Bulletin n. 1/2007 - June 2007

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in **Revue internationale de droit comparé**, Vol. 59 n. 1 , 107 - 142

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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
Thorlakson Lori
An institutional explanation of party system congruence: Evidence from six federations
in **European Journal of Political Research**, issue 1, vol. 46, january , 69-95

ABSTRACT: The allocation of resources between the federal and state levels of government is a key institutional variable explaining the congruence or similarity of party systems. It affects the incentives voters and parties face, and opportunities for cleavage mobilization. This article pioneers measures for comparing congruence across federations. Evidence from state and federal elections in six federations produces clear evidence that party systems are least congruent in decentralized federations and most congruent in centralized federations. Voter behaviour, indicated by the variation of electoral support for parties across units of the federation and the similarity of swings in support between the state and federal levels, is most responsive to the allocation of resources. Party system structure is less responsive to this variable.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
de Figueiredo Jr. Rui J. P., McFaul Michael, Weingast Barry R.
Constructing Self-Enforcing Federalism in the Early United States and Modern Russia
in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 37, Number 2, Spring , 160-189

All federal systems face the two fundamental dilemmas of federalism: too strong a center risks overawing the subnational units; and too weak a center risks free-riding that makes the system fall apart. Resolving the two dilemmas is problematic because mitigating one dilemma exacerbates the other. We develop a model of federal institutions that shows the circumstances under which both dilemmas can be solved so that federal institutions are self-enforcing. We apply our approach to modern Russia where we suggest that when the center is too strong, its ability to extract rents increases and the benefits for maintaining participation in the federal bargain disappears. We also suggest strong parallels between Russia and those of the early United States under the Articles of Confederation.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Kolb R.
Du domaine réservé – Réflexions sur la théorie de la compétence nationale
in Revue générale de droit international publique, Vol. 110 n. 3

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Berg Eiki
Examining Power-sharing in Persistent Conflicts: De Facto Pseudo-statehood versus de JureQuasi-federalism
in Global Society, Volume 21, Issue 2, April , 199-217

The reasons that explain the failures in power-sharing lie in the notions of sovereignty and territoriality and their applications in the (post-)modern world. While territory is largely perceived as indivisible, sovereignty is seen as something that could be shared. Power-sharing schemes tend to fail because of the incompatibility of these two principles. Although enduring compromises between facts and norms may allow talks about diffused power and fuzzy identities and are therefore an asset, they do not offer a recipe of how to end zero-sum games and provide communal security. The aim of this paper is to examine comparatively recent attempts to resolve persistent conflicts through power-sharing in Cyprus, Moldova and Bosnia & Herzegovina. It concludes that although power-sharing is compatible with the normative categories stipulated in international law, solving modern conflicts necessitates a rethinking of the concepts over which these conflicts are taking place.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Requejo Coll F.
Federalisme, descentralització i pluralisme nacional: teoría política i anàlisi comparada
in Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals, n. 4 , 35 - 68

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Aroney Nicholas
Formation, Representation and Amendment in Federal Constitutions
in American Journal of Comparative Law, vol. 54 - n. 2 , 277-336

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Stoiber Michael
Gewaltenteilung, Machtteilung und das Vetospieler-Konzept
in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 17. Jahrgang (2007), Heft 1 , 21-41

Separation of Power, Power Sharing and the Veto Player Theory

The concept of the separation of power is positioned in normative political theory while the veto player theory is an empirical-analytical concept. To bring them together, I distinguish two traditions in the history of ideas. The functional separation of power is part of models of the sovereignty of the people (Locke, Rousseau, Sieyes and Kant). Power sharing refers to Montesquieu and figures prominently in the Federalist Papers. Tsebelis' veto player theory can be connected to the latter tradition and can be used to find out the actual degree of power sharing. I propose a modification to allow for additional elements, especially the inclusion of societal actors. The aim is to identify different mechanisms of the political game to compare political systems by mapping them on a "vector of power sharing".

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Bolleyer Nicole
Intergovernmental Arrangements in Spanish and Swiss Federalism: the Impact of Power-Concentrating and Power-Sharing Executives on Intergovernmental Institutionalization
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 16, Number 4 / December , 385-408

This article argues that the mode of decision making within federal sub-units affects the organizational patterns of intergovernmental relations (IGR) through which regional actors engage in cross-jurisdictional co-operation. In a nutshell, majoritarian executive-legislative relations tend to weaken the institutionalization of intergovernmental arrangements (IGAs), while power-sharing executive-legislative relations tend to facilitate it.

This is, first, because one-party majority cabinets tend to increase ideological differences between the sub-units. Secondly, complete government alternations - which are less likely given coalition or oversized governments - strongly alter actors' interest constellations over time, thereby increasing the costs of maintaining stable intergovernmental structures. Thirdly, the heavy impact of a potential electoral loss induces politicians to shift the blame to the other governments, thereby undermining the potential for cross-boundary co-operation. Finally, autonomy losses caused by intergovernmental co-operation are higher for parties which govern alone when compared to coalition governments.

Based on a typology of power-limiting democracies, which distinguishes federal systems along their respective executive-legislative relations, Spain and Switzerland are selected as cases. The analysis indicates that the much more power-concentrating executive-legislative relations within the Spanish regions and the power-sharing executive-legislative relations within the Swiss cantons help to explain why Spanish regional actors resort to ad hoc co-ordination within a weakly institutionalized environment instead of establishing strong IGAs as the Swiss regional actors.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Roust Kevin, Shvetsova Olga
Representative Democracy as a Necessary Condition for the Survival of a Federal Constitution
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Volume 37, Number 2, Spring , 244-261

It does not follow from the supposition that the union is beneficial that its terms would go unchallenged by its members. The argument in this article suggests that federal stability (robustness) requires for itself a well-functioning democratic process, which satisfies a fairly restrictive condition. A necessary condition for the resiliency of the federal regime is a representative democracy; furthermore, it is the representative democracy in which rewards to the representatives are only in part vested in their parochial constituencies, while in the other part come form other sources, e.g., from an oversized at-large coalition. The requirement to the democratic process is, of course, only a necessary, not a sufficient condition for the federal success. Yet, we argue in this essay that only the states with well-developed (properly institutionalized) democratic electoral competition have a chance to form a resilient federal union and sustain their federal constitutional arrangements not just in form, but in their political practice as well.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Castles Francis G., Uhr John
The Australian Welfare State: Has Federalism Made a Difference?
in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 53, Issue 1, March , 96-117

This paper examines the historical development of the Australian welfare state with a view to identifying the role that Australia's federal constitutional arrangements have played in shaping that development. Theoretical paradigms have been unanimous in their prognoses: that federal states are likely to be slow in developing welfare state programmes and typically spend less on them than unitary states. But recently it has been argued that federal institutions may have a "ratchet effect" of slowing down the pace of change, irrespective of its direction. The purpose of this chronological account of significant stages in the development of the Australian welfare state is to use the unfolding of historical events — far too rich in nuance and detail to be captured in quantitative modelling — as a test-bed for establishing whether, and, if so, to what extent, federalism has impacted on the trajectory of Australian welfare state development.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Miller Lisa
The Representational Biases of Federalism: Scope and Bias in the Political Process, Revisited
in Perspectives on Politics, issue 2, vol. 5, june , 305-321

ABSTRACT: In 1960, E.E. Schattschneider noted that every change in the scope of political conflict has a bias; political

conflicts that are localized tend to be highly restrictive, while nationalizing conflicts can draw in previously excluded groups. In contrast to this conventional wisdom, this paper suggests that the question of which venues are open to which interests is an empirical one.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Anderson Lawrence M.
Theorizing Federalism in Iraq
in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 17, Number 2 / June , 159-171

The debate regarding whether federalism can manage, prevent or resolve conflict in deeply divided societies while maintaining the territorial integrity of existing states is ongoing - both on the ground and in the theoretical literature. This paper explores one central facet of the debate about federalism through an exploration of the case of Iraq. It is argued that institutional features of federalism and realities on the ground make Iraq uniquely vulnerable to secessionist pressures. However, not all federations (and not all federalisms) are equally vulnerable to secessionist pressures. By exploring features of Iraqi federalism and the Iraqi state that will make it vulnerable to secessionist pressures, this paper provides some direction in resolving the paradox of federalism - the contradictory finding (and assertion) that federalism seems to both facilitate and prevent secessionist conflict.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Tillin Louise
United in Diversity? Asymmetry in Indian Federalism
in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 37, Number 1, Winter , 45-67

Many studies highlight constitutional asymmetry as a desirable feature of federal systems in multinational countries. This article looks at India which, mainly because of the special provisions for Kashmir in the 1950 constitution and the status of newer small states in the north-east, is generally described as asymmetrically federal. I show that, while India exhibits considerable de facto asymmetry, asymmetry in the constitutional powers granted to individual states has (i) not been important for India's ability to ‘hold together’ as often assumed and (ii) not entailed special protection of cultural or national minorities. I thus cast doubt on the normative political philosophy, particularly informed by Canadian and Spanish debates, that advances the idea of asymmetrical federalism as a model of governance in potentially divided societies.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 1.The theory of federation
Bednar Jenna
Valuing Exit Options
in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 37, Number 2, Spring , 190-208

This article examines an important aspect of federalism: the effect of a secession threat on the union's productivity. Productivity requires a compliance maintenance regime with credible punishment. An exit option gives a government the

alternative of opting out of the union rather than suffer the disutility of a punishment. Equilibria are characterized over a continuous range of exit option values. The results indicate that only exit options that are superior to union membership improve utility; those of moderate value decrease net and individual government utility due to their harmful effect on compliance maintenance. A prescription that emerges from these results is that if the exit option is inferior to the benefit from a thriving union, member governments should voluntarily submit to measures that make exit as costly as possible.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Rossano Claudio
Clausola di supremazia e meccanismi di raccordo tra Stato e regioni nella difficile scelta tra riforma e attuazione del Titolo V
in Federalismi, Anno V, n. 1

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Linder Wolf
Die deutsche Föderalismusreform — von außen betrachtet. Ein Vergleich von Systemproblemen des deutschen und des schweizerischen Föderalismus
in Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Heft 1, 48. Jahrgang, März , 3-16

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Bifulco R.
Il federalismo nel secolo XXI: un resoconto della riforma costituzionale tedesca del 2006
in Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico, n. 1 , 225 - 246

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
De Petris A.
L'"antiriforma" del federalismo tedesco: un giano istituzionale
in Nomos, n. 3 , 33 - 47

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Palermo Francesco
La coincidenza degli opposti: l'ordinamento tedesco e il federalismo asimmetrico
in Federalismi, Anno V , n. 3

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Oversloot Hans
Reordering the State (without Changing the Constitution): Russia under Putin's Rule, 2000-2008
in Review of Central & East European Law, Vol. 32, Issue 1, , 41-64

In the present article, it is assumed that V.V. Putin will not have the 1993 Constitution of the Russian Federation changed in order to help him arrange for a prolonged stay as President of Russia after his second term expires in 2008. It is also assumed that there will be no constitutional changes as to the power and the position of the prime-minister which would allow for an immediate 'return' of V.V. Putin in another capacity, namely as prime-minister, with much the same powers as he presently holds as President. The author expects that Putin will be true to his word in that he will maintain the 1993 Constitution (with the exception of minor change), that he will show to be—to use the Russian constitutional terminology—the garant of this Constitution.

Nevertheless, within the framework of the 1993 Constitution, substantial changes have been made in the ordering of the Russian state, by federal law, by other means. The subordination of the subjects of the Russian Federation to the federal center, the 'emancipation' of state-politics from party politics, the 'emancipation' of democracy itself from party-politics, the penetration of societal organizations by state institutions (upravliaemaia demokratiia or suverennaia demokratiia), and the accompanying (state-) ideological changes, which have come about especially during Putin's second term, all add up to what is expected to be a lasting legacy. Putin has not changed the 1993 Constitution; he has given it its definite reading (interpretation) as it were.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Goode J. Paul
The puzzle of Putin's gubernatorial appointments
in Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 59, Issue 3 May , 365 - 399

This article confronts the puzzles at the heart of Vladimir Putin's decision to eliminate Russia's gubernatorial elections: specifically, the lack of resistance among the regions to Putin's proposal, and the relative ease and speed with which

electoral institutions were dismantled. It considers explanations at the central and regional levels, revealing that the Kremlin engaged regional interests and incentives to make the system of appointments seem appealing. After considering competing accounts of Putin's objectives, analysis then focuses on the Kremlin's revival of Soviet-era institutional practices as serving to make the elimination of gubernatorial elections seemingly inevitable while rendering compliance as obligatory.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 2.Constitutional reform
Jeffery Charlie
Towards a new understanding of multi-level governance in Germany? The Federalism Reform debate and European integration
in **Politische Vierteljahresschrift**, Heft 1, 48. Jahrgang, März , 17-27

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences
Krückels Malte
Eigennutz-Föderalismus
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, März, 2007 , 268-271

Am 8. März wird die Föderalismuskommission II unter Leitung ihrer beiden Vorsitzenden, des baden-württembergischen Ministerpräsidenten Günther Oettinger und des Vorsitzenden der SPD-Bundestagsfraktion Peter Struck, zu ihrer konstituierenden Sitzung im Bundestag zusammenkommen. Teilnehmen werden auch die Vorsitzenden der kommunalen Spitzenverbände.1 Nicht beteiligt sein wird hingegen, wie schon bei der Erarbeitung der ersten, im Juni 2006 beschlossenen ...

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
Antonelli Vincenzo
Per una unità della Repubblica costruita dal basso
in **Giurisprudenza Costituzionale**, fasc. 3 , 2615-2647

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences
Palermo Francesco
Quali vie d’uscita allo stallo del titolo V?
in **Federalismi**, Anno V , n. 2

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 3.The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences
Viotto Regina
Studiengebühren contra Föderalismusreform
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Mai, 2007 , 525-528

Nach langen Verhandlungen trat im September vergangenen Jahres die erste Stufe der Föderalismusreform in Kraft. Bekanntlich war die Föderalismus- Kommission im Dezember 2004 zunächst gescheitert, weil über die Neuordnung der Bildungskompetenzen zwischen Bund und Ländern keine Einigung erzielt werden konnte. Ziel der Reform, über deren zweite Stufe derzeit verhandelt wird,1 ist die Entflechtung von Bundes- und Landesangelegenheiten: Einerseits soll die Macht ...

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
Coppieters Bruno
The International Security Involvement of Federated States. Comparing Massachusetts, Illinois and Flanders
in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLII, n. 2, April-June

Application of the federal principle of shared sovereignty to external security policies directed against foreign states can easily give rise to a situation in which the federation ceases to be an indivisible subject in an international setting. This can in turn lead to conflicts between the two levels. A comparison of three instances of sanctions adopted by federated states - the sanction policies of Massachusetts in support of the democratisation of Myanmar/Burma (1996-2000), the divestment policies of Illinois in opposition to the governmental policies of Sudan (2006-), and the participation by Flanders in Belgian and European sanctions in protest against the Freedom Party's participation in the Austrian government (2000) - confirms this thesis.

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
Danwitz Thomas von
Vertikale Kompetenzkontrolle in föderalen Systemen
in Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts , Band 131 (2006), Heft 4, Dezember 2006

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 4.The legislative branch
Hills R. M. jr

Against preemption: how federalism can improve the national legislative process
in **New York University Law Review** , Vol. 82 n. 1 , 1 - 68

How easily should courts infer that federal statutes preempt state law? An ongoing debate exists on the question in Congress and among scholars and judges. One side calls for judges to protect federalism by adopting a rule of statutory construction that would bar preemption absent a clear statement of preemptive intent. Opponents argue against such a “clear statement” rule by arguing that state control over preemptable topics is often presumptively inefficient, because common law juries lack expertise and because states are prone to imposing external costs on their neighbors.
This Article sidesteps these debates over preemption and instead argues that, quite apart from whether state law is itself efficient, an anti-preemption rule of statutory construction has benefits for the national lawmaking process. Because of the size and heterogeneity of the population that it governs, Congress has institutional tendencies to avoid politically sensitive issues, deferring them to bureaucratic resolution and instead concentrating on constituency service. Nonfederal politicians can disrupt this tendency to ignore or suppress political controversy by enacting state laws that regulate business interests, thus provoking those interests to seek federal legislation that will preempt the state legislation. In effect, state politicians place issues on Congress’s agenda by enacting state legislation. Because business groups tend to have more consistent incentives to seek preemption than anti-preemption interests have to oppose preemption, controversial regulatory issues are more likely to end up on Congress’s agenda if business groups bear the burden of seeking preemption. Moreover, the interests opposing preemption tend to use publicity rather than internal congressional procedures to promote their ends. Therefore, by adopting an anti-preemption rule of construction, the courts would tend to promote a more highly visible, vigorous style of public debate in Congress.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 4.The legislative branch
Franks C.E.S.
Members and Constituency Roles in the Canadian Federal System
in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 17, Number 1 / March , 23-45

Members of Canada's federal House of Commons are given substantial resources for constituency business, most of which is ombudsman-type service conducted by local offices. MPs consistently rate this work as their most important activity. Members of provincial legislative assemblies also are provided with resources for constituency service work. The article reports on high levels of commitment to constituency work also at the provincial level. Regardless of party stripe, constituency offices at both levels normally co-operate to assist citizens with problems even if they are from other constituencies. The article stresses the relatively non-partisan nature of constituency work given the lack of a strong relationship between service and seat marginality at either federal or provincial levels, and the relative disconnectedness of the party systems between federal and provincial levels.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 4.The legislative branch
Patzelt Werner J.
The Constituency Roles of MPs at the Federal and Länder Levels in Germany
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 17, Number 1 / March , 47-70

Germany has both a federal system of government and mixed member proportional (MMP) electoral systems at both federal and Länder levels. The paper explains how most patterns in the constituency work of German MPs at both levels are functions of the electoral systems employed, party competition and tactical considerations. District MPs have significant commitments to constituency work; overall list MPs do as well, though to a lesser extent. The article defines three types of list MP, between which there are variations in both the volume of constituency work undertaken and engagement with individual constituents or group interests. Relationships between members are strongly related to partisan contests, although the overall legitimacy of both federal and electoral systems means there is no dispute over the rules governing the rights of different types of member in constituency work.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 4.The legislative branch
Russell Meg, Bradbury Jonathan
The Constituency Work of Scottish and Welsh MPs: Adjusting to Devolution
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 17, Number 1 / March , 97-116

Historically, British MPs had established high levels of commitment to constituency work. The introduction of devolution in Scotland and Wales posed new challenges locally from AMs and MSPs. The article shows that the volume of constituency work for MPs in Scotland and Wales has declined, but this has not been as sharp as may have been expected. Co-operation and competition between members over constituency work is strongly, though not exclusively, related to partisan relationships. In particular, MPs in Scotland are much more inclined than those in Wales to forward enquiries relating to devolved matters to members of the relevant devolved institution. Evidence supports findings that constituency work is driven in part by electoral incentives - but this does not tell the whole story. Institutional and cultural factors are also important, as are individual members' preferences and styles. Scottish and Welsh MPs are sanguine about their experience, although it has diminished enthusiasm, such as it was, for introducing an MMP electoral system at Westminster.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 5.The executive branch
Barracca Steven
Gubernatorial Politics and the Evolution Toward Democratic Federalism in Mexico
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 17, Number 2 / June , 173-193

This article evaluates the evolution of democratic federalism in Mexico through a case study of central government involvement in the selection and removal of governors in the state of Yucatán. The research address debates regarding the nature of federalism in authoritarian systems and on the dynamics of democratization in a federal context. First, it

challenges conventional characterizations of state politicians in authoritarian systems as submissive and lacking autonomy vis-à-vis the centre. Instead, the case demonstrates that regional political bosses can exercise an important constraint on the powers of national-level rulers by requiring that they select governors acceptable to local political elites. A second issue is to what extent national or subnational political change drives transitions from authoritarian rule. Recent literature on the Mexican case has emphasized the impact of state and local democratization on national-level change. In contrast, this study's analysis of reforms in the areas of elections and candidate selection reveal the iterative nature of subnational and national-level reforms.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 5.The executive branch
Gagnon Alain-G., Turgeon Luc, de Champlain Olivier
Representative Bureaucracy in Multinational States
in Revue française d'administration publique, n. 118 , 291-306

The authors provide a comparative analysis of representative bureaucracy in multinational states, described as being states with more than one group which defines itself as a nation. A clear distinction is made between multinational states (with their historically, culturally and ethnically established minorities) and multiethnic states (with their ethnic communities made up of different waves of immigration, whose culture is more reflected in family life and associations). The authors have selected four types of multinational state in which specific notions of the state, the civil service and national minority representation have gradually become dominant: Turkey, a unitary state, is characterised by extremely passive representation owing to its “Republicanist ideology”; the United Kingdom before 1997, a “unionist state”, had active representation resulting from a “unionist ideology”; Canada, a federal state, is characterised by a degree of passive representation which reflects the importance given to liberal values; and Nigeria, a “federal communitarianist state”, stands out for its extremely active representation, which is the result of “communitarianist ideology”

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Tushnet Mark
Constitutional Interpretation outside the Courts
in Journal of Interdisciplinary History (The), Volume 37, Issue 3, Winter , 415-422

David Currie's four volumes about constitutional interpretation in Congress from 1789 to the Civil War provide historians, political scientists, and legal scholars with important insights into American political development. The books shed light on the gradual erosion of Congress' capacity to interpret the Constitution and offer a solid basis for provocative speculation about the strength of the normative case for judicial review.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Scott Joanne, Sturm Susan

Courts as Catalysts: Re-thinking the Judicial Role in New Governance
in **Columbia Journal of European Law**, Vol. 13 n. 3 , 565 - 594

This Article offers a step forward in developing a theory of the judicial role within new governance, drawing on the emerging practice in both the United States and Europe as a basis for this reconceptualization. The traditional conception of the role of the judiciary--as norm elaborators and enforcers--is both descriptively and normatively incomplete, and thus needs to be rethought. There is a significant but limited role for courts as catalysts. In areas of normative uncertainty or complexity, courts prompt occasions for normatively motivated and accountable inquiry and remediation by actors involved in new governance processes. Catalysts thus facilitate the realization of process values and legitimacy principles by the institutional actors responsible for norm elaboration within new governance. The relationship between courts and governance is dynamic and reciprocal: courts draw upon the practice of governance in their construction of the criteria they apply to their judgments. They also provide an incentive structure for participation, transparency, principled decision-making, and accountability which in turn shapes, directly and indirectly, the political and deliberative process.

This Article elaborates three crucial aspects of the catalyst role, drawing on examples from the European Union (EU) to illustrate how courts can exercise their decision-making authority to enhance the capacity of other actors to make legitimate and effective decisions. First, courts prompt new governance institutions to provide for full and fair participation by those affected by or responsible for new governance processes. We focus in this Article upon the courts' role in evaluating standing in the European courts (locus standi). Second, courts monitor the adequacy of the epistemic or information base for decision-making within new governance. We explore this role through the example of the European court's construction and interpretation of benchmarks for legality in judicial review. Finally, courts foster principled decision-making in new governance processes by requiring transparency and accountability as essential elements of enforceability. We illustrate this role through examples of where the European courts evaluate the adequacy of deliberative processes by whether they have identified, justified, and applied criteria guiding their decisions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Pfander J.E.
Federal Supremacy, State Court Inferiority and the Constitutionality of jurisdiction - stripping Legislation
in **Northwestern University Law Rewiev**, Vol. 101 n. 1 , 191 - 238

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Sanchez Ernesto J.
John J. Parker and the Beginning of the Modern Confirmation Process
in **Journal of Supreme Court History**, March 2007 - Vol. 32 Issue 1 , 22–45

Ideological concerns' dominance of the Supreme Court confirmation process has certainly become routine, especially in

the form of issue-driven interest groups' influence over the agenda for Senate debates. More significantly, the Senate normally focuses on what Laurence Tribe has called "the net impact of adding [a] candidate to the Court"1 in terms of steering the Court toward adherence to a particular judicial philosophy, such as originalism2 or pragmatism,3 or toward a specific outlook on a given constitutional issue. And when the President nominates someone with prior judicial experience, the candidate's decisions, as well as his or her prior speeches or other public activities, become fair game as supposed indications of his or her fitness for service on the Court.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Bartole Sergio
L'abbandono di Justice O'Connor e l'attivismo della Corte Suprema
in Quaderni Costituzionali, numero : 4, dicembre , 845-852

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Lamparello A.
Social Psychology, Legitimacy, and the Ethical Foundations of Judgment: Importing the Procedural Justice Model to Federal Sentencing Jurisprudence
in Columbia human rights law review, vol. 38 n. 1 , 115 - 166

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 6.The judiciary branch
Lewis David A.
The Fourteenth Amendment Through Roe-Colored Glasses: Unenumerated Rights and the "Imperial Judiciary"
in Polity, Volume 39, Number 1, January , 103-124

Critics of the "imperial judiciary" have accused the United States Supreme Court of usurping authority from legislators and executives by creating new rights that are found nowhere in the text of the Constitution. In this paper, I use two case studies to argue that unenumerated rights can be reconciled with democratic values. First, the protection of aggressive palliative care in Washington v. Glucksberg (1997) exemplifies a consensus-building decision whereby the Court holds that a broadly accepted norm or practice has constitutional underpinnings. Second, the invalidations of durational residency requirements for welfare benefits in Shapiro v. Thompson (1969) and Saenz v. Roe (1999) represent broadened-access decisions in which the state is required to extend a benefit to an excluded group yet retains the authority to define the benefit's content. These types of decisions are compatible with democratic norms insofar as they do not disable elected representatives from performing their quintessential task: deciding what policy values the state should pursue and how it should purse them. My argument suggests that a focus on Roe v. Wade (1973) exaggerates

the ambitions and consequences of judicial protection for unenumerated rights and overlooks how such protection may enhance democratic politics.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Fuest Clemens, Kolmar Martin
A theory of user-fee competition
in Journal of Public Economics, Volume 91 Issue: 3-4 , 497-509

We develop a two-region model where the decentralized provision of spillover goods and other public expenditures is financed by means of user fees. We show that a decentralized solution tends to be inefficient. If the regional spillover goods are substitutes, user fees tend to be inefficiently low, whereas they tend to be inefficiently high if the spillover goods are complements.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Hajkowicz Stefan
Allocating scarce financial resources across regions for environmental management in Queensland, Australia
in Ecological Economics, Volume 61, Issue 2-3, 1 March , 208-216

Regional governance agencies, such as catchment or watershed management committees, are playing a significant role in the management of natural resources. These agencies often depend on central governance agencies for their revenue. In Australia this has created a policy dilemma for Federal and State Governments: how should limited funds be allocated to regional groups? This question is being encountered by central governance agencies worldwide. Based on a study from Queensland, Australia this paper shows how multiple criteria analysis (MCA) was used to inform fiscal equalisation of environmental funds worth A$146.6 million across 14 regions. Fiscal equalisation aims to equalise the ability of each region to address its natural resource management problems. The MCA approach allows decision makers to weight criteria and define a needs index which forms the basis for allocating funds.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Tommasi Mariano, Weinschelbaum Federico
Centralization vs. Decentralization: a principal-agent analysis
in Journal of Public Economic Theory, Vol. 9 Issue 2 , 369–389

The decision to allocate policy jurisdictions to different levels of government is related to a number of trade-offs between the advantages and disadvantages of centralized versus decentralized provision of public services. A trade-off central to many discussions is that between the internalization of externalities under centralization versus an "accountability" advantage of decentralization. In this paper we formalize this trade-off in the context of a class of principal–agent models known as common agency.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Bailey Michael A.
Constraining Federalism: Formalizing Expectations about Redistributive Policies in Decentralized Systems
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Volume 37, Number 2, Spring , 135-159

Whether states keep welfare benefits low in order to prevent in-migration of benefit-seeking individuals is one of the great questions in the study of federalism. Assessing this question is challenging, however, because it is difficult to specify exactly what constitutes evidence that states inhibit their spending for this reason. This article develops a model which provides a micro-founded framework for thinking about the issue. The model suggests that competition on redistributive programs does not induce "racing" among states, but does constrain spending to be less than what the states would spend if migration were not a concern. The model also provides specific guidance for the form of this downward pressure.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Bird Richard M. , Mintz Jack M. , Wilson Thomas A.
Coordinating Federal and Provincial Sales Taxes: Lessons from the Canadian Experience
in National Tax Journal, 59, December , 889-903

Canada has operated both a federal value–added tax (the GST) and two variants of provincial VATs for the last 15 years. In addition, several provinces have continued to operate retail salestaxes similar to those in most US states. A brief review of experience around the world with "two–level" sales taxes indicates that Canadian experience is the most relevant international experiencefor the US to consider. We conclude that the Canadian case suggests that the introduction of a federal VAT in the US would not create any great technical problems for either the states or business.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Barankay Iwan, Lockwood Ben
Decentralization and the productive efficiency of government: Evidence from Swiss cantons
in Journal of Public Economics, Volume: 91, Issue: 5-6 , 1197-1218

Advocates of fiscal decentralization argue that among other benefits, it can increase the efficiency of delivery of government services. This paper is one of the first to evaluate this claim empirically by looking at the association between expenditure decentralization and the productive efficiency of government using a data set of Swiss cantons. We first provide careful evidence that expenditure decentralization is a powerful proxy for legal local autonomy. Further panel regressions of Swiss cantons provide robust evidence that more decentralization is associated with higher educational attainment. We also show that these gains lead to no adverse effects across education types but that male students benefited more from educational decentralization closing, for the Swiss case, the gender education gap.

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

Weichenrieder Alfons J.,Busch Oliver

Delayed integration as a possible remedy for the race to the bottom

in Journal of Urban Economics, Volume 61, Issue 3 , 565-575

It has been a long-standing concern in the literature that household mobility implies a serious threat to redistributive taxation. This paper considers the effects of delayed integration of migrants into the redistributive system of the target country. We argue that delayed integration may introduce a time consistency problem into governments' tax plans that reduces a region's incentive to undercut other regions' tax rates and can bring tax competition to a halt. Due to delayed integration, rich migrants cease to benefit from the lower tax rate in the current period. At the same time, the region's promise of a low rate in the future lacks credibility, since delayed integration locks in migrants once they are settled. We also explore the case where poor recipients of social assistance are mobile, while the rich are immobile.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Ishikawa Jota, Mukunoki Hiroshi, Mizoguchi Yoshihiro

Economic Integration And Rules Of Origin Under International Oligopoly

in International Economic Review, Vol. 48 Issue 1 , 185–210.

Free trade agreements (FTAs) have rules of origin (ROOs) to prevent tariff circumvention by firms of nonmember countries. This article points out that in imperfectly competitive markets, ROOs have another role overlooked in the existing literature. Instead of focusing on the impacts of ROOs in the intermediate-good markets, we draw our attention to the final-good markets to examine the effects of ROOs. We find that under some conditions, ROOs benefit both firms at the expense of consumers. Under some other conditions, ROOs benefit the firm producing outside the FTA and hurt the firm producing inside the FTA.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Acocella N., Bartolomeo G.

European economic institutions: Stability- or growth-oriented?

in Acta Oeconomica, Volume 57, Number 1 , 35-65

This paper deals with various aspects of the performance expected from some of the most relevant European institutions (monetary and tax authorities, unions) vis-a-vis alternative ones, from a macroeconomic point of view. The role of the rules (e.g. the Stability and Growth Pact) as a coordination device to deal with externalities arising from national fiscal policies is first considered and compared to explicit coordination. The priority given to price stability is then discussed together with the questions of reputation, credibility and the relationship with fiscal policy and labour markets. A conservative central bank eliminates the temptation to inflate, but is only a second-best solution for internalising the externalities arising from uncoordinated-wage bargaining. The paper finally discusses the consequences on growth of the stability pursued by actual European institutions. Some reflections on the ‘model’ adopted for shaping European institutions conclude the paper.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Köthenbürger Marko
Ex-post redistribution in a federation: Implications for corrective policy
in Journal of Public Economics, Volume 91 Issue: 3-4 , 481-496

This paper analyzes whether changes in the timing of equalizing transfers to state governments necessitate an adjustment in federal corrective policy. According to the existing literature (assuming an ex-ante choice of transfers), the corrective grant is equal to the marginal damage/benefit inflicted by externality generation. When the federal government accommodates state finances ex-post, the grant differs in formula from existing prescription. Allocative federal policy corrects state policy incentives twofold. It entails a correction for the distortion in the marginal benefit of state spending (as in earlier literature) and for the distortion in the marginal cost of public funds induced by the ex-post provision of transfers. The required grant rule is generically disproportionate to the equilibrium externality (even with lump-sum taxation). Furthermore, the ex-post provision of transfers is critical for the nature of the equilibrium inefficiency. Equalizing transfers at least partly internalize consumption spill-overs, but simultaneously establishes a new source of inefficiency. As a final result, the existing prescription for allocative federal policy continues to apply if the public good is pure

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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
Facury Scaff Fernando
Financial aspects of the territorial organization system in Brazil
in Federalismi, Anno V, n. 8

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Kempkes Gerhard, Seitz Helmut
Fiscal Federalism and Demography
in Public Finance Review, Volume 35, No. 3 , 385-413

This article examines the effects of demographic change on federal, state, and local government expenditures in Germany to answer the question of whether demographic change will induce vertical fiscal expenditure imbalances. The authors present estimates of the impact of demographic change on public spending based on a decomposition of expenditures into twenty-nine categories (functions). Results suggest that demographic change will result in significant vertical expenditure imbalances between the federal and the subnational government sector as well as within the subnational government sector. In addition, the estimates show that the structure of expenditures by function has to be

adjusted considerably to avoid deficits since demographically induced increases in expenditures in some important functions, such as pension payments, have to be counterbalanced by exploiting potential savings that arise from demographic change in other functions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Vallés Jaime, Zárate Anabel
Fiscal Federalism, European Stability Pact, and Municipal Investment Finance: A Microdata Analysis of Spanish Municipalities
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Volume 37, Number 1, Winter , 68-102

In countries where subnational governments control a large part of the public finances, the central government's ability to keep its commitment to the European Union's Stability and Growth Pact can be a difficult matter. European rules demand that the overall budget be balanced over the medium term; applying this rule at subcentral level may unduly reduce capital outlays and local budgetary autonomy. This article examines the possible impact of budgetary stability legislation on the capital expenditure of Spanish municipalities. The empirical findings suggest that the new budgetary stability framework will oblige municipalities to (i) limit their investments, (ii) raise the tax burden, or (iii) reduce the funds allocated to other budget items. We believe the Spanish municipal experience is generalizable to other federal countries in Europe that are facing hard budget constraints and high earmarked grants.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Bachur João Paulo
Fiscal federalism, constitutional attributions of fiscal competencies and regional equalization : USA, Germany and Brazil in comparative perspective
in Revue française d'administration publique, n. 119 , 439-458

This paper addresses the institutional and constitutional aspects of the Brazilian federal system with the view to deal with the problem of regional equalization. The paper develops an analytical framework focusing on the articulation between constitutional fiscal attributions (including the taxation competencies sharing and the main related transfers) and the task of regional equalization in Brazil, starting by an comparative institutional study involving the United States of America, Germany and Brazil.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Gentile Antonino
Fisco e Autonomie
in Federalismi, Anno V , n. 2

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Devereux M.P. , Lockwood B. , Redoano M.
Horizontal and vertical indirect tax competition: Theory and some evidence from the USA
in Journal of Public Economics, Volume 91 Issue: 3-4 , 451-479

This paper provides a simple but general theoretical framework for analyzing simultaneous vertical and horizontal competition in excise taxes, which includes several previous contributions as special cases. It allows for both elastic individual demand for the taxed good, and cross-border shopping (and smuggling). It then estimates equations informed by the theory on a panel of US state and federal excise taxes on cigarettes and gasoline. The results are generally consistent with the theory, when the characteristics of the markets for the goods are taken into account. Taxes in neighboring states have a significant and large effect in the case of cigarettes. The possibility of smuggling cigarettes from low tax states also plays a role. In the case of gasoline, taxes in neighboring states do not play a significant role; however, there is evidence in this case of vertical competition.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Carboni Giuliana Giuseppina
Il coordinamento della finanza pubblica alla luce di alcune esperienze straniere
in Federalismi, Anno V, n. 4

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Errani Vasco
Il federalismo fiscale. Un diverso modo di governare unitariamente il paese
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 2 , 181-190

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Basilavecchia Massimo , Del Federico Lorenzo , Osculati Franco
Il finanziamento delle Regioni mediante tributi propri e compartecipazioni
in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 5 , 669 - 706

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Kotsogiannis Christos, Lopez-Garcia Miguel-Angel
Imperfect competition, indirect tax harmonization and public goods
in **International Tax and Public Finance**, Volume 14, Number 2 , 135-149

This paper shows that the welfare implications of indirect tax harmonization in a two-country imperfectly competitive framework, are, in general, indeterminate in the presence of public goods: Both countries can be made either worse off or better off. This holds under both the destination and origin principles of taxation and is in sharp contrast to existing results where revenue effects are not present. A consequence of this indeterminacy is that a precise evaluation of tax-harmonizing policies under both tax regimes requires an explicit consideration of the underlying preferences for private and public goods as well as the oligopolistic sectors' relative cost structures.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Volden Craig
Intergovernmental Grants: A Formal Model of Interrelated National and Subnational Political Decisions
in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 37, Number 2, Spring , 209-243

Intergovernmental grants are based on the interrelated choices of: (i) the national government deciding whether to offer the grant; (ii) the national government determining grant conditions; (iii) the subnational government deciding whether to accept the grant; and (iv) the subnational government determining policy, including spending levels, upon grant receipt. Empirically and theoretically, scholars often study these decisions separately, leading to an incomplete understanding of grant-related behavior. This article develops a noncooperative game theoretic model that simultaneously captures all four of these decisions. This approach helps to better explain puzzles surrounding intergovernmental grants, including the ‘flypaper effect’, asymmetric responses of recipient governments to grant increases and decreases, the grant-acceptance decisions of subnational governments, and tradeoffs between the size of grants and the strings that are attached.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
CappelenAlexander W. , Tungodden Bertil
Local autonomy and interregional equality
in **Social Choice and Welfare**, Volume 28, Number 3 , 443-460

This paper shows how two important interregional transfer schemes, the foundation grant and the power equalization grant scheme, can be seen as two different interpretations of equal opportunity ethics. It provides characterizations of both transfer schemes by the use of basic liberal egalitarian principles. Both the foundation grant and the power

equalization grant scheme make use of specific reference levels. The paper also shows how reasonable requirements on the transfer schemes restrict the set of possible reference levels.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Nikifarava Khelena
L'autonomia finanziaria regionale e locale tra effettività ed esigenze di coordinamento
in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 5 , 751 - 774

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Khemani S.
Party Politics and Fiscal Discipline in a Federation. Evidence from the States of India.
in Comparative Political Studies , Vol. 40 n. 6 , 691-712

Theoretical and empirical analysis suggests that federations are prone to fiscal indiscipline, because of intergovernmental bargaining over the allocation of national resources. What role do political parties play in mediating this bargain? If the national government is dominated by a single political party, does the party discipline those states where its affiliates are in power? If the national government consists of a coalition of political parties, do states ruled by coalition partners bargain for higher deficits? This article provides evidence on these questions from India, a large federation in the developing world that serves as a valuable laboratory for this purpose. The authors find that those state governments that belong to the same party as that leading the national government run higher than average deficits; correspondingly, states governed by rival political parties have lower deficits, even if these parties are members of a coalition government at the center.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Cho Chung-Lae, Wright Deil S.
Perceptions of Federal Aid Impacts on State Agencies: Patterns, Trends, and Variations Across the 20th Century
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Volume 37, Number 1, Winter , 103-130

American federalism is a dynamic process involving the views and interactions among state and national officials. Based on multiple mail surveys of state agency heads across 75 years, this article traces the perspectives of state executives toward a core component of state–national relationships—federal aid. The time frame dates from the 1920s and covers a period in which federal aid programs to the states grew enormously, as did state administrative establishments. There was a long-term rise in the perceived intrusiveness of federal aid as well as increased policy distortion effects. Despite substantial fluctuations in perceived aid impacts, there was a four-decade consistency in the penetration of federal aid into and across the existing 3,000 state agencies. Furthermore, when perceptions of national influence are combined in an index of perceived national fiscal influence, there was a roller coaster effect with an overall secular "decline" in

national influence since 1974.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Döring Thomas, Voigt Stefan
Reforming Federalism German Style
in Intereconomics, Volume 41, Number 4 / July, 2006 , 201-208

The German version of federalism, often called “cooperative federalism”, has been identified by many as one of the root causes of Germany’s becoming Europe’s new sick man. Now, a number of changes in the institutions defining the relationship between the federal, the state and the local level have been passed. This contribution describes the most important changes and evaluates them from the point of view of fiscal federalism. It concludes that the changes are only a first step in the right direction, but a number of important steps have yet to follow.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Kan Kamhon
Residential mobility and social capital
in Journal of Urban Economics, Volume 61, Issue 3 , 436-457

This paper empirically investigates the role of social capital in households' residential mobility behavior by considering its spatial dimension. This study focuses on a household's social ties with people living nearby, which we refer to as its “local social capital.” Local social capital may deter residential mobility, because the resources stemming from them are location-specific and will be less valuable if a household moves. We conjecture that a household's possession of local social capital has a negative effect on its residential mobility, and this negative effect of local social capital may be stronger on long-distance mobility than on short-distance mobility. Our empirical investigation is based on data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics. We obtain evidence which is supportive of these conjectures.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Breuillé Marie-Laure, Gary-Bobo Robert J.
Sharing budgetary austerity under free mobility and asymmetric information: An optimal regulation approach to fiscal federalism
in Journal of Public Economics, Volume: 91, Issue: 5-6 , 1177-1196

In the present article, Tiebout meets Laffont and Tirole in the land of fiscal federalism. A non-trivial Principal–Multi-Agent model is used to characterize the optimal intergovernmental grant schedule, when the cost of local public goods depends on hidden characteristics and actions of local governments, and under citizen free mobility. We show how informational rents, landlords' interests, and citizen mobility interact to produce distortions at both ends of the type space: in particular the most efficient jurisdictions should overproduce and overtax in second-best optimum. Informational asymmetries decrease the average production of public goods and increase the inter-jurisdictional variance of taxes and public-good production.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Furusawa Taiji, Jinji Naoto
Tariff Revenue Competition in a Free Trade Area: The Case of Asymmetric Large Countries
in Review of Development Economics, Volume 11, Number 2 , 300-312

The striking result has been shown by Richardson that tariff revenue competition between two symmetric member countries of a free trade area (FTA) results in complete elimination of external tariffs if there exists a pure-strategy Nash equilibrium at all. Richardson also conjectures without building a model that if member countries are asymmetric in market size, there exists a pure-strategy Nash equilibrium in which both countries set positive external tariffs. We explicitly extend his tariff competition model into the case of asymmetric FTA member countries, and confirm his conjecture. We also show that there exists a mixed-strategy Nash equilibrium in the case of symmetric countries.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Rao M. Govinda, Singh Nirvikar
The Political Economy of India's Fiscal Federal System and its Reform
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Volume 37, Number 1, Winter , 26-44

This article examines recent and potential reforms in India's fiscal federal system. We summarize key federal institutions in India, including tax and expenditure assignments, and mechanisms for Center–state transfers. We discuss the institutional process by which reforms can and do take place, including the role of academics, political influences, and especially institutions such as the Finance Commission. In contrast to the past, recent commissions have played a greater role in articulating an agenda for fiscal federal reform, which then proceeds through political bargaining. This change has taken place in the context of, and been influenced by, broader economic reform in India.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Hackethal Andreas, Schmidt Reinhard H., Tyrell Marcel
The transformation of the German financial system
in Revue d'Economie Politique, N° 4 (juillet-août 2006) , 431-456

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism
Bosch Núria, Solé-Ollé Albert
Yardstick competition and the political costs of raising taxes: An empirical analysis of Spanish municipalities
in International Tax and Public Finance, Volume 14, Number 1 , 71-92

We test the `yardstick competition' hypothesis by examining the effects of property tax increases, both in a given municipality and in other neighbouring jurisdictions, on the incumbents' vote. In order to obtain unbiased estimates of the effects of raising taxes on voting patterns, we take into account national political shocks, the ideological preferences of the citizenship and government traits, and apply Instrumental Variables. The vote equation is estimated using a large database containing nearly 3,000 Spanish municipalities, and we analyse three local election results (1995, 1999 and 2003). Our results suggest that property tax increases, both at the municipal and neighbourhood level, have a non-negligible impact on the incumbent's share of the vote.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)
Begg Iain
Contested Meanings of Transparency in Central Banking
in Comparative European Politics, n. 1, vol. 5, april , 36-52

ABSTRACT: Over the last two decades, there have been far-reaching transformations in the ways central banks operate, especially in regard to how openly they communicate with other actors. Transparency in central banking has two quite distinct motivations. The first is to provide a means of holding the central bankers to account, while the second is about the efficiency of their policy-making. These two motivations for transparency reflect contestable norms about the choices central banks make. The paper discusses how transparency in central banking functions and explores how the underlying norms might be open to contestation. A typology showing the rationale for, and effects of, different forms of transparency is constructed and its implications assessed.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)
Hallett Andrew Hughes, Weymark Diana N.
Fiscal leadership and central bank design
in Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economique, Volume 40, Number 2 , 607-627

This article investigates the impact, on economic performance, of the timing of moves in a policy game between the government and the central bank for a government that has both redistributional and stabilization objectives. It is shown that both inflation and income inequality are reduced without sacrificing output growth if the government assumes a leadership role compared with a regime in which monetary and fiscal policy are determined simultaneously. Further, it is shown that government leadership benefits both the fiscal and monetary authorities through the enhanced coordination that this arrangement implies.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)
Bordes Christian , Clerc Laurent
Price Stability And The ECB's Monetary Policy Strategy
in Journal of Economic Surveys, Vol. 21 Issue 2 , 268–326

This paper focuses on the price stability objective within the framework of the single monetary policy strategy. It starts by

reviewing what this objective, which is common to all central banks, means. Second, this paper focuses exclusively on the anchoring of short- to medium-term inflation expectations (Part 2). Several measures show that this anchoring is effective. A ‘two-pillar’ small structural macro-economic model framework is used to analyze the impact that this anchoring of expectations has on the determination of the short- to medium-term inflation rate. From this point of view, observed inflation in the euro area seems to be in line with the theory and the ECB's action seems to be very effective. Third, we focus on the other aspect of monetary stability: the degree of price-level uncertainty and the anchoring of inflation expectations in the medium to long term. Even though this assessment is more difficult than it is in the short to medium term, since we only have a track record covering 6 years, various indicators from the theoretical analysis paint a fairly reassuring picture of the effectiveness of the device used by the ECB.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 8.The Central Bank(s)
Goodhart C.A.E.
The ECB and the Conduct of Monetary Policy: Goodhart's Law and Lessons from the Euro Area
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue 4, November , 757-778

Goodhart's Law states that 'any observed statistical regularity will tend to collapse once pressure is placed upon it for control purposes'. This article explores whether the inflation experience in EMU and the critique of the monetary policy strategy of the ECB can be understood in the light of this law.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
della Cananea Giacinto
Autonomie regionali e vincoli comunitari
in **Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno**, numero: 1, marzo , 7-18

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Purcell Mark
City-Regions, Neoliberal Globalization and Democracy: A Research Agenda
in **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, Vol. 31 Issue 1 , 197–206

This paper argues that research on city-regions could benefit from more sustained and critical attention to the question of democracy. That is, it should examine more closely how decisions in city-regions are made, why they are made that way, and how they can be made more democratically. Much current research on politics in cities has framed the issue in terms of citizenship. That work has produced great insight. However, the attention to citizenship has prompted very little attention to democracy, even though the two concepts are deeply intertwined. Current interest in city-regions opens up

the possibility that a vibrant line of research on democracy can be added to and engage with that on citizenship.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Magnaghi Alberto
Dalla partecipazione all'autogoverno della comunità locale: verso il federalismo municipale solidale
in Democrazia e diritto, Anno XLIV, n. 3

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Abalos María Gabriela
El poder constituyente provincial en el federalismo argentino. Principales notas en el derecho público provincial vigente
in Federalismi, Anno V, n. 1

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Hernandez Antonio Maria
El regimen municipal cordobés
in Federalismi, Anno V, n. 8

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Kübler Daniel, Piliutyte Jolita
Intergovernmental relations and international urban strategies: constraints and opportunities in multilevel polities
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 25, Issue 3, June , 357-373

The authors analyse the influence of intergovernmental relations on international urban strategies. They build on the general premise that institutional settings shape actor behaviour, both as constraints and as opportunities. First, they focus on the influence of domestic intergovernmental patterns on the international activities of cities. It is found that the political status of city governments with respect to higher government levels, the strength of regional governments within a national intergovernmental system, and city-regional dynamics, are all factors that shape international urban

strategies—in terms both of their orientation and of their coherence. Second, concerning the relationship between international urban strategies and intergovernmental processes linked to European integration, it is found that both 'download' and 'upload' Europeanisation create a pattern of institutional constraints and opportunities that push cities—especially secondary cities—towards active participation in European networks and the development of a clear international profile.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Gilsing Rob
Intergovernmental relations and the effectiveness of local governance: the case of Dutch youth policy
in International Review of Administrative Sciences , March 2007, Volume 73, No. 1 , 45-64

In the Netherlands, national government sets the frameworks for youth policy, while local government should play a crucial role in realizing national goals. Local government is supposed to be better equipped for realizing effective policies. Yet national government tries to influence local policies. Furthermore, local government's role in general has changed significantly because of the shift towards governance. The questions raised are whether local government is capable of pursuing effective governance in youth policies and how national policies affect the governance role of local government. These questions are answered by an extensive examination of youth policy in 72 municipalities and by assessing national policy on its possible impact. The results suggest that national policy strongly affects local youth policy, both by setting the agenda as well as by frustrating local governance. Diffuse defined responsibilities and strong mutual dependencies create a complex, interwoven policy arena that impedes effective policies.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Brink Henning van den, Kaiser André
Kommunale Sicherheitspolitik zwischen Expansion, Delegation und Kooperation
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 12, 2007

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Naccarato Paolo
Le Autonomie locali nel quadro delle riforme istituzionali
in Federalismi, Anno V , n. 2

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Blanco Valdès Roberto L.
Lo Statuto catalano: testo e pre-testi
in Quaderni Costituzionali, numero : 4, dicembre , 677-6

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Sutcliffe John B.
Local Government in a Multi-level Setting: Lessons From England and Ontario
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 17, Number 2 / June , 253-273

This article analyses the current and future place of local authorities in the European Union through a comparative study of local authorities in Canada. Specifically, the article compares English local government in the EU with the relationship between local government in Ontario and the Canadian federal government. The article concludes that English local government is unlikely to receive a substantially different formal treaty-basis within the EU as a result of the ongoing constitutional treaty debate. The Canadian experience, however, demonstrates the importance of the federal-local relationship, even in the absence of formal constitutional revision. It also indicates that there is acceptance of the necessity of a federal-local relationship as a means of tackling major policy problems facing Canada. Similarly, English local governments will continue to be affected by developments at the EU level and will continue to be involved in attempts to influence policy making at that level. In neither the Canadian nor the EU case, however, should the place of local authorities be exaggerated. They are junior partners in policy making.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Schoburgh Eris D.
Local government reform in Jamaica and Trinidad: a policy dilemma
in Public Administration and Development, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 159 - 174

Issues of local governance have dominated Caribbean policy agenda for the past two decades, prompting considerable thought and action on local government reform by scholars, local government practitioners and policy makers, alike. No reforms have been as ubiquitous as those of local government. Permitted by an international reformist agenda, local government reform policy is linked positively to efforts to redress incapacities of public management and administration. This article examines conceptual and empirical issues relating to implementation of local government reform in two Caribbean countries, Jamaica and Trinidad. It analyses how the vision for local governance is articulated through specific reform taxonomies and argues that, although local government reform is normatively a policy aimed at fundamental changes in intergovernmental relations, in Jamaica and Trinidad reform has led merely to adjustments in the internal administration of local government.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Cabasé Fermín , Pedro Pascual, Vallés Jaime
The effectiveness of institutional borrowing restrictions: Empirical evidence from Spanish municipalities
in Public Choice, Volume 131, Numbers 3-4 , 293-313

The need for restrictions on borrowing by subnational governments is a generally accepted notion that is justified both by public choice theory and by the fact that such restrictions are in force in the majority of decentralized countries. Furthermore, recent breaches of the Stability and Growth Pact of the European Union have led to the introduction of legislative tools aimed at balancing the budget at all levels of government have come to the forefront of interest in European public finance research. This paper is concerned with the financial situation and debt level of Spanish municipalities from 1988 to 2000. We have two main objectives: the first is to assess the value of mandatory limitations on municipal borrowing and past trends in the borrowing policies adopted by Spanish local authorities. The second is to develop an econometric model using panel data stratified by population size to measure indebtedness in Spanish municipalities. These measures enable us to formulate a series of hypotheses to explain municipal borrowing practices, which are then tested empirically. The evidence thus obtained appears to support the effectiveness of institutional borrowing restrictions to introduce some financial discipline in the borrowing policies adopted by local governments in Spain.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9.Local government(s)
Banks Sarah, Orton Andrew
'The grit in the oyster': Community development workers in a modernizing local authority
in Community Development Journal, Volume 42 Number 1 , 97-113

This article offers a brief overview of the challenges facing UK local authorities, including the need to enhance public participation in decision making and service delivery, improve service performance and increase partnership working. It explores the potential contribution of community development work to meeting these challenges, drawing on a case study of one UK county council. The essential tensions and conflicts in the role of community development workers in a local authority are highlighted, showing how the modernization process introduced by the New Labour government is adding further layers of complexity and ambiguity.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Palermo Francesco
An "Ethnic Proportional" Representation System: the Public Sector in Trentino-SouthTyrol
in Revue française d'administration publique, n. 118 , 321-334

In Trentino-South Tyrol, and notably the Autonomous Province of Bolzano, public sector jobs are divided up in proportion to the size of the three language groups (German, Italian and

Ladin). This special system for the collective protection of minorities, which is described as being an “ethnic proportional” representation system, results from specific historical circumstances and the need to protect the German-speaking minority. However, it raises certain difficulties of a theoretical nature, above all regarding the danger of incompatibility with constitutional rules and EU regulations, and of a practical nature, notably owing to its negative effects in terms of impartiality and effective administration. Although the situation is potentially explosive, it is subject to almost total political and social consensus.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Jeffery Charlie
Balancing Territorial Politics and Social Citizenship in Germany and Britain: Constraints in Public Opinion
in German Politics, Volume 16, Number 1, March , 58-78

This contribution explores the tensions between the established expectations for a uniform delivery of welfare provisions and the growing demands for diversity of provisions in devolved or federal states. Using opinion poll evidence, it examines these tensions in the UK and Germany, arguing that a convergence in these challenges to established statehood appears to be in evidence.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Steiner Susan
Decentralisation and poverty: conceptual framework and application to Uganda
in Public Administration and Development, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 175 - 185

In order to shed further light on the discussion about decentralisation-poverty linkages in developing countries, this article introduces a conceptual framework for the relationship between decentralisation and poverty. The framework takes the form of an optimal scenario and indicates potential ways for an impact of decentralisation on poverty. Three different but interrelated channels are identified. Decentralisation is considered to affect poverty through providing opportunities for previously excluded people to participate in public decision-making, through increasing efficiency in the provision of local public services due to an informational advantage of local governments over the central government and through granting autonomy to geographically separable conflict groups and entitling local bodies to resolve local-level conflicts. Based on the experience with decentralisation in Uganda, it is shown that these channels are often not fully realised in practice. Different reasons are singled out for the Ugandan case, among them low levels of information about local government affairs, limited human capital and financial resources, restricted local autonomy, corruption and patronage, high administrative costs related with decentralisation and low downward accountability.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Cai Hongbin, Treisman Daniel
Did Government Decentralization Cause China's Economic Miracle?
in World Politics, n. 4, vol. 58, july , 505-535

ABSTRACT: Many scholars attribute China's market reforms and the remarkable economic performance they have fostered in part to the country's political and fiscal decentralization. Political decentralization is said to have stimulated local policy experiments and restrained predatory central interventions. Fiscal decentralization is thought to have motivated local officials to promote development and harden enterprises' budget constraints. The locally diversified structure of the prereform economy is said to have facilitated liberalization. Reexamining these arguments, the authors find that none establishes a convincing link between political or fiscal decentralization ad China's success. They suggest an alternative view of the reform process in which growth-enhancing policies emerged from competition between promarket and conservative factions in Beijing.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Reichard Christoph, Borgonovi Elio
EGPA Symposium: Decentralization as a concept in public sector reforms: features, impact and implications — Introduction
in **International Review of Administrative Sciences** , March 2007, Volume 73, No. 1 , 43-44

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Haberle P.
El federalismo y el regionalismo: una estructura modelica del Estado constitucional. Experiencias alemanas y proyectos. Memorandum para un proyecto espanol
in **Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional**, n. 77 , 9 - 25

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Jans Theo M. and Stouthuysen Patrick
Federal Regions and External Relations. The Belgian Case
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLII, n. 2, April-June

The Belgian regions and communities have an unparalleled external role. Their treaty-making powers and their representation in the EU policy process require extensive coordination efforts to ensure coherence. Paradoxically the regional quest for external autonomy has actually forced the regions/communities to cooperate much more than was initially expected. Few intergovernmental conflicts have emerged and those that have arisen have been settled in a pragmatic (technocratic) fashion.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Sheng Y
Global Market Integration and Central Political Control: Foreign Trade and Intergovernmental Relations in China
in Comparative Political Studies , Vol. 40 n. 4 , 405 - 434

Prevailing economic theories predict that world market integration unleashes centrifugal forces from within and undermines domestic central political authority. Reversing the conventional bottom-up, demand-side approach, this article highlights the incentives of national-level political actors. It suggests that when institutionally empowered vis-à-vis the subnational units, the center will seek to enhance political control over regions thriving in the global market to extract revenues, remedy interregional disparity, and maintain central rule. Through analyzing pooled cross-sectional, time-series data for Chinese provinces during 1978 to 2002, it shows that the Chinese political center has manipulated its personnel monopoly power within the ruling Communist Party to exert a tighter grip over provincial party secretaries, the top officials in the provinces more exposed to the international market. Furthermore, provinces overseen

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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
Christopoulos Dimitrios C.
Governance Capacity and Regionalist Dynamics
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 16, Number 4 / December , 363-383

The debate on the effects of regionalism and European integration on European nation states has been prominent for more than a decade. Regionalization of EU states has not brought with it genuine regional autonomy and regionalism has not emerged as a bottom-up public demand in European regions. It is contended here that to determine the future of regional devolution, whether as a result of bottom-up or top-down processes, the factors at play must be contextualized. This paper examines some determinants of regional political capacity, as identified in the policy literature, in tandem with a number of determinants of economic prospects and the existence of an economic milieu. This is done in a comparative context across 12 regions of the EU. It is suggested that the potential for regionalist pressures to emerge is dependent on regional governance capacity and the relative economic weight of a region.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Padula Carlo
I rapporti tra amministrazione statale periferica e Regioni, all'epoca del principio di sussidiarietà forte
in Diritto e società, n. 1 , 63-109

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Baldini Gianfranco, Picarella Lucia
Il Governo Zapatero e le autonomie

in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 5 , 875 - 895

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Passaniti Giuseppe
Il Quebec è una "nazione": un passo verso la "riconciliazione" o la secessione?
in Federalismi, Anno V , n. 2

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Staiano Sandro
Il difficile percorso del regionalismo
in Federalismi, Anno V, n. 10

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Panara Carlo
Il diritto internazionale nell'ordinamento interno: quid iuris?
in Federalismi, Anno V, n. 1

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Chien Shiuh-Shen
Institutional innovations, asymmetric decentralization, and local economic development: a case study of Kunshan, in post-Mao China
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 25, Issue 2, April , 269-290

The author provides an understanding of the concept of institutional innovations for local economic development in post-Mao China. With Kunshan, one of the most dramatically developed regions in Yangtze Delta, used as a case study, the aim is to understand how, under what circumstances, and by whom, locally initiated projects can be institutionalized and evolved in the context of China's transition. 'Projects' here refer to those reforms implemented by local governments

initially without any permission from the centre. It is argued that the development of those projects can be understood as an evolutionary process, consisting of three mechanisms of local – central interactions: state's intention to connive; ex-post state endorsement, and ex-ante state adoption. Moreover, the innovations would be successful not only because of general contexts such as marketization, liberalization, and globalization, but also because of a particular process of economic decentralization to the local and political centralization under the party, or, as is proposed, asymmetric decentralization. Careerist local officials would like to utilize their decentralized resources to strive for more development opportunities, which could in turn become their 'political capital', enabling them to attract the attentions of upper level governments and hence gain promotion.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
D'Ignazio Guerino
Integrazione europea e tendenze asimmetriche del 'neoregionalismo' in Italia
in Federalismi, Anno V, n. 4

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Groppi Tania
L'evoluzione della forma di Stato in Italia: uno stato regionale senz'anima?
in Federalismi, Anno V, n. 4

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Alberti Rovira E.
Las reformas territoriales en alemania y en Espana y la sostenibilidad del paradigma autonomico espanol
in Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional, n. 78 , 9 - 42

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Specchia Marina Calamo
Le asimmetrie funzionali e istituzionali del decentramento francese e l'orbita europea: una forza gravitazionale ancora troppo debole?
in Federalismi, Anno V , n. 3 ,

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Gelman Vladimir
Le retour du Léviathan : la politique de recentralisation en Russie depuis 2000
in Critique Internationale, N°34 - Janvier / Mars

Le 13 septembre 2004, au cours d'une apparition télévisée, le Président russe Vladimir Poutine a annoncé, parmi d'autres réformes politiques, la suppression des élections pour les représentants du pouvoir exécutif dans les régions de la Fédération de Russie. Ce retour à la nomination des gouverneurs parachève la politique de recentralisation engagée en 2000 en réaction au processus spontané et peu maîtrisable de régionalisation des années 1990. Quelles sont les sources de cette politique de recentralisation, ses principes et ses intérêts fondamentaux ? Comment ces facteurs ont-ils influencé son cours et ses résultats ? Quelle est l'importance de cette recentralisation dans le développement politique de la Russie et quelles en sont les perspectives ? Pour répondre à ces questions, il convient tout d'abord de revenir sur le processus de régionalisation des années 1990, puis d'examiner les idéologies et les intérêts qui ont animé les acteurs politiques russes lors de la recentralisation des années 2000 et leur influence sur le cours de la réforme fédérale, que l'on peut qualifier de « nouveau centralisme » (par opposition à « l'ancien centralisme » de type soviétique), enfin d'analyser la mise en œuvre de cette nouvelle politique et ses effets sur le processus de réforme de l'État.

The Return of the Leviathan: Re-centralization Policy in Russia since 2000

During a television appearance on September 13, 2004, Russian president Vladimir Putin announced a series of political reforms including the cancellation of elections for representatives of the executive branch of government in the regions of the Russian Federation. This return to the appointment of governors concludes the re-centralization policy initiated in 2000, in response to the spontaneous regionalization process of the 1990s, which had proved difficult to control. What are the sources of this re-centralization policy, and the principles and fundamental interests behind it? How have these factors influenced its evolution and its effects? How important is this re-centralization process in Russian political development, and what are its prospects today? To answer these questions, we re-examine the regionalization process of the 1990s. Next, we consider what ideologies and interests were driving Russian political protagonists during the re-centralization process that followed, as well as their influence upon the course of federal reform, which we can describe as “new centralism” (as opposed to Soviet-style “old centralism”). Finally, we analyze the implementation of this new policy and its effects on the process of State reform

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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
Fritzen Scott A.
Linking context and strategy in donor support for decentralisation: a diagnostic framework
in Public Administration and Development, Volume 27, Issue 1 , 13 - 25

International donors, long-standing supporters of decentralisation reforms in developing countries, often face the challenge of aligning programme assistance to the great variety of country governance settings in which many operate. This article presents a framework for assessing the implications of governance and institutional context for a range of programming challenges, with particular reference to the challenge of decentralised programming. The framework has three conceptual steps. Country governance and institutional change environments are first described in terms of how enabling governance capacities are for decentralised programming, and how rapid and predictable the rate of institutional change is. Second, these environmental considerations are associated with overall assistance modalities of donors, in areas such as the type of partners sought and interventions selected. Third, a range of options concerning the aims, scope and extent of decentralising programming are reviewed and linked to the diagnostic framework above. The framework is broadly derived from organisational contingency theory, which it is argued has been relatively neglected in the study of development administration due to a preponderance of analysis based on single-case studies.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Dickovick J. Tyler
Municipalization as Central Government Strategy: Central-Regional–Local Politics in Peru, Brazil, and South Africa
in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, Volume 37, Number 1, Winter , 1-25

This article analyzes how central governments can use municipal decentralization to weaken intermediate levels of government using evidence from Peru, Brazil, and South Africa in the 1990s. Two principal questions are addressed. First, why did central governments opt for municipalization in these countries? Second, how did the municipalization processes proceed? In these cases, the strategic calculus behind municipalization is eminently political: central government incentives to counter the power of the intermediate level of government trigger these processes. Specific strategies to enhance municipal power vary from country to country and include revenue municipalization, expenditure municipalization, and juridical changes to strengthen localities. These three quite different cases show that central governments can make strategic and tactical decisions in intergovernmental relations to favor one level of subnational government to the detriment of another.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Custos Dominique
New Caledonia, a Case of Shared Sovereignty within the French Republic: Appearance or Reality?
in **European public Law**, Volume 13 (2007) Issue 1 , 97-132

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Ashworth Rachel, Snape Stephanie, Aulakh Sundeep
Plugging the accountability gap? Evaluating the effectiveness of regional scrutiny
in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 25, Issue 2, April , 194-211

The UK government contends that regional assemblies can assist in reducing the democratic deficit in the English regions. This paper presents a preliminary assessment of the new scrutiny role performed by the assemblies. Our conceptual framework identifies five variables which might influence the effectiveness of regional scrutiny. Regional scrutiny is found to be quite distinct from that conducted by parliament, local government, and other devolved institutions. Analysis of qualitative data suggests that regional scrutiny has been limited by a lack of clearly defined powers, inadequate technical support, and an often 'cosy' relationship between assemblies and their Regional Development Agencies. We conclude that regional assemblies urgently require appropriate legitimacy, powers, and resources in order to prevent the accountability gap from widening.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Kissane Bill
Power sharing as a form of democracy for Northern Irland
in Review of Politics (The), Vol. 68, N. 4, Fall , 663-674

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Salerno Giulio M.
Prospettive di riforma e attuazione del Titolo V
in Federalismi, Anno V , n. 3

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Chebankova Elena
Putin's struggle for federalism: Structures, operation, and the commitment problem
in Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 59, Issue 2 March , 279 - 302

This article provides an analysis of the institutional mechanisms that are required to ensure the effective functioning of federalism in Russian politics. A common contention in the literature on federalism is that, in addition to fundamental requirements such as the constitutionally defined division of powers between the federation and its constituent units, and the supremacy of the federal constitution, some ancillary structures are necessary. Of particular importance are institutions of inter-governmental co-operation, transparent means for the mobility of officials between the centre and the regions, and integrated systems of national parties. The functioning of these institutions must also reflect the culture and ethic of federalism. This article examines how well these three factors have been implemented in Russia in the course of Putin's reforms. It is shown that a preliminary network of such institutions has been created. However, their operational ethic, and in particular the lack of commitment to federal values, it is argued, could act as an impediment to the

successful evolution of the federal state in Russia.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Delpérée Francis
Recruitment Balance in the Belgian Civil Service
in Revue française d'administration publique, n. 118 , 307-320

The Belgian civil service, which was originally established on a unified basis, has started to give greater consideration to diversity as a result of three major institutional developments. Firstly, federalisation of the state has led to new legal regulations on the recruitment and promotion of civil servants at both federal level, where access to certain positions is now subject to quotas based on language community criteria, and federated level, where the communities' and regions' civil services are now recognised as being independent. Secondly, Europeanisation of the state has led to a relaxation of nationality rules regarding access to public sector jobs. Lastly, internationalisation of society has generated new social concerns, for example concerning the representation of women in elected and public positions, the participation of non-EU foreigners in local elections and, more broadly, anti-discrimination efforts in public sector employment.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Baun Michael, Marek Dan
Regional Policy and Decentralization in the Czech Republic
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 16, Number 4 / December , 409-428

EU accession has had an ambiguous impact on regionalization in the Czech Republic. While EU membership necessitated the creation of regional administrative structures to manage the Structural Funds, the role of new regional authorities was often undermined by the centralized nature of the accession process itself. Developments since accession have created a new dynamic in the debate over regional policy and regionalization in the Czech Republic, however. Most significant are the increased political importance of the new regions and changes in partisan attitudes about regionalization. The impact of these developments is evident in the debate over regional policy planning for 2007-2103. Thus, despite its limited initial impact, EU accession has created the structural potential for increased regionalization in the Czech Republic which has been actualized by the changing constellation of political forces and altered preferences of key political actors in the country.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Libman Alexander
Regionalisation and regionalism in the post-Soviet space: Current status and implications for institutional development
in Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 59, Issue 3 May , 401 - 430

The aim of this article is to analyse the nexus of integration and disintegration processes in the post-Soviet space. On the one hand it considers 'formal' regionalism projects and the reasons for their inefficiency, and explores the real impetus behind the repeated attempts at top-down regional integration by post-Soviet elites. On the other hand, it analyses the bottom-up regionalisation of the post-Soviet space through the investment activity of Russian corporations, and demonstrates possible effects of this process for institutional development.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Clinchamps Nicolas
Representation Problems in New Caledonia's Civil Service
in Revue française d'administration publique, n. 118 , 336-346

The author examines whether New Caledonia's civil service is representative of the territory's national and ethnic groups, and whether there is any demand for greater representation. This study on civil service officials (for whom it is difficult to obtain reliable information) suggests that this is not generally the case. It also includes an analysis of their legal status, although specific provisions only concern minor matters. New Caledonia's civil service is currently affected by two dynamic factors: firstly, the need to "achieve a new balance" in accordance with the Preamble of the Nouméa Accord, and secondly, the need to give local people priority access to jobs. The achievement of a new balance has an ethnic dimension, but it not strong enough to foster the emergence of a representative civil service. Furthermore, giving local people priority access to jobs seems to go against such a development.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Ruiz Lacruz M.
Sobre los derechos historicos de las nacionalidades de espana
in Nueva Revista de Politica Cultura y arte (Spagna), n. 109

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Mardones R. Z.
The Congressional Politics of Decentralization
in Comparative Political Studies , vol. 40 n. 3 , 333 - 358

This article explains why legislators in a centralized polity support decentralizing laws. Using Chile as a case study, it assesses two standard explanations for this support: party nomination procedures, which is disregarded; and electoral strategies, which is accepted. A novel finding is that party ideology is also a predictor of support for decentralization, with parties of the Right less likely to offer it. The author also argues that a legislator with a sub-national rather than national

background is more likely to back such reforms in an attempt to enhance his or her reputation within the constituency. The author tests these and other hypotheses by combining qualitative arguments and regression analysis. The latter is performed on an original database of legislator biographical information, party electoral performance, regional GDP figures, and individual legislator support for 46 decentralizing laws approved in Chile between 1990 and 2006.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Palermo Francesco
The Foreign Policy of Italian Regions: Not Much Ado About Something?
in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLII, n. 2, April-June

What does regional external power mean? To what extent is it allowed? What are the limits for its exercise? And how is it carried our in today's quasi-federal Italy? Not only is regional foreign policy a litmus test for the legal development of a compound system; it is also extremely telling as far as the political maturity of the actors in a multi-level governmental system is concerned. In the present constitutional and political framework in Italy, there is a cleavage between the rather developed normative framework and the immature practical reality. Regional foreign policy is something very important about which too little ado is made.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Mcvittie Eric , Swales Kim
The Information Requirements for an Effective Regional Policy: A Critique of the Allsopp Review
in Urban Studies, Volume 44 Issue 3 , 425 - 438

This paper considers the recommendations of the Allsopp Review on the adequacy of UK regional economic statistics. It raises general concerns over the philosophy underpinning the review and specific questions as to whether the review's recommendations are sufficient to operate effectively the present UK regional policy regime. In particular, the institutional arrangements that make up the 'new localism' in UK regional policy have data requirements that are more extensive than simply monitoring performance against government targets. Many of these in formational requirements were simply not considered or were given an inappropriately low weight in the Review's deliberations.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Mcevoy Joanne
The Institutional Design of Executive Formation in Northern Ireland
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 16, Number 4 / December , 447-464

The article employs an institutionalist approach to explain the design of executive power sharing under the d'Hondt procedure in the Northern Ireland 1998 Agreement. It argues that the preference for d'Hondt was due to (1) the evolution of proposals from the 1970s and (2) the preferences of the parties for proportional, inclusive and automatic power sharing whereby ministerial seats are allocated subject to party strength in the assembly. The paper considers the

processes of structure and agency that led to executive design in 1998 and points to the ongoing design since the suspension of the devolved institutions in October 2002.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Goldfrank B.
The Politics of Deepening Local Democracy: Decentralization, Party Institutionalization, and Participation
in Comparative Politics, Vol. 39 n. 2

Causal analysis of why some recent experiments in participatory local government in Latin America have failed while others have succeeded is undeveloped. Comparison of three similar experiments in Caracas, Montevideo, and Port Alegre can provide a more thorough explanation. The program in Caracas largely failed; Porto Alegre's participatory budgeting became an international model; and Montevideo's outcome was mixed. Two factors best explain this divergence: the degree of national decentralization of authority and resources for municipal governments and the level of institutionalization of local opposition parties. These conditions shaped the incumbents' ability to design meaningful participatory programs that could attract lasting citizen involvement.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Rojo Salgado A.
Tiempos de reflexión y propuesta: un modelo federal para España.
in Revista de Estudios Políticos , n. 135

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization
Cairney Paul
Venue Shift Following Devolution: When Reserved Meets Devolved in Scotland
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 16, Number 4 / December , 429-445

This article examines the means used to address blurred or shifting boundaries between reserved UK and devolved Scottish policy. It outlines the main issues of multi-level governance and intergovernmental relations in Scotland and the initial problems faced in identifying responsibility for policy action. While it suggests that legislative ambiguities are now mainly resolved with the use of 'Sewel motions', it highlights cases of Scottish action in reserved areas, including the example of smoking policy in which the Scottish Executive appears to 'commandeer' a previously reserved issue. However, most examples of new Scottish influence suggest the need for UK support or minimal UK interest.

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

"You will receive a fair trial elsewhere" the ad hoc international criminal tribunals acting as human rights jurisdictions
in **Netherlands International Law Review**, Volume 54, Issue 1 , 1-49

The transfer of intermediate and lower rank indictees from the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda to competent national jurisdictions is a central component of the so-called completion strategy. When the ad hoc Tribunals contemplate the referral of a case, however, they find themselves hemmed in from two sides. On the one hand, a decision to refer a case will appear justified only if there are strong reasons to believe that national proceedings will be conducted in accordance with international due process standards. On the other hand, the risk that national authorities deny or minimise the responsibility of transferred indictees must be avoided. These two exigencies were given positive expression in the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of both Tribunals, under Rule 11bis. This paves the way for a comparison between Rule 11bis case law and human rights jurisprudence concerning potential violations. For the purposes of this article, comparative analysis provides the basis for asserting that, when the ad hoc Tribunals decide whether or not to refer a case under Rule 11bis, they are bound by human rights standards which go beyond the right to receive a fair trial and are stricter than those normally applicable to a state which is about to extradite or expel an individual.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Pantev Plamen
A View from Bulgaria on the UN Reform Process
in **Europe´s World**, Issue 4, Autumn

Bulgaria's imminent membership of the EU will add value to its evolving Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), particularly with regard to EU-UN relations.

The basic thesis of this "view from a capital" is that the present EU foreign and security policy with regard to the UN, including the current reform process, reflects a long-term strategic attitude of the Union to international law and international institutions, and that more is needed in order to achieve comprehensive strategic global activity.

The UN reform is a far broader project than merely the enlargement of the UN Security Council (UNSC), but the question of whether individual EU countries should each have a permanent seat in the UNSC or the EU should occupy a single seat is nevertheless of some interest. No single guiding formula has yet been devised to provide a satisfactory answer to this question. A formula that would meet the requirements for genuine and effective multilateralism should consider and combine the effects of three factors. First, the Union is simultaneously an evolving integration community and intergovernmental body with a ripening CFSP. Second, the UN is an intergovernmental organization. And third, any reformed UNSC would be dealing with a security agenda whose global validity and priorities need to be accepted by more and more experts and politicians. So the formula needs to respond to three different political logics that are

interacting with each other, overlapping on some issues and opposing on others.

The application of the formula would mean in practical terms preserving the status quo of the present UNSC with the UK and France representing the Union's positions to the extent possible for the present level of European integration. Since the negotiating process has already started, the EU's strongest proposal should be to get Germany a seat in the Security Council. Italy should also be included in the EU's proposal list, if the UNSC is pressed by a larger number of candidates.

The single EU representation in the UNSC is the best option for Bulgaria and the other small states, but is not a realistic solution until European integration has attained greater maturity and the CFSP and ESDP are indisputably the single foreign and security policies of the Union. Even then the bargaining position of the EU should preserve the demand for permanent seats of France, the UK, and eventually Germany (and Italy). The United Nations will continue to be an intergovernmental organisation in which the EU seat would be a logical reflection of the de facto position of the Union in the world as an efficient global actor.

Another significant issue is the credibility of the new UN Human Rights Council. While the newly established UN Democracy Fund and UN Peacebuilding Commission met with support and understanding from the outset, the UN Human Rights Council faced widespread criticism. The main reason was the participation within its ranks of states with a clear record of human rights violations and a general disrespect for fundamental freedoms. There is good reason to consider the UN Human Rights Council a major element of the UN reform process and a very useful ‘meeting point' of international society.

We should not forget the experience of the then CSCE/OSCE "Third Basket" and the special role it played in reshaping the European humanitarian space. Protecting and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout Europe held a specific meaning for the former totalitarian and authoritarian states of the eastern bloc. The drive for democracy there had much to do with the philosophy and political practice of respecting, protecting and promoting human rights and freedoms.

There is a challenge of reforming another UN institution, such as the UN Human Rights Council, may be a daunting one, but the opportunity to repeat the European experience of recent decades and confront undemocratic regimes throughout the world demands the effort. This experience of the EU working within the UN system would also strengthen more generally the Union's impact on global politics.

Lastly, an issue that divides analysts and politicians in Europe; that of the need for consent of the UNSC to send EU troops to deal with contingencies in Europe's periphery or beyond. The disagreement on the political direction and practical application of the Union's military force in conjunction with the UN continues to generate uncertainty about the use of EU power. Mandating by the UN would be the perfect situation, but the Security Council has demonstrated before its capacity to block its own activity. In such circumstances the EU should insist on following the principle of "effective multilateralism" by seeking coordination, cooperation and joint action with the United States, NATO and some regional organisations. This attitude would best correspond to the evolving profile of a real global actor, able to bear responsibility in defending itself worldwide and in shaping the strategic environment according to its global interests.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
F.D. Gaer
A Voice Not an Echo: Universal Periodic Review and the UN Treaty Body System
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 7 n. 1 , 109 - 139

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Hampson F.J.
An Overview of the Reform of the UN Human Rights Machinery
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 7 n. 1 , 7 - 27

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Bianchi A.
Assessing the Effectiveness of the UN Security Council's Anti-terrorism Measures: The Quest for Legitimacy and Cohesion
in European Journal of International Law, Vol. 17 n. 5 , 881 - 919

Assessing the Effectiveness of the UN Security Council's Anti-terrorism Measures: The Quest for Legitimacy and Cohesion
Andrea Bianchi 1

Full text available: PDF format *

Abstract

This article aims to assess the effectiveness of the Security Council's anti-terror measures against the background of the Member States' practices of implementation. This survey is based primarily on the national reports submitted by states, pursuant to the relevant SC resolutions. Other issues, such as the legitimacy of the SC's actions and the encroachment of anti-terror measures on fundamental human rights, are also broached in so far as they may have an impact on the effectiveness of the implementation process. Finally, the article attempts to evaluate, primarily from the perspective of legal interpretation, how to reconcile the predominant security concerns underlying anti-terror measures with the cohesion of the international legal system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Chaplin Edward
Assieme all'Italia nel Consiglio di Sicurezza
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 153 , 163-168

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Boisson de Chazournes Laurence
Collective Security and the Economic Interventionism of the UN—the need for a coherent and Integrated Approach
in Journal of International Economic Law, Volume 10, Number 1 , 51-86

The scope of the collective security system established under the United Nations Charter has expanded significantly since the end of the cold war to cover new fields. An increasing linkage between maintenance of peace and economic reconstruction has lead the United Nations to play an unprecedented role within the economic realm, be it by the widening of the range of measures adopted by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter with economic consequences or through the direct management of economies in post-conflict situations as part of a global strategy to restore peace in war-torn territories. This evolution has brought to light the limits of the existing UN collective security system as a framework to deal with economic issues. It is submitted that the 'derogatory' logic under Article 103 of the Charter and under WTO law through its exception clauses is no longer sufficient to review and assess the UN action in the economic sphere. The promotion and integration of a broader set of principles and rules of international economic law such as principles of fair competition, non-discrimination, or transparency, would help enhance the legitimacy of actions of the UN Security Council. Moreover, this article argues that taking into account international economic law would contribute to achieve UN goals in post conflict situations by paving the way for a stable and safe economic environment in a long-term perspective. The recently established Peacebuilding Commission may contribute to develop a coherent and integrated legal approach in this area.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Tsagourias Nicholas
Consent, Neutrality/Impartiality and the Use of Force in Peacekeeping: Their Constitutional Dimension
in Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Volume 11, Number 3, Winter , 465-482

This article examines the scope and meaning of the principles of consent, neutrality/impartiality and self-defence in peacekeeping and claims that they play a constitutional role. More specifically, they distinguish peacekeeping from peace enforcement and allow the United Nations to play an active role in collective security. The author however claims that the demands of modern peacekeeping have put pressure on these principles and, therefore, the United Nations needs to reconsider their meaning in conjunction with its own principles and values.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Tchkoidze Vasili
Consideration on UN Reforms
in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=3b6a3612-702c-4c7c-acd5-8f579b212d99

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Johnstone R. L.
Cynical Savings or Reasonable Reform? Reflections on a Single Unified UN Human Rights Treaty Body
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 7 n. 1 , 173 - 200

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Rakipi Albert
EU single seat in the Security Council: too Kantian to be loved
in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

In March 1997, Dutch ambassador Jan de Marchant et d' Ansembourg assured Albanian authorities on behalf of the

European Union that "Albania is part of the great European family". Situated in Europe's backyard, the small Balkan country was facing the most difficult challenge of its modern history. After the anarchy of the pyramid schemes, law and order was returning thanks to European assistance – which was precisely what the Dutch diplomat was referring to. The multinational operation force, codenamed ALBA, was composed almost entirely of troops from EU member states. The successful operation was largely a European endeavour in terms of design, military contingent, technology and diplomacy. However, it failed to be a collective EU security action. As the multi-national forces were deployed in Albania, local citizens noticed that the European soldiers had begun to raise their own national flags instead of the yellow starred flag of the EU, on the territories that their national governments had already agreed upon.

Although this Albanian example may seem insignificant in the grand scheme of things, it illustrates both the enticing possibilities and the practical impossibility of any European collective security system that might emerge from a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). On the other hand, the journey towards CFSP is a test of the very survival of the European project itself. In more than 15 years since the end of the Cold War, we have witnessed a dynamic process of enlargement and intensification of the great European project with the adoption of a common market and currency and the influx of new states most notably in the ‘big bang' of 2004. Looking at these processes, there is no doubt that the European world – or even the Kantian world, according to Robert Kagan – is becoming more real. If the deepening of the European project continues at such a pace, the strategic weight of Europe would increase considerably and so would its contribution to global peace and development.

When Albanian citizens took to the streets in March 1980 to reclaim their right to a normal life with the motto "We Want Albania to be like Europe", that Europe was just a myth to them. According to Helene Ahrweiler, this is common to all Balkan countries, including the ones that have been members of the EU for a long time now. However, fifteen years later, Europe and the EU have become a much more real prospect, while Albania's European perspective has become the driving force behind the process of state and regime building. At society level, during the last five years, the EU has topped the list of countries/organizations with which the government ought to have strategic relations. At the elite level, it would be useful to look at the debate on the proposals for UN Security Council reform and the potential role of the EU in order to note Europe's metamorphosis from a "Kantian world" to a real one even for countries that are at the periphery of the EU. Although Albania may carry little weight, its voting patterns mirror European ones and, in the context of competing German and Italian proposals for UN reform, the dilemma of Albanian administrations may have been solved through a common European proposal.

The need for a strategic role for the EU, especially with regard to UN reform, follows quite naturally from the European project and the values that it upholds. While the process of reform and the future role of the EU present a dilemma for countries like Albania, the challenges and responsibilities are even greater for the historical members of the EU and the EU itself as a global player.

From both a theoretical and practical perspective, would it be either possible or even useful for the EU to occupy a

single seat in the Security Council?

Possessing a single seat means speaking with a single voice. As such, a single vote in the Security Council would be the crowning achievement of the European project – the large member states would have to forego their seats and find the mechanisms of harmonizing foreign policy. But, perhaps this is too Kantian an idea to be realistic, although it inspires the romantic love that may one day carry it to fruition. At this stage, no one can seriously contemplate France with its Gaullist heritage or Britain with its soft euroscepticism giving up one of their most prized foreign policy possessions, a UNSC seat, in favour of such a vague and altruistic reason as EU CFSP. No major EU member is ready yet to give up the holiest domain of its national sovereignty – foreign policy – especially since the benefits of doing are still unclear.

Secondly, the idea of a single European seat is not a utility maximizing solution. In reality, by gaining one seat and giving up several European states' seats, Europe as a whole would have less overall weight in the Security Council. And, if EU member states do achieve a common position in foreign policy, would they not be better positioned to project that common position through a caucus of permanent Security Council members?

However, despite the fact that a single European seat at the UN Security Council is not possible and may not even be useful, the projection of power by the European world in the matter of UN reform is indispensable to global governance in the twenty-first century. Turning that dream into a reality is one of the most difficult yet potentially most rewarding challenges facing European policymakers today.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Kotzur Markus
Entscheiden(d) für die Welt - zur Rationalität und Legitimität der Entscheidungen des UN-Sicherheitsrates
in Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart, Band 55, 2007

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Page Edward
Equity and the Kyoto Protocol
in Politics, Vol. 27, Issue 1, February , 8-15

Global climate change raises a number of important issues for political scientists and theorists. One issue concerns the

ethics of implementing policies that seek to manage the threats associated with dangerous climate change in order to protect the interests of future generations. The focus of much of the debate about climate change and inter-generational equity is the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol to this Convention. This article outlines the mechanisms adopted by the Kyoto Protocol and three rival 'climate architectures', evaluating each in terms of some basic principles of equity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Rivarola Andrés
Global Shift: The U.N. System and the New Regionalism in Latin America
in Latin American Politics & Society, Vol. 49, Nr. 1

This study analyzes Latin America in light of the post–Cold War transformation of the global system. Much of Latin American foreign policy studies traditionally has been concerned with the region's subordinate position to "core" countries (generally, developed states and their ruling elites) and the degree to which these countries' policies constrain Latin American policies and development. While this juxtaposition is still a major topic, it ignores the leverage of new "spheres of authority" (SOAs), where global rules and norms are increasingly sustained. A hypothesis presented here is that the U.N. system is an example of such an SOA, which creates a new context for the insertion of periphery demands in the international agenda. A second hypothesis is that such insertion is increasingly made through the creation of new regional groupings, which are an expression of national development and security demands. Such processes carry both new possibilities and challenges.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Penny Christopher K.
Greening the security council: climate change as an emerging “threat to international peace and security”
in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 7, Number 1, March , 35-71

Climate change is a security problem that requires global solutions. Despite some important recent advances, current international responses to climate change are inadequate. This paper assesses whether the United Nations Security Council possesses sufficient legal authority to compel states to address the causes and consequences of climate change. While not advocating the immediate adoption of coercive measures, this paper initiates discussion of this issue, with the goal of developing an institutional framework within which to respond to this emerging threat, if necessary. The paper begins with a brief overview of the clear links between climate change and security, and the inadequacy to date of international remedial efforts. This is followed by a detailed analysis of Security Council legal authority, in particular the UN Charter, including a discussion of its evolving invocation in the context of non-traditional threats. Applying this legal framework to the specific issue of climate change demonstrates the substantial authority of the Security Council to take binding decisions relating to this subject, and its wide range of available enforcement measures, recognizing that political will to exercise and support this authority is required for any successful Security Council efforts to address climate change. The paper concludes that the Security Council has the legal authority to address the causes and consequences of climate change, and that its recent counter-terrorism and non-proliferation measures provide an illustrative institutional framework within which to address this emerging ‘threat to international peace and security’.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Europe's World
How Europe's experts see the outlook for UN reform
in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

As thousands of EU troops don UN blue helmets for peace-keeping operations in Lebanon, and the Finnish presidency attempts to accelerate the slow pace of UN reform in New York, international experts are once again wrestling with the seemingly intractable problems of how to align the world body's outdated institutions and decision-making systems with the human rights and security demands of the 21st century.

For Europeans, one central question is whether the EU, as the world's most dynamic regional organisation, could or should help the UN to discard its tradition of "great power" politics, so deeply embedded within the workings of the Security Council. Europe's World asked leading policy analysts across Europe for their views on the key issues and on the outlook for EU reform. The highlights of their reports are presented here, and the full text of their contributions can be found by clicking on the links in the box on the right hand side of this page.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=030633b9-46d3-4315-af2a-5a6ee67e1654

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Foradori Paolo
La costruzione di un ordine democratico globale: le operazioni di peacekeeping dell'ONU e la promozione della democrazia
in Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, Vol. XXXVII, Numero 1, Aprile

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Prezas I.
La justice pénale internationale à l'épreuve du maintieu de la paix: à propos de la relation entre la Cour pénale internationale et le Conseil de Sécurité
in Revue belge de droit international, n. 1 , 57 - 98

No abstract available

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

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.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Fues Thomas
Millennium Development Goals and Streamlining the UN Development Architectures
in International Studies, n. 1, vol. 44, january , 23-37

ABSTRACT: The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) exemplify the enduring commitment and potential of the United Nations to serve as a catalyst for collective action in the cause of equitable and all round development of all nations and peoples. Indeed, the restructuring of the development apparatus as an important element of the larger challenge of the UN reform has acquired greater urgency in view of the manifest need to push for timely implementation of MDGs. Strengthening the role of the Economic and Social Council is a tricky issue that apparently puts the industrially advanced countries and the developing countries in opposite camps. Among the issues on which both the European developed and the Asian developing countries have showed interest, the idea of air ticket levy for raising resources for development is worthy of being pursued vigorously as part of the UN reform negotiations. Likewise, there is more than sufficient potential for old European Union countries like Germany and fast developing countries like China to bridge gaps in their policy objectives and work as partners in strengthening the multilateral mechanism dedicated to

development purposes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Murthy C.S.R.
New Phase in UN Reforms. Establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission and Human Rights Council
in International Studies, n. 1, vol. 44, january , 39-56

ABSTRACT: The expectations about UN reforms in the wake of the end of the Cold War are dampened due to the strongly held divergent viewpoints among various groups of governments. In contrast to the euphoria generated by official and non-official panels churning out scores of ideas and proposals, the reforms actually carried out have remained cosmetic and minimal. The exception to this dismal trend is the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) and the Human Rights Council (HRC) in 2005 that provide the first exercise of reforms of an inter-governmental nature. There are several unique and innovative features associated with both these newly created bodies—their ambitious mandate, varied ways of composition, parallel structural supervision and so forth. The Asian and European regional groups have espoused often contrasting perspectives in negotiations on the creation of PBC and HRC, while the outcome of the bargaining showcases an interesting balance sheet of the gains and losses of principal organs of the UN, especially the General Assembly and the Security Council. Start-up and follow-up issues like sufficient funding of peacebuilding operations, efficacious coordination with an array of agencies and the independent and impartial scrutiny of human rights track record of countries are substantive and could stand between the success and failure of these innovations. Either way, the actual performance of these bodies may significantly influence the later stages of UN reforms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Lipson Michael
Peacekeeping: Organized Hypocrisy?
in European Journal of International Relations , Vol. 13, n. 1, March , 5-34

ABSTRACT: The UN has been accused of hypocrisy — failing to act in accordance with the ideals it espouses — in post-Cold War peacekeeping missions. This article argues that such inconsistency can arise from ‘organized hypocrisy’, a phenomenon identified by organization theorists in which organizations respond to conflicting pressures in external environments through contradictory actions and statements. Organized hypocrisy may have both positive and negative effects on peacekeeping. On the one hand, it may produce or exacerbate gaps between commitments and resources, undermine reforms if they are decoupled from practice, and impede efforts to mitigate harmful peacekeeping externalities. On the other hand, organized hypocrisy may enable the UN, or regional organizations, to manage irreconcilable pressures that might otherwise render the organization incapable of effective action and threaten its survival. This article explains and develops the concept of organized hypocrisy, and apples it to post-Cold War peace operations.

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

O'Flaherty M., O'Brien C.
Reform of UN Human Rights Treaty Monitoring Bodies: A Critique of the Concept Paper on the High Commissioner's Proposal for a Unified Standing Treaty Body
in **Human Rights Law Review**, Vol. 7 n. 1 , 141 - 172

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Hannum H.
Reforming the Special Procedures and Mechanisms of the Commission on Human Rights
in **Human Rights Law Review**, Vol. 7 n. 1 , 73 - 92

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Chaco sanchez Y.
Responsabilidad internacional de las Naciones Unidas por la actividad ilícita de sus fuerzas de mantenimiento de la paz
in **Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales**, n. 13

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Mühlen-Schulte Arthur
Searching for light in darkness: the legitimacy of UN reform in the global development marketplace
in **Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 61, n. 1 / March , 130-141

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Ahmed Salman, Keating Paul, Solinas Ugo
Shaping the future of UN peace operations: is there a doctrine in the house?
in **Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Vol. 20, n. 1, March , 11-28

In the face of an unprecedented surge in United Nations (UN) peacekeeping activity over the past three years - with now almost 100,000 military, police and civilian personnel deployed on four continents in 18 operations - there is a need for the UN to develop a comprehensive doctrine that better defines what modern UN peacekeeping has become and that

covers the full range of civilian peacebuilding activities that are now a standard feature of Security Council mandates. This paper serves as a primer and proposes an agenda for debate on such a doctrine. It summarises evolutions in thinking and practice over the past 15 years. It also highlights key conceptual challenges and political fault lines to be reconciled in order for a new comprehensive doctrine to enjoy broad support of the UN's 192 Member States, while still providing relevant guidance to thousands of personnel on the front-lines of the effort to help rebuild war-torn states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Gutter J.
Special Procedures and the Human Rights Council: Achievements and Challenges Ahead
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 7 n. 1 , 93 - 107

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Miall Hugh
The EU and the Peacebuilding Commission
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 20, n. 1, March , 29-45

What can the world hope for from the Peacebuilding Commission, given the record of the United Nations in this area? And what contribution can the European Union (EU) offer, given its own record in engaging with countries emerging from violent conflict? The essential task in peacebuilding is to restore a war-torn society's capacity to manage its own conflicts. The priority for the Peacebuilding Commission should be to develop international support and legitimacy for this task, avoiding muddying it with the foreign policy objectives of donor states. The EU has much to offer and much to gain from establishing this growing area of global governance on sound principles and internationally accepted lines. The paper argues that the EU can and should play a leading part in developing the Peacebuilding Commission. It reflects on principles that could be applied and practices that should be avoided.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Buergenthal T.
The Evolving International Human Rights System
in American journal of international law, Vol. 100 n. 4 , 783 - 807

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Upton H.
The Human Rights Council: First Impressions and Future Challenges

in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 7 n. 1 , 29 - 39

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Breau Susan C.
The Impact of the Responsibility to Protect on Peacekeeping
in Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Volume 11, Number 3, Winter , 429-464

This article examines the impact of the doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect on Peacekeeping in the United Nations. One of the key debates in peacekeeping is whether there is a duty to use force to protect civilians from genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. The practice of UN peacekeeping is evolving in many instances, with the notable exception of Darfur, into robust peacemaking actions with a positive responsibility to protect civilians within the field of operations. This article reviews the development of the concept of the responsibility to protect and then applies the various parts of the doctrine to actual situations of threats to international peace and security.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Frölich Manuel
The Ironies of UN Secretariat Reform
in Global Governance, n. 2, vol. 13, april-june , 151-160

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Nowak M.
The Need for a World Court of Human Rights
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 7 n. 1 , 251 - 259

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Scott Shirley V.
The Question of UN Charter Amendment, 1945-1965: Appeasing "the Peoples"
in Journal of the History of International Law, Volume 9, Issue 1 , 83-107

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Golub Stephen
The Rule of Law and the UN Peacebuilding Commission: a social development approach
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 20, n. 1, March , 47-67

There is a danger that the Rule of Law Assistance Unit of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission will employ the same dominant but problematic paradigm that the international development community has pursued across the globe. This top-down, state-centred paradigm, sometimes known as 'rule of law orthodoxy', stands in contrast to an alternative set of strategies: legal empowerment. Legal empowerment involves the use of legal services, legal capacity-building and legal reform by and for disadvantaged populations, often in combination with other development activities, to increase their freedom, improve governance and alleviate poverty. It is typically carried out by domestic and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs), but also by governments and official aid agencies. This alternative approach focuses directly on the disadvantaged and integration with other development activities, which means it often operates under the de facto rubric of social development. Legal empowerment strategies vary among countries and NGOs. But their impact includes reforming gender-biased, non-state justice systems in Bangladesh; ameliorating the legal system's corruption in post-conflict Sierra Leone; keeping the human rights flame burning in post-conflict Cambodia; advancing natural resources protection and indigenous peoples' rights in Ecuador; and strengthening agrarian reform in the Philippines. Addressing such priorities can help alleviate poverty, ameliorate conflict and prevent chaos or repression from dominating the disadvantaged, particularly in conflict or post-conflict societies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Morris Justin, Wheeler Nicholas J.
The Security Council's Crisis of Legitimacy and the Use of Force
in International Politics , Vol. 44. n. 2-3, March / May , 214-231

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is at the heart of the world's collective security system. It is upon this body that rests 'primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security' (UN Charter, Article 24). In this article, we examine the current debate regarding the legitimacy crisis facing the UNSC. We consider its most usual manifestation, namely that the Council faces a crisis of legitimacy because of its inability to constrain the unilaterally inclined hegemonic United States. But we also examine the converse argument that it is the whole UN collective security mechanism (rather than just the Council) that is in crisis. According to this, it is the failure to recognize the unique dangers immanent within the contemporary security environment and the inability of the UN security system to tackle these which is the cause of the current crisis of legitimacy. International society, this position continues, must acknowledge these, and vest in the hegemon the powers it requires in order to meet its global responsibilities. Acknowledging the implications of both of these positions, we argue that the resolution of the current crisis of legitimacy is to be achieved through a more expansive interpretation of the Security Council's extant powers, accompanied by a commitment on the part of the United States to reinvest in the multilateral machinery upon which global order is founded.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Donev Jovan
The UN Reforms – A Never Ending Story
in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=1f1eec8f-87d5-4058-9178-cc6f08a479a2

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Rosand Eric
The UN-Led Multilateral Institutional Response to Jihadist Terrorism: Is a Global Counterterrorism Body Needed?
in Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Volume 11, Number 3, Winter , 399-427

This article first briefly outlines the current terrorist threat posed by militant Islamist radical terrorism and the complexity and evolving nature of threat. It highlights the lack of consensus in academic and policy communities regarding the underlying causes of this terrorism. It them posits that the overarching challenge in the next few years will be to maintain the broad-based international co-operation in the fight against terrorism that has existed since 11 September 2001, which is essential to address the threat effectively. Elements of this challenge include dispelling the notion that the US-led counterterrorism effort is targeting Islam and keeping the global South engaged. Durable, effective and flexible mechanisms are needed at the global, regional and national levels to ensure that multifaceted, holistic strategies are developed and implemented to address these issues. The article then outlines the current capacity of multilateral institutions to contribute to the fight against terrorism. The performance of the main UN counterterrorism bodies – led by the Security Council's different counterterrorism entities – as well as some of the key regional and functional ones, this article concludes, has been uneven. Different organisations have developed counterterrorism programs and units, but these have emerged from political reactions rather than strategic decisions with corresponding achievable technical objectives. The duplication of efforts, overlapping mandates and lack of co-ordination at the international, regional and sub-regional levels have limited the different bodies' overall contribution to the global non-military counterterrorism effort and have left many of the world's vulnerabilities to terrorism unaddressed. This article concludes that maintaining international co-operation and the focus on capacity-building and other non-military counterterrorism measures, as well as the need to address the proliferation of counterterrorism bodies, highlights the need for an effective multilateral body at the center of the effort. The UN Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee was supposed to be this body, but it has been unable to fulfill its broad mandate effectively. The article details the limitations of the current UN Security Council-led approach and the inherent, political, administrative and budgetary challenges of operating within the UN system that would make it difficult to co-ordinate global capacity-building efforts effectively. While it proposes a possible short-term improvement – the consolidation of the different parts of the Security Council counterterrorism program into as single body – in the end, it argues that a new international body dedicated to counterterrorism outside of, but perhaps related in some way to, the UN may be needed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Scannella P., Splinter P.
The United Nations Human Rights Council: A Promise to be Fulfilled
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 7 n. 1 , 41 - 72

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Shringla Harsh Vardhan
The United Nations and Conflict Prevention: Balance Between Sovereignty and Action
in Indian Journal of International Law, volume 46, issue 3 , 429-445

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Ross Sandy
The World Food Programme: a case of benign US policy?
in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 61, n. 2 / June , 267-281

The World Food Programme (WFP) is currently the largest and arguably one of the most successful of the United Nations Special Agencies, yet there has been little examination of it by international relations scholars since the early 1990s. This article seeks to analyse the normative and political characteristics of the WFP which have contributed to its effectiveness. Among its most significant findings is that American agricultural interests, interpreted through the prism of domestic political norms, have dovetailed with 'feed-the-hungry' norms that are projected and implemented by the WFP, resulting in the strong support of the United States for the WFP. This support undermines the perception, promoted by some critics, that the UN is incapable of acting in ways that are compatible with the national interests of the United States and other significant member-states who inherently pursue 'national interests' in institutional environments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Bowman M.
Towards a Unified Treaty Body for Monitoring Compliance with UN Human Rights Conventions? Legal Mechanisms for Treaty Reform
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 7 n. 1 , 225 - 249

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Daglish Kristen, Nasu Hitoshi
Towards a true incarnation of the rule of law in war-torn territories: centring peacebuilding in the will of the people
in Netherlands International Law Review, Volume 54, Issue 1 , 81-114

While there have been increasing demands for strengthening UN capacity for peacebuilding, recent peacebuilding operations under UN transitional territorial administration have obscured and downgraded the importance of normative and legal questions and have failed to address the right to self-determination in substance. It is argued that the legal issues surrounding such operations, including the legal basis for establishing transitional administrations, the legal status of the territories under administration and the legal regulations governing the powers given to UN administrators, must be contemplated in such a way as to focus fully on the internal and substantive aspects of the peoples' right to self-determination.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Schöpp-Schilling H. B.
Treaty Body Reform: the Case of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
in Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 7 n. 1 , 201 - 224

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Silva Mejias M.L.
UN Security activities: making the impossible happen
in Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales, n. 13

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 1.The United Nations and its system
Quénivet Noëlle
You are the Weakest Link and We will Help You! The Comprehensive Strategy of the United Nations to Fight Terrorism
in Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Volume 11, Number 3, Winter , 371-397

In 2004, the United Nations Secretary-General published the report of the high-level panel of experts on threats, challenges and change that projected a comprehensive strategy to fight various types of scourges that afflict humankind and notably terrorism. The report and the following world summit documents inscribe themselves in established trends set by the State community and the United Nations in the past decades. Since 11 September, five different wide-encompassing strategies have been offered to the State community to come to terms with terrorism. This article focuses on this proliferation of documents and their inconsistency in terms of content. Yet, it also pinpoints the common thread that runs through the documents, namely that the comprehensive strategy must address the root causes of terrorism, strengthen States and promote the rule of law and human rights, three targets that can be reached by the implementation of a strong policy of capacity-building. In all cases, the State community works on the premise that weak and rogue States will consent to be helped in building national and regional capacity to combat terrorism. Undoubtedly, convincing weak and rogue States to abide by international standards will require more than just capacity-building to deflect terrorism. Rather, the United Nations will need to conceptualise general measures to prevent and reverse state failure, which in turn means that the strategy must be indeed ‘comprehensive’.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Burgos J. G.
El banco mundial y la politizacion de su mandato
in Analisis politico , n. 59

This article asserts that, as a result of the rule program adopted by the World Bank at the beginning of the nineties, the institution has assumed a politicization of its mandate taken as the legitimization of deeper intervention in the restructuring of economic and political roles by moneylender states. Such politicization has been backed in an ad hoc reinterpretation of the founding statutes, allowing wide institutional intervention in diverse affairs previously considered strictly political. By proceeding this way, the bank has clearly broken the intended technical character featured since its foundation in the second post war.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Santiso Carlos
Curbing corruption and improving fiscal governance: Strengthening budget oversight and public sector auditing in emerging economies
in Revue française d'administration publique, n. 119 , 493-514

It is increasingly acknowledged that improving economic governance and fostering fiscal responsibility in emerging economies necessarily requires greater transparency and accountability in the management of public finances. Additionally, new and old forms of aid delivery, notably direct budgetary support and policy-based lending, involve greater reliance on national public finance management systems. Therefore, improving aid effectiveness and mitigating fiduciary risk also entail strengthening external scrutiny, financial oversight and

fiscal control. These twin trends have led to a renewed in interest in the institutions overseeing the budget, in particular parliaments and external audit agencies. This study reviews a decade of support by the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank to parliaments and external audit agencies in Latin America. It underscores recent developments in development finance reflecting a broader understanding of the determinants of fiscal credibility and financial integrity. It reveals a learning curve in multilateral assistance to budget oversight institutions. It argues that there exists unexplored potential to improve the effectiveness of multilateral assistance to fiscal control institutions, including in the choice of lending strategies and the synergies between instruments. More fundamentally, it underscores the need to tackle the underlying political economy of public finance accountability.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Senti Richard
Die WTO im gesellschaftspolitischen Dilemma
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 13, 2007

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Panagiotis Delimatsis
Due Process and 'Good' Regulation Embedded in the GATS – Disciplining Regulatory Behaviour in Services Through Article VI of the GATS
in Journal of International Economic Law, Volume 10, Number 1 , 13-50

On the occasion of the US – Gambling ruling, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) came to the forefront. Several critiques against this ruling highlighted the urgent need to clarify important concepts laid down in the GATS. Domestic regulation is arguably the overarching concept when it comes to trade in services, inter alia, because of the regulatory intensity that characterizes many service sectors. Article VI of the GATS aspires to discipline non-discriminatory domestic regulatory measures. In this respect, World Trade Organization (WTO) Members are required to adhere to certain due process obligations and to develop additional rules of 'good' regulation through the completion of the work program set out in Article VI:4 of the GATS. This paper provides a comprehensive analysis of Article VI. In doing this, it explores the objective function and the mechanics of this provision bearing in mind the delicate balance between trade liberalization and regulatory sovereignty that becomes apparent in Article VI more than in any other GATS provision.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Van Den Hende Lode
GATS Article XVI and national regulatory sovereignty: what lessons to draw from US - Gambling?
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 20, n. 1, March , 93-110

The article examines the World Trade Organization (WTO) Appellate Body's ruling in US - Gambling that United States (US) prohibitions on the foreign supply of gambling and betting services via the internet to consumers in the US violated US market access commitments under Article XVI of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). The article reviews the main arguments criticising the decision and suggests that these views are (i) misguided because they rely excessively on a textual approach to interpreting Article XVI market access commitments, and (ii) lead to results that do not conform with the common intentions of the negotiating parties. The article argues for an approach that relies primarily on examining the facts of each case and the context in which WTO Members' commitments are negotiated. This approach also emphasises the importance of WTO Members making clear and precise market access commitments. In the author's view, the Appellate Body ruling adds more clarity to how GATS market access commitments will be interpreted in the future and, in doing so, facilitates market access negotiations and the making of additional commitments by WTO Members.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Kaberuka Donald
If Doha dies, what then?
in **Europe´s World**, Issue 4, Autumn

Governments in rich countries and poor seem to be quietly writing off the ill-fated Doha Development Round of multilateral trade liberalisations despite its promise of a $500bn boost to the world economy. Donald Kaberuka, President of the African Development Bank, looks at the likely costs of failure

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=61cdbe44-561a-42ed-a0c2-684a4b36b400

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
JENSEN NATHAN M. , DREHER AXEL
Independent Actor or Agent? An Empirical Analysis of the Impact of U.S. Interests on International Monetary Fund Conditions
in **Journal of Law and Economics (The)**, Volume 50, Number 1 (February 2007) , 105-124

In this paper, we analyze whether International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditionality is exclusively designed to be in line with observable economic indicators or whether it is partly driven by the IMF's major shareholder, the United States. A panel data analysis of 206 letters of intent from 38 countries, submitted during the period April 1997 through February 2003, revealed that the number of conditions on an IMF loan depended on a borrowing country's voting pattern in the UN General Assembly. Closer allies of the United States (and other Group of 7 [G7] countries) received IMF loans with fewer conditions, especially prior to elections. These results are relevant to current public policy debates on the role and process of setting IMF loan conditions and provide broader insight into the influence of the United States and other G7 countries on international institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Pratap, Ravindra
India and DSU Reform Negotiations: A Critical Appraisal
in **Indian Journal of International Law**, Volume 46, issue 4 , 556-571

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Goldstein Judith, Rivers Douglas, Tomz Michael
Institutions in International Relations: Understanding the Effects of the GATT and the WTO on World Trade
in **International Organization**, issue 1, vol. 61, january , 37-67

ABSTRACT: The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have been touted as premier examples of international institutions, but few studies have offered empirical proof. This article comprehensively evaluates the effects of the GATT/WTO and other trade agreements since World War II. Our analysis is organized around two factors: institutional standing and institutional embeddedness. We show that many countries had rights and obligations, or institutional standing, in the GATT/WTO even though they were not formal members of the agreement. We also expand the analysis to include a range of other commercial agreements that were embedded with the GATT/WTO. Using data on dyadic trade since 1946, we demonstrate that the GATT/WTO substantially increased trade for countries with institutional standing, and that other embedded agreements had similarly positive effects. Moreover, our evidence suggests that international trade agreements have complemented, rather than undercut, each other

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Sen S.
La finance chinoise après l'OMC
in **Revue Tiers Monde**, n. 186 , 377 - 390

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Ghérari Habib
La marche vers l'universalité de l'Organisation mondiale du commerce
in **Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union Européenne**, numero 505, février , 84-89

Since it was founded, WTO has been overwhelmed with requests for accession, proof if needed of its appeal. On 11th

January 2007, it welcomed its 150th member, Vietnam, thus closing the 27th accession process. So one of the most dynamic economies of Asia, and of the moment, is now integrated. This achievement does not mean that we should forget about what we still have to achieve, since several requests for accession are currently undergoing examination. Some of these are old and come from important States, which should preferably not stay away from this Organisation and its disciplines for any longer. The same observations goes for economically weaker States, but whose entry should also be encouraged, so that WTO really is acting as the World Trade Organisation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Draghi Mario
Le istituzioni finanziarie internazionali nell'economia mondiale
in **Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario**, n. 5 , 791-800

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Bismuth Régis
Le système international de prévention des crises financières
in **Journal du droit international**, n. 1 , 57-83

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Seabrooke Leonard
Legitimacy Gaps in the World Economy: Explaining the Sources of the IMF's Legitimacy Crisis
in **International Politics** , Vol. 44. n. 2-3, March / May , 250-268

Since the Asian financial crisis of 1997–1998, the International Monetary Fund (the Fund) has been embroiled in an international crisis of legitimacy. Assertions of a crisis are premised on the notions that the Fund's voting system is unfair, that the Fund enforces homogeneous policies onto borrowing member states and that loan programmes tend to fail. Seen this way, poor institutional and policy design has led to a loss of legitimacy. But institutionalised inequalities or policy failure is not in itself sufficient to constitute an international crisis of legitimacy. This article provides a conceptually-driven discussion of the sources of the Fund's international crisis of legitimacy by investigating how its formal 'foreground' institutional relations with its member states have become strained, and how informal 'background' political and economic relationships are expanding in a way that the Fund will find difficult to re-legitimate. The difference between the Fund's claims to legitimacy and how its member states, especially borrowers, act has led to the creation of a 'legitimacy gap' that is difficult to close. However, identifying the sources of the Fund's international crisis of legitimacy allows us to explore what avenues are available to resolve the crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Adlung Rudolf
Negotiations on Safeguards and Subsidies in Services: a Never-ending Story?
in Journal of International Economic Law, Volume 10, Number 2 , 235-265

After the Uruguay Round, negotiations under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) continued in several rule-making areas, including emergency safeguards and subsidies. However, there has been little progress to date. The negotiations on safeguards appear to have suffered from a combination of high ambition, limited flexibility and, possibly, too much inspiration from the existing mechanism under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Yet the GATS is different in at least two respects: its reach has been extended from cross-border trade to factor flows, and from an essentially tariff-only regime to many more permissible restrictions, including import-displacing subsidies. The question arises, whether and where safeguards could still serve a useful purpose. At the same time, with less enthusiasm, however, WTO Members have discussed the need for additional subsidy disciplines beyond current Most-Favoured-Nation (MFN) and, in scheduled sectors, national treatment obligations. A link between the two areas has not been established. This article thus seeks to identify and, as far as possible, tie up loose ends. While there appears to be little scope for GATT-type safeguards in services, a transitory arrangement, which allows for suspensions of new commitments during an implementation phase, might encourage more ambitious liberalization under the GATS.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Woodward Richard
Offshore Strategies in Global Political Economy: Small Islands and the Case of the EU and OECD Harmful Tax Competition Initiatives
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 19, n. 4, December , 685-699

This article investigates how recent attempts by the European Union (EU) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) to clamp down on harmful tax competition will affect small island economies with offshore financial centres (OFCs). It argues that although there are legitimate concerns about the initiatives, the likelihood that small island OFCs will disappear is remote. A confluence of factors have forced the EU and OECD to dilute their original proposals to the extent that while some marginal OFCs may be driven out of existence, more sophisticated OFCs will be unharmed and may even benefit from this supposed regulatory offensive.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Mitchell A.D.
Proportionality and Remedies in WTO Disputes
in European Journal of International Law, Vol. 17 n. 5 , 1008 - 1030

This article considers the role of proportionality in determining the level and type of remedies available to World Trade Organization Members for violations of legal obligations or for certain other undesirable or unfair conduct. As an aid to

interpretation, proportionality confirms the purpose of suspension of concessions as inducing compliance and may clarify the meaning of 'nullification or impairment' and the appropriate response to actionable or prohibited subsidies. However, principles such as proportionality must yield to the relevant text of the WTO agreements, where that text is unambiguous, and WTO Tribunals must carefully investigate the meaning and scope of a principle before using it in the WTO. Contrary to certain past decisions, the principle of proportionality is not relevant to the imposition of safeguards in the WTO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Andenas Mads, Zleptnig Stefan
Proportionality and balancing in WTO law: a comparative perspective
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 20, n. 1, March , 71-92

This article discusses the concepts of proportionality, necessity and balancing in the World Trade Organization (WTO) legal framework. These concepts are increasingly important in the context of services and establishment regulated by the General Agreement on Trade in Services. The role and meaning of proportionality, necessity and balancing are not clear. The emerging WTO case law is analysed in this article, which adopts a comparative approach, drawing upon proportionality and balancing tests in different national and international legal orders. It discusses how these tests could influence the interpretation and application of WTO law. A main argument is that trade-offs among competing norms and values are unavoidable in WTO dispute settlement, and that the proportionality analysis could contribute to making this process more transparent, rational and predictable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Griesgraber J. M., Ugarteche O.
Qué hacer con el FMI? Algunas perspectivas desde la sociedad civil
in Nueva Sociedad, n. 206

With its prestige seriously affected after its role in Asia and Argentina, discredited as a result of the persistent global instability and with diminishing financial resources as a result of the decision of various countries to pay their debts before they were due, the International Monetary Fund is facing a severe crisis. As a solution, there are those who suggest new cosmetics, while others simply recommend its abolition. This article resumes these two arguments before presenting, in greater detail, two other proposals: one that suggests that its basic function of coordinating policies should be regionalized, and remain in the hands of regional agencies; the other stresses the need for a profound reform, in order to make it more democratic, more transparent and more responsive to the needs of the less-developed countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Lelart Michel
Régulation et gouvernance dans la finance internationale: Où en est le FMI ?
in Etudes Internationales, 4, Décembre 2006

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Lombardi Domenico
The Development Dimension of IMF Lending Policies
in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLII, n. 1, January-March

The debate on the role of the IMF in low-income countries has recently gained strength in light of the commitment by the international community to support achievement of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. The IMF fulfils an important role as an information provider to low-income aid-recipient countries and their bilateral donors, who consider Fund signals as a useful device in their allocation decisions. The IMF also provides lending to low-income countries through the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF), established in 1999. The PRGF was designed to address earlier criticism claiming that IMF lending programs to low-income countries had privileged stabilisation over poverty-reducing growth through financial arrangements that had shown little ownership by those countries. The PRGF was meant to support a balanced macroeconomic framework in which low-income economies could pursue growth-enhancing measures with relevant poverty-reducing effects, reflecting policy priorities put forward by the countries themselves. Based on the available evidence, PRGF-supported countries have recorded a favourable growth performance vis-à-vis non-PRGF-supported countries, although the extent to which this outcome has translated into poverty reduction has yet to be assessed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Ochieng Cosmas Milton Obote
The EU–ACP Economic Partnership Agreements and the 'Development Question': Constraints and Opportunities Posed by Article XXIV and Special and Differential Treatment Provisions of the WTO
in Journal of International Economic Law, Volume 10, Number 2 , 363-395

This article argues that Article XXIV and special and differential treatment (SDT) provisions of the WTO present a number of constraints and opportunities to the design and scope of the proposed economic partnership agreements between the European Union (EU) and African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries. It examines the negotiating positions of both sides to argue that were the EU's position to prevail, ACP and other developing countries would likely suffer an 'erosion of the development principles' embedded within the WTO. It is shown that the differences between the two groups over the desirability and/or applicability of negotiating free trade agreements between developed and developing countries under the 'strict' jurisdiction of Article XXIV, and of negotiating agreements on services and the 'Singapore Issues', amount to a contestation over the principles of reciprocity and SDT within the WTO, and of the scope of the WTO.

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

The End of National Currency

in **Foreign Affairs**, May/June 2007 Vol 86, Number 3

Global financial instability has sparked a surge in "monetary nationalism" -- the idea that countries must make and control their own currencies. But globalization and monetary nationalism are a dangerous combination, a cause of financial crises and geopolitical tension. The world needs to abandon unwanted currencies, replacing them with dollars, euros, and multinational currencies as yet unborn.

THE RISE OF MONETARY NATIONALISM

Capital flows have become globalization's Achilles' heel. Over the past 25 years, devastating currency crises have hit countries across Latin America and Asia, as well as countries just beyond the borders of western Europe -- most notably Russia and Turkey. Even such an impeccably credentialed pro-globalization economist as U.S. Federal Reserve Governor Frederic Mishkin has acknowledged that "opening up the financial system to foreign capital flows has led to some disastrous financial crises causing great pain, suffering, and even violence."

The economics profession has failed to offer anything resembling a coherent and compelling response to currency crises. International Monetary Fund (IMF) analysts have, over the past two decades, endorsed a wide variety of national exchange-rate and monetary policy regimes that have subsequently collapsed in failure. They have fingered numerous culprits, from loose fiscal policy and poor bank regulation to bad industrial policy and official corruption. The financial-crisis literature has yielded policy recommendations so exquisitely hedged and widely contradicted as to be practically useless.

Antiglobalization economists have turned the problem on its head by absolving governments (except the one in Washington) and instead blaming crises on markets and their institutional supporters, such as the IMF -- "dictatorships of international finance," in the words of the Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz. "Countries are effectively told that if they don't follow certain conditions, the capital markets or the IMF will refuse to lend them money," writes Stiglitz. "They are basically forced to give up part of their sovereignty."

Is this right? Are markets failing, and will restoring lost sovereignty to governments put an end to financial instability? This is a dangerous misdiagnosis. In fact, capital flows became destabilizing only after countries began asserting "sovereignty" over money -- detaching it from gold or anything else considered real wealth. Moreover, even if the march of globalization is not inevitable, the world economy and the international financial system have evolved in such a way that there is no longer a viable model for economic development outside of them.

The right course is not to return to a mythical past of monetary sovereignty, with governments controlling local interest and exchange rates in blissful ignorance of the rest of the world. Governments must let go of the fatal notion that nationhood requires them to make and control the money used in their territory. National currencies and global markets simply do not mix; together they make a deadly brew of currency crises and geopolitical tension and create ready pretexts for damaging protectionism. In order to globalize safely, countries should abandon monetary nationalism and abolish unwanted currencies, the source of much of today's instability.

THE GOLDEN AGE

Capital flows were enormous, even by contemporary standards, during the last great period of "globalization," from the late nineteenth century to the outbreak of World War I. Currency crises occurred during this period, but they were generally shallow and short-lived. That is because money was then -- as it has been throughout most of the world and most of human history -- gold, or at least a credible claim on gold. Funds flowed quickly back to crisis countries because of confidence that the gold link would be restored. At the time, monetary nationalism was considered a sign of backwardness, adherence to a universally acknowledged standard of value a mark of civilization. Those nations that adhered most reliably (such as Australia, Canada, and the United States) were rewarded with the lowest international borrowing rates. Those that adhered the least (such as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile) were punished with the highest. This bond was fatally severed during the period between World War I and World War II. Most economists in the 1930s

and 1940s considered it obvious that capital flows would become destabilizing with the end of reliably fixed exchange rates. Friedrich Hayek noted in a 1937 lecture that under a credible gold-standard regime, "short-term capital movements will on the whole tend to relieve the strain set up by the original cause of a temporarily adverse balance of payments. If exchanges, however, are variable, the capital movements will tend to work in the same direction as the original cause and thereby to intensify it" -- as they do today.
The belief that globalization required hard money, something foreigners would willingly hold, was widespread. The French economist Charles Rist observed that "while the theorizers are trying to persuade the public and the various governments that a minimum quantity of gold ... would suffice to maintain monetary confidence, and that anyhow paper currency, even fiat currency, would amply meet all needs, the public in all countries is busily hoarding all the national currencies which are supposed to be convertible into gold." This view was hardly limited to free marketeers. As notable a critic of the gold standard and global capitalism as Karl Polanyi took it as obvious that monetary nationalism was incompatible with globalization. Focusing on the United Kingdom's interest in growing world trade in the nineteenth century, he argued that "nothing else but commodity money could serve this end for the obvious reason that token money, whether bank or fiat, cannot circulate on foreign soil." Yet what Polanyi considered nonsensical -- global trade in goods, services, and capital intermediated by intrinsically worthless national paper (or "fiat") monies -- is exactly how globalization is advancing, ever so fitfully, today.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Alexander Kern
The GATS and financial services: the role of regulatory transparency
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 20, n. 1, March , 111-132

The World Trade Organization (WTO) General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and its Annex on Financial Services provide the international legal framework for the regulation of cross-border trade in financial services. This paper analyses the main provisions of the GATS that relate to regulatory transparency of trade in financial services. The GATS generally provides a flexible framework for states to negotiate liberalisation commitments while providing WTO members with autonomy to promote their regulatory objectives. The extent to which states, however, must adhere to GATS disciplines regarding transparent regulatory practices has become a source of policy debate. Although the WTO has played no role in setting financial regulatory standards, the transparency obligations of the GATS have important implications for how financial regulators can achieve their objectives. Moreover, GATS transparency obligations can potentially create disproportionate administrative costs for developing countries and thus undermine their financial sector development. The paper argues that the principles of regulatory transparency in the GATS should be interpreted in a way that favours regulatory discretion to achieve financial stability and other prudential objectives. In the post-Doha era, WTO members should attempt to clarify GATS transparency obligations in a way that promotes financial development and regulatory autonomy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Zleptnig Stefan
The GATS and internet-based services: between market access and domestic regulation
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 20, n. 1, March , 133-157

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) has attracted much attention in public and academic debate. The aim of this article is to analyse the application of the GATS to internet-based services, thus providing a lens through which important issues concerning the GATS can be highlighted. This article reviews the far-reaching implications of the recent US - Gambling dispute for the regulation of (internet-based) services. It argues that World Trade Organization Members need to make a greater effort to delineate the key GATS obligations (market access, national treatment, and disciplines on domestic regulation) in order to provide national law- and policy-makers and trade negotiators with more legal certainty and predictability in the application of the GATS.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Subramanian Arvind, Wei Shang-Jin
The WTO promotes trade, strongly but unevenly
in Journal of International Economics, Volume 72, Issue 1, May 2007

This paper furnishes robust evidence that the WTO has had a strong positive impact on trade, amounting to about 120% of additional world trade (or US$ 8 trillion in 2000 alone). The impact has, however, been uneven. This, in many ways, is consistent with theoretical models of the GATT/WTO. The theory suggests that the impact of a country's membership in the GATT/WTO depends on what the country does with its membership, with whom it negotiates, and which products the negotiation covers. Using a properly specified gravity model, we find evidence broadly consistent with these predictions. First, industrial countries that participated more actively than developing countries in reciprocal trade negotiations witnessed a large increase in trade. Second, bilateral trade was greater when both partners undertook liberalization than when only one partner did. Third, sectors that did not witness liberalization did not see an increase in trade.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Lamy P.
The place of WTO and its Law in the International Legal Order
in European Journal of International Law, Vol. 17 n. 5 , 984 - 1007

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2.The economic and financial international organizations
Zedalis Rex J.
When do the Activities of Private Parties Trigger WTO Rules?
in Journal of International Economic Law, Volume 10, Number 2 , 335-362

As scrutiny of government actions affecting international trade relations continues to increase, the relevance of private party actions having an impact on those relations may gain in importance. Since the 1960s, the GATT member states have been cognizant of the role that private parties can play in disrupting the natural competitive economic relationships extant between countries. A handful of GATT and WTO adjudicative determinations over the intervening four and a half

decades have initiated the process of fleshing-out the conditions under which GATT/WTO legal disciplines apply to private party action as a consequence of ascribing such action to the government of a relevant member state. What follows reviews those adjudicative determinations and distills the themes and conditions for attribution articulated therein. It also reviews what could be offered GATT/WTO dispute settlement bodies were consideration to be given to the international rules regarding state responsibility for acts of individuals. From an examination of article 8 of the 2001 International Law Commission's articles on state responsibility in particular, it is suggested a somewhat narrow understanding of attribution should obtain, and that such an understanding can be seen as in conformance with the basic thrust of international economic law, extant GATT/WTO case law, and sound policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Nones Michele
A New Bi-continental Approach to Transatlantic Defence Cooperation
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLII, n. 2, April-June

The prospect of transatlantic cooperation in the field of defence systems depends on reaching an acceptable point of equilibrium. Without it, Europe would find the strategic, political, economic, and industrial risks of total American predominance in this field (with the consequent loss of technical and production expertise) unacceptable. The reduction of the gap between Europe and the United States depends on the integration of the European defence market. This must not be seen as a risk for transatlantic collaboration, but as an opportunity. Building up a transatlantic market could also improve the efficiency of the American market by increasing competition. This collaboration, based not on bilateral, national, or multilateral agreements, but instead on bi-continental cooperation, is the challenge that Europe and the United States must face and meet together.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Yost David S.
Analysing international nuclear order
in **International Affairs** , issue 3, vol. 83, may , 549-574

William Walker's article, ‘Nuclear enlightenment and counter-enlightenment’, raises fundamental questions about the history of efforts to construct order in international politics in relation to nuclear arms and weapons-related capabilities. However, Walker's ‘enlightenment’ and ‘counter-enlightenment’ tropes are clumsy and unsatisfactory tools for analysing contemporary policies concerning nuclear deterrence, non-proliferation and disarmament. Walker holds that in the 1960s and 1970s most of the governments of the world came together in pursuit of ‘a grand enlightenment project’. This thesis cannot withstand empirical scrutiny with regard to its three main themes—a supposed US-Soviet consensus on doctrines of stabilizing nuclear deterrence through mutual vulnerability, a notion that the NPT derived from ‘concerted efforts to construct an international nuclear order meriting that title’, and the view that the NPT embodied a commitment to achieve nuclear disarmament. Walker's criticisms of US nuclear policies since the late 1990s are in several cases overstated or ill-founded. Walker also exaggerates the potential influence of the United States over the policies of other countries. It is partly for this reason that the challenges at hand—both analytical and practical—are more complicated and dif cult than his article implies. His work nonetheless has the great merit of raising fundamental questions about

international political order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Krause Joachim
Enlightenment and nuclear order
in International Affairs , issue 3, vol. 83, may , 483-499

Applying the method of enlightenment correctly to the area of nuclear non-proliferation would require a major effort to critically evaluate ideologies. Liberal arms control—despite its many successes and merits—has devised over the years a whole set of ideological tenets and attitudes. Some of them have been transformed into beliefs that could be termed myths. The most prominent ideological myth of the liberal arms control school is the notion that the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty of 1968 (NPT) was in essence a disarmament agreement, not a non-proliferation treaty. To depict the negotiations as a premeditated effort of enlightenment, where the governments of this world came together to solemnly decide that some of them would be allowed to have some nuclear weapons for an interim period while the others would renounce their possession immediately, is pure. It would be equally wrong to qualify the ‘grand bargain’ as one between the nuclear haves and the nuclear have-nots. Another myth of the liberal arms control school is the notion that—in order to gain support for the NPT—the superpowers had altered their nuclear weapons strategy in the 1960s. Again, this contention is not borne out by the development of nuclear strategies and doctrines. The third myth is the contention that there was an abrupt shift in US non-proliferation policy as George W. Bush came into power. The major changes in US non-proliferation policy had already started during the Clinton administration and some of them can be traced back to the tenure of President George W. H. Bush senior. They all reflected the changed international environment and represented necessary adjustments of the non-proliferation strategy. The Clinton administration left some of the traditional paths of arms control and rightly undertook some changes that were necessary because traditional instruments of arms control were no longer adequate. The Bush administration continued that policy, but in a more radical way.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Ruhle Michael
Enlightenment in the second nuclear age
in International Affairs , issue 3, vol. 83, may , 511-522

The debate on nuclear proliferation has become increasingly polarized. While there is widespread agreement on the perilous state of the traditional non-proliferation regime, the analyses of the causes differ widely. The liberal arms control community has sought to salvage the eroding non-proliferation regime both by overplaying its importance (nuclear enlightenment') as well as by blaming the policies of the nuclear weapons states, notably the United States. However, this view rests on several assumptions that have been increasingly revealed as myths: the myth of a universal

non-proliferation norm generated largely by the Non-proliferation Treaty; the myth of a direct relationship between nuclear reductions and proliferation; and the myth of US policy being a cause of, rather than a reaction to, the non-proliferation crisis. Clinging to these myths is counterproductive, as it seeks to perpetuate old policies at the expense of new approaches. However, new approaches to non-proliferation are bound to gain in importance, even if they run counter to established arms control dogmas.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Collins Alan
Forming a security community: lessons from ASEAN
in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 7, Number 2, May , 203-225

At its Ninth Summit in October 2003 the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) announced its intention to create an ASEAN Community based upon three pillars: ASEAN Economic Community, ASEAN Security Community and an ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community. A year later ASEAN established the Vientiane Action Programme to realise this goal. The official discourse of community building is complemented by a vibrant academic debate over whether ASEAN's norms indicate that it is a nascent security community ready to transform itself into a fully-fledged security community. In this article I argue that ASEAN has never been a nascent security community but has instead been a security regime and therefore its norm compliance does not provide evidence of community building. If ASEAN is to form a security community then new socialising norms will need to emerge, which will need to include the active involvement of regional civil society organisations in order to bring plurality to ASEAN decision making. Only then will the people of ASEAN be able to take ownership of the community building process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Spogli Ronald P.
Gli Stati Uniti, l'Afghanistan e la NATO
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 154 , 320-331

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Brandimante Paolo, Menotti Roberto
It's time to clarify the constructive ambiguity in the NATO-EU security relationship
in Europe´s World, Issue 5, Spring

Transatlantic decision-making on security is based on consensus, and right now both sides can agree they are unhappy. Roberto Menotti and Paolo Brandimarte suggest a new basis for the NATO-EU relationship.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=daf5cadf-0ef5-45ce-bb3f-6394a985e284

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Chirac Jacques
La Francia, la NATO e l'Unione Europea
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 153 , 60-64

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Moreno Maurizio
La NATO dopo il Vertice di Riga
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 153 , 113-121

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Romano Sergio
La NATO, un'Organizzazione in crisi di identità
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 153 , 108-112

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Yost David S.
NATO and the anticipatory use of force
in International Affairs , issue 1, vol. 83, january , 39-68

Only since the end of the Cold War, and particularly since September 2001, have questions of anticipatory action arisen in alliance deliberations concerning the use of force. In initiating their Balkan operations, it should be recalled, the allies did not face direct threats, but intervened toterminate conflicts and human rights abuses and to shape their security environment. It has been difficult for the alliance to get to grips with the new security challenges presented by terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction because of its history, its intrinsic character, and the nature of the new security challenges. Its history includes a strictly reactive posture during the Cold War and its interventions from a

position of overwhelming superiority in the Balkan conflicts. The new security challenges place under stress the alliance's intrinsic character as a permanent coalition of sovereign independent states committed to collective defence because these challenges may endanger specific allies to differing degrees (in contrast with the overarching Soviet threat during the Cold War) and revealdiff erences in interests, capabilities and strategic cultures among the allies. The allies have not yet resolved questions concerning the legality and legitimacy of the anticipatory use of force, nor have they fully explored the implications of concepts such as 'constructive abstention' and 'NATO in support' with regard to preemptive or preventive operations undertaken by a group of allies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Ole Kiso Jan, Taylor Adrian
Now it’s NATO’s WMD (weapon of mass democratisation)
in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

Membership of NATO and the EU was a magnet that brought stability and democracy to post-communist Europe. Adrian Taylor and Jan Ole Kiso argue that the same method should be applied globally by turning NATO into an "aspirational club" open to members around the world. Oh, and they also want to change its name

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=1d2796cc-ed00-40da-b172-425ec2193f7c

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Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Price Richard
Nuclear Weapons Don't Kill People, Rogues Do
in International Politics , Vol. 44. n. 2-3, March / May , 232-249

This article examines whether the nuclear non-proliferation regime is in crisis. I argue that the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) is suffering a crisis of legitimacy in domestic US politics and a chronic legitimacy deficit globally, but this does not in and of itself mean that there is a crisis in the non-proliferation regime per se, so long as there are actors with the ability and will to pay the costs of coercive and diplomatic bargaining instruments to maintain the loss of voluntary compliance. Policies addressing nuclear non-proliferation by the nuclear weapons states and their allies have been overwhelmingly ensconced within those latter two mechanisms of compliance rather than addressing the chronic legitimacy deficit of the NPT caused by the continued possession of nuclear arsenals by the nuclear weapons states. The US under the Bush administration, however, has led the way in an attempt to reconstitute the social relations underpinning the non-proliferation regime by recognizing India as a responsible nuclear power. This recalibration portends a more fundamental challenge to a regime of universal nuclear non-proliferation than the approach of nuclear powers to date, which has been to neglect legitimacy concerns in favour of diplomatic carrots and sticks and, with the Bush administration in particular, the threat and use of force. I argue that it is likely to deepen the chronic legitimacy deficit of the NPT, thus requiring greater investment in war, or in diplomatic carrots and sticks that have sometimes proven insufficient, though it is possible a new nuclear condominium could settle that proves at least as stable as the past if not more, with but another addition or two. But even if it does, this strategy of re-legitimation puts further off rather

than nearer attainment of the central principle and purposes of the regime.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Walker William
Nuclear enlightenment and counter-enlightenment
in International Affairs , issue 3, vol. 83, may , 431-453

Given the apocalyptic nature of nuclear weapons, how can states establish an international order that ensures survival while allowing the weapons to be used in controlled ways to discourage great wars, and while allowing nuclear technology to dif use for civil purposes? How can the possession of nuclear weapons by a few states be reconciled with their renunciation by the majority of states? Which political strategies can best deliver an international nuclear order that is effective, legitimate and durable? These have been central questions in the nuclear age. This article suggests that the effort to construct such an order displayed the characteristics of an enlightenment project, with its emphasis on balance and rationality, the quest for justice and trust among states, the feasibility of instrumental regulation, and the attachment to hope and progress. With the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty at its heart, it necessarily gave precedence to diplomacy and containment over preventive war. The reasons why this conception of nuclear order was discarded by its erstwhile champion, the United States, in favour of one bearing traits of counter-enlightenment, are explored. Its alternative strategy can now be declared a failure. Avoidance of a greater disorder depends on recognition that the problem of nuclear order is more than the problem of proliferation, or of non-compliance, and on recovery—whatever the difficulties—of the cooperative yet pragmatic sensibility that lay behind the prior approach to order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Pilat Joseph F.
The end of the NPT regime?
in International Affairs , issue 3, vol. 83, may , 469-482

In the context of rising regional instability and conflict, along with increased incidents of global terrorism, in a dynamic, uncertain security environment, emerging nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction threats—both state proliferation and terrorism—are seen as growing dangers giving rise to increasing global insecurity. The international nuclear nonproliferation regime, the centerpiece of which is the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT), is essential to current and future non-proliferation efforts and needs to be maintained and strengthened, not replaced. The normative and legal weight of the regime is important for counterterrorism as well as non-proliferation, but it will not likely directly affect the behaviour of so-called ‘rogue states’ and terrorists. Preventing them from achieving their objectives if they attempt to wield nuclear and radiological weapons may deter and dissuade them, as may a credible prospect of punishment. The interaction of non-proliferation and deterrence, so clear during the Cold War history of the NPT, remain crucial parts of an increasingly complex picture.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
de Wijk Rob
The irresistible pressures forcing change on NATO
in Europe´s World, Issue 5, Spring

NATO's traditional role as a defensive alliance and its present-day strength in sustained combat operations are no longer enough to satisfy transatlantic security needs, says Rob de Wijk. It's time it focused more on winning the peace in far-flung places.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=41903ce7-5cf0-42d5-b980-e0fbb7b91d88

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

Towards an NPT-restrained world that makes economic sense
in International Affairs , issue 3, vol. 83, may , 531-548

Because most of the world's proliferators have used the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty's (NPT) call on nations to ‘share the benefits of the applications of peaceful nuclear energy’ to help justify their nuclear activities, it is unclear just how much any proliferator ultimately has been restrained by these rules. This needs to change but is unlikely, unless the NPT's qualifications on the right to ‘peaceful’ nuclear energy are read in a much more restrictive fashion to only authorize nuclear projects that are clearly beneficial economically and that truly can be safeguarded against diversion to make bombs. In this regard, our best hope is that, as nations consider how to prevent global warming, they might adopt clear economic guidelines that would compel all energy projects—both nuclear and non-nuclear—to compete economically against one another on a much more level playing field. This would make dangerous, uneconomical nuclear projects far less likely to be pursued, and a centering of the world's security on a proper reading of the NPT much more likely and sustainable. Indeed, unless economic discipline of this sort is attempted internationally, it is quite likely that the continued implementation of the current egregious view of the NPT will only serve to accelerate nuclear proliferation more rapidly than if there was no NPT at all.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Lenzi Guido
Trent'anni dopo: l'OSCE perché?
in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, Volume 73, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 351-359

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Schaulte Paul
Universal vision or bounded rationality?
in International Affairs , issue 3, vol. 83, may , 501-510

William Walker's article takes a strongly universalist view of the requirements of nuclear order. It finds recent American administrations deliberately unwilling to maintain international confidence in the necessary collective narrative of eventual universal nuclear disarmament, so causing a crisis of confidence in the Non Proliferation Treaty regime. This commentary examines how far realistically different recent US policies and declarations could have avoided such problems, given certain underlying realities and dynamics surrounding the management of nuclear weapons. It also questions how indispensable abstract universalism will be in containing future nuclear proliferation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Hassner Pierre
Who killed nuclear enlightenment?
in International Affairs , issue 3, vol. 83, may , 455-467

William Walker is right to link the international nuclear order to the international political order, and to assert that the attempt to construct a rational nuclear international order around the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty is in a shambles. But he puts too much of the blame on the Bush administration (which he is right to criticize) and tends to neglect the fl awed character of the project itself (and the recent changes in the political international order which have an inevitable bearing on the nuclear one).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Lindley-French Julian
Why America is stuck with NATO
in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

Far from being a hangover from cold war days or an anteroom for aspiring EU members, the Atlantic alliance will remain essential to the strategies of both Europe and the United States, argues Julian Lindley-French

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=16c7be88-d86d-4400-9f4d-06959b256bd2

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 3.Security communities and organizations
Brads Roberts
'All the king's men'? Refashioning global nuclear order
in International Affairs , issue 3, vol. 83, may , 523-530

Is the moment auspicious, as William Walker has argued, for a rebirth of the world nuclear ordering project? An auspicious moment would be marked by three key factors. First, the United States would seek to assert significant leadership and moreover would be able to do so on a sustained, bipartisan basis. Second, other actors essential to the project would be ready to lend their thinking and power to this effort. Third, a few key ideas about the management of the emerging challenges of deterrence and abstinence would have emerged and garnered substantial international support. All three factors are lacking today. But the time will come. To accelerate the arrival of the necessary vision and will, the policy and analytical communities should set some priorities and focus on a few hard problems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Dunne Tim
'The Rules of the Game are Changing': Fundamental Human Rights in Crisis After 9/11
in International Politics , Vol. 44. n. 2-3, March / May , 269-286

Is there a crisis of legitimacy in relation to fundamental human rights commitments? At one level, the human rights regime has endured legitimacy problems from the outset, in part due to the scope and complexity of the standards but also as a result of the unwillingness of states to regard human rights norms as properly binding. I argue that September 11 and the responses this event triggered in the foreign policies of leading states in international society have taken the challenge to the regime to a new level. What makes it a crisis of legitimacy is the fact that those were crucial to the emergence of the regime, and the rights that are under siege are core 'rights of the person' and not aspirational rights. The closing discussion examines the possibility for a restoration of legitimacy. Consistent with the earlier theoretical discussion, the question of whether and how the legitimacy crisis can be resolved requires a differential response, depending on the site of the crisis, and the location of the audience. The concepts of international and world society provide analytical leverage in identifying both the causes of the crisis and the prospects for its resolution.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Kasparov Garry
A Global Magna Carta
in Foreign Policy, Issue 160, May / June

When democracies make nice with dictators, the world's worst regimes get away with murder.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Naudet Jean-David, Severino Jean-Michel, Charnoz Olivier
Aide internationale : vers une justice sociale globale ?
in Esprit, n. 334, mai 2007 , 101-111

International aid: Towards social justice on a global scale?

The authors identify four ethical models which justify international aid, comparing their respective benefits and shortfalls. As they do so, they argue in favour of the more cosmopolitan principle which, as they argue, is responsive to current expectations and needs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Manz Thomas
Allianzen und Gruppen im Global Governance-System – Multilateralismus
in Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft, Heft 2, 2007

ABSTRACT: Das Global Governance-System befindet sich in einem Prozess der Fragmentierung und Informalisierung, in dessen Verlauf im Norden wie im Süden diverse neue Gruppen und Allianzen entstanden sind. Die »bargaining coalitions« des Südens, die sich in den Verhandlungsprozessen der WTO seit den 1990er Jahren bildeten, haben sich zu einflussreichen Vertretungsinstanzen der Südländer entwickelt, die gegenüber den Industrieländern auf der Einhaltung der Regeln des Freihandels insistieren. Die Anpassung der Foren und Koalitionen des Nordens an die gewandelten Bedingungen ist ebenso wenig abgeschlossen wie die Klärung der Regeln des Zusammenwirkens der Instanzen der neuen »G-Welt« mit den Institutionen des UNO-Systems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Smith William
Anticipating a Cosmopolitan Future: The Case of Humanitarian Military Intervention
in International Politics , Vol. 44, n. 1, January , 72-89

The past decade has witnessed the emergence of numerous 'cosmopolitan' theories of humanitarian military intervention. These theories anticipate a more cosmopolitan future, where interventions will be authorized by new cosmopolitan institutions and carried out by reformed cosmopolitan militaries. The contention of my article is that despite the merits of these approaches, it is often difficult to discern whether and how cosmopolitan theories can inform assessments of interventions that take place in our non-cosmopolitan present. Through taking Jürgen Habermas's judgements of two recent interventions as a 'case study', I reflect on the considerations that might come into play when cosmopolitans attempt to translate their future-orientated theories into practical engagements with the world as it is.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Weidenfeld Werner
Asia's rise means we must re-think EU-US relations
in Europe´s World, Issue 5, Spring

How should European and American policymakers respond to the inevitable rise of China and India on the world scene? Werner Weidenfeld assesses the ways in which international relations will undergo change in the years ahead and looks to a new Atlantic partnership.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=ed2094df-6a73-42a9-b81e-74198d3bdbb1

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Albert Mathias, Steinmetz Willibald
Be- und Entgrenzungen von Staatlichkeit im politischen Kommunikationsraum
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 20-21, 2007

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Vaughan-Williams Nick
Beyond a Cosmopolitan Ideal: the Politics of Singularity
in International Politics , Vol. 44, n. 1, January , 107-124

The aim of this paper is to explore alternative ways of thinking about ethics in world politics beyond the polis, the cosmopolis, and this tired and totalising dichotomy. However, conventional forms of political criticism are said to be inadequate to the task because the dominant theories, logics and categories through which the 'beyond' might be formulated tend to be contaminated by this very dichotomy. Therefore, drawing chiefly on the insights of Jacques Derrida and Jean-Luc Nancy, I argue that new imaginaries are required. In particular, I suggest that the concept of singularity offers theorists of international politics an alternative site around which the realm of the ethico-political may be re-conceptualised.

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

Smith William

Cosmopolitan Citizenship: Virtue, Irony and Worldliness

in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 10, No. 1, February 2007 , 37-52

In this article, it is argued that cosmopolitans should elucidate the qualities and dispositions, or 'virtues', associated with the ideal of cosmopolitan citizenship. Bryan Turner's suggestion that cosmopolitan virtue should be identified as a type of 'Socratic irony', which enables individuals to achieve distance from their homeland or way of life, is explored. While acknowledging the attractions of his account, certain limitations which indicate the need to generate a richer theory of cosmopolitan virtue are identified. To that end, an alternative picture of cosmopolitan virtue is presented by drawing on Hannah Arendt's ideas of 'world' and 'worldliness'. It is argued that cosmopolitan virtue involves the adoption of a self-reflexive mode of being in the world, the cultivation of a heightened care or feeling for the world, and the ability to adopt certain skills in the manner of our disclosures to the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Payrow Shabani Omid A.

Cosmopolitan Justice and Immigration: A Critical Theory Perspective

in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 10, No. 1, February 2007 , 87-98

The pressures of globalization have resulted in shrinking distances and increased contact among people, rendering state boundaries and jurisdiction insufficient to deal with claims of justice exclusively. This challenge requires that we move beyond the limits of statism in political theorizing and acquire a cosmopolitan approach. In this article, from a discourse theoretic perspective, I consider what cosmopolitan justice would entail for policy and law-making concerning immigration. It is argued that: (1) from a moral point of view we cannot consider the problem of migration solely from the perspective of the people of affluent countries and have to take into account the perspective of the refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants; (2) the growing interdependency of global economies gives rise to a moral obligation to assist the immigrants with special duties devolving upon the First World as the result of the history of colonization; and (3) the immigration law ought to be integrated into higher, or constitutional, law-making. In doing so, the discourse theoretic approach decouples national sovereignty (territorial integrity) and democratic polity, overcoming the problem of prioritization of geography over claims of membership.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Feldman Noah

Cosmopolitan Law?

in Yale Law Journal (The), Vol. 116, n. 5, March , 1022-1071

Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers
BY KWAME ANTHONY APPIAH

NEW YORK: W.W. NORTON & CO., 2006. PP. 256. $23.95

The Ethics of Identity
BY KWAME ANTHONY APPIAH
PRINCETON: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2005. PP. 384. $32.95

Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership
BY MARTHA C. NUSSBAUM
CAMBRIDGE: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2006. PP. 512. $35.00

Read Professor Mark Janis's Response, The Quest for Higher Law.

Read Professor Jessica Stern's Response, The Dangers and Demands of Cosmopolitan Law.

Read Professor Abu-Odeh's Response, A Radical Rejection of Universal Jurisdiction.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Hülsse Rainer
Creating Demand for Global Governance: The Making of a Global Money-laundering Problem
in Global Society, Volume 21, Issue 2, April , 155-178

In most studies on global governance, problems are treated as exogenous factors. Even constructivist global governance approaches normally concentrate on persuasion about global norms and rules, but take the existence of global problems as given. This ignores the fact that it may be necessary to persuade rule addressees of the existence of a problem in the first place. States comply with global rules voluntarily only if they agree that there is a problem. Hence international rule makers have to "problematise" the issue they attempt to regulate, i.e. to construct the issue as a global problem that requires global rules in order to be solved. This article inquires into the why and how of "problematisation" by international regulators. To this end it reconstructs how the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) has turned the issue of money-laundering, which was not considered a problem until the late 1980s, into a global problem requiring a global solution.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Miller Clark A.
Democratization, International Knowledge Institutions, and Global Governance
in Governance, Vol. 20, n. 2, April , 327-352

The central problem of democracy has long been theorized as how to place appropriate constraints on the responsible exercise of power. Today, this problem is most acute in global governance. This article examines the rapid rise in the creation of international knowledge institutions, arguing that these institutions reflect a growing effort by nations and

publics to assert democratic constraints on the on the global exercise of power through their ability to structure processes of reasoning and deliberation in global society. Specifically, the article argues for the need to attend carefully to processes of knowledge-making in international institutions, including the roles of international institutions in setting standards for the exercise of reasoning, their contributions to the making of global kinds through their work in classifying and reclassifying the objects of international discourse, and through their roles in opening up and constraining participation in international deliberation. The article concludes that the construction and deployment of policy-relevant knowledge are a significant source of power in their own right in global governance that need to be subject to their own democratic critique.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Chandler David
Deriving Norms from 'Global Space': The Limits of Communicative Approaches to Global Civil Society Theorizing
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 2, June , 283 - 298

This paper outlines the limits of the conception of 'global space' at the centre of attempts to establish the existence of certain communicative norms of 'global civil society'. It particularly focuses on theoretically asserted claims made for an idealized global public sphere which are the basis upon which theoretical structures of communicative values and global norms are constituted. These, in turn, are used to inform normative critiques, from the standpoint of 'global civil society', which challenge present international practices. The concluding sections outline the limitations of this political project, highlighting the problematic, de-socialized, nature of these conceptions of 'global space'; which, in lacking any mediating framework between the asserted 'moral autonomy' of actors in global civil society and the global norms allegedly derived from them, makes communicative global civil society theorizing innately conservative in character.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Schmucker Claudia, Mildner Stormy
Die EU im globalen Governance-Prozess
in Internationale Politik , n. 1, 62. Jahrgang, Januar

ABSTRACT: Handelspolitik war von Anfang an -Gemeinschaftssache, und somit spricht die EU in der WTO mit einer Stimme. Doch in den beiden Bretton-Woods-Institutionen ist dies noch lange nicht der Fall. Woran dies im Einzelnen liegt und was getan werden muss, damit die Europäische Union ein den USA ebenbürtiger Verhandlungspartner wird, zeigt dieser Beitrag auf. Deutschland kann unter seiner EU-Ratspräsidentschaft hierbei wichtige Impulse geben.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Ecker-Ehrhardt Matthias, Zürn Michael

Die Politisierung internationaler Institutionen
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 20-21, 2007

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Jacqué J.P.
Droit constitutionnel national, droit communautaire, CEDH, Charte des Nations Unies. L'instabilité des rapports de systeme entre ordres juridiques
in **Revue française de droit constitutionnel**, n. 69 , 3 - 37

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Brassett James, Bulley Dan
Ethics in World Politics: Cosmopolitanism and Beyond?
in **International Politics** , Vol. 44, n. 1, January , 1-18

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Bergesen Albert J.
Evidence of Global Civil Society
in **Globalizations** , Volume 4, Issue 2, June , 309 - 311

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Demenchonok Edward
From a State of War to Perpetual Peace
in **American Journal of Economics and Sociology**, January 2007 - Vol. 66 Issue 1 , 25-47

This essay examines current debates in political philosophy regarding the problems of war and peace and of human rights protection. Two contrasting approaches are analyzed: one represented by "democratic peace" theories, and the other by the movement for a cosmopolitan order. At the heart of both approaches are conflicting interpretations of Kant's political philosophy, especially his project of "perpetual peace." An analysis of M. Doyle's recent conception of "liberal democratic peace" shows the flaws in his justification of the tendency of liberal states to be war-prone toward nonliberal

states. Alternatively, the development of Kant's ideas in the theories of "discourse ethics" (K. O. Apel and J. Habermas) and "cosmopolitan democracy" confirms the relevance of Kant's cosmopolitan ideal to current discussions about peace and human rights. The analysis also affirms that the true solution to the problems of securing peace and protecting human rights can only be achieved by peaceful means, based on international law with the United Nations as its legitimate political representation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Fues Thomas
Global Governance Beyond the G8: Reform Prospects for the Summit Architecture
in Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft, Heft 2, 2007

ABSTRACT: Power shifts in the global system have begun to challenge the traditional dominance of Western countries in multilateral decision-making. The new weight of emerging powers such as China, India, Brazil and others calls into question the summit architecture of leading industrialized countries that has shaped the global economy since 1975. The G7/8 has responded to its relative decline by outreach efforts towards the new world powers, and finance ministers have undertaken efforts to institutionalize interaction with the South through the G20 or F20. But these self-selected clubs have come under criticism for their lack of legitimacy. Current reform models focus on expanding the summit architecture and upgrading the role played by the United Nations. One promising proposal sees the emergence of the L20+ as an informal leaders' association.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Gerring John
Global Justice as an Empirical Question
in PS: Political Science & Politics , Vol. 40, Issue 1, January

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Sangiovanni Andrea
Global Justice, Reciprocity, and the State
in Philosophy and Public Affairs, Volume 35, Issue 1, Winter 2007 , 3-39

Cosmopolitans believe that all human beings are of equal, general, and ultimate moral concern. The argument I have provided seeks to show that such moral equality only generates a demand for social equality when we share membership in a state. It might be thought that this cannot be the case, since the argument I have presented demonstrates that we should give priority to the interests of fellow citizens and residents, and hence that we owe them unequal concern. This is, I believe, a misleading way to characterize internationalism. The internationalist says that our morally legitimate interests in the domain of social equality—the interests that create demands on others to secure our access to egalitarian shares—flow from a conception of justice. We do not therefore give priority to the morally legitimate

interests of citizens and residents over those of others; in respecting the demands of an internationalist conception of justice, we treat all individuals' morally legitimate interests as having ultimate, general, and equal concern.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Frein Michael
Globaler Patentschutz: Alles nur geklaut
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, März, 2007 , 272-275

Im Rahmen der deutschen G 8-Präsidentschaft hat die Bundesregierung eine Initiative gegen „Produktpiraterie“ angekündigt. Das Bundeskabinett begründete in seinem Beschluss vom Oktober 2006 diesen Schritt insbesondere mit der Gefährdung der Innovationsfähigkeit der Industrieländer: „Innovationen sind die zentrale Grundlage für den Wohlstand in wissensbasierten Gesellschaften. Dies umfasst insbesondere die Frage des Schutzes von Innovationen in den internationalen Handels- und ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Risse Thomas, Lehmkuhl Ursula
Governance in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 20-21, 2007

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Bonanate Luigi
Guerra, democrazia, pax democratica
in Giano, n. 55, anno XIX, gennaio

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Elliot Lorraine
Improving the global environment: policies, principles and institutions
in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 61, n. 1 / March , 7-14

Recent surveys in Australia show that improving the global environment rates high as a public policy concern.

Responding to these challenges at a global level requires more than finding the best or most appropriate scientific, economic and technical approaches. It also requires that global environmental governance be based on sound normative principles. Two of the most important principles respond to the challenge that, while humanity is outstripping its ecological footprint, contributions to global environmental change are uneven and the experience of environmental harm is being displaced across time and space. Improving the global environment should therefore take into account the precautionary principle and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities. Improving the global environment also requires a more robust institutional framework. The model favoured here is to build on UNEP to establish a more coherent, more authoritative and more independent environmental organization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Paavola Jouni
Institutions and environmental governance: A reconceptualization
in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 63, Issue 1, 15 June , 93-103

This article presents the conceptual revisions needed to extend the new institutional approach to environmental governance from its current local and international domains of application to all governance solutions, including national environmental and natural resource use policies and multi-level governance solutions that are increasingly used to address global environmental change. The article suggests that environmental governance is best understood as the establishment, reaffirmation or change of institutions to resolve conflicts over environmental resources. It also explains why the choice of these institutions is a matter of social justice rather than of efficiency. The article suggests a way to understand formal and state-centered governance solutions as forms of collective ownership not unlike common property. The article demonstrates how institutional analysis can gain resolution by looking at the functional and structural tiers, organization of governance functions, and formulation of key institutional rules as key aspects of the design of governance institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Buchanan Ruth
Legitimating Global Trade Governance: Constitutional And Legal Pluralist Approaches
in **Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly**, vol. 57 - No. 4 , 654-672

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Palumbo Antonino
Lo stato dello Stato tra globalizzazione e governance
in **Filosofia e Questioni Pubbliche**, Volume XI (2006), n. 2-3 , 133-140

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Häberle Peter
Menschenrechte und Globalisierung
in Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart, Band 55, 2007

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Hurrell Andrew
One world? Many worlds? The place of regions in the study of international society
in International Affairs , issue 1, vol. 83, january , 127-146

This article is a revised version of the 2006 Martin Wight Memorial Lecture and examines the placeof regional states-systems or regional international societies within understandings of contemporary international society as whole. It addresses the relationship between the one world and the many worlds-on one side, the one world of globalizing capitalism, of global security dynamics, of a global political system that, for many, revolves a single hegemonic power, of global institutions and global governance, and of the drive to develop and embed a global cosmopolitan ethic; and, on the other side, the extent to which regions and the regional level of practice and of analysis havebecome more firmly established as important elements of the architecture of world politics; and the extent to which a multiregional system of international relations may be emerging. The first section considers explanations of the place of regionalism in contemporary international society and the various ways in which the one world aff ects the many. The second section deals with how regionalism might best be studied. The final section analyses four ways in which regionalism may contribute to international order and global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Johns Fleur
Performing Power: The Deal, Corporate Rule, and the Constitution of Global Legal Order
in Journal of Law and Society, Volume 34 Issue 1 - March , 116–138

This article presents a stylized account of legal work involved in doing a corporate deal transnationally, drawing inspiration from the work of American legal realist, Robert Hale. In so doing, it seeks to show that legal institutions on which transnational corporate power depends are far more plastic, discordant, and irresolute than commonly recorded. By tethering global legal order to the decisive interiority of the transnational corporation, while taking that interior for granted, recent accounts (such as those of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri or A. Claire Cutler) may do more to fortify than query the contemporary ‘rule’ of global capital.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Olivito E.
Primi spunti di riflessione su multiculturalismo e identità culturali nella prospettiva della vulnerabilità
in Politica del diritto, n. 1 , 49 - 69

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Kaldor Mary
Reply to David Chandler
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 2, June

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Kaldor Mary
Reply to David Chandler
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 2, June , 299-300

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Lotz Andrew
Review Article: Global Democracy: Diverse Representation or States-Plus?
in Polity, Volume 39, Number 1, January , 125-136

Carol Gould
. Globalizing Democracy and Human Rights.
Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

David Held
. Global Covenant: The Social Democratic Alternative to the Washington Consensus.
Cambridge, Polity Press, 2004.

Andrew Kuper
. Democracy Beyond Borders: Justice and Representation in Global Institutions.

Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Andornino Giovanni B.
Stato, globalizzazione e neo confederalismo. Riflessioni su di un presidio politico proporzionato all'età dell'interdipendenza
in Teoria Politica, Vol. 22, Fascicolo 3 , 29 pp

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Estrada Carvalhais Isabel
The Cosmopolitan Language of the State: Post-national Citizenship and the Integration of Non-nationals
in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 10, No. 1, February 2007 , 99-111

This article looks at the cosmopolitan potential of post-national citizenship working at the state level. The article stresses the idea of post-national citizenship as capable of translating cosmopolitan language into one that can be developed within the state-society relationship. To this end, four questions designed to clarify this relationship are raised.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Lipschutz Ronnie D.
The Historical and Structural Origins of Global Civil Society
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 2, June , 304 - 308

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Bekou Olympia, Cryer Robert
The International Criminal Court and Universal Jurisdiction: A Close Encounter?
in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, n. 1, vol. 56, january , 49-68

ABSTRACT: The fact that the International Criminal Court has not been granted universal jurisdiction exercisable proprio motu has often been criticized on the basis that it will leave some offences beyond its power to prosecute. This article investigates whether the drafters of the Rome Statute were necessarily wrong in deciding not to grant the court such jurisdiction. It concludes that to have given the Court universal jurisdiction would have been lawful under current

international law, and would have provided a welcome reaffirmation of the concept. Still, the nature of the cooperation regime and of the Prosecutor's investigatory remit, would mean that such jurisdiction would be difficult, if not impossible, for the Court to use. As the Court has to operate in a world of sovereign States, not all of whom are sympathetic to it, the drafters' choice was a prudent one.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Patomäki Heikki
The Role of 'Critical' in the Theory and Practice of Global Civil Society
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 2, June , 312 - 317

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Wald P. M.
Tribunal discourse and intercourse: how the international courts speak to one another
in Boston College International and Comparative Law Review, Vol. 30 n. 1 , 15 - 28

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Benhabib Seyla
Twilight of Sovereignty or the Emergence of Cosmopolitan Norms? Rethinking Citizenship in Volatile Times
in Citizenship Studies, n. 1, vol. 11, february , 19-36

ABSTRACT: This essay examines recent debates concerning the emergence of cosmopolitan norms such as those pertaining to universal human rights, crimes against humanity as well as refugee, immigrant and asylum status. What some see as the spread of a new human rights regime and a new world order others denounce as the "spread of empire" or characterize as "law without a state". In contrast, by focusing on the relationship of global capitalism to deterritorialized law this essay distinguishes between the spread of human rights norms and deterritorialized legal regimes. Although both cosmopolitan norms and deterritorialized law challenge the nation-state and threaten to escape control by democratic legislatures, it argues that cosmopolitan norms enhance popular sovereignty while many other forms of global law undermine it. It concludes by pleading for a vision of "republican federalism" and "democratic iterations", which would enhance popular sovereignty by establishing interconnections across the local, the national and the global.

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

Vers l'émergence d'un principe de légitimité démocratique en droit international
in Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme, n. 67

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Altvater Elmar
Von Nairobi nach Heiligendamm. Global Governance und der Kampf um Hegemonie
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, März, 2007 , 329-340

Um alljährlich im Januar im Nobel-Wintersportort Davos beim „Weltwirtschaftsforum“ dabei sein zu können, zahlen die über 2000 Manager einen Mitgliedsbeitrag von 30 000 US-Dollar pro Jahr und einen Tagungsbeitrag von nochmals 10 000 US-Dollar. Davos, so der Chef der British Telecom, Francois Barrault, sei ein „phantastisches Netzwerk“, wo er „jeden Tag 20 bis 25 potentielle Auftraggeber, Lobbyisten oder Politiker“ treffen könne.1 Auf dem 2007 zeitgleich im ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Duffield John
What Are International Institutions?
in International Studies Review, issue 1, vol. 9, spring , 1-22

ABSTRACT: International institutions are a central focus of international relations scholarship as well as of policymaking efforts around the world. Despite their importance, our scholarly literature lacks a widely accepted definition of just what they are. Instead, scholars have employed a range of largely nonoverlapping conceptions, contributing to a fragmentation of the literature and hindering theoretical cumulation. This essay seeks to remedy this unsatisfactory state of affairs. It first reviews the principal ways in which international institutions have been conceptualized and identifies their shortcomings. It then develops a definition that promises to be inclusive of what are commonly regarded as the most important institutional forms without losing analytical coherence. A final section discusses some of the concrete benefits that result from employing the new definition, both in improving existing scholarship and by suggesting valuable new avenues of research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 4.Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy
Steponavicius Gintaras
What the EU must do to silence its human rights critics
in Europe´s World, Issue 5, Spring

Half-heartedness and double standards are the charges most often levelled against Europe's efforts to promote human rights globally. Gintaras Steponavičius, Deputy Speaker of Lithuania's Seimas, explains how a more coherent EU "philosophy" of human rights should be defined.

http://www.europesworld.org/SearchbyAuthor/tabid/66/Default.aspx?AuthorId=283

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Giraud Pierre-Noël
An Essay on Global Economic Prospects
in Constellations, Vol. 14, Issue 1 March , 31-46

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Pfaff William
Die Globalisierung frisst ihre Schöpfer
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Januar, 2007 , 40-41

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Apel Karl-Otto
Discourse Ethics, Democracy, and International Law: Toward a Globalization of Practical Reason
in American Journal of Economics and Sociology, January 2007 - Vol. 66 Issue 1 , 49-70

This paper deals with the foundational "architectonics" (Kantian) at the ground of the internal relation between the three concepts raised in the title. First, I provide a short introduction into the ultimate foundation of practical philosophy by the transcendental-pragmatic conception of discourse ethics. Then, I discuss the foundational relation between discourse ethics, positive law, and democracy as a constitutional state of law. Finally, I explore the foundational relation between human rights as part of universal law, the democratic state of law, and international law or jus gentium. By taking issue with Kant, Habermas, and Rawls, I try to show that a rational foundation of ethics, as well as a rational approach to the traditional problems of international law, is only possible through a critical transformation of Kant's approach via a transcendental-pragmatic conception of discourse ethics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Linklater Andrew
Distant Suffering and Cosmopolitan Obligations
in International Politics , Vol. 44, n. 1, January , 19-36

How far does globalization extend the boundaries of community by bringing distant suffering directly into the lives of

onlookers, and how far does the greater visibility of suffering arouse compassion and a willingness to help? Modern self-images that stress the growth of emotional identification between the members of the same society encourage the belief that similar attachments may develop at the level of humanity as a whole. Critics of this position emphasize deep-seated tendencies to remain indifferent to remote suffering. In the light of these differences, this paper asks whether the extension of human solidarity largely depends on the development of feelings of guilt or shame when harm is done to 'distant strangers' or when little is done to help them. It asks whether universal vulnerabilities to basic forms of mental and physical suffering create the possibility of global empathy and sympathy, and whether the idea of 'embodied cosmopolitanism' provides adequate normative foundations for collective action to reduce unnecessary suffering in distant places.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Goldberg Pinelopi Koujianou, Pavcnik Nina
Distributional Effects of Globalization in Developing Countries
in Journal of Economic Literature, Volume 45, issue 1 , 39-82

The authors discuss recent empirical research on how globalization has affected income inequality in developing countries. They begin with a discussion of conceptual issues regarding the measurement of globalization and inequality. Next, they present empirical evidence on the evolution of globalization and inequality in several developing countries during the 1980s and 1990s. The authors then examine the channels through which globalization may have affected inequality, discussing theory and evidence in parallel. They conclude with directions for future research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Lu Lachang, Wei Yehua Dennis
Domesticating Globalisation, New Economic Spaces and Regional Polarisation in Guangdong Province, China
in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography) , Volume 98, Issue 2, April , 225-244

Concerns over the effects of globalisation and liberalisation have intensified the debates over the trajectories and underlying sources of regional inequality. This paper attempts to link macro studies of regional inequality to micro studies of local development and to expand the research on intraprovincial inequality in China to Guangdong Province. First, substantial evidence has been provided to illustrate the extent of polarisation between the Pearl River Delta (PRD) and the periphery, especially since the early 1990s. Second, it has been found that new economic spaces centred on exoproduction centres, high-tech zones, university clusters, and entrepreneurial spaces driven by the domestication of globalisation and the growth of the knowledge economy have emerged as new engines of regional growth. The orthodox notion of the PRD development as externally driven has become obsolete, and a new conceptualisation centred on the knowledge economy and integrated development better explains regional development and polarisation in Guangdong. Finally, the theoretical and policy implications of the research are discussed. The emerging form of regional development in the PRD represents an effort to make the knowledge economy the new engine of regional development and indicates that developing countries such as China are attempting to move beyond being a manufacturing

assembler. The emergence of the knowledge economy in the PRD also has important implications for the recent efforts to develop the Greater Pearl River Delta, which needs to pay more attention to global networks for innovation and creativity. Moreover, the emergence of the knowledge economy makes the development of the periphery even more challenging due to the effects of self-reinforcing agglomeration and the constraints of geographical barriers.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Solana Javier
Europa, actor mundial
in Politica Exterior, 115 Enero/Febrero 2007

Hay una demanda de la UE en el mundo. Los europeos parecemos ser los menos conscientes de este hecho. Desde los Balcanes hasta Congo, Sudán o Indonesia, la UE ha acumulado experiencia en la prevención y gestión de crisis. Ha llegado el momento de un nuevo impulso europeo.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Ewen Shane, Hebbert Michael
European cities in a networked world during the long 20th century
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 25, Issue 3, June , 327-340

In this paper we argue that the contemporary revival of European municipalism should be examined within the rich context of the ‘long’ 20th century and the many and varied links forged between municipalities across national borders. In the first two sections we trace the emergence of the networked European municipality from the ad hoc individual connections made during the final decades of the 19th century, through the golden age of municipal internationalism during the interwar years, to the intensive cross-national cooperation pursued in the aftermath of the Second World War. We argue that the historical experience of these municipal connections was an essential prerequisite of the long-term move towards the multilevel networking experienced by European municipalities today. In the final section we focus on Eurocities, the main European municipal lobby group since the late 1980s, to show how municipalities have continued to utilise networking as their main tool within a supranational Europe, in effect to reinvent themselves within a globalised postindustrial economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Marston Sallie A., Woodward Keith, Jones John Paul
Flattening Ontologies of Globalization: The Nollywood Case
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 1, March , 45-63

In this article we offer some criticisms regarding the spatial ontologies that have underwritten theories of globalization. We evaluate different approaches to understanding their workings, each of which must grapple with the problem of connecting the local and the global, and contrast these to that of our recent work aimed at elaborating a 'flat ontology'. The central feature of this alternative ontology is the site: a material localization characterized by differential relations

through which one site is connected to other sites, out of which emerges a social space that can be understood to extend, however unevenly and temporarily, across distant places. Yet, in light of its focus on practices - on situated sayings and doings - our ontology must refuse the spatial imaginaries that underpin nearly all discussions of globalization. To illustrate our position we examine the practices of popular filmmaking within Lagos, Nigeria (Nollywood). This site is an entry point for comprehending and enlarging upon the political implications of our ontology - one that is meant not only to rethink globalization but to unsettle the abstractions that enable its expanding hegemony.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Amin Samir
Forum Social Mondial. Quel altermondialisme?
in Monde Diplomatique (Le), janvier 2007

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Dallmayr Fred
Global Civil Society Debunked?
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 2, June , 301-303

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Pieterse Jan Nederveen
Global Multiculture, Flexible Acculturation
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 1, March , 65-79

This article develops two propositions: multiculturalism has gone global and identification has become flexible. Multiculturalism is a global arena, yet most treatments still conceive of multiculturalism as a national arena. In contemporary global multiculture far-off conflicts become part of multiculturalism arenas; this is illustrated with a discussion of two multicultural conflicts, the Danish cartoon episode and the murder of Theo van Gogh in Amsterdam. Muslim women's headscarves from Istanbul and Cairo to Tehran and Lyon display a wide register of meanings, but in the French national assembly have been signified in just one. Multiculturalism means global engagement and to engage with the world is to engage with its conflicts. Multiculturalism is not no man's land. Multiculturalism is not consensus. There is no consensus in Britain about the war in Iraq and there is none among immigrants either. The securitization of cultural difference confirms the interplay between global and multicultural frictions. Multiculturalism is one of the faces of globalization and globalization, at its Sunday best, is human history conscious of itself, which by the way is not always nice. Contemporary global multiculture represents a new phase of globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Chandler David
Global Space: Positivism, Progress and the Political - Reply to Kaldor, Dallmayr, Lipschutz, Bergesen and Patomäki
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 1, March , 318 - 320

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Kennedy Paul
Global Transformations but Local, 'Bubble' Lives: Taking a Reality Check on Some Globalization Concepts
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 2, June , 267-282

Several concepts and arguments have become an indispensable part of the standard discourse shared by globalization theorists and they point convincingly to real and deepening processes in global life. The paper suggests, however, that it is misleading and ultimately unproductive to assume that the vast majority of the world's non-elite population possess an equal grasp of these concepts, and the processes which they are designed to illuminate, or that they are able or willing to take appropriate actions in response. With this in mind, and drawing on some recent theoretical critiques and empirical studies, the discussion interrogates ideas about interconnectivity, mobility, de-territorialization and globality. In doing so it argues that we need to pay much more attention to the everyday subjective lives of ordinary people since these continue to be locked into affiliations and obligations constructed, inevitably, as much around place as flows and which remain partly dependent on co-present, primordial socialities despite their exposure to multiple globalizing influences.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Greenstock Jeremy
Globalisation or Polarisation: Where Are We Heading?
in International Relations, n. 1, vol. 21, march , 103-110

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Chris Alexander, Ken Warwick
Governments, Exports and Growth: Responding to the Challenges and Opportunities of Globalisation
in World Economy, Vol. 30 Issue 1 , 177-194

We live in an increasingly globalised world. Trade has consistently grown faster than GDP and has been an important driver of world growth. What role should government play in this process? This paper considers the rationale for government action and the merits of various policies focusing on the UKs experience: the benefits of openness to trade and overseas investment and the merits of tackling barriers that discourage greater participation by firms in international markets. It also considers whether this approach needs to be adapted given current trends in globalisation, concluding that a continued emphasis on openness and addressing market failures will be welfare enhancing.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Abdelal Rawi, Segal Adam
Has Globalization Passed Its Peak?
in Foreign Affairs, January/February 2007 Vol 86, Number 1

Not long ago, the expansion of free trade worldwide seemed inevitable. Over the last few years, however, economic barriers have started to rise once more. The forecast for the future looks mixed: some integration will probably continue even as a new economic nationalism takes hold. Managing this new, muddled world will take deft handling, in Washington, Brussels, and Beijing.
THE END OF THE WORLD AS WE KNOW IT
Once upon a time, not very long ago, economic globalization -- the free worldwide flow of capital, goods, and labor -- looked both inevitable and inexorable. Most governments seemed to embrace the very real benefits being offered by rapid technological change and international markets and sought to liberalize their economies in order to maximize these gains. Policymakers worked to prepare their societies for a world of ever-increasing interconnectedness and relentless competition, and the debate -- at least within the United States -- started to revolve around how to cope with the effects of this new "flat" earth.
Then came the financial crises of the 1990s and the early years of this century in Asia, Russia, and Latin America. The U.S. current account deficit -- the difference, broadly speaking, between what U.S. residents spend abroad and what they sell abroad -- shot upward. The U.S. dollar fell in value and seemed headed for an even more precipitous drop. As outsourcing accelerated, the American middle class came to feel increasingly insecure. Historians such as Niall Ferguson and Harold James pointed out that the previous era of globalization (which ran from about 1870 to 1914) had once seemed as unstoppable as the current one but had ended disastrously; so, too, they warned, could today's.
But will it? Has the current age of globalization already started to come to a close? Will the process of integration continue, or will it grind to a halt?
The paradoxical answer is neither of these scenarios. The technological revolution that has driven the current wave of globalization will continue. Communication will become still cheaper and easier, allowing corporations to spread their operations -- research and development, design, and manufacturing -- around the planet. Companies will exploit scientific talent in other countries to spark a new wave of technological innovation.
At the same time, certain barriers will start to rise. The institutional foundations of globalization -- such as the rules that oblige governments to keep their markets open and the domestic and international politics that allow policymakers to liberalize their economies -- have weakened considerably in the past few years. Politicians and their constituents in the United States, Europe, and China have grown increasingly nervous about letting capital, goods, and people move freely across their borders. And energy -- the most globalized of products -- has once more become the object of intense resource nationalism, as governments in resource-rich countries assert greater control and ownership over those assets.
Taken together, these contradictory trends indicate the shape of things to come. The picture is muddled. Although

globalization as a process will continue to sputter along, the idea of unrestrained globalization will wane in force. As Cornell's Peter Katzenstein has argued, globalization and internationalization are not the same. The more prosaic process of internationalization -- that is, exchanges across borders -- can and will continue, even as the transformative ideological process of breaking down barriers slows considerably.
Much now depends on how national governments respond to these changing circumstances; they could still make conditions better or worse. As the integration of national economies stalls, maintaining the high degree of openness already established will require deft management. U.S. policymakers, in particular, need to do a better job of countering their constituents' wariness of global markets and managing the political backlash against openness that has already begun. The challenge is to sell the benefits of ongoing globalization to a wary public, to make sure those benefits materialize, and then to ensure they are distributed more equitably.
DOUBLE VISION
In retrospect, signs of the current slowdown in globalization have been obvious for some time. Major participants in the process have always had very different ideas about how the integration should occur. As a result, what often looked like a single, steady process turns out to have been conducted along two, sometimes contradictory tracks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Archer Kevin, Bosman M. Martin, Amen M. Mark, Schmidt Ella
Hegemony/Counter-Hegemony: Imagining a New, Post-Nation-State Cartography of Culture in an Age of Globalization
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 1, March , 115-136

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Weber Steven, Barma Naazneen, Kroenig Matthew, Ratner Ely
How Globalization Went Bad
in Foreign Policy, Issue 158, January / February

The world today is more dangerous and less orderly than it was supposed to be. Ten or 15 years ago, the naive expectations were that the “end of history” was near. The reality has been the opposite. The world has more international terrorism and more nuclear proliferation today than it did in 1990. International institutions are weaker. The threats of pandemic disease and climate change are stronger. Cleavages of religious and cultural ideology are more intense. The global financial system is more unbalanced and precarious.

It wasn’t supposed to be like this. The end of the Cold War was supposed to make global politics and economics easier to manage, not harder. What went wrong? The bad news of the 21st century is that globalization has a significant dark side. The container ships that carry manufactured Chinese goods to and from the United States also carry drugs. The airplanes that fly passengers nonstop from New York to Singapore also transport infectious diseases. And the Internet has proved just as adept at spreading deadly, extremist ideologies as it has ecommerce.

The conventional belief is that the single greatest challenge of geopolitics today is managing this dark side of globalization, chipping away at the illegitimate cotravelers that exploit openness, mobility, and freedom, without putting too much sand in the gears. The current U.S. strategy is to push for more trade, more connectivity, more markets, and more openness. America does so for a good reason—it benefits from globalization more than any other country in the world. The United States acknowledges globalization's dark side but attributes it merely to exploitative behavior by criminals, religious extremists, and other anachronistic elements that can be eliminated. The dark side...

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Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Bernstein Alyssa R.

Human Rights, Global Justice, and Disaggregated States: John Rawls, Onora O'Neill, and Anne-Marie Slaughter

in American Journal of Economics and Sociology, January 2007 - Vol. 66 Issue 1 , 87-111

Human rights are urgently important rights that all individual persons may validly claim and that all governments are obligated to respect. According to some philosophers, no government can plausibly claim legitimate authority unless its legal and political system ascribes such rights, and no society can plausibly claim to be just unless it has a legitimate government. John Rawls presents his own version of this conception in the context of his account of the moral basis of a just global system of public law, which he calls the Law of Peoples. According to some of his critics, including Onora O'Neill, not only is the Law of Peoples statist, but also it relies on a false view of the state. O'Neill has developed a new conception of an ideally just global order in which states have fewer, and corporations more, powers and obligations to secure human rights, in contrast to Rawls's conception. Her conception is consistent with Anne-Marie Slaughter's account of the transformation of state sovereignty due to globalization. However, contrary to initial appearances, it is not the case that O'Neill's and Slaughter's views taken together require significant modification of Rawls's conception of human rights. There is no fundamental conflict between Rawls's conception of human rights and Slaughter's account of state transformation. And O'Neill's criticisms of Rawls's view are unwarranted.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process

Quinn Dennis P., Toyoda A. Maria

Ideology and Voter Preferences as Determinants of Financial Globalization

in American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 51, Issue 2 , 344-363

We propose that the global spread of ideas affects international economic openness policies, and that to omit ideology as an explanatory variable for economic globalization is to risk omitted variable bias. Using voting data, we create measures of global ideology regarding economic openness and propose that changes in both global and domestic ideology influence how open or closed to international finance an economy is. We also test other influences on liberalization, including proposed state-centered diffusion mechanisms. Using PCSTS and system-GMM models, we estimate the determinants of change in international capital account regulation for 82 countries, 1955 to 1999. We thereby examine diffusion of both liberalizations (1950s and 1990s) and closures (1960s and 1970s). Changes in both global and domestic ideology robustly influence liberalization and closure. The capital account policies of neighboring countries (positively) and of the leading economies (negatively) also influenced a country's capital account liberalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Senghaas Dieter
Interkulturelle Globalisierung. Für einen neuen Dialog der Kulturen
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Januar, 2007 , 55-64

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Bukovansky Mlada
Liberal States, International Order, and Legitimacy: An Appeal for Persuasion over Prescription
in International Politics , Vol. 44. n. 2-3, March / May , 175-193

Claims by liberal states to be furthering democratic values and material prosperity are being contested due to the manner in which liberal states are attempting to provide for their own security, to the way in which democracy is being more forcefully projected onto the international order, and to the dislocations and inequality associated with global capitalism. The appeal of liberalism as a form of political and economic organization has declined even as its tenets have come to be taken for granted by virtue of their grounding in scientific reasoning. A sustainable resolution to the crisis of legitimacy of the liberal state requires the internal regeneration of the liberal state itself, a renewed commitment to dialogue in multilateral institutions, and a persuasive revitalization of the claims liberal states make that render their example attractive to others.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Archer Kevin, Bosman M. Martin, Amen M. Mark, Schmidt Ella
Locating Globalizations and Cultures
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 1, March , 1-14

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Nelson Paul, Dorsey Ellen
New Rights Advocacy in a Global Public Domain
in European Journal of International Relations , Vol. 13, n. 2, June , 187-216

ABSTRACT: Social and economic policy decisions are increasingly being taken in a global public domain in which

national/transnational boundaries are blurred, and the `public' domain includes non-state actors. We argue that a new rights advocacy, advancing economic and social human rights as well as civil and political, is essential to understanding rule-making in the global public domain. New rights advocacy involves traditional human rights and development NGOs, social movement organizations and new `hybrid' organizations, in using human rights standards and methods to influence states, international organizations, and corporations. The new patterns of NGO engagement are studied through case studies of advocacy on HIV/AIDS and on the right to water. New rights advocacy constitutes a direct challenge to development orthodoxy, suggests a new interpretation of the social movements protesting globalization, and manifests a complex relationship between NGOs and poor country governments, in which NGOs often advocate on behalf of these governments' sovereign rights to set economic and social policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Herberg-Rothe Andreas
Privatized Wars and World Order Conflicts
in Theoria, 110 (August 2006)

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Eschle Catherine, Maiguashca Bice
Rethinking Globalised Resistance: Feminist Activism and Critical Theorising in International Relations
in British Journal of Politics & International Relations , Vol. 9, Issue 2, May , 284-301

This article argues that a feminist approach to the ‘politics of resistance’ offers a number of important empirical insights which, in turn, open up lines of theoretical inquiry which critical theorists in IR would do well to explore. Concretely, we draw on our ongoing research into feminist ‘anti-globalisation’ activism to rethink the nature of the subject of the politics of resistance, the conditions under which resistance emerges and how resistance is enacted and expressed. We begin by discussing the relationship of feminism to critical IR theory as a way of situating and explaining the focus and approach of our research project. We then summarise our key empirical arguments regarding the emergence, structure, beliefs, identities and practices of feminist ‘anti-globalisation’ activism before exploring the implications of these for a renewed critical theoretical agenda in IR.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Stiglitz Joseph
Rich Countries, Poor People?
in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 24, Issue 1, Winter , 7-9

Globalization may yet repeal the Biblical adage that the poor will always be with us. But for now there are enough losers

to go along with the winners that a slide back toward fragmentation and protectionism is a distinct possibility, as was also the case at the turn of the 20th century. Our contributors in this section offer their advice on how to make globalization work for everyone.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Jarvis Darryl S. L.
Risk, Globalisation and the State: A Critical Appraisal of Ulrich Beck and the World Risk Society Thesis
in Global Society, Volume 21, Issue 1, January , 23-46

Ulrich Beck has been one of the foremost sociologists of the last few decades, single-handedly promoting the concept of risk and risk research in contemporary sociology and social theory. Indeed, his world risk society thesis has become widely popular, capturing current concerns about the consequences of modernity, fears about risk and security as a result of globalisation and its implications for the state and social organisation. Much of the discussion generated, however, has been of an abstract conceptual nature and has not always travelled well into fields such as political science, political theory and International Relations. This article introduces Beck to a wider audience while analysing his work and assessing it against recent empirical evidence in relation to the effects of globalisation on individual risk and systemic risk to the state.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Herren Madeleine
Sozialpolitik und die Historisierung des Transnationalen
in Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Heft 2006/32,4 , 542-559

Social Politics and Transnational History

Social policy is a topic settled at the periphery of global history concepts, although its long lasting border crossing potential provides a possibility of historiographical reflections on both, the disappearance and reappearance of scientific interest in internationalizing processes. At the beginning, research on social politics is regarded as an expression of competing understandings of transnationalism firstly, as an interface to foreign policy, secondly, as a comparing method, and thirdly, as a specific form of Cold War politics. Doing so, transnationalism gains its own historicity, which goes back to the 19th century. Closely related to the development of IGOs and NGOs as well, socio-political approaches show the probably innovative dilemma to gain a more transgressive character. Focusing on instable and conflicting issues, sociopolitical transnationality helps to find out, where, in the age of globalization, the invincible borderlines are.

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

The Clash of Civilizations Revisited
in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 24, Issue 1, Winter , 53-59

If ever proof were needed of Samuel Huntington's idea that "relations between societies in the coming decades are most likely to reflect their cultural commitments" it can be found in Ayaan Hirsi Ali's experience as a woman standing up against traditional Islamic culture while living in Europe.

In this section, both Samuel Huntington and Ayaan Hirsi Ali discuss the continuing clash of cultures in what Hirsi Ali calls our "age of confrontation."

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Hatibović Džemal
The Future of the Global Power Structure
in Review of International Affairs (The) , Vol. LVII, nn. 1123-1124, December

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Drezner Daniel W.
The New New World Order
in Foreign Affairs, March/April 2007 Vol 86, Number 2

Controversies over the war in Iraq and U.S. unilateralism have overshadowed a more pragmatic and multilateral component of the Bush administration's grand strategy: its attempt to reconfigure U.S. foreign policy and international institutions in order to account for shifts in the global distribution of power and the emergence of states such as China and India. This unheralded move is well intentioned and well advised, and Washington should redouble its efforts.
RISING AND FALLING
Throughout the twentieth century, the list of the world's great powers was predictably short: the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, and northwestern Europe. The twenty-first century will be different. China and India are emerging as economic and political heavyweights: China holds over a trillion dollars in hard currency reserves, India's high-tech sector is growing by leaps and bounds, and both countries, already recognized nuclear powers, are developing blue-water navies. The National Intelligence Council, a U.S. government think tank, projects that by 2025, China and India will have the world's second- and fourth-largest economies, respectively. Such growth is opening the way for a multipolar era in world politics.
This tectonic shift will pose a challenge to the U.S.-dominated global institutions that have been in place since the 1940s. At the behest of Washington, these multilateral regimes have promoted trade liberalization, open capital markets, and nuclear nonproliferation, ensuring relative peace and prosperity for six decades -- and untold benefits for the United States. But unless rising powers such as China and India are incorporated into this framework, the future of these international regimes will be uncomfortably uncertain.

Given its performance over the last six years, one would not expect the Bush administration to handle this challenge terribly well. After all, its unilateralist impulses, on vivid display in the Iraq war, have become a lightning rod for criticism of U.S. foreign policy. But the Iraq controversy has overshadowed a more pragmatic and multilateral component of the Bush administration's grand strategy: Washington's attempt to reconfigure U.S. foreign policy and international institutions in order to account for shifts in the global distribution of power. The Bush administration has been reallocating the resources of the executive branch to focus on emerging powers. In an attempt to ensure that these countries buy into the core tenets of the U.S.-created world order, Washington has tried to bolster their profiles in forums ranging from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to the World Health Organization, on issues as diverse as nuclear proliferation, monetary relations, and the environment. Because these efforts have focused more on so-called low politics than on the global war on terrorism, they have flown under the radar of many observers. But in fact, George W. Bush has revived George H. W. Bush's call for a "new world order" -- by creating, in effect, a new new world order.
This unheralded effort is well intentioned and well advised. It is, however, running into two major roadblocks. The first is that empowering countries on the rise means disempowering countries on the wane. Accordingly, some members of the European Union have been less than enthusiastic about aspects of the United States' strategy. To be sure, the EU has made its own bilateral accommodations and has been happy to cooperate with emerging countries in response to American unilateralism. But European states have been less willing to reduce their overrepresentation in multilateral institutions. The second problem, which is of the Bush administration's own making, stems from Washington's reputation for unilateralism. Because the U.S. government is viewed as having undercut many global governance structures in recent years, any effort by this administration to rewrite the rules of the global game is naturally seen as yet another attempt by Washington to escape the constraints of international law. A coalition of the skeptical, which includes states such as Argentina, Nigeria, and Pakistan, will make it difficult for the United States to engineer the orderly inclusion of India and China in the concert of great powers.
Despite these difficulties, it is in the United States' interest to redouble its efforts. Growing anti-Americanism has revitalized groupings of states traditionally hostile to the United States, such as the Nonaligned Movement. To overcome such skepticism, the United States must be prepared to make real concessions. If China and India are not made to feel welcome inside existing international institutions, they might create new ones -- leaving the United States on the outside looking in.
PLUS ÇA CHANGE
When the United Nations, the IMF, the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and NATO were created in the late 1940s, the United States was the undisputed hegemon of the Western world. These organizations reflected its dominance and its preferences and were designed to boost the power of the United States and its European allies. France and the United Kingdom had been great powers for centuries; in the 1950s the rules of the game still accorded them important perquisites. They were given permanent seats on the UN Security Council. It was agreed that the IMF's executive director would always be a European. And Europe was de facto granted a voice equal to that of the United States in the GATT.
Today, the distribution of power in the world is very different. According to Goldman Sachs and Deutsche Bank, by 2010, the annual growth in combined national income from Brazil, Russia, India, and China -- the so-called BRIC countries -- will be greater than that from the United States, Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Italy combined; by 2025, it will be twice that of the G-7 (the group of highly industrialized countries).
These trends were already evident in the 1990s -- and the end of the Cold War presented an opportunity to adapt international institutions to rising powers. At the time, however, Washington chose to reinforce preexisting arrangements. The GATT became the World Trade Organization. NATO expanded its membership to eastern European states and its sphere of influence to the Balkans. The macroeconomic policies known as the Washington consensus became gospel in major international financial institutions. There were few institutional changes to accommodate rising powers, besides the creation of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum in 1989 and China's hard-won

admission to the WTO in 2001. Many of the new forums, such as the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering, comprised the usual suspects: the United States and its industrialized allies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Randeria Shalini
The State of Globalization
in **Theory, Culture & Society**, Volume 24, n. 1, January , 1-33

The successful global diffusion of formal democracy has gone hand in hand with the hollowing out of its substance. Ever more realms of domestic public policy are removed from the purview of national legislative deliberation and insulated from popular scrutiny. Rhetoric of accountability has accompanied the increasing unaccountability of international financial and trade organizations, transnational corporations as well as of states and NGOs. The new architecture of global governance characterized by legal plurality and overlapping sovereignties has facilitated a game of 'passing the blame' among these four actors. There is a curious ambivalence in current debates on globalization about the role of the state, which is conceived of as both central and marginal. Globalization is seen to be marked by the decline of both the external and the internal sovereignty of the state. Contrary to such a view, it will be argued here that the state is both an agent and an object of globalization. Although inadequate, the state remains indispensable as its laws and policies play a key role in transposing neo-liberal agendas to the national and local levels. If in the age of globalization and of economic Empire, political violence has been replaced by legal violence, resistance to it is also articulated in the language of law. This 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 privatization of the commons in India. The case studies in this paper point to the emergence of intertwined structures of rule, overlapping sovereignties and complex processes of legal transnationalization that have reconfigured the relations between law, state, and territoriality. If welfare states were concerned with the redistribution of risk and resources, cunning states seek to redistribute responsibility. Sensitivity to the history of colonialism would be an important corrective to the presentism and Westerncentrism of analyses of (legal) globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Rajan Ramkishen S., Kiran Jose, Hefeker Carsten, Schnabl Gunther
The US Dollar and the Euro as International Currencies
in **Intereconomics**, Volume 41, Number 3 / May, 2006 , 124-141

For many decades the US dollar has remained unchallenged as the world's dominant international currency. What is behind its persistent pre-eminence in the international monetary system and can this be expected to last? Could the euro rival or even surpass the dollar as the leading currency? If it did, what would be the consequences for Euroland?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Reisz Robert D., Stock Manfred
Theorie der Weltgesellschaft und statistische Modelle im soziologischen Neoinstitutionalismus
in **Zeitschrift für Soziologie**, Jahrgang 36, Heft 2, April 2007

The Theory of World Society and Statistical Models in Sociological Neo-Institutionalism

Empirical studies on world society usually employ cross-national longitudinal data. Different regression models for the analysis of such data exist. They may be distinguished according to their use of regional heterogeneity. The selection of a model implies a specific theoretical concept of world society and vice versa.This paper investigates these issues in sociological neo-institutionalism. The comparison between results of model calculations shows the effects of the use of different model specifications. Based on these results, conclusions about world society theory are drawn.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Martins Lionel, Álvarez José Manuel Rodríguez
Towards glocal leadership: taking up the challenge of new local governance in Europe?
in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 25, Issue 3, June , 391-409

In recent years local leaders have become simultaneously intensely local, in fostering partnerships with local players, and intensely global, in going abroad to get resources, be they political, cognitive, or financial, to implement large urban projects; they have become 'glocal' leaders. At the same time, local stakeholders such as metropolitan or regional authorities, chambers of commerce, firms, or civil society organizations have pursued their own international objectives independently. Not all cities have therefore developed such a thing as a strategy. Nor have they all played the same hand in the international game. From this, two questions immediately arise: (i) why have some cities succeeded in carrying out an international strategy and others not? (ii) why have the successful ones chosen different paths? By focusing on local political leadership patterns in three European case studies, we argue that along with their institutional strengths the personal traits of the mayors are more than crucial to understanding why some cities have strategically played the international game and how they have played it. But this does not tell the whole story. One needs to make a detour via place-specific governance patterns, and more precisely the key local stakeholders to be convinced, persuaded, or cajoled, to properly assess the urban international strategies. With these major findings, we conclude that the 'new international city era' phenomenon tends to personalize local power.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Jouve Bernard
Urban societies and dominant political coalitions in the internationalization of cities
in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 25, Issue 3, June , 374-390

We are facing a transformation of the political order in which cities are becoming more and more important, partly in the field of economic development but also regarding security questions, specifically after 9 September 2001, such as cultural diversity, social cohesion, and sustainable development. The institutional conditions of governability have

evolved during the last two decades. Cities develop strategies at the global level and promote different kinds of collective value. In this paper we aim to analyse these international strategies, their elaboration, and their implementation by using a comparison of Montreal, Paris, and Rome. The various strategies are analyzed as the outcome of dominant political coalitions between the political institutions and very specific segments of civil society.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Hellwig T.
Voting in Open Economies
in Comparative Political Studies , vol. 40 n. 3 , 283 - 306

What are the electoral consequences of global market integration? Although recent discussions of politics and markets have much to say on globalization's implications for policy outcomes, the impact of market integration on representative democracy has received scant attention. This article addresses this omission. We extend the globalization literature to develop two competing hypotheses regarding the influence of open economies on electoral accountability. Predictions are tested using a new data set covering elections from 75 countries over 27 years. Results support a government constraint hypothesis: Exposure to the world economy weakens connections between economic performance and support for political incumbents. By redirecting concerns from the policy implications of globalization and toward its electoral consequences, findings highlight the influence of voter perceptions and of vote-seeking politicians in the politics of globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 5.The Globalization process
Schmidt Ella
Whose Culture? Globalism, Localism, and the Expansion of Tradition: The Case of the Hñähñu of Hidalgo, Mexico and Clearwater, Florida
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 1, March , 101-114

The impact on the global movement of people by time and space compressions, the product of current technological advances, has been well studied. The impact of this technological and social change, however, is less understood at the cultural level. The fluid transversality of movement of people and their cultures, despite geopolitical limitations, requires going beyond dichotomous models that limit the analysis of cultural reproduction/reinvention in newly created transnational social spaces. These dichotomous models are based on an either/or system that prevents actors from belonging to, and impacting on, more than one cultural system at the same time. These categories of classification assume and impose a zero-sum analysis in which migrants are expected to 'shed' their traditional cultures and become modern and/or cosmopolitan to the detriment of their cultures of origin. Focusing on the Hñähñu of Hidalgo, Mexico and Clearwater, Florida, this article focuses on the recreation and promotion of traditional practices in the new cultural spaces - transnational in nature - created by the migrants' presence and exchanges in Florida and Hidalgo and that transcend geopolitical obstacles.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes

Grinols Earl L., Silva Peri
An enhancement of modern free trade area theory
in **Oxford Economic Papers**, Volume 59 Number 2 , 219-225

This paper constructs a framework for analysing the welfare effects of free trade areas. We provide an alternative verification of the Panagariya-Krishna proposition on free trade areas, shortening the proof, covering a broader set of circumstances, and showing the necessary income flows to guarantee welfare gains to all members. The paper provides a theoretical parallel to the important Kemp and Wan custom union theory.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes
Donegan Brendan
Governmental Regionalism: Power/Knowledge and Neoliberal Regional Integration in Asia and Latin America
in **Millennium: Journal of International Studies**, n. 1, vol. 35, december , 25-31

ABSTRACT: This paper presents a Foucauldian reading of regional integration projects based on the model of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as part of a strategy for the restructuring of national economies along neoliberal lines. Looking at the cases of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), the focus of the paper is on the roles played by technical 'experts' in depoliticising decisions and issue-areas, understood as a central element of enabling this strategy. Moves toward regional governance can only be considered as a policy option at the national level if it is possible to distinguish 'technical' from 'political' within the domestic realm: only an area specified as 'non-political' - that is, as posing no threat to national sovereignty - can be governed at a regional level through inter-state cooperation. Consequently, a necessary prerequisite for moving towards regional governance of national economic space is the establishment of a hegemonic political rationality that conceptualises the economic as technical and distinct from the political.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes
Mukhametdinov Mikhail
Mercosur and the European Union. Variation Among the Factors of Regional Cohesion
in **Cooperation and Conflict**, n. 2, vol. 42, june , 207-228

ABSTRACT: The European Union (EU) and the Common Market of the South (Mercosur) are very different regions that have come to seemingly analogous compromises as far as the operation of their common markets is concerned. Like the EU, Mercosur seems to confirm the textbook logic of integration development from a free trade area to a customs union and then to a common market. Does this mean that well-developed theories of European integration that emphasize certain properties of the European region are useless in explaining and predicting the Mercosur process? This article proposes a framework for comparison of the two blocs that uses selected theories of European integration: neofunctionalism, liberal inter-governmentalism, social constructivism and neo-realism. The framework is applied to the examination of intra-regional cohesion of the two interstate cooperative groups. Comparison of the two unions demonstrates that, despite similar institutional structures and partial set-ups of the common markets, they are qualitatively different processes that are highly conditioned by their unique regional properties. There is therefore no contradiction between Mercosur and the predictions of the Mercosur integration based on the theories of European

integration. At the same time, Mercosur is strongly affected by the passive and active influence of the EU. However, the one-size-fits-all prescriptions for regionalism in the global south should be critically reevaluated. Mercosur and other regions have to optimize their development looking for solutions to specific regional problems rather than trying to adapt textbook models of integration derived from integration experience of the EU or NAFTA. The study emphasizes the importance of non-economic factors of integration and the necessity to evaluate the success of integration associations outside Europe in the context of local social realities rather than against the EU criteria.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes
van Roozendaal Gerda
Regional Policy in the Americas: The EU Experience as a Guide for North-South Integration?
in Intereconomics, Volume 41, Number 3 / May, 2006 , 159-168

After ten years the negotiations on the largest free trade agreement to date, the Free Trade Area of the Americas, which is to include 34 countries, have still not resulted in an agreement. What can the countries involved learn, both positive and negative, from the experiences of the EU with regional policy?

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes
Agné Hans
The Myth of International Delegation: Limits to and Suggestions for Democratic Theory in the Context of the European Union
in Government and Opposition , Vol. 42, n. 1, Winter , 18-45

This paper presents an argument as to why democratic states are unable to delegate authority to international organizations. Influential attempts to justify democratically such international bodies as the European Union by means of delegation are found to be untenable. At a more general level of theorization, it argues that the theory of delegation as involving the recoverability of delegated authority leaves us unable to identify democratic reforms for international organizations. As a remedy to the latter problem, the article proposes an alternative theory of democratic 'delegation' – one that applies equally well to national and to international politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 1.Theory of regional integration processes
Albertin Giorgia
Will a Regional Bloc Enlarge?
in IMF Policy Discussion Papers, March 2007 , Working Paper No. 07/69

This paper investigates whether a regional bloc would enlarge or remain stagnant in size using a model where enlargement is the endogenous outcome of the interaction between the supply of and demand for membership. We show that a maximum size of the bloc exists beyond which the regional policy-maker will be unwilling to enlarge further,

and that either the supply side or the demand side of membership might be binding in the determination of the equilibrium size of the bloc. Furthermore, we analyze how the deepening of integration within a regional bloc affects its width. We show that deeper integration may lead to wider integration when the demand side of membership is binding in the determination of the equilibrium size of the bloc, while the equilibrium size of the bloc will be unaffected when the supply side of membership is binding.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Hofmann Sabine
Außenwirtschaftliche Kooperation im Vorderen Orient
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 19, 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Hallaert Jean-Jacques
Can Regional Integration Accelerate Development in Africa? CGE Model Simulations of the Impact of the SADC FTA on the Republic of Madagascar
in IMF Policy Discussion Papers, March 2007 , Working Paper No. 07/66

Madagascar plans to start phasing out its customs tariffs on imports from the Southern African Development Community in 2007. This paper uses a CGE model to evaluate the impact of the SADC FTA on Madagascar economy. The results suggest that the SADC FTA would only have a limited impact on Madagascar's real GDP because the liberalization affects only a small share of its total imports. However, Madagascar's trade and production pattern would change and benefit the textile and clothing sector. Removing rigidities in the labor and capital market would increase the gains but they would remain limited. Gains from the SADC FTA become substantial only when the regional liberalization is accompanied by a multilateral liberalization.
International trade agreements, Madagascar, Trade policy, Southern African Development Community

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Franke Benedikt
Competing Regionalisms in Africa and the Continent’s Emerging Security Architecture
in African Studies Quarterly, issue 3, vol. 9, spring

ABSTRACT: While the relationship between the United Nations and Africa’s various regional and sub-regional organisations has already been the subject of much debate, hardly any attention has been paid to the relationships these African organisations maintain with each other and the way they impact on the continent’s emerging security architecture. Consequently, this article aims to shed some light on both the evolution of competing regionalisms in Africa as well as their impact on the prospects and chances of today’s security institutions. It thereby argues that the ongoing proliferation of intergovernmental organisations and the resultant competition for national and international resources,

political influence and institutional relevance threatens the viability of a continental approach to peace and security by duplicating efforts and fragmenting support. It further contends that the often uneasy coexistence of these organisations is symptomatic of the deep divisions, nationalist tendencies and regional imbalances underlying the multiple processes of regionalisation in Africa. More optimistically, however, the article concludes that, even though some of these divisive factors seem here to stay, the African Union has taken a number of noteworthy steps to harmonise the continent's numerous security initiatives. Both, the creation of regionally based multinational brigades as part of an African Standby Force as well as the decision to limit official cooperation to seven organisations are meant to prevent needless duplication of effort and to ensure that the continent's limited resources are applied to areas of real need. By basing its security architecture on regional pillars and incorporating existing initiatives as building blocs and implementation agencies into its continental policy, the AU has made important steps towards establishing a common front and reversing what Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah had so fearfully termed the "balkanisation of Africa".

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Karingi Stephen, Perez Romain, Hammouda Hakim Ben
Could Extended Preferences Reward Sub-Saharan Africa's Participation in the Doha Round Negotiations?
in World Economy, Volume 30, Number 3 , 383-404

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Ranucci Beatrice
Il rafforzamento della tutela giurisdizionale dei diritti fondamentali in Africa: l'entrata in vigore del protocollo che istituisce una Corte africana dei diritti dell'uomo
in Federalismi, Anno V, n. 6

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Massarrat Mohssen
KSZMNO jetzt. Plädoyer für einen KSZE-Prozess im Mittleren und Nahen Osten
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Februar, 2007 , 212-220

Steht der Welt, trotz (oder gerade wegen) der verheerenden Lage im Irak, ein Atomschlag gegen den Iran bevor? Bereits im Dezember vergangenen Jahres beschuldigte der renommierte Enthüllungsjournalist Daniel Elsberg US-Präsident George Bush und dessen Vizepräsidenten Dick Cheney, „ihre Militärstäbe insgeheim angewiesen zu haben, mögliche Atomangriffe auf unterirdische Atomenergieanlagen im Iran zu planen, ebenso wie umfassende konventionelle Luftangriffe auf überirdische Anlagen und ...

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Chevalier Emilie
La Déclinaison du principe de primauté dans les ordres communautaires: l'exemple de l'Union èconomique et monetaire ouest africaine
in Cahiers de Droit Européen, n. 3-4 , 343-362

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Neaime Simon
Monetary policy and the prospects of a monetary union between GCC Countries
in Economie Appliquee, N. 4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Zwanenburg Marten
Regional Organisations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security: Three Recent Regional African Peace Operations
in Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Volume 11, Number 3, Winter , 483-508

The leitmotiv of this article is the recommendation by the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change that authorisation from the Security Council should in all cases be sought for regional peace operations. It discusses the legal basis for such operations, and three recent regional peace operations are analysed in detail: African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), Economic Community of West African States in Cote d'Ivoire (ECOFORCE) and Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa in the Central African Republic (FOMUC). This article concludes that the practice with respect to these operations does not support a requirement of Security Council authorisation, where there is consent of the parties or, it appears, the government of the host state alone.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 2.Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East
Yehoue Etienne B.
The CFA Arrangements--More than Just an Aid Substitute?

in IMF Policy Discussion Papers, January 2007 , Working Paper No. 07/19

The CFA franc zone has had one of the longest experiences with a fixed exchange rate for a convertible currency and regional integration of any group of developing countries. France, the anchor country, provides aid to support the zone. This paper asks whether the arrangements are more than just an aid substitute. The paper addresses this issue by evaluating the overall performance of the zone over the period 1960-2004. The analysis reveals that when the zone is hit by a negative shock, France increases its aid, thereby acting as a shock absorber. However, it also finds that the zone displays strong performance in two areas-price stability and fiscal policy. Thus the paper concludes that the arrangements are not an aid substitute; they have real macroeconomic value for the zone and complement aid.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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

Hertog Steffen

The GCC and Arab Economic Integration: A New Paradigm

in Middle East Policy, Volume 14, Issue 1, Spring , 52-68

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3.Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Berdell John, Ghoshal Animesh

Gains and Losses from Preferential Trade Agreements: Some Evidence from NAFTA

in International Trade Journal, Volume 21 Issue 2 , 191 - 228

In this article we integrate two topics in international trade policy that have received (separately) a lot of attention: the effects of regional trade blocs, and export pessimism regarding poorer countries. The specific issue that allows us to bring together these questions is whether regional integration adversely affects non-members. We use quarterly data on bilateral trade flows for the period 1990 through 1997 to examine U.S. imports from its NAFTA partners as well as from non-NAFTA trade partners, and more specifically, those countries expected to be hurt by NAFTA. Two measures are used:
"import penetration" or imports from a particular source as a share of US GDP, and
the income elasticity of expenditure on imports from a particular source. Both "import penetration" and the income elasticity of expenditure affect the export earnings of U.S. trade partners, a matter of particular concern for developing countries.
The broadest pattern observed in the income-expenditure elasticities is clear evidence of increased penetration by non-oil developing countries. This is in marked contrast to the stable GDP share and expenditure elasticity for developed country imports. Regional results suggest that the Caribbean and the East Asian NICs were the only area groupings that experienced a reduction in income-expenditure elasticity. But overall on the basis of U.S. income-expenditure elasticities it appears that the first four years of NAFTA were associated with trade expansion rather than trade diversion.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3.Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Betsill Michele M.

Regional Governance of Global Climate Change: The North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 7, Number 2, May , 11-27

Over the past decade the governance of global climate change has evolved into a complex, multi-level process involving actors and initiatives at multiple levels of social organization from the global to the local in both the public and private spheres. This article analyzes the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC) as one component of this multilevel governance system. Specifically, it evaluates the CEC as a site of regional climate governance based on three potential advantages of governance through regional organizations: a small number of actors, opportunities for issue linkage, and linkage between national and global governance systems. On each count I find that the benefits of a CEC-based climate governance system are limited and argue for greater consideration of how such a system would interact with other forms of climate governance in North America.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Amilhat Szary Anne-Laure

Are Borders More Easily Crossed Today? The Paradox of Contemporary Trans-Border Mobility in the Andes

in Geopolitics, Vol. 12, n. 1, February , 1-18

In a globalised world, borders are commonly said to be loosing their ‘fencing’ function and allowing more flexibility of all kinds. This process can either be viewed as the cause or the consequence of the development of all kinds of circulations (goods, capitals, ideas, people). A closer analysis reveals that this phenomenon is commonly not as new as it appears, since borders have seldom been really impermeable. In Latin America, the historical process of border design over a very sparsely populated territory confirms this trend and a closer analysis of the southern Andes context reveals indeed that the closing up of international boundaries is quite recent. This paradoxical historical data helps explain both the current geopolitical map of the region (which is far more complex than the juxtaposition of inter-state conflictive relations) and the status of differentiated mobility control in the evolution of borderlands.

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.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Rodríguez-Larreta Aureliano
La Comunidad Suramericana no tiene credibilidad. Entrevista a José Botafogo
in Politica Exterior, 114 Noviembre/Diciembre 2006

Con la experiencia de una rica vida diplomática, el embajador brasileño José Botafogo Gonçalves, ahora dedicado a la reflexión académica, ofrece a POLÍTICA EXTERIOR opiniones sorprendentes acerca de Mercosur, las relaciones hemisféricas y el orden mundial.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Aranda B. Gilberto, Morandé L. José A.
Nuevas estrategias de cooperación en América Latina. Creación de redes solidarias a partir de la sociedad civil. El caso de Coaniquem.
in Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile, Vol. 39 / 2007 / Nr. 156 , 107-138

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Manero Edgardo A.
Strategic Representations, Territory and Border Areas: Latin America and Global Disorder
in Geopolitics, Vol. 12, n. 1, February , 19-56

In Latin America, post–Cold War ideas about defence and security broke down geopolitical logics that had been

historically accepted by Latin American armed forces. These ideas also provoked a partial downfall of one component of their traditional strategic representations: This geopolitical determinism explained post-colonial conflicts as being due to historical influences and to disputes about power and territory. Paradoxically, national frontiers are emerging and are threatened by destabilisation. The new conception of ‘the border’ and its revalorisation at the strategic level must be related not only to the character of post–Cold War threats but also to the new security vision prevailing in the international system. This vision cannot be separated from US strategic representations, which emphasise the “global” character of risks and security mechanisms. Thus, it appears that the transnational dimension of the strategic representations promoted by the United States does not correspond to the traditional concept of national territory. This concept, which is the basis of the reshuffling of military architecture in Latin America after the Cold War, is rooted in a representation of the region that has been present since the 1940s but was systematised under the Democratic Clinton Administration in the 1990s and further developed under the presidency of Republican George W. Bush in the early twenty-first century.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Suárez Salazar Luis
The New Pan-American Order
in Latin American Perspectives: a Journal on Capitalism and Socialism , Volume 34, No. 1 , 102-111

The past three U.S. administrations have employed a variety of strategies to establish a "new Pan-American order" that fits the nation’s hegemonic interests in Latin America and the Caribbean. They have also devised stratagems to counteract the revolutionary and reform-minded efforts in the region that challenge these U.S. attempts to create a new, univocal world order.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Mumme Stephen P.
Trade Integration, Neoliberal Reform, and Environmental Protection in Mexico
in Latin American Perspectives: a Journal on Capitalism and Socialism , Volume 34, No. 3

Among Latin American countries Mexico is a model of neoliberalism's environmental promise and pitfalls. Since entering the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), it has undertaken extensive environmental reforms predicated on export-intensive industrialization and the growth of urban society. An examination of these reforms, their background and statutory changes, policy measures, and international commitments made in this area since NAFTA took effect provokes serious concern over their adequacy as the American nations ponder the costs and benefits of deeper enmeshment in hemispheric trade integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Toro Pérez Catalina

U.S. Hemispheric Security, Intellectual Property, and Biodiversity in the Andes
in **Latin American Perspectives: a Journal on Capitalism and Socialism** , Volume 34, No. 1 , 120-128

The negotiation of the Andean free-trade agreement consolidated the implementation phase of intellectual property regulation of biodiversity in Latin America, establishing new forms of control over societies and their strategic resources consistent with a strategy of territorial deployment of U.S. national security policies. Aspects of the agreement such as patents and public health, protection of information, patents for secondary uses, and the extension of patents to a 20-year period have become focal points of controversy in the specialized world of politicians, jurists, and economists.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 4.Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America
Parish Randall, Peceny Mark, Delacour Justin
Venezuela and the Collective Defence of Democracy Regime in the Americas
in **Democratization**, Vol. 14, n. 2, April , 207-231

Venezuela has been racked by several years of intense political conflict marked by frequent, massive demonstrations, crippling national strikes and an attempted military coup. Perhaps surprisingly, Venezuelan democracy has been sustained in the face of these challenges and conflicts between supporters and opponents of President Hugo Chávez are increasingly played out through constitutional democratic means. The Organization of American States' (OAS) collective defence of democracy regime has played an important role in maintaining Venezuelan democracy in the face of these intractable conflicts. The OAS regime has been built on the collective interests of elected presidents in weakly institutionalized democracies, the deepening integration of the region's states into the global economy, and the increasingly liberal foreign policy of the regional hegemon. Oil wealth has limited Venezuela's vulnerability to economic sanctions if Venezuelan actors transgressed the norms of the regime, and the US's initial reluctance to condemn the April 2002 coup called into question whether the US would continue to use its influence to support democratic rule in the hemisphere. Nevertheless, the elected leaders of the region condemned the coup attempt, a regional reaction that played some role in the restoration of President Chávez. The subsequent OAS mediation effort has helped keep the ongoing political competition in Venezuela within constitutional bounds, demonstrating that the OAS collective defence of democracy continues to play a useful role in sustaining democracy in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Goldsmith Benjamin E.
A Liberal Peace in Asia?
in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 44, Number 1, January , 5-27

Drawing on recent liberal peace and Asian security research, this article assesses the relevance of prominent ‘Kantian’ hypotheses for understanding the international politics of Asia. While there is some evidence that the dynamics of war and peace are different in Asia than in other parts of the world, this does not mean that liberal theories are irrelevant. There is at best weak support for the pacific effects of democracy or international institutions in Asia. But liberal expectations, and those of some Asia analysts, about the importance of economic interdependence for reducing conflict in Asia are robustly confirmed. This result obtains even with a control for the simultaneous trade-dampening effect of conflict using structural equations. But the strong intra-Asian effect of trade interdependence does not translate into a

robust pacific effect between Asian states and those outside the region. A more nuanced picture emerges; the democratic peace appears most relevant for interactions between Asian states and the rest of the world. The findings show that analysts can rely neither on beliefs that Asia is sui generis nor on purely realist models as guides to Asian security issues. Kantian and realist theories are both relevant. The results also indicate that some common assumptions of analysts, especially regarding the importance of alliances and institutions, are not in accord with the regularities of conflict and peace in Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Tumbarello Patrizia
Are Regional Trade Agreements in Asia Stumbling or Building Blocks? Some Implications for the Mekong-3 Countries
in IMF Policy Discussion Papers, March 2007 , Working Paper No. 07/53

Is the recent proliferation of Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs) in Asia a healthy development, or runs the risk of turning into an unmanageable "noodle bowl" in the future? The goal of this paper is to shed some light on this question. The results show that membership in the Asian RTAs considered in this study have not, to date, occurred at the expense of trade with nonmembers, as most Asian countries' integration with the global economy preceded regional integration. However, looking forward, given their discriminatory nature, a proliferation of RTAs, which is not accompanied by continuing unilateral and multilateral liberalization, could run the risk of leading to costly trade diversion.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Beeson Mark, Yoshimatsu Hidetaka
Asia's odd men out: Australia, Japan, and the politics of regionalism
in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 7, Number 2, May , 227-250

Australia and Japan have frequently had difficult relationships with their neighbours. This paper suggests that when seen in their specific historical contexts, the fact that Australia and Japan have become ‘Asia's odd men out’ is unsurprising. The central argument of this paper is that the consolidation and institutionalisation of regions is in large part a political exercise that reflects, and is informed by, discrete national conversations. Until and unless such national discourses align with wider transnational developments, regional processes are unlikely to prosper. An examination of Japan's and Australia's respective attempts to engage with and define their region reveals just how problematic this process can be.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Shaikhutdinov Marat Ersainovic
Central Asia: Developing the Region in the Vortex of the Geopolitical and Geoeconomic Antagonisms of the World Powers
in American Foreign Policy Interests, Vol. 29, Issue 1 , 45-58

This article focuses attention on key factors that have turned Central Asia into a region where the strategic interests of Russia, China, and the United States intersect. It illuminates perceptions that have led the Russians and the Chinese to coalesce against the establishment of American bases in the area and the United States to formulate the countervailing concept of Greater Central Asia, which would allow the states of the region to integrate after excluding the Russians and the Chinese from the new regional organization. Genuine integration, the article argues, will allow Central Asia to become as powerful geopolitically as it is geoeconomically.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Philippa Dee
East Asian Economic Integration and its Impact on Future Growth
in **World Economy**, Volume 30, Number 3 , 405-423

Two presumptions appear to underlie recent proposals for East Asian economic integration. The first is that economic integration is a good way to promote economic growth. The second is that preferential trade agreements (PTAs), particularly ones that go beyond goods trade, are an effective way to promote economic integration. Both these presumptions are empirical questions. In this paper, a partial evaluation of the evidence suggests caution. Even a broadranging PTA may do little to remove the important impediments to growth in the region. Far greater income gains would come from comprehensive reform of non-discriminatory impediments to competition, as part of a thorough-going programme of unilateral domestic regulatory reform. It may be time to rethink East Asian economic integration as a policy priority, or at least review the way in which it might be pursued.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Lee Hongshik, Park Innwon
In Search of Optimised Regional Trade Agreements and Applications to East Asia
in **World Economy**, Volume 30, Number 5 , 783-806

We quantitatively analyse the trade effects of enhanced trade facilitation with extended gravity equations. Our findings confirm that RTAs comprised of countries equipped with better trade facilitation are more likely to be trade-creating, less likely to be trade-diverting, and are thus more likely to lead the world economy toward global free trade. We also find that (i) the traditional gains from shallow integration through eliminating tariff barriers will be greater for South-South RTAs in East Asia such as an ASEAN-China RTA, provided that the tariff-reducing schedule is strictly fulfilled, (ii) the gains from deeper integration through enhancing trade facilitation will be greater for North-North RTAs in East Asia such as a Japan-Korea RTA, and (iii) the gains from a combined trade liberalisation strategy through tariff reductions and enhanced trade facilitation will be greater for North-South RTAs in East Asia such as a China-Korea and an ASEAN+3 RTA.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Fouquin Michel
L'intégration économique en Asie orient

in Lettre du CEPII, N° 265 Mars

Zone la plus dynamique du monde depuis plusieurs décennies, l'Asie orientale disposait jusqu'à récemment de peu d'institutions régionales. Cependant les crises qui se sont succédé au cours des dix dernières années (crise financière de 1997-1998, sras, tsunami, grippe aviaire) ont révélé les besoins d'instruments formels de coopération. L'intégration commerciale constitue l'un des volets de la coopération régionale qui s'ébauche. Particulièrement depuis l'accession de la Chine à l'OMC en 2001, on voit se multiplier les négociations bilatérales ou multilatérales d'accords de libre-échange. Quelle forme prendra l'intégration régionale qui émergera de ce foisonnement ? Deux schémas sont analysés ici. L'un est centré sur une ASEAN intégrée et en libre-échange avec chacun de ses quatre grands partenaires asiatiques : Chine, Japon, Corée et Inde ; l'autre, nettement plus ambitieux, consiste en un libre-échange global entre ces quatorze pays. Les simulations réalisées avec le modèle MIRAGE montrent que le Japon et la Corée auraient davantage intérêt à la création d'une zone complètement intégrée, tandis que l'ASEAN bénéficierait plutôt d'accords bilatéraux. Enfin, bien que les gains économiques d'une libéralisation agricole soient potentiellement substantiels, les considérations politiques continueront sans doute à l'exclure pour longtemps.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Khaydarov Abdusamat
Le relazioni triangolari fra India, Cina e Russia. Una prospettiva centro-asiatica
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 2 , 165-174

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Ténier Jacques
L'Association pour la Coopération régionale en Asie du Sud: une intégration régionale improbable
in Etudes Internationales, 4, Décembre 2006

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Kurlantzick Joshua
Pax Asia-Pacifica? East Asian Integration and Its Implications for the United States
in Washington Quarterly (The), Vol. 30, Issue 3 - Summer

By undervaluing East Asian integration, Washington has created the impression that it views East Asian regionalism as a threat to U.S. power. Yet, Asia's new identity and institutions need not be a challenge to the United States.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Kaliappa Kalirajan
Regional Cooperation and Bilateral Trade Flows: An Empirical Measurement of Resistance
in International Trade Journal, Volume 21 Issue 2 , 85 - 107

Drawing on the procedures developed for estimating stochastic frontier production functions, the methodology suggested in this paper to work out the impact of country-specific resistance to bilateral trade flows between two countries is the estimation of a stochastic frontier gravity type model. The workability of the suggested method is demonstrated using trade data from the recently formed Indian Ocean Rim - Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC) countries. The role of the regional cooperation towards reducing trade restrictiveness among its member countries is examined by considering Australia's exports to other member countries of IOR-ARC. The empirical analysis indicates that on average, Australia has been able to achieve more (about 15%) of its potential exports with IOR-ARC countries due to regional cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Rodríguez-Delgado Jose Daniel
SAFTA: Living in a World of Regional Trade Agreements
in IMF Policy Discussion Papers, February 2007 , Working Paper No. 07/23

The paper evaluates the South Asia Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA) within the global structure of overlapping regional trade agreements (RTAs) using a modified gravity equation. First, it examines the effects of the Trade Liberalization Program which started in 2006. SAFTA would have a minor effect on regional trade flows and the impact on custom duties would be a manageable fiscal shock for most members. Second, the paper ranks the trade effects of other potential RTAs for individual South Asian countries and SAFTA: RTAs with North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the European Union (EU) dominate one with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Men Jing
The Construction of the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area: A Study of China's Active Involvement
in Global Society, Volume 21, Issue 2, April , 249-268

The central argument of this paper is that China's economic diplomacy not only improves its political relations with ASEAN countries but also promotes regional economic co-operation and integration. This paper is organised into two parts. The first part starts with a review of Chinese foreign policy changes in order to show how Beijing adjusted its foreign policy to pursue its economic and political interests. It also examines China's political and institutional efforts to forge the coming Free Trade Area (FTA) with ASEAN. The second part studies China-ASEAN trade relations from three aspects: the adjustment of Chinese industrial structure, foreign direct investment to both sides and the formation of a production network with China at the centre. While difficulties and problems are unavoidable in the construction of

CAFTA, with China's active efforts and the enhanced co-operation between China and ASEAN, the building of CAFTA is moving towards fulfilment.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Dragneva Rilka, De Koort Joop
The Legal Regime for Free Trade in the Commonwealth of Independent States
in **International and Comparative Law Quarterly**, n. 2, vol. 56, april , 233-266

ABSTRACT: Whether through the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) or outside of it, the former Soviet republics continue to seek and depend on economic cooperation with each other, particularly in the area of trade in goods. This article examines the legal framework for free trade in the post-Soviet space and discusses its role in fostering effective regional cooperation. The focus is on the multiplication of regimes at the bilateral and multilateral (CIS) level—a particular blend of ‘à la carte multilateralism’ and multiple bilateralism—and their respective features in terms of legal nature, substantive scope, and disciplining mechanisms, as well as the implications of their overlap. We find that both the bilateral and the multilateral regimes have undergone significant (often underestimated) development, and that the multilateral regime has generally sought to be more ambitious both in its substantive and institutional reach. Yet, both regimes can be described as ultimately weak and their overlap confusing. While a higher juridicization and comprehensive consolidation at the multilateral level of the CIS free trade regime may be recommended, we remain sceptical about its likelihood in the short and medium term.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 5.Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area
Bergsten C. Fred
Toward a Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific.
in **Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile**, Vol. 39 / 2007 / Nr. 156 , 159-162

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Joerges Christian
'Deliberative Political Processes' Revisited: What Have we Learnt About the Legitimacy of Supranational Decision-Making
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue 4, November , 779-802

The 'comitology mode' of decision-making can be interpreted as a response to the non-unitary and non-hierarchical ('heterarchical') nature of the EU. It is of exemplary importance since it represents an institutionalized sui generis response to the regulatory needs of the 'multilevel system of governance sui generis' that characterizes Europe's political economy.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Giamouridis Anastasios
'Only through Enlargement': The New European Myth?
in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, Volume 12, Issue 2 , 183-202

The paper assesses the validity of the 'inevitable enlargement hypothesis'; the belief that in the contemporary context of regional instability, a halt to further enlargement would inescapably undermine European Union security. The issue is confronted through the identification and inspection of the core assumptions of the inevitability hypothesis (the rationale here being that all of them must hold true if the hypothesis itself is to hold true). The paper concludes that, even though the European Union has a strong interest in addressing regional instability in Europe, she retains considerable freedom of action as to the means of achieving this.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Vedovato Giuseppe
'Penser l'Europe' e 'Faire l'Europe'. I valori fondamentali europei e la complementarietà CdE-UE nel centenario di Denis de Rougemont
in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 73, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 568-591

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kühnhardt Ludger
50 Jahre Römische Verträge
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 10, 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Andresen Leitao Nicolau
A Flight of Fantasy? Portugal and the First Attempt to Enlarge the European Economic Community, 1961–1963
in **Contemporary European History** , Volume 16 - Issue 01 - February , 71 - 87

This article explains the position of Portugal during the first attempt to enlarge the European Economic Community in 1961–3. It first makes clear the motives behind the Portuguese government's policy option in favour of EEC associate membership and future entry. Next, it analyses the attitude of the EEC members and Portugal's EFTA partners to this policy option. The article concludes that such a policy was condemned to failure, due to the authoritarian nature of the

Portuguese regime and the country's colonial policy, and that, had the negotiations progressed, Lisbon would probably have had to opt in favour of a provisional agreement.

Une idée folle? Le Portugal et la premiére tentative d'élargissement de la Communaut Economique Européenne 1961–1963
L'article analyse la position du Portugal lors de la première tentative pour l'élargissement de la Communauté européenne, en 1961–1963. Il élucide les motifs de la demande du gouvernement portugais pour se rapprocher de la CEE, et retrace l'attitude des membres de la CEE et des partenaires du Portugal dans l'EFTA. En dernier ressort, cette option politique était condamnée à un échec à cause de la nature autoritaire du régime portugais et de la politique coloniale du pays. Au cas où les négociations se seraient poursuivies, Lisbonne aurait probablement dû opter pour un accord provisoire.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Tully James
A New Kind of Europe?: Democratic Integration in the European Union
in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Vol. 10, n. 1, March , 71-86

The most urgent problem facing the European Union is to develop the best approach to conflicts over integration in the fields of culture, economics and foreign policy. The essay argues that a particular form of democratic integration is better than the two predominant approaches. This approach draws on the actual practices of the democratic negotiation of integration that citizens engage in on a daily basis but which tend to be overlooked and overridden in the dominant approaches.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Blavoukos Spyros, Bourantonis Dimitris, Pagoulatos George
A President for the European Union: A New Actor in Town?
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 45, Issue 2, June , 231-252

In the post-Constitution EU, the rotating Presidency would be replaced by a hybrid system combining a rotating component with the establishment of a permanent President for the European Council. Using a principal-agent framework, we look at the supply and demand for formal leadership in the new system, accounting for the substantial institutional change in the format of the Presidency. We then examine the President's effectiveness and efficiency and discuss whether the President, as a new institutional actor, has the potential to evolve into an autonomous political actor in the EU. Our analysis suggests a discernible though by no means unconditional strengthening of the President's potential for an autonomous political role in the new EU institutional architecture.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Blavoukos Spyros, Bourantonis Dimitris, Pagoulatos George
A President for the European Union: A New Actor in Town?
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 45, Issue 2, June , 231-252

In the post-Constitution EU, the rotating Presidency would be replaced by a hybrid system combining a rotating component with the establishment of a permanent President for the European Council. Using a principal-agent framework, we look at the supply and demand for formal leadership in the new system, accounting for the substantial institutional change in the format of the Presidency. We then examine the President's effectiveness and efficiency and discuss whether the President, as a new institutional actor, has the potential to evolve into an autonomous political actor in the EU. Our analysis suggests a discernible though by no means unconditional strengthening of the President's potential for an autonomous political role in the new EU institutional architecture.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Sbragia Alberta
An American Perspective on the EU's Constitutional Treaty
in Politics, Vol. 27, Issue 1, February , 2-7

This article argues that the American experience can help illuminate some of the tensions surrounding the European Union's embattled Constitutional Treaty. I want to emphasise, however, that I am not trying to make any rigorous comparative statement here. I am not arguing that the United States and the EU are similar. They have developed in very different historical periods: the 13 colonies were certainly not equivalent to the old and well-established nation states which form the EU. Nonetheless, I am saying that some aspects of the American experience may be useful in thinking about the current state of tension which surrounds the process of European integration. In this article, therefore, I shall very schematically contrast the American and the European experience of integration and use that contrast to help illuminate the tensions which are now at work in the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ayala Enrique de
Aniversario feliz?
in Politica Exterior, 116 Marzo/Abril 2007

El éxito alcanzado por la UE no puede ocultar los graves problemas a los que se enfrenta; en especial, la parálisis del Tratado Constitucional y la ausencia de una política exterior común.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hagemann Sara
Applying Ideal Point Estimation Methods to the Council of Ministers
in European Union Politics , Vol. 8, n. 2, June , 279-296

This research note addresses an increasingly popular topic in the EU literature, namely the measurement of policy preferences in the Council of Ministers. It aims to provide conclusions on three issues: (1) what data are in fact available from the Council, (2) how preferences are measured in other legislatures, and (3) whether these methods would be suitable for analyses of Council members' preference positions given the available data. Applying the popular scaling method NOMINATE and a Bayesian MCMC model to a data set consisting of all legislation adopted by the Council in 1999—2004, it is found that, although the two methods show similar voting patterns at the general level, the failure to report standard errors by NOMINATE in particular proves to be a severe problem when trying to identify individual governments' policy location. Conversely, the Bayesian approach provides a convincing method for analyses of Council decision records and is easily extended to include more advanced empirical information than merely the governments' decisions to support or oppose a proposal.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dvorak Tomas
Are the New and Old EU Countries Financially Integrated?
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 29, Number 2 / May , 163-187

During the last four years, the eight Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004 have made significant strides toward financial integration with the EU. Several pieces of evidence support this finding. First, yields on long-term sovereign bonds in accession countries have converged towards EU levels. This is true for both bonds denominated in local currency and bonds denominated in euro. Secondly, while the issuance of euro-denominated corporate bonds from accession countries is limited, yields on existing corporate bonds are in line with those in the old EU countries. Thirdly, margins in the banking sector have narrowed, which is consistent with the integration of banking markets. Finally, while country effects still play a more important role in explaining stock returns than industry effects, the continuing stock market rally in the region is consistent with financial integration into the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Risse Thomas, Kleine Mareike
Assessing the Legitimacy of the EU's Treaty Revision Methods
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 45, Issue 1, March , 69-80

How legitimate are the EU's treaty revision procedures, that is, IGCs and the Convention? Since the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty the recurrence to intergovernmental procedures appears as one way out of the current dilemma. We argue instead that the Convention method is not to blame for the current crisis. On the contrary, it increases the

legitimacy of EU constitutionalization considerably.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Wernicke Stephan
Au nom de qui? The European Court of Justice between Member States, Civil Society and Union Citizens
in European law journal, May 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 3 , 380–407

How does the quest for legitimacy of the European Union relate to the view the European Court of Justice(ECJ) accords to Union citizens, civil society and to private actors? It is submitted that the ECJ is currently developing a jurisprudence under which citizens, as well as their organisations and corporate private actors, are gradually, and in almost complete disregard of the public/private distinction, being included in the matrix of rights and—a crucial point—obligations of the treaties. The ECJ incorporates civil society actors and citizens, beyond notions of representative (citizenship) and participatory (civil society) democracy, into the body of law and thereby reworks its own and the Union's identity. Two core aspects are explored: the first is the reconfiguration of Union citizenship as a norm which triggers the application of the substantive norms of the EC Treaty. The second aspect of this evolution is the creation of ‘private governance’ schemes, i.e. processes in which, as a rule, private action is regarded as action that has to meet the standards of the Treaty. The analysis shows that the court is disentangling itself from the State-oriented Treaty situation and drawing legitimacy directly from citizens themselves so that judgments should be pronounced ‘In the Name of the Citizens of the European Union’.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Pop-Eleches Grigore
Between Historical Legacies and the Promise of Western Integration: Democratic Conditionality after Communism
in East European Politics and Societies, Volume 21, Number 1, February , 142-161

Post-communist democracy promotion has been most important in "borderline" countries, which had less favorable structural conditions than the East-Central European frontrunners, but where a domestic democratic constituency nevertheless existed and could benefit from Western support. External democracy promotion efforts have ranged from "soft" diplomatic pressure to economic and military sanctions and have acted through a variety of channels: (1) promotion of democratic attitudes among citizens yearning for Western integration, (2) political incentives for elites (in government and in the opposition), (3) domestic power balance shifts in favor of democratic politicians, and (4) promotion of better democratic governance through incentives for public administration reform. The most effective approach to democracy promotion thus far, however, has been the combination of political conditionality with significant political/economic incentives, best exemplified by the European integration process. Furthermore, the success of any strategy hinges on its fit with the geopolitical and domestic environment of the country in question. In particular, external

actors must be more sensitive to the national sovereignty implications of such interventions, which can be easily exploited by domestic antidemocratic actors to undermine democracy promotion efforts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

König Thomas, Lindberg Bjorn, Lechner Sandra, Pohlmeier Wienfried

Bicameral Conflict Resolution in the European Union: An Empirical Analysis of Conciliation Committee Bargains

in **British Journal of Political Science**, issue 2, vol. 37, april , 281-312

ABSTRACT: This article is a study of bicameral conflict resolution between the Council and the European Parliament in the European Union, which has established a bicameral conciliation process under the co-decision procedure. Scholars commonly agree that the European Parliament has gained power under the co-decision procedure, but the impact of the conciliation process on the power distribution between the Council and the European Parliament remains unclear. The scholarly debate suggests that the power of the institutional actors depends on their proximity to the status quo, the (im-)patience and the specific preference distribution of the institutional actors, although most analyses assume that the Commission plays an insignificant role. Using an ordered probit model, this study examines the power distribution between the two institutional actors, the factors for their bargaining success and the role of the Commission in the period between 1999 and 2002. The findings show that the European Parliament wins most conflicts, but that the Council is more successful in multi-dimensional disputes. The results confirm some theoretical claims made in the literature, such as the importance of the status quo location and of preference cohesiveness. However, they also reject a major assumption in the literature on the irrelevance of the Commission in the conciliation process, which we show to have an influential informational position for parliamentary success.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Mabbett Deborah, Schelkle Waltraud

Bringing Macroeconomics Back into the Political Economy of Reform: the Lisbon Agenda and the 'Fiscal Philosophy' of EMU

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 45, Issue 1, March , 81-103

The Lisbon Strategy supports reform of Member States' tax-benefit systems while the 'fiscal philosophy' of the EMU postulates that governments should allow only automatic stabilizers, built into tax-benefit systems, to smooth aggregate income. We ask whether these two pillars of EU economic governance are compatible. By exploring how structural reforms affect fiscal stabilization, we complement a political economy literature that asks whether fiscal consolidation fosters or hinders structural reforms. Using EUROMOD, a tax-benefit model for the EU-15, we identify the connections between specific tax and benefit reforms and the size of the stabilizers. We conclude that Lisbon-type reforms may worsen the stabilizing capacity of tax-benefit systems.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bono Giovanni
Challenges of Democratic Oversight of EU Security Policies
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 4, December , 431-449

EU security policies have four key characteristics that distinguish them from other EU policies. First, there is a contradiction between their legal and political form that has been accentuated by the 'widening of the security' agenda; second, they are not regional but rather global in nature; third, they are characterised by extensive use of flexibility mechanisms and finally there is a very restricted role for parliaments, citizens and for judicial review. In this policy domain there are acute challenges of democratic accountability, which are described through the concepts of vertical (national parliaments and citizens vis-à-vis EU institutions) and horizontal (through the separation of powers of EU institutions) accountability. The democratic challenges are made acute by the extensive use of 'flexibility mechanisms', by the use of secrecy and urgency procedures, by the ambiguous nature of laws and norms that govern this domain and by the lack of international oversight over EU involvement in new 'state-building' practices.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Rasmussen Anne
Challenging the Commission's right of initiative? Conditions for institutional change and stability
in West European Politics, n. 2, vol. 30 march , 244-264

ABSTRACT: This article examines the conditions under which informal institutional change between EU Treaties becomes formalised in subsequent Treaties. Recent developments in institutional theory show how formal rule changes often result in informal rule adjustments, which feed back into the formal sphere. However, I show how such feedback has not taken place in one of the clearest examples of informal modifications of the EU Treaty, i.e. the way the agenda-setting power of the European Union has developed over time. I explain this phenomenon by developing a simple framework of change and stability, which links EU bargains with day-to-day politics and looks more closely at what determines the incentives of the decision-makers to formalise informal institutional changes. The framework emphasises that whether actors have an incentive to formalise informal changes depends on uncertainty regarding how the informal institutions might be applied, the costs of formalising them and the possible side-effects that such a change might entail. In this case, the informal changes were sufficient for the member states and the Parliament and decreased their willingness to incur the costs and risks of formal changes to the right of initiative, which would significantly affect the institutional balance of the Community.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Pridham Geoffrey
Change and Continuity in the European Union's Political Conditionality: Aims, Approach, and Priorities
in Democratization, Vol. 14, n. 3, June , 446-471

The EU's political conditionality has acquired increasing importance with successive enlargements; this also goes for the period since 2004 compared with that before. The focus here is on change and continuity in conditionality policy with

respect to its aims, approach, and priorities. The article presents and applies a three-dimensional analysis concerning the challenge to, the process of, and the management of that policy. Given the need for assessing it in a broad and dynamic context, the discussion revolves around three relationships: between conditionality and post-communist democratization; between conditionality and the enlargement process; and between conditionality and the EU itself in terms of institutional responsibility for enlargement and conditionality matters. This explains how the policy since 2004 has been driven by four factors: more difficult democratization cases from the West Balkans; lessons from the earlier 2004 enlargement involving East-Central Europe; the policy outlook of Commissioner Olli Rehn; and 'enlargement fatigue' and stronger pressures from EU actors other than the Commission. As a result, political conditionality has become broader in its scope, much tighter in its procedures, and less easy to control within a less enlargement-friendly environment in the EU and against less certainty about enlargement prospects.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Bouwen Pieter

Competing for consultation: Civil society and conflict between the European Commission and the European Parliament

in West European Politics, n. 2, vol. 30 march , 265-284

ABSTRACT: This article investigates how informal rules in the European Union change in the periods between formal treaty revisions. On the basis of a case study on the White Paper on Governance presented by the European Commission in July 2001, it shows how institutional change is driven by conflict between the Commission and the European Parliament. The conflict concerns the development of informal rules to structure the interaction of the Commission and the Parliament with Europe's civil society. The interaction with civil society organisations is very important for the EU bodies because it allows them to acquire resources that are indispensable in order to fulfil and expand their organisational role. An additional aim of this article is to examine how these institutional developments might influence the long-term development of formal treaty rules.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Pollak Johannes

Contested Meanings of Representation

in Comparative European Politics, n. 1, vol. 5, april , 87-103

ABSTRACT: The article deals with the question how the process of constitutionalization can be organized and argues that it needs to be structured via representative politics. By looking into the history of the concept of representation, it becomes clear that one of the pillars of democracy is notoriously underspecified and theoretically overloaded. Who represents what by which means is a question, which was answered in a historically contingent way. An analysis of the different answers is necessary in order to arrive at an analytical grid to study the representative quality of polities comprising various functions as well as modes of representation. Finally, the European Union's democratic quality is analysed and described to be heavily affected by colliding modes of representation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lord Christopher
Contested Meanings, Democracy Assessment and the European Union
in **Comparative European Politics**, n. 1, vol. 5, april , 70-86

ABSTRACT: Much has been written on what contested meanings of democracy imply for attempts to evaluate the democratic performance of the European Union. But the converse question of what surveys of the democratic performance of the Union have to tell us about contested expectations of what would count as a democratic Union is also important. This article demonstrates why this is so using insights from the wider contested meanings project represented in this journal edition. It shows, in other words, that once it is accepted that normative and empirical claims are tightly coupled together in practice, and that this, in turn, plays itself out in contested standards, any evaluation of democratic performance requires the assessor to double back to a re-examination of the criteria from which the assessment started.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Beck Ulrich, Grande Edgar
Cosmopolitanism: Europe's Way Out of Crisis
in **European Journal of Social Theory**, Volume 10, No. 1, February 2007 , 67-85

If Europe wants to overcome its current crisis, it urgently needs to develop a new political vision and a new concept for political integration. By focusing on the idea of a cosmopolitan Europe, this article outlines such a political vision for Europe. To this end, it first suggests reformulating the concept of cosmopolitanism in such a way that it is not tied to the 'cosmos' or the 'globe'. With the aid of such a generalized concept of cosmopolitanism it then presents a novel, cosmopolitan approach to European integration that is no longer concerned with harmonizing rules and eliminating (national) differences, but with recognizing them. Finally, it outlines a new, post-national model of democracy for Europe that no longer disenfranchises citizens and instead gives them an active role in European decision-making processes.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schepers Stefan
Cultural Revolution: the only way to cut through the EU's red tape jungle
in **Europe´s World**, Issue 5, Spring

Brussels' mandarins have declared that European regulation is to be simplified. Stefan Schepers explains that before red tape can be cut, the EU's consensus-building tools must be sharpened, and that in turn means a revolution inside the European institutions.

http://www.europesworld.org/SearchbyAuthor/tabid/66/Default.aspx?AuthorId=280

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Gui Francesco
Da Ventotene alla batosta dei referendum
in Reset, Numero 99, Gennaio / Febbraio , 83-87

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Saurugger Sabine
Democratic 'Misfit'? Conceptions of Civil Society Participation in France and the European Union
in Political Studies, Volume 55, Issue 2, June , 384-404

The European Union's attempts to improve its democratic character increasingly often lead to debates about how to include civil society organizations in its decision-making processes. However, this interpretation of participatory democracy seems at odds with democratic traditions in a number of member states. Among those, France is said to be at the diametrically opposite end of the EU democratization debate spectrum. French democratic thought is based on government through electoral representation. The aim of this article is to analyze both theoretically and empirically the discourse and participatory processes in both the EU and France. While normative approaches to democratic patterns in the EU and French political debate show important differences, empirical evidence suggests that the misfit between the European and French conception of democracy is less developed than one might believe.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Collignon Stefan
Democratizzare l'Europa
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 1 , 159-170

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Borgolte Michael
Die Anfänge des mittelalterlichen Europa oder Europas Anfänge im Mittelalter?
in Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, Jahrgang 55, Heft 3, 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process
Pfetsch Frank R.
Die EU bedarf der Reformen
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 10, 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Strohmeier Gerd
Die EU zwischen Legitimität und Effektivität
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 10, 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Stoiber Edmund
Die Erweiterungsfähigkeit der EU - Perspektiven und Grenzen
in **Politische Studien**, Heft 411, 58. Jahrgang, Januar-Februar , 8-17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Huffschmid Jörg
Die neoliberale Deformation Europas. Zum 50. Jahrestag der Verträge von Rom
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, März, 2007 , 307-319

Am 25. März 1957 unterschrieben die Regierungschefs von sechs europäischen Ländern den Vertrag zur Gründung der Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft (EWG). Die deutsche Bundesregierung, die im ersten Halbjahr 2007 die Präsidentschaft der Europäischen Union innehat, will diesen runden Geburtstag nutzen, um am 50. Jahrestag eine „Berliner Erklärung“ zu veröffentlichen. Darin wird sie die Fortschritte der wirtschaftlichen Integration Europas betonen, die aus der Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft der sechs mittlerweile eine Union von 27 Staaten gemacht haben. Sie wird aber auch das Zurückbleiben der institutionellen und politischen Vereinigung bedauern, das eine größere Rolle Europas in der Weltpolitik verhindert. Die wichtigste Funktion der Berliner Erklärung wird es sein, das vordringliche Projekt der deutschen Präsidentschaft auf den Weg zu bringen: die „Wiederbelebung des Verfassungsprozesses“, wie es in verschiedenen programmatischen Äußerungen von Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel etwas verschwommen heißt. In diesem Zusammenhang wird auch die Rolle der Bundesrepublik als Säule und Motor der europäischen Integration zur Sprache kommen...

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Jacobsen Hanns-D., Machowski Heinrich
Dimensionen einer neuen Ostpolitik der EU
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 10, 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Delhey Jan
Do Enlargements Make the European Union Less Cohesive? An Analysis of Trust between EU Nationalities
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 45, Issue 2, June , 253-279

This article analyses the impact enlargements have had on the social cohesion of the European Union (EU), measured as generalized interpersonal trust between EU nationalities. Based on a quantitative-dyadic approach, Eurobarometer surveys from 1976 to 1997 are utilized. The key result is that enlargements do not necessarily weaken cohesion, but southern enlargement and the recent eastern enlargement did. The integrative effect of enlargement depends on the extent to which acceding nations differ from existing club members in three main dimensions: the level of modernization (mechanisms: prestige), cultural characteristics (mechanisms: similarity) and their power in the international system (mechanisms: perceived threat).

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Perkins Richard, Neumayer Eric
Do Membership Benefits Buy Regulatory Compliance?
in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 8, n. 2, June , 180-206

Underlying several theories of European integration is the idea that countries' willingness to sign up to supranational rules is dependent on the expectation and/or realization of various benefits. In this paper, we explore whether such benefits also affect member states' implementation of these rules. Using econometric techniques, we estimate the influence of several measures of membership benefits on the annual number of legal infringements received by 15 member states over the period from 1978 to 1999. Our results provide qualified support for the idea that benefits positively influence compliance. We find that greater intra-EU trade dependence and voting power in European institutions relative to population size are negatively associated with legal infringements. Yet, contrary to a priori expectations, net fiscal transfers are positively correlated with infringements.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schütze Robert
Dual federalism constitutionalised: the emergence of exclusive competences in the EC legal order
in European Law Review, n. 1, vol. 32, february , 3-28

ABSTRACT: The constitutional philosophy of dual federalism is based on the idea of dual sovereignty. The federal and the state governments are regarded as co-equals, which operate independently within their respective spheres. Dual federalism rejects the idea of hierarchical relationship between constitutional "levels". In line with that federal philosophy, the constitutional of dual federalism is based on mutually exclusive powers. The idea of exclusive powers belonging to the European Community has been a judicial creation. The article revisits the emrgence of wxclusive competences in the Community legal order. Beyond the Court's "pointillist" jurisprudence, various attempts have been made to search for broader constituional guidelines. These grander constitutional schemes and the two intellectual rationales for constitutional exclusivity that underpin them will be analysed in turn. The concluding part discusses the constitutional (pre)conditions that were originally responsible for the emergence of exclusive powers in the Community legal order.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schelkle Waltraud
EU Fiscal Governance: Hard Law in the Shadow of Soft Law?
in Columbia Journal of European Law, Vol. 13 n. 3 , 705 - 732

A key element of economic governance in the European Union, the Stability and Growth Pact (Pact), underwent a major revision in March 2005. The many critics of this change claim that what was once A hard law institution for fiscal surveillance has now become so soft as to jeopardize its functioning. This Article examines, first, how exactly the fiscal rules have changed, using a framework which distinguishes hard law from soft law along a continuum in three dimensions of governance: obligation, delegation, and precision. Then it reviews the experience of the first round of surveillance after the revision which so far suggests that the revised Pact is more effectively constraining countries that are officially in "excessive deficit, " contrary to expectations. Finally, the Article offers an interpretation of why the revised Pact may work more effectively. This interpretation suggests that the weakening of obligation has been compensated by changes in the other two dimensions, delegation and precisio, casting a shadow of soft law on the operation of the Excessive Deficit Procedure. The argument is based on a theory of precautionary commitment by democratically elected governments that combines credibility with flexibility. Fiscal governance after the Pact revisions is now arguably better equipped to address major contingencies of fiscal policymaking.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Sarkozy Nicolas
EU reform: What we need to do
in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

What can Europe's political leaders do to regain popular support for the EU and get it moving again? Nicolas Sarkozy explains his strategy for unblocking the deadlock with a "mini-treaty" and for streamlining the European institutions.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=2ada8047-7362-4d8e-85d1-62ad90b88da5

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
McNamara Kathleen R.
Economic Governance, Ideas and EMU: What Currency Does Policy Consensus Have Today
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 4, November , 803-821

The creation of EMU has been one of the most striking examples of economic integration in history. Such deep economic co-operation between states has often proved elusive. This article revisits The Currency of Ideas and assesses what role ideational consensus may play now that the euro is a reality.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Maher Imelda
Economic Governance: Hybridity, Accountability, and Control
in Columbia Journal of European Law, Vol. 13 n. 3 , 679 - 704

The aim of this Article is to explore the challenges posed for conventional accountability mechanisms by "new governance," understood as the wide range of processes with a normative dimension that do not operate through the formal mechanism of traditional legal institutions. It examines at what level of government and to what extent there should be accountability mechanisms and what those mechanisms should be, taking economic (specifically fiscal) governance as a case study. Economic governance in European Economic and Monetary Union is hybrid in form in many senses, including the way it combines "old" and "new " governance. This binary classification is examined as a starting point for the analysis of the framing function of law in governance before turning to an outline of the original and revised economic governance structures under Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), in particular the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP). The Article then asks what forms of accountability are to be found or should be found within this governance structure where there are clear legal frameworks in the Treaty Establishing the European Community (EC Treaty) and legislation with procedures supported by case law and yet where the emphasis is on soft law governance designed to push strict procedures, time limits and sanctions into the background. Having reviewed current debates about the nature of accountability, the article engages in a largely functional exercise using Mashaw 's questions to ask: (1) Who is accountable? (2) To whom? (3) According to what standards? (4) About what? (5) Through what processes? (6) With what effects? The nature of the accountability regime--public, market or community--in economic governance is also addressed. The Article concludes that in economic governance we see both a hybridity of governance processes and of accountability regimes--this is to be expected given the mix of hard and soft norms and their re-balancing following reforms. What is not articulated by the legal provisions and is emerging organically is the extent to which law can or cannot wholly identify standards, roles, responsibilities and accountability mechanisms that underpin the values and goals articulated in economic governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Fleurke Frederik, Willemse Rolf
Effects of the European Union on Sub-National Decision-Making: Enhancement or Constriction?
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 29, Number 1 / March , 69-88

It is commonly assumed that the European Union (EU) influences sub-national authorities (SNAs), but it is not clear exactly to what extent and how it does this. Some scholars conclude that the EU strengthens SNAs (e.g. by funding), others claim that the EU weakens them (e.g. by rules). This article presents a theoretical framework in which various forms of enhancing and constraining effects are represented, and by which the empirical merits of the contesting points of view can be assessed. The research was conducted in two municipalities and one province in the Netherlands, by detailed study of their administrative practice. The research shows that the EU influences sub-national decision making to a fairly large extent, that some of this influence can be concurrently constraining as well as enhancing and that the influence of the EU at the local level is predominantly enhancing and indirect, while at the provincial level it is predominantly constraining and direct.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Pfaff William
El destino manifiesto de EE UU: ideología y política exterior
in Politica Exterior, 117 Mayo/Junio 2007

La reivindicación de una mayor virtud política ha justificado el intervencionismo de EE UU y su expansión de poder. Esta misión ‘divina’ ha mostrado en Irak lo erróneo de sus planteamientos. Es hora de aceptar un sistema internacional de poderes e intereses plurales y legítimos.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schockenhoff Andreas
Enlargement: Six tests for the EU’s absorption capacity
in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

The cold reality confronting German politicians, says Andreas Schockenhoff, Deputy Chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag, is a morose electorate that mistrusts the EU and fears further enlargements. He suggests six criteria for defining the controversial concept of the Union's "absorption capacity".

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=f3f02b39-9201-4be3-af9a-7130e348cba5

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

D'Alema Massimo
Entro il 2009 il Trattato costituzionale europeo
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 154 , 357-358

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Vigo Íñigo Méndez de
Está en crisis la UE?
in Politica Exterior, 117 Mayo/Junio 2007

Sin nuevos ideales movilizadores, la salida para la atonía de la UE es el Tratado Constitucional.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Zielonka Jan
Europa als Empire
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, März, 2007 , 294-306

Mit einem Kommentar von Wolfgang Merkel Schon seit geraumer Zeit versuche ich, den Charakter der erweiterten Europäischen Union zu erfassen. Das brachte mich schließlich auf den Begriff des „Empire“ und, als wäre das nicht schon schlimm genug, des mediävalen, also mittelalterlichen Empire. Ich war selbst überrascht und habe mir diesen Terminus nur zögernd zu eigen gemacht, aber meinem Verleger gefällt er. „Wissen Sie“, sagte er mir, „der Titel sollte Google-freundlich sein. ...

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Fröhlich Helgard
Europa-Deutschland, Wiedervereinigungen und Denkpausen
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 4 , 97-117

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Habermas Jürgen
Europa: Vision und Votum
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Mai, 2007 , 517-520

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Rixen Thomas, Schick Gerhard
Europas falscher Steuerwettbewerb
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Februar, 2007 , 144-147

In der gegenwärtigen Debatte um die Zukunft der Europäischen Union wird ein Feld regelmäßig vernachlässigt: die europäische Steuerpolitik und die Regulierung des Steuerwettbewerbs zwischen den Mitgliedstaaten. Dies zeigt sich nicht zuletzt auf dem Feld der Unternehmensbesteuerung. Denn gerade in der Diskussion um die geplante Neuordnung der bundesdeutschen Körperschaftsteuer spielt der internationale Steuerwettbewerb eine entscheidende Rolle.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Padoa-Schioppa Tommaso
Europe and economic growth
in European Economy News, April 2007 - Issue 6

This article looks back at the ups and downs of economic growth in Europe over the last 50 years: the dynamism of the post-war period and the sluggish performance of the later decades; and calls for a change of emphasis from stability to flexibility at both national and European level to revitalise the European economy for the 21st century.
In 1965, a young middle-class Italian born in 1940 possessed no car, took cheap holidays, had already graduated from university, did not wait for financial security before starting a family, which was of course founded in marriage, and believed that his future would be more prosperous than that of his parents. If he did well as a student, he would find a job quickly and could afford his rent from his starting salary; after working for 15-20 years he could, with the help of a loan, afford to buy a house.
The situation of his son born in 1970 is almost the reverse: long-drawn-out studies, conspicuous consumption, no job, or only temporary contracts, no problems about living together outside marriage but fewer prospects of a family. We have gone from enriching the poor to impoverishing the rich. Today's sense of decline appears to be the corollary of the sudden comfort which the previous generation had been the first to enjoy.
Throughout the post-war period, the economy of Europe was more dynamic than that of America. Europe gradually caught up with the United States, which appeared to be a country in decline. There was talk of alternatives to capitalism and many studies encouraged America to follow the European or Japanese model: fewer redundancies, a paternalistic and corporatist attitude, strong ties between worker and firm, stable ownership, fewer stock exchange raids and takeovers, more social welfare.
Then, about 15 years ago, these trends went into reverse: Japan ground to a halt, Europe began to lag behind, the United States re-entered the race. For the first five years of the new century, Europe's economy suffered from the longest period of stagnation since the end of the Second World War; compared with the normal rates of growth in previous decades, it suffered a much greater loss of income than would have been caused by a real recession followed by a real boom.
The disease from which Europe's economy suffered at the start of the third millennium, and which is only now showing signs of overcoming, was low growth, not a cyclical slowdown. Economists and politicians know a lot about the

economic cycle but not as much about growth, a phenomenon which they find difficult to forecast or create, which usually takes them by surprise both when it comes and when it goes, and which they normally study only in hindsight.
The enlargement of the European Union – to 25 countries and now to 27 – nevertheless means that Europe is bound to grow in future. There are those who regret, quite rightly, the urgent need for structural reforms; but the important reforms of recent years should not be overlooked. They lie behind the current recovery which shows some signs of being durable.
The discussions of recent years reveal certain constant factors. If it is not to be squeezed between competition from America's high-technology services and Asia's low-cost manufactured goods, Europe must increase its productivity, expand into new sectors of industry and services and, in the traditional sectors, aim at the higher quality brackets. To do this, it must develop a capability for more rapid change, shift labour and capital more easily from the old to the new, from firms and sectors that are in the red, or only marginally profitable, to those that are more competitive.
The watchword is no longer 'stability' but 'flexibility'. Today, the obstacles to rapid change are the laws, regulatory provisions and labour agreements which protect the old economy and spare it from the effort of conversion. The forces with a vested interest in the status quo have more influence on governments and the political system than those who would benefit from change.
This is a European story in that it is French, German, Belgian and Dutch, not merely Italian. But is it also European in the sense that it derives from a congenital defect in the European Union or from some error in the way it exercises its own powers? And if there is an error, whose is it?
A truly united Europe is perhaps the only way of providing guidance which would offer hope to young people, encourage families to live and spend, give businesses confidence and a desire to invest, and provide the will and resources to undertake ambitious research projects and develop infrastructure. In this sense, it is true that many of the remedies are to be found in Brussels. But it would be a serious mistake to think that national policies have no part to play or do not bear considerable responsibilities.
First of all: despite everything, Europe includes economies which are growing, as well as stagnant ones; and the differences between the two are largely a result of the national behaviour of governments, the captains of industry and society as a whole. A country which works better than the others becomes more competitive and secures a premium, which is increased by its participation in Europe. Similarly, the penalty suffered by the country which performs less well than the others is more severe.
Secondly: it is true that the errors and omissions in European policies which act as a brake on growth come from Brussels, but they are decided on by the national governments meeting there. It is true that Brussels houses the government of Europe (the Commission) but it is also the venue for meetings of the cartel of national powers (the Council) which not infrequently has hindered Europe's forward march. It is this cartel which prevents progress on policies for energy, research, transport and infrastructure, which blocks the Community budget, which gives birth to the worst excesses of regulation and which impedes political union.
In Brussels, we sometimes waste time legislating on minutiae, at the expense of the Constitution or joint defence: still less do we complete important projects, because we are wasting time on trivia. We have both too much Europe and too little. Things have not substantially changed in the last decades. During my years in Brussels, at the beginning of the 1980s as the head of DG ECFIN, I had the same mixed feelings. In spite of this, it was perhaps in those years that the seeds were sown for the developments that led to the single market and the single currency.
Growth is a social process even more than an industrial, productive or commercial process; what grows is society, even more than the economy. The things that accompany growth, dynamism, optimism and the desire to improve one's lot are a reflection of society as a whole and, in particular, of that part of it which, through its influence and ability to guide, emerges as the managing class. Only Europe can provide an institutional framework and basic direction to release the dynamic forces which are both able and willing to confront today's global challenges.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Whitman Richard G.
Europe's next steps
in International Affairs , issue 2, vol. 83, march , 227-236

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ray Leonard, Johnston Gregory
European Anti-Americanism and Choices for a European Defense Policy
in PS: Political Science & Politics , Vol. 40, Issue 1, January

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Delanty Gerard
European Citizenship: A Critical Assessment
in Citizenship Studies, n. 1, vol. 11, february , 63-72

ABSTRACT: While the notion of a European citizenship in the sense of a formal mode of citizenship that is specific to the EU has a certain reality today, a significant development has been the Europeanization of national regimes. This has occurred under the impact of the broader context of the rise of cosmopolitan forms of citizenship. A historical contextualization of the transformation of citizenship in Europe points to two major traditions, the republican and the cosmopolitan. An analysis of the current situation suggests that both of these have become mutually implicated in each other, but the resulting situation has led to a deficit in the values of solidarity and social justice leading to a major crisis at the heart of the European project.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hurrelmann Achim
European Democracy, the 'Permissive Consensus' and the Collapse of the EU Constitution
in European law journal, May 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 3 , 343–359

The draft Constitution was an attempt to democratise the EU, while taking account of the problematic social preconditions for democracy at the Union level. Its failure demonstrates the need to pay greater attention to the nature of public support for the EU, and to the ways in which this support is related to the democratic quality of EU institutions. Contrary to what is often assumed, EU support can still be quite adequately described by the figure of a 'permissive

consensus'. For better or worse, attempts to democratise EU institutions might undermine this form of support.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Tarditi Secondo
European Integration between Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde
in Intereconomics, Volume 42, Number 1 / January, 2007 , pp. 24-31

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Isernia Pierangelo, Everts Philip P.
European Public Opinion on Security Issues
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 4, December , 451-469

Interest in the role of public opinion in foreign policy has grown steadily since the end of the Second World War. We distinguish at least three different waves of research on this topic and examine two main components of the present policy debate: the need for an Atlantic community and agreement on the means to reach common goals. As to the first issue, we explore the extent to which Atlanticism - defined as the willingness to cooperate among European partners and the US on problems perceived as common - is still high in the 2000s. We find considerable variation between European countries and the US. The left-right cleavage is still relevant in explaining attitudes toward collaboration across the Atlantic both in the US and in several European countries. As to the means, we look at the issue of support for the use of military force in Europe and the United States. On the basis of the available data, support for the use of force is much higher, across the board, in the US than in Europe. On the other hand, the contextual conditions under which force will be used seem to make a significant difference, albeit in different ways, in Europe and the US.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schimmelfennig Frank
European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Transformation in Eastern Europe
in East European Politics and Societies, Volume 21, Number 1, February , 126-141

How and under which conditions have European regional organizations been effective promoters of democratic change in Central and Eastern Europe? In this article, the author argues that only the credible conditional promise of membership in the European Union and NATO has had the potential to produce compliance with liberal-democratic norms in norm-violating transformation countries. These incentives, however, were not sufficient when the power costs of compliance were high for the target governments. They did little to alter the policies of authoritarian governments, which forewent the benefits of accession rather than risk losing power as a result of democratic reforms. Thus, whereas political conditionality was largely redundant in the forerunner countries of democratization in Central and Eastern

Europe (except for some specific reform issues) and generally ineffective with entrenched authoritarian regimes, it proved highly effective in supporting democratic forces and locking in democratic reforms in the unstable democratic countries of the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Manners Ian
European Union 'Normative Power' and the Security Challenge
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 4, December , 405-421

In this discussion of security and democracy in the European Union two interrelated arguments are put forward about the use of normative power to address the security challenge. The article starts by discussing the European (security) Union within the context of over 15 years of European human security debates, and then reflects on the current conduct of the total war on terror as led by the USA. The author argues for the need to be normative in the EU's security policies and concludes by considering the normative security dilemmas that the EU and its member states face over security and democracy, war and peace. He reiterates the argument that the EU should and must apply its own normative principles to the security challenge if we are ever to move beyond total war and towards sustainable peace.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Biscop Sven
European Union Law and Defence Integration
in European public Law, Volume 13 (2007) Issue 1 , 197-199

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Keating M.
European integration and the nationalist question
in Revista espanola de ciencia politica, n. 16 , 9 - 35

European integration questions the relationship between nation and state. It undermines the traditional sovereignty and weakens the need for statehood. Minority nationalist movements have in many cases adopted the European theme, adjusting their ideology and strategy accordingly. Some have used “new regionalist” themes to construct new systems of action below and beyond the state. Europe provides opportunities for territorial movements and grants some minority protections. There are differences between Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe because of the evolution of state structures. The prospective European constitution risks formalizing the European Union as a two-level game of states and the Union, with little room for regional and minority claims.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Rosamond Ben
European integration and the social science of EU studies: the disciplinary politics of a subfield
in International Affairs , issue 2, vol. 83, march , 231-252

This article takes the 50th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome as an opportunity to reflect upon half a century of academic discourse about the EU and its antecedents. In particular, it illuminates the theoretical analysis of European integration that has developed within political science and international studies broadly defined. It asks whether it is appropriate to map, as might be tempting, the intellectual 'progress' of the field of study against the empirical evolution of its object (European integration/the EU). The argument to be presented here is that while we can, to some extent, comprehend the evolution of academic thinking about the EU as a reflex to critical shifts in the 'real world' of European integration ('externalist' drivers), it is also necessary to understand 'internalist' drivers of theoretical discourse on European integration/the EU. The article contemplates two such 'internalist' components that have shaped and continue to shape the course of EU studies: scholarly contingency (the fact that scholarship does not proceed with free agency, but is bound by various conditions) and disciplinary politics (the idea that the course of academic work is governed by power games and that there are likely significant disagreements about best practice and progress in a field). In terms of EU studies, the thrust of disciplinary politics tends towards an opposition between 'mainstreaming' and 'pluralist versions' of the political science of EU studies. The final section explores how, in the face of emerging monistic claims about propriety in the field, an effective pluralist political science of the EU might be enhanced.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lizzi Renata
Europeizzazione e politiche agricole: un esercizio utile per ripartire dai fondamentali
in Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche, 3, Dicembre , 5-39

The concept of Europeanization constitutes an attempt to analytically connect the main dimensions of a two-way process: EU institutionalization on one side, and domestic changes stemming from it, on the other. The wide literature on Europeanization testifies a wide interest in this perspective, but the debate on the definition of the concept is still going on and a shared analytical framework within the international scientific community is far from settled. The article aims at stressing that Europeanization is a loosely-coupled term subject to manifold definitions and lacking either a clear-cut analytical focus or a common method and research agenda. In the central section, these conceptual and analytical difficulties are examined and discussed with reference either to studies and researches concerning the Europeanization of agricultural policies or to other more traditional approaches and contributions based on already-rooted analytical categories (such as institutionalization, policy paradigm, policy legacy, ideas and core values, etc). Conclusions finally suggest a less ambiguous definition of Europeanization together with a more robust analytical framework.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Sked Alan
Europe's 50th Anniversary Clown Show
in Foreign Policy, Issue 159, March / April

The European Union's absurd birthday bash says more about where the EU is headed than 1,000 bland pronouncements from the bureaucrats and politicians in Brussels ever could.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lerche Peter
Europäische Staatsrechtslehrer. Der Wissenschaftler Konrad Hesse
in Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart, Band 55, 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schratzenstaller Margit
Europäischer Steuersenkungswettlauf
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, März, 2007 , 370-372

Mit dem Beitritt Bulgariens und Rumäniens zum 1. Januar 2007 ist die Osterweiterung der Europäischen Union vorerst abgeschlossen. Die nunmehr aus 27 Ländern bestehende EU stellt einen Wirtschaftsraum dar, der durch beträchtliche ökonomische Unterschiede gekennzeichnet ist, bei einer gleichzeitig zumindest formal sehr weitgehenden Integration von Kapital-, Güterund Arbeitsmärkten. Dass der gemeinsame Binnenmarkt eine erhebliche zwischenstaatliche Koordinierung oder gar ...

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Eichenhofer Eberhard
Europäisierung sozialer Sicherung
in Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Heft 2006/32,4 , 517-541

The Europeanization of Social Security

The article tries to illustrate in how many social policy dimensions Europe matters for national social legislation. It shows from a legal point of view the influences the member states' legislations are exposed by EU legislation on social protective matters today. The classical topic of mutual co-ordination is still the main subject of EU influence; but this

legislation is under a deep and profound change, encompassing third state' nationals and becoming relevant to more and more countries: not only 25 or 27 member states but also in relation to the EEA states, Switzerland and the candidate states of the West Balkan. Additionally, quite recently new instruments of social policy intervention by the EU had been created: the OMC– some sort of an »Olympic contest« on the best solutions in social policy- the antidiscrimination as the human rights legislation; the latter is expected to be incorporated quite soon into the imminent EU constitution of tomorrow. Further steps forward in the deepening of the internal market integration will, additionally, be brought about by legislative activities of the EU, which can be embedded into the quite vast legislative competence the EU has acquired by the last EC Treaty revisions of Amsterdam 1997 and Nice 2000.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hix Simon
Euroscepticism as Anti-Centralization
in European Union Politics , Vol. 8, n.1, March , 131-150

From a rational choice institutionalist perspective, Euroscepticism is little more than a set of preferences by citizens, parties and interest groups about institutional design in Europe. If actors' expect policy outcomes to move closer to their ideal positions as a result of European integration, they will be Euro-enthusiastic (as many centrists are). But, if they feel that policies will move further away from their ideal positions, they will be Eurosceptic (as many extremists are). This simple idea has broad historical and geographical relevance, relating to how actors view the design of multilevel polities, and how these institutional preferences change in response to policy outcomes of the central institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schout Adriaan, Vanhoonacker Sophie
Evaluating Presidencies of the Council of the EU: Revisiting Nice
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 5, December , 1051-1077

Judging presidencies is easy, evaluating them is not. Evaluations are rare and often superficial. This article provides a theoretical framework for such evaluations. Using contingency theory, it develops hypotheses about the demand for, and supply of, presidency roles. It offers a structured analysis by linking behaviour to the specificities of the actual negotiations. The framework is then applied to the performance of the French presidency during the IGC in 2000. The analysis shows, that apart from the complaints relating to some embarrassing failures, not all the criticism levelled at the French was justified.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ayala José Enrique de

Existe una política exterior común?
in Politica Exterior, 114 Noviembre/Diciembre 2006

Catorce años después del tratado de Maastricht, los intereses nacionales siguen frenando la PESC.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
McLaren Lauren M.
Explaining Opposition to Turkish Membership of the EU
in European Union Politics , Vol. 8, n. 2, June , 251-278

This article examines EU citizen attitudes to Turkey's bid to join the EU. The key theoretical constructs investigated to explain opposition to Turkey's EU membership are related to rational economic self-interest and group-level interests and concerns. The findings indicate that the former are irrelevant for distinguishing between opponents and supporters of Turkey's candidacy, while the latter do provide fairly powerful explanations for opposition to Turkish EU membership. However, because these factors do not completely explain overall levels of hostility to Turkey's candidacy, context is also introduced, particularly the threatening context provided by Turkish migration. The findings indicate that migration from Turkey to some of the EU member states has combined with feelings of group protectiveness to produce widespread animosity to Turkey's entry into the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Comelli Michele, Greco Ettore, Tocci Nathalie
From Boundary to Borderland: Transforming the Meaning of Borders through the European Neighbourhood Policy
in European Foreign Affairs Review, Volume 12, Issue 2 , 203-218

This article looks at the European Neighbourhood Policy as an attempt by the EU to transform its external borders from areas of demarcation and division to areas of exchange and interaction. It outlines five possible scenarios for the evolution of the EU, assessing their implications for the ENP and the reconceptualization of the Union’s borders. First, a paralysed and more internally fragmented Union if the current differences on both enlargement and constitutional reform prove insurmountable. Second, a larger yet unreformed Union resulting in institutional shortcomings. Third, a Union focused on its internal reform, with future enlargement plans would be slowed down or put on ice. Fourth, the introduction of limited reforms, although a far cry from those envisaged by the Constitutional Treaty. And fifth, a reformed and externally more dynamic Union with a quickly ratified Constitutional Treaty.

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

Billiet Stjin

From GATT to the WTO: The Internal Struggle for External Competences in the EU

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue 5, December , 899-919

Despite the rise of 'mixity', the Commission is nonetheless the key European player in the WTO, even regarding issues that are not exclusive EC competences. While established integration theories struggle to explain this phenomenon, this article argues that the external institutional context should be brought into the analysis.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process

Roithner Thomas

Future conflict: EU vs. international law?

in **Europe´s World**, Issue 4, Autumn

The war in Kosovo in 1999 was a watershed for EU Foreign and Security Policy. The support of the US/NATO war, which violated international law, and the militarization of the union, which progressed, in the words of Javier Solana, at the "speed of light", indicated the beginning of a new era in which the EU has tried to emancipate itself from the Unites States. Since then the EU had more than a dozen military and police operations (including the Balkans, Congo, Caucasus and Indonesia) on its agenda. The list of the points, which were concluded by the political elites, contains the EU Defence Industry and Defence Agency, the obligation for military assistance, the obligation to armament according to the constitution, the confession to a global military interventionism and the building of an intervention capacity with 60000 soldiers and the 15 battle groups respectively.

The relation of the EU to the mandates of international law concerning military deployments is uncertain. Since the war in Kosovo in 1999 much can be read about military inventions in accord with the Charta of the United Nations, but nothing about an explicitly given mandate. Austrian laws – like for example the article 23f of the constitution, the Federal Law on War Material, the criminal law concerning the threat to neutrality etc. – consider military missions with only an EU-mandate to be legitimate. Even without a basis of international law the government tried to prevent an incompatibility with the Austrian neutrality. The EU-parliament reached a majority decision in 2000, which makes it possible to execute military interventions at the request of the general secretary even without an UN-mandate.

If future military interventions and deployments, if necessary without an UN-mandate, are carried out, this would reduce the legitimacy of international law as well as it would further reduce the approval of the Austrian population towards the deployment of heavy arms, which is quite low anyway. Austria's neutrality – Vienna is an important UN-location – has always been closely tied to the UN and the general prohibition of the use of force. In the past Austria and the other neutral EU-states Finland, Sweden, Malta and Ireland actively supported the dialog between north and south, east and west, talks in the Middle East, nuclear disarmament, UN-peace-keeping and development cooperation.

The obeying of the international law was one of the central arguments in the debate about war and peace in the war in Kosovo in 1999, the war in Afghanistan in 2001, the persistent war in Iraq as well as in politics, science and civil society. The relation of the population to the international law can be seen by the positive public opinion towards neutrality. The most important aspects of neutrality – no participation in wars, no entry into military alliances, no foreign troops in Austria – are still important and forward-looking. The debate about the compatibility of a militarised EU and neutrality is only partly to blame for the fact, that Austria is – despite its EU-presidency – among the three most EU-sceptic countries.

A common seat of the EU member-states in the Security Council of the United Nations seems to be quite unlikely at the moment. The disagreement in important questions concerning foreign affairs became evident during the war in Iraq in 2003. The EU concentrates on the militarily possible and its financing and the apparent necessity to act with the US at the same level respectively. The question of the EUropeanisation of the French and British atom bombs, which was discussed in the "European Defence Paper", lead to vehement reactions among the Austrian population and counts to one of the problems of a common EU Foreign Policy. An agreement of the major military forces inside the EU on one vote in the UN Security Council would result in a further postponement away from civil power towards military power. In most cases the small states in the EU are the ones that – out of a certain necessity – supported strong civil foreign policy signals and activities under a strong observance of the international law. Foreign policy pluralism – the meaning of the OSCE and the neutral states – would then be restricted inside the EU.

The problem concerning the change of the composition of the UN Security Council is not just the dominant representation of Western power blocs, but also the lack of representation of developing countries as well as of the Arabic world. The EU policy in the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation proved, that a more just world economy, which is based on a global and stable keeping of the peace, cannot be reached by Western military and economic forces. The challenge for the EU concerning the United Nations would be to solve the problems, that were mentioned in the security strategy of the EU "A secure Europe in a better world" 2003: poverty, hunger, malnutrition, injustice, global warming, etc. The dialog of the EU with the United Nations is unfortunately still not very advanced.

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Schott Michael

Geopolitical Imaginations About the European Union in Recent Political Discussions

in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography) , Volume 98, Issue 2, April , 284-295

With the end of the Cold War the concepts of the geopolitical order of Europe have changed. Within this process the European Union plays a significant role. When the Iron Curtain came down, negotiations about the potential

enlargement to the East started and the EU positioned itself differently regarding worldwide conflicts and wars. The influence of the new geopolitical situation on national long-term orientations and changes in the representations of the national representatives is the focal point of this paper. It analyses the current discourses on Europe, the European Union and its global role based on selected interviews with high ranking politicians. The main issues are: how far does Europe extend and which part of Europe will form the EU? And which internal power relations will the EU develop in the future. A discourse analysis shows how the current problems are verbalised within the geopolitical representations and how they affect the political arena. In this paper the word discourse is used to describe a social process which can be called ‘inclination of sense’ or, in a more sophisticated manner, ‘genesis of meaning’. This meaning refers to (a) the processual character of political, social and territorial organisation, (b) its reflection in the mass media and its construction of what can be called ‘European’ or ‘familiar with Europe’ and (c) the influence of the semantic order on political decisions, which impose a specific structural order and social organisation.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Fragola Massimo
Governance dell'Unione europea, sovrannazionalità e modelli applicativi: un tentativo di riordino alla luce della Costituzione dell'Unione europea
in Diritto comunitario e degli scambi internazionali, n. 3 , 427-456

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Borraz Olivier
Governing Standards: The Rise of Standardization Processes in France and in the EU
in Governance, Vol. 20, n. 1, January , 57-84

The rise of standardization processes highlights two different paths toward a regulatory state. Within the EU, the New Approach serves as a model for co-regulation, and European standards have become instruments of supranational governance. In France, standardization is much more part of a renegotiation of the state's role and influence in a changing society. In both cases, standardization was undertaken with other motives; yet it evolved to answer the strains and constraints exerted upon regulatory processes in the two polities. As such, standards are a case for unintentionality in policy instruments.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Aspinwall Mark
Government Preferences on European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories
in British Journal of Political Science, issue 1, vol. 37, january , 89-114

ABSTRACT: This essay examines the causes of government support for European integration. It evaluates several competing theories, both material and ideological. Two dependent variables are examined: government support for European integration in Council of Ministers decisions, and in the 1997 Amsterdam intergovernmental conference. There appear to be sharp differences between the two decision-making fora in the efficacy of predictive variables. In the Council of Ministers, left–right political ideology and financial transfers from the European Union to member states provide the best explanations. In the Amsterdam conference, experience in the Second World War and financial transfers provide the best explanations. This research extends our understanding of why governments choose co-operation within the European Union. It also extends our understanding of the relationship between ideology and integration preferences. Ideology matters not just to parties, but also to governments, which represent both territorial interests and ideologies. There appears to be a linear relationship, whereby left governments are more supportive of integration than right governments.

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Harnisch Sebastian

Grenzerfahrungen. Deutsche Europapolitik und Europäischer Verfassungsvertrag

in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 17. Jahrgang (2007), Heft 1 , 61-77

Limits on Integration
German European-Policy and the European Constitutional Treaty

The aim of the article is to explore the German role in drafting of the Constitutional treaty of the European Union. It is argued that ever wider and deeper European integration in the 1990s has politicized domestic political actors which try to domesticate the executive's pro-integration policies through normative procedural restrictions. Thus, Berlin's drive towards constitutionalizing the existing treaties is interpreted as an effort to define more effective limits on further integration and to establish various mechanisms for the German parliament and states to safeguard waning national competences. Thus, while Germany as a collective actors still favors integration in some areas, the legislative and judicial branch have insisted on a more "contingent German Europeanism" that does not temper with core principles and core competences of the German constitutional order.

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Trützschler von Falkenstein Eugenie von

Grenzüberschreitende und transnationale Zusammenarbeit in der Europäischen Union in der Förderperiode 2006-2013

in Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart, Band 55, 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process
Buovicini Gianni, Regelsberger Elfriede
Growing without a Strategy? The Case of European Security and Defence Policy
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLII, n. 2, April-June

Contrary to the expectations of many experts and politicians, one of the politically most sensitive sectors of the European integration process, the common foreign and security policy, has seen remarkable growth in recent years. The pressure of crises and conflicts beyond the EU's borders and the need to deal with them in a unitary way has driven the governments of member states and the community institutions to take development of CFSP/ESDP more seriously. The process has been pragmatic, establishing the mechanisms and policies required to respond to the challenges: a bottom-up, disorderly growth which the Constitutional Treaty had attempted to rationalise in a coherent framework, completing the work of the preceding treaties. This growth has continued in spite of the stalled ratification of the CT. But it cannot go on indefinitely. In order to bring order and coherence into CFSP/ESDP bodies and procedures, the substance of the Constitutional Treaty must be saved and approved rapidly.

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Védrine Hubert
How others see us: Policy lessons for Europe
in **Europe´s World**, Issue 4, Autumn

Just as countries around the world are often uncertain whether they prefer to deal with a Europe that is fragmented or united, Hubert Védrine, France's former Minister of Foreign Affairs, notes that Europeans are themselves deeply divided over how to position themselves in today's fast-changing world

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=edd2fdfd-49e0-4c7f-8c9e-382773737eab

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Tosato Gian Luigi
How to Relaunch Europe - The Reasons for Flexibility
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLII, n. 2, April-June

The European Union's difficulty in functioning is a result in large measure of its decision-making mechanisms, which expose any measure to a veto by a scant minority or even a single state. The flexible model of Europe, and that is of differentiated integration, attempts to overcome this deadlock. The flexible model is based on the simple and reasonable idea that a member state which dissents is not obligated to associate itself with a certain initiative, but cannot block the others from carrying it out. In certain "virtuous" conditions, flexibility does not imply a risk of breaking up the Union. On the contrary, it offers a dynamic instrument to reconcile the requirements of unity and diversity and promote the process of European integration.

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Angelov Georgi
How to gate-crash the eurozone
in **Europe´s World**, Issue 4, Autumn

There were howls of protest earlier this year when Lithuania and Estonia were turned away from the eurozone. Georgi Angelov of the Open Society Institute in Sofia derides the absurdity of the Maastricht criteria, and explains why EU newcomers should unilaterally "euro-ise" their currencies.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=7a3cf7ac-126a-47b9-9bbf-465acce039c5

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Boman Julia, Berg Eiki
Identity and Institutions Shaping Cross-border Co-operation at the Margins of the European Union
in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 17, Number 2 / June , 195-215

This paper seeks to synthesize different theoretical approaches in studying cross-border co-operation (CBC) while considering institutionalization and identity-building as the two major processes behind cross-border developments. Since there still exist some gaps in explaining the conditions necessary for successful development of CBC at the margins of the EU, this paper attempts to contribute with empirical data collected from the Estonian-Russian and Romanian-Moldovan borderlands. The argument here is that CBC is relatively successful where it has developed more towards multi-level governance or where it has achieved institutional identity and acquired ability to shape the practices. This paper also suggests that where historical-cultural identity exists, it may provide a better ground in the development of cross-border activities, yet, this fact alone does not substitute institutional cross-border identity, a precondition for mobilization.

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Calamia Pietro
Il Trattato costituzionale e l'avvenire dell'Europa
in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XXXIX, n. 154 , 359-365

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Nelli Feroci Ferdinando
Il cammino dell’integrazione europea a cinquanta anni dai Trattati di Roma. Dalla pausa di riflessione

all'occasione di un nuovo rilancio
in **Comunità Internazionale (La)**, n. 1, vol. LXII, primo trimestre , 9-22

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Andreatta Massimiliano, Doerr Nicole
Imagining Europe: Internal and External Non-State Actors at the European Crossroads
in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, Volume 12, Issue 3 , 385-400

This article studies the construction of ideals and images associated with Europe and the European Union by non-state actors (social movements, trade unions and NGOs) based outside Europe. First, we analyse the external image of Europe and the EU through the content analysis of meaning attributed to the EU and EU politics on the homepages of non-EU NGOs, trade unions and social movements within the global justice movements. Secondly, we study the perspective of non-Western European activists within the European Social Forum process as a transnational forum 'from below' for 'another' Europe. The European Union seen from outside is an ambivalent powerful political community with both a hegemonic but also a socially transformative and democratic aspiration. While internal EU organizations and groups claim the internal democratization of Europe, activists based outside the EU see it as an important external ally for the implementation of human rights and democratization (or gender equality), though they are very critical on materialistic issues, such as trade relationships.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Levy Bernard-Henri
In Europa la Francia è assente
in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XXXIX, n. 154 , 394-396

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Pinelli Cesare
In Search of Coherence in EU Foreign Policy
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLII, n. 2, April-June

While attributing the main tasks relating to CFSP to various institutions, the EU Treaty mirrors the traditional EU structure, which does not appear to be able to provide the coherence and efficiency needed in the foreign policy field. The Constitutional Treaty attempted to achieve coherence by introducing important changes, including an EU Minister for Foreign Affairs (the "double-hatting" solution). After the CT ratification failures, however, thinking must be directed at finding steps that lead towards the CT solutions but are at the same time compatible with the TEU. While double-hatting is difficult to reconcile with some of the TEU's provisions, other measures and devices could to some extent anticipate

the CT's perspective without contravening the treaties in force.

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Puntscher Riekmanna Sonja
In Search of Lost Norms: Is Accountability the Solution to the Legitimacy Problems of the European Union?
in Comparative European Politics, n. 1, vol. 5, april , 121-137

ABSTRACT: The article investigates the concept of accountability as one attempt to answer the question of legitimacy of European governance. The guiding thesis is that accountability is an important organizing principle of democracy. There is, however, a lack of consensus on the definition of democracy as the fundamental norm beyond the state. The current career of accountability as a topic of European political discourse may be interpreted as an instance for the search of that norm lost in the creation of the supranational polity, which has led to a diffusion of power. The result is a form of 'diffuse democracy.' Stressing accountability will not necessarily solve the dilemmas of European democracy. The procedures of accountability provided by the treaties do not suffice to convince the citizens of the democratic quality of the Union. By way of conclusion, the article advocates greater clarity through appropriate constitutionalization of the Union.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bongardt Annette, Torres Francisco
Institutions, Governance and Economic Growth in the EU: Is There a Role for the Lisbon Strategy?
in Intereconomics, Volume 42, Number 1 / January, 2007

While European economic integration and in particular the single European market often appear to be only a smallest common denominator in the EU, they condition the economic policy framework facing Member States and have been instrumental in putting governance patterns into motion. The Lisbon Agenda is a case in point. Motivated by competitiveness concerns, it outlines an economic and social strategy meant to relaunch the EU within the changed setting of world-wide competition and a knowledgebased economy. Its success ultimately hinges on whether the necessary coordination to implement policies with an EU rationale can be achieved so as to realise the efficiency properties of the internal market.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Müller-Wille Björn
Intelligence and Democratic Accountability: A Blessing, not a Curse
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 4, December , 491-506

Since the start of the 'war on terror', intelligence agencies have been widely criticised. While focusing on the EU's own agencies, this article suggests that improvements in democratic accountability would have positive effects on the performance of intelligence agencies at both the national and European level. The author identifies that the main deficits

in terms of democratic accountability currently remain at the national level. Nevertheless, challenges also remain within the EU. The main effort, he suggests, should be put into the establishment of mechanisms for quality control. This would not only address the core weakness of EU agencies, but also generate benefits for national ones.

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Bigo Didier
Internal and External Aspects of Security
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 4, December , 385-404

This contribution analyses the merging of internal and external aspects of security. Whereas according to the 'doxa' emerging after 11 September 2001, such convergence is the logical and necessary answer to global terrorism, this article argues instead that the de-differentiation between internal and external security does not result from the transformation of political violence, but mainly from institutional games and practices of securitisation that define the importance of security as superior to sovereignty and freedom. A web of security institutions has developed beyond national borders, and policing at a distance has disentangled security from state sovereignty. The question of who is in charge of security is now tackled at the transnational level, generating competition among professionals of politics and (in)security over the existence of threats and legitimate answers to them. Moreover, the role of technology, especially concerning information exchange, has reinforced the importance of security professionals. The impact of Europeanisation has been central as it has formalised transnational ties between security professionals, and the emergence of European institutions in charge of fundamental rights and data protection may provide a space to discuss collectively who is entitled to define what constitutes a threat.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Farrel Henry, Héritier Adrienne
Introduction: Contested competences in the European Union
in West European Politics, n. 2, vol. 30 march , 227-243

ABSTRACT: In this article, we set out an approach to European Union politics that seeks to explain its development using theories of institutional change. In contrast to dominant theories which assume that the Treaties, the governing texts of the European Union, faithfully ensure that the desires of member states are respected, we argue that these theories are incomplete contracts, rife with ambiguities. This means that during periods between Treaty negotiations, we may expect that collective actors in the European Union policy process - the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council - will each seek to bargain over these ambiguities so that their effective competences are maximised. Their ability to negotiate successfully will depend on their bargaining strength. These 'conflicts over competences' may lead to the creation of informal institutions. They may also in the longer term lead to formal institutional change, if they become folded into Treaty texts, or otherwise influence them, in subsequent rounds of negotiation.

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Buzelay Alain
Intégration financière européenne et libéralisation financière mondiale
in **Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union Européenne**, numero 507, avril , 220-222

The process of financial liberalisation on a world scale has greatly increased the degree of our economies' financial instability. This accounts for the succession of more or less the most profound crises we have endured for many years. Faced with the risk of such a situation persisting, the European Union is trying to construct a more stable financial integration, but the results of this are still currently insufficient.

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Portier Philippe
Jean-Paul II et l'Europe (entretien)
in **Esprit**, n. 333, mars/avril 2007 , 43-55

Pope John Paul II and Europe. An interview with Philippe Portier

The late pontiff had come to develop a very self-consistent perspective on Europe, not just for the sake of history (the continent's spiritual legacy and values) or geopolitics (resisting Communism), but also because he viewed the continent as the lynchpin for a worldwide expansion of Christianity.

Section C) Regional integration processes
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Kotzur Markus
Kooperativer Grundrechtsschutz - eine Verfassungsperspektive für Europa
in **Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart**, Band 55, 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
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Massignon Bérengère
L'Union européenne: ni Dieu, ni César
in **Esprit**, n. 333, mars/avril 2007 , 104-111

The European Union: Neither God nor Caesar.

How does the European Union handle the relationships between confessional faiths and the unified body that it is striving to bring about? Being inherently pluralistic and at one remove from historical legacies, it is incumbent upon the EU to develop a fresh form of secularization.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dini Lamberto
L'Unione europea e la prevenzione dei conflitti
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 154 , 366-372

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Cagiati Andrea
L'autonomia europea è indispensabile all'Occidente
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 154 , 373-384

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Stetter Ernst
L'evoluzione del Trattato costituzionale europeo e le prospettive future dell'Unione
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 2 , 131-138

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Verola N.
L'integrazione europea tra allargamento e approfondimento
in Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico, n. 1 , 93 - 106

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Tomuschat Christian
La Déclaration de Berlin
in Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union Européenne, numero 508, mai , 283-285

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Valcárcel Darío
La Europa del derecho
in Politica Exterior, 116 Marzo/Abril 2007

La alternativa a la Unión Europea es la insignificancia. Desde que asumió la presidencia de la Unión, la canciller Merkel trabaja para sacar adelante un nuevo tratado constitucional. El empuje podrá venir con los resultados de las presidenciales francesas de la próxima primavera.

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Cassen Bernard
La France hors du consensus
in Monde Diplomatique (Le), janvier 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Chiti-Batelli Andrea
La base americana di Vicenza e l'unità europea
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 154 , 385-390

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mangiameli S.
La cláusula de homogeneidad en el Tratado de la Unión Europea y en la Constitución europea
in Revista de derecho politico, n. 67 , 409 - 452

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Glanert S.
La langue en héritage : reflexions sur l'uniformisation des droits en Europe

in Revue internationale de droit comparé, Vol. 58 n. 4 , 1231 1250

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Frosini Tommaso Eduardo
La revisione dei trattati europei: problemi e prospettive
in Diritto e società, n. 4 , 539-556

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
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Sapelli Giulio
La sovranità in mezzo al guado: il dilemma europeo
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 1 , 153-158

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
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Napolitano Giorgio
La validità e l'urgenza del Trattato costituzionale
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 154 , 347-356

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Perez G.
Las instituciones politicas de la Union Europea. Base de un gobierno suptranacional.
in El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual , n. 142

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ordóñez Solís D.
Las relaciones entra la Unión Europea y las Comunidades Autónomas en los nuevos estatutos

in **Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals**, n. 4 , 69 - 128

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kilpatrick Claire, Armstrong Kenneth A.
Law, Governance, or New Governance? The Changing Open Method of Coordination
in **Columbia Journal of European Law**, Vol. 13 n. 3 , 649 - 678

As a novel technique of governance within the European Union, the "open method of coordination" (OMC) has attracted a significant degree of attention from the political science and legal community. Typically, analyses of the OMC characterize it with regard to two dominant conceptual reference points: the dichotomies of old/new governance and of hard/soft law. In this Article, the authors signal their dissatisfaction with the explicit or implicit deployment of these binary classifications: while these dichotomies function as a shorthand for change, absent the prop of comparison, they provide little explanatory purchase on the nature of different coordination processes, differences across processes and changes within process. The Article develops its extended critique of the EU governance literature through the use of case-studies on the European Employment Strategy and the OMC on Social Protection and Social Inclusion.

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Neil Walker, Grainne deBurca
Law, New Governance, and Reflexive Universalizability
in **Columbia Journal of European Law**, Vol. 13 n. 3 , 519 - 538

This Article re-examines the concepts of Law and New Governance with a view to pursuing three cumulative objectives. First, it emphasizes that both law and new governance are deeply contested concepts whose meaning and inter-relationship cannot just be assumed or taken for granted, as is the tendency in some empirical studies of their interconnection. Second, it suggests that both concepts be situated and understood within an explicitly normative framework, one that takes account of the different implicit value assumptions underpinning many existing definitions. Thirdly, from this starting point it seeks to sketch a new framework of the relationship between Law and New Governance. This framework notes first, the tendency of Law to give priority to the meta-value of "social regularity" and of New Governance to give priority to the meta-value of "social responsiveness"; but it notes also the inevitability of some balanced recognition of each of these overarching values within all species of normative order, including both Law and New Governance.
... Alternatively, at the level of broader structures, the questions tend to be whether either law or new governance is likely to prefigure, preempt or usurp the other, or whether they may co-exist in a framework of mutual influence underpinned by relations of competition and/or of co-ordination. ... Secondly, and going to the theoretical heart of the matter, there is the conception-of-law axis. ... What is the answer to the problems posed by frozen pedigree, institutional fetishism, question-begging semantics or form-and-process-blind consequentialism? For all their distinctive origins and structure, both the formal pair and the sociological pair of conceptions of law tend towards similarly blinkered understandings of the relationship between law and NG. ... In the second place, given that each framework is structured by the same two poles (universalizability and reflexivity) but with the relations of domination and subordination reversed,

then the form of normative order prominent in one is constantly under internal conceptual challenge from characteristics associated with the other framework; that is to say, the meta-value of regularity is always/already qualified in some measure by the meta-value of responsiveness, or vice-versa, within any rule context. ...

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Marhold Hartmut
Le "Modèle social européen" existe-t-il?
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 4 , 9-24

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Iliopoulou Anastasia
Le méthode ouverte de coordination: un nouveau mode de governance dans l'Union européenne
in Cahiers de Droit Européen, n. 3-4 , 315-342

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Vigliar Emilia
Lo sviluppo dell'Unione Europea dopo la crisi del trattato costituzionale
in Comunità Internazionale (La), n. 2, vol. LXII, secondo trimestre , 287-302

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Tsoukalis Loukas
Long on policies but short on politics, the EU needs a breath of fresh air
in Europe´s World, Issue 5, Spring

European politicians need to translate complex issues into simple language if the EU is to recover its popular support, says Loukas Tsoukalis, President of the Athens-based ELIAMEP think tank. Having the MEPs elect the Commission's President would be a start.

http://www.europesworld.org/SearchbyAuthor/tabid/66/Default.aspx?AuthorId=286

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Cagiati Andrea
L'Europa fondamento dell'Occidente
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 153 , 74-82

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ciampi Carlo Azeglio
L'Europa riprenda il suo cammino
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 153 , 65-73

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hassner Pierre
L'Union européenne face à la multipolarité et au multilatéralisme
in Esprit, n. 334, mai 2007 , 54-68

The European Union, a multipolar world and multilateralism.

Having moved on from the bipolar world of Cold War days and a UN-centred multilateral system, are we on the threshold of a multipolar world? This would pitch large regional groupings in front of each other in a bid to eschew US predominance. What, within such a reshuffle, would be Europe's own standing and strategy?

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Padoa-Schioppa Tommaso
Mancanze d'Europa
in Mulino (il), n. 2, marzo-aprile, 2007

No abstract available

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

Gabel Matthew, Scheve Kenneth

Mixed Messages

in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 8, n.1, March , 37-59

Mass opposition to Europe may stem from mainstream as well as formally Euroskeptic parties. Large parties in the member states of the European Union (EU) tend to combine support for Europe with a high level of intra-party dissent over the issue. Thus, these parties provide heterogeneous yet potentially influential signals about European integration to their supporters. In this paper, we examine the effect of intra-party dissent on the opinion of party supporters. Our estimation of this relationship explicitly addresses the issues of endogeneity, omitted variables, and measurement problems endemic to the empirical study of elite effects on mass opinion. Specifically, we use variation in the centralization of candidate selection rules as an instrumental variable for intra-party dissent. We find substantial evidence that intra-party dissent does indeed increase variation in support for integration among party supporters. With common levels of intra-party dissent, even pro-EU parties can cause a substantial portion of their supporters to adopt anti-EU opinions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Angeloni Ignazio, Pflad Michael, Mongelli Francesco Paolo

Monetary Integration of the New EU Member States: What Sets the Pace of Euro Adoption?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 45, Issue 2, June , 367-409

How fast should the new Member States of the European Union (NMS) relinquish their domestic monetary and exchange rate autonomy? While the Maastricht convergence criteria are attracting significant attention (particularly the inflation and deficit criteria), we think the debate should also examine the status of their economic structures and the progress of integration within the EU. Diverse aspects of the monetary integration of the NMS into the euro area are examined. We find less structural convergence is associated with less income convergence. The exchange rate regimes have a bearing on the speed of real convergence: for some NMS, and for some more time, exchange rate flexibility may still serve as a useful shock absorber.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Rogers John H.

Monetary union, price level convergence, and inflation: How close is Europe to the USA?

in **Journal of Monetary Economics**, Volume 54, Issue 3, April 2007

The pattern of price dispersion across European and US cities from 1990 to 2004 is documented. There is a striking decline in dispersion for traded goods prices in Europe, most of which took place prior to the launch of the euro. Dispersion in the euro area is now quite close to that of the USA. This evidence provides useful facts for future work assessing the importance of various developments in Europe: harmonization of tax rates, convergence of incomes and labor costs, liberalization of trade and factor markets, and increased coherence of monetary policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lebeck Carl
National constitutional control and the limits of European integration - the European Arrest Warrant in the German Federal Constitution Court
in Public law, Spring , 23-32

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bovens Mark
New Forms of Accountability and EU-Governance
in Comparative European Politics, n. 1, vol. 5, april , 104-120

ABSTRACT: As the European Union is turning into a polity, issues of accountability increasingly have found their way onto political and academic agendas. One recurring issue is whether these new multi-level forms of governance require new forms of accountability. The article explores the meaning of new accountabilities and whether these would help to overcome possible accountability deficits. Since accountability is an ambiguous and contestable concept, the contribution first analyses the concept and then narrows it substantially before discussing the meaning of these new forms of accountability, both theoretically and in practice. New forms of accountability are diagonal or horizontal in character and include accountability to administrative forums, to citizens, clients, and civil society. The conclusion is that new forms of accountability enhance policy learning and provide a series of formal and informal checks and balances but they are no alternative to traditional forms of popular control. We therefore need traditional and new forms of accountability regarding European governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Smismans Stijn
New Governance - The Solution for Active European Citizenship, or the End of Citizenship
in Columbia Journal of European Law, Vol. 13 n. 3 , 595 - 622

With its focus on decentralized participation, new governance may appear as strengthening active citizenship. It may, therefore, provide a solution for European citizenship that has, until now, mainly been defined as a rights-based status. Whilst new governance may contribute to the participatory dimension of citizenship, it may be at odds with the rights and the identity dimension of the concept. This article shows the difficulties of linking the idea of participatory governance to the concept of European citizenship. It subsequently analyzes how new governance relates to the three constitutive elements of citizenship: participation, rights and belonging.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Dave Trubek, Louise Trubek
New Governance and Legal Regulation: Complementarity, Rivalry or Transformation
in **Columbia Journal of European Law**, Vol. 13 n. 3 , 539 - 564

New approaches to regulation have emerged to deal with inadequacies of traditional command and control systems. Such "new governance" mechanisms are designed to increase flexibility, improve participation, foster experimentation and deliberation, and accommodate regulation by multiple levels of government. In many cases, these mechanisms co-exist with conventional forms of regulation. As new forms of governance emerge in arenas regulated by conventional legal processes, a wide range of configurations is possible. The purpose of this Article is to provide a preliminary mapping of such relationships, using examples drawn from the European Union and the United States. When traditional law and new governance are yoked together in a hybrid form, we might speak of a real transformation in the law. In other cases, systems of law and new governance may exist in parallel but not fuse together. Where both systems coexist but do not fuse, there are numerous possible configurations and relationships among them. One might launch the other, as when formal law is used to mandate a new governance approach. Or, they might operate independently yet both may have an effect on the same policy domain. Finally, in some areas one system may take over the field, either because new governance methods replace traditional law altogether, or because opposition to innovation halts efforts to employ new approaches.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Harpaz Guy
Normative Power Europe and the Problem of a Legitimacy Deficit: An Israeli Perspective
in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, Volume 12, Issue 1 , 89-109

European integration constitutes an ambitious attempt on the part of numerous nations to be integrated peacefully under a separate and superior legal order. Now the EU wishes to export its successful campaign to other parts of the world, promoting extraterritorial Europeanization. The EU has acted in that regard as a civilian, normative power, relying on soft-power instruments. The achievements of the EU on this front have, however, been modest.
This article proposes to analyse this theme by focusing on the EU's legitimacy deficit in the eyes of non-Europeans. An attempt is made to offer an analysis of this cause, presented through an Israeli prism. The negative Israeli narrative regarding the EU, exposed in this article, adversely affects the legitimacy of the EU in Israel, thereby making it very difficult for it to position itself as a normative power. The EU should therefore search for effective instruments that can improve its credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of Israelis.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Scheipers Sibylle, Sicurelli Daniela
Normative Power Europe: A Credible Utopia?
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 45, Issue 2, June , 435-457

Studies on the international identity of the EU have stressed the normative feature of European foreign policy. At the same time, scholars have pointed out that the inconsistency between the EU's rhetoric and behaviour and the lack of

reflexivity undermines its credibility. How does reflexivity affect collective identity? To what extent does the EU's utopian rhetoric affect its credibility as a normative power? In order to address these questions, we investigate the self-representation of the EU as an international actor, the extent to which this self-representation provides a basis for reflexivity and, finally, the impact of the EU's identity narratives on its credibility. We focus on the normative power of the EU in the institutionalization of the International Criminal Court and in the elaboration and ratification of the Kyoto Protocol.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Maxwell Simon
Now Europe has a chance of global leadership on development policy
in **Europe´s World**, Issue 5, Spring

The EU's new emphasis on "human security" is designed to prevent development policy being swamped by terrorism concerns. But it could yet divert spending away from poverty alleviation into peace-keeping, warns Simon Maxwell, who heads the UK's Overseas Development Institute. The good news, though, is that he also sees a new leadership opportunity for the EU in development policy.

http://www.europesworld.org/SearchbyAuthor/tabid/66/Default.aspx?AuthorId=266

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Zaiotti Ruben
Of Friends and Fences: Europe's Neighbourhood Policy and the 'Gated Community Syndrome'
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 29, Number 2 / May , 143-162

The goal of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), the European Union's recently launched initiative towards its 'near abroad', is "to avoid new dividing lines across the continent" and to establish around Europe's edges a 'ring of friends' with whom the EU can enjoy "close, peaceful and co-operative relations". This paper argues that, despite its stated objectives, the ENP is actually reproducing - if not reinforcing - some of the existing barriers between the EU and its neighbours and, more problematically, is creating new ones. This tension is a symptom of a pathological condition affecting the ENP that is called here the 'gated community syndrome'. In order to explain how the ENP 'caught' the syndrome, a sociological account is proposed, centred on the concept of 'Schengen culture of internal security'. This account provides an alternative to institutionalist arguments that make reference to the legacy of the enlargement process, or to the contradictory dynamics characterizing the EU's 'external governance' to explain the ENP's shortcomings. It also sheds some light on the future of the ENP and whether it might be 'cured' of the gated community syndrome.

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Levermore Roger, Millward Peter

Official policies and informal transversal networks: Creating 'pan-European identifications' through sport?

in Sociological Review, Vol. 55, Issue 1, February 2007 , 144-164

The idea that sport has been drawn into helping build a collective identity around the nation-state, particularly in the immediate 'era of independence' after 1945, is well documented. However, it is only recently that sport has been linked to notions of moulding what we term here as 'pan-European identifications'. It is our argument that there are two distinctive forms to such identification. The first posits a tangible notion of identity based around territories such as nation-states. Sport assists in this process through 'official' policies, such as declarations, reports and statements by the European Commission and other pan-European institutions. The second form recognizes that increasing transversal interactions weakens ideas of territorialized identity, resulting in a looser 'sense of belonging'. Sport helps craft identifications here in an informal manner through pan-European sporting competitions, such as the UEFA Champions League and 2004 European football championships. This article is structured to look at both forms of this sport/identification interface whilst also considering the complex nature of sport and identity by explaining how sport can simultaneously erode such identifications.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process

Flickinger R. S.

One Europe, Many Electorates? Models of Turnout in European Parliament Elections After 2004

in Comparative Political Studies , Vol. 40 n. 4 , 383-404

The 2004 European Parliament (EP) elections were marked by continued decline in voter turnout and wide variation in turnout levels among the member states. The addition of 10 new members for the 2004 election results presents a unique opportunity to test established explanations of turnout in EP elections. The authors re-examine models developed from general participation studies and applied in earlier research on turnout in EP elections. The updated and revised analysis continues to point to the importance of both national and European Union—level influences in explaining EP election turnout. Thus, although the second-order model of European elections still holds considerable appeal, the increasing divergence of turnout patterns in 2004 and through time suggests that European issues may be important in some countries.

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Pisani-Ferry Jean

Only One Bed for Two Dreams: A Critical Retrospective on the Debate over the Economic Governance of the Euro Area

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 4, November , 823-844

This article investigates why economic governance of EMU remains a matter for disagreement, revisiting in particular the Franco—German debate about the appropriate architecture. Is it due to divergent policy priorities within the same analytical framework? To different economic models? Or to non-economic considerations, such as the link with political

union?

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Martens Wilfred
Only strong leadership will get Europe back on track
in Europe´s World, Issue 5, Spring

The recipe for resolving the EU's problems and escaping the political doldrums is the same as that which brought the single market and the euro, says Wilfried Martens, President of the centre-right European People's Party in the European Parliament who was Belgian Prime Minister from 1979-92t.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=59626aa2-9ad9-4026-9f20-2f65c634b9a7

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Henning C. Randall
Organizing Foreign Exchange Intervention in the Euro Area
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 45, Issue 2, June , 315-342

Scholarship on European integration has debated the external character of the monetary union extensively. This article examines the establishment of the institutional arrangements for foreign exchange intervention and the policy-making surrounding the market operations of autumn 2000 – the only case to date of euro area intervention in currency markets. Drawing on elite interviews of officials in European institutions and international organizations, among other sources, it specifies the division of labour between the European Central Bank, Eurogroup and other European actors. The article concludes that (1) the inter-institutional understanding within the euro area gives substantial but not complete latitude to the ECB, (2) the understanding is susceptible to renegotiation over time and (3) economic divergence within the euro area could threaten the ability of the monetary union to act coherently externally.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
McElroy Gail, Benoit Kenneth
Party Groups and Policy Positions in the European Parliament
in Party Politics, Volume 13, Number 1, January , 5-28

As the legislative body of the European Union (EU), the European Parliament (EP) comprises 732 elected representatives from over 150 national political parties from 25 member states. At the EP level, these members are affiliated with seven major party groups representing distinct policy positions. Here we provide precise estimates of

these policy positions based on expert surveys, in addition to characterizing the dimensionality of policy competition in the EP. Our results suggest not only that party groups have identifiable and differentiated positions on multiple issues of policy, but also that these positions group broadly into two orthogonal dimensions: one consisting of classic left-right social and economic issues, and the other related to the powers and scope of EU institutions.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Crum Ben
Party Stances in the Referendums on the EU Constitution
in European Union Politics , Vol. 8, n.1, March , 61-82

This article examines political party behaviour around the referendums on the EU Constitutional Treaty in 2005. Starting from the presumption that this behaviour needs to be analysed in the light of the domestic government-opposition dynamics, a set of hypotheses on the causes and consequences of party behaviour in EU Treaty referendums is developed and reviewed for the EU member states in which a referendum was held or anticipated. As it turns out, with the exception of some right-conservative parties, all mainstream parties endorsed the Constitutional Treaty. However, because significant proportions of opposition party supporters are bound to go to the 'No' side, government parties are eventually crucial in securing a majority in favour of EU Treaty revisions.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ruggiero Renato
Per un'Unione Europea più forte
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 153 , 52-55

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Zielonka Jan
Plurilateral Governance in the Enlarged European Union
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 45, Issue 1, March , 187-209

This article examines the impact of the recent EU enlargement on European governance. Enlargement is treated as a kind of external shock to the existing governance system, broadening and diversifying the European public space. The prevalent hierarchical mode of governance is increasingly inadequate under these new circumstances and the Union will have to embrace more flexible, decentralized and soft modes of governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Daviter Falk
Policy Framing in the European Union
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 14 Issue 4 2007 , pages 654 - 666

Policy framing research addresses the role of political issue definitions in the policy-making process. This research article first offers an introduction to this field and argues that the policy framing perspective has particular relevance for the study of the EU. A review of recent studies of EU policy framing discusses how the framing of issues on the EU agenda structures political conflict and competition at the European level, and it shows how this literature provides a unique research perspective on a political system characterized by competing constituencies and contested competencies. Focusing more broadly on how policy framing influences the political construction of interests in the EU, the article finally asks how the study of policy framing can contribute to our understanding of the nature of EU politicization.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Mair Peter
Political Opposition and the European Union
in Government and Opposition , Vol. 42, n. 1, Winter , 1-17

This paper applies categories developed in the classic literature on political opposition to the developing European Union. It is clear that the EU has never developed the third great milestone identified by Dahl in his analysis of the path to democratic institutions. That is, we still lack the capacity to organize opposition within the European polity. This failure to allow for opposition within the polity is likely to lead either (a) to the elimination of opposition altogether, or (b) to the mobilization of an opposition of principle against the EU polity. This problem is also beginning to reach down into the domestic sphere, in that the growing weight of the EU, through its indirect impact on national politics, helps to encourage domestic democratic deficits, hence limiting the scope for classical opposition at the national level. Here too, then, we might expect to see either the elimination of opposition or the mobilization of a new – perhaps populist – opposition of principle.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Michael Lothar
Pressefreiheit und Schutz der Privatsphäre im Spiegel nationalen und spezifisch europäischen Verfassungsrechts
in Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart, Band 55, 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Puetter Uwe
Providing Venues for Contestation: The Role of Expert Committees and Informal Dialogue among Ministers in European Economic Policy Coordination
in Comparative European Politics, n. 1, vol. 5, april , 18-35

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the role of expert committees and informal dialogue among ministers as venues for norm contestation. The argument is that the incorporation of venues for contestation into standardized procedures for decision-making at the European level is pivotal to the generation of viable common policy guidelines. This is all the more important in the case of European economic policy coordination as this policy area is characterized by a decentralized governance framework which relies only on a limited set of constitutional principles. Owing to the thin and abstract nature of these norms, norm contestation occurs by default. The article delineates the institutional environment in which contestation takes place and asked whether the key procedures for decision-making have the potential to accommodate contestation as a permanent feature of policy-making. Moreover, it investigates how the enlargement of the Union puts the viability of existing working methods at risk. In particular, the larger number of actors questions the principle of equal access to contestation.

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Usherwood Simon
Proximate Factors in the Mobilization of Anti-EU Groups in France and the UK: The European Union as First-Order Politics
in Journal of European Integration, Volume 29, Number 1 / March , 3-21

Events relating to the European Union are typically conceived of as being a 'second-order' phenomenon in domestic politics; 'European' referenda, elections, etc. are first and foremost a function of domestic/national issues. However, in the case of anti-EU groups it is apparent that they are formed primarily as a result of European events. This paper provides a comprehensive taxonomy of proximate factors in such groups' mobilization, using the otherwise contrasting examples of France and the UK. Consideration is taken of non-party groups, intra-party factions and parties, in order to ensure a complete overview. In both countries, almost all groups either form or become anti-EU in nature in proximate response to European events. The reasons for this are discussed and explained, as are the limitations of this view of the EU as first-order politics.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Petit Yves
Quelques réflexions sur la capacité d'integration de l'Union européen
in Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union Européenne, numero 506, mars , 153-162

The European Union's ability to integrate new members is currently the object of a big debate. The origin of this concept

of the "ability to integrate" which has been neglected up until now, is to be found in the conclusions of the European Council of Copenhagen in June 1993, which had recalled "the European Union's ability to assimilate new members whilst at the same time maintaining the momentum of European Integration (...)". The European Commission defined this concept in a special report in November 2006 and stated that it involves three major elements, namely institutions, common politics and the budget. By approving the Commission's position, the European Council wants the European Union to proceed to a rationalisation of its enlargement strategy. It also seems that the concept of the "ability to integrate" will trigger a hardening of the conditions for accession for future candidate states. It restores a parallelism between deepening and enlargement and represents a palliative for the impossibility of fixing ultimate borders around the European Union.

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Napolitano Giorgio
Radici antiche e nuove ragioni dell'unità europea
in Mulino (il), n. 2, marzo-aprile, 2007 , 216-225

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Vetik Raivo, Nimmerfelft Gerli, Taru Marti
Reactive Identity versus EU Integration
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 5, December , 1079-1102

This article discusses public opinion of EU integration in Estonia in a comparative perspective. It introduces the concept of 'reactive identity' and finds that, instead of the internal politics and socio-economic factors put forward in previous research, identity is the key factor in explaining euroscepticism in the countries of central and eastern Europe (CEE).

Section C) Regional integration processes
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Busch Christoph
Rechte Internationale. Die neue ITS-Fraktion im Europaparlament
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, März, 2007 , 320-328

„Ich warte auf neue, mutige und klar sehende Abgeordnete“, sagte der französische Abgeordnete Bruno Gollnisch in seiner Rolle als Vorsitzender der neu gebildeten rechtsradikalen Fraktion im Europäischen Parlament (EP).1 Dabei benötigt die Fraktion derzeit keine weiteren Mitglieder. Denn mit Beginn des neuen Jahres traten Rumänien und Bulgarien der Europäischen Union bei und entsandten auch neue Abgeordnete ins EP, von denen fünf der Großrumänienpartei und einer der ...

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Fahey E.
Reflecting on the Scope of the European Union (Scrutiny) Act, 2002 and Parliamentary Scrutiny in the Draft Constitutional Treaty as to European Integration and the Irish Legal Order
in European public Law, Volume 13 (2007) Issue 1 , 85-96

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Margheritis Ana, Maldonado Martin
Regional integration and (hauled) migration policy: what does the European experience teach us?
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 14 Issue 1 2007

This article focuses on selected pieces from the growing literature on international migration to Europe from a regional and policy-making perspective. The analysis identifies lessons from the European experience with respect to two issues: the relationship between policies of regional integration and international migration, and the conditions under which a common (regional) policy of incorporation of immigrants into the host societies might be agreed upon. The purpose is twofold: to provide a critical assessment of the state of the art and to advance the debate through the suggestion of new research venues. We argue that most of the selected literature misses the relation of mutual causation between migration and regional integration policies, partly due to an overemphasis on the benefits of supranational institutionalization, and partly due to the difficulties of conceptualizing the hybrid character of the EU institutional supranationality and the peculiar nature of its politics of migration. We also suggest exploring a distinctive process that characterizes the migration policy area: 'hauled' policy convergence; that is, the development of a common policy which occurs largely because it is necessary for other dimensions of the regional integration process to continue, but which countries are reluctant to engage in. In other words, hauled convergence is the minimum policy harmonization needed in a very sensitive policy area (such as migration) for regional integration to advance deeper and further in other areas.

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Mugge Daniel
Reordering the Marketplace: Competition Politics in European Finance
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 5, December , 991-1022

Over the last 15 years, Europe has seen the liberalization of national financial markets as well as the integration of these markets and their governance through the introduction of the 'Lamfalussy process'. This article argues that we can best understand these shifts as one integrated project of market-building in Europe, guided by distributional struggles over the terms of mutual markets access. To comprehend the complex linkages between private and public actors across levels of governance, we have to look beyond macro-theories of integration and financial liberalization upholding an analytical state-market dichotomy and adopt an integrative approach to theory, instead. Using the example of securities

markets, this article argues that 'competition politics' are key to understanding European financial market integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Ruding Onno
Reserve currency ambitions for the euro risk putting the cart before the horse
in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

With so much still to be done to underpin the euro and the eurozone, says former Dutch finance minister Onno Ruding, boosting the single currency as a rival to the dollar cannot be a top priority. He looks here at the euro's international ambitions and achievements.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=2eee04a6-58b8-4040-b99a-9feb2b3c43eb

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Costanzo Pasquale, Mezzetti Luca, Ruggeri Antonio
Se cinquant'anni (di Europa unita) vi sembran pochi
in Federalismi, Anno V, n. 6

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schröder Ursula C.
Security Expertise in the European Union: The Challenges of Comprehensiveness and Accountability
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 4, December , 471-490

This article examines the role of expert knowledge for security political decision-making in the European Union. It observes that due to the pressures of an increasingly complex and uncertain security environment, the relevance of expert advice as an aid to political action has increased. After outlining the European Union's specific constellation of security experts and its ways of integrating expertise into its policy-making structure, the article discusses the ensuing limitations and constraints that affect EU security expertise. It contends that due to the fragmentation and opacity of the EU's security architecture, the EU faces a dual challenge of developing comprehensive and accountable forms of dealing with security expertise. Lastly, the article discusses ways of fostering comprehensive and accountable expert knowledge and points to difficult trade-offs between demands to integrate expertise and the requirement of maintaining pluralistic advice.

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Kantner Cathleen, Liberatore Angela
Security and Democracy in the European Union: An Introductory Framework
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 4, December , 363-383

This article - and the collection - explore the tensions between security policies and democratic accountability, debate and rights, in the context of the European Union. Unlike nation states, the EU has to confront 'new security threats' on very specific terms. We argue that its emerging security policies are shaped by unique features, such as its trans-national citizenry and the multi-level character of the EU decision-making system. This contributes to a fundamental redefinition of the relations between security and democracy. After briefly summarising the ideational background of Western thinking on security issues and their relations to liberty and democracy, we highlight the specific features and dilemmas of the current EU security policies. We then sketch an analytical framework to examine the complex relationship between security and democracy in the EU by focusing on two main issues: firstly, the normative questions, concerning the conceptualisation of the EU as a 'civilian' or 'normative power' itself, in addition to the relations of the external and the internal dimensions of security; and secondly, the mechanisms of democratic accountability, including parliamentary oversight, the role of public debate on European security issues, and the access to and use of expertise.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Del Sarto Raffaella A.
Security and Democracy: A Reprise
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 4, December , 507-518

This contribution takes up the security-democracy nexus from a conceptual point of view. Against the background of the complex relationship between security and democracy, the analytical difficulties of its two separate building blocks - that is, security and democracy - are assessed. While putting forward a number of theoretical propositions regarding the study of these concepts - in the context of the European Union and beyond - the discussion ends by pushing further the avenues for future research on security and democracy in the European Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lundin Lars-Erik, Revelas Kyriakos
Security and Democracy: From the Perspective of Commission Officials Working at the Interface between ESDP and Community External Action
in European Security, Volume 15, Number 4, December , 423-430

The development of CFSP/ESDP has brought the issue of security and democracy closer to the EU internal debate; observers now speak about the 'double democratic deficit' of multinational military operations. Beyond this question of democratic legitimacy of ESDP operations, this paper focuses on the legitimacy of EU external policy, which

encompasses Community external action. The paper first sketches the Community method and the CFSP/ESDP approach, and then attempts a comparison of the Community 'pillar' (comprising all policies until the adoption of the two new 'security' pillars in Maastricht) and the intergovernmental 'pillar' of CFSP/ESDP, with particular reference to the concept of legitimacy, and in respect of the institutional features and the 'culture' of the two domains. Against this background, the parallel/coordinated use of the various instruments, which is essential for the coherence, effectiveness and visibility of the EU's external policy, represents a real challenge. A number of examples show that complementarity and synergies are nevertheless possible, which is also important from the perspective of EU citizens.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Sifft Stefanie, Bruggemann Michael, Konigslow Katharina Kleinen-V., Peters Bernhard, Wimmel Andreas

Segmented Europeanization: Exploring the Legitimacy of the European Union from a Public Discourse Perspective

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 45, Issue 1, March , 127-155

The article presents the results of a longitudinal newspaper analysis on the Europeanization of public discourses in five EU countries. It shows that European governance is increasingly subject to public scrutiny, but neither has a common discourse in Europe developed nor has the communication lag of the EU disappeared. Therefore the EU remains largely dependent on domestic processes of legitimation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Thorhallsson Baldur, Wivel Anders

Small States in the European Union: What Do We Know and What Would We Like to Know?

in **Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Vol. 19, n. 4, December , 651-668

Recent developments in the European Union have created new opportunities and challenges for small member states, increasing the demand from policy-makers and diplomats for coherent and accessible analyses of the conditions and potential strategies of small states in the EU. Unfortunately, the academic literature on small states in the EU appears both diverse and fragmented: there is no agreement on how we should define a small state, what similarities we would expect to find in their foreign policies, or how they influence international relations. However, if we are to understand the challenges and possibilities currently faced by small EU member states, we need to systematise what we already know and to identify what we need to know. This article makes a modest contribution towards this goal by answering three simple questions: What is a small state in the European Union? How can we explain the behaviour of small EU member states? How do small states influence the European Union?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process

Ahlin Urban

Soft power could put sharper teeth into the EU’s neighbourhood policy

in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

The EU's neighbourhood policy treats Eastern Europe and North Africa alike, says Urban Ahlin, chairman of the Swedish Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee. He argues that the Union should strengthen its eastward focus by developing its soft power with Belarus, Moldova and the Ukraine

TESTO INTEGRALE DELL'ARTICOLO

Soft power works and is changing the world. The prospect of EU membership is itself a powerful tool for change, and together with such other instruments as diplomacy, trade and aid has contributed to changing the world in amazing and substantial ways.

I grew up in a Europe that was divided by the Iron Curtain. The idea of the Cold War coming to an end seemed remote, yet within just a few years the Soviet Union had collapsed and the arduous process of re-uniting Europe had begun. Two years ago, that process culminated in the EU's historic enlargement to 10 new countries, eight of which had emerged from communist oppression. Today we also see a more peaceful Balkan region, with several Balkan states set on becoming EU members. The winds of change are still blowing across Europe.

All this is by no means enough, for there is much still to be done. To achieve a more prosperous and democratic European "neighbourhood" the EU needs to invest more energy, money and commitment in the process. It also needs to develop different strategies for different parts of the neighbourhood. The Ukrainians, for instance, are tired of being dealt with in more or less the same way as the countries of northern Africa. Whenever I talk to Ukrainians or Belarusians they stress how different are the two regions and how unlike are their situations. Equally resented is the fact that the EU spends about ten times more money on the Barcelona process and its Mediterranean programmes than it does on its eastern neighbourhood, where it seems to operate only with the left hand.

Now is the strategic time to focus on the EU's neigbourhood policy looking east. The controversial Belarus elections, the Orange Revolution in Ukraine and its aftermaths this year, and the so-called "gas war" last winter between Russia and Ukraine have all put the region in the spotlight and highlighted relations with Russia. Russia is the major player in our common neighbourhood, and if we don't want to be left behind now is the time to show the EU's commitment to these countries. To do so would mean we are also acting in our own best interests, because stable neighbours means stability for us too. History shows us that prosperous countries have prosperous neighbours.

The prospect of eventual EU membership is a driving force for many countries in Europe, and is absolutely crucial to the development of the EU's soft power. The EU has to trust in its own attractiveness and its competitive global position, and at the same time recognise peoples' desire to live in peace and prosperity. Of course, the membership perspective will vary from case to case. Look at the different situations of the Ukraine and Moldova. EU membership for Ukraine may not be that far away (once stability is reassured), whilst for Moldova it is a much more long-term perspective and in the case of Belarus it won't be on the agenda for many years to come. But that is no reason to shut the door on even the most distant prospective member; the EU's policy on Belarus offers a good example of how the Union needs to develop a more active strategy.

Belarus borders the EU, and almost half its trade is with EU countries. But the Union lacks a credible policy for promoting economic and political reforms there. As a reaction to Belarus President Alexander Lukashenko's antics, the EU has no official links with the country - not even a representative office. The result is that the Belarusian people, 60%

of whom want to join the EU, are suffering from isolation even though a majority would like to see their country become a normal, democratic European nation. This was clearly to be seen in the demonstrations that followed the unfair elections in March.

EU policy should therefore focus less on Mr. Lukashenko and more on winning the hearts and minds of Belarusians. At present, the EU cannot hold out the carrot of potential membership. But it should make clear that it would like Belarus to join its neighbourhood policy as soon as its political circumstances change. Belarus could then benefit from the trade concessions, cooperation programmes and EU funds available to other EU neighbours. The EU should start off by publishing a draft "action plan", spelling out both the reforms that Belarus would be asked to undertake, and the benefits that would then flow from the plan.

The EU should also open a fully-fledged office in Minsk to promote contact between Belarus and the rest of Europe. It should make visas for Belarusians easier and cheaper to obtain. It should finance more student exchange programmes and more projects that help to develop civil society, such as training journalists, supporting independent broadcasters and encouraging trades unions.

The EU needs to talk not only to opposition politicians in Belarus but also to the more moderate elements within the ruling regime itself. In the various "colour" revolutions that have swept across other post-Soviet states, most of the leaders did not come from the streets or out of exile. Many of the top bureaucrats in Minsk are competent, reasonable and silently opposed to Lukashenko. A number of them have resigned or have been forced out. These people are potential future leaders and the EU should not shun them. One day, Lukashenko and his immediate entourage will be gone, but his officials will still be there and will be influential.

The EU cannot, and should not try to, replace Russia as Belarus' special partner, in terms of culture, history and language. But nor should the Union not avoid the question of Belarus' future in its dealings with Russia. The EU should be asking the Russians whether they consider it in their interest to have a neighbour that is stable and democratic and which runs a working market economy. The answer to that question will define whether Russia and the EU merely have common interests, or if they also share the same values. This approach would, needless to say, be equally valid in the cases of Ukraine and Moldova.

The EU's neighbourhood policy in the east is weak. Ever since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the former republics and satellite states of the USSR needed a hand from outside to become not just sovereign but truly independent. An important lesson to be learned from the gas crisis in January of this year was that Russia still plays according to its own rules. Its neighbouring countries should of course have their special relationships with Russia, but that must not mean dependency. If the EU had, slowly but surely, helped them to adjust their domestic gas prices to world market levels, they would by now be truly independent countries, interacting with Russia and with the EU on their own terms.

What alternative to full membership can the EU offer? It is a question often asked when discussing further enlargement, but I believe it stems from a somewhat backward way of thinking. The EU should offer a membership perspective to every country that wants it, and is ready to fulfil the necessary criteria. It is the process of transformation and the implementation of sustainable political and economic reforms that are the important achievements. The crucial point is not being an EU member, but wanting to become one. It is in this way that the EU can contribute towards transforming these countries into democratic, stable social market economies.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kuus Merje
Something old, something new: Eastness in European Union enlargement
in **Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 10, Number 2, June , 150-167

This article investigates how the notion of Eastness informs the discourse of European Union (EU) enlargement. Eastness here refers to an inscription of identity — a process by which places, events and societal developments are endowed with a likeness to the 'East' as distinct from 'Europe'. Drawing examples from academic scholarship on EU enlargement, the article outlines how the inscription of Eastness functions in the enlargement discourse, and how its functions have changed since the end of the Cold War. I argue that the erstwhile East (of Europe) as a territorially defined periphery of Europe has been layered into multiple peripheries with varying degrees of Eastness. One might say that parts of the former East have become less East-like and more Europe-like, while others are still endowed with a high degree of Eastness. At the same time, European identity is still constructed in terms of the East. Economic, political and social developments in East-Central Europe are still conceived in terms of proximity to, or distance from, an idealized Europe or Europeanness. The situation is neither one of a static and monolithic othering nor of the dissolution of Eastness. The East is best understood not as a location but as a tendency, one always inscribed in degrees, shades and flavours. The challenge is not to unearth a core meaning or location of the East, but the specific and often unremarkable processes by which Eastness is inscribed onto places.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Becker Peter
Steuern für Europa
in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Januar, 2007 , 32-35

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Scherpereel John A.
Sub-National Authorities in the EU's Post-Socialist States: Joining the Multi-Level Polity?
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 29, Number 1 / March , 23-46

This paper gauges the extent to which sub-national authorities (SNAs) from the EU's post-socialist member states are attempting to affect EU policy making and considers whether their efforts heretofore have proven successful. The paper finds (a) that SNAs are engaging four of the five 'channels of representation', (b) that significant cross-national and

intra-country variation characterizes emerging patterns of mobilization, and (c) that territorial balances of power in post-socialist states remain heavily tipped in the favour of central states. SNAs from central and eastern Europe are rapidly integrating into the EU's multi-level polity, but the pre-eminence of central state authority in the region is not fundamentally threatened.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Henke Klaus-Dirk , Schäfer Wolf , Pelkmans Jacques, Cooper Ian
Subsidiarity in the European Union
in Intereconomics, Volume 41, Number 5 / September, 2006 , 240-257

Against the backdrop of the highly controversial debate on the future competences of the different European institutions, the principle of subsidiarity, a fundamental principle of European Union law, has recently met with renewed interest. The contributions to this Forum discuss a number of pertinent issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Albi Anneli
Supremacy of EC Law in the New Member States Bringing parliaments into the Equation of 'Co-operative Constitutionalism'
in European Constitutional Law Review, Volume 3 - Issue 01 , 25-67

Minimal constitutional amendment at accession forced constitutional courts in new member states to make great efforts to avoid conflicts with EC and EU law – The importance of expanding the equation of 'co-operative constitutionalism' beyond judicial actors, by involving political institutions – The case of constitutional amendment in Estonia and Latvia – The concern over fundamental rights protection versus EC market regulation in Hungary, Estonia and the Czech Republic – Co-operative constitutionalism beyond judicial dialogues.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Golub Jonathan
Survival Analysis and European Union Decision-making
in European Union Politics , Vol. 8, n. 2, June , 155-179

Practitioners as well as scholars of European integration have for decades debated why it takes so long for the European Union (EU) to adopt legislation and how to improve decision-making efficiency. Four studies have investigated decision-making speed using survival analysis, a particularly appropriate quantitative technique. In this paper I show that all four studies suffer from serious methodological problems that render their conclusions unreliable. I then outline where

work in this area should focus, and take an initial step in this direction by fitting a methodologically more appropriate survival model to my 2002 EU decision-making data set (Golub, 2002). Substantively, the results indicate that throughout the EU's history, for the most important types of legislation, qualified majority voting (QMV) and EU enlargement have increased decision-making speed, whereas empowerment of the European Parliament and extreme preference heterogeneity amongst decision-makers have decreased it. Theoretically, formal approaches — spatial models and especially coalition theory — do a better job of explaining these results than do perspectives that privilege informal norms.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Wonka Arndt
Technocratic and independent? The appointment of European Commissioners and its policy implications
in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 14 Issue 2 2007

A considerable number of theories such as neo-functionalism and neo-institutionalism consider the European Commission a central actor in European Union (EU) politics. Yet, our theoretical understanding of the Commission is still limited. By taking recourse to principal-agent theory, this article argues that the European Commission should be considered neither a technocratic nor an overly independent actor in EU politics. The paper's theoretical focus is on member states' incentives to nominate and appoint particular types of European Commissioners and its likely effects on the Commission's policy preferences. The dataset used to test the theoretical claims was generated by the author for this purpose. It contains the theoretically relevant information on all European Commissioners appointed between 1958 and the present (N = 215) as well as relevant attributes of the nominating governments. I suggest that the Commission should be considered a political rather than a technocratic actor with close political ties to EU member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Buiter Willem H.
The 'Sense and Nonsense of Maastricht' Revisited: What Have we Learnt about Stabilization in EMU?
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue 4, November , 687-710

This retrospective argues that old criticisms of the Stability and Growth Pact survive intact, but emphasizes two further features. First, the Pact imposes constraints on national fiscal autonomy, but there are no clear cross-border externalities that warrant debt and deficit limits. Second, the Pact cannot address E(M)U-wide stabilization and the fiscal-monetary policy mix.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Tsebelis George, Proksch Sven Oliver

The Art of Political Manipulation in the European Convention
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 45, Issue 1, March , 157-186

We argue that the success of the European Convention in producing a Constitutional Treaty was possible because of the agenda control exercised by the Praesidium and in particular its President. Given that even Intergovernmental Conferences despite months of preparations sometimes fail to produce any results, the failure of negotiations in the Convention was a distinct possibility. Another serious possibility would have been an ‘anarchic’ document, in which different parts would have reflected the prevalence of different majorities. The President of the Convention was able to avoid both of these possibilities. Our argument is that Giscard d'Estaing was able to produce the results through the astute use of three significant tools that he developed. First, he limited the number of amendments from Convention delegates by imposing time limits on the whole process. Second, he created an iterated agenda-setting process in order to modify amendments. Third, he prohibited voting, and produced results ‘by consensus’, defining the meaning of the term himself. Understanding that the European Convention was an exceptional event made possible by the combination of a creative, consistent and overpowering agenda-setting process as well as the impasse created by the status quo (Nice Treaty) explains how we came to the EU Constitutional Treaty and how difficult it will be to move away from this document.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Stoian Carmen
The Benefits and Limitations of European Union Membership as a Security Mechanism
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 29, Number 2 / May , 189-207

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the post-1945 'pax Sovietica' led not to the 'end of history', but rather to an 'awakening of history'. The wider Europe that emerged in 1989 is facing changing security concerns, which affect both the new democracies and the European Union. Internal security has become increasingly important and has been affected by external security concerns. In particular, threats other than military ones have emerged, leading to the rethinking of the institutional framework entrusted with the safeguarding of security in Europe. EU membership appears to be an effective tool for ensuring European security. This paper highlights the new internal and external political and economic security concerns in transition economies in order to evaluate the benefits and limitations of EU enlargement as a way of addressing these changing security concerns. Several countries, particularly Poland and Romania, are used to exemplify the EU's role in enhancing security in the applicant countries. The article concludes with policy recommendations for dealing with the limitations of EU membership, and for using the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) as a tool for ensuring security beyond the EU enlargement.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Kirchner Emil J.
The Challenge of European Union Security Governance
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue 5, December , 947-968

The central aim of this article is to explore whether or not the EU is an effective security actor. To assess the strengths and weaknesses of the EU, three security functions (conflict prevention, peace-enforcement/peace-keeping and peace-building) and three core components of governance (co-ordination, management and regulation) are applied. Security governance is seen as a helpful framework for studying the interactions between a diverse number of actors and for conceptualizing EU security policy-making in a meaningful way.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schusterschitz Gregor , Kotz Sabine
The Comitology Reform of 2006 Increasing the Powers of the European Parliament Without Changing the Treaties
in **European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 3 - Issue 01 , 68-90

History and background of the comitology system in the European Union – The continuing problem of the involvement of the European Parliament – The new comitology decision of the Council of Ministers: introduction of a comitology procedure concerning ‘quasi-legislative measures’ – Genesis of the 2006 reform: negotiations within the Council and with the Parliament – Accompanying political declarations – Evaluation: a substantial shift in the relations between the institutions in relation to law-making.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Etzioni Amitai
The Community Deficit
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 45, Issue 1, March , 23-42

The European Union is suffering not just from a democratic deficit, but a community deficit. The level and scope of its integration activities far exceed the degree of community that it sustains. The article explains why community, particularly normative-affective community, is needed and how it can be built in the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Döring Holger
The Composition of the College of Commissioners
in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 8, n. 2, June , 207-228

Recent theoretical studies question the view that the European Commission is a preference outlier. This paper addresses this question by discussing the composition of the European College of Commissioners and by focusing on the appointment process. The analysis is based on a data set that contains biographical information for all Commissioners since 1958. The analysis highlights the importance of Commissioners' party affiliation and their previous political positions. Multivariate regression analysis shows that smaller member states have tended to send more high-ranking politicians to the College of Commissioners than have larger member states. However, party affiliation has not become more important as an appointment criterion. What has changed with time has been not the party link but the calibre of positions held by Commissioners before they are appointed to the College.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Chaltiel Florence
The Conseil d'Etat reconnait la spécificité constitutionnelle du droit communautaire. A propos de la décision Arcelor du 8 février 2007
in Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union Européenne, numero 508, mai , 335-338

Fifteen years after the European Union was first mentioned in the French Constitution, the Conseil d'Etat recognises the prevalence of EU law. The Palais-Royal judge resumes the jurisprudence arguments of the rue Montpensier judge from summer 2006. He also tends to specify them, whilst at the same time opening new avenues for reflection.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Selmayr Martin, Zilioli Chiara
The Constitutional Status of the European Central Bank
in Common Market Law Review, issue 2, vol. 44 , 355-399

ABSTRACT: Eight years after its establishment, the ECB has come now under an unprecedented attack by leading politicians campaigning in the presidential elections in France. They request a change in the constitutional status of the ECB, arguing for its “subordination to political decisions”. This article attempts to give a legal answer to this political challenge by recalling, first, the ECB’s independence and special characteristics which were constitutionally entrenched in the EC Treaty with the assent of all 27 EU Member States. Taking the academic controversy about the extent of the ECB’s independence as starting point, the article then turns to the re-cent clarifications brought by a first judgment of the ECJ which underlines the special nature of the ECB as independent specialized organization of Community law. The article finally addresses the ECB-related provisions of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, which, by clarifying both the scope of the independence of the ECB and its integration into the Union’s constitutional system, have the potential to bring further stability and legitimacy to Europe’s young central bank.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Howarth David

The Domestic Politics of British Policy on the Euro
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 29, Number 1 / March , 47-68

A wide variety of explanations have been applied by academics and journalists to explain the details of British government policy on the Euro. This article examines four leading explanations rooted in an analysis of domestic politics, arguing that British government reluctance to support Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) membership can be explained more in terms of ideologically infused intra-party politics and the realities of neo-pluralist (interest group) politics, while explanations rooted in an analysis of inter-party politics (electoral considerations) and public opinion are less helpful. The article also compares the relevance of the four domestic political explanations of British policy with regard to the positioning of respectively the two largest political parties in the country: (New) Labour and Conservative (Tory).

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Behr Hartmut
The European Union in the Legacies of Imperial Rule? EU Accession Politics Viewed from a Historical Comparative Perspective
in **European Journal of International Relations** , Vol. 13, n. 2, June , 239-262

ABSTRACT: International Relations benefits from historical comparative research. Although a historical comparative method can be fruitfully applied to the study of the European Union (EU), it is rarely undertaken. In this article, EU accession politics, particularly its 2004 enlargement, is compared with 19th century `standards of civilization' developed by European states concluding treaties with non-European nations. This article argues that EU accession politics operates in the legacies of 19th-century imperial rule. Understanding the EU in terms of an (new) empire might enrich the discussion of the perception and categorization of the EU as an international order.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Jenson Jane
The European Union's Citizenship Regime. Creating Norms and Building Practices
in **Comparative European Politics**, n. 1, vol. 5, april , 53-69

ABSTRACT: This article deploys the concept of citizenship regime to describe the citizenship norms and practices of the European Union (EU). The EU is, and has been since 1957, involved in building citizenship practices. The goal of the article is to reanimate discussions of European citizenship and to recapture them from the almost exclusive control of political philosophy and a focus on the standard liberal democratic model. Instead, it presents the European citizenship regime for what it is: a set of norms and practices in motion. Its characteristics are captured by analysing four dimensions of any citizenship regime: the responsibility mix; acquired rights and duties; governance; and belonging. On each dimension, current citizenship practices of Union citizenship are briefly described. When this is done, the EU is observed to be adjusting its borders and boundaries of citizenship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6.The European unification process
Le Jehan Frédéric
The European vangard
in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLIX, n. 1 , 61-68

http://euraction.org/revfiles/1_07.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Seth Kincaid Jolly
The Europhile Fringe?
in European Union Politics , Vol. 8, n.1, March , 109-130

The relationship between European integration and regionalist parties is still a largely unexplored area of research. In this paper, I evaluate whether regionalist parties perceive the European Union (EU) as an ally or an enemy. Using expert surveys, I assess the views of regionalist parties on European integration and I find that regionalist political parties are consistently pro-EU across time, space, and issue area. I find further support for this finding in a case study of the Scottish National Party.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lewis-Beck Michael S., Morey- Daniel S.
The French "Petit Oui": The Maastricht Treaty and the French Voting Agenda
in Journal of Interdisciplinary History (The), Volume 38, Number 1, Summer , 65-87

Despite expectations of a landslide, the French public barely approved the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. Traditional explanations for the surprise outcome that rely on socioeconomic conditions, partisanship, regional characteristics, and domestic issues are inadequate. Analysis based largely on the French National Election Study of 1995 shows that the voters were largely concerned with foreign policy. Citizens who were friendly to Germany and supportive of the European Union greatly favored the treaty. French nationalists and those possessed of strong anti-immigrant sentiment were vehemently against it. These disparate views, united in their concern about the sovereignty of France, dominated the Maastricht vote and appear to have persisted in the European Union Constitutional referendum of 2005.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Maurer Andreas, Schwarzer Daniela
The German Presidency and the EU's Constitutional Malaise
in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLII, n. 1, January-March

The "pause for thought" decreed by the heads of state and government for themselves and their citizens after the voters in France and the Netherlands rejected the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe has been extended for at least another year. By the end of 2008, decisions will have to be taken on how to continue the reform process, yet a concrete strategy for implementing the Constitutional Treaty or an alternative treaty still appears out of reach. Before even beginning to agree on how to move forward, all 27 European Union member states will have to state clearly what goals they are pursuing in the process of institutional reform (a process which all sides agree is necessary) and what steps they believe are required for achieving these goals. In this context, clear statements on the importance of the Treaty and its fate are needed. Consensus on these issues among all 27 member states is unlikely to be achieved. In order to foster a constructive discussion, the German EU Presidency could move member states to agree on shared criteria for assessing the reform proposals that are on the table, and on the options for resolving the constitutional crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Eleftheriadis Pavlos
The Idea of a European Constitution
in Oxford Journal of Legal Studies, Volume 27, Number 1, Spring , 1-21

Any abstract account of a field of law must make generalizations that are both faithful to the legal materials and appropriate to the subject matter's aims. The uniqueness and fluidity of the European Union's institutions makes such generalizations very difficult. A common theoretical approach to EU law (one that is often relied upon by the Court of Justice, the Parliament and the Commission) is to borrow directly from the theory of domestic constitutional law. The most recent manifestation of this tendency is the draft Treaty on the European Constitution, which includes many of the symbolic features of a domestic constitutional order. But the European Union is not a state and the constitutional analogy is in many ways problematic. In this article I defend the view that a more complex theory is more appropriate to the unique combination of ordinary politics with diplomatic conferences that constitutes the European Union. The key to these institutions is, in my view, a Kantian international ideal of liberal peace. The foundational constitutional principles of the EU, principles that both fit the current legal framework and offer its most attractive interpretation, require the qualified autonomy of member states in a union of republics that create collective institutions for the purposes of liberal peace.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Scharpf Fritz W.
The Joint-Decision Trap Revisited
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 4, November , 845-864

The original analysis appears as a basically valid - if simplified - account of the institutional conditions of political policy choices in the EU and their consequences. It needs to be complemented, however, by a similar account of non-political

policy-making in the supranational-hierarchical mode of governance by the ECB or ECJ.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Heijman W.J.N.
The Need for a European Fiscal Policy
in Intereconomics, Volume 41, Number 2 / March, 2006 , 100-103

In the debate about the Stability and Growth Pact the focus is mainly on the stability part of the Pact. However, in many European economies, economic growth is a far more important issue. How can economic growth be stimulated by a coordinated European fi scal policy?

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Leblond Patrick
The Political Stability and Growth Pact is Dead: Long Live the Economic Stability and Growth Pact
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 5, December , 969-990

Euro area countries suspended the excessive deficit procedure (EDP) of the Stability and Growth Pact in November 2003. Surprisingly perhaps, long-term European government bond-holders did not react: yields barely moved. Owing to its political nature, the EDP does not matter for investors. What matters is the implicit economic pact that investors have made with Member State governments.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Daugbjerg Carsten, Swinbank Alan
The Politics of CAP Reform: Trade Negotiations, Institutional Settings and Blame Avoidance
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 45, Issue 1, March , 1-22

In this article we argue that the conclusion of the GATT Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture and the subsequent role of the WTO has changed the international context of CAP policy-making. However, comparing the three latest CAP reforms, we demonstrate that pressures on the CAP arising from international trade negotiations cannot alone account for the way in which the EU responds in terms of CAP reform. The institutional setting within which the reform package was determined also played a crucial role. Contrary to conventional wisdom, the CoAM seems to be a more conducive setting than the European Council for undertaking substantial reform of the CAP. We suggest that the choice of institutional setting is influenced by the desire of farm ministers and of heads of state or government to avoid blame for unpopular decisions. When CAP reform is an integral part of a broader package, farm ministers pass the final decision to the European Council and when CAP reform is defined as a separate issue the European Council avoids involvement.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Van Kersbergen Kees, Verbeek Bertjan
The Politics of International Norms: Subsidiarity and the Imperfect Competence Regime of the European Union
in European Journal of International Relations , Vol. 13, n. 2, June , 217-238

ABSTRACT: Theories on the role of norms in international relations generally neglect the possibility that after their adoption a new battle over their precise meaning ensues, especially when a norm remains vague and illusive. Norm implementation is not only a matter of internalization and compliance, but also of redefinition. Building on insights from rationalist and constructivist approaches, this article advances the idea of recurrent battles for and over norms in international politics. It argues that the analytical tools of international regime theory are instrumental in tracking such battles. This framework is applied to the history and role of subsidiarity as a norm in the competence regime of the European Union between 1991 and 2005. Its main finding is that the issue of subsidiarity was not a matter of norm internalization, but concerned a recurrent battle between old and newly empowered actors over its precise meaning, eventually favouring the member states' prerogative.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Torenvlied René, Weesie Jeroen, Stokman Frans
The Power of the Presidency in EU Council Decision-making
in European Union Politics , Vol. 8, n. 2, June , 229-250

Research on the presidency of the EU shows mixed results. Although most scholars agree that the EU presidency is not able to advance its domestic interests in the European forum, Tallberg (2006) provides evidence for presidency effects. In the present paper, we empirically estimate presidency-based power in the Council of the European Union on the DEU data — a large-scale data set containing EU policy issues from various policy areas. We show that holding the presidency does significantly and positively contribute to the bargaining power of member states, but only in the final stages of decision-making.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Zielonka Jan
The Quality of Democracy after Joining the European Union
in East European Politics and Societies, Volume 21, Number 1, February , 162-180

Joining the European Union (EU) has changed the nature of democracy in the new member states. The EU's membership has complicated the structure of democratic decision making by making it more multilayered and

multicentered. EU membership has enhanced the powers of nonmajoritarian institutions such as the European Commission, the European Court of Justice, and various regulatory agencies. National parliaments tend to be less powerful democratic players after a country joins the European Union—and even before, as the EU accession process has shown. EU membership has also broadened the democratic public space. As a consequence, democratic decision making within the European Union has to accommodate a more diversified set of interests and cultural orientations. Providing citizens with greater access to the European decision-making process seems to be most urgent in the new member states from Central and Eastern Europe, whose citizens feel particularly detached from this process. The article tries to suggest some ways of achieving this.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Michael
The Radical Right in the European Elections 2004
in International Political Science Review , n. 1, vol. 28, january , 29-55

Abstract: In the new EU member states, the European Parliament elections in June 2004 were anticipated with particular anxiety because of the role of anti-EU, nationalist, and extreme right-wing parties, which in some countries had scored signifi cant electoral successes in the recent past. But also in some of the old member states, the radical right was watched closely, in particular, after the French Front National's historic performance in the 2002 presidential election. Since the radical right feeds on the economic and social crisis and feelings of anxiety raised by EU integration, by globalization, and by anti-establishment feelings, many observers expected a general rise in support for these parties, especially in light of the growing complexity of the expanded EU. This article analyzes the electoral outcome for the radical right in the 2004 elections and discusses country-specifi c characteristics as well as regional patterns. It also looks at the role the radical right played, if any, in the votes on the new EU constitution in various member states. The article shows that, regarding the radical right, the European elections proved to be surprisingly unsurprising. Clearly, EU membership was not the only issue involved. Rather, larger issues of national identity, the strength of nationalist traditions, and some particular features superseded narrow foreign policy concerns and explain, more or less, the electoral success achieved by the radical right. Compared to the EU elections, the referenda on the EU constitution in several member states provided little to no opportunities for the radical right.

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Hanspeter Kriesi
The Role of European Integration in National Election Campaigns
in European Union Politics , Vol. 8, n.1, March , 83-108

This study asks how and to what extent political parties in six West European countries - Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the UK - have addressed the process of European integration in national election campaigns since the 1970s. Based on a content analysis of newspaper data, the results show that Eurosceptic mobilization in national election campaigns has become most pronounced in countries where the public have always been rather apprehensive about European integration. In line with the ‘new cleavage’ hypothesis, in Switzerland and the UK mobilization around European integration is primarily driven by conservatives and/or the new populist right. In countries where the process of European integration is politically less salient, conservatives and/or the new populist right

have been less Eurosceptic and their mobilization efforts have been more limited. While providing mixed support for the 'new cleavage' hypothesis, the study provides scant support for the received wisdom that Euroscepticism among political parties is essentially dictated by 'opposition politics'.

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Schelkle Waltraud
The Theory and Practice of Economic Governance in EMU Revisited: What Have we Learnt About Commitment and Credibility?
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 44, Issue 4, November , 669-685

This special issue asks commentators who made seminal contributions to our understanding of economic governance to revisit their analyses. This introductory article discusses the example of a major contribution, namely the 'advantage of tying one's hands' (Giavazzi and Pagano, 1988), relating it to the other contributions along the way.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bercusson Brian
The Trade Union Movement and the European Union: Judgment Day
in **European law journal**, May 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 3 , 279–308

The trade union movement faces a challenge to the legality of transnational collective action as violating economic freedoms in the EC Treaty. How are disparities in wages and working conditions among the Member States to be accommodated? Are national social models protected? Does the internal market allow for trade union collective action? How does EU law affect the balance of economic power in a transnational economy? What is the role of courts in resolving economic conflicts? This article analyses the responses to these questions as referred to the European Court of Justice by the English Court of Appeal and offers some conclusions. The purpose is to highlight the different positions adopted by the old Member States and the new accession Member States as regards the underlying substantive issues, and the options available to the Court of Justice in answering the questions posed.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Schaefer Wolf
The Trade-off Between Enlarging and Deepening

in Intereconomics, Volume 42, Number 1 / January, 2007 , pp. 4-10

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Le Breton Jean Marie
The disunite States of Europe in today's and tomorrow's world
in Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The), Anno XLIX, n. 1 , 12-24

http://euraction.org/revfiles/1_07.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lynggaard Kennet
The institutional construction of a policy field: a discursive institutional perspective on change within the common agricultural policy
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 14 Issue 2 2007 , pages 293 - 312

This paper explores the dynamics giving momentum to the institutional construction of a policy field. This objective is pursued through the study of a case: the articulation and institutionalization of a policy field concerned with organic farming within the auspices of the common agricultural policy (CAP) of the European Union (EU) from 1980 to 2003. Applying a discursive institutional analytical framework focusing on the dynamics of institutional change it is concluded that - when it comes to the study of ideas - perhaps: (1) the CAP is not as sectorized a policy field as it is commonly considered to be, and (2) the European Parliament also has a role to play as an agent of change within the CAP.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Duina Francesco, Raunio Tapio
The open method of co-ordination and national parliaments: further marginalization or new opportunities?
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 14 Issue 4 2007 , pages 489 - 506

Legislatures are central to national democracy. Yet, scholars examining the impact of the EU on national parliaments have concluded that integration undermines domestic legislatures. We call for a more nuanced analysis. We turn to the EU's new forms of governance and, specifically, the OMC. Our analysis reveals a complex picture. On the one hand, with regard to participation, by empowering governments through executive federalism the OMC risks further marginalizing national parliaments. On the other hand, when we consider its output, the OMC provides national legislators with opportunities that the traditional Community method of legislation cannot offer. First, the OMC gives national legislators access to insights and tools for producing successful laws. Second, the OMC gives those legislators grounds for criticizing the policies of government officials. The empirical record suggests that some of these contradictory effects are already at work. The conclusion reflects on whether national parliaments should, or if given the

opportunity would in fact, opt to participate in the OMC.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Corsetti Giancarlo
The riddle of eurozone inflation
in Europe´s World, Issue 5, Spring

Right across the eurozone many consumers complain about rising prices. Some say the euro has brought modest inflation, others believe that it has been much more serious. Giancarlo Corsetti investigates the puzzling differences between perception and reality.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=c5f588bf-2687-461d-9b0c-622dc8caa42a

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Flamm Laszlo Benedek
Thoughts on the European Social Model
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 4 , 31-55

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Greiçevci Labinot, Papadimitriou Dimitris, Petrov Petar
To Build a State: Europeanization, EU Actorness and State-Building in Kosovo
in European Foreign Affairs Review, Volume 12, Issue 2 , 219-238

This article discusses the limits of the European Union’s role as a state-builder in Kosovo following the NATO intervention in 1999. It builds on the conceptual literature on Europeanization, EU actorness and conditionality to explore the EU’s multifaceted presence in the area and its ability to shape Kosovo’s emerging statehood. In doing so the article explores the way in which the EU strategy on the ground has been conditioned by: (a) the multiplicity of EU institutions and agencies that currently engage in the process of state-building in Kosovo; (b) the presence of other powerful actors – namely NATO and the UN – with their own stakes and agendas in the area; and c) local constellations of power and particularly Kosovo’s political elites as these have been shaped by the conflict of the late 1990s and its aftermath. Hence, the article studies, in a theoretically informed manner, the ongoing international efforts to build Europe’s newest ‘state-in-waiting’ and sheds light on an integral part of the European Union’s enlargement strategy in the Western Balkans.

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Petrova T.

Transactional and Participatory Activism in the Emerging European Polity. The Puzzle of East-Central Europe
in **Comparative Political Studies** , Vol. 40 n. 1 , 74-94

In this article, the authors examine the potential for concerted collective action in the societies that emerged from state socialism in East-Central Europe after 1989. Although scholars have found strong individual-level evidence that protest potential is weaker here than in other parts of the world, the authors question whether individual-level data adequately tap all the dimensions of activism that are relevant to contentious politics. They propose a differentiated model of civil society consisting of (a) internal potential for citizen action and (b) relational aspects of social activism and argue that some forms of the latter—and in particularly, what they call "transactional activism"—are more robust than what evidence at the individual level suggests. They also examine some local and transnational-level data from the region and speculate about the capacities for collective action they find there and their potential for contributing to the construction of a transnational Europe.

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Önis Ziya, Bakir Caner
Turkey's Political Economy in the Age of Financial Globalization: The Significance of the EU Anchor
in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 12, Number 2, June , 147-164

The recent Turkish experience clearly illustrates how markets and politics can interact in producing significant economic transformation. Focusing on the new phase of neo-liberal restructuring in Turkey in the post-crisis era, we highlight the importance of the European Union (EU) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) anchors and the specific domestic and external linkages through which these double external anchors have operated. We argue that the anchors played significant and complementary roles in the recent transformation process in Turkey. We also underline some of the tensions that are likely to arise in the new era of accession negotiations with the EU given the incomplete transformation accomplished so far.

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Yakemtchouk Romain
Turkey: Joining the European Union in question?
in **Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union Européenne**, numero 508, mai , 294-301

It was in April 1987 that Turkey made an application to enter the EEC, and it was in December 1999 that the Helsinki Summit recognised this country with the status of candidate for membership. The European Council of Athens of 16th April 2003 declared that "Turkey has made remarkable progress to satisfy the Copenhagen political criteria". Yet, the Turkish government having refused to recognise the Republic of Cyprus as having joined the EU, and declaring itself against the opening of its ports and aerodromes to ship and aircraft of the Greek Cypriots, the EU decided on the 11th December 2006 to suspend the negotiation of eight of the thirty-five chapters concerning Turkey's joining. The Commission would indeed like to avoid any open crisis with Ankara, but the majority of member States are asking for the Union enlargement process to be slowed down and are advocating the preliminary reformation of European institutions in order to increase the EU integration capacity. The Euro-Turkish relations have recently undergone certain

deterioration, and France has decided to impose a referendum on any new membership.

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Castex Françoise
Un Parlement trop sensible aux pressions
in Monde Diplomatique (Le), janvier 2007

No abstract available

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Amato Giuliano
Unione: le tentazioni sbagliate
in Mulino (il), n. 2, marzo-aprile, 2007 , 226-236

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Bernhagen Patrick, Marsh Michael
Voting and Protesting: Explaining Citizen Participation in Old and New European Democracies
in Democratization, Vol. 14, n. 1, February , 44-72

This article analyses the differences and similarities in citizen participation between the new democracies of central and eastern Europe and the established democracies of the west. Citizens in the post-communist countries participate less in politics than their western neighbours. The article asks why this is the case and finds that no satisfactory answers have been offered in the literature so far. Developing a set of propositions about the factors that explain participation differences between old and new European democracies it shows that only a small part of the difference in political engagement is due to regional variation in the socio-demographic, attitudinal, and mobilization-related characteristics of citizens. The analysis also finds that, while the factors explaining election turnout have a largely similar impact in old and new democracies, the causes of protest participation, in particular those relating to left-right semantics, are significantly different between the two sets of countries. While many components of tried-and-tested models of political participation work equally well in new and old democracies, some of the differences in political engagement cannot be accounted for without reference to contextual variables specific to the post-communist democracies, in particular the different pre-democratic regime types and modes of the transition process.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Knauer Peter
Was wird aus dem EU-Verfassungsvertrag?

in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 10, 2007

No abstract available

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Hooghe Liesbet
What Drives Euroskepticism?: Party-Public Cueing, Ideology and Strategic Opportunity
in European Union Politics , Vol. 8, n.1, March , 5-12

No abstract available

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Lenoir Noelle
What France must do to repair the No vote's damage
in Europe´s World, Issue 5, Spring

The fall-out from French voters' rejection of the EU constitution continues to be very damaging, says Noëlle Lenoir, France's former Minister of European Affairs. But she believes that her country can yet play a key part in getting the European project back on its feet and moving forward again.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=9bfe4682-efec-4493-9d63-861e6b12f0d9

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De Grauwe Paul
What Have we Learnt about Monetary Integration since the Maastricht Treaty?
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 4, November , 711-730

The present governance of the euro area has been devised assuming that the world fits the monetarist-real-business-cycle theory. But that theory is not a correct representation of the world. The European monetary union is a remarkable achievement, but remains fragile because of the absence of a sufficient degree of political union.

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Editorial Comment
What should replace the Constitutional Treaty?
in **Common Market Law Review**, issue 3, vol. 44 , 561-566

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Tarifa Fatos, Adams Benjamin
Who's the Sick Man of Europe? A Wavering EU Should Let Turkey In
in **Mediterranean Quarterly**, Volume 18, Number 1, Winter

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 6.The European unification process
Steembergen Marco R., Edwards Erica E., de Vries Catherine E.
Who's Cueing Whom?
in **European Union Politics** , Vol. 8, n.1, March , 13-35

The 2005 French and Dutch referendum campaigns were characterized by an alleged disconnect between pro-European political elites and Eurosceptic masses. Past evidence regarding elite-mass linkages in the context of European integration has been conflicting. Whereas some scholars argue that political elites respond to the changing preferences of their electorates, others suggest that party elites cue the mass public through a process of information and persuasion. We contend that these conflicting results stem from the reciprocal nature of elite-mass linkages and estimate a series of dynamic simultaneous equations models to account for this reverse causation. Using Euro-barometer and expert survey data from 1984-2002, we find evidence of a dual-process model, whereby party elites both respond to and shape the views of their supporters. We also find that the strength of these results is contingent on several factors, including the type of electoral system, intra-party dissent and voter characteristics.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Jovanović Miloš
Why should EU Accession Negotiations with Serbia be Continued Right Away?
in **Review of International Affairs (The)** , Vol. LVII, nn. 1123-1124, December

No abstract available

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Subsection 6.The European unification process

Hatzopoulos Vassilis

Why the Open Method of Coordination Is Bad For You: A Letter to the EU

in **European law journal**, May 2007 - Vol. 13 Issue 3 , 309–342

During the last years, and especially since the launch of the Lisbon agenda in 2000, the literature on the open method of coordination (OMC) has grown exponentially. Most writers explore the tentative outcomes of the method, since they lack a solid experimental background, against which to assess its actual effectiveness. Lately, however, some empirical studies have come to light. Among them, some fully discredit the OMC as a means of pursuing common policies at the EU level; while others recognise indirect effects, essentially at the national level of policy setting. On the basis of this assumption, i.e. that the OMC has only restricted direct effects in the short term and indirect effects in the medium to long term, the present article first puts forward a series of arguments against the current 'spread' of the OMC, and then offers some proposals on how to neutralise some of the identified shortfalls of the OMC. Despite the title of the article, the final conclusion is not for the demise of the OMC, but rather for its 'communautarisation'. It is put forward that both the application and the effects of the OMC should be more clearly defined and better integrated with the other pre-existing forms of cooperation, in accordance with basic requirements stemming from the Community legal order.

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Defraigne Pierre

Why we've got to loosen governments' grip on EU policymaking

in **Europe´s World**, Issue 4, Autumn

That 'semi-detached' EU member the UK is the de facto leader of a loose coalition now ensuring that inter-governmentalism rules, writes Pierre Defraigne, who heads Paris-based IFRI's Brussels branch. He warns of serious consequences unless there is a shift back to the EU's community method.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=2842a476-f5b3-40b5-906e-b476dfe9fdee

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Olteanu Tina, Autengruber Christian

Wie ernst meint es die EU mit der Demokratie? Standardsetzung am Beispiel der EU-Beitrittsvorbereitungen mit Bulgarien und Rumänien

in **Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , 2007/1 , 81-94

HOW SERIOUS IS THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU) ABOUT DEMOCRACY? Democratic Standards and Requirements during EU Accession Preparations with Bulgaria and Romania

After the accession round in May 2004 with ten new EU-member states, it has been obvious that the European Union is very willing to demand democracy and the rule of law, combined with human rights and minority protection from potential new members. Following these requirements laid out in the Copenhagen criteria, the questions have to be raised "Which standards the EU has established in detail" and "How they influenced the accession procedure of Bulgaria and Romania." bearing in mind that another enlargement round is in sight. Following analysis of the monitoring reports of the EU commission for Bulgaria and Romania, it becomes clear that a very fragmented pattern of democratic standards has been employed during the accession process: (1) Essential aspects of democracy, e.g. the political participation of citizens or the protection of state arbitrariness do not receive enough thoughtfulness or no attention at all by the EU. (2) An aggravating fact, is that severe democratic problems that are even listed in the monitoring reports do not have effects on the accession process. This is due to the fact that the political criteria of Copenhagen are considered to be fulfilled since 1998. (3) For further accession procedures it has to be made clear that the requirements in regard to democratic standards as well as the consequences of the violation of these standards have to be revised.

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Subsection 6.The European unification process
Rose Richard
"Tough love" should be the EU's new standard for aspiring members
in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

Ensuring that its ongoing enlargement strategy won't backfire in public opinion terms is going to be crucially important, writes Richard Rose. For 15 years he has been surveying post-communist countries, and argues here that applying tough entry standards is the key to future successes.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=3e90474e-5d21-4563-90fc-2f1f7fbc3965

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Prodi Romano
È urgente completare il progetto europeo
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 153 , 45-48

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Philippidis G, Sanjuán A. I
An Analysis of Mercosur's Regional Trading Arrangements
in World Economy, Volume 30, Number 3 , 504-531

After six years of stop-start negotiations, Mercosur is no closer to signing a regional trading agreement (RTA) with the EU, whilst negotiations to finalise a Free Trade of the Americas Agreement (FTAA) have also stalled. This is due to

various factors: economic crises in Mercosur, intransigence by member countries and uncertainty surrounding the outcome of the Doha Round. Estimates from the trade literature predict welfare gains to Mercosur from both RTAs whilst only one study assesses the additional benefits of removing non-tariff barrier (NTB) trade costs which have remained largely unchallenged within the multilateral forum.

In this paper, we improve the treatment of NTB estimates employing a theoretically consistent gravity specification, where calculated tariff-equivalent estimates are subsequently implemented into a modified computable general equilibrium (CGE) model. Relative to a realistic baseline, and incorporating trade-induced productivity and capital accumulation effects, we reassess the benefits of both regional initiatives to Mercosur, revisiting the claim that NTB trade cost abolition doubles the `standard' welfare estimates. Contrary to previous studies, the results suggest that an FTAA yields greater gains to Mercosur than an EU RTA whilst the claim of Monteagudo and Watanuki (2003) pertaining to trade cost elimination is understated.

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Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Deblock Christian, Turcotte Sylvain F.
Après le sommet de Mar del Plata : les Amériques plus divisées que jamais
in Critique Internationale, N°34 - Janvier / Mars

L'analyse des résultats du quatrième sommet des Amériques qui s'est tenu à Mar del Plata en novembre 2005 fournit les raisons qui ont mené à la formation de deux groupes de pays opposés dans le cadre du processus de négociations commerciales hémisphériques. Toutefois, contrairement à l'idée répandue selon laquelle ces négociations s'acheminent vers la formation de deux blocs commerciaux organisés à partir de l'ALENA et du MERCOSUR, l'article souligne que les résultats de ce sommet ouvrent la voie à une arborescence d'accords commerciaux arrimés aux États-Unis et à l'isolement des opposants au régionalisme nord-américain. Le Brésil ayant peu à offrir à ses voisins sud-américains, les États-Unis profiteront de la conjoncture pour étendre le modèle de l'ALENA à l'ensemble du continent, ce qui contredit les principes qui avaient été placés au cœur du processus menant à une éventuelle Zone de libre-échange des Amériques

After the Mar del Plata Summit Meeting: The Americas More Divided than Ever

Analysis of the results of the fourth summit meeting of the Americas, held in Mar del Plata in November of 2005, reveals the factors that have led to the formation of two antagonistic groups of countries, during the hemispheric negotiation process. There is a widespread belief that these negotiations are leading to the formation of two trade blocs, based on NAFTA and MERCOSUR. This article, however, emphasizes the fact that the summit results have opened the door to a network of trade agreements anchored to the USA, and to the isolation of opponents of North American regionalism. Since Brazil has little to offer its South American neighbors, the US will take advantage of these circumstances to extend the NAFTA model to the entire continent. This goes against the principles chosen to structure the process leading to a potential Free Trade Zone of the Americas.

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Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation

Bremberg Heijl Niklas

Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Euro-Mediterranean Security Revisited

in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 12, Number 1, March , 1-16

The study of the EU's relations with its near abroad is increasingly important in the wake of the 2004 enlargement of the Union because it directly relates to the question whether the EU might help to foster peace and stability in its neighbourhood. Euro-Mediterranean relations are highly interesting in this regard since the EU has a rather long, but not entirely successful, history of trying to promote security and cooperation in its southern vicinity. In this article the Regional Security Complex Theory, developed by Buzan and Waever (2003), is applied to shed new light on security aspects of Euro-Mediterranean relations. The article's main argument is that the 'ups and downs' of Euro-Mediterranean security cooperation is better understood if the Mediterranean is not considered as a region in itself but rather as a link between two separated regional security complexes.

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Wegener Hedi

Central Asia: At last Europe may be getting its act together

in **Europe´s World**, Issue 5, Spring

The German presidency is setting its sights on a new EU strategy for relations with the five central Asian republics. Hedi Wegener, who chairs the German-central Asian group in the Bundestag, assesses the difficulties and sets out a roadmap.

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=d9ebe85b-dcb9-46cb-8eef-df4476e87440

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Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation

Baudin Pierre

Chine-Union Européenne: une certitude, des questions

in **Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union Européenne**, numero 504, janvier , 27-31

At the 9th bilateral China-European Union summit held on 9 September 2006 in Helsinki, both parties set the terms for negotiating a new framework agreement intended to reinforce the existing partnership and extending the field of responsibilities between China and the Union. Certainly, there is a firm will by both parties to continue and reinforce a bilateral relationship viewed as strategic: but one cannot help but ask two questions: the issue of the ambiguity of the relationship and the actual benefit to the Union. However, the stake is significant and the challenge of a strategic partnership deserves to be taken up, though in full knowledge of the risks related thereto. The European Union has assets. It should use them to win this significant bet on the future

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation

Grugel Jean

Democratization and Ideational Diffusion: Europe, Mercosur and Social Citizenship
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 45, Issue 1, March , 43-68

Policies in support of democratic transition aim to reconfigure the dominant norm set in previously authoritarian states and societies. The EU's commitment to such policies is well-established. This article discusses what the EU does when it offers democratic support, using the example of Mercosur. The evidence presented here suggests that EU policy in Mercosur is premised on assumptions of a positive identity relationship with local governing elites. In fact, however, it is not clear that democracy is understood in the same way in Mercosur as in the EU. As a result, policies resonate less than expected.

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Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Pang Eul-Soo
Embedding Security into Free Trade: The Case of the United States–Singapore Free Trade Agreement
in **Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs**, n. 1, vol. 29, April

ABSTRACT: The article is about the motivations and reasons for the United States and Singapore to sign an FTA, prompted by little trade expansion and snail-paced financial market opening within ASEAN, the Japanese-led resistance to the full flowering of APEC, the chronic breakdown of the WTO's recent trade liberalization negotiations, the structural changes in Singapore's economy, as well as unsettled security environment in Southeast Asia. Soon after the FTA went into effect, Singapore and the United States signed a strategic ("defence") partnership agreement. Since 9/11, the two countries have found strong complementarity in each other's strategic visions — how to define the evolving security landscape for Southeast Asia, how to coordinate security responses for the region, and how bilateralism can be a viable fall-back position in cross-border trade and finance. The article also examines the inadequacies of the theories of old regionalism and suggests different ways to theorize new regionalism, identifying the domestic, regional, and global factors which have led to the paradigm shift in Singapore's strategy for future growth and survival and which have shaped the future East Asian policy of the United States.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Saleh Nivien
Europe in the Middle East and Northern Africa: The Subtle Quest for Power
in **Mediterranean Quarterly**, Volume 18, Number 1, Winter

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Venturini Franco

Gli Stati Uniti, l'Europa e il Medio Oriente
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 153 , 83-89

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Youngs Richard
How Europe's Mediterranean policy went so badly wrong
in Europe´s World, Issue 4, Autumn

It's not just that the EU's vaunted Barcelona Process has failed to stimulate economic development in Arab countries, writes Richard Youngs, but that it has also seen Europe's political influence wane further. He sets out a "to do list" for EU policymakers

http://www.europesworld.org/EWSettings/Article/tabid/78/Default.aspx?Id=49f2d364-1ebc-4541-b97f-087f756ade7d

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Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Sinatti Pietro
Il difficile dialogo tra Stati Uniti, Europa e Russia
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 153 , 122-138

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Lecuyer Dominique, Vadcar Corinne
Inde: de l'intérêt pour l'Union européenne de négocier un accord ambitieux
in Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union Européenne, numero 506, mars , 172-177

India's emergence in international economy and exchanges is an event at this start of this new century which is much unexpected and remarkable. The country does admittedly have numerous challenges still to take up in economic, social, political or environmental areas but the current level of growth means favourable perspectives can be foressen in the mid-term. For the EU, which has held political relations with Delhi for several years, notably via a stratecic partnership, there is need to reinforce economic and commercial relations that are on the contrary, too modest. The draft agreement project of free-trade which shall be negotiated by the two parties over the coming years, should moreover go beyond simple commercial considerations to target a more ambitious sector which is in line with India and Europe's expectations.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Cassarino Jean-Pierre
Informalising Readmission Agreements in the EU Neighbourhood
in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLII, n. 2, April-June

A number of factors explain why some EU member states, particularly France Italy and Spain are gradually opting for informal patterns of cooperation on readmission issues with Mediterranean and African countries. This adaptive inclination is more of a necessity than an option. It reflects the more urgent need of some EU member states to find flexible solutions for cooperation on readmission rather than to conclude bilateral readmission agreements. The agenda remains unchanged, but there has been a shift in priority actions with regard to these countries. The operability of cooperation on readmission has been prioritised over formalisation.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Moore Michael O. ,Bellotti Alissa
Initiating U.S. Free Trade Agreements: How Do Potential Partners Stack Up?
in **International Trade Journal**, Volume 21 Issue 2 , 161 - 189

We use fitted values from a standard gravity equation to rank countries as possible U.S. free trade agreement partners based on trade and investment potential. The European Union and Japan are ranked highest based on this methodology and individual Bush administration FTA initiatives generally generally are ranked very low. However, the combined affects of completed and proposed Bush FTAs have the potential to rank almost as high as the EU and Japan separately. This result is consistent with the view that, despite widespread criticism of the Bush administration's choices of FTA partners, the overall impact may be significant.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Doidge Mathew
Joined at the Hip: Regionalism and Interregionalism
in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 29, Number 2 / May , 229-248

Taking the recent Special Issue of the Journal of European Integration on 'The EU as a Global Actor and the Role of Interregionalism' as its starting point, this article considers the ways in which regionalism and interregionalism affect and are affected by one another. It explores the concept of interregionalism as a distinct level in the hierarchy of global governance, and a functional context within which regional actors operate. Interregionalism is attributed with a range of functions, elements of which are directed upward to the global multilateral level and downward to the regional level in the hierarchy of global policy making. At the same time, the extent to which these functions are performed is influenced by the constellation of regional actors involved. Regionalism and interregionalism, therefore, are impacted by one another. Further, the recognition that the precise constellation of regional actors affects the functions of interregionalism in different ways allows interregionalism itself to be differentiated into two varieties: an internally focused, capacity building type, and an externally focused, globally active type.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Putin Vladimir
La Russia e l'Unione Europea
in Affari Esteri, Anno XXXIX, n. 153 , 56-59

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Lefebvre Maxime
La politique de voisinage: nouveau départ pour une ambition géopolitique
in Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union Européenne, numero 504, janvier , 22-26

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Moneta C. J.
Los escenarios de China en Asia-Pacífico. Reflexiones para el Mercosur
in Nueva Sociedad, n. 203

Since the nineties, China has been developing a successful policy of insertion in the Asia-Pacific region with growing commercial relations, an active participation in the regional integration schemes and with a role considered increasingly reliable in political terms. As a result, in the future the region will progressively function as a system within which the different countries can no longer be considered independently. The competitive relationship and the cooperation between China and Japan, the increasing weight of India and United States' strategy are some of the factors the Mercosur countries need to take into account when designing policies to promote economic links with the countries of the area.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Obydenkova Anastassia
New Regionalism and Regional Integration: the Role of National Institutions
in Cambridge Review of International Affairs , Vol. 19, n. 4, December , 589-610

This article focuses, first, on the under-explored issues of new regionalism: its subnational level and transnational regional cooperation as an initial stage of new regionalism. Second, it analyses the development of new regionalism between a country in regime transition (Russia in the 1990s) and stable democratic actors (in Europe). Third, it addresses the question of whether European integration contributes to new regionalism outside Europe's geographic

borders. The regions chosen for this analysis are the 89 constituent units of Russia. Such variables as historical legacies, regime transition as domestic context, and the European integration as an international context all remain stable for the 89 units of analysis. Thus, the research design allows one to distinguish other potential variables that may be significant in the development of new regionalism. Given that Russia is located on both the European and Asian parts of the Eurasian continent, the research design also permits the testing of the hypothesis that regional integration and new regionalism are interconnected across Eurasia.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Bachkatov Nina
Nécessaire partenariat avec la Russie
in Monde Diplomatique (Le), janvier 2007

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Massari Maurizio
Russia and the EU Ten Years On: A Relationship in Search of Definition
in International Spectator (The), Vol. XLII, n. 1, January-March

Russia and the EU have dramatically expanded their relationship over the last ten years ever since the 1997 Partnership Cooperation and Agreement entered into force. The four spaces of cooperation agreed upon in 2003 have provided a myriad of opportunities for dialogue and cooperation. Yet, quantity does not equal quality in a relationship that lacks a clear endgame perspective. Russia's new cockiness and the EU's internal divisions do not help bridge the strategic gap. Energy and the common neighbourhood are today the main spoilers in the relationship. They could however be turned into major opportunities in developing a strategic partnership.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Calfat German, Flores Jr Renato G.
The EU-Mercosol Free Trade Agreement: Quantifying Mutual Gains
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 5, December , 921-945

We identify trade in goods opportunities in a EU-Mercosul free trade area. Gains for Mercosul are rather concentrated, being mostly associated with a few agricultural commodities which face high protection barriers. EU gains are evenly spread, comprising a variety of market penetration possibilities. Trade deviation in the EU products is never higher than trade creation, confirming their international competitiveness and signalling that no great distortion of Mercosul's imports will take place. Balanced gains exist for both sides. For Mercosul, the agreement would act as a first serious trial for future liberalizations with other developed partners and as a warning on improvements in competitiveness.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Saguier Marcelo I.
The Hemispheric Social Alliance and the Free Trade Area of the Americas Process: The Challenges and Opportunities of Transnational Coalitions against Neo-liberalism
in **Globalizations** , Volume 4, Issue 2, June , 251 - 265

The paper analyses the formation of a transnational coalition of civil society organizations coordinated by the Hemispheric Social Alliance to oppose the establishment of a Free Trade Area of the Americas. Representing labour unions, social movements, indigenous, environmental and citizen organizations from throughout the Americas, the HSA has served as the mediator between multiple expressions of resistance to neo-liberalism rooted in local/national processes, and a wider strategy at the hemispheric level to pursue a sustainable and democratic form of development alternative to the FTAA project. Drawing on a political process approach from the sociology of social movements, the paper explores the challenges and opportunities of the HSA to construct political alternatives to the neo-liberal agenda of the FTAA project. The central argument is that while significant progress was achieved by the HSA in defining a hemispheric basis of consensus for an alternative political agenda, there remains the challenge of ensuring that the process of constructing such alternatives is democratic and inclusive of the grassroots sectors. On the one hand, there must be a balance between the need to increase the HSA's capacity to mobilize critical social forces from the continent in a campaign against the FTAA and, on the other hand, to ensure the cohesion of an expanding coalition increasingly under strain by the alignment of new sectors and actors.

Section C) Regional integration processes
Subsection 7.Inter-regional Cooperation
Doctor Mahrukh
Why Bother With Inter-Regionalism? Negotiations for a European Union-Mercosur Agreement
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Vol. 45, Issue 2, June , 281-314

The article examines why a decade of inter-regional negotiations failed to result in an EU-MERCOSUR agreement, notwithstanding motivating factors at the international, national and societal level. It focuses on inter-regional trade and investment flows to underline the practical value of any agreement, but also considers strategic and ideational issues.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 1.Federalism
Erk J.
Does Federalism Really Matter?
in **Comparative Politics**, Vol. 39 n. 1

In 1969, in “Six Books in Search of a Subject or Does Federalism Exist and Does It Matter,” William Riker reached rather bleak conclusions concerning scholarship about federalism. This review looks at recent books on federalism to see if Riker’s verdict still applies. These books show that federalism indeed exists, so the aim is to evaluate current scholarship to see if federalism matters through four dimensions: democratic participation, representation, and accountability; the representation and accommodation of territorially based ethnic, cultural, and linguistic differences; public policy and governmental effectiveness; and the design of federal institutions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 1.Federalism
Kerber Wolfgang, Eckardt Martina
Policy learning in Europe: the open method of co-ordination and laboratory federalism
in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 14 Issue 2 2007

This paper analyses the potential of the open method of co-ordination (OMC) and of laboratory federalism for policy innovation and learning in a multi-level system of jurisdictions. Our analysis shows that both can be seen as institutions that establish processes of generating and spreading new knowledge about appropriate public policies. However, the respective learning mechanisms are very different: in laboratory federalism learning takes place through a purely non-centralized process of experimentation with different new policies. In comparison, the OMC relies on a benchmarking process carried out on a higher-level jurisdiction from which, in a rather centralized way, policy recommendations are derived. In both cases, serious learning problems resulting from limited transferability of experiences gained with policies and from lacking or distorting incentives arise. We find that to fully use their potential the OMC should become an integral part of laboratory federalism, thus supporting the smooth working of yardstick, interjurisdictional and regulatory competition.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Vejai Balasubramaniam
A Divided Nation: Malay Political Dominance, Bumiputera Material Advancement and National Identity in Malaysia
in National Identities, Vol. 9 n. 1 , 35 - 48

National identity in Malaysia is defined by Malay culture and politically associated with ethno-nationalism whose goal is material advancement of bumiputera in general and Malay-bumiputera in particular. The process entailed a restructuring strategy to transform the ethnically defined occupational structure and increase bumiputera ownership of the country's corporate wealth to 30 per cent by 1990. To be sure, Malaysia had by turn of the century entered the services stage and expanded the ranks of the middle class. The continued popularity of UMNO (United Malays National Organization) indicates that Malay ethno-nationalist aspirations and its definition of national identity is still relevant. Malaysia thus remains a nation with a divided polity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Nakano Takeshi

Alfred Marshall's economic nationalism
in Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 13, Issue 1, January 2007 , 57–76

Alfred Marshall has been seen as an economic liberal and one of the founders of the neo-classical school. However, this article challenges such conventional wisdom and argues that Marshall is best understood as an economic nationalist. Economic nationalism has been falsely associated with mercantilism, the zero-sum view of international economies, and so on. However, a new approach for studying economic nationalism has recently been proposed to redefine its conception. The present article shows that Marshall's economic thought is compatible with this new conception of economic nationalism. Marshall emphasised the role of nationality in the economic process. The characteristics of his economic thought, such as the evolutionary view of economy, conform more closely to Friedrich List's economic nationalism than to economic liberalism. By portraying Marshall's theory as that of economic nationalism, the author concludes that economic nationalism can have a systematic theory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Huddy Leonie, Khatib Nadia
American Patriotism, National Identity and Political Involvement
in American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 51, Issue 1 , 63-77

Researchers disagree over the definition, measurement, and expected political consequences of American patriotism, a situation that is fueled by the absence of a strong theoretical research foundation. We develop and evaluate a new measure of national attachment that is grounded in social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979), drawing on data from three distinct sources: two studies of undergraduate students and the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS). Confirmatory factor analyses provide clear evidence that national identity is distinct from other measures of national attachment including symbolic, constructive, and uncritical patriotism, and nationalism. National identity has a number of other good measurement properties when compared to existing measures: it receives equal endorsement from conservatives and liberals (unlike most other measures which exhibit an ideological bias), develops with time spent in the United States among immigrants, and most importantly is the only measure of national attachment to predict political interest and voter turnout in both student and adult samples, consistent with the predictions of social identity theory. In that sense, the national identity measure outperforms all other measures of national attachment and provides unambiguous evidence that a strong American identity promotes civic involvement.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Casalini Brunella
Costruzione della nazione e "riproduzione della razza" negli Stati Uniti d'America
in Iride, Numero 49, Dicembre , 589-600

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Anderson Lawrence
Federalism and Secessionism: Institutional Influences on Nationalist Politics in Québec
in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Volume 13, Number 2, April 2007 , 187 - 211

Secessionism is conventionally understood as a group's response to a powerful grievance. But grievance cannot explain why secession, rather than another strategy, is pursued. I argue that the institutional setting in which grievance is experienced plays a crucial role in placing secession on the agenda as a viable remediation strategy. I demonstrate this by examining the institutional environment of Canadian federalism and the Québécois secessionist movement. Canada is vulnerable to secessionism thanks to federalism and the principles of compact theory, which have been used by Québec's secessionists to frame a conception of grievance (a broken bargain) and an easily justifiable remedy (withdrawal from the bargain).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Grove John D.
Global Cultural Fragmentation: A Bourdieuan Perspective
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 2, June , 157 - 169

We examine the contention that global cultural fragmentation persists because it is anchored in increasingly autonomous cultural fields, which produces both challenges to the state and maintains parallel global cultural zones. Instead of a diverse world slowly culturally homogenizing under the onslaught of economic globalization, the emerging autonomous cultural fields creates both intense nationalist struggles over alternative modes of cultural authority, and sustains distinctive worldviews, which are shaped by the cultural heritages of past practices. Economic development appears to push these global zones in a common modernity direction, but rather than converging, they move on parallel path dependent trajectories. This parallelism is maintained by the differing structures of capital, which are embedded in each zone.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Mongia Radhika V.
Historicizing State Sovereignty: Inequality and the Form of Equivalence
in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 49, Issue 2, April , 384-411

The overarching argument of this paper is not a new one; others have made it in various forms. The argument suggests, in Bernard Cohn's simple formulation, that metropole and colony should be treated in a unified field of analysis. Reconstituting the analytical frame in the manner Cohn suggests has a range of implications not only for the study of colonialism but also, and perhaps more importantly, for understanding current geopolitical conjunctures. The suggestion diverges from the conventional analytical approach that divides and demarcates the world into separable

entities—whether they be described as the mutually exclusive categories of metropole and colony, Europe and its Others, a set of distinct nations, first and third world, or indeed of areas and regions—and studies these distinct entities in isolation from, or in comparison with, each other. In contrast, Cohn's proposition asks for an analysis of how such demarcations are produced and of how, rather than being discrete entities with autochthonous formations, they are co-produced through a complex array of related and relational historical events. It is a call, in other words, to shift the analytical framework from one that functions, implicitly or explicitly, on the basis of comparison, to one that operates on the basis of co-production. Such an approach, this essay demonstrates, is especially necessary for a thoroughly historicized understanding of nation-state formation, particularly since the nation-state constitutes a preeminent category of and for comparative analysis.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Dhoest Alexander
Identifying with the nation. Viewer memories of Flemish TV fiction
in **European Journal of Cultural Studies**, Volume 10, No. 1, February 2007 , 55-73

This article investigates viewer memories of former Flemish television fiction in order to research how its representation of Flanders has influenced national identification. Viewer memories show strong patterns, as the same serials are positively remembered by most respondents. The strength and fondness of these memories suggests that these serials became part of collective memory. The importance of `Flemishness' also becomes apparent through the emphasis on realism and recognition. All the respondents said that they preferred domestic drama to imported serials, portraying `typical' situations of the past using Flemish dialects. They strongly identified with this image, and by sharing fond memories, they form a national 'mnemonic' community.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Balcells i Ventura L.
Is nationalist voting a proximity or a compensational voting? A new “spatial”
in **Revista espanola de ciencia politica**, n. 16 , 61 - 88

How do voters behave in two-dimensional political spaces? Are voters pure Downsians or do they instead engage in strategic electoral behavior? Do voters behave similarly within both axes of electoral competition? In this article, I apply two different spatial models of voting, Downs’ Proximity model (1957) and Orit Kedar’s Compensational model (2003), to the Catalan autonomous elections of 1999 and 2003 in order to analyze the nature of the vote in two-dimensional spaces. I observe that while the Proximity model better predicts the vote won by “non-nationalist” parties (PSC and PP), Compensational model predicts better the vote for “nationalist” parties (CiU and ERC) and “small parties” (ICV). I also observe that the Compensational model predicts a higher increase in nationalist vote as a result of movements of the individuals along the nationalist scale, suggesting that this model better explains why parties such as Convergencia

i Unió (CiU) do not moderate their nationalist messages. In general, I observe that the Compensational model provides a new spatial explanation to the nationalist vote and to the polarization in the nationalist dimension that takes place in political contexts like that of Catalonia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Ipperciel Donald
La Suisse : un cas d'exception pour le nationalisme?
in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique, Volume 13, Number 1, Spring 2007 , 39-67

Dans les débats sur la nation et le nationalisme, la Suisse est souvent présentée comme un cas d'exception par les tenants d'un nationalisme subjectiviste, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de prendre position contre une conception linguistique de la nation. Nous aimerions quant à nous contribuer à la thèse du fondement linguistique de la nation en réfutant le caractère exceptionnel de la Suisse. Selon nous, la Suisse est soumise au même titre à la logique communicationnelle - et donc linguistique - sous-tendant la nation moderne que le sont les grandes nations. Dans ce contexte, la Suisse constituerait un Etat “multinational“ respectant la logique communicationnelle propre aux Etats démocratiques. Notre approche se voudra théorique et historique.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Laegaard Sune
Liberal nationalism and the nationalisation of liberal values
in Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 13, Issue 1, January 2007 , 37–55

This article considers whether appeals to 'national values' in public discourse and political debate might be a form of nationalism. This theoretical question about the applicability of the category of nationalism faces the objections that political values cannot constitute nationality, and that this is even more so the case when the values in question are liberal, as they often are. Against these objections, it is argued that 'the nationalisation of liberal values' may, and in some contexts of immigration and Europeanisation probably do, exhibit 'boundary mechanisms' that are among the central features of nationalism. This feature of the nationalisation of liberal values carries both normative and explanatory implications, which relate to the concerns of 'liberal nationalism'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Banton Michael
Max Weber on 'ethnic communities': a critique
in Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 13, Issue 1, January 2007 , 19–35

An untitled draft found among Weber's posthumous papers was published. In English translation it was given the title `Ethnic Groups'. In the Max Weber Gesamtausgabe it is titled `Ethnic Communities'. In this manuscript, Weber treated the feeling of belonging together because of shared ethnic origin as a social construct, underlain by a desire to monopolise power and status. Subsequently, Weber determined to put an end to the use of collectivist concepts, but at the time of writing he treated groups as real entities, instead of using the concept of group as an aid in the explanation of behaviour. The causal connections in ethnic group formation and maintenance have been more closely identified in subsequent sociological analysis.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Zimmer Oliver
Nation und Religion. Von der Imagination des Nationalen zur Verarbeitung von Nationalisierungsprozessen
in Historische Zeitschrift, Band 283, Heft 3: Dezember 2006 , 617-656

Zwar gibt es kaum ein Thema, zu dem in den letzten zwanzig Jahren mehr veröffentlicht wurde als zum Nationalismus und zur Formierung von Nationalstaaten. Um so mehr überrascht es, daß wir über das Problem der Verarbeitung und Erfahrung von Nationalisierungsprozessen
noch relativ wenig wissen. Die vermehrte Hinwendung zu Fragen von Religion und Konfession könnte helfen, diese Lücke zu schließen. Auf die Frage der Nationsbildung gewendet stellt sich insbesondere die Frage, wie verschiedene Religionsgemeinschaften sich zum Nationalstaat
und zur Etablierung nationaler Werte und Institutionen gestellt haben,wie sie diese Vorgänge gedeutet und lebensweltlich verarbeitet haben.
Nationalisierung wird im vorliegenden Beitrag deshalb nicht einseitig als kulturelle Konstruktion oder als ‚von oben' angestoßener Prozeß institutioneller Durchdringung und kultureller Vereinheitlichung verstanden, sondern als Wettstreit um Anerkennung und Status innerhalb
eines sich formierenden Nationalstaats. Im Zentrum stehen die nationszentrierten Interaktions- und Deutungsprozesse, an denen sich verschiedene konfessionelle Gemeinschaften beteiligten. Dieses Argument wird anhand von zwei historischen Beispielen illustriert, wobei
im ersten die Makro- und im zweiten die Mikroebene stärkere Beachtung findet. Das erste Beispiel betrifft die Entwicklung der Schweiz von der Bundesstaatsgründung bis zur Jahrhundertwende. Im zweiten Beispiel
richtet sich der Blick auf die Vorgänge in zwei gemischtkonfessionellen Städten im deutschen Kaiserreich. Der Schlußabschnitt diskutiert die Fruchtbarkeit des mikrohistorischen Zugangs und unterzieht den in der Religionsforschung einflußreichen Milieuansatz einer kritischen Würdigung.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Yamamoto Kazuya
Nation-Building and Integration Policy in the Philippines
in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 44, Number 2, March , 195-213

The Philippines can be considered a country where successive governments have sought to create a single nation by

implementing integration policies. In this article, two formal models are developed —the modernism model and the historicism (primordialism or essentialism) model — to suitably analyze the national integration policy of the Philippines. The analysis reveals that (1) the post-independence national integration policy of the Philippines cannot be regarded as being successful; (2) national integration in the Philippines will continue to be difficult; (3) no deterministic argument can be made regarding the relationship between mobilization and national cleavage; and (4) the modern nation should not be regarded as an extension of pre-modern ethnic groups but as a new identity group that is formed through the process of modernization. In addition, the mathematical implications of the two models are derived. The modernism model implies that (1) in some cases, a ruling group that is in the majority at the time of independence can maintain its position even if it cannot assimilate a majority of the underlying people after independence; (2) in some cases, a ruling group that is not in the majority at the time of independence cannot attain a majority even if it is able to assimilate a majority of the underlying people after independence; and (3) a larger ruling group is not always capable of promoting greater integration than a smaller one can. On the other hand, the historicism model implies that the size of the underlying ethnic group that will comprise the ruling group when mobilized is the key to the success or failure of national integration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Berger Stefan
National Myths in Europe
in European History Quarterly, Volume 37, No. 2, April , 291-300

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Kecmanovic Dusan
Nationalism and Mental Health: A Critique of Greenfeld's Recent Views of Nationalism
in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Volume 13, Number 2, April 2007 , 273 - 295

The effects of nationalism on the mental condition of individuals has not attracted much attention of scholars dealing with nationalism. It is in disproportion with the relevance of the subject. Liah Greenfeld is one of very few who did research on whether and how nationalism, that is, the anomic modern culture, affects those who live in modern times. This text is a critical analysis of her paper "Nationalism and the Mind" published in Nations and Nationalism (July 2005) in which she presented her ideas about the impact of anomie as a key feature of modern culture on the mental condition of individuals. It has been shown that Greenfeld misread the link between anomie and mental health.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Eriksen Thomas Hylland
Nationalism and the Internet
in Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 13, Issue 1, January 2007 , 1-17

The territorial integrity of nations is often taken as the premise for a functioning, unifying national identity. Yet, the economic and technological developments of recent decades have made it necessary to question this assumption. It can no longer be taken for granted that the people who identify with a given nation inhabit the same space, nor can it be assumed that cultural homogenisation takes place at the level of the nation through mass media. When the Internet appeared, many social scientists and commentators predicted that it would threaten the cultural integrity of nations; that the non-territorial character of the Internet would lead to fragmentation and unprecedented cultural differentiation, making it difficult, eventually impossible, to uphold a collective sense of national identity based on shared images, representations, myths and so on. Although it is too early to draw any conclusions regarding the long-term effects of the Internet, experiences so far suggest that such predictions were mistaken. In fact, nations thrive in cyberspace, and the Internet has in the space of only a few years become a key technology for keeping nations (and other abstract communities) together. Nations which have lost their territory (such as Afrikaner-led South Africa), nations which are for political reasons dispersed (such as Tamil Sri Lanka or Kurdistan), nations with large temporary overseas diasporas (such as Scandinavian countries, with their large communities in Spain during winter), or nations where many citizens work abroad temporarily or permanently (such as India or Caribbean island-states), appear in many sites on the Internet – from online newspapers and magazines to semi-official information sites and 'virtual community' homepages. In a 'global era' of movement and deterritorialisation, the Internet is used to strengthen, rather than weaken, national identities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Zantedeschi Francesca
Nazioni e nazionalismo in Europa
in Passato e Presente, Anno XXV, n. 70, gennaio-aprile

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Kronenberg Volker
Patriotismus und Aussenpolitik. Das 'europäische Deutschland' auf der Suche nach sich selbst
in Zeitschrift für Politik, Jahrgang 54, Heft 1, 2007 , 62-75

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Perez Nievas S., Bonet E.
Regional identity and self-government claims: the impact of ethnoregionalist variables on the vote to nationalist parties in Belgium, Britain and Spain

in Revista espanola de ciencia politica, n. 15 , 123 - 161

This article explores the effects of different individual level factors on the vote to eight nationalist parties in Belgium, Britain and Spain. Specifically, we check whether the two variables associated to the ethnoregionalist category, that is ethnic identities and claims for regional self-government, are the main factors explaining electoral mobilization for the eight parties. Our analysis also considers other explanations from the literature on nationalism as control variables: these are social stratification factors, religion, ideology, and a protest vote. Empirical results are contrasted at two levels: regional and general elections. The results of our analysis allow us to suggest a characterization, based upon the ethnoregionalist category, of the eight nationalist parties considered. Finally, we also explore possible reasons behind different types of mobilization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Bussjäger Peter
Reinventing Leviathan?
in Zeitschrift für Politik, Jahrgang 54, Heft 1, 2007 , 5-20

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Rausch Helke
The Nation as a Community Born of War? Symbolic Strategies and Popular Reception of Public Statues in Late Nineteenth-Century Western European Capitals
in European Review of History - Revue Européene d'Histoire, Volume 14 - Issue 1 - March , 73-101

The genesis and development of Western European nationalism is widely connected to the notion of the nation as emerged from war. This paper focuses on that cultural combination in terms of the symbols and programmatic rhetoric employed in commemorative rituals surrounding public statues - mainly in honour of military personnel - in late nineteenth-century Paris, London and Berlin. As the experience of a total war lay still ahead, the national heroes elevated on plinths besides existing war memorials were not intended to express personal mourning or to manage bereavement. They were erected as morally charged expressions of specific national ideals. Based on a sample of some twenty public statues in Paris, London and Berlin, this paper identifies three strategies of intentional manipulation: compensating for military defeat by alternative interpretive patterns in France, overwriting the competing claims of different conceptions of nationhood in Prussia-Germany, and legitimising the nation-state on an imperial scale in Britain. Comparison of these three cases substantiates the claim that there were three 'special paths' for legitimising the nation through war, each dependent on historical contingencies (such as the trauma of defeat or experiences of victory). In all three cases, however, the experience of war served as a means of justifying national claims to power while omitting all reference to the inner make-up of each nation. At the same time, adequate historical assessment of metropolitan public statuary requires that public reception as well as official symbolism and rhetoric be taken into account. Responses to the

statues indicate that the widespread popular appeal of national war myths was far from automatically achieved. Instead of fostering cohesion, the reception of cult figures occasionally came up against political controversies that served as factors limiting national propaganda.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Mansbach Richard, Rhodes Edward
The National State and Identity Politics: State Institutionalisation and "Markers" of National Identity
in Geopolitics, Vol. 12, n. 3, July , 426-458

Nationality has been a key identity in international relations for much of the modern period, and the marriage of "nation" and "state" produced a powerful polity - the national state - that dominated global politics. This article investigates the forces that "pushed" and "pulled" nations and states together and explores the factors associated with violent identity politics. It argues that while recent decades have witnessed increasing instances of divorce between "nation" and "state" and a simultaneous proliferation of identity conflicts, the likelihood that identity conflicts will be expressed violently depends both on the character of the state (the timing of state institutionalisation relative to the construction of national consciousness, the democratic or non-democratic nature of the state, and the national or non-national basis for the legitimation of state authority) and on the principal "marker" used to construct national identity (blood, language, culture, religion, or citizenship).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Marcuse Peter
The Production of Regime Culture and Instrumentalized Art in a Globalizing State
in Globalizations , Volume 4, Issue 1, March , 15-28

The argument of this paper is that, in the age of globalization, culture, in the generic/anthropological sense, is produced, and varies by group, subject, and time. In the United States today the leaders of the state produce a specific kind of culture, here called regime culture, which reinforces the power of the existing regime. It features patriotism, values financial success, espouses a narrow definition of family values, promotes a culture of fear limiting civil liberties, reinterprets the past, legitimates the status quo, and tolerates racism. The handling of the International Freedom Center at the World Trade Center site is a striking example. Culture, in the humanist/arts sense, has been increasingly used to press culture in a specific direction, here called instrumentalized culture. It is promoted as a contributor to economic development, as fostering the growth of an economically productive creative class. In the process, its critical and transcendent potential has been eviscerated. While such instrumentalization may help artists in the short run, it also poses a danger to the ultimate social role of the arts. The policies generated around the concept of a Creative Class, and the use of the arts as a tool of economic development, are striking examples. Globalization accentuates each of these tendencies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Suzuki Shogo

The importance of 'Othering' in China's national identity: Sino-Japanese relations as a stage of identity conflicts
in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 20, Number 1, March , 23-47

Recent studies have increasingly argued that the Chinese leadership uses Japan's imperialistic past as a tool for domestic and political bargaining. However, this argument fails to appreciate the embedded nature of negative memories within China. This article forwards an alternative argument by situating Japanese militaristic history within Chinese national identity. By examining a wide range of Chinese primary sources often underutilized by International Relations (IR) analysts, it moves beyond narrow, elite-centred explanations. The article argues that modern China's national identity has been characterized by an acute sense of 'victimhood' arising from its turbulent interactions with International Society, and that Japan plays an important role as an 'Other' which enhances China's self-image as a 'victim'. Furthermore, it claims that Japan's emergence as an 'Other' in China's national identity is a by-product of China's attempts to regain its social and moral legitimacy within a post-Cold War International Society increasingly dominated by the Western powers. By highlighting the deeply entrenched nature of Japanese imperialist history in China's national identity, the article also shows that history is more than just part of a 'toolkit' that can be rationally utilized by the political elite, and that states are moral agents that are deeply affected by history.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Kaplan Danny
What can the concept of friendship contribute to the study of national identity?
in Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 13, Issue 2, April 2007 , 225–244

This article argues that understanding national identity requires a reappraisal of friendship as a political sentiment. Although studies of nationalism underscored the transformation of face-to-face interactions into ties between ‘distant others,’ they failed to acknowledge how sentiments of friendship may be involved. First, following theorising in political philosophy, the Aristotelian paradigm of civic friendship is conceptually applicable to modern civil society based on characteristics such as volition, commitment and sentiment. Second, feminist scholarship has delineated how an implicit discourse of male fraternity underlies the historical realisations of the modern social contract and mediates the notions of both patriotism and nationalism. Finally, networks of male associations and transformations in collective affection from small settings to large-scale societies contributed to the magnification of a politics of friendship. Consequently, rather than viewing fraternal friendship as a relic of traditional societies, it should be studied as a unique aspect of modern nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 2.Nationalism
Mihelj Sabina
‘Faith in nation comes in different guises’: modernist versions of religious nationalism
in Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 13, Issue 2, April 2007 , 265–284

Many scholars of nationalism seem to assume that religious nationalism is inherently and necessarily hostile to the secular nation-state and to modern developments in general. The present paper challenges this conviction by drawing

on recent debates among sociologists of religion, and it points to the existence of modernist versions of religious nationalism that acknowledge the legitimacy of the secular nation-state and are generally sympathetic to modern developments. It examines one of the most prominent manifestations of this variety of nationalism, namely Protestant modernist nationalism. After a brief consideration of cases from nineteenth century Europe, the remainder of the paper focuses on the modernist religious nationalisms arising in post-Cold War Eastern Europe, with a special focus on Slovenia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Moro Francesco N.
Bobbio internazionalista: democrazia e guerra in un dialogo mai avvenuto con Raymond Aron
in Teoria Politica, Vol. 22, Fascicolo 3 , 24 pp

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Cingari Salvatore
Carlo Cattaneo e il carattere della storia d'Italia. Di alcune recenti riedizioni
in Teoria Politica, Vol. 23, Fascicolo 1 , 8 pp

No abstract available

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

En retraçant les origines du mouvement La Fédération, cet article entend illustrer les métamorphoses de la troisième voie personnaliste et communautaire dans les années 1940 : du corporatisme au fédéralisme. Parmi les premiers et principaux mouvements français à mobiliser en faveur d'une Europe unie, La Fédération est aussi le produit des investissements qui ont vu le jour sous le régime de Vichy en faveur d'une Révolution nationale. En analysant les reclassements et les reconversions qui ont favorisé les continuités idéologiques et pratiques de la troisième voie, cet article entend plus généralement s'interroger sur la structure des clivages politiques qui ont pris corps au lendemain de la guerre autour de l'enjeu européen.

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.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Hayward Clarissa Rile
Democracy's Identity Problem: Is "Constitutional Patriotism" the Answer?
in Constellations, Vol. 14, Issue 2 June , 182-196

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Mom Karel
Democratic and perpetual peace: Kant and contemporary peace politics
in Theoria, 110 (August 2006)

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Rosenfeld Michel
Habermas's Call for Cosmopolitan Constitutional Patriotism in an Age of Global Terror: A Pluralist Appraisal
in Constellations, Vol. 14, Issue 2 June , 159-181

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Ferroni Giulio
La conversione laica di "Ulisse"
in Reset, Numero 99, Gennaio / Febbraio , 80-82

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Guderzo Giulio
Mario Albertini dalla sinistra liberale all'impegno federalista (1946-1957)
in Politico (Il), n. 214, anno LXXII, gennaio-aprile

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Mashaw Jerry L.
Reluctant Nationalists: Federal Administration and Administrative Law in the Republican Era, 1801-1829
in Yale Law Journal (The), Vol. 116, n. 8, June , 1636-1741

In 1801 the Jeffersonian Republicans took charge of Congress, the presidency, and the national administration, determined to roll back the state-building excesses of their Federalist predecessors. In this effort they were partially successful. But the tide of history and the demands of a growing nation confounded their ambitions. While reclaiming democracy they also built administrative capacity.
This Article examines administrative structure and accountability in the Republican era in an attempt to understand the "administrative law" of the early nineteenth century. That inquiry proceeds through two extended case studies: the Jeffersonian embargo of 1807-1809 and the multi-decade federal effort to survey and sell the ever-expanding "public domain." The first was the most dramatic regulation of commerce attempted by an American national government either before or since. The second began a land office business that dominated the political and legal consciousness of the nation for nearly a century. The embargo tested the limits of administrative coercion and revealed an escalating conflict between the necessities of regulatory administration and judicial review in common law forms. The sale of the public domain required the creation of the first mass administrative adjudication system in the United States and revealed both the ambitions and the limits of congressional control of administration in a polity ideologically devoted to assembly government.
Together these cases describe the early-nineteenth-century approach to a host of familiar topics in contemporary administrative law: presidential versus congressional control of administration, the propriety and forms of administrative adjudication, policy implementation via general rules, and the appropriate role of judicial review. Perhaps most significantly, both the embargo episode and the efforts to privatize the public domain demonstrate the singular importance of internal administrative control and accountability in maintaining neutrality and consistency in the application of federal law. This "internal law of administration" remains both a crucial and an understudied aspect of American

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations
Müller Jan-Werner
Three Objections to Constitutional Patriotism
in Constellations, Vol. 14, Issue 2 June , 197-209

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Chernilo Daniel
A Quest for Universalism: Re-assessing the Nature of Classical Social Theory's Cosmopolitanism
in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 10, No. 1, February 2007 , 17-35

This article re-assesses classical social theory's relationship with cosmopolitanism. It begins by briefly reconstructing the universalistic thrust that is core to cosmopolitanism and then argues that the rise of classical social theory is marked by the tension of how to retain, but in a renovated form, cosmopolitanism's original universalism. On the one hand, as the heir of the tradition of the Enlightenment, classical social theory remains fully committed to cosmopolitanism's universalism. On the other, however, it needed to rejuvenate that commitment to universalism so that it could work without the normative burden that its traditional natural law elements now represented in the modern context. The article then argues that, in the cases of Karl Marx, Georg Simmel, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, they all started to differentiate the claim to universalism into three different realms: (1) the normative idea of a single modern society that encompasses the whole of humanity; (2) the conceptual definition of what the social element in modern social relations is; and (3) the methodological justification of how to generate adequate empirical knowledge. The conclusion is that, despite differences and shortcomings, it is precisely this claim to universalism that makes classical social theory classical.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Durin Guillaume
Amitai Etzioni et Michael Walzer face aux relations internationales: comparaison de deux
in Etudes Internationales, 1, Mars 2007

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Cabrillo F.
Autonomias y unidad de mercado
in Nueva Revista de Politica Cultura y arte (Spagna), n. 109

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Shorten Andrew
Borders and Belonging: Recent Work in Cosmopolitan Philosophy
in European Journal of Political Theory, Vol. 6, n. 2, April , 227-238

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Hurd Ian
Breaking and Making Norms: American Revisionism and Crises of Legitimacy
in International Politics , Vol. 44. n. 2-3, March / May , 194-213

International norms are influential when they are seen as legitimate, and recent American behaviour may undermine the legitimacy of norms on the use of force. I examine three kinds of legitimacy crisis that might arise from American revisionism. First, the US threatens to delegitimate the norms that it challenges, particularly on military preemption. Second, it threatens to undermine its own influence by disassociating American power from one source of legitimation. Finally, it may negate the basic idea of American hegemony as that term is understood in constructivist scholarship and so transform the structure of the international system. Any of these might lead to a crisis, though of different kinds. The American challenge to the customary law on preemption threatens to delegitimize both the existing norms and the social basis of US power, while also attempting to legitimize American interests and new understandings of the norms. It therefore shows the productive and destructive aspects of the power of legitimation in world politics. Legitimation is the link between states and the normative structures of international society.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Weinert Matthew S.
Bridging the Human Rights—Sovereignty Divide: Theoretical Foundations of a Democratic Sovereignty
in Human Rights Review, Volume 8, Number 2 / January-March 2007 , 5-32

Human rights and sovereignty are generally construed as disputatious, if not entirely incompatible; the liability of the former constrains the license of the latter. This article challenges the certitude of that notion and argues that democratic, isocratic, and humanistic elements, or what may be thought of as precursors of human rights, are actually embedded in early theories of sovereignty, including what I call Bodin's hierarchical, Althusius' confederative, Hobbes' singular, and Hegel's progressive/constitutional sovereignty. Despite the differences in governmental structure to which each attaches sovereignty, each disassociates sovereignty from its agents (who does the work of supreme authority) and aligns it to its end (the good of citizens). From them I derive eight these to ground a democratic, human rights friendly conception of sovereignty, which aids in bridging the divide between human rights advocacy and sovereign defenders.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Wiener Antje
Contested Meanings of Norms: A Research Framework
in Comparative European Politics, n. 1, vol. 5, april , 1-17

ABSTRACT: Constitutionalism is 'a legal limitation on government' and 'an antithesis of arbitrary rule.' It is this aspect of constitutionalism which the contributions to this special issue discuss with reference to various forms of governance beyond the state. It focuses on accommodating cultural diversity within the constitutional framework of one State (e.g. Canada) and on addressing recognition in a constitutional framework beyond the State (e.g. the European Union, the United Nations, or, the World Trade Organization). Once constitutional norms are dealt with outside their sociocultural context of origin, a potentially conflictive situation emerges based on de-linking two sets of social practices (i.e. cultural and organizational practices). The article argues that the potential for conflict caused by moving fundamental norms such as human rights, citizenship, sovereignty or the rule of law outside the bounded territory of states a decoupling of the customary from the organizational occurs, which creates a situation of enhanced contestedness. That is, through this transfer between contexts the meaning of norms becomes contested — as differently socialized individuals (politicians, civil servants, NGO activitis, parliamentarians or lawyers trained in different legal traditions) seek to interpret them. That is, while in supranational contexts actors may agree on the validity of a particular norm, say for example human rights, that agreement may not be recognised outside these limited negotiating contexts. Subsequently, associative connotations with normative meaning is likely to differ according to experience with norm-use. It is therefore important to 'recover' the hidden interrelation between cultural and organizational practices. Both contribute to the interpretation of meanings that are entailed in fundamental norms which are, in turn, constitutive for democratic governance beyond the state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Stuurman Siep
Cosmopolitan Egalitarianism in the Enlightenment: Anquetil Duperron on India and America
in Journal of the History of Ideas, Volume 68, Number 2, April , 255-278

This article discusses the egalitarian ideas of the French Orientalist Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil Duperron, showing that they inform his writings on Zoroastrianism and India, his critique of Montesquieu's theory of Oriental Despotism, as well as his later defense of the Arctic peoples of America and Eurasia. It further shows that Anquetil's global egalitarianism was part of his project for a comparative study of world religions and civilizations. Anquetil's case fits into the recent historiography of the Enlightenment, which has underlined the importance of strong currents of critique of European expansion and Eurocentrism in eighteenth-century thought.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Regev Motti
Cultural Uniqueness and Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism
in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 10, No. 1, February 2007 , 123-138

Aesthetic cosmopolitanism is conceptualized here as a cultural condition in which late modern ethno-national cultural uniqueness is associated with contemporary cultural forms like film and pop-rock music, and as such it is produced from within the national framework. The social production of aesthetic cosmopolitanism is analyzed through elaborations on Bourdieu's field theory, as an outcome of the intersection of and interplay between global fields of art and fields of national culture. A sociological explanation for the emergence of aesthetic cosmopolitanism is proposed. It focuses on claims by social sectors within national contexts for status and recognition of their own contemporary cultural

uniqueness.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Yetman James
Currency Unions, Trade Flows and Capital Flows
in Pacific Economic Review, May 2007 - Vol. 12 Issue 2 , 189-

Trade within currency unions is much larger than outside of currency unions, even after factoring in many relevant variables. The existing empirical evidence is based on reduced form models of trade, and therefore indicates correlation between but neither causality nor mechanism. This paper argues that the causal relationship runs from currency unions to trade, and then considers two possible mechanisms behind this: currency union membership: reduces trade resistance or reduces investment resistance. We argue that both mechanisms are required to explain the observed economic impact of currency union membership.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Sellars John
Deleuze and cosmopolitanism
in Radical Philosophy, Issue: 142 - March/April 2007

The status of the political within the work of Gilles Deleuze has recently become a topic of contention.1 Two recent books argue the case for two extremes among a range of possible interpretations. At one end of the spectrum, Peter Hallward has argued that Deleuze's personal ethic of deterritorialization and self-destruction is so disengaged with the actuality of social relations that it is unable to offer any serious political philosophy.2 At the other end of the spectrum, Manuel De Landa outlines in his most recent book an entire social and political theory modelled upon Deleuze and Guattari's ontology of machinic assemblages.3 In what follows I offer a contribution to this literature on Deleuze's political philosophy.4 To be more precise I should say Deleuze and Guattari's political philosophy, for Deleuze's most explicit comments on politics appear in the co-authored Anti-Oedipus and A Thousand Plateaus. If Anti-Oedipus is the critical and destructive polemic, then A Thousand Plateaus is the creative and constructive manifesto, and so my focus shall be on the latter. In particular I shall focus upon the 'plateau' entitled '1227: Treatise on Nomadology – The War Machine', but I shall also draw upon material from Deleuze's solo work Difference and Repetition that prefigures the central theme of that section. I shall argue that the political philosophy developed by Deleuze and Guattari shares much in common with, and should be seen as part of, the cosmopolitan tradition within political thinking. This broad tradition holds that all human beings belong to a single global community and that this universal community is more fundamental than the local political states into which individuals are born. As we shall see, this tradition has its origins with the ancient Cynics and Stoics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Brandalise Adone
Democrazia e decostituzionalizzazione
in Filosofia Politica, n. 3, Dicembre , 403-414

The article analyses the contemporary crisis of the State in terms of “de-constitutionalization”. This concept means the impossibility to describe the process of the constitutional transformations, which is taking place in Western democratic systems, through the modern language of “Verfassung “ as expression of the political unity of society.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Haftel Yoram
Designing for Peace: Regional Integration Arrangements, Institutional Variation, and Militarized Interstate Disputes
in International Organization, issue 1, vol. 61, january , 217-237

ABSTRACT: Does institutional variation have implications for questions of conflict and peace? Theory indicates that it does, but extant studies that address this question treat such institutions as homogenous. Building on recent theoretical advances, I argue that cooperation on a wide array of economic issues and regular meetings of high-level officials provide member-states with valuable information regarding the interests and resolve of their counterparts. This, in turn, reduces uncertainty and improves the prospects of a peaceful resolution of interstate disputes. To test the effect of these two institutional features on the level of militarized interstate disputes (MIDs), I present an original data set that measures variation in institutional design and implementation across a large number of regional integration arrangements (RIAs) in the 1980s and 1990s. Employing multivariate regression techniques and the regional unit of analysis, I find that a wider scope of economic activity and regular meetings among high-level officials mitigate violent conflict. These results remain intact after controlling for alternative explanations and addressing concerns of endogeneity

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Montabes Pereira J., Ortega Villodres y Enrique C., Pérez Nieto G.
Electoral systems and electoral support of regionalist parties in Western Europe
in Revista espanola de ciencia politica, n. 15 , 93 - 122

This paper examines the impact of electoral systems on the success of regionalist parties in national elections held in 22 Western European regions from 1980 to 2004. Our study covers 30 regionalist parties, only those usually achieving more than one per cent of the regional vote in the period under observation. Electoral systems are defined in terms of three main components: ballot structure, constituency magnitude and electoral formula. In particular, we focus on the effects of these elements on multipartism and on support for regionalist parties. Electoral results are, in turn, analysed at constituency level. The analysis of 1622 district election results suggests two main conclusions:

proportional systems clearly encourage multipartism but there is no evidence that they foster support for regionalist parties.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Giddens Anthony
Estados nacionales y violencia
in **Relaciones internacionales : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales** , N° 5 Noviembre 2006

Vivimos en un mundo en relación con el cual las fuentes tradicionales de la teoría sociológica no parecen tenernos mucho que decir, especialmente aquellas formas de teoría social ligadas a la política liberal y socialista. El mundo se tambalea al borde de un desastre nuclear que parece sustraerse a todo control. Lo que Marx llamaba anarquía del mercado aparece en nuestro tiempo como un fenómeno internacional. Vivimos en lo que Wallerstein (1964) llama una economía capitalista mundial en la que las relaciones económicas capitalistas cobran un alcance mundial. Pero, lo que es aún más importante, vivimos en un sistema de estados nacionales que no tiene precedente en la historia, en el que una frágil igualdad en el armamento de las dos principales superpotencias parece constituir el único freno a la anarquía del orden internacional.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Söder Hans-Peter
From universal history to globalism: What are and for what purposes do we study European ideas?
in **History of European Ideas**, Volume 33, Issue 1, March , 72-86

Globalism is probably the most frequently used term describing our current age. Found in many contexts, it is often a vague concept referring to a host of different figurations of post-industrial society. European expansion, the growth of the global economy, mass immigration and the planetary expansion of international relations are merely some of the phenomena associated with globalism. Yet globalism taken in its most neutral form of global history is not merely a trendy catch-all phrase for the challenges of our age but has its origins in the efforts of the enlightenment—to rewrite the theological universal histories of the Middle Ages. There is a close relationship between the historiography of universal history and the current ideology of globalism. By juxtaposing the two main strands of universal history (the universal history of mankind vs. the cyclical history of individual peoples) to the problem of European identity, I show that the theoretical problems which caused the demise of universal history continue to plague globalism. Such an analysis of the ideological foundations of globalism is central not only to the current debate on the (re-) construction of European history, but also in the discussion on what constitutes European ideas.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Tilly Charles
Guerra y construcción del estado como crimen organizado
in **Relaciones internacionales : revista publ. por el Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales** , N° 5 Noviembre 2006

Si el negocio de la protección representa el crimen organizado en su versión más sofisticada, entonces la guerra y la construcción del estado – paradigma del negocio legítimo de la protección – se convierten en su representación más importante. Sin tener la pretensión de calificar a todos los generales y estadistas de asesinos o ladrones quiero, no obstante, poner de relieve el valor de esta analogía. Por lo menos, en el caso europeo de los últimos siglos, la visión de los war makers y de los constructores del estado como agentes coercitivos y empresarios egoístas se asemeja más a la realidad que el resto de posibilidades existentes, como serían: la idea de un contrato social, la idea de un mercado libre en el cual los ejércitos y los estados ofrecen servicios a unos consumidores deseosos o la idea de una sociedad que, compartiendo normas y expectativas comunes, demanda un determinado tipo de gobierno.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Sznaider Natan
Hannah Arendt's Jewish Cosmopolitanism: Between the Universal and the Particular
in **European Journal of Social Theory**, Volume 10, No. 1, February 2007 , 112-122

This article conceptualizes the lofty term of cosmopolitanism from people's historical experience. It attempts to find a bridge between theory and life. Many writers now maintain that cosmopolitanism is no longer a dream, but rather the substance of social reality - and that it is increasingly the nation-state and our particular identities that are figments of our imagination, clung to by our memories. The aim of this article is to concretize this argument and demonstrate how some of the Jewish intellectuals who emerged from World War II and the Holocaust argued passionately about the status of their Jewishness and how this related to abstract and universal ideals of modernity and human rights. The article focuses on Hannah Arendt's responses to her critics instead of her vast theoretical work to illustrate this point. In responding to her critics, Arendt came closest to providing a formula for a concept of cosmopolitanism, which attempts to square the circle between the universal and the particular.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Mongia Radhika V.
Historicizing State Sovereignty: Inequality and the Form of Equivalence
in **Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Volume 49, Issue 2, April , 384-411

The overarching argument of this paper is not a new one; others have made it in various forms. The argument suggests, in Bernard Cohn's simple formulation, that metropole and colony should be treated in a unified field of analysis. Reconstituting the analytical frame in the manner Cohn suggests has a range of implications not only for the study of colonialism but also, and perhaps more importantly, for understanding current geopolitical conjunctures. The suggestion diverges from the conventional analytical approach that divides and demarcates the world into separable entities—whether they be described as the mutually exclusive categories of metropole and colony, Europe and its Others, a set of distinct nations, first and third world, or indeed of areas and regions—and studies these distinct entities in isolation from, or in comparison with, each other. In contrast, Cohn's proposition asks for an analysis of how such demarcations are produced and of how, rather than being discrete entities with autochthonous formations, they are co-produced through a complex array of related and relational historical events. It is a call, in other words, to shift the

analytical framework from one that functions, implicitly or explicitly, on the basis of comparison, to one that operates on the basis of co-production. Such an approach, this essay demonstrates, is especially necessary for a thoroughly historicized understanding of nation-state formation, particularly since the nation-state constitutes a preeminent category of and for comparative analysis.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Langlois Anthony J.
Human Rights and Cosmopolitan Liberalism
in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Vol. 10, n. 1, March , 29-45

It may be suggested that much of what goes by the name of contemporary cosmopolitanism is liberalism envisioned at the global level. It has become a common claim that the liberalism which provides the ethical content for cosmopolitanism is not tolerant enough of diverse ways of living; that liberalism's claim to be a just referee between competing conceptions of the good life in fact hides a failure to treat diverse forms of life with an egalitarian hand. This essay argues this is a correct observation that is in principle a good thing, not something to be derided. At least from the liberal point of view, part of the misunderstanding lies in the tendency to translate liberalism's claim to be egalitarian towards all individuals into the claim that this means liberalism must be egalitarian towards all the conceptions of the good life that are held by these individuals. Such an extension of liberalism's tolerance and egalitarianism would in fact undermine liberalism's core values and render the cosmopolitan project a series of contradictions in terms.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Keal Paul
Indigenous Self-Determination and the Legitimacy of Sovereign States
in International Politics , Vol. 44. n. 2-3, March / May , 287-305

Self-determination is the cardinal right sought by Indigenous peoples and in practice it may require states to accept divisible sovereignty. For most states, self-determination is framed by decolonization and is applicable to Indigenous peoples only in limited senses of self-government within state structures. Self-determination, however, is enshrined in key human rights documents and by denying Indigenous peoples the right to it, they jeopardize the legitimacy of the human rights regime, and the legitimacy of the United Nations as a source of progressive international law. They also widen the rift between international and world society raising important questions for the legitimacy of the sovereignty system.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Reus-Smit Christian
International Crises of Legitimacy
in International Politics , Vol. 44. n. 2-3, March / May , 157-174

What is an international crisis of legitimacy? And how does one resolve such crises? This article addresses these conceptual issues, laying the theoretical foundations for the special issue as a whole. An actor or institution experiences a crisis of legitimacy, it is argued, when the level of social recognition that its identity, interests, practices, norms, or procedures are rightful declines to the point where it must either adapt (by reconstituting or recalibrating the social bases of its legitimacy, or by investing more heavily in material practices of coercion or bribery) or face disempowerment. International crises of legitimacy can be resolved only through recalibration, which necessarily involves the communicative reconciliation of the actor's or institution's social identity, interests, practices, norms, or procedures, with the normative expectations of other actors within its realm of political action.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Keskitalo Carina
International Region-Building
in Cooperation and Conflict, n. 2, vol. 42, june , 187-205

ABSTRACT: The Arctic has emerged as a region in international cooperation during the past 20—30 years, as manifest in the creation of the Arctic Council and its predecessor, the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy, and in the incidence of a host of scientific and political cooperation projects. The region now includes eight states over the circumpolar area; namely, the United States, Russia, Canada and the Nordic countries. How this international region has developed over time is investigated with reference to the conception of regions as understood in region-building discourse. Accordingly, the Arctic as a region that is not natural or given but as constructed by and for particular actors and interests is studied. It is concluded that the regional superstructure includes conceptions of the North that draw on images developed in historical exploration and research, shaped by a discourse of the Arctic representing North American more than Nordic understandings.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Fine Robert, Boon Vivienne
Introduction: Cosmopolitanism: Between Past and Future
in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 10, No. 1, February 2007 , 5-16

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Rametta Gaetano
Le “difficoltà” del potere costituente
in Filosofia Politica, n. 3, Dicembre , 391-402

The crisis of the State implies the crisis of the related conceptual framework, that was centered on the category of Sovereignty as expression of political unity. The notion of “constituent power” was the crucial one in order to express the genesis of the State, and also to construct a “democratic “ authorisation for the government. For all these reasons, the

use of this notion does not seem to move beyond the political language and structure of the modern State. The article criticizes also the notion of “multitude”, which has been put both in connection and in opposition with the concept of “constituent power”, and which implies a metaphysical identity between ontology and politics, by confusing practical responsibility for action with philosophical thinking.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

Blakeney Williams Louise

Overcoming the "Contagion of Mimicry": The Cosmopolitan Nationalism and Modernist History of Rabindranath Tagore and W. B. Yeats

in **American Historical Review**, Vol. 112, n. 1, February , 69 - 100

Rabindranath Tagore and William Butler Yeats first met in 1912. The Indian poet, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature the next year, was very impressed by the Irish poet who would win the same prize ten years later. Tagore compared Yeats's work to that of the greatest ancient Indian poets and claimed that Yeats was "someone capable of comprehending the world through the un-trammelled power of his soul."1 Equally as enthusiastic, Yeats described Tagore as "a great poet—if not the greatest poet at the present time in the world."2 The poets admired one another not just for their creative writing, but also for their contributions to the nationalist movements of their respective countries. Tagore credited Yeats's return to "the ancient poetic tradition of Ireland" for the "national awakening" of Ireland, while Yeats claimed that Tagore's poetry was crucial for a "new Renaissance" that had "been born in" India.3 Many of their countrymen agreed that the two authors were important representatives of their nations' genius. Tagore's poems about India, for example, were considered so moving that one of them was chosen for India's national anthem in 1947, while Yeats was so distinguished that he was appointed one of independent Ireland's first senators.4 1

Yet, although Yeats and Tagore were lauded as the greatest poets of their countries, they were not particularly well liked by anticolonial nationalists. Both authors were criticized harshly, and were accused periodically of being pro-British elitists rather than true nationalists. Some commentators are still suspicious of them today. Ashis Nandy, for example, argues that Tagore "rejected the idea of nationalism," while Stephen Regan writes that "the nationalist sentiments Yeats espouses are essentially those of déclassé Irish Protestantism."5 That the greatest national poets of two widely separated British colonies could find themselves accused of betraying their own nations is an interesting paradox.6 It also is a problem connected directly to academic debates in the fields of nationalism and imperialism. Tagore and Yeats were nationalists, but they have been misunderstood because their particular forms of nationalism, which were remarkably similar, were different from those of more well known nationalists. Rather, the nationalism they espoused resembles the "new" cosmopolitanism that many scholars in the past decade have attempted to define, the study of which has been called "a revolution in the social sciences.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

Ruane Joseph, Todd Jennifer

Path Dependence in Settlement Processes: Explaining Settlement in Northern Ireland

in **Political Studies**, Volume 55, Issue 2, June , 442-458

The recent literature on path dependence provides a model that can be used in explanation of ethnic conflict and

settlement processes. Using Northern Ireland as a case study, this article identifies path dependent patterns of conflict embedded in long-term processes of political development whose change may interrupt these patterns. It highlights the importance of long-term state trajectories in constituting and reproducing these patterns, the generation of 'endogenous' processes of change and the impact of wider geopolitical processes in strengthening these. It shows how and why factors such as power, perception, networks and institutions vary in their impact on conflict and explains when they work together to produce settlement.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Nijman Janne E.
Paul Ricoeur and International Law: Beyond 'The End of the Subject'. Towards a Reconceptualization of International Legal Personality
in Leiden Journal of International Law, Volume 20 (2007) Issue 1 , 25-64

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Mayer Philippe - von Thadden Rudolf,
Plaidoyer pour la culture européenne
in Revue des deux mondes, Mars

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Mayer Philippe - von Thadden Rudolf,
Plaidoyer pour la culture européenne
in Revue des deux mondes, Mars

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Abts Koen, Rummens Stefan
Populism versus Democracy
in Political Studies, Volume 55, Issue 2, June , 405-424

This article provides a comparative conceptual analysis of the logic of populism and the logic of (constitutional) democracy. Populism is defined as a thin-centered ideology which advocates the sovereign rule of the people as a homogeneous body. The logic of this ideology is further developed in reference to the work of Carl Schmitt and is shown

to generate all the characteristics typically ascribed to populism. The logic of democracy is analyzed on the basis of the work of Claude Lefort and defined as a regime in which the locus of power remains an empty place. This analysis replaces the widespread model of constitutional democracy as a paradoxical combination of a constitutional and a democratic pillar. This two-pillar model fails to appreciate the internal coherence and some of the main features of the (constitutional) democratic logic. Thereby, the two-pillar approach gives rise to an understanding of populism as continuous with the democratic promise of constitutional democracy. In contrast, our analysis explains populism as the closure of the empty place of democracy. This highlights the antagonistic discontinuity between the logic of populism and the logic of democracy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Foradori Paolo
Rambo democrazia e politica estera americana. Un contributo al dibattito sulla dimensione internazionale dei processi di democratizzazione
in Teoria Politica, Vol. 22, Fascicolo 3 , 17 pp

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Tampio Nicholas
Rawls and the Kantian Ethos
in Polity, Volume 39, Number 1, January , 79-102

John Rawls had a life-long interest in Kant. To provide a new perspective on Rawls's political thinking, to illuminate Kant's legacy for political theory, and to contribute to current debates about the Enlightenment, I track how Rawls interprets and transforms Kant's legacy. In this essay, I show how Rawls reconceptualizes four key Kantian activities: the identification of the problem, the engagement with common sense, the construction of principles, and the authentication of principles. I defend Rawls from the charge—made by Allan Bloom, Michael Sandel, and Allen Wood, among others—that Rawls fundamentally misunderstands or misuses Kant. The basis of my defense is that Rawls considers a critical intellectual sensibility (or ethos), rather than a specific doctrine (e.g., the categorical imperative), as the most valuable component of Kant's legacy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Jackson Robert
Sovereignty and its Presuppositions: Before 9/11 and After
in Political Studies, Volume 55, Issue 2, June , 297-317

Is the modern states system in terminal decline? Are we witnessing a great transformation in that regard? Are the events of 9/11 indicative of that? Or is state sovereignty evolving, yet again, in response to scientific, technological, economic and social changes – as it has done throughout the post-medieval era of its existence? That latter line of argument is put

forward in this essay.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Norris Andrew
Sovereignty, Exception, and Norm
in Journal of Law and Society, Volume 34 Issue 1 - March , 31–45

Carl Schmitt's Political Theology is the locus classicus of contemporary discussions of sovereignty. I argue that Schmitt's conception of sovereignty is excessively metaphysical and that it posits an incoherent 'sovereign' ability to decide what shall count as normal. Schmitt follows and radicalizes the late Bodin's claims – themselves the product of a political theology, namely, Bodin 's conversion to Judaism – regarding the necessity of an indivisible and absolute sovereignty. In each, the relation between the executive and the other parts of government is reduced to what Schmitt describes as an 'either/or.' This move is a disastrous mistake. The question is not whether exceptions and emergencies such as terrorist attacks are real, but to what extent the executive branch can rightly claim a monopoly on the ability to determine whether an exception exists, and whether its resulting actions will be permanently unchecked and unregulated. Recent work by Bruce Ackerman is a better guide in these matters than the metaphysics of either Schmitt or Bodin.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Acharya Amitav
State Sovereignty After 9/11: Disorganised Hypocrisy
in Political Studies, Volume 55, Issue 2, June , 274-296

This article examines the implications of the 9/11 attacks and the US-led 'global war on terror' for debates about state sovereignty. To support its attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq, the Bush administration put forth a 'selective sovereignty' thesis that would legitimise intervention in states that are accused of supporting terrorists. This new rationale for intervention was paradoxically justified as a means of ensuring a 'well-ordered world of sovereign states', which had been imperilled by transnational terrorist networks. This article argues that the 'selective sovereignty' thesis exaggerates the challenge posed by terrorist organisations to Westphalian sovereignty, and understates the US's own unprincipled violation of its core norm of non-intervention. A related argument of this article is that on the face of it, the 'selective sovereignty' approach fits the notion of 'organised hypocrisy' put forward by Stephen Krasner, which refers to 'the presence of long-standing norms [in this case non-intervention] that are frequently violated' for the sake of some 'higher principles' – violations that are generally tolerated by the international community. But the higher principles evoked by the US to justify its war on Iraq, such as the human rights of the Iraqis, and democracy promotion in the Middle East, are now clearly seen to have been a façade to mask the geopolitical and ideological underpinnings of the invasion. In this sense, the war on terror has revived national security and naked self-interest as the principal rationale for intervention, notwithstanding the self-serving efforts by some Bush administration officials to 'graft' the 'selective sovereignty' thesis on to the evolving humanitarian intervention principle. This policy framework is hypocrisy for sure, but as the international response to the war on Iraq (including the lack of UN authorisation for the war and the transatlantic discord

it generated) demonstrates, it should be viewed more as a case of ‘disorganised hypocrisy’.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Minkkinen Panu
The Ethos of Sovereignty: A Critical Appraisal
in Human Rights Review, Volume 8, Number 2 / January-March 2007 , 33-51

Taking as its starting point the commonly held claim about the obscurity of the concept of sovereignty, the article first identifies a fundamental paradox between the classical Westphalian notion of state sovereignty and human rights. In the rhetoric of international politics, attempts to establish the responsibility of states to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms within their jurisdictions are often countered with claims referring to the "sovereign equality" of all states and the subsequent principle of non-intervention. The article suggests that in a more contemporary understanding of sovereignty the responsibility of a state to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms is seen as a constituent ingredient of the state itself. The chapter continues to elaborate how this change has come about. The classical notion of sovereignty is illustrated through a reading of Bodin's Six Books of the Commonwealth (1576). In Bodin's world, sovereignty is a constitutive element of the state, and the possibility of a multitude of sovereign entities in a global world logically denying the possibility of any "supra-national" normative framework is still a minor consideration. This possibility is only worked out with the emergence of international law. In both classics such as Emmerich de Vattel's The Law of Nations (1758) and more contemporary treatises such as Lassa Oppenheim's International Law (1905), state sovereignty has become conditional to recognition by other sovereign states and a subsequent membership in the "family of nations." The conditional membership in the "family of nations" involves a contradiction: a sovereign state must act in a "dignified" manner, it must use its sovereignty with "restraint" by respecting the human rights and fundamental freedoms of its citizens, i.e., it must employ its sovereignty in a non-sovereign way. This restriction of sovereignty, addressed as "ethical sovereignty," becomes a constitutive element in a post-Westphalian state and a central ingredient in the contemporary doctrine of humanitarian intervention. The article further criticizes the various uses (and abuses) of "ethical sovereignty" in the regulation of "failing" and "rogue" states and concludes by identifying its general political dangers. Finally, with reference to Jacques Derrida's Rogues (2003), the article suggests a more radical reappraisal of the concept of sovereignty.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Kantola Johanna
The Gendered Reproduction of the State in International Relations
in British Journal of Politics & International Relations , Vol. 9, Issue 2, May , 270-283

This article focuses on feminist debates about the state in International Relations (IR). I develop an argument about the gendered reproduction of the state that is based on a Foucauldian notion of power and a Butlerian deconstruction of gender. This approach challenges the unity of the state, power and gender, and the state becomes the gendered effect of discursive and structural processes. I critically discuss recent arguments for the need to move ‘beyond the state’ and to abandon the category of the state altogether, arguing that rather than abandoning the state, their contribution is to draw attention to the need to focus on the intersections of local, national and global levels when analysing states. The article focuses then on the ways in which feminist debates challenge the IR notion of ‘sovereign states’. Feminist

scholars problematise three issues in particular: sovereignty, the inside/outside dichotomy and the fiction of the state as a person. I suggest that these debates fundamentally refute the unity of the state upon which some of IR theory continues to rely. Finally, I discuss the state as an effect of discursive and structural processes, which shifts the focus to the gendered reproduction of the state

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Tullock Gordon
The balance of power: essential or inessential to the international order?
in Defence and Peace Economics, Volume 17, Issue 6 December 2006 , pages 677 - 680

On the basis of the historical record of power relationships among countries, reaching back to antiquity, as surveyed in this paper record, it rather looks as if the balance of power among states is basically an exceptional phenomenon, although sometimes it lasted a long time. The present situation in which the world is dominated by one non-aggressive power certainly looks at least as exceptional.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Nakhimovsky Isaac
Vattel's theory of the international order: Commerce and the balance of power in the Law of Nations
in History of European Ideas, Volume 33, Issue 2, June , 157-173

Vattel's Law of Nations (1758) claimed that a system of independent states could maintain the liberty of each without undermining the ideal of an international society. The chief institution serving this purpose was the balance of power. In Vattel's account, the balance of power could be stabilized if it operated primarily through a process of commercial preferences and restrictions. These limits on how states ought to defend themselves were grounded in Vattel's thoroughly forgotten writings on the mid-eighteenth-century luxury debates, which addressed the political economy of reforming the state and pacifying the international order. An examination of Vattel's Law of Nations in this context shows that his approach to the law of nations should not be dismissed as a capitulation to the harsh reality of international politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea
Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous
Sinclair Adriana, Byers Michael
When US Scholars Speak of ‘Sovereignty’, What Do They Mean?
in Political Studies, Volume 55, Issue 2, June , 318-340

The term ‘sovereignty’ figures prominently in international affairs and academic analysis. But does ‘sovereignty’ mean the same thing in different countries and political cultures? In this article, we examine conceptions of sovereignty as they appear in the writings of US scholars of international law and those international relations scholars who deal with international law, in order to obtain a clearer picture of what ‘sovereignty’ means in American academic discourse. At first glance, the US literature is dominated by two distinct conceptions of sovereignty: (1) a statist conception that

privileges the territorial integrity and political independence of governments regardless of their democratic or undemocratic character; (2) a popular conception that privileges the rights of peoples rather than governments, especially when widespread human rights violations are committed by a totalitarian regime. On closer examination, what seem to be two conceptions are in fact different manifestations of a single, uniquely American conception of sovereignty which elevates the United States above other countries and protects it against outside influences while concurrently maximising its ability to intervene overseas.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4.Various/Miscellaneous

Ferrara Alessandro

'Political' Cosmopolitanism and Judgment

in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 10, No. 1, February 2007 , 53-66

This article addresses the issue of future cosmopolitanism, building on a minimal reconstruction of what cosmopolitanism has been in the past. It will elucidate the notion of 'political' cosmopolitanism in its relation to a certain methodological option which is designated by the shorthand term 'judgment'. Cosmopolitanism is not a new idea but a new version of it is constituted by 'political' cosmopolitanism, bound up with a judgmentbased, as opposed to principle-based, understanding of normativity.