a comprehensive regional climate agreement for the South Pacific region. This agreement would integrate the usual view of climate negotiations among the developed countries as the sharing of mitigation costs, with that of the Pacific Islands, which focuses on the disproportion between responsibility for, and the efforts of, adaptation to burdens imposed by climate impacts. The agreement, moreover, is grounded on sound principles of justice and criteria of equity which give greater legitimacy to it and can persuade parties with conflicting interests to cooperate more closely on collective actions. On the mitigation side, discussion of the initial allocation of endowments focuses on the criterion of differentiated equality, taking account of undeserved inequalities as suggested by Rawls' theory of justice as fairness. Endowments are initially distributed according to a formula whose reference is equal per capita distribution corrected for the most striking unjustifiable inequalities. Possibly a sound benchmark for the just financing of adaptation activities is the criterion of differentiated historical responsibility, again backed by Rawls's theory, while the allocation of adaptation resources can be based on the criterion of lack of functionings, as substantiated in Sen's capability approach. In practical terms, it is possible to envision the creation of an adaptation fund where each single contribution is proportional to cumulative emissions net of undeserved inequalities, and which allows participation by poorer vulnerable countries proportionally to their levels of human development.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Miller Geoff**

**Australia–Japan economic relations: ten years after the NARA Treaty**

**in Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 60, n. 4 / December , 506-520

The NARA Treaty looked to a strengthened Australia–Japan relationship, which foreign ministers of both countries celebrated this year. Events of the mid 1980s, however, demonstrated how an adverse turn in economic circumstances can stress even a strong bilateral relationship. The two countries were then at opposite points in their economic cycles, Japan almost too successful, with the high yen putting pressure on Japan's export industries, steel in particular. Seeking to reduce costs, the steel mills transferred pressure to their Australian suppliers of coal and iron ore, through reductions in prices and volumes. This was unwelcome to an Australian government coping with a recession and worried about balance of payments and unemployment, and led to concerns about equal treatment. Although the minerals trade returned to normal relatively quickly, ambitious investment projects aimed at enhancing the economic relationship did not materialise.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



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

Drysdale Peter

**Did the NARA Treaty make a difference?**

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 60, n. 4 / December , 490-505

The Basic Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Australia and Japan (the NARA Treaty) was the first treaty of friendship and amity signed between Australia and any other country. Importantly it extended most-favoured-nation status or non-discriminatory treatment beyond trade to all commercial dealings between Australia and Japan, including investment and migration and stay. It was a framework agreement that established a comprehensive basis of equality and fairness in economic and political relations. Yet it is frequently seen as not having had any substantial economic impact on the relationship. This article argues otherwise. It demonstrates that the NARA Treaty had a large and measurable effect on the intensity of investment flows and suggests that it had similar effects on the movement of people between the two economies.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Seliger Bernhard

**Die neue politische Ökonomie Ostasiens und die Rolle Chinas**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 49, 2006

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Kato Shunsako

**East Asia Community and Japan**

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XIX, n. 3, November

In 1947, two years after the end of World War II, the World Movement for World Federal Government (WMWFG) adopted the Montreux Declaration, in which it said as follows: "We consider that an integration of activities at regional levels is consistent with the true federal approach. The formation of regional federations... insofar as they do not become an end in themselves or run the risk of crystallizing into blocs... can and should contribute to the effective functioning of a world federal government. In the same way, the solution of technical, scientific, and cultural problems, which concern all the peoples of the world, will be made easier by the establishment of specialist functional bodies."

So far, the world has been moving along the lines the declaration predicted. Quite a few of the regional unions, such as the AU (African Union, 2002, – as a successor of the Organization of African Unity) or ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations, 1967) have formed. Who would ever have anticipated the present EU in 1947?

But it still does not exist any concrete organization in Northeast Asia. Michio Morisima, professor emeritus at Osaka University, might have been the first Japanese who elaborated on the formation of an East Asia Community as a





well-grounded undertaking. He proposed to found an East Asia Community in his book entitled *Collaborative Development in Northeast Asia* (Iwanami Shoten, 2001). However, the idea of an East Asia Community as such was not a new one. Since the 1990s, it had gained considerable influence among regional policymakers. The initiation of the ASEAN+3 process (APT: Japan, China, and Korea) as well as the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI) indicate that Northeast and Southeast Asians have begun to formulate their own cooperative mechanisms of regional self-help. However, the rapid proliferation of bilateral and subregional preferential-trade agreements in recent years does not correspond to the logic of building a collective East Asian identity. This article examines the origins of the major barriers to community building in East Asia.

The Manila Summit in November 1999 issued the Joint Statement of East Asia Cooperation in which APT leaders endorsed East Asia collaboration in the economic field, in financial and monetary affairs, in social and human resources development, and various other areas. Yet it is worth noting that the joint statement does not specify the intention of building an "East Asia Community." A number of reasons retard this process. When Japan started the Pacific War on December 8, 1941, it stated that the war was to emancipate the nations that were suffering from Western colonialism and establish a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, but the military had their own ideas and reality turned out to be far from their declared objectives. After being "liberated" from the West, the attacked Asian nations had to face a new colonial power. After the war, the relationship between Japan and Southeast Asia began to change as a result of enhanced trade in the 1970s, so that from that decade onward the Asianist map was gradually widened to include Southeast Asia on equal terms.

Since the 1970s, Japan has issued quite a few war-apology statements. In the most famous of these, on August 15, 1995, Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama formally stated, "During a certain period in the not too distant past, Japan, through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly those of Asia. In the hope that no such mistake will be made in the future, I regard, in a spirit of humanity, these as irrefutable facts of history, and express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state my heartfelt apology" (statement by Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the war's end).

These apologies naturally inclined the Asian people more favorably toward Japan and fostered better relationships among the three countries: Japan, China, and Korea. Moreover, they paved the way for formulating an East Asia Community.

#### Japanese Neo-Nationalism and the Idea of East Asia Community

However, coupled with a decreasing number of Japanese who knew of the crimes their government and military had committed in the Pacific War, Japanese politics has since been swinging to the right and toward militarism. Now the Liberal Democratic Party plans to amend the Peace Constitution, among other ways, by abolishing Article 9 (which renounces the right to wage war). Also, the tide of grassroots rightism or neo-nationalism is rising, especially on the pretext of threats from North Korea. This new Japanese neonationalism is a complex phenomenon. Unlike the traditional rightists, neo-nationalists tend to be rather young people who are socially disconnected from communities (companies, labor unions, and the like). Moreover, in recent years, the visits by high-ranking officials to Yasukuni Shrine have become a sticking point in relations between Japan and its neighbors. The enshrinement of war criminals, honoring them for having fought and died for their country (even though the Japanese Constitution implies the separation of church and state) has greatly angered the people of various countries that had been invaded by those same men. Especially, former Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi has committed himself to visiting Yasukuni Shrine regularly, and did so every year as the Prime Minister of Japan, causing uproar in China and Korea. He used to say, when he visited



Yasukuni Shrine, that he visited it to swear by God “eternal peace”, but his assertion could not persuade the people or leaders of Japan’s neighbor countries, China and Korea, and the leaders of China and Korea refused to see him formally. This friction was one of the main reasons for deteriorating relationships between Japan and its neighboring countries, China and Korea, and also hampered the formation of the East Asia Community.

At the same time, it seems to me that another explanation behind Koizumi’s visiting Yasukuni Shrine could lie within the USJapan Alliance. The American president and his colleagues are wary about the idea of the East Asia Community. For example, in a speech at Jochi University in Tokyo, last March, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice clearly opposed the idea of an East Asia Community and proposed instead the idea of a Pacific Community including America. The fear is that an East Asian Community would weaken the present strong US-Japan Alliance, especially in military terms. Mr. Koizumi, a loyal partner of the Bush administration, may have felt encouraged to carry on with his visits, accepting the fact that they made further talks with China and Korea about the formation of an East Asia Community more difficult.

The well-known peace campaigner Prof. Sung Suh of Ritsumeikan University in Japan declared: “For a long time, I have dreamed of a regional community of co-prosperity in Northeast Asia like the EU. The age of Northeast Asia will finally come to full fruition. I pledge to devote my whole heart and effort to bring about that day at the earliest possible time.” Sung argued that achieving a Northeast Asian Community will require two fundamental steps. The first and perhaps the easiest will be to reestablish an international balance of power, “to check US unilateralism... to recover the world balance of power, which was damaged by the United States, it is useful to set up a new ‘three-kingdom age’, that is, an era characterized by a balance among the ‘kingdoms’ of the United States, the European Union, and a Northeast Asian Community.”

The second and perhaps more difficult step, Sung continues, “will be to find a way to get away from where we are today”, facing the growing strength of Japanese neo-nationalism, and to where Prof. Sung believes we should be in the future: a Northeast Asian Community of peace. The fundamental problem is Japan. “Will Japan be able to turn to a Northeast Asian Community? What concrete steps are possible today?” I believe that answering these questions posed by Prof. Sung Suh must be the vital first task assumed by Japan’s new prime minister, Shinzo Abe. At this moment, it is uncertain what Mr. Abe will or can do to improve the deteriorated situation. He is known as a conservative and rather a more nationalistic politician than Mr. Koizumi. However, we hope that in cooperation with his advisors he will make a serious effort to establish relationships with China and Korea to form an East Asia Community.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Park Innwon

#### **East Asian Regional Trade Agreements: do they Promote Global Free Trade?**

in *Pacific Economic Review*, December 2006 - Vol. 11 Issue 4 , p. 547

We quantitatively evaluate the effects different paths have on East Asian Regional Trade Agreements (RTA), which include expansionary, duplicate and overlapping RTAs. By applying a computable general equilibrium model analysis, we find that the static effect of existing, proposed and negotiating East Asian RTAs on world and members' welfare is sufficiently positive. It will lead to non-discriminatory global free trade, by triggering the domino effect of regionalism if the RTAs take an expansionary path by cooperating with each other, in contrast to competing to achieve the first mover



advantage, or hub self-interest.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Hasebe Yuichi, Shrestha Nagendra

**Economic Integration in East Asia: An International Input-Output Analysis**

*in World Economy*, Volume 29, Number 12 , 1709-1735

To establish economic and monetary union (EMU) in East Asia, deepening regional integration through international trade is important. The economic interdependence (one of the important criteria for regional integration) study, using macro data does not reflect the indirect effects generated by interactions between different production sectors and different countries. We use the international input-output (IIO) framework to study the economic interdependence at both macro and production sector levels. We refine the existing methods to reflect exogenous country effect and size effect of the economy. Our study suggests that establishing EMU in East Asia appears to be somewhat premature. However, we can be more optimistic for regional integration at the production sector level in East Asia when including Japan, which will create a basis for EMU in the region.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Walton David

**Future directions in Australia–Japan relations: an Australian perspective**

*in Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 60, n. 4 / December , 598-605

This article offers an Australian perspective on future directions in Australia–Japan relations. An attempt is made to identify issues that will have a bearing on the bilateral relationship over the next five years and beyond at the national level. There is not any likelihood of a substantial rupture or change in relations in the short-term. The continuation of a stable, close and dynamic relationship in the mid to long-term, however, will depend on how both countries conduct their respective foreign policies towards China.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Scalapino Robert A.

**In Search of Peace and Stability in the Region Surrounding the Korean Peninsula—Challenges and Opportunities**

*in American Foreign Policy Interests*, Vol. 28, n. 5 / October , 367-378

This article presents a comprehensive analysis of the roles that major powers such as China, Japan, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), the Republic of Korea (ROK), Russia, and the United States play in Northeast Asia. It concentrates on the relationships that the powers maintain with one another as well as with other countries in Asia. As far as the United States is concerned, the analysis concludes that its relationship with China is complex; its relationship with Japan is the strongest in Northeast Asia; its relationship with the ROK is good despite an increasing incidence of anti-American sentiment among the population; its relationship with the DPRK has been frozen since the impasse in



reconvening the six-party talks developed in response to North Korea's reaction to the U.S. imposition of economic sanctions for the counterfeiting of U.S. currency; and its relationship with Russia is less cordial and cooperative than it was when President Putin and President Bush first met. In identifying the three forces of internationalism, nationalism, and communalism that hold sway today throughout Northeast Asia, the analysis singles out nationalism as the most intense and concludes that bilateral relations rather than regional relations will be the dominant form of relationship in the area while nationalism is the superior force.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

De Grauwe Paul , Zhang Zhaoyong

**Introduction: Monetary and Economic Integration in the East Asian Region**  
in *World Economy*, Volume 29, Number 12 , 1643–1647.

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Browne Christopher, Orsmond David William Harold

**Pacific Island Countries--Possible Common Currency Arrangement**  
in *IMF Policy Discussion Papers*, October 2006 , Working Paper No. 06/234

This paper examines the potential advantages and disadvantages of adopting a common currency arrangement among the six IMF member Pacific island countries that have their own national currency. These countries are Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu. The study explains that the present exchange rate regimes-comprising pegging to a basket of currencies for five countries and the floating arrangement for Papua New Guinea-have generally succeeded in avoiding inflationary, balance of payments, external debt, and financial system problems. The study concludes that adopting a common currency in the Pacific would require greater convergence of domestic policies and substantial strengthening of regional policies, which would take time to achieve.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Kiyotaka Sato , Zhaoyong Zhang

**Real Output Co-movements in East Asia: Any Evidence for a Monetary Union?**  
in *World Economy*, Volume 29, Number 12 , 1671-1689

The East Asian region has experienced astonishing economic growth and integration over the past few decades. It is generally believed that a high degree of integration in the region would greatly shape the economic structure of each individual economy and has direct implications for the effectiveness of domestic stabilisation policy and policy coordination. This paper empirically examines the feasibility of forming a monetary union in East Asia by assessing the real output co-movements among these economies. As suggested by the optimum currency area (OCA) theory that



losing monetary independence would be the major cost for adopting a common currency, it would be less costly for the economies to form a monetary union if the business cycles are synchronised across countries. The cointegration test and the Vahid and Engle (1993) test for common business cycles are conducted to examine their long-run relationship and short-run interactions in real outputs, respectively. Our study found that some pair countries in the region share both the long-run and short-run synchronous movements of the real outputs. In particular, the short-run common business cycles are found in some pairs of ASEAN economies consisting of Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia, and in the Northeast Asian region consisting of Hong Kong, Korea and Mainland China, as well as between Japan and Taiwan. These findings have important implications for the economies in terms of adjustment costs when considering the adoption of a monetary union

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Kirkman Hugh

#### **The East Asian Seas UNEP Regional Seas Programme**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 6, Number 3, September , 305-316

In East Asia, the Action Plan of the Coordinating Body of the Seas of East Asia (COBSEA) aims to protect the marine and coastal environment. COBSEA is funded by member countries and UNEP, member countries discuss common problems and resolve and diagnose cross-boundary degradation of marine environments. Success has come from funding for coral reef community activities and the Global Environment Facility funds for the South China Sea Project. COBSEA is actively engaged in the Global Plan of Action for Land-based sources of pollution and the Swedish Government is funding a programme to integrate marine and coastal activities in East Asian Seas. COBSEA is not always successful because of lack of member countries' commitment and understanding of marine and coastal degradation by the wider community. COBSEA could easily combine with other agencies or have closer ties with them. It is suggested that the COBSEA member countries decide on a code of practice for donors and the responsibilities of funding recipients.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

Terada Takashi

#### **Thirty years of the Australia–Japan partnership in Asian regionalism: evolution and future directions**

**in Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 60, n. 4 / December , 536-551

This article reviews the development of the Australia–Japan partnership in building regional institutions such as the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council and the Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation over the last three decades since the NARA Treaty was signed in 1976. In a unique partnership, academics, business people, politicians and officials in both countries were central to establishing these regional economic institutions. This article, however, argues that while both countries had shared understandings on regional issues during the first two decades after the treaty, the last decade has seen divergent regional understandings, especially over the rise of China. Japan sees the growing influence of China as a political obstacle due to growing bilateral tensions arising from historical and territorial issues, while Australia finds it a great economic opportunity to promote its trade with and attract investments from China. This differing understanding on China between both countries may act as a major hurdle to the effective and functional partnership in East Asian regionalism.





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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Hosono Shinichi**

**Towards a comprehensive strategic partnership between Australia and Japan: Japan's perspective**  
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 60, n. 4 / December , 590-597

bilateral ties, Australia and Japan are committed to reaffirming the significance of their relationship and expanding it into new dimensions. The Australian and Japanese foreign ministers have agreed to build a 'comprehensive strategic partnership' between their two countries. What are the factors that motivate Canberra and Tokyo to elevate their bilateral relations to the level of a strategic partnership? From a Japanese point of view, the main reason is the enhanced strategic importance of Australia with such indicators as Australian's enhanced security role, the structural changes in Asia and movements toward a new regional architecture, Japan's energy and food security, the trilateral strategic dialogue between Australia, the United States and Japan, and shared values and the Australian government's policy toward Japan. Both nations are expected to advance toward an even closer relationship with these factors in mind.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Shin Kwanho , Sohn Chan-Hyun**

**Trade and Financial Integration in East Asia: Effects on Co-movements**  
in *World Economy*, Volume 29, Number 12 , 1649–1669

In this paper we explore three important areas where deeper trade and financial integration in East Asia can influence: (1) business cycle co-movements in the region, (2) the extent of risk sharing across countries and (3) price co-movements across countries. We find evidence that trade integration enhances co-movements of output but not of consumption across countries. Especially the fact that trade integration does not raise co-movements of consumption as much as that of output is interpreted as trade integration does not improve the extent of risk sharing. Co-movements of price arise most significantly as trade integration deepens, lowering the border effects and allowing better opportunities for resource reallocation across countries. In contrast, financial integration demonstrates much weaker evidence of enhancing co-movements across countries. Deeper financial integration improves price co-movements weakly but does not enhance output or consumption co-movements at all. However, since the current level of financial integration in East Asia is quite low, our evidence is too early to firmly determine the role of financial integration.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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

**Kuhonta Erik Martinez**

**Walking a tightrope: democracy versus sovereignty in ASEAN's illiberal peace**  
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 19, Number 3, September , 337-358

Since 1967, ASEAN has established intramural relations that forsake war as a means for resolving conflict. While this is





a remarkable achievement for the region, it must be balanced against a concomitant hindrance of democratic reform. I argue in this paper that ASEAN's nascent security community must be seen as an 'illiberal peace'. Underlying ASEAN's peaceful community are the same principles that support illiberalism in the region, namely sovereignty and non-interference. While sovereignty has historically been a cherished norm for developing countries, ASEAN lags behind other regions, particularly Latin America, in attempting to reconcile tensions between democratic norms and the respect for sovereignty. This tension is most evident in ASEAN's relations with Myanmar. Recent events indicate that ASEAN's non-interference norm may no longer be sacrosanct, but the association is a long way from shunning illiberal politics for the sake of democratic values.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Dougan Michael

**"And some fell on stony ground..." A review of Giandomenico Majone's "Dilemmas of European Integration" in *European Law Review*, n. 6, vol. 31, december , 865-878**

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Franco Algieri

**A Weakened EU's Prospects for Global Leadership**

**in *Washington Quarterly (The)*, Vol. 30, Issue 1 - Winter 2006/07 , 107-116**

After France and the Netherlands rejected the EU Constitution, the European integration project has reached a crucial stage. Even though the EU is still a world champion in trade policy and development aid, it is in danger of becoming an irrelevant power.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Vesterdorf B.

**A constitutional court for the EU?**

**in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 4 n. 4 , 607-617**

The question forming the title of this paper may be taken two different ways. Do we have a court in the EU in charge of constitutional adjudication? Or, alternatively, ought we to have a court in the EU that would specialize in constitutional adjudication? Such a court might resemble, say, France's Conseil Constitutionnel or the Bundesverfassungsgericht in Germany.

I take the liberty of opting for the second reading—Should we have a specialized constitutional court?—since, in my view, the answer to the first question is quite straightforward. As I will explain briefly in section 1, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) already performs the duties of a constitutional court. However, because the ECJ has broader duties than



pure constitutional adjudication, I think it resembles more a supreme court than a specialized constitutional court. I will, therefore, examine in section 2 whether the "specialized constitutional court" model has inherent advantages over the "supreme court" model. I conclude that neither is inherently superior to the other; nonetheless, I argue in section 3 that the ECJ—as a supreme court—should be allowed to concentrate on its constitutional duties as well as on its role as a guardian of the unity and consistency of EU law. Finally, I summarize in section 4 my thoughts on the means that we can use to redirect the ECJ's functions.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Zilinsky Marek

**Abolishing exequatur in the European Union: the European Enforcement Order**  
in *Netherlands International Law Review*, 2006, Vol. 53, issue 3 , p. 471-492

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Zilinsky Marek

**Abolishing the exequatur in the European Union: the European Enforcement Order**  
in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 471-492

On 21 October 2005 the EC Regulation on European Enforcement Order for uncontested claims became applicable. According to this Regulation a judgment of a court of a Member State can be certified as a European Enforcement Order in the Member State of origin. A certified judgment is to be enforced in another Member State without any need of an intermediate procedure for recognition and enforcement. The exequatur procedure from the Brussels I Regulation is abolished in certain cases. In the Member State of enforcement there are only very limited possibilities of refusal of enforcement of a certified judgment. In this article the Regulation is discussed, as well as the further possibilities of simplification of cross border enforcement of civil judgments in the European Union. It is argued that for a further simplification of cross border enforcement a harmonization of the procedural laws of the Member States is necessary.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Ricci Antonio

**Allargamento UE, nuove dinamiche e nuovi confini**  
in *Affari Sociali Internazionali*, n. 2, 2006 , 33-44

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Pomian Krzysztof

**Après la crise constitutionnelle. Quelle Union? quelle Europe?**

in *Debat (Le)*, N° 140 mai-août 2006 , 50-67

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Lippert Barbara

**Beefing up the ENP: Towards a Modernisation and Stability Partnership**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLI, n. 4, October-December , 16

For the article see:

<http://www.iai.it/pdf/articles/lippert.pdf>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Duke Simon, Ojanen Hanna

**Bridging Internal and External Security: Lessons from the European Security and Defence Policy**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 28, Number 5 / December , 477-494

This article suggests that the development of the European Security and Defence Policy has not only signalled a new tempo in EU policy making but seems also to have unforeseen consequences in that it pushes forward the development of the EU's internal security policy. The link is visible most clearly in the crisis management capabilities that have been built up with external operations in mind, but that, once established, have been perceived as having internal utility. It is argued in this article that it is comparatively much easier to develop such capacities in the field of external relations and that the development of capacities, in turn, leads to the need for more shared strategic thinking. Bridging internal and external security is not friction-free, however; in particular, different views on the relative competences of the EU Council and the Commission make it more difficult. Yet, there are encouraging signs of increasingly holistic security thinking emerging within the EU.

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Malmvig Helle

**Caught between cooperation and democratization: the Barcelona Process and the EU's double-discursive approach**

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 9, Number 4, December , 343-370



The European Union (EU) has for a decade sought to strengthen democracy and human rights in the Mediterranean/Middle East within the framework of the Barcelona Process. Yet, it has done so in a reluctant and inconsistent manner. This is often explained through references to prior distinctions and conflicts between practice and principle, security and democracy, interest and values, thereby overlooking tensions and ambiguities in the very meaning of security itself. On the basis of a Foucauldian inspired and analytically informed discourse analysis, this article shows how the Union at the same time (re)produces two conflicting versions of how security is to be achieved, what the Mediterranean is, and which types of threats the Union face. The EU is caught in a continuous and paradoxical practice of reproducing two simultaneous and conflicting versions of security. This practice does not only make prioritization between and implementation of contradictory goals difficult, but also contributes to enhance prevalent feeling of fear and mistrust in the region.

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Ghérari Habib, Chemain Régis

**Chronique: L'Unione européenne et l'Organisation mondiale du commerce 2004-2005 - Deuxième partie**  
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 503, décembre ,  
662-669

During the chronicled years, international trade showed outstanding growth, though not as intense as in 2003. As a rule, the same players are there, though China now has arrived, which confirms its status as a large trading power in its own right. One of the areas where the increase is found is the textile trade, which shows, if ever there was need, the efficiency of Chinese exports. Everything points to regulatory changes linked to the economic changes. But that did not happen and countries are finding it difficult to agree on new rules and relinquish the protection they are used to. In other words, liberalisation does not progress in a linear manner, it seems to stagnate and in terms of regulations, the studied years were not the most fruitful. This chronicle shows that, with a review of the negotiations initiated by the Doha cycle and the difficult implementation of textile trade liberalisation.

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Martinico Giuseppe

**Coesione, integrazione europea e deficit democratico. Appunti per una futura ricerca**  
in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 25

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Kantner Cathleen

**Collective Identity as Shared Ethical Self-Understanding: The Case of the Emerging European Identity**  
in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 9, No. 4, November 2006 , 501-523



Against the common view that a European identity is a functional precondition for legitimate EU governance, this article argues that conceptual weaknesses of the term 'collective identity' have led to a confusion of several analytic dimensions of 'identity' and to an overestimation of strong forms of collective identity. Insights provided by analytic philosophy will be introduced in order to redefine and differentiate 'collective identity'. The ways in which people refer to themselves as members of we-groups will be outlined and illustrated in order to contribute to an innovative model of the problem and therefore the policy-related formation of collective identities. The article concludes that a strong European identity is not a functional precondition for legitimate everyday democratic governance in the EU. Only in extraordinary situations and in order to institutionalize integration in ethically sensitive policy fields is it necessary that EU citizens discursively agree on an ethical self-understanding of their way of life.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Wiener Antje

**Comment: Fact or artefact? Analysing core constitutional norms in beyond-the-state contexts**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 13, Number 8 / December 2006 , 1308 – 1313

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Yesilada Birol, Efird Brian, Noordijk Peter

**Competition among Giants: A Look at How Future Enlargement of the European Union Could Affect Global Power Transition**

in *International Studies Review* , issue 4, vol. 8, december , 607-622

**ABSTRACT:** This essay analyzes the regional and global implications of different enlargement formulations of the European Union (EU) during the first half of the twenty-first century by (1) assessing the consequences of expanded EU membership with varying enlargement scenarios regarding global power distributions, (2) considering the implications of a drift between the United States and the EU as China reaches parity with the West, and (3) examining the implications of EU enlargement for regional stability in the Middle East as a consequence of Turkey's entry into or rejection by the EU. The findings reaffirm earlier results that China is expected to reach parity with the United States in 2025–2030 and move ahead to be the largest economy in the world. The results for the EU show that, regardless of its enlargement plans, it will fall behind the other giants, becoming the third largest economy. Part of the expected decline in its GDP share can be offset by adding Turkey, and perhaps Russia, to the Union. We also find that Turkey's inclusion into the EU will bring stability to the Middle East. Moreover, we observe that the relationship between Iran and Turkey is one with a high probability of conflict and that it will intensify very quickly over time. With Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons, this dyad is likely to become more conflictual before Iran establishes clear superiority. Turkey's membership in the EU would remove Iran's growing challenge to the volatile Middle East. With Turkey in the EU, parity between Iran and Turkey would disappear and Iran could no longer project hostility against the latter.

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Correard Valère

**Constitution européenne et droits fondamentaux : vers une complexité annoncée**

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, n. 67 , 501-530

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Thomas Daniel C.

**Constitutionalization through enlargement: the contested origins of the EU's democratic identity**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 13, Number 8 / December 2006 , 1190 - 1210

This article demonstrates that the constitutionalization of the EU began with a political struggle to set the rules by which the community would respond to applications for membership. By mobilizing to block Spain's association with the EEC in 1962, European parliamentarians, trade unionists, and others who believed that democratic and human rights principles should be institutionalized within the community established an informal rule governing the community's policy practice that laid the groundwork for the subsequent constitutionalization of democratic and human rights principles within the community's treaties and jurisprudence. It demonstrates the critical contribution to the political construction of Europe made by non-state actors willing to challenge the preferences of member state governments and shows that otherwise weak actors are significantly empowered when they are able to identify their preferences with pre-existing domestic and international norms.

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Scheuing D.H., Delpérée, Lopez Castillo A., Roux A., Iliopoulos-Strangas J., Harmathy A., Pizzorusso A., Granat M., Duarte M.L., Miranda J., Tanacescu E., Hottelier M.

**Constitutions Nationales et Constitution européenne - Table Ronde**

in *Annuaire international de justice constitutionnelle*, XXI , 83 -299

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Monar Jörg

**Cooperation in the Justice and Home Affairs Domain: Characteristics, Constraints and Progress**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 28, Number 5 / December , 495-509

Justice and Home Affairs cooperation in the European Union has developed rapidly since the end of the 1990s. Now under the label of the 'Area of Freedom, Security and Justice', the EU's responsibilities have grown considerably in the effort to combat cross-border crime (including terrorism) and illegal immigration. This article outlines recent





developments in this area, along with key obstacles to continued cooperation. The analysis focuses on five dimensions of security and risk management related to JHA cooperation: the conceptual context in which cooperation takes place, the various policy-making initiatives, the role of information exchange and analysis, operational instruments and the various aims of legislation. These dimensions shed light not only on the EU's particular role in this increasingly active area of policy making, but also on the main challenges to further cooperation and integration.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Daniele L.

**Costituzione europea e riforma istituzionale dell'Unione**

*in Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno: 2006 - Fascicolo: 1 , 1

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Paruolo Silvana

**Costituzione europea: il vertice di giugno 2006 lancia un duplice approccio**

*in Affari Sociali Internazionali*, n. 3, 2006 , 59-68

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Larrabee F. Stephen

**Danger and Opportunity in Eastern Europe**

*in Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2006, Vol 85, Number 6

The recent emergence of nationalist and populist forces in eastern Europe, coupled with the rise of Russia, now threatens to derail efforts toward further EU integration, weaken NATO, erode the continent's stability, and damage U.S. interests. Washington must ensure that the region's new politics do not damage the European project, for a strong and cohesive EU is in everyone's interest.

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Ross George

**Danger, One EU Crisis May Hide Another: Social Model Anxieties and Hard Cases**

*in Comparative European Politics*, n. 4, vol. 4, december , 309-330



ABSTRACT: It is widely agreed in the wake of the French and Dutch referendum rejections of the Europe Constitution that the EU is in serious crisis. This article argues that the EU's crisis is much deeper than ordinarily understood, however. The weak performance of key continental EU economies, particularly France and Germany, is related to structural problems in continental social models and casts a large shadow over the Union's medium-term prospects. The roots of these problems cannot be easily understood using the different institutionalist analytical techniques of contemporary political economy. Nor are they likely to be amenable to quick and clever policy reforms. Instead they are rooted in long-standing features of national social model architecture that have been reinforced, in recent decades, by the domestic consequences of fundamental foreign policy choices, in the French case for renewed European integration in the 1980s and in the German by unification.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Mampaey Luc

**De mauvaises fées sur le berceau de l'Europe de la défense**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, octobre 2006 , 10-11

Loin d'être un accident, ce que l'on a appelé, en France, l'« affaire Clearstream-EADS » révèle l'évolution du marché de l'armement sur le Vieux Continent. Depuis vingt ans, sous l'égide de l'Union européenne, la dérégulation et l'appât du gain ont modelé le paysage industriel. La « guerre au terrorisme » favorise les marchés militaires. L'émergence d'une politique européenne de défense ne peut qu'en porter la marque.

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Kozeluh Ulrike

**Demokratisierung und Entdemokratisierung in Europa? (Tagungsbericht)**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2006/3 , 311-318

DEMOCRATISATION AND DE-DEMOCRATISATION IN EUROPE? A conference of the Renner -Institute Vienna in cooperation with Agora, the Democracy Research Section of the Austrian Political Science Association

In the past two decades, the post-war social contract and what it implied in economic and social terms (most of all full employment, social security, etc.) has been terminated, mainly by neo-liberal economic and social policy makers. The resulting political changes in Europe impacted not only on specific policy areas, but beyond that on political systems and the nature of democracy, or more specifically on the quality of democracy.

The purpose of the conference was to explore whether and to what extent the quality of democracy has changed in selected European countries (Austria, United Kingdom, Italy and the Czech Republic) and within the European Union at large, in the period between ca 1990 and 2006, which phenomena and trends of democratisation or de-democratisation can be identified, and how to generate a "more" of democracy.

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Kramer Ferdinand, Kratzer Isabella

**Der Staatsbesuch von Charles de Gaulle in München (1962)**

in *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, 38 (2006), 3

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Marrel Guillaume, Payre Renaud

**Des carrieres au Parlement longevite des eurodeputes et institutionnalisation de l'arene parlementaire**

in *Politique européenne*, n. 18, 2006

Dans cet article, nous proposons d'explorer les logiques et les effets de la longévité électorale dans le cadre d'une assemblée traditionnellement caractérisée par une forte rotation de ses membres : le Parlement européen. L'enquête s'appuie sur l'observation de la croissance du taux de réélection pour mettre au jour une tendance à la stabilisation des eurodéputés et la constitution de véritables eurocarrières parlementaires. Cette sociologie des acteurs de la construction européenne vise à articuler les mécanismes de la professionnalisation politiques et les dynamiques d'institutionnalisation des arènes de pouvoir de l'Union. Les premières données empiriques permettent de préciser la place des différentes générations de réélus de manière continue (permanents) ou discontinue (intermittents) dans la répartition des fonctions de leadership parlementaire.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Derisbourg Jean-Pierre

**Des frontières pour l'Europe?**

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 2, 59-61

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Habermas Jürgen

**Die Bewährung Europas**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Dezember, 2006, 1453-1456

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Gawrich Andrea



**Die EU-Minderheitenpolitik und die EU-Erweiterungsprozesse**

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 16. Jahrgang (2006), Heft 2

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Caesar Rolf

**Die Finanzwirtschaft der EU. 'Historisches Relikt' oder solide Zukunftsbasis?**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 53, Heft 3, 2006 , 333-352

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Seethaler Josef, Melischek Gabriele

**Die Pressekonzentration in Österreich im europäischen Vergleich**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 2006/4 , 337-360

**PRESS CONCENTRATION IN AUSTRIA: EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES**

This article examines the phenomenon of press concentration in the context of a detailed analysis of the Austrian media system within a European perspective. The theoretical framework, based on Hallin and Mancini's 'models of media and politics', has been developed to provide a comparative analysis of media systems in liberal democracies of Western Europe and North America. According to the democratic corporatist model prevailing in North and Central European states (separate from the polarized pluralist model and the liberal model), there are, above all, two central determining structure characteristics, each overlapping one another: a long period of coexistence of a party press and a mass-circulation press, leading to a strong position of the daily papers on the advertising and audience market, and the coexistence of political parallelism in the media and a high degree of professionalization. Both characteristics can be proven to a great extent for the Austrian media system. However, the degree of press concentration, as observed in Austria, must be seen as a danger to external diversity, another essential characteristic of the democratic corporatist model. The effects of a recent trend towards localization - accompanied with an above average decreasing interest in political information in comparison to the rest of Europe - are not yet able to be estimated.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Mauer Victor

**Die Sicherheitspolitik der Europäischen Union**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 43, 2006



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Landfried Christine

**Difference as a Potential for European Constitution Making**

in *European law journal*, November 2006 - Vol. 12 Issue 6

This article examines the hypothesis that the impact of difference of ideas and interests on European constitution making can, under certain conditions, be a positive potential for legitimate and effective constitution making. The prerequisite conditions include actors that take differences seriously, structures of constitution making that are suitable for recognising differences, and processes of constitution making in which actors deal with differences in a democratic and communicative way. The analytical approach will be applied to the European Convention. Two case studies concerning the Convention's work will be examined: the process of decision-making that led to the protocol on national parliaments and the decision-making process concerning a permanent president of the European Council. Both case studies give evidence that the way in which members of the Convention were dealing with difference influenced the degree to which the positive potential of difference was activated for a legitimate and effective European constitutional treaty.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Missiroli Antonio

**Disasters Past and Present: New Challenges for the EU**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 28, Number 5 / December , 423-436

Since the drafting of the European Security Strategy in 2003, the European Union has devoted ever more attention to the various emergencies that affect the safety and security of its citizens. Europe's history is already full of examples and precedents of such challenges and related responses. Today, natural and human-made disasters, acts of terrorism and large-scale disruptions of civilian life constitute contingencies that require policy attention and preparedness at all levels of government. They often call into question traditional barriers between policy arenas at both the national and European level. Within the EU proper, the relevant competences and capabilities are still fledgling and scattered across different institutions and bodies, but progress is being made towards better co-ordination and synergy across the policy board.

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Ludlow N. Piers

**Distacco e incomprensione. Il rapprochement franco-tedesco (1945-1963) visto dalla Gran Bretagna**



in **Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni**, Anno V, n. 11, ottobre - "Quale Europa? L'asse franco-tedesco nel processo di integrazione"

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Balassone Fabrizio , Franco Daniele, Zotteri Stefania

**EMU fiscal indicators: a misleading compass?**

in **Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy**, Volume 33, Numbers 2-3 , 63-87

The effectiveness of any device for fiscal discipline crucially depends on the indicators it refers to. This paper assesses the indicators adopted for fiscal rules in the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) with respect to their relevance for EMU's objective of fiscal soundness and to the adequacy of the underlying statistical framework in providing conditions for enforcement. The paper argues that EMU's deficit and debt indicators present several shortcomings with respect to both sustainability analysis and monitoring requirements. The debt indicator allows the achievement of targets via operations that do not improve fiscal sustainability and tends to underestimate overall outstanding liabilities. The deficit indicator cannot be monitored in a timely manner, allows too much room for discretion, and is subject to significant revisions. While acknowledging that any single indicator can be distorted when used as a policy target, the paper argues that the weaknesses of EMU's indicators would be much reduced if consistency cross-checks played a larger role than they currently do.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Sushko Oleksandr

**EU Initiatives for Border Management in its Eastern Neighbourhood**

in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLI, n. 4, October-December

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Steinsdorff Silvia von

**EU-Kleinstaaten: Motoren der Integration?**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 46, 2006

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Bazin Anne





**Effets et usages de l'integration europeenne sur la transformation des relations conflictuelles: le cas germano-tcheque**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 18, 2006

Cet article analyse les effets de l'intégration communautaire sur l'évolution des relations bilatérales germano-tchèques et en particulier sur la gestion du passé conflictuel entre ces deux nations. Il étudie notamment la manière dont l'eupéanisation des relations bilatérales après 1989 a contribué à les faire évoluer dans le sens d'une déconflictualisation, à travers un double processus de transformation des cadres cognitif et normatif dans lesquels évoluent les acteurs d'une part, et d'appropriation, d'investissement voire d'instrumentalisation du processus d'intégration européenne comme du projet européen par ces mêmes acteurs de l'autre.

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Beck Ulrich, Grande Edgar

**Empire Europa: Politische Herrschaft jenseits von Bundesstaat und Staatenbund**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 52, Heft 4, 2005 , 397-420

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Oppeln Sabine von, Sprungk Carina

**Europabilder im Widerstreit. Die deutsche und französische Debatte über den Verfassungsvertrag**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 52, Heft 4, 2005 , 448-463

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Rippl Susanne, Boehnke Klaus

**Europas Jugend: Protagonisten für Integration oder Nationalismus?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 47, 2006

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Stevenson Nick

**European Cosmopolitan Solidarity: Questions of Citizenship, Difference and Post-Materialism**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 9, No. 4, November 2006 , 485-500



The idea of a cosmopolitan Europe continues to be central to contemporary debates within post-national citizenship. However, much of the writing in this area remains disconnected from the need to reinvent European social democracy that questions the centrality of work and racist nationalism. This article argues that a revived European Left would need to move beyond specifically liberal concerns with procedure to articulate a view of European futures that both deconstructed neo-liberalism and embraced more convivial collective futures. This would entail the combination of a post-material politics that sought to critique the centrality of employment while granting citizens a basic income or forms of civic labour and a more concerted attempt to break with a racialized politics based upon the fear of the 'Other'. In conclusion, it is argued that the urgent political task of the future is to reinvent a sense of Europeaness that has both a substantive content, but that does not become mobilized by an exclusive cultural politics.

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Fletcher Stephanie

**European Security and Defense Policy: Between »Offensive Defense« and »Human Security«**  
in *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, Heft 4, 2006

ABSTRACT: The more the EU extends its security policy commitments the more diffuse the political and strategic profile of ESDP appears to be. The common security strategy of 2003 leaves a number of central issues unanswered, above all what EU military intervention involves. Clarification is therefore required concerning the aims, capacities, and requirements of European security and defense policy. The central question here is: Is ESDP defined primarily as a defense or as a political project? Is it a matter, therefore, of »offensive (self-)defense« or of »human security«?

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Zalega Darius

**Eurocepticisme et atlantisme**  
in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, septembre 2006 , 5

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Rittberger Berthold, Schimmelfennig Frank

**Explaining the constitutionalization of the European Union**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 13, Number 8 / December 2006 , 1148 – 1167

Parliamentarization and the institutionalization of human rights are two processes of constitutionalization in the EU that constitute a puzzle for explanations inspired by both rationalist and constructivist institutionalism. We propose to analyse these processes as strategic action in a community environment: community actors use the liberal democratic identity, values and norms that constitute the EU's ethos strategically to put social and moral pressure on those community



members that oppose the constitutionalization of the EU. Theoretically, this process will be most effective under conditions of high salience, legitimacy, and publicity.

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Martin Magdalena, Lirola Isabel

**External Action of the European Union After the Constitutional Setback**  
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 2, Issue 03 , 358-374

Union external action after Constitutional set back – Status under international law – Perspective of democracy and leadership – Pillar structure – Substance and ambition of Union's foreign action.

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European Commission

**Financial markets: adjusting to change, adjusting to EMU**  
in *European Economy News*, October 2006 - Issue 4

Every year, DG ECFIN hosts a research conference on a topical subject in European economics. On 7 and 8 September 2006, economics researchers from the EU and the US gathered in Brussels for the third annual DG ECFIN research conference on the subject of 'Adjustment under monetary unions: financial market issues'. In an open market economy the financial markets are the main mechanism by which capital is allocated and flows: between industrial sectors, between countries and regions, and between banks and consumers. The introduction of the euro brought a huge boost to the single market for capital by reducing the costs and risks of transferring money between countries and offering the opportunity for a more efficient allocation of capital. However, while there has been some convergence, financial integration in the EU still has a long way to go. Participants at the conference discussed recent research on how the financial markets in the EU Member States have adjusted to the challenges and opportunities of monetary union and what are the lessons for the future.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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European Commission

**Financial markets: adjusting to change, adjusting to EMU**  
in *European Economy News*, October 2006 - Issue 4

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between countries and regions, and between banks and consumers. The introduction of the euro brought a huge boost to the single market for capital by reducing the costs and risks of transferring money between countries and offering the opportunity for a more efficient allocation of capital. However, while there has been some convergence, financial integration in the EU still has a long way to go. Participants at the conference discussed recent research on how the financial markets in the EU Member States have adjusted to the challenges and opportunities of monetary union and what are the lessons for the future.

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Neck Reinhard, Holzmann Robert

**Fiscal policy and public debt sustainability in the EMU**

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 33, Numbers 2-3 , 61-179

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Fagiolo Silvio

**Francia e Germania dalla caduta del muro di Berlino alla Costituzione europea**

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno V, n. 11, ottobre - "Quale Europa? L'asse franco-tedesco nel processo di integrazione"

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Techau Jan

**Für eine realistische Europa-Debatte**

in *Internationale Politik*, n. 12, 61. Jahrgang, Dezember

ABSTRACT: 16 Jahre nach Erlangung der vollen staatlichen Souveränität zeigt die außenpolitische Debatte der Bundesrepublik vor allem eines: die fundamentale Unreife der öffentlichen Auseinandersetzung über die zentralen Herausforderungen der nächsten Jahre. Diese manifestiert sich besonders in der unrealistischen Diskussion um die deutsche Europa-Politik.

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Shore Cris

**Government Without Statehood? Anthropological Perspectives on Governance and Sovereignty in the European Union.**

in *European law journal*, November 2006 - Vol. 12 Issue 6 , 709-724



It has long been argued that the EU is creating a new kind of constitutional order in Europe, one variously hailed as 'transnational', 'supranational', even 'post-national'. Among the many theoretical descriptors used to capture the elusive character of the EU's unique political order are 'multi-level polity', 'civic tolerance', and 'governance without government'. Yet despite its success in developing the legal, economic, and institutional framework for this emerging polity, one key factor continues to undermine the project for European construction: the lack of a common culture or identity around which Europeans can unite. Drawing on anthropological research in Brussels, this article explores the implications of the EU's absent demos. It also outlines some of the strategies the European Commission has used to address this problem and resolve its democratic deficit. Taking up recent debates developed by a number of EU scholars, I highlight some of the contradictions and theoretical weaknesses with the concept of 'governance' in an EU context. Reversing Wallace's dictum about 'government without statehood', I ask whether EU governance might not, in fact, be better construed as 'statehood without government' and a new form of 'governmentality'.

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**Amato Giuliano**

**Ha un futuro la Costituzione europea?**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 5 , 15-20

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**McCormick John P.**

**Habermas, Supranational Democracy and the European Constitution**

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 2, Issue 03 , 398-423

Habermas's normative vision – Strengths and deficiencies – European Union democracy as solution to global problems – Necessity of developing a European civil society – Normative ideal, functional mechanisms, empirical reexamination – Habermas's criticism of Euro-skeptics – Substance-through-procedure mode of social integration – Adequacy of procedural substance questioned – Empirical limits to Habermasian European Union democracy – 'Multi-segmented governance' in the European Union – Supranational redistribution? – Legal integration has not facilitated social integration – Scharpf, Weiler, Joerges, Schmitter – Habermas's Sozialstaat principles jeopardized on Union level – Structural obstacle to coordinated European social welfare policy – European politics will resemble Sektoralstaat – Participation, egalitarianism and accountability

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**D'Ottavio Gabriele**

**Hans-Dietrich Genscher: un impegno credibile per l'Europa**



in **Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni**, Anno V, n. 11, ottobre - "Quale Europa? L'asse franco-tedesco nel processo di integrazione"

No abstract available

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Zucconi Mario

**I confini civici dell'Europa unita**

in **Italiani Europei**, n. 5, 192-204

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Polat Necati

**Identity Politics and the Domestic Context of Turkey's European Union Accession**

in **Government and Opposition**, Vol. 41, n. 4, October, 512-533

This article observes a transformation in the largely essentializing, decontextualized form of identity politics that long defined political cosmology in Turkey, now in the process of negotiating accession to the European Union (EU). Accordingly, identity politics – not only the bread and butter of both Kurdish nationalism and Islamism, but also a justification for exhortations towards a limited, authoritarian democracy by Kemalists, the major power holders – is receding in favour of a civic, non-divisive political culture enabled by the EU anchorage. In danger of losing the longstanding centre–periphery configuration in an enhanced, participatory democracy and, concomitant with it, the periphery clientelism created by the waning identity politics, Kemalist nationalists, Islamists and Kurdish separatists appear to have stopped squabbling among themselves and joined forces against Turkey's EU bid.

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Lammert Norbert

**Identità e integrazione. Fondamenti e sfide dell'Unione Europea**

in **Nuova Storia Contemporanea**, Anno X, n. 5, settembre-ottobre, 5-12

No abstract available

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Mastroianni R.

**Il contributo delle Regioni italiane all'elaborazione del diritto dell'Unione europea**  
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno: 2006 - Fascicolo: 2 , 423

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Russo Giovanni

**Il fascino dell'Europa**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 152 , 806-813

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Chabrot Christophe

**Il progetto di Europa politica dopo il referendum francese del 2005**

in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLVIII, n. 3 , 158-178

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Quagliariello Gaetano

**Il riavvicinamento franco-tedesco visto da Roma (1947-1963)**

in *Ventesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno V, n. 11, ottobre - "Quale Europa? L'asse franco-tedesco nel processo di integrazione"

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Bronzini Giuseppe

**Il rilievo della Carta di Nizza nella crisi del processo costituzionale europeo**

in *Democrazia e diritto*, Anno XLIV, n. 2

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Hülse Rainer

**Imagine the EU: the metaphorical construction of a supra-nationalist identity**

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 9, Number 4, December, 396-421

The European Union (EU) is a novel political entity in many respects. For example, instead of the monolithic political structure of nation-states, it features a layered structure and a 'variable geometry'. This institutional complexity has been interpreted as an indicator of the EU being a post-modern political system. This article inquires whether the EU's institutional post-modernness is accompanied by a post-modern identity. I argue that an investigation of collective identity requires a reconstruction of how a community is imagined. As metaphors are the principal linguistic means of our imagination, I reconstruct the imaginations of the European community by analyzing its metaphors. How do the metaphors of EU enlargement construct European identity? It can be shown that in the German EU-enlargement discourse of the 1990s, European identity was hardly constructed in a post-national/post-modern way. Rather, European identity was imagined much like a modern national identity.

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Bähr Holger

**Implementationsprobleme trotz übereinstimmender Politik: Die Rolle von Ideen und Institutionen bei der Umsetzung europäischer Umweltpolitik**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 2006/4, 407-424

**IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS DESPITE COMPATIBLE POLICIES: THE ROLE OF IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY**

Within the research on the implementation of European policies the thesis is advocated that implementation problems of European policy are due to a low degree of compatibility between European and national policies. However, recent studies did not confirm this thesis empirically and criticised the vague operationalisation of the degree of compatibility as well as the missing microfoundation of the explanation of implementation problems. This contribution shall show how an operationalisation and a microfoundation can be achieved with the help of the Advocacy Coalition Framework. Both the theoretical consideration and an empirical study of the legal implementation of the Directive concerning integrated pollution prevention and control in Germany and Ireland permit the inference to ascribe a limited explanation power to the degree of compatibility. Ideas and institutions are not regarded as competing but as complementary factors in explaining implementation problems.

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Thibaud Paul

**Impliquer les nations dans le projet commun**



in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, janvier 2007

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**García Menéndez José Ramón**

**Integración, Convergencia e (in) cumplimiento del Pacto de Estabilidad y Crecimiento: coordinación de políticas económicas en la Unión Europea**

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 39 / 2006 / Nr. 155 , 197

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Edwards Geoffrey**

**Is there a European Security Culture in the Enlarged European Union?**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLI, n. 3, July-September , 17

The institutionalisation of security issues within the EU framework has allowed the central institutions, led especially by the High Representative, Javier Solana, and the departments attached to his office, to begin to establish a specifically European discourse on security, the threats posed to Europe and the principles that should underlie European reactions to them. The European Security Strategy agreed in 2003 has, in particular, provided a benchmark for European reactions and attracted constant references. That document, other declarations, and the growing number of EU missions within the framework of the EU's Security and Defence Policy allow for a dynamic interaction of discourse and practice. That dynamism, however, needs to be set against the EU's continuing under-achievement of its own declared defence capability goals, the existence of an alternative security discourse in NATO strongly enunciated by the United States and the continued dominance of national defence discourses.

<http://www.iai.it/pdf/articles/edwards.pdf>

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**Rappenglück Stefan**

**Jugend in der Europäischen Union - Essay**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 47, 2006

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Vykoukal Jiří

**Kernschmelze oder Kernspaltung? Mitteleuropakonzepte und regionale Integration**  
in *Osteuropa*, Heft 10, 56. Jahrgang, Oktober , 15-26

ABSTRACT: Mitteleuropa klingt nach Verheißung. Der Begriff verspricht kulturelle Vielfalt und politische Einheit. Tatsächlich ist es genau umgekehrt. Die politischen Mitteleuropakonzepte, die seit dem 19. Jahrhundert entwickelt wurden, sollten alle nationalen Zielen dienen. Selbst in Krisenzeiten wurden sie nie verwirklicht. Die Idee, daß Mitteleuropa eine kulturelle Einheit bilde, die sich deutlich von Osteuropa unterscheide, entwickelte hingegen in den 1980er Jahren eine große Sprengkraft für das sowjetische Herrschaftssystem. Seit dessen Zerfall leidet die Visegrád-Gruppe allerdings unter mangelnder Kohäsionskraft, da die regionale Kooperation in keinem der vier Staaten überzeugend in eine Traditionslinie gerückt werden kann und es ihr so an historischer Legitimation mangelt.

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Maurer Andreas

**Konstitutioneller Wandel und 'Realpolitik' im EU-System. Perspektiven zum Europäischen Verfassungsvertrag**  
in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 53, Heft 3, 2006 , 300-332

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Zervakis Peter A.

**L'"integrazione differenziata". Una via alternativa all'integrazione classica?**  
in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLVIII, n. 3 , 207-217

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Husson Édouard

**L'Allemagne, l'Europe et le monde**  
in *Debat (Le)*, N° 141 septembre-octobre 2006 , 144-163

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Papanikolaou Irene

**L'Europa della difesa: obiettivi concreti e nuovi sviluppi**  
in *Affari Sociali Internazionali*, n. 2, 2006 , 13-23



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Larat Fabrice

**L'Europe a la recherche d'une figure tutélaire. L'instrumentalisation de la symbolique carolingienne comme tentative de fondation d'un projet politique**  
in *Politique européenne* , n. 18, 2006

Cet article traite de l'instrumentalisation de la mémoire ainsi que du rôle joué par les symboles historiques dans la construction d'un espace politique commun en Europe. Partant de l'exemple de Charlemagne et des discours mettant en scène la symbolique carolingienne, il montre l'importance de la référence à ce personnage clef de l'histoire européenne pour le processus d'unification du continent. L'invocation de cette figure tutélaire est en effet associée à des grands thèmes qui occupent une place centrale dans le débat sur les objectifs et fondements de la construction européenne. L'analyse des fonctions remplies par ce mythomoteur en terme de production de sens et de légitimation du processus de construction politique permet de mettre en lumière les forces mais aussi ses limites de ce symbole.

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Flauss Jean-François

**L'Histoire dans la jurisprudence de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme**  
in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, n. 65

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Leconte Cécile

**L'Union Européenne et la question du patriotisme consitutionnel: les enseignements de l'affaire Haider**  
in *Politique européenne* , n. 19, 2006

Cet article applique les écrits théoriques sur le patriotisme constitutionnel « post-national » à une étude de cas concrète. En revenant sur les sanctions adoptées en 2000 par quatorze gouvernements de l'Union européenne contre une coalition gouvernementale autrichienne contestée et sur les débats que cette initiative a suscités, il met en exergue certaines difficultés liées à la transposition du modèle du patriotisme constitutionnel à l'Union européenne. En particulier, il insiste sur la dimension communicationnelle du patriotisme constitutionnel et identifie la faiblesse de l'espace public européen comme l'un des principaux obstacles à cette transposition.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



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Tulmets Elsa

**L'adaptation de la methode ouverte de coordination a la politique d'elargissement de l'UE. L'experience des jumelages institutionnels en Estonie et en Hongrie**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 18, 2006

Une partie de la littérature sur l'élargissement de l'Union européenne à l'Est a caractérisé la méthode employée depuis 1993 de « gouvernance de l'élargissement » ou « gouvernance par la conditionnalité » en attendant d'en expliquer l'origine et d'en identifier la nature. L'article se place sur le même terrain empirique que certains de ces travaux, le cas des jumelages institutionnels (Twinning), pour montrer le rôle joué par la réforme de 1997 (« Agenda 2000 ») qui s'inspire, tant au niveau décisionnel que de la mise en œuvre, de méthodes de gestion et de gouvernance employées pour réformer les politiques internes à l'Union européenne (nouvelle gestion publique, méthode ouverte de coordination (MOC)). En s'appuyant sur l'analyse des jumelages institutionnels dans deux pays candidats à l'élargissement au 1er mai 2004, l'Estonie et la Hongrie, l'article montre que, malgré l'aspect innovant de la réforme de 1997, les critiques exercées à l'égard de la méthode ouverte de coordination peuvent également s'appliquer à la méthode utilisée lors du cinquième élargissement de l'Union européenne.

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Lorz Ralph Alexander

**L'attualità degli Stati Uniti d'Europa in una Unione europea allargata**

in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno XLVIII, n. 3 , 179-198

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Yakemtchouk Romain

**La Bulgarie et la Roumanie. Nouveaux états membres de l'Union européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 503, décembre , 646-653

Bulgaria's and Romania's joining the European Union of January 1, 2007 will end the fifth EU enlargement initiated in the late eighties after the collapse of communism in Central and Western Europe. The Commission found that both countries fulfil political membership criteria and that they are viable market economies. Nonetheless this year the EU is implementing safeguard measures: both new member countries should reinforce their judiciary system, intensify their fight against corruption, improve their management of regional subsidies and comply with community requirements in terms of food products. Some restrictions will slow Bulgarian and Romanian workers immigration towards Western





countries: in late August, Great Britain considered closing temporarily its job market to Bulgarian and Romanian citizens. The EU insisted on the closing down in late 2006 of the two reactors of the Bulgarian nuclear power plant of Kozloduy, that Brussels finds dangerous.

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de Salvia Michele

**La Cour européenne des droits de l'homme est-elle, par la nature de ses arrêts, un véritable tribunal de pleine juridiction ?**

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, n. 67 , 483-500

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Logroscino P.D.

**La cittadinanza dell'Unione: la crisi dei concetti tradizionali**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno: 2006 - Fascicolo: 2 , 407

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Rea Ilaria

**La cittadinanza in Italia e in Europa: modelli di integrazione a confronto**

in *Federalismi*, Anno IV, n. 23

In linea con gli orientamenti espressi nella direttiva europea 2003/109/CE del 25 novembre 2003, tesa ad instaurare in tutti i Paesi...

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Kramer Steven

**La fin de l'Europe française?**

in *Politique Etrangère*, 3/2006 (automne)

La Ve République a historiquement représenté l'achèvement du consensus social et politique de la France de l'après-guerre. C'est ce consensus qui vole en éclats avec la fin de la guerre froide. Pour reprendre sa place centrale dans la construction européenne, la France doit à la fois réviser ses modes de fonctionnement internes (politiques, économiques, sociaux) et redéfinir radicalement sa vision du futur de l'Europe ; c'est-à-dire, aussi, ses relations avec la puissance américaine.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Ponzano P.

**La governance europea: dal libro bianco della Commissione al Trattato costituzionale**  
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno: 2006 - Fascicolo: 1 , 167

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Contaldo Alfonso , Bianchi Stefano

**La partecipazione al processo normativo e i lavori della convenzione per la Costituzione europea**  
in *Rivista trimestrale di scienza dell'amministrazione*, fasc. 1 , 45-70

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Juncker Jean-Claude

**La place de l'Europe dans le monde**  
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 1 , 5-16

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Rizzo Aldo

**La rivincita dell'Italia e dell'Europa**  
in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 152 , 744-749

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Spinelli Altiero

**La sfida europea. Lezione magistrale in occasione della laurea honoris causa in Scienze politiche dell'Università di Padova**



in *Pace Diritti Umani*, n. 2, anno 3, maggio-agosto

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Bilge Kursat**

**La situation juridique de Chypre dans ses deux composantes par rapport au droit communautaire**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, numero 502,

octobre-novembre , 586-591

Article 299 paragraph 1 of the EC Treaty provides that the whole territory of Cyprus is under community jurisdiction. Unfortunately, article 1 of additional protocol n° 10 provides that the community gain is suspended in the North of the Island and in addition, only a unanimous decision by the Council can decide to remove the suspension. This legal situation leaves a discrimination within the European Union, which should promptly stop, or the gap may get bigger, with the responsibility of the EU as a space of freedom, safety and justice

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**Ziller Jaques**

**La sussidiarietà come principio del diritto amministrativo europeo**

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 2 , 285-300

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Magnette Paul**

**Le sens de L'Europe**

in *Debat (Le)*, N° 140 mai-août 2006 , 30-35

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Louis Jean-Victor**

**Les enjeux de la Partie III du traité constitutionnel**

in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 1-2 , 5-12

No abstract available



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Mischi Julian

**Les mobilisations eurosceptiques au Royaume-Uni : une continuité historique ?**

in *Critique Internationale*, N°32 - Juillet / Septembre 06

La mise en perspective historique des mobilisations tournées contre l'intégration communautaire au Royaume-Uni permet de souligner la singularité de la période contemporaine où l'on observe un développement des groupes de pression eurosceptiques hors de la sphère parlementaire et des deux partis dominants. Les enjeux européens ont non seulement fragilisé le système bipartisan britannique en déclenchant des scissions et la création de nouveaux partis, mais ils ont également modifié les manières de faire de la politique et politisé certains segments de la population. L'opposition britannique à la construction européenne se structure autour de trois principaux axes rhétoriques d'ordre socio-économique, politique et géopolitique. Ces trois thématiques renvoient à trois types de discours portés sur l'Europe : utilitariste (quel intérêt le Royaume-Uni a-t-il à participer au processus d'intégration communautaire ?), souverainiste (la présence dans les structures communautaires remet-elle en cause la souveraineté parlementaire britannique ?) et (inter)nationaliste (la place et le rôle singuliers du Royaume-Uni dans le monde sont-ils compatibles avec le projet européen ?).

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Heine Sophie

**Les requisits démocratiques et sociaux du patriotisme constitutionnel**

in *Politique européenne*, n. 19, 2006

Les débats actuels de philosophie politique utilisent souvent la notion de patriotisme constitutionnel en mettant en évidence essentiellement sa dimension identitaire et en la détachant de ses dimensions démocratique et sociale. Pourtant, cette notion est initialement issue d'une opposition de la gauche ouest-allemande aux positions conservatrices et était donc clairement liée à un projet d'émancipation sociale et politique. Nous rappelons dans cet article les origines historiques du concept de patriotisme constitutionnel ainsi que ses évolutions récentes, ce qui nous permet en conclusion d'interroger sa pertinence dans le cadre européen et les différents usages que l'on peut en faire dans ce contexte.

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Ciampi Carlo Azeglio

**Lo sviluppo futuro dell'Europa**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 152, 728-732



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Foucher Michel**

**L'Union politique européenne : un territoire, des frontières, des horizons**

in *Esprit*, n. 329, novembre 2006 , 86-114

European political union: A territory, borders, and horizons.

Europe's borders stand as a polemical as well as an insoluble issue. Still, can the topic of territorial foundations be kept out of Europe as a political project? Probably not, but then we should consider territory as a project more than a legacy. Based on this rationale, the author proposes four scenarios for 2015, first and foremost calling on Europe to stabilise its expansion while developing consistent policies towards its peripheral areas.

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**Radlicki Michael**

**L'Unione Europea e il nuovo allargamento**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XXXVIII, n. 152 , 754-759

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Neumayer Laure**

**L'enjeu européen dans les compétitions partisans en Europe centrale**

in *Revue française de science politique*, Volume 56, Numéro 5, Octobre , 789-812

This paper analyses the Europeanisation of political competition by looking at the usages of European integration by political actors in Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic since 1989. Right after the fall of communism, politicians used European issues to define the new rules of political games and create political identities. European integration was a crucial resource to shape the lines of division that structured Central European political fields along three dimensions : the selection of the actors qualified to take part in political games, competitions between legitimate actors and intra-party rivalries. A sociological approach to Europeanisation shows that party positions depended on their location in the political field and their relations with their competitors.

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Gautron J.C.

**L'échec de la Constitution européenne en France**

in *European Union Review*, Vol. 11 n. 1

France's rejection of the European constitution in the recent referendum represents a significant blow to the constitutional ratification process. The decision reflects a wider ideological crisis whose origins go back to the 1990s and the Member States' decision to draw up a EU Treaty with objectives far greater than any foreseen by previous European Treaties. From a systemic perspective Europe's crisis has been tracked by turbulence in the ex-USSR, the most evident consequence of which has been enlargement of the EU eastwards. An additional problem for Europe is the difficult economic situation, highlighted by significantly better performances recorded by the EU's major competitors, the US and China in particular. In the light of these considerations, the paper starts by identifying the major reasons for the French referendum result, and then, in the wake of the decision, analyses possible openings for the European constitutional process. Current opportunities for the definition of a constitution, at least in a material sense, are seen above all to lie at ECJ jurisprudence and institutions' practices.

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Minford Patrick

**Measuring the Economic Costs and Benefits of the EU**

in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 17, Numbers 4-5, 509-524

The EU has pursued protectionist policies not merely in food but also in manufacturing at the customs union level. In services it has not dismantled much of the existing national protectionism. The economic costs are calculated here at some 3% of GDP for the UK and some 2% for the rest of the EU. Added to its social interventionism, these costs suggest that the EU has put political integration before economic efficiency.

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Jakab András

**Neutralizing the Sovereignty Question Compromise Strategies in Constitutional Argumentations before European Integration and since**

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 2, Issue 03, 375-397

Social function of sovereignty – Taming sovereignty through compromise strategies – The sharing strategy – The creation of a new unreal bearer of sovereignty – Leaving sovereignty itself untouched but forbidding the use of it – Abolishing the concept – Redefining the concept – Challenges to the Westphalian paradigm of international legal sovereignty – National answers to the challenges put by European integration – A new compromise formula – Neutralizing the sovereignty question.

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Marciniak Katarzyna

**New Europe: Eyes Wide Shut**

in **Social Identities**, Volume 12, Number 5, September 2006 , 615-633

As the dominant discussions of globalization focus on the first/third world axis, they hardly ever gesture toward the space once known as the second world. 'New Europe: Eyes Wide Shut' engages photography and media culture to draw attention to this distinct area. 'Negro Go Home'; 'Jews to Gas'; 'Fuck the Jews' are among the most chilling and shocking graffiti that overwhelmingly mark the streets of contemporary Łódź, the second largest city in Poland. 'I will be a traveler'; 'Yes, I am a European'—proudly proclaim ads that circulated in Poland during the period leading to this country's acceptance to the European Union in 2004. The essay theorizes the clash between unnerving visual assaults that speak to the newly mobilized fears and phobias targeting minority groups and seductive proclamations about Europeaness. I inspect the celebratory rhetoric of globalized mobility and argue that this rhetoric strategically foregrounds what I call 'euphoria of transnational progress' that conceals multiple sites of aggravated racial, ethnic, and economic oppression. I use Kamil Turowski's photographic project, *Streets of Crocodiles*, which documents these landscapes of hate, to examine the volatile topic of ethnic tensions and discursive violence that flourishes against the current of the dramatic political and cultural progress.

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Rieker Pernille

**Norway and the ESDP: Explaining Norwegian Participation in the EU's Security Policy**

in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 7, n. 3, September , 281-298

This article aims to contribute to a better understanding of why various Norwegian governments of recent years have been willing to contribute to European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) operations and integrate into the ESDP structures despite their country's increasingly limited access to the decision-making and/or decision-shaping process in this policy area. Norway participates in most of the ESDP structures in one way or the other—it contributes with troops and personnel to ESDP operations, participates in a battle group and has an association agreement with the European Defence Agency. The result of Norway's will to integrate is that, as a non-member, it has become more integrated into the ESDP structures than members such as Denmark, who have chosen to opt out from this policy area. How can this be explained? Does the Norwegian government decide to participate because that is seen as the best way of pursuing Norwegian national interests, or are there other institutional or normative explanations for this policy choice?

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Nicolaidis Kalypso

**Notre demoï-cratie europeenne. La constellation trasnationale a l'horizon du patriotisme constitutionnel**



in **Politique européenne** , n. 19, 2006

Cet article cherche à poser les bases conceptuelles d'un élargissement de la pensée post-nationale pour sortir le libéralisme politique européen de son ghetto intellectuel. Il part de l'idée selon laquelle l'érosion progressive du consensus permissif (permissive consensus) auquel nous assistons aujourd'hui rend d'autant plus nécessaire mais aussi plus difficile à assurer au niveau européen le consensus par recoupement (overlapping consensus) cher à Rawls. Il faut donc que notre façon de penser l'UE s'accommode des multiples « narratives » qui la compose à travers ses nationalités multiples. Plutôt que de s'attacher aux fondements d'un sentiment d'appartenance possible ou existant des citoyens européens au projet de l'UE ou l'appel à un « patriotisme » contient toujours en germe le risque d'exclusion, je préfère chercher à analyser le projet lui-même, du moins le projet tel qu'il peut de façon plausible constituer l'objet d'un consensus par recoupement au niveau européen. Il s'agit de dessiner, au-delà des idéologies partisans, une vision normative de l'Union déduite de ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui qui puisse en retour inspirer ses évolutions à venir. Parce que le post-nationalisme paraît s'opposer au souverainisme alors qu'il cherche à le dépasser, il est préférable à mon sens de parler de transnationalisme. Et parce que la communauté politique européenne ne sera pas et ne devrait pas être fondée sur la constitution d'un peuple européen unique, je suggère de parler de demoï-cracie européenne.

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Rossolillo Giulia

**Nucleo federale ed Unione europea**

in **Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)**, Anno XLVIII, n. 3 , 199-206

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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D'Alema Massimo

**Nuovi obiettivi per l'Europa**

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XXXVIII, n. 152 , 713-722

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Bordignon Massimo, Brusco Sandro

**On enhanced cooperation**

in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume: 90, Issue: 10-11 , 2063-2090

We analyze the issues relative to the formation of sub-unions in a federation, called enhanced cooperation agreements in the European Union. When centralization is not politically feasible, an agreement among a subset of countries may allow such countries to exploit benefits from coordination that would otherwise be lost. Other countries in the federation



may object to the sub-union because it changes the status quo; if cooperation at the federal level becomes convenient in the future, the change in the status quo may adversely affect the countries which remained initially outside the sub-union. We show that as long as the countries can commit to coordinate on a policy which takes into account the utility of the excluded countries, sub-union formation may be optimal. The relative advantage of a sub-union towards immediate centralization increases when transfers are costly. On the other hand, if commitment is not possible then the excluded countries may be penalized. We use the results to discuss the newly introduced rules for enhanced cooperation agreements in the European Union.

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**Hausemer Pierre**

**Participation and Political Competition in Committee Report Allocation  
in European Union Politics**, Vol. 7, n. 4, December, 505-530

The paper models the consequences of committee report allocation for political representation in the European Parliament (EP). The range of legislators involved in each policy area affects the values, interests and constituencies that the Parliament represents. Thus, representation is defined as an MEP's participation in salient policy areas. The allocation of salient reports follows inter-and intra-party group dynamics. First, party groups compete for salient reports in a context of open voting rules in committee and plenum. Second, group coordinators distribute these reports among their MEPs in an attempt to maximize the cohesion of the group. The model is tested on data from the fifth European Parliament (1999-2002). The results confirm the impact of selective participation on political representation. The EP has evolved into a 'normal' Parliament featuring coalitions and competition along a left-right cleavage across party groups and a hierarchical allocation of legislative spoils within parties.

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**Soldati Piero, Vancheri Arturo**

**Perché c'è bisogno di un governo europeo  
in Mulino (il)**, n. 6, novembre-dicembre, 2006, 1105-1115

ABSTRACT: Non si tratta solo dell'impasse derivata dalla bocciatura del referendum costituzionale da parte di Francia e Olanda. Lo stop al processo di integrazione europeo ha trovato in quel fallimento un esempio particolarmente eclatante delle difficoltà che incontra, ma purtroppo anche su altri fronti non si ode una voce europea sufficientemente unitaria. Molti scommettono sul semestre a presidenza tedesca.

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**Lacroix Justine**

**Pertinence du paradigme liberal pour penser l'intégration politique de l'Europe**



in **Politique européenne** , n. 19, 2006

La distinction entre « valeurs » et « normes » est au cœur de l'ambition pluraliste. D'où la perplexité qu'on peut éprouver à constater l'éclipse de cette dimension dans les écrits politiques récents des principaux tenants du patriotisme constitutionnel. La volonté d'ancrer l'Union politique de l'Europe dans un socle de valeurs partagées est souvent justifiée au regard de la nécessité d'assurer la pérennité de l'ensemble européen. Pourtant, une telle ambition devrait être envisagée avec prudence dans la mesure où elle pourrait miner le potentiel normatif unique d'une construction censée autoriser une appropriation réflexive d'identités appelées à rester distinctes. En conséquence, cet article propose une élucidation du postnationalisme libéral en vue d'explicitier le sens de la « résistance » qu'il oppose à toute forme d'identification.

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Schwaabe Christian

**Politische Identität und Öffentlichkeit in der Europäischen Union. Zur Bedeutung der Identitätsdiskurse im 'post-abendländischen' Europa**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 52, Heft 4, 2005 , 421-447

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Ogris Günther, Westphal Sabine

**Politisches Verhalten Jugendlicher in Europa**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 47, 2006

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Costa Pinto António, Costa Lobo Marina

**Portugal und die EU**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 46, 2006

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Thibaud Paul

**Pour sortir du conservatisme européen**

in *Debat (Le)*, N° 140 mai-août 2006 , 45-49



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Passarelli Francesco, Barr Jason

**Preferences, the Agenda Setter, and the Distribution of Power in the EU**

*in Social Choice and Welfare*, Volume 28, Number 1 , 41-60

In this paper, we present a generalization of power indices which includes the preferences of the voters. Using a Multilinear Extension perspective (Owen in *Manage Sci* 18:p64–p72, 1972a) we measure the probability of the players' voting "yes" for a particular political issue. Further, we randomize the issues and show the influence that the Agenda Setter can have on a player's power. We demonstrate these results using data from the European Union to show how the power distribution may shift after enlargement and under the new Constitutional Treaty.

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Manzella Andrea

**Principio democratico e integrazione europea**

*in Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 3, settembre , 569-571

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Raik Kristi

**Promoting Democracy in the Eastern Neighbourhood - The Limits and Potential of the ENP**

*in International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLI, n. 3, July-September

The EU aims to promote democracy in its eastern neighbouring countries through the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) launched in 2003. The EU has three types of neighbours in the east: Ukraine, a case of "re-transition"; Moldova, a case of prolonged transition; and Belarus, an outright authoritarian regime. As a result it needs to differentiate between stages of democratisation when designing external support. The ENP has many weaknesses as an instrument for spreading democracy, above all the fact that the conditionality policy included in the ENP is not supported by strong incentives or rewards that would encourage reforms. Some policy suggestions that could make the ENP a more effective tool of democracy promotion include systematic conditionality and an improved mechanism for supporting civil society, in particular pro-democratic groups in authoritarian countries.

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Boin Arjen, Ekengren Magnus, Rhinard Mark



### **Protecting the Union: Analysing an Emerging Policy Space**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 28, Number 5 / December , 405-421

Recent organizational, institutional and policy developments signal a new type of co-operative policy activity at the European level and suggest the emergence of a new policy space in the European Union. What binds together the activities in that space is a common concern for the protection of the EU citizen. This new policy space crosses sectoral boundaries, draws in a number of governmental and societal actors, and comprises a variety of institutional venues. Moreover, its dimensions span the internal and external divide in EU policies. This article serves as an introduction to a special issue on the topic of the EU's emerging protection policy space. It first discusses the empirical parameters of this emerging space, before outlining a set of research questions and surveying the theoretical landscape for addressing these questions. It concludes by introducing the articles that comprise the special issue.

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**Legrand Hervé**

#### **Quel dialogue islamo-chrétien dans le contexte de l'élargissement de l'Europe à la Turquie ?**

in *Esprit*, n. 329, novembre 2006 , 27-42

The Muslim-Christian dialogue and EU enlargement to Turkey.

Will the pope's forthcoming visit to Turkey dispel the misunderstandings brought about by his Regensburg speech, and more specifically the suspicion that Roman Catholicism effectively stands as an explicit bulwark against Turkish EU membership? If we are to look beyond today's divisive developments, we should take stock of the ongoing dialogue between Islam and Christianity and of the expectations that divine scholars have in store for us.

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#### ***Section C) Regional integration processes***

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**Foret François**

#### **Quels presupposes pour la démocratie européenne? Regards croisés sur le rôle du religieux**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 19, 2006

QUELS PRESUPPOSES POUR LA DÉMOCRATIE EUROPÉENNE ? REGARDS CROISÉS SUR LE RÔLE DU RELIGIEUX

Le débat constitutionnel européen a ravivé les interrogations sur la nature et les principes de légitimité de l'Union européenne. La dimension religieuse en a été l'un des points saillants, tant à travers la controverse sur la référence à l'héritage chrétien de l'Europe qu'au sujet de la participation des Églises. Il s'agit de déterminer la nécessité et le contenu de présupposés normatifs pour la démocratie européenne. Trois analyses sont ici confrontées de manière critique : l'approche philosophique de l'école post-nationale ; l'approche juridico-institutionnelle de Joseph Weiler ;





l'approche de sociologie religieuse de Jean-Paul Willaime.

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Derisbourg Jean-Pierre

**Quinze propositions pour relancer l'Europe  
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 1 , 25-26**

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Gréau Jean-Luc

**Reconstruire l'Europe économique  
in Debat (Le), N° 141 septembre-octobre 2006 , 129-143**

No abstract available

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Chalmers Adam

**Refiguring the European Union's Historical Dimension  
in European Journal of Political Theory, Vol. 5, n. 4, October , 437-454**

The European Union requires a stronger approach to social solidarity than has been offered in existing theory. Perhaps the exigency of this claim is nowhere more evident than in the recent failed referendums in France and the Netherlands. In both cases the narrow legal-economic sense of the EU won out over what was hoped to be an emerging European public sphere, indeed a shared sense of European identity rooted in history. This article asks what type of 'history' this identity requires. Approaching this problem from a theoretical perspective, I will outline why and how such a 'history' must accord with the existing limits set by post-and/or transnationalism itself. Second, I will question how well various attempts at writing such a 'history' have already managed in terms of these limits. Lastly, drawing on the current work of sociologist Ulrich Beck, I will put forward a theoretical alternative to the existing models.

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Axt Heinz-Jürgen

**Regionalisierung wider Willen? Die EU-Regionalpolitik und das 'Europa der Regionen'**



in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , 16. Jahrgang (2006), Heft 2

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Charlety Véronique

**Reperes fondateurs. Introduire l'histoire dans l'espace public européen**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 18, 2006

Constituée en 1997, l'équipe porteuse du projet de doter Bruxelles et l'Europe d'un musée sur l'histoire de l'intégration européenne, nourrit l'ambition de conduire et d'animer la réflexion sur les origines et les fondements de l'identité européenne. Soucieux de stimuler le débat sur son contenu et ses attributions, mais également d'asseoir sa légitimité et sa lisibilité dans l'espace public, elle organise trois rencontres avec le public : deux colloques internationaux et une exposition de préfiguration. L'article présente ces opérations de préfiguration mises en oeuvre par l'équipe de projet du musée de l'Europe afin de d'étudier la contribution de l'histoire à la construction d'une identité européenne partagée et supranationale.

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Bini Smaghi Lorenzo, Ferri Giovanni

**Revisiting the European Monetary System Experience: Were Some Members More Equal than Others?**

in *Economic Notes*, Volume 35, Number 2, , 151-172

Difficulties in implementing effective liquidity support - to counter speculative attacks - may partly explain why regional exchange rate agreements crawl regional trade integration. Our novel analysis of the European Monetary System confirms that liquidity support was provided under the discretion of the anchor country (Germany), and was indeed asymmetric across member countries and/or periods. In particular, it was less forthcoming (i) to countries further away from Germany (less politically influential there), (ii) to larger countries (interfering more with the Bundesbank's monetary control) and (iii) during periods when German inflation accelerated (and the Bundesbank needed a firmer grip on liquidity).

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Frattini Franco

**Riparte l'Europa**

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, n. 3, vol. LXI, terzo trimestre , 433-442

No abstract available



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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Pikalo Jernej

**Slowenien in der Europäischen Union**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 46, 2006

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Ekengren Magnus, Matzén Nina, Rhinard Mark, Svantesson Monica

**Solidarity or Sovereignty? EU Cooperation in Civil Protection**

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 28, Number 5 / December , 457-476

Civil protection is one of the more established European competences within the emerging protection policy space. It is also emblematic of an enduring tension within European politics. European Union states acknowledge the need to work closely to address pressing common issues. Yet those same states retain a tight grip on EU policy activities so as to protect their national sovereignty. That tension is apparent in the adopted 'solidarity declaration' from 2004, in which member states vow to assist one another in a disaster, and in the development of the EU's civil protection competences, where member states have carefully controlled their delegation of powers. This article explores how this tension manifests itself 'on the ground', in the actual operation of civil protection missions. Two cases are analysed — the 2002 floods in Central Europe and the 2004 Asian tsunami — in order to understand how member states acted collectively through EU structures and with what effect on the EU's disaster response effectiveness. By exploring member states' contributions to joint efforts, how those efforts were organized and what lessons were learned for future development, light is shed on how sovereignty concerns may prove to be an obstacle to solidarity.

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Giegerich Bastian, Gross Eva

**Squaring the Circle? Leadership and Legitimacy in European Security and Defence Cooperation**

in *International Politics* , Vol. 43, n. 4, September , 500-509

This research note addresses the trade-offs between legitimacy and effectiveness in the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The contemporary security environment creates a dual deficiency where neither individual states nor the European Union (EU) can provide effective and legitimate solutions. Leadership is necessary but has to be balanced with the norms of consensus and equality, deeply engrained in EU foreign policy making. The increasing scope and ambition for ESDP in an enlarged EU with 25 members exacerbate this fundamental contradiction. We present a number of internal and external adaptation pressures that lead to this situation and link them to wider conceptual debates about security governance. Noting that the existing academic literature has not paid sufficient and



systematic attention to the associated dilemmas, we then outline a comprehensive agenda for research that includes both empirical and conceptual matters worth exploring.

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Védrine Hubert

**Stabiliser la construction européenne**

in **Debat (Le)**, N° 140 mai-août 2006 , 41-44

No abstract available

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Bellamy Richard

**Still in Deficit: Rights, Regulation, and Democracy in the EU**

in **European law journal**, November 2006 - Vol. 12 Issue 6 , 725-742

Critics of the EU's democratic deficit standardly attribute the problem to either sociocultural reasons, principally the lack of a demos and public sphere, or institutional factors, notably the lack of electoral accountability because of the limited ability of the European Parliament to legislate and control the executive powers of the Commission and the Council of Ministers. Recently two groups of theorists have argued neither deficit need prove problematic. The first group adopts a rights-based view of democracy and claims that a European consensus on rights, as represented by the Charter of Fundamental European Rights, can offer the basis of citizen allegiance to EU wide democracy, thereby overcoming the demos deficit. The second group adopts a public-interest view of democracy and argues that so long as delegated authorities enact policies that are 'for' the people, then the absence of institutional forms that facilitate democracy 'by' the people are likewise unnecessary—indeed, in certain areas they may be positively harmful. This article argues that both views are normatively and empirically flawed. This is because there is no consensus on rights or the public interest apart from the majority view of a demos secured through parliamentary institutions. To the extent that these remain absent at the EU level, a democratic deficit continues to exist.

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Morata Tierra F.

**Subsidiariedad, regiones y Unión Europea**

in **Cuadernos europeos de Deusto**, n. 35 , 73-94

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Puntscher Riekmann Sonja

**The Cocoon of Power: Democratic Implications of Interinstitutional Agreements**

in *European law journal*, January 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 1 , 4-19

This article assesses Interinstitutional Agreements (IIAs) in terms of democratic theory. It starts from the premise that democratic rules as developed in the national context may be used as a yardstick for supranational governance as well. Thus, parliamentarisation of the Union is defined as an increase in democracy, although relating problems such as weak European party systems, low turnouts, and remoteness are not to be neglected. The article evaluates several case studies on IIAs in this vein and asks whether they strengthen the European Parliament or not, and why. It arrives at conclusions that allow for differentiation: empowerment of the European Parliament occurs in particular when authorisation to conclude an IIA stems from the Treaty or from the power that the European Parliament has in crucial fields such as the budget and is willing to use for this purpose. Success is, however, not guaranteed in every case, and is sometimes more symbolic than real. However, a democratic critique must also stress negative consequences of IIAs in terms of responsivity, accountability, and transparency.

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Jakobsen Peter Viggo

**The ESDP and Civilian Rapid Reaction: Adding Value is Harder than Expected**

in *European Security*, Volume 15, Number 3, September , 299-321

This article takes issue with the prevailing view that the ESDP capacity building process is easier and has been more successful in the civilian than in the military field. It argues that civilian capacity building is harder than military capacity building, demonstrates that the European Union's (EU's) civilian rapid reaction capacity is considerably smaller and less integrated than is generally assumed and that the capacity goals set for 2008 are unattainable. Yet another major EU expectations-capability gap has been created and there is now a real danger that this gap will seriously damage the EU's reputation as the global leader in civilian rapid reaction crisis management.

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Velo D.

**The European Federal Enterprise as a Tool for a Long-term European Economic and Industrial Policy**

in *European Union Review*, Vol. 10 n. 3

La crise structurelle qui investit actuellement tous les pays industrialisés met en évidence l'urgence de doter l'Union européenne d'instruments lui permettant de participer au processus de globalisation sur un plan d'égalité par rapport aux autres compétiteurs plus avancés. L'Europe a en effet besoin d'une politique éconómico-industrielle commune qui peut exclusivement être relancée dans une perspective entrepreneuriale de longue durée. En effet, cette politique permettrait de promouvoir les secteurs industriels considérés stratégiques. C'est ici que se situe, selon l'Auteur, le projet de grande entreprise fédérale européenne porteuse d'une vision à long terme qui assigne à l'acteur public européen un



rôle entrepreneurial de conception, guide et coordination d'un réseau d'acteurs publics et privés articulé selon la logique de la géométrie variable et des coopérations renforcées. L'entreprise fédérale européenne joue, dans une perspective subsidiaire, un rôle fondamental dans le processus de construction d'un modèle socio-économique européen autonome qui se fonde sur des solutions organisationnelles, institutionnelles et politico-économiques originales par rapport à l'expérience américaine.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Sutherland Peter D.**

#### **The European Identity and the Inclusion of Diversities**

**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XIX, n. 3, November

In his seminal speech on European integration in the University of Zurich on September 19th 1946 Winston Churchill spoke of the old continent as being, "united in the sharing of its common inheritance". He portrayed the base of Greco-Roman culture and the Christian faith and ethics as "being at the origin of most of the culture, arts, philosophy and science both of ancient and modern times". But it was our conflicts rather than our similarities that really motivated him. Everyone in that lecture hall knew that his reference to nationalistic struggles that had "...wrecked the peace and marred the prospects of mankind" was the real reason for his desire to see, "a United States of Europe" (albeit one from which Great Britain would stand somewhat apart). Certainly it was the agonies of divisive histories rather than any sense of a shared European identity that drove the Founding Fathers, such as Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer, Alcide De Gasperi and Paul-Henri Spaak, to propose a new institutional structure to help reconciliation and future peace. There were, of course, other reasons that motivated them also, such as the rejection of what one observer has described as "The false universalism of communism and the false particularism of fascism, one of which sought to make everyone the same and the other of which refused any sense of common humanity".

Those times are now long past and the context of our present debate is different. The threat of fratricidal conflict in Europe has receded and our peoples seem, perhaps complacently, unconcerned by it. Also, apart from the faltering memories of past conflicts, we no longer have the need to be cemented together in mutual protection from the USSR.

So inevitably attitudes to European integration, particularly amongst the young, have changed and are challenged by new realities such as the enlargement of the EU. Their motivation for a belief in the process can no longer be promoted by the recollections of terrible events now only within the living memory of a small and diminishing minority. Therefore we must rethink and restate the case for European integration. This will be assisted by an understanding that the fundamental relationship between the nation state and the citizen has been changed in the globalising and increasingly interdependent world of today. Of course it had been the nation state, and the manner in which it functioned particularly since the nineteenth century, that created many of our historic problems. In 1826 the British Foreign Secretary, George Canning, remarked following the collapse of the Congress of Vienna system, "Things are getting back to a wholesome state, every nation for itself, and God for us all". His world was that which many of us hope that we have escaped fearing, as President Mitterrand said in his farewell speech to the European Parliament, "Le Nationalisme, c'est la guerre".

So what is this concept of a nation state which some eurosceptics and nationalists in particular wish to retain? It means different things to different people. Jeremy Rifkin (*The European Dream*, p. 166) has written, "The popular conception of the Nation State... is rooted in common culture, language and customs. (But) in reality is more of... an artificial





construct...". Often, in order to create it, he wrote, it was necessary to, "...create a compelling story about a common past, one convincing enough to capture the imagination of the people and convince them of their shared identity and common destiny." The reality however is often more complex. There are indeed shared histories and values and the binding together of communities has many valid and positive aspects that are not contrived. It has to be admitted, however, that in many cases the alleged unity of peoples has been a recent phenomenon and is less than fully convincing historically. National languages have been important in this but, for example, in 1789 a small fraction of the French people spoke French and in 1861 only 2% of Italians spoke Italian. Castillian too was very much a minority language in Spain. After the Reformation, religion also had an effect in creating a sense of a shared past and a common destiny for majorities in a national state, although it also has had the divisive effect of creating a question mark over the nationality of minorities. However, the fact is that most people in Europe feel an intense and often passionate sense of belonging to a nation state. This could never be supplanted by a European identity and nor should it be. It is to national identity that people primarily cling. The Danish intellectual Tøger Seidenfaden wrote: "There is no European people, no European ethnicity, no European demos; as a consequence the EU is notoriously incapable of generating popular enthusiasm on any major scale. This is, of course, one of its most attractive features". Whilst this comment goes a little too far for my taste, one can see what he meant.

Ernest Renan has written that the nation is a spiritual principle consisting of two things, "A common legacy of rich memories from the past and a consensus to forget the oppressions and injustices that once divided the members of the nation". We have all seen this in action. If one looked into the heart of most Europeans today, they would see themselves as part of one race or another, although their DNA may well provide evidence of a more complex reality. Unfortunately, many probably see their race as being "better" in one way or another than others. This is part of the legacy of nationalism and perhaps the price for the cohesion of a community. Of course, too, there are confusing overlaps between nations within nations. Examples proliferate around Europe. The British are comprised by a group of perceived nationalities, as are the Spanish and many others. The question as to where their ultimate loyalty lies would be hard to answer for many a Scot, a Walloon, a Bavarian or a Catalan.

In his *History of Europe*, Norman Davies draws a distinction between civilisation and culture. The former is defined as "the sum total of ideas and traditions which had been inherited from the ancient world and from Christianity". In other words it constitutes what binds us together. Culture, on the other hand, is seen by him as growing "from the every day life of the people... In earlier times civilisation was extolled and culture despised. Nationalism did the opposite."

All of this makes for a volatile situation, particularly when one takes into account the new challenges of integrating the relatively recent waves of migration within Europe itself and also, particularly, from North Africa. We now have a Europe that is increasingly diversified within its component parts with, for example, 10 million Muslims living in the EU. Paradoxically, too, while the EU integrates nation states with each other it also can create the seeds of national disintegration. This is because nation states that contain different ethnic strands were often bound together in the past because of the advantages of economic integration within a nation state, combined with the need for protection from external aggression. Neither of these conditions exist today within the EU. Essentially, the completion of the Common Market and the removal of the prospect of intra-European warfare has removed the fears that formerly drove regions to adhere to a larger nation state. Many Catalan or Basque nationalists, for example, see little point in a continued connection with Madrid if it costs them money. In addition, a positive reason for division into smaller units is that, within the EU, there is increasing evidence of greater economic success amongst the smaller nation states than the larger. The three highest levels of GDP per capita are to be found in Luxembourg, Ireland and Denmark. This is argued by some to be influenced by the greater flexibility in domestic economic policy that each can now deploy. These smaller states can



adapt to the opportunities afforded by a full access to a vast Common Market in a more focused and effective way than larger states.

So today our political structures have to accommodate a series of apparently conflicting realities. These include separatism and integration and diversity and shared values and the EU can help in this accommodation. We have to build upon and develop our shared values to bind us together, whilst not attempting to stifle the legitimate distinctions and loyalties between ethnic or religious groups within our collective body politic. If we do not maintain a sense of some shared identity and interdependence, we will be unable to continue to justify the essential supranational aspects of what the EU is. As William Wallace, the political scientist, wrote in the early 1980s of the EC, "it is less than a Federation, but more than a regime". This is particularly the case because, within agreed confines, laws can be made that are opposed by individual Member States, and the direct effect of Community Law makes national law and national courts less than fully sovereign.

The integration process should help to develop a common political community to protect the values, political diversity, democracy and human rights in which we jointly believe and which will act as a defence against the attack on any of these values at national level. The EU should, in a broader sense too, be the means for the resolution of, "The contradictions of tribalism and globalism" (Horsman and Marshall, *After the Nation State*, p.189). We are assisted in this because we are much more alike today than many recognise. Indeed, on the big issues of our time, European peoples are remarkably united in the attitudes that reflect their shared values. Their distinctive positions can be contrasted to those currently prevailing in other parts of the world, including the United States. In this regard Robert Kagan has detailed our differences. Although his description of a Europe of Kant's perpetual peace as against a Hobbesian US defending and promoting a liberal order through force are gross simplifications, they reflect some truth. We here believe in communitarianism, solidarity and multilateralism in a specific European way. The fact that according to Eurobarometer surveys Europeans want, in a majority everywhere, 'a more independent' common foreign and defence policy is a reflection of an increasing European belief that we share more in our approaches to international affairs with our European neighbours than anything that divides us. That was shown in reactions to the Iraq war, where public opinion was generally negative to the war throughout the EU, even though European leaders notoriously divided with some courting unpopularity in supporting the US. On the domestic front too we share similar views on a wide range of issues, for example, from the death penalty to the extent and limitations of individual freedom. The European convergence means that we and others now have a capacity to work together to constructively influence a world full of both opportunities and threats. If we fail to do so together, even the largest states will reduce their influence over their own destiny, and the distinctive European viewpoint will be increasingly marginalised and ignored internationally.

In my opinion, the approach of the current leadership of some important Member States to global challenges facing the EU has regrettably been to retreat more towards national capitals rather than advance the integration process that we need to deal with the issues of interdependence. Should it persist, this will gradually undermine institutions such as the European Commission and the European Parliament having a limited but clear federal vocation. The 'no' votes in France and The Netherlands have incorrectly been interpreted as votes against European integration, and this may increase this intergovernmentalist tendency. They have also been interpreted by some as a warning against further enlargement, particularly in regard to Turkey.

Let me turn now to the issue of future enlargements and possible limits to the expansion of the EU having regard to this issue of shared identity. Firstly, however, it should be emphasised that the enlargement of the EU can no longer be considered as inevitable even for those countries within Europe that comply with the requirements set in what is known as 'the Copenhagen Criteria'. There is a likelihood that in the future new accessions will only take place after specific



referendums, at least in some existing Member States. It needs to be recognised in particular that amongst those most likely to oppose enlargement to include Turkey will be some committed integrationists who argue that Turkish membership damages the cohesion of the EU.

The debate about Turkish accession, therefore, crystallises many of the questions about identity, history, attitudes and values within the EU. Religion plays a real part in this too. Even though the Founding Fathers of the EU were virtually all Christian Democrats, they did not invoke God or Christianity as a factor in European integration. Indeed, the separation of Church and State remained the prevailing position in the conclusion of the debate on the Constitutional Treaty, but Christianity remains the heritage of many Europeans. Although the status of the Church was included in Article 1-51, the invocation of God in the preamble was omitted (although only after fierce debate during which Catholics were joined by Lutherans, Calvinists and Orthodox). One can take it, however, as evidenced by the papal blessing of the politicians who convened on the 29th October 2004 in Rome to sign the Constitution, that the Catholic Church, for example, did not reject the draft. However, this accepted division between the Church and State in the EU does not mean that there are no objections to Turkish accession, based upon a perception that the Turkish people are in some sense different and this is connected with religion. Thus, although Pope John Paul II in *Ecclesia in Europe* made the point that "...Europe must be equivalent to openness...", it is apparent that this openness has limitations. Pope Benedict XVI is publicly against Turkish accession. He is not, of course, alone in this. The President of the Convention on the Future of Europe, Giscard d'Estaing, has said that Turkish accession would mean "...the end of the EU". Nor is it supported by President Chirac, Angela Merkel or Chancellor Schussel of Austria, and these politicians, amongst others, clearly reflect the views held by many Europeans. The question may be asked as to whether this opposition is related to questions surrounding the distinctive identity and values of the Turkish people or whether it is simply related to more pragmatic concerns such as the fear of migration, the lack of development of the Turkish economy or real depth of its democracy. It might also specifically relate to the treatment of religion in Turkey. Olli Rehn, the European Commissioner for Enlargement, recently said "...freedom of religion is one of the key issues to be addressed by Turkey." The reality is that the debates about secularism in Turkey today, such as whether to make adultery a criminal offence or whether boys who have been to religious schools can pursue a university education of their choosing, underline the fact that accession will create a very new and much deeper diversity in the EU, should it occur.

The bottom line should surely be that there is an existing commitment to negotiations. These will take many years to conclude and only then will it be possible to judge whether Turkey could or should be a full member. That judgement will depend, in turn, on a fair assessment of the extent to which Turkey can subscribe to a deepening political integration founded upon shared values and the attitudes that emanate from them.

The very fact of this debate taking place now, whatever its merits, underlines the fact that there is a widely shared belief that there is something distinctive and important in European values and attitudes, and that the EU is about more than the creation of a functioning market supported by some elements of cross border solidarity.

Even though the Constitution has not been adopted, it presents, in its terms, a reasonable template for our future development. Article 1.1 was exhaustively discussed and it simply states that any European country that subscribes to promoting the Union's values is eligible for accession. It did not define what it is meant by "European", but it is a geographic concept that has been interpreted to include states that are potentially within the border of the continent. The values, too, are set out in Article 2 as being "Respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy the rule of law" and "respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities". The objectives set out in Article 3 include, "Promoting cohesion and solidarity and respect for the rich cultural and linguistic diversity of the Member States". These all seem to be an expression of identity that has a real meaning.



I believe that the meaning of these values and objectives have a particular – and shared – European interpretation. It is not intended to be divisive or disparaging to suggest that this interpretation is different to that applied in other parts of the world. Our cultures may be distinct, but our development has gradually brought us together in a unique way which we can build upon. The late Hugo Young once wrote in *The Guardian* about our European cultures “It is helpful to learn that there are not rival cultures a zero sum game of allegiance, but that they mingled and grew together.” We should seek to continue that process of growing together.

This article was first published in the autumn issue of *Studies*

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Kietz Daniela , Maurer Andreas

**The European Parliament in Treaty Reform: Predefining IGCs through Interinstitutional Agreements**  
in *European law journal*, January 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 1 , 20–46

Despite the fact that Interinstitutional Agreements (IIAs) are an established part of the mass of informal and formal rules structuring EU decision-making and interinstitutional relations, there is as yet no common understanding of their role and functions in the institutional and legal system of the EU—neither in political science nor legal studies. Tracking the evolution of the European Parliament's competencies in three areas where IIAs figure prominently—comitology, legislative planning, Interinstitutional Agreements and the establishment of procedures to hold the Commission accountable—this article seeks to show that the European Parliament strategically uses IIAs as instruments to wrest competencies from the Council and the Commission. Having no formal say in treaty reform, the European Parliament 'creates facts' through informal but politically binding IIAs hoping that, once established, it can achieve a later codification of its new rights at IGCs. Viewed this way, the analysis of the role of IIAs in Treaty Reform could help to explain a still under-researched puzzle in European integration theory, namely the incremental parliamentarisation of the institutional system of the EU over the last two decades

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Delreux Tom

**The European Union in international environmental negotiations: a legal perspective on the internal decision-making process**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 6, Number 3, September , 231-248

From an EU point of view, most international environmental agreements are mixed. This means that both the European Community (EC) and its member states are party to the agreement. As the participation of the EC in international negotiations and agreements is properly arranged by the Treaty establishing the European Community, but the EU member states' participation is not legally organized on the EU level, the internal decision-making process regarding mixed agreements is rather complicated. Insights into this process are needed to understand the representation and the role of the European Union in international environmental negotiations. This article clarifies the legal framework of the EU decision-making process regarding such negotiations.



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Bertoncini Yves, Chopin Thierry

**The European Union's Crisis: Some Lessons Related to a Recovery  
in American Foreign Policy Interests**, Vol. 28, n. 5 / October , 383-392

One year after French and Dutch voters voted no in referendums held in France and the Netherlands, rendering the political and institutional future of the European Union (EU) difficult to discern, the time has come for EU leaders to formulate a strategy that reflects the lessons learned from the rejection of the "European Constitutional Treaty." The context reveals a triple crisis. Each calls for a specific means of action cast in a specific style: (1) The legitimacy crisis calls for a democratization of the procedures and the decision-making process of the EU; (2) the socioeconomic crisis calls for the dissemination of a pedagogical work that identifies the benefits of the internal market and offers a justification for its deepening; (3) the geopolitical crisis calls for a public debate to be held on the limits of the Union as well as a statement to be issued clarifying the objectives that the European Union wishes to achieve on the world stage.

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Türkcs Mustafa, Gökgöz Göksu

**The European Union's Strategy towards the Western Balkans: Exclusion or Integration?  
in East European Politics and Societies**, Volume 20, Number 4, November , 659-690

This article analyzes the European Union's strategy towards the Western Balkans as a hegemonic project. The European Commission's strategy is neither total exclusion nor rapid integration. The Commission's aim is to restructure the Western Balkans in line with neoliberalism to prepare the region for the "preincorporation stage". The Commission's major initiatives show that this neoliberal restructuring need not end in full membership but remains an open-ended process. Two components of the Commission's formula, neoliberal economy and democracy, have not fed one another; rather, the opposite has occurred. Local crises have exacerbated and been exacerbated by the Commission's strategy, whereby existing social forces and structures have been dismantled, leading to the reproduction of authoritarianism. Despite the continuously shifting hegemonic discourses of ethno-political groups, their ultimate objective is integration with the EU. However, cycles of crises in the region have, in neo-Gramscian terms, undermined the formation of a historic bloc, and thus the EU's hegemonic project is rather daunting.

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Rhinard Mark, Ekengren Magnus, Boin Arjen

**The European Union's Emerging Protection Space: Next Steps for Research and Practice  
in Journal of European Integration**, Volume 28, Number 5 / December , 511-527

The European Union is making explicit moves towards protecting European citizens from threats. Those threats are no





longer just military in nature, nor do they stem from well-defined sources. Today's threat environment includes terrorist networks, new pathogens, critical infrastructure breakdowns, extreme weather and illegal immigration, to name only a few. Just as importantly, those threats cross sectors and countries without difficulty. The EU's role in helping to combat those threats — and protecting European citizens from harm — is clear and growing. This concluding article of the special issue discusses the implications of this new policy space for theory and practice and highlights several areas in which future research can further enlighten understanding of European cooperation in this critical area.

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**Slominski Peter**

**The Fabric of Governance: Interinstitutional Agreements in the EU**  
in *European law journal*, January 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 1 , 2–3

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Orakhelashvili A.**

**The Idea of European International Law**  
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 17 n. 2

The nature of international law as a legal system which, on the one hand, responds to the need for interaction between states inherent to international society and, on the other hand, is based on agreement between states, categorically excludes viewing international law as the product of a specific regional, i.e., European, tradition. Yet it is still asserted that international law is a European tradition. Such assertions are not only conceptually flawed, but are also unsupported by evidence. The origins of international law lie outside Europe, and at no stage of its development has international law been a truly European system. This holds true not only in terms of general international law, but also in relation to certain ideas developed at the European level, including the 'public law of Europe', and of modern European projects that appear to be based on ideas of a regional solidarity in Europe.

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**Van Meerten H.**

**The Legal Acts in the European Constitution**  
in *European Union Review*, Vol. 11 n. 1

A ce point, c'est incertain si ou quand la Constitution Européenne entre dans la force. Néanmoins, elle introduit de nouveaux actes juridiques pour l'Union européenne. Ceci est la première tentative pour définir une hiérarchie des normes plus claire. Pourquoi nouveaux actes juridiques étaient-ils nécessaires ? Et les provisions dans la Constitution sont-ils une amélioration en comparaison du système actuel?





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**Hoerber Thomas**

**The Nature of the Beast: hte Past and Future Purpose of European Integration  
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 1 , 11-24**

No abstract available

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**Morin Michel**

**The Referendum of the Cowards  
in Federalist Debate (The), Year XIX, n. 3, November**

Philippe Val

Le Referendum des Laches

(The Referendum of the Cowards)

Paris, Ed. Le Cherche Midi, 2005

Reading this small book was a surprise, a happy surprise, one which leaves you buoyant and light-hearted, and eager to share it with all your friends – which was soon done and rapidly spread out in concentric waves. That is the reason why, one year after the results of the French vote, a review presenting the content of this book may still be of interest at a time when the breakdown of the European construction is under the eyes of everybody.

During the electoral campaign for the referendum on the adoption of the European Constitutional Treaty (ECT) which took place in France in May 2005, federalist militants became aware, day after day, of the weakness of the campaign for the Yes led by the main political leaders and organizations, a campaign that the federalists could not help much with their enthusiasm. This is the reason why the message delivered by Philippe Val was welcomed as a good piece of news. The interest of its arguments, which will be summarized in the present note, was much increased by the position occupied by its author in the French political scene as a columnist. Director and Editorial writer of the weekly Charlie Hebdo, Philippe Val in his leader articles developed arguments in favour of the Yes vote, against the advice of most of his editorial staff, who were in favour of various currents in the French radical left. As a satirical paper, Charlie Hebdo does not mind its words when it criticizes established powers, be they capitalism, outdated values, authoritarian government trends, violence and the abusing of individuals. It is the reason why the support given to the ECT by a somewhat iconoclastic personality aroused at least some curiosity and a desire to debate the issues.

As far as new arguments are concerned, in the book there are few of them for the federalists, but on the other hand the tone, the way to present the problems, to link analyses, to connect arguments, all this adds to the usual style of a pro-European and federalist approach. For the first time a passion and conviction deeply rooted in a private history inspire words for a Europe of flesh and blood. It is not about a virtual Europe but a Europe which lives in men's bodies and minds, in the reality of cultures which are both deeply rooted and of everyday use. And at a conference-debate between Philippe Val and the Rhône-Alpes federalists the writer confirmed the dimension of his commitment which we



find now in his written testimony.

Of this small book, which Philippe Val meant as a scathing tract to spread his ideas, only few copies have been sold, due to rather weak advertising; but its publication allowed its writer to take a very active part in various televised talks. From the very first lines the book is presented as “a combative pamphlet expressing a deeply-felt commitment. I am devoted to the European cause in such a sensitive way, that I am astonished of myself” (p. 7). The form, which is a bit rugged and less structured than it should have been, is due to the hurry in which the writer found himself. Why did he submit to the “revolt and anger” which are the reasons of such urgency?

Because the author puts the stake of the referendum on the burning issue of the “nation”, which is the underlying taboo of this ballot. For him “the problem posed by the adoption of this Constitution is that it marks a fundamental stage on the way to the abandonment of national sovereignty. It announces the end of the nation in favour of a federation” (p. 56). Numerous elements of an analysis of the function and the history of the nation are to be found in the chapters of this book. In it we also perceive the denouncement of a strong personal conviction: “Everything happens as if the protagonists had agreed to speak of something else... nobody wants to touch this idea of the nation” (p. 16). “To open the debate entails breaking the taboo of the nation, a concept which is much more sacred in the minds of the citizens than one may imagine, although they are not fully aware of it” (p. 26).

In fact, the debate on the Constitution rekindles in France very old quarrels at the very heart of the debate on the “nation”: what are its foundations? The territory or an ideal? The primacy of the rights of man or the reason of State? This approach leads Philippe Val to a vigorous criticism of “souverainiste” ideas and even to the attempt to unmask hidden positions. The protesting upholders of sovereignty prefer criticizing Europe rather than “the holy nation”, even though the decisions they dislike are taken by national authorities. This observation, which regularly comes up in the actions sponsored, among others, by the French Communist Party, matches up with the conception of internationalism, which is connected with the idea of nation, which is also strongly rooted in the psychology of the main leaders of ATTAC, a radical-left movement.

Philippe Val denounces the caution of these leaders, who refuse to reveal their deeper motivations to militants; they are misled and attracted only by the radical economic criticism directed against the ECT. He charges the ones and the others with simply having chosen to unite against Europe all kinds of discontent. It is true that a wide variety of complaints and sufferings lead to say No to everything and anything – and never mind the European Constitution! Another recurrent theme in the book is peace. Several times the writer is struck by the “weariness” or “boredom” that the lasting peace reigning over the European continent seems to engender. Peace for too long? “The argument according to which ‘Europe means peace’ is on the point of losing its meaning, since peace has become the natural element we live in” (p. 109).

From his dedication to peace, peace being a priceless value, Philippe Val opens two interesting perspectives. On the one hand, he considers that the construction of peace entails, explains and justifies the complexity of the European construction in general and of the ECT in particular. To his mind, such a lengthy and dull text is “the price to be paid for a political creation – the construction of Europe – with no precedent in the past, a consequence of the economic, political and moral collapse of Europe after the two world wars” (p. 12). On the other hand, this process leads to developing a culture of negotiation and discussion that progressively replaces the culture of confrontation and war, which used to be a much easier one.

From this basic remark it is possible to draw a strategic reflection for the federalist thought. To say No to the ECT is an



act based on a national ideal. To say Yes means accepting compromise, negotiation, discussion. Consequently, it is a confrontation between a concrete ideal and an horizon which recedes as one moves forward. "One does not send men to be killed for an horizon". Hence an important question on the forms of the federalist action towards a European people: how to galvanize and mobilize citizens for a federal Europe?

Dynamic and militant, the author launches a few pointed remarks at the supporters of the Yes in the referendum; for him, they got caught in a debate about real concerns, and in order not to appear cynical, they have prudently camped on the very ground of controversies chosen by the supporters of the No, so as to elude the problem of the nation. They did not fight against the strategy of a scapegoat (Europe) which was employed against them. He goes so far as to denounce their pusillanimity, not to say their cowardice, when they did not dare to speak of the construction of a European federation, of European federalism, which were the real issues at stake (pp. 70-71).

There are three positive aspects in the militant message delivered by Philippe Val, each one being an element which enriches federalist culture in an original way.

He contributes to the definition of a positive pro-European action. He strongly places his reflection in the field of politics. "When the supporters of the No protest that they are genuine Europeans, they play with words... Today "European" has in fact two meanings: a traditional acceptance, "of European origin and culture", and a more upto- date sense, "in favour of the abandonment of sovereignty as necessary to the building of a new Europe"" (p. 23). He resolutely takes position in favour of a Federal Europe, but he disagrees with the tenets of militant federalists by stating that the present construction of Europe is already federal, in his opinion, in the institutions already in existence (European laws prevailing over national laws). Consequently, according to him, the ECT is only one additional, democratic stage towards a fully federal Europe.

The political debate on the referendum is a confrontation between républicains (in the French, quite nationalist, sense) and democrats. The Yes or No votes have been given according to the prevailing political leaning of the voters. The unquestionable democratic advances brought by the Constitution largely compensate for the loss of the former structuring values, i.e. the republic associated with the nation.

Indeed, a debate did take place, but there is a final criticism on the role played by the media. A detailed analysis shows that in over 7 weeks of open debate, the agony, then the death and funeral of Pope Jean-Paul II was given a paramount place in the news for more than three weeks, clouding the political debate. It might not have changed the result of the ballot, but it may have had a greater weight in the balance than one thinks. The role played by the media has not been analyzed further, but we know that the history and analysis of this political event remains to be written.

In his conclusion, Philippe Val enlarges his topic to the scale of the world and mankind: "To be a citizen of Europe means sharing ideas and not origins... The European construction is a cosmopolitan thought, which asserts itself politically against any ethnic thought" (p. 112).

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### **Subsection 6. The European unification process**

**Spinelli Barbara**

#### **The True Illusions**

**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XIX, n. 3, November



When the newly-elected President of the Italian Republic made reference, on the island of Ventotene, to the birth of the European unification project, many were probably wondering: how did that idea come about, how did it become the dominant idea of a continent, and how did it enter the lives of all of us in the form not only of a promise or a remorse for unaccomplished things, but also in the form of so many laws that nowadays have prevalence over national laws. There is to wonder why we insist in giving to that idea the name, noble but shaky, of a dream. Giorgio Napolitano vividly recalled what then, in the midst of a war between Europeans, seemed a fancy born in the minds of three anti-fascist confined men – Altiero Spinelli, Ernesto Rossi, Eugenio Colorni. Indeed, so was considered what they envisaged: the birth of a Europe where there will never again be wars, and where a fundamental conviction regarding the nation-States will take roots. The nation-States had dugged their own grave, by transforming their absolute State sovereignties into a mutual annihilation weapon, and finally into a selfannihilation one. As in a Greek tragedy, from sorrow and guilt a lesson was to come out, which will lead Europe to a new life. This was the catharsis proposed as a remedy in the Ventotene Manifesto.

To a close look, it was a quite special dream. It was more similar to a prophetic vision of a man looking for the unconfessed roots of his present time, and sketching on what he found the possible reality of tomorrow. It was supported by a very strong awareness of reality – which always imposes on one's political aspirations the respect of the conditions of the real world – and hence by a deeply-rooted practical sense, based on the experience and the memory of countless European wars. If it continued to be defined as a dream or utopia, it is because the States wanted that that be the general consideration of it, necessary for safeguarding their absolute national sovereignties. But it was not so for the founders of the Community: Adenauer, Monnet, Schuman, De Gasperi had clear in their minds the tragic sequel of Europe's history, and considered the Union to be essential in practice, not only desirable as an Utopia. But the guardians of nationalism did not cease for decades to fight it with convenient expedients. Since the beginning, their main weapon has been to define the European adventure as an illusion, talked of as a thing of the past, like other Utopias.

It would be worth reading again the papers that James Hamilton and John Jay wrote between the autumn of 1787 and the spring of 1788 in *The Federalist* under the pen-name of Publius, when there was to ratify the American Constitution approved by the Philadelphia Convention on September 17, 1787. In the sixth paper, Hamilton explains where the true illusions, the true "Utopian speculations", lie. Who was cherishing them were not the federalists, but their opponents, who supported the inviolable sovereignty of the thirteen American states or, at the most, partial confederations. Hamilton is stern: they believe possible "a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties in the same neighborhood". They share the unwise optimism of those who believe that a republican spirit is substantially peaceful ("There have been, if I may so express it, almost as many popular as royal wars"). Reading Publius helps us reveal the deception of an Utopia that usually wraps itself in the mantle of a pragmatic respectability: "Is it not time to awake from the deceitful dream of a golden age, and to adopt as a practical maxim for the direction of our political conduct that we, as well as the other inhabitants of the globe, are yet remote from the happy empire of perfect wisdom and perfect virtue?", Hamilton writes.

Also for today's Europe that is true. Certainly those who see in the post-war founding principles something noble but no longer attracting are right: just because the Union partly exists already, it is not easy to contemplate new wars among Europeans. But that is not a reason for the European project to be seen as an Utopian desire, an old rhetoric for a world that does not exist. The threats from which the idea of Europe was born are still present, only their names and the challenges have changed: they are called globalized economy, terrorism, scarcity and political use of energy. Today like yesterday the individual States cannot face them alone, and their rulers know it even when they are reluctant to delegate sovereignty. If they could look into their own history, they would know that theirs is not even real sovereignty: it is a shadow what they are clinging to. It is an illusion, as described in Abbagnano's *Dictionary of Philosophy*: "an erroneous



appearance that does not cease when it is recognized as such (...) it is like seeing kinked a stick immersed in the water". By delegating decision-making powers to Europe, the States can regain a sovereignty that they have lost today.

Therefore it is for a sense of reality that we have to make Europe and give it a capacity to govern, just like in the Forties and Fifties. It is for a practical spirit that it is urgent to have a Union ready to act even when there is not unanimous agreement, instead of a Union blocked by the right of veto. Once again it is the historical experience that demands this, as called for by a prophetic dream, founded however on rationality. Today it is the nation-State to be under an illusion, when it pretends to be non-vulnerable and even wraps itself in the mantle of real-politik and pragmatism. The democratic rhetoric itself is a conjuring exercise, that risks to hide reality. Of course it is essential that Europe be accepted by the peoples. But without an efficient government it makes no sense to put that necessity as a priority: without a government, Europe may well be more democratic, but absolutely without any weight.

This too is a valuable lesson that comes from the American federalists of 1700. The generous democratic bursts may turn into a "torrent of angry and malignant passions"; "an overscrupulous jealousy of danger to the rights of the people" may turn into "mere pretense and artifice, the stale bait for popularity at the expense of the public good", Publius says in *The Federalist*. The dangerous ambition is the one of those who "lurk behind the specious mask of zeal for the rights of the people", not of those who, taking the harder route, are concerned "for the firmness and efficiency of government" (Hamilton, Paper No. 1). Democracy, under certain conditions, may even become a deceit. The referendums on the adhesion of Turkey, promised in France and Austria, are in effect a way for expressing the right of veto by individual States over Europe's future foreign policy. More than respected, the peoples are thus made instruments. A realistic dream of the Union is today the Constitution, and it is not by chance that it too is declared dead, as happens for Utopias condemned by reality. The two referenda in France and the Netherlands in May-June 2005 would have ditched the idea of a suitable European government, able to complement the national governments. Of course it is advisable to do something, waiting for France to elect a new Head of State in 2007; something pragmatic with the existing treaties, said the President of the Commission Barroso, proposing – in view of the European Summit on June 15 – a common security policy, domestic and against terrorism. But it will not be enough, as long as the decisional powers in Europe will not be made clearer, besides being shared, and only a Constitution can do that. If possible, a Constitution approved this time by all the peoples simultaneously.

This project too is not illusive, and who has already ratified the constitutional Treaty knows it. Chancellor Angela Merkel said that she does not intend to give up: the German people and many other countries have voted for the Constitution, therefore the project cannot be dumped by some nations with easy presumption. Fifteen States out of 25 have ratified it (soon they will be 16, with Finland) and this means that a majority wants the Constitution. Also a majority of citizens – about 250 millions out of 450 – wants it. Reviving the realistic dream means to start from here, from this Europe that has already expressed herself by a majority for a working European government and for a continent that shall have a greater weight in the globalized economy and in an effective international policy. It is necessary to take into account those who are unsatisfied and denounce the faults of the Union, but also those who strongly want to complete the Union and give it a Constitution. To go back would be not only illusory, it would be a betrayal and a breach of the agreements, because all the governments have committed themselves to bring the Treaty to ratification in two years, when they signed it on October 29, 2004. It is important that Italy has got again a government team that has supported this project and is willing to even improve on it (for example, by abolishing the paragraph of the Treaty that requires a unanimous vote for constitutional revisions): President Napolitano will continue on this matter the struggle of former President Ciampi, and others will join in, starting with Prime Minister Prodi, who proposed an even more advanced constitutional Treaty – the Penelope Project – when he was President of the Commission. At that point it will indeed be a very good thing to revive the realistic dreams and put an end to the utopian national illusions: illusions that do not cease even when they are





acknowledged as such.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Mitsilegas Valsamis**

**The constitutional implications of mutual recognition in criminal matters in the EU**  
**in Common Market Law Review**, issue 5, vol. 43 , 1277-1311

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Thym Daniel**

**The political character of supranational differentiation**  
**in European Law Review**, n. 6, vol. 31, december , 781-799

ABSTRACT: A decade ago, instruments of differentiation and flexibility were hailed by some commentators as a potential resolution to the European Union's non-simultaneity after enlargement, whereas others vigorously opposed any departure from the logic of uniform integration. After the first years of experience the time has come to step back and evaluate the functioning of the various instruments of supranational differentiation. In practice, neither the high expectations nor the deep concerns have materialised. While the general mechanism for enhanced co-operation has never been put in practice, monetary union and the integrated Schengen law operate rather smoothly without the participation of all Member States. This is no coincidence. The various forms of supranational differentiation, defined by the limited geographic scope of Community law and the corresponding suspension of voting rights in the Council, are deliberately designed on the basis of the supranational integration method. As a pragmatic legal instrument, they provide for the asymmetric realisation of specific policy projects among a limited number of Member States within the existing legal and institutional framework of the European Treaties. Following the supranational blueprint of the existing Treaties, supranational differentiation may not resolve the Union's present double crisis of constitutional blockage and enlargement fatigue, but contributes nonetheless to the continued dynamism of its existing institutional and legal structure. Its strength is the accommodation of national political diversity within the traditional supranational integration method.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**R&#367;ži&#269;ka Jan, Ko&#345;an Michal**

**Totgesagte leben länger. Die Visegrád-Gruppe nach dem EU-Beitritt**  
**in Osteuropa**, Heft 10, 56. Jahrgang, Oktober , 27-40

ABSTRACT: Das Visegrád-Projekt lebt. Oft wurde die regionale Kooperation in Ostmitteleuropa in den vergangenen fünfzehn Jahren abgeschrieben und zuletzt nach dem EU-Beitritt der vier Staaten 2004 für tot erklärt. Zwar ist die





Kooperation kaum institutionalisiert. Doch Ministerien und Behörden versuchen in vielen Politikfeldern gemeinsame Positionen abzustimmen. Vor allem arbeiten sie gemeinsam an einer Einbindung der Ukraine und des Westbalkans in die EU. Seit 2000 verfügt die Gruppe mit dem Internationalen Visegrád-Fonds sogar über einen eigenen kleinen Etat.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Karakas Cemal**

**UE/Turquie : l'hypothèse de l'intégration graduelle**

**in Politique Etrangère**, 3/2006 (automne)

Les négociations entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie ont débuté en octobre 2005 avec pour objectif officiel l'adhésion. En raison notamment de l'hostilité d'une large partie de l'opinion européenne, la voie en semble cependant semée d'embûches. On plaide ici pour une intégration graduelle, en plusieurs phases et sur des thèmes choisis : un modèle qui pourrait déboucher sur la conception d'une intégration européenne à niveaux différenciés.

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**Montani Guido**

**Un piano italiano per la Federazione europea**

**in Affari Esteri**, Anno XXXVIII, n. 152 , 799-805

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Armellini Antonio**

**Un'Europa a più dimensioni per rilanciare il progetto europeo**

**in ItalianiEuropei**, n. 5 , 161-166

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Moreau-Defarges Philippe**

**Une Europe cohérente ne peut être que fédérale**

**in Debat (Le)**, N° 140 mai-août 2006 , 36-40

No abstract available



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Angelino Luciani

**Un'avanguardia riformatrice per l'Europa**

in **Mulino (il)**, n. 5, settembre-ottobre, 2006 , 950-960

ABSTRACT: Dopo lo stop imposto dall'esito dei referendum in Francia e Olanda sul Trattato costituzionale, si può sperare in un'avanguardia riformatrice in grado di riavviare il processo di integrazione in Europa? Si può ripartire dalla moneta, per dare risposta allo squilibrio profondo che oggi caratterizza l'Unione, affiancando al comune governo della moneta il comune governo dell'economia.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Akgun Mensur

**Will Turkey Join the EU... Or Go Nuclear?**

in **Foreign Policy**, Issue 157, November / December

Turkey's bid to join the European Union is on the verge of failure. If the EU says no, will Turks turn away from Europe? What does Turkey think about Iran and the bomb? Will Turkey seek its own nuclear weapon? To answer these questions, FP spoke with Mensur Akgun, an expert on Turkish foreign policy.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Gaiser Wolfgang, Gille Martina, Rijke Johann de, Sardei-Biermann Sabine

**Zukunft Europa im Blick der Jugend**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 47, 2006

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Hille Peter, Knill Christoph

**'It's the Bureaucracy, Stupid'**

in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 7, n. 4, December , 531-552

The Central and East European (CEE) countries that had applied for membership in the European Union were confronted with far-reaching requirements in order to bring domestic policies in line with EU standards. Notwithstanding these rather uniform pressures emerging from conditionality, there is considerable variety in alignment performance across the candidate countries and over time. To account for this, we use time series cross-sectional data on the



implementation performance of 13 EU candidate countries between 1999 and 2003. Our results indicate that the bureaucratic strength and effectiveness of a country positively influence its ability to adjust domestic arrangements to EU requirements. By contrast, we find no support for veto-player theories of political constraints on legislative change. We hence conclude that the implementation of the *acquis communautaire* in candidate countries prior to accession has been a question of bureaucratic problems rather than of political veto-manoeuvres.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Rittberger Berthold

**'No integration without representation!' European integration, parliamentary democracy, and two forgotten Communities**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 13, Number 8 / December 2006 , 1211 – 1229

This article demonstrates that constitutionalization has been high on the agenda of political élites since the early days of European integration in the 1950s. The inclusion of representative institutions – parliaments with budgetary, legislative and control powers – was central in the negotiations of the two 'forgotten' Communities: the European Defence Community (EDC) and the European Political Community (EPC). It is argued that it was not federalist ideology which prompted policy-makers at the time to allot a prominent place to a European Parliament in the institutional structures of those Communities; it was the intended transfer of sovereignty to the supranational level which prompted a 'democratic spillover' process whereby political élites came to reflect on the direct repercussion of supranational integration for domestic parliamentary competences. Overlooked by federalists, neofunctionalists and intergovernmentalists alike, this democratic 'self-healing' mechanism of European integration is one of the most remarkable features of the European integration enterprise.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Herman Lior

**An Action Plan or a Plan for Action? Israel and the European Neighbourhood Policy**

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 11, Number 3, November , 371-394

The European Neighbourhood Policy appears to mark a major shift in the European Union's approach in its relations with Mediterranean non-member countries. As such, the new policy seems to divert its attention from the regional approach advocated in the Barcelona Process to bilateralism, whereby the partners can further and deepen their relations on the basis of common interests and good will. In this regard, the Action Plan agreed by Israel and the European Union offers a vast range of opportunities for deeper integration and enhancement of all spheres of relations. This article focuses on the capacity of the Neighbourhood Policy to foster new horizons for integration and trade in services. It specifically addresses the case study of the European Union and Israel, as both countries possess a highly-developed service sector, yet their trade relations in this field are governed exclusively by the World Trade Organization multilateral agreement on trade in services. By concentrating on the issue of trade in services, the article, on the one hand, draws conclusions as to the actual prospects for integration in this field, and on the other hand examines the significance of this for the overall European Neighbourhood Policy and its foreseeable shortcomings.



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*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Desta Melaku Geboye

**EC-ACP economic partnership agreements and WTO compatibility: an experiment in North-South interregional agreements**

in *Common Market Law Review*, issue 5, vol. 43 , 1343-1379

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Nascimbene Bruno, Sanna Cecilia

**Profili giuridici ed economici nelle relazioni tra l'Unione europea e i paesi del Centro America**

in *Diritto del Commercio Internazionale*, 20.2 Aprile-Giugno , 399-427

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Nonneman Gerd

**The EU-GCC Relations: Dynamics, Patterns and Perspectives**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLI, n. 3, July-September

The emergence of a bloc-to-bloc EU-GCC relationship is constrained by the divergent economic and political interests and foreign policy roles of the member states on both sides; the structural limitations of both organisations; the absence of a "champion" within the EU for collective relations with the GCC; the nature of the Gulf leaders' diplomacy; and the role of the US. From the GCC side, relations with Europe are shaped by a view of the latter as a key market and source of imports, and a means of diversifying the GCC states' economic and security resources. From the European side, the relationship has been moulded by the EU-wide interest in a stable Gulf region both for the security of world energy supplies, and the GCC states' potential contribution to stabilising the rest of the region; pre-existing relationships with particular member states; diverse perceptions of the relationship to the US and US policy; and varying levels of bilateral economic interest. The EU's ostensible pursuit of political reform and good governance is constrained by its own limited ability to develop a common policy on the matter, and limited leverage over the GCC states.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Kingah S.S.

**The European Union's New Africa Strategy: Grounds for Cautious Optimism**

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 11, Issue 4 , 527-533



In December 2005 the Council of the European Union (EU) adopted a new strategy for Africa (the Strategy) proposed by the Commission in October 2005. In the document, the EU discusses many aspects relating to its ties with African countries. Past cooperation is reviewed and ongoing programs are assessed. What distinguishes the Strategy from previous EU policy statements on Africa is that the Union makes allusion a number of new elements. They include economic initiatives, political innovations, a new social blueprint, geographic coherence, strategic aspects and more money. While the elements are reminiscent of a forward-looking approach to future EU-Africa relations, certain challenges may need to be surmounted. The challenges mainly refer to the potential negative effects of policy incoherence. However, if implemented with a sense of purpose by both sides, the issues regarding policy incoherence could be appropriately addressed by specific mechanisms discussed in the Strategy. Such mechanisms include the Euro-African Business Forum and EU-African Human Rights Forum.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Egger Peter, Pfaffermayr Michael, Schmidt Roland**

**Trade in Western and Eastern Europe in the aftermath of COMECON: an assessment of behavioral change**  
in *Oxford Economic Papers*, Volume 59 Number 1 , 102-126

In the early 1990s, leading economists have predicted huge unexhausted trade potentials associated with the political restraints under the COMECON regime. Besides the low Eastern per capita GDP figures associated with limited access to frontier technologies, the political regulation of West-East and also intra-East trade per se lead to discrepancies in the behavioral relationships. This paper addresses the question of whether changes in the determinants of trade such as market size and relative factor endowments or economic behavior (the different sensitivities of trade to its determinants) were responsible for these findings. Our empirical evidence from a large panel of bilateral European trade flows suggests that the conclusions differ sharply for East-West versus intra-East trade. Concerning East-West trade we observe pronounced convergence in behavior to intra-Western standards between the second and fourth considered phase of transition while for intra-East trade there is no such convergence in behavior.

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### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

#### *Subsection 1. Federalism*

**Feldman Jean-Philippe**

**Alexis de Tocqueville et le fédéralisme américain**

in *Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger*, n. 4 , 879-901

No abstract available

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### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

#### *Subsection 1. Federalism*

**Maiz R.**

**Federalismo plurinacional: una teoría política normativa**

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, n. 3 , 43 - 86

- The author maintains that, despite studies of an empirical-positive kind having made enormous contributions over



recent years to the understanding of federal systems and to the effects of their structures on aspects of political and social life, these contributions neither exhaust nor in themselves resolve the need for a substantial regulatory theory. For example, the question of the stability of federal systems, inherent to the empirical-positive theory, does not intrinsically resolve the other theory referring to the justice of political- territorial organisation in complex societies. In this sense, the article is organised into four sections and a range of conclusions. The first section reflects on the important regulatory component that, explicitly or implicitly, is the foundation and structure of empirical research; the theoretical bases inherent to regulatory theory are decisive in the formulation of questions, hypotheses and evaluations concerning the operation of federal systems. The second section discusses the theoretic silence, the invisibility of the federal principle in the canon of contemporary liberal regulatory theory, focussing the issue on the contribution made by John Rawls. The third section questions the assumption that pactism, the basis of federalist ideas, need necessarily become a contractualist formulation of federalism. The fourth section analyses the nature of the common links necessary to a state of states and, with this in mind, highlights the need to reintroduce, though duly reformulated, a certain idea of nation into the debate.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1.Federalism*

**Habermas Jürgen**

**Il progetto kantiano di costituzionalizzazione del diritto internazionale ha ancora una possibilità?**

in **MicroMega**, fasc.3 - 2006 , 133 - 158

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1.Federalism*

**Buglione Enrico**

**Per un federalismo sostenibile**

in **Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno**, numero : 2-3, giugno-settembre , 289-314

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Steinbach Matthias**

**'Der Staat hat heute einen unsinnig dicken Bauch'. Politisches Denken und Nationalstaatskritik bei Friedrich Nietzsche**

in **Historische Zeitschrift**, Band 283, Heft 2: Oktober 2006 , 319-354

Nietzsches „politisch-soziale Maikäfer“ verdienen vor allem in ihren konkreten Bezügen zur deutschen Geschichte Beachtung. Zunächst noch am Liberalismus als wohlfahrtsstaatlicher Bewegung orientiert und dem Werden eines deutschen Nationalstaates unter Preußens Führung verpflichtet, änderte sich Nietzsches Stimmungslage nach dem Krieg gegen Frankreich, insbesondere wegen der in seinen Augen verspielten Möglichkeit,





vom besiegten Gegner kulturell zu lernen. Angeekelt

von ihren „Krankheiten“, unter denen er den neuen Antisemitismus für die gefährlichste hielt, wandte er sich ab von den Deutschen.

Die Schweiz und das helvetische Basel mit ihren kommunalstaatlichen Sozial- und Bildungssystemen boten ihm eine Freistätte gegenüber der „Zwangsanstalt des Reiches“. Nietzsches kritische Beobachterperspektive erwies sich hier als die eines Intellektuellen par excellence, der

Deutschlands Weg und in gewisser Weise Sonderweg aus Europa wie das nationalstaatliche Prinzip generell bitter beklagte und im Exil des Südens ein feines Gespür für die „Schattenlinien“ (Nipperdey) des Nordens

entwickelte. Verbunden mit der Überzeugung eines aristokratischen Liberalismus, wonach Individualität und wirkliche Handlungsfreiheit nur jenseits des Staates, notfalls gegen ihn, durchzusetzen waren, beschwor er unentwegt die Antike (auch und gerade politisch) als Maßstab und Gegenwelt. Nirgendwo sonst zeigte sich Nietzsches radikalliberales Denken deutlicher als im Mißtrauen gegenüber „Mehrheiten“

und jeglicher Form repräsentativer Demokratie. Nietzsches apolitischer und partiell antimilitaristischer Elitarismus schließlich erscheint als etwas höchst Politisches insoweit, als sich daraus die Aufforderung zum Widerstehen und sich Verweigern auch gegenüber jenen

„kollektiven Phantasmen“ (Theodor Lessing) ableiten läßt, denen die Entmächtigung des einzelnen und zuletzt die Abschaffung des besungenen „Einsamen“ folgen sollte.

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#### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

##### *Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Oltmer Jochen

#### **'The unspoilt nature of German ethnicity': Immigration and integration of 'ethnic Germans' in the German Empire and the Weimar Republic**

in **Nationalities Papers**, Volume 34, Number 4, September 2006 , 429-446

No abstract available

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#### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

##### *Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Bray Zoe

#### **Basque Militant Youths in France: New Experiences of Ethnonational Identity in the European Context**

in **Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 12, Number 3-4, Autumn-Winter 2006 , 533-553

The “ethnonational identity” of young French Basques in France is analyzed in the context of European integration, and compared with the situation in the Spanish Basque Country. Due to the French state's refusal to recognize regional languages, transmission of the Basque language in France is characterized by ethnonationalist values. But these values have shifted recently, from an emphasis on consolidating a Basque nation to practical concerns with grassroots and sustainable development.

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#### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***



*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Mayall James

**Dominique Jacquin-Berdal Memorial Lecture: Nationalism and self-determination in Africa**  
**in Nations and Nationalism**, Vol. 12, Issue 4, October 2006 , 549-557

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Romaniello Matthew

**Ethnicity as social rank: Governance, law, and empire in Muscovite Russia**  
**in Nationalities Papers**, Volume 34, Number 4, September 2006 , 447-469

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Isabella Maurizio

**Exile and Nationalism: The Case of the Risorgimento**  
**in European History Quarterly**, Volume 36, No. 4, October 2006 , 493-520

Italian nationalism was essentially the product of exile, as most Risorgimento patriots lived and published their work abroad after successive failed revolutions. Exile was turned by political refugees into one of the foundational myths of the Risorgimento as the narrative of the Italian nation fighting for independence. The article examines the different aspects of the representation of exile in political and literary texts, which justified exile as the only choice available when faced with despotism at home. It surveys the research on exile published after independence, and highlights how the mythical interpretation of exile developed in the Risorgimento-influenced historiography until the post-war period. Finally, it suggests that in order to understand the effects of exile on Italian identity formation, we need to study Italian nationalism as part of trans-national intellectual exchanges.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Todd Jennifer, O'keefe Theresa, Rougier Nathalie, Cañas Bottos Lorenzo

**Fluid or Frozen? Choice and Change in Ethno-National Identification in Contemporary Northern Ireland**  
**in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 12, Number 3-4, Autumn-Winter 2006 , 323-346

Theories of nationality pose a paradox. Given the possibilities of identity plurality and identity shift, why is ethno-national identity so deeply embedded and so prone to produce conflict? Working with in-depth interviews in Northern Ireland, this article illustrates some typical mechanisms of change in national identity. It shows that plurality of identification is compatible with deeply embedded identities, that change in such identities is possible but costly for individuals, and that change in identity content is more frequent and often more important politically than change in identity category. It shows the greater frequency and ease of change in conflict-intensifying than in conflict-ameliorating directions. Thus it explains



the “stickiness” of ethno-national identity and its persistent tendency to produce conflict.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Schmücker Reinold

**Gerechtigkeit und Territorialität**

in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 54. Jahrgang, Heft 4, 2006 , 597-621

A state's claim to authority over its territory cannot be convincingly defended along the lines of any of the usual accounts drawing on power, volition, or property. The territorial authority of states ought to be conceived, rather, as a means serving the ends of securing justice, participation, and human rights. According to this approach, a particular territorial regime can be criticized as unjust if – and only if – it thwarts achieving these ends. Consequently a right to redraw territorial boundaries arises strictly as a last resort under the condition that all other remedies have been tried without success.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Hamilton C., Kennedy L.

**Intellectuals and the nation-state**

in *Comparative American Studies*, Vol. 4 n. 4

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Morgan S.

**Language Politics and Regional Nationalist Mobilization in Galicia and Wales**

in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 6 n. 4 , 451-475

Marshaling original data from surveys and interviews with regional nationalist party activists, this article compares language politics in two ‘stateless’ European nations with strong regional identities: Galicia (Spain) and Wales (UK). In Galicia, where the regional language is widely spoken, the nationalist party places significant emphasis on language-related issues. Yet in Wales, despite the minority status of Welsh, the political arm of the nationalist movement assumes a restrained stance toward the regional language. What explains the apparent paradox that mobilization on language grounds is more pronounced where language is least threatened? The article concludes that Galicia and Wales differ in the way that language functions in society, which, in turn, conditions the possibilities for deploying language politically. It is more difficult for the nationalist party Plaid Cymru to mobilize on the Welsh question given the language's recent revival and the current recruitment objectives of the party. In Galicia, not only are the recruitment



needs of the comparable nationalist party, the Bloque, less complex than in the Welsh case, but the perception of threat to the regional language is far greater.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Takahashi Katsuya

**Le jeu dangereux du nationalisme: les Japonais à l'épreuve de leur rivalité avec la Chine**  
in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n. 27/2006

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Bannerji H.

**Making India Hindu and Male. Cultural Nationalism and the Emergence of the Ethnic Citizen in Contemporary India**  
in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 6 n. 3 , 362-390

Speaking in the discourse of a culture and tradition in which the notion of the 'national' is equal to 'hindu', articulated to jargons of authenticity, foreignness and 'sons of the soil' criteria of citizenship, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its base community of the hindu right in India hope to hegemonize the Indian political terrain. This article revisits Marx's and Gramsci's notions and critiques of civil society, ideology and hegemony to analyse the cultural politics of the hindu right, which through an aggressive masculinity and organized violence attempts to erase muslims from the national space.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Nešpor Zdeněk R.

**Nation statt Konfession. Der Niedergang konfessioneller Wahrnehmungsmuster und das Anwachsen des Nationalbewußtseins in Böhmen an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert**  
in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Jahrgang 126/2006

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Leerssen Joep

**Nationalism and the cultivation of culture**  
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 12, Issue 4, October 2006 , 559–578

On the basis of an extensive sample of European source material, the article investigates the meaning and importance of 'culture' in cultural nationalism. The author argues that European cultural nationalism in the nineteenth century



followed a separate dynamic and chronology from political nationalism. Cultural nationalism involved an intense cross-border traffic of ideas and intellectual initiatives, and its participating actors often operated extraterritorially and in multi-national intellectual networks. This means that cultural nationalism needs to be studied on a supranational comparative basis rather than country-by-country, concentrating on the exchange and transfer of ideas and activities. A working model is proposed which may serve to bring these ideas and activities into focus.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Edensor Tim

**Reconsidering National Temporalities: Institutional Times, Everyday Routines, Serial Spaces and Synchronicities**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 9, No. 4, November 2006 , 525-545

This article attempts to foreground the importance of everyday life and habit to the reproduction of national identities. Taking issue with dominant linear depictions of the time of the nation, which have over-emphasized 'official' histories, tradition and heroic narratives, this article foregrounds the everyday rhythms through which a sense of national belonging is sustained. The article focuses upon institutionalized schedules, habitual routines, collective synchronicities and serialized time-spaces to develop an argument that quotidian, cyclical time is integral to national identity. In conclusion, accounts that discuss the increasing dominance of a postmodern global time are argued to be hyperbolic, since the nation remains a powerful, if more flexible constituent of identity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Liebich Andre

**Searching for the perfect nation: the itinerary of Hans Kohn (1891–1971)**

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 12, Issue 4, October 2006 , 579–596

The 'Hans Kohn Dichotomy', i.e. the distinction between 'Western' and 'Non-Western' nationalism, remains one of the most persistent paradigms in the study of nationalism. This article deals briefly with the terms of Kohn's Dichotomy and with the discussion about it. The main purpose of the article, however, is to problematise the dichotomy in terms of Kohn's personal itinerary which took him from Prague to Russia, and from Britain and Palestine to the United States. Kohn came late to the view that there were two types of nationalism. He adopted this position in the wake of a series of political and personal disappointments, and in response to dramatic historical challenges. In the final analysis, Kohn's Dichotomy was a rhetorical construct, designed to make sense of a world in conflict and to allow Kohn and others, then and later, to come to terms with the hopes and fears raised by nationalism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Blattberg Charles

**Secular nationhood? The importance of language in the life of nations**

in **Nations and Nationalism**, Vol. 12, Issue 4, October 2006 , 597–612

Because of their failure to distinguish enough between interpretation and creation, scholars of nationhood have tended to neglect the role of creativity in both the genesis and persistence of national communities. Giving creativity its due leads us to question the standard conception of nations, and of the states that recognise them, as secular. This, in turn, suggests that we need to interpret the significance that language has for nationalists in a new way. After showing how, the paper concludes with an argument about what this new interpretation should mean for language politics.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Holder Cindy

**Self-Determination as a Universal Human Right**

in **Human Rights Review**, Volume 7, Number 4/July-September 2006 , pp. 5-18

Conventional wisdom suggests that promoting self-determination for peoples and protecting the human rights of individuals are competing priorities. However, many recent international human rights documents include rights of peoples in their lists of basic human rights. In this paper, I defend including at least one people's right, the right to self-determination, in the list of basic rights. Recognizing that self-determination is a constitutive element of human dignity casts state sovereignty in a different light, with interesting consequences both for international law and for philosophical debates about the rights of minorities.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Kymlicka Will

**Staatsgrenzen. Eine liberal-egalitäre Perspektive**

in **Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie**, 54. Jahrgang, Heft 4, 2006 , 549-575

A common language and participation in a common national culture are essential for generating solidarity in modern democratic states. Therefore forms of nation-building that show respect for minority rights are permissible from a liberal egalitarian point of view. Differences in nationality provide a valid basis for determining the location and function of territorial boundaries. As long as there is no gross economic inequality between nations, states should be able to regulate the admission and naturalization of aliens. But liberal egalitarians cannot accept any system of boundaries which condemns some people to poverty while allowing others a life of privilege.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Robertson Roland





## **The Increasing Monopolization of Identity by the State: The Case of the UK and the US**

**in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 12, Number 3-4, Autumn-Winter 2006 , 373-387

The increasing monopolization by the nation-state of personal identity is a neglected feature of contemporary societies. First, there has occurred a somewhat puzzling conjunction between the activities of the state, on the one hand, and the flourishing of intellectual concern with the issue of identity, on the other. Second, it is a prominent feature of current processes of globalization that nation-states have been squeezed together, constraining them to announce their identities in order to highlight uniqueness. A central focus is upon the authoritarian, probably totalitarian, tendencies in the modern world, in spite of the present emphasis upon global democratization.

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### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

#### **Subsection 2. Nationalism**

Levi Lucio

#### **The Rise of American Nationalism**

**in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XIX, n. 3, November

The terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon five years ago on September 11, 2001, are now generally perceived as an historic event which marked the beginning of a new era in world politics. The principal characteristic of this new era is the loss of US invulnerability, demonstrated by the actions of an international terrorist organization; that is, a global non-state actor. Even though the main target was the US, the terrorist bombings in Madrid and London show that all the West is under attack and, besides the West, also moderate Islamic countries, such as Morocco, Egypt, Jordan, Indonesia and so forth.

What is new is the fact that the threat to our security does not come from another state: this enemy hides within our own societies. And yet, the obsession with terrorism has pushed the US to use the same tools against a non-state actor as those usually utilized against states. Hence, the misleading expression "war on terrorism". The stated goal of eradicating international terrorism is far from being reached, although to date the campaign has lasted one year more than WWI and one year less than WWII.

The American response to terrorism is based on nationalism, unilateralism and war. While Europe is progressively giving up nationalism, on the opposite coast of the Atlantic Ocean the US is promoting institutions and policies which reproduce the same evolution toward power centralization, authoritarianism and militarism which was characteristic of the history of the European great powers during the 19th and 20th centuries until 1945. In Iraq, far from being welcomed as a liberation army, American troops are perceived by the population as the vehicle of a foreign mastery. The growing influence of insurgency in Afghanistan shows that a similar process is in progress in that country too. In the world now taking shape in this era of globalization, US foreign policy looks like the vestige of a bygone age.

The main justification for the Iraqi war – to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction – has been proven groundless. The subsequent justification – the exportation of democracy to the Middle East – has been demolished by the revelation of abuse and torture in the Abu Ghraib prison. Moreover, the occupation of Iraq paved the way to terrorism, which was an unknown phenomenon there before the war.



Nor is this all. The struggle against terrorism has proved to be the occasion for an authoritarian turning point in the US, the world's oldest democracy. The new powers conferred by the Patriot Act have enabled the government to restrict individual freedom and to erode the structures established for the protection of human rights against arbitrary state action. The government can now suspend the right of habeas corpus for non-citizens suspected of being connected with terrorism and detain them indefinitely without trial. The Patriot Act permits intelligence activities to infringe the right to privacy and gives unprecedented powers to listen, read and monitor US citizens' activities. Another blatant abuse of power are the so-called extraordinary renditions, i.e. the arrest of suspected terrorists and their transport to foreign countries for imprisonment and interrogation, in order to shun US laws prescribing due process and prohibiting torture. The notorious Guantanamo camp in Cuba, where prisoners are denied the right to challenge their detention in court, is only one example.

In order to prevent terrorists from entering the US and enhance border security, new barriers to restrict international mobility have been instituted. The US is abandoning the cultural flexibility which allowed it to integrate and assimilate millions of immigrants. Now it is blocking claims for citizenship from among the eleven million immigrants without legal status. The tendency towards strengthening the cohesion of the American people has pushed the government to declare English as the national language of the US. The decision to build a wall along the US-Mexico border recalls the Great Wall of China, which was built to withstand the pressure of nomadic populations. Lastly, the Homeland Security Act established a new Department, namely a Ministry of Internal Affairs – the type of ministry which used to be typical of the centralized states of the European continent with their illiberal and police traditions.

More than 200 years ago Alexander Hamilton wrote in The Federalist Papers that "Safety from external danger is the most powerful director of national conduct. ... Nations the most attached to liberty [are compelled] to resort for repose and security to institutions which have a tendency to destroy their civil and political rights. To be more safe, they at length become willing to run the risk of being less free". This is the lesson he learnt from observing the policy of countries on the European continent.

He was able to foresee that, because of its isolation and the lack of prominent military pressures on its borders, the US would not need to develop any imposing military machinery, nor an oppressive police apparatus like those of the continental powers of Europe. Until the World Wars, therefore, the US did not pursue (except for the wars against Mexico and Spain) power politics, but confined itself mostly to preventing foreign countries from invading its territory. The navy was sufficient for this task. Nor was there any need to control citizens' and foreign residents' lives for security reasons.

Yet today, owing to the threat of international terrorism, the US is embarking on the same course of action followed in the past by the continental powers of Europe. US nationalism is the symptom of a dangerous illness, which is the effect of the overload of responsibilities lying on the federal government. Following the European nation-state model – after a delay of two centuries – it is trying to build a homogeneous and closed society based on the adoption of one single language, the fortification of its borders, and suspicion of foreigners who are considered as potential enemies.

If the ultimate cause of the American nationalism lies at the international level, it is here that the remedy must be sought. The defeat of American nationalism and the evolution of the world toward a more peaceful situation can be best assured by the mutual checks created by a balance of forces. The new forces which are emerging in the world states system should convince the US that alone it cannot prevail over terrorism. Only by co-operation among the most responsible countries in the struggle against terrorism, within a strengthened and democratised United Nations, can world peace be achieved.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Bone John**

**The Social Map: Cohesion, Conflict and National Identity**

**in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 12, Number 3-4, Autumn-Winter 2006 , 347-372

The Social Map is an attempt to formulate an integrative theoretical model of individual and collective identity processes that draws upon sociological, psychological and biological knowledge in an effort to move towards a more comprehensive understanding of key questions surrounding the construction of experience and identification. This article summarizes the key features of the approach and considers the way in which it might offer a useful perspective on key questions relating to identities, power relations, social cohesion and conflict, including the way in which the bio-psychosocial processes that underlie these social phenomena can be seen to mediate if not structure their expression at the macro level within and across societies.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Kastoryano Riva**

**Vers un nationalisme transnational. Redéfinir la nation, le nationalisme et le territoire**

**in Revue française de science politique**, Volume 56, Numéro 4, Août , 533-554

Ethnic and religious communities similar to " embryonic nations " within nation states, as well as shared loyalties their members relying on transnational solidarities generate new type of nationalism that is transnational. It is expressed and developed beyond and outside the borders of a single state and its territory, and that arouses nationalist sentiments in both home and host countries, and beyond ; but most important creates new expressions of belonging and a political engagement that reflects the nationalization of communitarian sentiments guided by an " imagined geography ". This article questions if transnational nationalism — non territorial — can be considered as a new — historical — step in the development of nationalism. How this new type of nationalism gives new strength to the national question and becomes an issue of legitimacy in the international system ?

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Jenkins Richard**



**When Politics and Social Theory Converge: Group Identification and Group Rights in Northern Ireland**

**in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 12, Number 3-4, Autumn-Winter 2006 , 389-410

How we conceptualize ethno-national groups is fundamental to understanding changing ethno-national identification and to political debates about identity-based collective rights. This article examines these issues in Northern Ireland, in the context of the Bill of Rights proposed by the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. Rejecting Brubaker's arguments that ethno-national groups are not "real," this article argues that what matters in Northern Ireland is not to weaken ethnic groups and their boundaries, but to change the meaning of identification.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Dietrich Frank

**Zur Legitimation territorialer Ansprüche**

**in Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie**, 54. Jahrgang, Heft 4, 2006 , 577-596

The focus of the article is on the justification of claims of states or separatist movements to certain territories. In the first part, four theories of territorial justice that appear to have the strongest support in current philosophical debates are examined and shown to be defective. Proposals to base territorial rights on individual landownership, historical considerations, the justice of the state, or the principle of national self-determination are rejected for various reasons. The second part argues for a plebiscitary solution; i.e. the majority of the (permanent) residents should decide on conflicting territorial claims.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Gouzy Jean-Pierre

**Altiero Spinelli: un précurseur de l'Europe des citoyens**

**in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 2 , 5-17

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Cohen Antonin

**De congrès en assemblées. La structuration de l'espace politique transnational européen au lendemain de la guerre**

**in Politique européenne** , n. 18, 2006

En parcourant l'espace national et transnational des mobilisations européennes au lendemain de la guerre, à travers trois « moments fondateurs », le Congrès de La Haye, le Plan Schuman et le Conseil Européen de Vigilance, cette



article entend restituer la structure relationnelle des concurrences entre élites nationales dans la genèse des entreprises politiques et des produits institutionnels différenciés qui ont donné corps à l'Europe. En analysant les types de capitaux investis dans ces mobilisations, il se propose de rapporter les clivages « idéologiques » qui sont réputés avoir déterminé les prises de positions « nationales » sur l'avenir de l'Europe aux oppositions « sociales » entre ces élites concurrentes, et notamment à propos de l'enjeu central de ces mobilisations : l'institution d'une représentation parlementaire européenne.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Cohen Antonin

**De la révolution nationale à l'Europe fédérale. Les métamorphoses de la troisième voie aux origines du mouvement fédéraliste français : La Fédération (1943-1948)**

in *Mouvement Social (Le)*, n° 217, Octobre-décembre 2006 , 53-72

Retracing the origins of the French movement La Fédération, this article aims at illustrating the metamorphosis of the personalist and communitarian third way in the 1940s : from « corporatism » to « federalism ». One of the first and main movements mobilizing in favour of a united Europe, La Fédération is also a product of the investments that paved the way for a national revolution under the Vichy regime. Analyzing the regroupings and reconversions which favoured the ideological and practical continuities of the third way, this article more generally aims at questioning the structure of political cleavages that arose in the postwar period regarding the European issue.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Gouzy Jean-Pierre

**Denis de Rougemont, l'Europe et la crise du XXe siècle**

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 3 , 33-52

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Mori Massimo

**Friede und Föderalismus bei Kant**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 53, Heft 4, 2006 , 379-392

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Graml Hermann

**Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster – ein früher Anwalt deutsch-französischer Verständigung**



in *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, 38 (2006), 3

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Heissmeyer Thomas

**L'Ordre nouveau. The Legitimization of a Theory**

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 2 , 29-42

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Terranova Flavio

**L'antifascismo di Carlo Rosselli. Dall'interventismo rivoluzionario al federalismo europeo**

in *Pensiero Politico (II)*, anno XXXIX, n. 1, gennaio-aprile 2006 , 49-67

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Coudenhove-Kalergi Richard N.

**Pour l'histoire: La paix de demain (1939)**

in *Politique Etrangère*, 4/2006 (hiver)

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Tampio Nicholas

**Redefining Kant's Legacy**

in *Political Theory* , Volume 34, n. 6, December , 807-813

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Somek Alexander

**Stateless Law: Kelsen's Conception and its Limits**





in *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Volume 26, Number 4, Winter , 753-774

Hans Kelsen's claim that the state and the law are identical is surrounded by a somewhat mystical air. Yet, the 'identity thesis' loses much of its mystical aura when it is seen as an attempt to recast the state, qua social fact, in deontological terms. The state is seen as a condition necessary to account for the validity of legal acts. Indeed, the meaning of the state is reduced to the function performed by a conception of order in the reproduction of a system of norms. No further social fact would attest to its existence. From a sociological point of view, all law is essentially, and principally, law sans state

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Caswell Matthew

**The Value of Humanity and Kant's Conception of Evil**

in *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, Volume 44, Number 4, October 2006

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Axtmann Roland

**'The Myth of 1648': Some Musings of a Sceptical Weberian**

in *International Politics*, Vol. 43, n. 5, November , 519-525

This contribution sketches Max Weber's model of historical causation and contrasts it to Robert Brenner's property relations approach, as appropriated by Teschke. A consideration of theoretical and methodological differences is complemented by a substantive argument concerning the role of religion in state formation. It is suggested that Teschke's focus on the 'logic of exploitation' leads to his marginalizing the role of religion and the importance of the collective action of 'ordinary people'.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Spruyt Hendrik

**1648 and the Myths of Westphalia - Genealogy, Territorial Acquisition and The Capitalist State**

in *International Politics*, Vol. 43, n. 5, November , 511-518

This essay argues that one can distinguish various generative explanations of the state and the international system. By discussing Benno Teschke's work it examines, and questions, whether the mode of production can be treated as ontologically primary to other domains — the political, military, or ideological spheres. The behavior ascribed to capitalist states as England does not comport with the empirical evidence. Instead this essay suggests that hybrid theories, which



privilege no single category of causal variables, can provide more accurate insights. The argument that territorial acquisition and capitalism are antithetical applies more accurately to the advent of the international order of the post-World War II period.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Andronache Laura**

**A National Identity Republicanism?**

**in European Journal of Political Theory**, Vol. 5, n. 4, October , 399-414

This article attempts to bring into discussion concepts from contemporary theories of republicanism from the vantage point of the particular theory of republican citizenship advocated by David Miller, and based on national identity. It emerges from the discussion of his notions of national identity and republican citizenship that he works with two parallel notions of political obligation: one that can be intimated from Miller's Rousseauian vision of a political community as a community of common will, and another that can be derived from his discussion of republican citizenship as a practice of deliberation. After identifying these two notions of political obligation as ancestral obligation and political obligation as public practice I proceed to show that they work independently of one another, and that the latter is to be preferred to the former. I conclude by suggesting that these findings entitle us to think that national identity is neither a necessary nor a desirable foundation for republican citizenship.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Ehs Tamara**

**Behelf Europa. Zur Instrumentalisierung der europäischen Einigungsidee für die Konstituierung und Legitimierung der Schweiz**

**in Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte**, n. 56/3 , 349-354

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Leeson Peter T.**

**Cooperation and Conflict. Evidence on Self-Enforcing Arrangements and Heterogeneous Groups**

**in American Journal of Economics and Sociology**, October 2006 - Vol. 65 Issue 4 , 891-907

A conventional wisdom in the literature contends that without a system of formal enforcement, heterogeneous groups are unable to peacefully interact for mutual benefit and are prone to eruptions of violent conflict. This article maintains that the amount of such conflict has been dramatically overstated and the occurrence of peaceful interaction



dramatically understated. The common view reverses the empirical reality of the world. Historical evidence indicates that where formal institutions are absent, heterogeneous individuals signal credibility to one another by engaging in shared customs and practices, enabling peaceful intergroup exchange. This evidence challenges prevailing beliefs and suggests that peaceful cooperation characterizes most heterogeneous group interaction.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bertram Christopher**

**Cosmopolitanism and inequality**

in **Res Publica**, Volume 12, Number 3, September , 327-336

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Teschke Benno**

**Debating 'The Myth of 1648': State Formation, the Interstate System and the Emergence of Capitalism in Europe — A Rejoinder**

in **International Politics** , Vol. 43, n. 5, November , 531-573

This rejoinder restates and develops the central theses of 'The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics and the Making of Modern International Relations' in relation to a set of objections raised from the perspective of IR Historical Sociology by Hendrik Spruyt, of Political and Social Theory by Roland Axtmann and of Political Geography by John Agnew. Most centrally, it re-affirms the charge of a defective historicisation and theorisation of 'Westphalia' in the discipline of International Relations, while suggesting that a Marxist perspective that emphasises the spatio-temporally differentiated and geopolitically mediated development of Europe is capable of providing a new long-term interpretive framework for the complex co-development of capitalism, state building and the interstate system. It thereby pleads for a paradigm-shift in IR Theory and IR Historical Sociology.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Crockatt Richard, Ninkovich Frank, tephanson Anders**

**Dialoghi: George W. Bush e le tradizioni della politica estera statunitense.**

in **Ricerche di Storia Politica**, n. 3, novembre 2006 , 399-410

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*



Gleditsch Kristian, Ward Michael

**Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization**  
in *International Organization*, issue 4, vol. 60, october , 911-933

ABSTRACT: Democracy does not evolve sui generis. The spatial clustering in democracy and transitions suggests that international factors play a prominent role in forging democracies as well as influencing their durability. We argue that democracy often comes about as a result of changes in the relative power of important actors and groups as well as their evaluations of particular institutions, both of which are often influenced by forces outside the country in question. The scope and extent of connections with other democratic countries in a region can strengthen support for democratic reform and help sustain institutions in transitional democracies. Results from a transition model demonstrate that international factors can exert a strong influence on the prospects for transitions to democracy, and the spatial clustering in democracy and transitions cannot adequately be explained by the hypothesized domestic social requisites of individual countries.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Urbinati Nadia

**Esportare la democrazia senza l'elmetto**

in *Reset*, Numero 98, Novembre / Dicembre

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Altini Carlo

**Europa, o della filosofia**

in *Iride*, Numero 48, Agosto , 359-366

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Sedra Mark

**European Approaches to Security Sector Reform: Examining Trends through the Lens of Afghanistan**

in *European Security*, Volume 15, Number 3, September , 323-338

Since its emergence in the late 1990s, the security sector reform model has come to be accepted as an indispensable element of democratic transitions and state-building projects. Europe has been an incubator for the concept, which is rooted in the notion of human security. While the model's normative framework has reached an advanced stage of development, it has produced few clear successes, revealing a 'conceptual-contextual divide'. Placed under new pressure due to a shift in security thinking following 11 September 2001, the model faces an identity crisis. The Afghanistan process, above all, has demonstrated the need for new debate in Europe and elsewhere on the direction



and structure of the model.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Dervis Kemal**

**Governance and Development**

**in Journal of Democracy**, Volume 17, Number 4, October , 153-159

The exact causal relationships between democracy and economic growth may be subject to debate. The empirical examination of causal links should not lead one to forget, however, that human empowerment and well-being, which should be the ultimate objective of political and economic institutions, requires both democratic institutions and economic prosperity. Embedding a vibrant market economy into strong democratic political institutions--institutions that promote fairness and equity--is the best way to ensure that political and economic empowerment play equal and complementary roles in improving the lives of citizens across the world.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Howe Stephen**

**Idee di impero in Gran Bretagna attorno al 1900**

**in Ricerche di Storia Politica**, n. 3, novembre 2006 , 335-343

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Giuspoli Paolo**

**Identità nazionale e circolazione della filosofia in Europa: gli sviluppi ottocenteschi della storiografia filosofica**

**in Rivista di Storia della Filosofia**, 2006, Fascicolo 3 , 733-746

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Gallo Ernesto**

**Il dibattito sull'impero nella teoria politica novecentesca**

**in Ricerche di Storia Politica**, n. 3, novembre 2006

No abstract available



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Federico Romero**

**Il più problematico di tutti gli imperi: l'esperienza degli Stati Uniti**

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, n. 3, novembre 2006 , 359-366

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Pons Silvio**

**Imperialismo, statalismo e ideologia nell'esperienza sovietica**

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, n. 3, novembre 2006 , 367-374

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Corni Gustavo**

**Impero e spazio vitale nella visione e nella prassi delle dittature (1919-1945)**

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, n. 3, novembre 2006 , 345-358

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Tzoref-Ashkenazi Chen**

**India and the Identity of Europe: The Case of Friedrich Schlegel**

in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 67, Number 4, October , 713-734

This paper examines Friedrich Schlegel's conception of an Oriental Renaissance through the study of ancient India. In his book *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* Schlegel compared his project of Sanskrit studies to the Humanistic Renaissance, but in practice hoped the study of India would reverse the modernizing effects of the original Renaissance. His study of India was aimed at a redefinition of European and German cultural and national identities rather than broadening the horizons of Europe to a global perspective.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Formigoni Guido**





**Introduzione: l'impero e gli imperi nel Novecento**

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, n. 3, novembre 2006 , 303-306

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Montbrial Thierry de

**Le "système international": approches et dynamiques**

in *Politique Etrangère*, 4/2006 (hiver)

L'approche praxéologique des relations internationales permet de contourner le problème que pose la définition d'un "système international" fondamentalement –et peut-être de plus en plus– hétérogène, au moins quant à ses acteurs. Ainsi peuvent être identifiés des problèmes internationaux spécifiques –crises régionales, prolifération nucléaire, terrorisme– à propos desquels les États, toujours dominants sur la scène internationale, sont en mesure de développer leur coopération.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Dabringhaus Sabine , Osterhammel Jürgen

**Le tradizioni imperiali della Cina: dall'impero Ching alla moderna nazione imperiale**

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, n. 3, novembre 2006 , 375-386

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Romanelli Raffaele

**L'impero nell'età degli Stati**

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, n. 3, novembre 2006 , 315-322

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Sokoloff William W.

**Nietzsche's Radicalization of Kant**

in *Polity*, Volume 38, Number 4, October , 501-518

According to liberals and postmodernists, Nietzsche and Kant occupy opposing places on the theoretical spectrum. I



challenge this assumption and argue that Nietzsche is working both with and against Kant in terms of his new morality. Nietzsche's harsh rhetoric against Kant serves as a mask that, on closer examination, conceals similarities. Through an analysis of some of his texts, I demonstrate that Nietzsche works within a Kantian conception of moral autonomy in terms of two of his most provocative formulations: pathos of distance and law of life. Nietzsche's critique of resentment, moreover, illustrates his commitment to Kantian assumptions about moral conduct. Bringing Kant and Nietzsche together yields a new image of autonomy that overcomes the sovereign subjectivity central to the Kantian conception.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Della Sala Vincent

**Oltre la trasformazione e l'adattamento dello stato**

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XXXVI, Numero 2, Agosto , 207-230

The two dominant narratives on the changing role of the state – that of its transformation and that of its adaptation – face a number of understanding recent developments. The article argues that they fail to account for changes in the scope of state action, and that arguments about state transformation or adaptation provide normative and conceptual maps that help shape changes to the state. Using recent examples from advanced industrialised society, it demonstrates that notions of transformation and adaptation have helped create a post-national, post-political, post-social competitive state.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Richmond Oliver P.

**Patterns of Peace**

in *Global Society*, Vol. 20, n. 4, October 2006 , 367-394

Different strategies are used to conceptualise peace in the literature on International Relations, peace and conflict studies. These have included strategies based upon the notion that peace is geographically contained, and constructed by race, identity, ideology, or power, and has universal qualities, although it is also utopian and unlikely to be fully achieved. What has developed more recently in the relevant literature is a hybrid version of peace - the liberal peace. This is universal, attainable, and dependent upon a specific methodology. The following essay outlines the main discursive characteristics associated with peace, and with the emergence of the concept of the liberal peace. It outlines the patterns of thought prevalent in the conceptualisation of peace, and their ontological and epistemological implications in the context of the liberal peace framework.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Cerny Philip G.

**Restructuring the state in a globalizing world: capital accumulation, tangled hierarchies and the search for a new spatio-temporal fix**

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 13, Number 4 / October 2006 , 679-695



A main concern of debates on the changing role and form of the state and the relationship of these with the process of globalization has been the role of capitalism. Jessop, a well known exponent of Marxist political theory, tackles the broader range of issues but, like the urban sociologist Brenner, is most interesting when he writes about the institutional restructuring or 'rescaling' of the state along lines that go well beyond multi-level governance to unstable 'tangled hierarchies' and the still nebulous search for a 'new spatio-temporal fix' for social, political and economic organization. Both authors seek to give socio-political variables a higher degree of independence in explaining change and eschew economic determinism, although the central importance they give to 'accumulation strategies' and, in Jessop's case, to Marxist theories of value, make this assertion problematic from a non-Marxist perspective. Thus although the authors emphasize the significance of 'extra-economic' interactions between complex interests and actors, I argue that they also retain a sense that there is an underlying economic-structural imperative at work 'in the last analysis'.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Erman Eva

#### **Rethinking Accountability in the Context of Human Rights**

**in Res Publica**, Volume 12, Number 3, September , 249-275

Within liberal democratic theory, 'democratic accountability' denotes an aggregative method for linking political decisions to citizens' preferences through representative institutions. Could such a notion be transferred to the global context of human rights? Various obstacles seem to block such a transfer: there are no 'world citizens' as such; many people in need of human rights are not citizens of constitutional democratic states; and the aggregative methods that are supposed to sustain the link are often used in favour of nation-state strategic action rather than human rights. So what could accountability mean in relation to human rights? This article argues that discourse theory offers resources for approaching these problems and for rethinking a normative notion of accountability in relation to human rights. It is suggested that accountability should link political decisions to universal agreements through global rights institutions and that the link should be sustained by deliberative rather than aggregative procedures.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Buxton Julia

#### **Securing Democracy in Complex Environments**

**in Democratization**, Vol. 13, n. 5, December , 709-723

Democratization and its editors have played a valuable role in addressing and analysing the rise of democracy promotion.<sup>1</sup> More recently, broader attention has focused on the challenges facing, and the limitations of, the activities that are undertaken by governments and non-governmental organizations with the aim of spreading and upholding democratic forms of government. Concurrent with this questioning of democracy promotion strategies, the 'transitology' paradigm, which is based on the voluntaristic premise that democracy can be cultivated in any environment, has also come under critical analysis.<sup>2</sup> This issue aims to build on this body of scholarship, which raises serious doubts as to the democratizing impact of democracy promotion and also the conceptual thinking, such as transitology, that informs these activities.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Maggi Giovanni, Morelli Massimo**

**Self-Enforcing Voting in International Organizations**

**in American Economic Review**, Vol. 96, No. 4, September 2006

Some international organizations are governed by unanimity rule, others by (simple or qualified) majority rules. Standard voting models, which assume that the decisions made by voting are perfectly enforceable, have a hard time explaining the observed variation in governance mode, and in particular the widespread occurrence of the unanimity system. We present a model whose main departure from standard voting models is that the organization cannot rely on external enforcement mechanisms: each country is sovereign and cannot be forced to comply with the collective decision or, in other words, the voting system must be self-enforcing. The model identifies conditions under which the organization adopts the unanimity rule, and yields rich comparative-statics predictions on the determinants of the mode of governance.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Tesauro G.**

**Sovranità degli Stati e integrazione comunitaria**

**in Diritto dell'Unione europea**, Anno: 2006 - Fascicolo: 2 , 235

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**El Ouali Abdelhamid**

**Territorial Integrity: Rethinking the Territorial Sovereign Right of the Existence of the States**

**in Geopolitics**, Vol. 11, n. 4, Winter , 630-650

Legal contemporary doctrine has a reified approach to the state. This has led to the perception that territorial integrity is the completeness/unity of the state territory. Amazingly international relations and political geography scholars have not enquired about the link between territoriality and territorial integrity. In essence the principle of territorial integrity is the elaborated and sophisticated legal expression of territoriality. It is intimately linked to the state as a legal entity the main objective of which is to ensure its perennial existence within a specific territory whose borders have been established in accordance with international law. I think that the life of an institution implies that we are able to criticize, to transform, to open the institution to its own future. So the law as such can be deconstructed and has to be deconstructed. That is the condition of historicity, revolution, morals, ethics, and progress. (J. Derrida)



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kalyvas Andreas, Katznelson Ira

**The Republic of the Moderns: Paine's and Madison's Novel Liberalism**

in *Polity*, Volume 38, Number 4, October , 447-477

The relationship between republicanism and liberalism has emerged as a central issue for students of political thought. Neo-republican scholars in particular have advanced a stark conceptual opposition between two competing intellectual and political projects, and have claimed that liberalism decisively defeated and replaced republicanism. By contrast, in exploring the writings of Thomas Paine and James Madison, this article shows how they initiated a radical and unexpected reconfiguration within the republican tradition that fashioned a surprisingly liberal doctrine for a modern republic. Their "republic of the moderns," we argue, altered the contours and content of classical republicanism, transmuting it into an important strand of liberal political thought and institutions.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Strauss Danie F. M.

**The rise of the modern (idea of the) state**

in *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* , Volume 33, Number 2 / August , 183 - 195

Some of the main contours of the development of Western society from ancient Greece and through the medieval era up to the rise of the modern state constitute the substance of this article. In the course of the argumentation the actual history of state formation and the gradual emergence of the idea of the state are accounted for in their mutual intertwinement. It is argued that the transition from the ecclesiastically unified medieval culture to the early starting points for the rise of the modern state is intimately connected to the difference between a kingdom and a republic. But this article stops without entering into a discussion of modern political theories and contemporary political practices—a theme reserved for a different (follow-up) investigation.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Senarclens Pierre de

**Théories et pratiques des relations internationales depuis la fin de la guerre froide**

in *Politique Etrangère*, 4/2006 (hiver)

L'effondrement de l'Union soviétique a considérablement modifié les pratiques des relations internationales et a suscité des débats théoriques qui se poursuivent encore. L'école réaliste, dominante pendant la guerre froide, a été remise en cause par les tenants du transnationalisme. Chaque courant de pensée permet, à sa manière, d'éclairer le monde dans



lequel nous vivons, et les théories doivent être perçues davantage comme des outils interprétatifs que comme des dogmes infaillibles.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sandole Dennis J. D.**

**Traditional "Realism" versus the "New" Realism: John W. Burton, Conflict Prevention, and the Elusive "Paradigm Shift"**

in **Global Society**, Vol. 20, n. 4, October 2006 , 543-562

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Formigoni Guido**

**Tre "dopoguerra" e quattro modelli di impero: 1918, 1945, 1989**

in **Ricerche di Storia Politica**, n. 3, novembre 2006 , 387-398

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Gräser Marcus**

**Weltgeschichte im Nationalstaat. Die transnationale Disposition der amerikanischen Geschichtswissenschaft**

in **Historische Zeitschrift**, Band 283, Heft 2: Oktober 2006 , 355-382

Wie kaum eine der europäischen Historiographien hat die amerikanische Geschichtswissenschaft in den zurückliegenden Jahren das Interesse an World History/Global History forciert und zugleich eine transnationale Perspektive auf die Geschichte des eigenen Landes eröffnet.

Ermöglicht wird dies durch die hohe Internationalität der Historikerinnen und Historiker (und der Studierenden) an amerikanischen Universitäten.

Auch die Verunsicherung der Geschichtswissenschaft durch

Poststrukturalismus, Postcolonial Studies und den Vorwurf der „Syntheseunfähigkeit“ haben dazu beigetragen: Die ‚Aufhebung‘ der Nationalgeschichte in transnationalen Zusammenhängen mag als Versuch einer Synthese ‚neuen Typs‘ erscheinen. Die Ursachen für das transnationale Interesse der amerikanischen Geschichtswissenschaft aber sind älter und verweisen auf die Zeit zwischen 1890 und 1920, in der sich die professionalisierte Geschichtswissenschaft konstituierte: Die Einbettung der Nation in den größeren Zusammenhang einer „Civilization“ (auch als Ausdruck des Zweifels am Gewicht der eigenen, jungen Nationalgeschichte), die Herausbildung einer partikularen Geschichtskultur in der Einwanderergesellschaft, schließlich der geringe institutionelle Nexus zwischen dem hochschulpolitisch desinteressierten Nationalstaat

und der überwiegend an privaten Universitäten betriebenen





historischen Forschung (und Lehre) haben zur Herausbildung einer stabilen transnationalen Disposition in der amerikanischen Geschichtswissenschaft beigetragen.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Hayman P. A., Williams John

**Westphalian Sovereignty: Rights, Intervention, Meaning and Context**  
in **Global Society**, Vol. 20, n. 4, October 2006 , 521-541

Over the last two centuries or so sovereignty has proved to be an enigmatic institution, at once constant and changing. Presently, it faces sustained and diffuse siege. Relatively few studies have approached this enigmatic institution from a semantic angle. This paper assesses the meaning of sovereignty within a framework of competing logics as it faces up to a key normative challenge - human rights - bringing together the apparently conflicting norms of non-intervention and intervention against a background of discourse analysis. From "Westphalia" to the current logics of action and normative theory, the discussion places the institution of sovereignty against current, intra-disciplinary factors as an addition to the literature that serves to underscore how a fundamentally re-imagined concept is required, in theory and practice, to account for and promote humanitarian needs.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Cole Lorence

**"Crisi crescente" o "crisi di crescita": l'impero asburgico all'inizio del XX secolo**  
in **Ricerche di Storia Politica**, n. 3, novembre 2006 , 323-334

No abstract available