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# ABSTRACT BOOK

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## PREFACE

This abstract book includes all the abstracts of the papers presented at the *8<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs, 21-24 June 2010* sponsored by the Politics & International Affairs Research Unit of the Athens Institute for Education and Research (AT.IN.E.R.). In total there were 33 papers and 35 presenters, coming from 11 different countries (Australia, Belgium, Holland, Iran, Slovakia, Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Turkey, UK and USA). The conference was organized into 9 panels that included areas such as International Law & Organizations, Issues in Politics & International Affairs I, Issues in US Politics, Politics, Economics & Business, European Integration, Islam and Politics e.t.c. As it is the publication policy of the Institute, the papers presented in this conference will be considered for publication in one of the books of ATINER.

The Institute was established in 1995 as an independent academic organization with the mission to become a forum where academics and researchers from all over the world could meet in Athens and exchange ideas on their research and consider the future developments of their fields of study. Our mission is to make ATHENS a place where academics and researchers from all over the world meet to discuss the developments of their discipline and present their work. To serve this purpose, conferences are organized along the lines of well established and well defined scientific disciplines. In addition, interdisciplinary conferences are also organized because they serve the mission statement of the Institute. Since 1995, ATINER has organized more than 100 international conferences and has published over 80 books. Academically, the Institute is organized into four research divisions and nineteen

research units. Each research unit organizes at least one annual conference and undertakes various small and large research projects.

I would like to thank all the participants, the members of the organizing and academic committee and most importantly the administration staff of ATINER for putting this conference together.

Gregory T. Papanikos  
Director

## **Defining Terrorism and Lingering International Politics: International Law as a Quiet Observer**

**Upendra D. Acharya**

Assistant Professor, Gonzaga University, USA

Non-definition of terrorism has led a free and open tendency for the persons using the term leading to uncertainty as to how to fashion a legal structure to address terrorism. Such non-definition has caused international politics in limbo and international law has become a quiet observer without being able to facilitate solid standards neither for international politics nor for remedies to justice. The problem springs from the issue whether to include state actors within the definition of terrorism.

The 1937 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism failed to address state actors and led Hitler to justify his “Proclamation on the German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia. . . [in] March 1939. In this [Hitler] referred to ‘assaults on the life and liberty of minorities, and the purpose of disarming Czech troops and terrorist bands threatening the lives of minorities.’” Similarly, the non-definition approach to terrorism reflected in the post-World War II treaties has left international politics open to charges of applying double standards, which undermines the legitimacy of international law.

The question whether an act of terrorism constitutes an act of aggression in breach of Article 2(4), justifying an armed response in self-defense; or an act of aggression in breach of international peace and security justifying a collective security approach. Setting the question aside, states have acted based on unilateral security prospects further complicating politics and making international law a mere observer.

The hints of international lawlessness and unilateral vigilantism might have intensified the war of terrors between the two sides. From the viewpoint of one side, this is a justified (unilaterally, because this side has capability to move and manage military might and resources) War on Terror to protect human rights, freedoms, civilization and the (self-styled) global rule of law. On the other side, weak or failed states and stateless actors view terror as a justified response to a history of terrorism (a series of events resulting in victimization by domination, colonization, hegemonization, and the silencing of dissent).

## **The Changing Face of the American Electorate and the Possible Effects on USA Immigration Policy**

**Henry Flores**

Dean, St. Mary's University, USA

Since 1970 the American electorate has changed from one primarily composed of ethnic white persons, more than 70%, to one that is projected to be a majority racial and ethnic minority, mostly Latino, by 2050. By most estimates, the Obama Administration was swept into power by a coalition of youth and racial and ethnic minorities who feel that the United States must reverse its trend of curtailing immigration particularly from Latin America. Hispanic/Latino groups and community leaders feel that they can pressure the Obama Administration dramatically changing immigration policy because of their new found political access and electoral power. The new immigration policy, however, is not clearly formed but includes a wide range of positions from complete amnesty for the 11 million undocumented individuals residing in the United States to the "Dream Act" that is about to be submitted for consideration that will set forth a clear path to citizenship for a select group of undocumented immigrants who complete certain educational levels or serve in the United States military. Increasing the number of citizens through either unlimited access to the United States or limiting access through the "Dream Act" create a broad number of social, political and economic implications for not simply the Obama Administration but future ones as well regardless of political party.



# **The Elitist Theory of Democracy under Examination in Africa**

**C. Garcia-Rivero**

Lecturer, Burgos University, Spain

**H. Kotze**

Lecturer, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa

## **Islam in World Politics: Impacts and Implications**

**Arsalan Ghorbani Sheikhneshin**

Associate Professor, Tehran Tarbiat Moallem University, Iran

Over the past few decades, Islam has emerged as a political force on the international scene and this paper analyses the factors leading to, and the implications of, this heightening of the profile of a religion. In the political sphere, there is a wide range of emphases both in which an Islamic society might be realized, and the ways in which such a society might conduct its relations with non-Muslim world. Within these different emphases are some radical tendencies. A cluster of fringe groups, broadly referred to as Islamists, have appropriated the rhetoric of Islam, applying to a promised Islamic reality to be realized once Islam is fully applied.

This paper is driven by the concerns to address these issues. Areas that are covered include an examination of the challenges of Islamism to the Muslim world, the use of Islam as a political tool on the international scene, and its regional articulations.

**Politics and Flemish Local Tax Rates:  
A Simultaneous Spatial Panel Data Study (1992-2006)**

**Stijn Goeminne**

Professor, University College Ghent, Belgium

**Carine Smolders**

Professor, University College Ghent, Belgium

# **The History of European Integration and Turkey-EU Relations from a Cultural Perspective**

**Aylin Guney**

Associate Professor, Bilkent University, Turkey

This paper aims at analyzing the Turkey-EU relations from a historical-cultural perspective. The debate over Turkey's accession to the European Union (EU) has posed a crucial challenge for the future of the European Union. Although Turkey's European vocation has started about five decades ago with the signing of the Association (Ankara) Agreement it is still not a full member of the EU. The concern for Turkish case sat at the center stage of the European Union especially since the end of the Cold War period since the cultural aspect of the relations being highlighted especially after the Central and Eastern European enlargement of the EU. As the probability of Turkish accession became much real after the 1999 Helsinki Summit where Turkey was recognized as a candidate and after the 3 October 2005 start of the accession negotiations, the prospects for a possible Turkish membership looked much closer. This inevitably led to mainly two sets of questions: The first set of questions were more outward-looking and related to Turkey itself. Does Turkey really belong to Europe? Is Turkey European or Asian? Is Islam compatible with European values? Etc. The second set of questions were more inward-oriented and were related to the European Union itself. It comprised questions such as what is Europe? Where does Europe start and end? Where are the borders of Europe? What is Europeanness? What is European identity? This issue has now been brought into even greater focus by the latest application to join from Turkey, a state that does not neatly fit into either physical or civilisational definitions of Europe, notwithstanding its historical involvement in European power politics.

Thus, the paper first aims to analyze how the identity-building, "otherization", and inclusion-exclusion dynamics in the European integration discourses are shaped throughout the history of the European integration. Related to that, it aims to explore the role of the perceptions and image(s) of Turkey since the beginning of the European integration through a discourse analysis, since the image of Turkey and the Turkish identity seem to be the critical elements in Turkey's exclusion from the EU from time to time depending on certain time periods in the process of European integration.

# **The Autonomy Issue for the Chaldo-Assyrians in Iraq: A Realist Assessment**

**Shak Hanish**

Political Science Lead Faculty, National University, USA

The nature of the new Iraqi constitution and the inability of the Iraqi government to secure the Chaldeans-Assyrians in northern Iraq is encouraging many groups to seek different types of administrative system based on sectarian, ethnic, or religious principles.

In the case of Christians in Iraq, the idea of a safe area or autonomy in the Nineveh Plain in the north Iraq is a warm topic among many Christians political organizations, social groups, individuals, and Christian clergy. People are divided between those who support the ideas and those who oppose it. The question that arises is whether autonomy for the Christian is realistic demand and possible, or whether the establishment of such area will double the risk facing this ethnic and religious group.

Christians living in Iraq belong to an ethnic group named by various name, such as the Chaldeans, the Assyrians, the Syriac, etc. They are scattered to many areas in Iraq but their largest concentrated is Nineveh province.

Christians after the fall of the former Iraqi regime were faced with harassment, killing, and attacks, whether on their churches, businesses, or individuals. The questions raised are: how Christians would benefit from such autonomy? What is the area that could be included in such autonomy? Is autonomy realistic approach to solve Christian people's problems in Iraq? Are Christians going to benefit from it or will they be an easy target of terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism? Are Arabs or Kurds going to tolerate such drive for autonomy, which might be considered a division of Iraq?

My paper will address these questions and will give a historical background to the issue and propose possible solutions to this ethnic minority group in Iraq.

# **Revisiting the Role of the President during Caretaker Government in ensuring Credible Free Election in Bangladesh**

**Masudul Haque**

Lecturer, University of Western Sydney, Australia

Like many other countries, holding periodic free, fair and credible elections remains a big challenge in Bangladesh. Election manipulations inhibit the growth of democracy and the rule of law which generates violence including terrorism. The controversies generated from experience in holding free elections resulted in the amendment of the Bangladesh Constitution. The main aim in passing the Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act 1996 was to ensure free and fair elections through introducing a unique constitutional arrangement not replicated in any other country. The amendment provided extraordinary powers to the titular President without mechanisms of proper accountability. The two general elections held under this amendment were widely seen as very free and fair. These elections though were seen to be mostly free and fair but lacked credibility. The 3rd general election under the Thirteenth Amendment was scheduled to be held on 22 January 2007 which was postponed through a declaration of emergency in the wake of violent protests plunging the country into chaos and lawlessness. The ability to manipulate elections under the 13th Amendment clearly raises questions about the adequacy of the arrangements made under the 13th Amendment. This paper analyses the events, especially the role of the President, leading to the declaration of emergency from a constitutional point of view. The arrangements put in place by amending the constitution are also inconsistent with the basic structure of the constitution. The paper argues that successful enforcement of constitutional provisions largely depends on the political culture and the willingness of the political parties including the civil society to abide by not only the provisions of the constitution but its spirit as well. This should, however, in no way diminish the importance of formal institutional arrangements.

## **Why don't we ever learn? The Case against Liberal Empire**

**Akis Kalaitzidis**

Associate Professor, University of Central Missouri, USA

It has been argued that “liberal empire” can be the best way to promote liberalism, democracy and sometimes even freedom in the world (Ferguson 2004). Liberal Empire has been characterized as empire on the cheap (Ignatieff 2003, Boot 2002). The dominant country does not need to occupy all areas it dominates it only needs to impose its ideology on them. In this paper, I take issue with this argument and suggest that the liberal empire argument is a self-fulfilling prophecy used by dominant countries in their quest to impose the rules of engagement and world order. Using historical examples I will illustrate that the liberal empire argument is in essence the same argument that previous non-liberal empires promoted in order to justify their actions. First, there is an element of racial or cultural bias towards the dominant western cultures. Second, there is data bias that tends to exclude the success stories of former empires, these are the minority cases to be sure and yet serve to undermine the argument as whole. Third, data bias tends to ignore the impact of the empire upon the nations they dominate. Fourth, even if we assume that the data is not biased the connection between development and democracy is rather spurious. Finally, the argument that one can forgo freedom of choice, one of the main tenets of liberalism, for the sake of economic and political development is fallacious because the establishment of liberal institution requires the existence of freedom of choice to begin with.

# **The Effectiveness of Food Retail Governance for Sustainability**

**Agni Kalfagianni**

Assistant Professor, Vrije University of Amsterdam, Holland

**Doris Fuchs**

Professor, Vrije University of Amsterdam, Holland

This paper aims to evaluate the effectiveness of retail governance in addressing the environmental challenges facing the global agrifood system, today. Greenhouse gas emissions, decline of biodiversity, water pollution, pesticide use and the generation of waste are considered the new agrarian questions of this century. Crucially, the governance of such environmental strains is a rapidly emerging issue for food retail corporations, who have become key players in global agrifood governance. Retail environmental governance takes place in three distinct ways: adoption of (a) good agricultural practices and/or promotion of organic products, (b) good manufacturing practices, and (c) energy efficiency initiatives. Yet, few studies have tried to understand the actual impact of private rule-making, in general, and retail governance, in particular, in detail. Drawing on global governance literature and regime theory, this paper develops hypotheses and accordingly evaluates the effectiveness of private retail governance institutions for sustainability, in terms of their coverage, stringency, compliance and accountability mechanisms as well as distributional effects. The paper illustrates its arguments in three cases, namely GlobalGAP, the Marine Stewardship Council, and carbon footprint labelling schemes. As such, the paper advances our theoretical knowledge on private rule-making institutions and contributes empirically to political science research by making available new data on a currently understudied case of private governance.



## **Diaspora Greeks and the Greek War for Independence**

**George Kaloudis**

Professor, Rivier College, USA

Under Ottoman rule the Greeks, as Christians, were second class subjects, life was harsh, and the fate of individuals depended on erratic sultans and greedy pashas. Greeks “could find no ultimate political expression, . . . , in a traditional Islamic empire that could never admit non-Muslims to any kind of formal civic equality, let alone political parity.” (Speros Vryonis, 2) Yet the Ottomans regarded each religious community as an autonomous millet, or “nation” under its religious leaders. The Greeks were given a degree of self-rule. The Greek religious community was supervised by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Under such an administrative structure, the Orthodox Church had had considerable power. The Patriarch was not only the religious leader, but he also was the political head of the Greek community. (Steven Runciman, 185) The Church was the most important means of gaining access to the Sultan’s court. “The millet system performed one invaluable service: it made possible the survival of the Greeks through four centuries of alien rule. At the same time, it fused religion with nationalism which provided the arsenal necessary to actualize a people’s dream for independence.” (Alice Scourby, 2)

Despite the difficult circumstances regarding the Greeks throughout the Ottoman Empire, prior to the revolution of 1821, the majority of the uneducated peasants in Greece were not interested in political independence. Their primary concern was safeguarding their rights and achieving protection from arbitrary landlords and officials. The Greek war for independence was organized first and foremost by the merchant class, intellectuals, teachers, and other professionals who lived inside as well as outside the confines of the Ottoman Empire. It was especially the diaspora Greeks who provided the leadership and gave the revolution direction.

## **Deradicalisation as a Counterterrorism Strategy**

**Sayed Khatab**

Senior Researcher, Monash University, Australia

Radicalism is real enough. Also, radicalism is one step away from violence. Recent studies have confirmed that radicalism sustains terrorism at its very root. Studies also have confirmed that radicalism is growing. The growth of radicalism is always coupled with selected narratives and radical interpretations. These narratives can be purely religious or purely political and/or political and social issues that presented in a religious uniform. The radical interpretations of *Jihad* and other dogmatic narratives are gaining ground in some Muslim communities. Some of their interpretations are falling back even further into patterns of intolerance and violence. Radicalism cannot survive without its radical narratives. This paper investigates the process of deradicalisation from the early history of Muslims to the present time. In the modern period, the paper focuses on the Brotherhood and the following Jihadi groups in Egypt with special attention to the impact of deradicalisation on al-Qa'ida and similar groups in the Middle East.

## **American Social Scientists versus the Courts: Forced Disclosure of Confidential Data**

**Charles Knerr**

Professor, University of Texas at Arlington, USA

**Andrew Sommerman**

Professor, University of Texas at Arlington, USA

**Derrick Haake**

Professor, University of Texas at Arlington, USA

“Confidentiality” or “anonymity” is on occasion promised to research subjects by American social science researchers and graduate students. Not all social scientists promise anonymity: some social scientists utilize databases stripped of all personal identifying information; other researchers never have direct contact with any living human subjects as part of research processes. The exact percentage of social scientists in America (and elsewhere) who engage in the process of gathering information directly from human subjects and who promise anonymity to these sources of information is unknown; no systematic survey has been undertaken to estimate the extent of the practice.

A legal flaw exists in promising anonymity to research subjects: research records and uncompleted work products -- physical and electronic files, notes, drafts, diaries, photographs, recordings, even “anonymous” reviews of proposed publications -- are subject to “compulsory disclosure” (subpoena) processes. The researcher and all of those involved in the research process, graduate assistants, clerical personnel can be also subpoenaed to testify as to personal recollections. This legal flaw carries potentially severe penalties for refusal to comply: demands can be made for disclosure under the threat of incarceration; legal costs for representation can easily exceed thousands of dollars.

A second legal flaw is that confidential research records can be commanded to be disclosed using “open records” statutes enacted by state governments.

A third legal flaw is that breaching a promise of confidentiality might lead to a lawsuit over breach of promise; damages can be demanded from the researcher and the university.

These legal flaws surrounding the confidentiality of research data and sources are not hypothetical; nearly three dozen social science researchers -- professors and graduate students -- are known to have been subpoenaed in recent decades. Research data have also been acquired through “Freedom of Information” requests.

The purpose of this research report is to analyze these known instances of compulsory disclosure in America of social scientists, graduate students, and other university researchers and to examine the relevant body of law surrounding the practice of confidentiality of social science research sources and data.

# **Yesterday's Tyrannicide, Today's Terrorist? Historic Acts of 'Terror' in Islam and in the West in Light of the Contemporary Debates on Terrorism**

**Bettina Koch**

Assistant Professor, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA

In recent years, a growing number of publications suggest that terrorism is by no means a new phenomenon, but is almost as old as mankind. In addition to ancient Greek and Roman examples of tyranny and tyrannicide, examples that always appear are the twelfth-century Christian John of Salisbury's justification of tyrannicide and again the twelfth-century Islamic example of the Ismaili, also known as Assassins because of their preferred method, who fought against the crusaders as well as the Seljuk Empire. These, among others, past examples still serve as justifications for contemporary acts of violence. John of Salisbury, for instance, has been used by Fidel Castro to justify his revolution in *History Will Absolve Me*.

While definitions of terrorism seem to be as manifold as the publications on "terrorism" and, unfortunately, even a number of scholarly publications speak rather in terms of a political agenda or ideology, this paper uses Ariel Merari's neutral definition of terrorism that focuses on the "method of struggle" and not on its cause. It investigates a) whether it is justified to call the historic examples that appear in various publications on the history of terrorism as premodern acts or theoretical justifications of terrorism; b) how current terrorist movements are informed by historic justifications; and c) whether past and current "terrorists" are divided only time and available technology, but not in the underlying principles of their "method of struggle."

# **The Income of the European Union (EU): Past, Present, and Future**

**Auke Leen**

Associate Professor, Leiden University, the Netherlands

Barosso, in his plans for the future of the EU, speaks about the up-coming root and branch reform of the EU budget. Part of the reform will be the issue of the own resources of the EU. In his words “a confusing and opaque mix of contributions and rebates.” The current system of negotiating contributions from strained national budgets leads to resentment and a “who pays and who benefits” culture.

The paper looks at the past, present and future of the own resources. It answers the question what are the possibilities for a more efficient and transparent way of financing. At present, the EU has three categories of resources: (1) the traditional ones of custom and agricultural duties (15% of total resources); (2) a percentage of the value added tax (VAT) base (15%), and (3) a Gross National Income (GNI)-based resource. The problem, however, is that the GNI-based resource is full of special regulations, transitional provisions and exceptions for certain Member States. In sum, the resources are a highly political issue re the question of the Communities’ financial independence: the struggle between the federal and inter-governmental approach.

The focus of the paper is on the question of how to make the future policy re the own resources of the EU predictable and trustworthy. And not, as it has often been in the past, the ex-post and out of the bleu result of an ad hoc political process. Part of the answer to these questions could be, as Barosso says, to make EU taxation more “transparent” (knowable) and simple to the public. Should the EU levy taxes of its own? Such as an income tax, “green” taxes, Tobin tax, or a tax on SMS’ing. The most common version of an EU tax is a VAT. EU and national VAT should appear as separate taxes on the receipts of consumers. A problem that touches on how to define the tax-bearing capacity of the citizens and social justice in the EU.

## **EU Presidency Experience: Opportunity to Shape the Preferences and political Culture in “New” Member States?**

**Zuzana Lisonova**

Research Assistant, Comenius University, Slovakia

Aim of the paper is to examine the contribution of EU presidency experience to the formation of preferences and political culture of the post-communist member states of the EU. Despite the overall weakness of the rotating presidency, to be singled out even more in next terms because of new EU posts introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, it includes several important aspects of voicing out priorities and day-to-day interactions with European partners that help to appreciate the new member states their role in the European Union. Current scientific production indicates that most often the determinants of positions of member states consider four basic groups of factors: country's size, timing of entry, economic conditions (power as contribution to common budget, openness, and type of economy) and domestic factors (ideological division of political parties, domestic policy preferences, administrative capacity, orientation of interest groups, public opinion). The presidency experience is not explicitly mentioned in none of these factors based on “older” member states study. Our empirical findings from interviews with new member states' representatives and EU officials' points out the importance of lessons learned during running up the EU presidencies in case of Slovenia and Czech Republic and preparations for presidency in case of Hungary and Poland. In case of political culture, our empirical findings confirm the pro-integration orientation in all new member states but point out the different record in carrying their European policies. Slovenian and Czech presidencies bring to the attention unique examples of exercising pro-integration political culture through divergent political styles.

**Preference Formation in new Member States of the European Union:  
Perceived or Real Weaknesses?**

**D. Malova**

Professor, Comenius University, Slovakia

## **The Arab Transitional State and Women's Rights: Cases of Yemen, Syria, and Kuwait**

**Elham Manea**

Researcher & Lecturer, Zurich University, Switzerland

Researchers studying gender politics in Arab Islamic societies have been puzzled by a phenomenon common in most Arab states: The post-colonial and newly emerging Arab states often did not hesitate to grant women their suffrage rights, but they were very reluctant to grant women rights that concerned their private lives. Why? This paper attempts to answer this question. It argues that the problem of women's rights in Arab Islamic states is also political in nature and can be understood through a state-society approach. Based on field research conducted by this researcher between 2006 and 2008 in Yemen, Syria, and Kuwait, this approach argues that the question of why religion is still relevant in regulating Arab family laws may be answered once we focus on the Arab state itself, its stage of development, power base, and features. It proposes a definition of the Arab state which highlights its 'transitional' character, where a group of political elites came to power for various reasons but were able to hold to power by depending on their 'tribal', 'regional', 'sectarian', or/and 'cliental' bases. It argues that because this group of political elites lacks 'legitimacy, it has continuously engaged in the 'politics of survival', shifting alliances with and allocating and channeling resources to various political and social groups to ensure its hold on power. And it comes to the conclusion that the Arab state functions according to certain 'logic' and its features have direct consequences on its gender policies, in both the public and private spheres.



## **Kosovo: Myth as Driving Force in Serbian Politics**

**Vladimir Matic**

Lecturer, Clemson University, USA

## **Migrant Politics in Greece: The Potential for Empowerment and Integration**

**Elizabeth Mavroudi**

Lecturer, Loughborough University, UK

This paper will discuss the potential for informal migrant politics and empowerment in Greece by focusing on the material private and public spaces in which this can occur. It will highlight the need for and importance of such spaces in the ability of migrants to have a political voice with which to help create changes to their lives. It will focus on the role of migrant politics in the context of Greece's attempts to deal with immigration and a more plural, multicultural society given its change of status from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. It will look at a number of different case studies, including the authors own research on Palestinians living in Athens. The paper will stress the need for more research on the multiple ways in which migrants in Greece may be excluded from the formal political sphere and, equally, the ways in which they can become active agents of change in their everyday lives and situation. In the process, it will discuss the relationships between migrant politics, formal citizenship status and integration, and argue that in order for migrants to integrate and negotiate belonging within Greece, they need to feel included, have opportunities to engage politically, in order to have their opinions heard, and have their residence status clarified as soon as possible. Finally, the paper will outline the role of other factors, such as education, communication, the media and tolerance in helping migrants integrate and contribute to Greek society.

## **Constructing Identity: Coloniality and Cultural Policy**

**Kevin Mulcahy**

Professor, Louisiana State University, USA

This essay will review the major themes that have informed cultural policies given the legacy of coloniality. These conceptual concerns include: (1) cultural renaissance (Quebec); (2) cultural reconstruction (Africa); (3) cultural revivalism (Latin America); (4) cultural reclamation (Ukraine). Finally, some concluding observations will be offered about cultural nationalism and the politics of identity with particular reference to Puerto Rico. What should be clear is that these cultural policy issues are found not just in what were imperial dependencies, but also in regions that have been absorbed into modern states as a part of their nation-building experiences. In sum, the experience of coloniality is not restricted to the former colonies of the so-called “developing world,” but can also be found in the “internal colonies” of developed countries, as well.

The term coloniality is used to denote not simply political or economic dependency, but a particular form of dominance that creates an asymmetrical relationship between the cultural “hegemony” and the meaningful “other”. Consequently, the experience of coloniality necessitated a reimaged public culture to counter the suppression of marginalization. The related cultural policies seek to assert influence over the discourse that defines national identity. In essence, such cultural policies have as a central goal the determination of who controls the definition of their identity: having a voice in telling their stories and creating their own creative distinctiveness.

Moreover, there are continuing issues of identity and cultural policy as evidenced by the recent UNESCO Accord guaranteeing cultural diversity and holding that cultural products are not “commodities” as defined in trade agreements. This cultural exemption was certainly motivated by the fear of many nations that the hegemonic status of the American entertainment industry represented a threat to their cultural sovereignty and, hence, created the specter of a new coloniality.

# **Why Cooperate? Cooperation among Environmental Groups in the United Kingdom, France and Germany**

**Lori Poloni-Staudinger**

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This study asks under what domestic conditions environmental groups in the United Kingdom, France and Germany will overcome the collective action, resource and ideological impediments to cooperative activity. A political opportunity structure (POS) approach is employed which looks at the relationship between elite alliances and domestic cleavages and the choice to engage in domestic as well as transnational cooperation. Using data gathered through content analysis over a nearly twenty-five year period, I find that changes in domestic opportunities influence the choice of environmental groups to engage in cooperative activities. An open POS is found to depress both domestic and transnational cooperation, while a closed POS increases cooperative activities.

## **Effectiveness of the UN Machinery**

**Chaditsa Poulatova**

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The paper will examine the role and effectiveness of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Optional Protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict (OPAC) in safeguarding children.

The UN's Committee on the Rights of the Child monitoring effectiveness in relation to article 38 of the CRC and the OPAC will be examined and key concerns will be addressed relating to the performance of states on the rights of the child and the extent to which they comply with their reporting obligations in relation to the CRC and OPAC. Using the Committee's own reporting guidelines this paper will then examine the adequacy of the States Parties' reports to the Committee. Finally, the paper will look at how far differences in reporting performance correlate with geographical region, income level and regime type.

# **The Political and Economic Evolution of Turkish Privatization Policy: Initial Steps to Despair to Renaissance, 1923 – 1999**

**Jonas Prager**

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The proprivatization policy of the present Turkish government, which during the past seven years has yielded over US\$30 billion in privatization revenues, is both a break from and a return to tradition. In this paper, we trace the evolution of Turkish government policies from an initial pro-market orientation to a state-oriented approach that included a significant thrust toward stateowned enterprises (SOEs). From a relatively minor role of SOEs in the initial years of the modern Turkish state, SOEs came to dominate the Turkish industrial landscape by the late 1930s. They continued to be a major force in the economics and politics of Turkey until the early 1980s. By that time, SOEs were recognized as financial drains on the state and their benefits were dwarfed by their costs. By 1980 privatization became a viable option. Fledgling steps were taken in the mid-1980s, but obstacles remained. Consequently, privatization proceeded at a snail's pace during the 1980s and 1990s, with privatization revenues during the 1985 - 1999 period totaling less than US\$5 billion.

In our paper, we not only trace the history of Turkish SOEs and their later privatization, but also seek to understand the impediments to privatization during the last decades of the 20th century. We highlight the political weaknesses that retarded privatization and the altered political climate in the 21st century that now spurs privatization on.

## **Privatization of Punishment and Crime Policy**

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The discourse on Privatization of punishment and Crime Policy has blurred the lines in respect to who is actually setting Crime Policy. These discourses and studies have suggested how crime control and penal policy continue to be influenced at various levels in the USA. There has been a lack of information concerning the intersection of crime policy and the prison privatization movement. This paper uses a national data on incarceration rate to examine the following; (1) the ideology and ideas justifying the incarceration binge and (2) the social requirement for interest in privatizing prisons and its intersection with crime policy.

# **Beyond Regulatory State Capitalism? Transformation of Australia's Labor Market Since 1983 in Global Perspective**

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The era of political economy in much of the developed world since the late 1970s/early 80s has been characterised as 'regulatory capitalism' (Braithwaite) in contrast to the social democratic or social market capitalism of the Bretton Woods era. In the first part of the post-70s era, until the early-90s, states unwound their market controls in favour of 'neo-liberal', 'de-regulated' free market solutions to market/state co-ordination problems. But the global recession and collapse of communism of the late 80s/early 90s prompted states to facilitate a formally re-institutionalised self-regulating system of market co-ordination. We can understand this whole era in terms of the evolution of the complex interconnections between formal and substantive regulatory systems of political economy and the disjunctures between public policy reform, privatised regulation, and the substantive path dependencies of economic history. The history of the Australian labour market in this era is a good case in point.

In common with many developed countries, Australia's labour market experienced major structural transformations since the 1980s. From a union density of over 50%, the rate has fallen to about 20% at the same time as the structure of employment and economy have also been transformed. Concomitantly, the regime of labour market regulation has been radically reformed several times. Australia had an almost uniquely centralised labour market regulatory system for most of the 20th Century, centred on compulsory judicial conciliation and arbitration and wage setting. This system came under severe stress in the 1980s as the Hawke/Keating Labor Governments implemented several contrasting forms of experimental changes. First they attempted to implement a partial version of formalised corporatism that was a more centralised form of market decision-making than hitherto, including a move away from craft unionism to industry superunions. Later they weakened the centralized system and experimented with a partial form of de-centralised enterprise bargaining. In 1996 and 2005 the new-right Howard Government moved further towards a regulatory state capitalism model in which supposedly free markets have their freedom ensured by state appointed regulators. In 2008 the new Rudd Labor Government signaled a move back towards centralisation to some extent.

Overlapping impetuses for these experiments and growth of uncertainty came from deeper structural changes and crises that were occurring in the real Australian economy, global ideological developments, and a rapid shift in geopolitical and geoeconomic realities in the Asia/Pacific region. The paper examines the non-linear dynamic produced by the conflict of reform and path dependency and discusses the extent to which Australia's public policy and economic history have produced a particular regulatory capitalist outcome in the 21st century or a potential shift back



towards a social market system, the signs of which are at best yet very limited. The question of the impact of the global economic crisis and further economic change on the labour market is discussed at the end.

**NATO's Transformation & Out-of-Area Peacekeeping:  
Afghanistan, Iraq, ex-Yugoslavia & Mediterranean (1970s-2000s)**

**Marco Rimanelli**  
Professor, Saint Leo University, USA

## **Hope, Reality and Cuban Independence: Cirilo Villaverde's Cecilia Valdés**

**Michael Sawyer**

Chair & Associate Professor, University of Central Missouri, USA

The subject of this investigation is both literary and political, since it deals with the birth of the independent Cuban self-identity, both national and cultural. The elements so crucial in shaping the emerging nation—the profound level of hybridity, the entrenched slavocracy and traditional reliance on the European Other, and the interdependence of abolitionism and the independence movement—all find expression in the literary works of the turbulent period. A postcolonial analysis of these works—paying particular attention to the Bakhtinian definitions of dialog—reveals a possible explanation of the process through which narrative fiction impacts political reality. Cirilo Villaverde's novel *Cecilia Valdés*, first published in 1839, underwent a series of revisions before reaching its definitive version in 1882. The changing situations, characters, and alterations in tone and emphasis provide more than a snapshot of the social milieu of an island on the cusp of nationhood; they reveal the processes by which collective self-identity is formed and demonstrate the interactivity between the reader and the text. *Cecilia Valdés* transcends the role of social artifact becoming part of the complex process of social construction.

Generally speaking, the Postcolonial perspective assumes that literature does not have to be in the form of written proclamation by the founding fathers or Martin Luther to have an actual, measurable impact on the world. This study examines the mechanics behind that interaction. *Cecilia Valdés* is a formulaically Romantic novel that includes a depiction—sometimes faithful and sometimes hopeful—of the Cuban people as they were in that era. The readers saw themselves portrayed and were thus more able to self identify, to look at other Cubans and call themselves "we" even without any formal national political identity. This statement of cultural values and identity was particularly important in Cuba because it recognized and valued hybridity and African influence; if the very large slave population had not shared the perspective that the novel helped engender among the educated classes, independence would have been impossible.

# **Uncovering the Façade of Extremism**

**S. Shafqat**

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## **US Diplomacy in the Islamic World after 9/11**

**Reza Simbar**

Associate Professor, University of Guilan, Iran

This paper argues different US policies towards the Islamic world would be counterproductive. Where many Americans may see US policies animated by ideological consistency and even moral clarity, Muslims see double standards and moral bankruptcy. For example, Palestinians and occupied Iraqis have fed a deep cynicism about American politics. When speculating about America's intentions, Muslim consider not only contradictions of word and deed but also the public statements of those who formulate contemporary US policy. In light of these perceptions, America should not be surprised that most Middle Easterners view incidents in Iraq as actually a campaign to subjugate. Arabs and Muslims, within the well- established tradition of Western imperialism. The US by calling for respectful dialogue and mutual engagement, can help to transform a legacy of pain, producing a deeper knowledge of what the "other" has to say.

## **Much Ado about Nothing’: The Use of Foreign Legal Materials in Interpreting the U.S. Constitution**

**Jim Staab**

Chair & Professor, University of Central Missouri, USA

While the U.S. Supreme Court has historically cited foreign legal sources on numerous occasions, its recent reliance on them has drawn considerable attention and controversy. In *Atkins v. Virginia* (2002), the nation’s highest court interpreted the Eighth Amendment to prohibit the death penalty for crimes committed by mentally retarded offenders. In the 6-3 decision, Justice John Paul Stevens referred to the “overwhelming disapprov[al]” by the “world community” of the death penalty for mentally retarded criminals. In *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003), the Court ruled that states could no longer criminally punish private consensual sexual relations among adults and overturned *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986). For the majority, Justice Anthony Kennedy cited a 1981 European Court of Human Rights decision, handed down almost five years before *Bowers*, which cast doubt on the *Bowers* majority’s contention that the history of Western civilization and the Judeo-Christian moral tradition supported laws criminalizing private homosexual conduct between consenting adults. Also in 2003, the Court upheld a University of Michigan Law School affirmative action program on the grounds that diversity in the classroom is a compelling state interest. In her concurring opinion in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg cited the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination for the proposition that affirmative action was still necessary but “must have a logical end point.” Finally, in 2005, the Court ruled in *Roper v. Simmons* that it was no longer permissible under the Eighth Amendment for juveniles to be put to death in the United States. Justice Kennedy, who penned the Court’s opinion, cited the “overwhelming weight of international opinion against the juvenile death penalty.”

Perhaps because these decisions involve divisive issues commonly associated with the “culture wars,” the Court’s recent reliance on foreign legal sources has come under sharp attack. Conservative scholars claim that the use of foreign legal sources undermines U.S. sovereignty and diminishes the idea that America is an “exceptional” nation (Calabresi). These scholars also claim that foreign legal sources are only used as a way to expand civil rights rather than to curtail them (Wilkinson). Moreover, the Court’s two originalists (Justice Scalia and Justice Thomas) have sharply criticized their colleagues’ reliance on international law. Scalia, in particular, has maintained that the practice is undemocratic and subject to manipulation. Partly in response to these criticisms, some conservative members of Congress introduced the Constitution Restoration Act in 2004 and 2005, which would have prohibited federal judges from relying upon foreign legal sources in interpreting the U.S. Constitution and made violations of the act an impeachable offense.

In this paper, we will argue that the criticisms lodged against the use of foreign legal sources are unjustified. The recent cases in which foreign legal sources have been cited are not the first forays by the Supreme Court into this area. In its history, the Court, or one of its justices, has cited foreign legal sources in interpreting the U.S. Constitution on at least 36 occasions. It is true that there has been a spike in the number of citations to international law in the last 50 years, but this does not lead to the conclusion that the Court should be barred from citing international law. In the cases in which the Court has cited international law, it has never viewed it as binding authority. Rather, the justices rely upon foreign jurisprudential sources to shed an “empirical light” on how other countries treat a particular problem. Moreover, reliance on international jurisprudence has not always come at the expansion of individual rights. In cases decided in the first half of the 20th century, the Court sometimes cited foreign legal sources as a way to justify the reasonableness of progressive legislation regulating labor and safety issues (*Muller v. Oregon* (1908)). More recently, the Court relied upon foreign legal sources as a justification for not recognizing physician assisted suicide (*Washington v. Glucksberg* (1997)).

In an increasingly global society, the rise in the Supreme Court’s use of foreign legal sources should not come as a surprise. Some countries’ courts allow for the citation of foreign legal sources and at least one country (South Africa) requires it.

The citation of international law could be described as a logical extension of the sociological jurisprudence movement that became popular in the early 20th century. Part I of this paper examines the cases in which the Court has historically invoked foreign legal sources. Part II examines some of the criticisms over the use of foreign legal sources, particularly noting the disagreements among the justices of the Supreme Court. Part III concludes the paper by arguing that the controversy is not as serious as some suggest, i.e., it is “much ado about nothing.”

# **Analyses of Democratic Trends in Latin America**

**Dale Story**

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Latin America has undergone several shifts in regime types over the last century. While many variations do exist, certain common trends have been prevalent. And these regime types have been closely linked to certain economic strategies. During the late-1800s and early-1900s, many Latin American countries were governed by “traditional oligarchies”—dominated by economic oligarchs closely tied to the export-oriented economy. In the aftermath of the Great Depression, a number of “populist” regimes arose—stressing inward-oriented industrialization and the inclusion of the nationalist entrepreneurial and labor classes (the multi-class populist coalition). The economic exhaustion of this stage produced pressures for a more conservative modernization strategy. This approach required a return to open economies, albeit a more modern perspective. Industrialization continued to be emphasized, especially in capital-intensive areas. Foreign investment and foreign trade were encouraged—along with more austere and monetarist-oriented fiscal policies. These changes ultimately catalyzed the take-over of a new set of military regimes (“bureaucratic-authoritarianism”). The most well-known examples were the military coups between 1964 and the mid-1970s in countries such as Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. Finally, by the 1990s essentially all nations in the region had returned to (or created) democratic regimes.

Using both qualitative and quantitative variables, this paper will analyze the universality of these trends and possible explanatory factors. A critical question will be the impact of socio-economic prerequisites on oscillations between authoritarian and democratic regimes. The focus will be on cross-national analysis, rather than case-studies. The methodology will include both cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis, with an emphasis on the multi-dimensionality of variables. The objective of this paper will be to “test” the applicability of these various trends to the region as a whole and to explore possible explanatory factors.



## **Great Britain and Canada as Middle Powers, 1945-1950: Positive and Negative Approaches to a New World Power Status**

**Martin Thornton**

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It is not too difficult to establish the status of Canada as a middle power between 1945 and 1950. The developments for this will be seen to have expression in Canadian functionalist ideas as early as 1943. Although an intellectual rationale can be found for developments in Canada's world power status, the positive way Canada deals with her relationship with Britain and British international difficulties is also a factor in Canadian perspectives. Changes in Britain's post-war power status are sign posted during the Second World War and are also advanced by a Labour Government, from July 1945 that was ideologically committed to decolonisation, and aware of its own financial limitations. The British Government looked to Canada and the United States for help with European and imperial problems. Britain granted independence to India and Pakistan in 1947, Burma and Ceylon in 1948, but also had to withdraw economically and militarily from Greece and relinquish the mandate for Palestine. Britain was a declining great power, approaching middle power status as a negative consequence of its position. Of course the major problem with this view is that while Canada embraced the status of itself as a middle power, Britain did not proclaim itself to be a middle power or anything other than a great power. Nevertheless, it is still possible for a convergence to be seen in Canadian and British world status and over an issue like Palestine Canada gains as a direct result of Britain's decline. It is possible to show awareness amongst Canadian and British decision-makers for these changing circumstances.

What was the Canadian and British legacy from the Second World War? Canada worked to define its middle power status, whereas Britain was trying to cling to great power status. Can Britain also be defined as a middle power? This study looks at the positive way Canada turned to define itself as a middle power in part response to the decline of Britain. In contrast, Britain reevaluated its status as it desperately sought to retain an Empire and a role in Europe.