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18-21 June 2012, Athens, Greece

Edited by Gregory T. Papanikos

THE ATHENS INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH



Politics & International
Affairs Abstracts

10th Annual International
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Greece

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Preface

This abstract book includes all the abstracts of the papers presented at the *10th Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs, 18-21 June 2012*, organized by the Athens Institute for Education and Research. In total there were 31 papers and 33 presenters, coming from 16 different countries (Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Japan, Israel, Iran, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Taiwan, Turkey, UK and USA). The conference was organized into 9 sessions that included areas Issues in Politics and International Affairs, Religion, Gender and Identity in World Politics, Foreign Policy, International Law and Politics and other related fields. 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 150 international conferences and has published over 100 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
President

FINAL CONFERENCE PROGRAM
**10th Annual International Conference on Politics and International
Affairs, 18-21 June 2012, Athens, Greece**

PROGRAM

Conference Venue: [Metropolitan Hotel of Athens](#), 385 Syngrou Ave., 175 64,
Athens, Greece

Organization and Scientific Committee

1. Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER.
2. Dr. George Poulos, Vice-President of Research, ATINER & Emeritus Professor, University of South Africa, South Africa.
3. Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice-President of Academics, ATINER & Professor, Sam Houston University, USA.
4. Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.
5. Dr. George Kaloudis, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, Rivier College, USA.
6. Dr. Viviane de Beaufort, Professor, ESSEC Business School, France.
7. Dr. Margarita Kefalaki, Director of Communication, ATINER.
8. Ms. Lila Skountridaki, Researcher, ATINER & Ph.D. Student, University of Strathclyde, U.K.
9. Mr. Vasilis Charalampopoulos, Researcher, ATINER & Ph.D. Student, University of Strathclyde, U.K.
10. Mr. Apostolos Kotsaspyrou, Researcher, ATINER.

Administration: Fani Balaska, Stavroula Kiritsi, Eirini Lentzou, Konstantinos Manolidis, Katerina Maraki & Celia Sakka

C O N F E R E N C E P R O G R A M

(The time for each session includes at least 10 minutes coffee break)

Monday 18 June 2012

08:30-09:00 Registration

09:00-09:15 Welcome and Opening Remarks

- Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER.
- Dr. George Poulos, Vice-President of Research, ATINER & Emeritus Professor, University of South Africa, South Africa.
- Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice-President of Academics, ATINER & Professor, Sam Houston University, USA.

09:15-10:30 Session I: Issues in Politics and International Affairs I

Chair: Pappas, N., Vice-President of Academics, ATINER & Professor, Sam Houston University, USA.

1. Hudon, R., Professor, Laval University, Canada & Koutroubas, T., Professor, University Catholique of Louvain, Belgium. Scrapping Politics: If Politics is a Nuisance, Then Get Around It!
2. Kaloudis, G., Professor, Rivier College, USA. How to teach the New Globalism. (Monday, 18 June 2012, morning)
3. Auer, S., Associate Professor, La Trobe University, Australia. Europe's Constrained Democracy.
4. Lee, Y.T., Graduate Student, National Taiwan University, Taiwan. The Controversial Issue of United States Presidential Line Item Act: The Case Study of Clinton v. City of New York. (Monday 18 June 2012, morning)

10:30-12:00 Session II: Religion, Gender and Identity in World Politics

Chair: Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER.

1. Falah, G., Professor, The University of Akron, USA. Palestine as a Woman: Feminizing Resistance.
2. Souza, E., Ph.D. Student, Escola Superior of Theologia, Brazil. Religion and Masculinities in Southern Brazil.
3. Ghanem, A., Lecturer, University of Haifa, Israel. Understanding Ethnic Minority Demands: Regime's Type vs. Group's Status.
4. Chen, A., Associate Professor, National University of Singapore, Singapore. The Reform of the Township and its Impact on China's Rural Politics.

12:00-13:00 Lunch

13:00-14:30 Session III: Round Table on *The Future of the European Union and the Eurozone.*

Chair: Dr. George Poulos, Vice-President of Research, ATINER & Emeritus Professor, University of South Africa, South Africa.

Speakers:

1. Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER)
2. Dr. Stefan Auer, Associate Professor, La Trobe University, Australia.
3. Dr. Raymond Hudon, Professor, Laval University, Canada.

14:30 -16:00 Session IV: Foreign Policy

Chair: *Seyrek, I., Associate Professor, Hitit University, Turkey

1. Hanish, S., Associate Professor, National University, USA. A Province for the Chaldo-Assyrians in Iraq: A Realist Perception.
2. Pinto, M.C., Associate Professor, University of Minho, Portugal. U.S. Policy in the Middle East Faces the Arab Spring: Is U.S. Influence Waning?
3. Matsumoto, M., Assistant Professor, Shimane University, Japan. The American Just War Doctrine in the 21st Century: Continuity or Renewal?

16:00-17:30 Session V: Turkey

Chair: *Pavkovic, A., Associate Professor, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia.

1. Dural, A.B., Associate Professor, Trakya University, Turkey. From Erzurum To Sivas: Congresses Period And The Forming Of A Nation-State In The Independence War.
2. *Seyrek, I., Associate Professor, Hitit University, Turkey & Duman, F., Assistant Professor, Hitit University, Turkey. An Essay on the Relation between Democracy and the Modern State: The Case of Turkey.
3. Karadeniz, R.F., Assistant Professor, Maltepe University, Turkey. Western Thrace Minority in Turkish Foreign Policy: A View from the Kin-State.
4. Gumus, Y.K., Researcher, Sakarya University, Turkey. Can Turkish Migration be a Remedy for the Ageing European Population and Labour Market Needs?

17:30-19:00 Session VI: International Law and Politics

Chair: Auer, S., Associate Professor, La Trobe University, Australia.

1. *Pavkovic, A., Associate Professor, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. Wars of secession: Chechnya and Kosovo.
2. Kampmark, B., Lecturer, RMIT University, Australia. Libya and the Qaddafi Regime: The Quandary of Human Intervention.
3. *Alhusein, E., Ph.D. Student, University of Exeter, UK. Evaluating Humanitarian Intervention: The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) in the Cases of Bahrain, Libya and Syria.
4. Mahony, C., Deputy Director, New Zealand Centre for Human Rights Law, New Zealand. Chasing Charlie: How a Court was Established to Affect Regime Change in Liberia.

20:30-22:30 Greek Night and Dinner (Details during registration)

Tuesday 19 June 2012

09:00-10:30 Session VII: International Political Economy

Chair: Ghanem, A., Lecturer, University of Haifa, Israel.

1. Perez-Feliciano, L., Associate Professor, Texas Southern University, USA. Schumpeter & the American Economy.
2. Sahu, S., Professor, DePauw University, USA. Globalization, WTO and the Indian Pharmaceutical Industry.
3. de Beaufort, V., Professor, ESSEC Business School, France. Corporate Governance and Public Governance - A Short Comparison at the European Level.

10:30 -12:30 Session VIII: Issues in Politics and International Affairs II

Chair: de Beaufort, V., Professor, ESSEC Business School, France.

1. Macikenaite, V., Ph.D. Student, Keio University, Japan. Conflict Prevention through Unresolved Dispute or How Pending Joint Gas Development Initiative Contributed to the Regime Building and Peace in the East China Sea.
2. Souto Lopez, M., Ph.D. Student, Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium. The Vocationalisation of University Courses in the Wallonia Brussels Federation.
3. Hancock, L., Professor, Deakin University, Australia & Rodd, P., Professor, Deakin University, Australia. An Internationally informed Strategy for Education Equity Initiatives? Challenges for Evaluation Design.
4. Ghorbani Sheikhneshin, A., Associate Professor, Kharazmi University, Iran. Islam in World Politics: Challenges and Opportunities.
5. Simbar, R., Full Professor, University of Guilan, Iran. Radical West, Radical Islam: Impacts and Implications International Relations.

12:30-13:30 Lunch

13:30-15:00 Session IX: Issues in Politics and International Affairs III

Chair: Sahu, S., Professor, DePauw University, USA.

1. Szkarlat, M.A., Assistant Professor, Maria Curie-Sklodowska University, Poland. Genetically Modified Food Global Governance.
2. Mrovlje, M., Ph.D. Student, University of St. Andrews, UK. Hannah Arendt, Political Judgment and Reconciliation in the Wake of an Abyss of Injustice and Evil.
3. Teixeira, H.A., Ph.D. Student, Escola Superior of Theologia, Brazil. The Ecumenical Constitution of Liberation Theology and Its Reflections in the Construction of the Human Rights in Brazil.
4. D' Angelo, S., Professor, Catholic University of Mons, Belgium. The Marabout in Senegal: Still an Electoral Official?

17:00-20:00 Urban Walk (Details during registration)

20:00- 21:00 Dinner (Details during registration)

Wednesday 20 June 2012

Cruise: (Details during registration)

Thursday 21 June 2012

Delphi Visit: (Details during registration)

Eman Mohammed Alhusein
Ph.D. Student, University of Exeter, UK

Evaluating Humanitarian Intervention: The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) in the Cases of Bahrain, Libya and Syria

The reputation of humanitarian intervention in solving world conflicts in the last two decades suffered greatly. The delayed involvement in stopping the Rwanda genocide (1994), the NATO lack of involvement in preventing ethnic cleansing in Kosovo (1999), and the unnecessary "Mission: Freedom" in Iraq (2003) all challenged the reliability and the feasibility of such international commitment. Yet, the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principles outlined in 2001 was more of a "last resort" for reviving the norm of intervention and reemphasizing the importance of the global citizen in the world of limited sovereignty. Therefore, the outline of the R2P was finally adopted by the UN in 2005 and was put into practice in 2009.

However, the Arab Spring managed to put yet again humanitarian intervention under scrutiny as the world witnessed the mass violations of human rights in different geographies of dissent in the Arab world. Yet, these violations of human rights did not all receive the same reaction. For example, the protests in Bahrain were not received with enthusiasm and support. On the other hand, the clashes in Libya were faced with great condemnation and, later on, military involvement. Lastly, the reluctance and delayed involvement in Syria prolonged the violations and the suffering until today. These different reactions illustrate the different dimensions and the multi-layers of interests and obligation when interests clash with humanitarian issues around the world.

Therefore, this paper will aim to examine the extent of commitment of the international community in the R2P framework during the Arab Spring by evaluating their responses in three countries: Bahrain, Libya and Syria. From there, the paper will dissect the perception of sovereignty and global citizen based on these three different geographies to fully understand the nature of humanitarian involvement in solving world issues and conflicts.

Sébastieno D' Angelo

Professor, Catholic University of Mons, Belgium

The Marabout in Senegal: Still an Electoral Official?

This communication aims to analyse relationships between political and religious authorities in Senegal through the process of the political election planned on February 2012.

Senegal is a secular republic where the vast majority of the population is Muslim (94%). The Islam in Senegal has been built with the religious current known as "Sufism" (Kung 2010: 450-470). In this branch of Islam the spiritual leader, also called a marabout, has an appreciable and important impact on his disciples. Thanks to the trust and admiration of the population these marabout have built a strong patronage network (Beck 2002:532). During the colonial experience, French administration has accepted to negotiate with the Muslim elite to capture this popular support. This informal agreement allowed a peaceful coexistence: the French colonial power received popular support while religious leaders obtained several advantages including a slight recognition of Islam as a state religion (O'Brien 2002:27). This compromise, described as "the Senegalese social contract" by O'Brien (O'Brien 1998), was renewed by the new political leaders in the sixties. For over 25 years presidents Leopold Sédar Senghor (1906-2001) and Abdou Diouf had received an unconditional support from the spiritual leaders in exchange of some presents and advantages (Diop et alii 2000). However, for more than 15 years the "Senegalese social contract" has been questioned by population. Thus, some disciples seem to challenge the closeness between spiritual and political leaders (Samson 2006:5). Despite this contestation, the candidates in the Senegalese presidential elections try to come closer to spiritual leaders to demand their support (RFI, 30 September 2011).

This communication will help to assess impacts and effects of Muslim leaders on the presidential election process by using interviews of actors and results of extensive researches realised in Senegal in August 2010 and February 2012.

Stefan Auer

Associate Professor, La Trobe University, Australia

Europe's Constrained Democracy

The Eurozone crisis calls for a radical overhaul of the European project. Will the recently signed 'Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union' succeed where all previous efforts have failed? This paper argues that it will not, because the political challenges facing Europe cannot be resolved through legal means.

The new treaty is based on the foolhardy belief that written rules will never be broken. It seeks to export the peculiarly German ideal of constrained democracy to the rest of Europe: it is the German Rechtsstaat writ large. However, legally enforceable rules are a poor substitute for political contestation and conflicts cannot be wished away by treaty obligations. Ironically, it was a German political thinker who understood this better than anyone: Carl Schmitt. Despite his appalling lack of political judgment, demonstrated by his support of Nazism in the 1930s, Schmitt's classic work of political philosophy, *The Concept of the Political*, remains relevant today, particularly its central tenet that there is no politics without conflict. Schmitt was no friend of democracy; but Europe's leaders ignore his insights at their own peril. Democracy in Europe can only survive if it successfully addresses the ongoing challenge of political authority.

Viviane de Beaufort
Professor, ESSEC Business School, France

**Corporate Governance and Public Governance - A
Short Comparison at the European Level**

An Chen

Associate Professor, National University of Singapore, Singapore

The Reform of the Township and its Impact on China's Rural Politics

The township government as the tip of China's administrative hierarchy has served as a bridge connecting rural villages or the peasantry and the communist regime. This paper explores the evolving political roles, functions, and status of the township in China's rural governance. Since its establishment in the early 1950s, the township has never developed into an independent and full-fledged administrative layer but occupied a marginal place in China's governmental structure. The tax-for-fee reform (TFR) in 2002-2004 and the abolition of agricultural taxes (AAT) in 2005-2006 drove the finances of many township governments into the red and rescinded their major traditional functions, thereby rendering this layer largely redundant in rural administration and fiscally unsustainable. In a number of agricultural provinces, township governments have virtually paralyzed or faded toward irrelevance in rural governance.

A. Baran Dural

Associate Professor, Trakya University, Turkey

From Erzurum To Sivas: Congresses Period and The Forming of a Nation-State in the Independence War

The process going from Erzurum to Sivas is worth noticing since Turkish national resistance movement had settled down at the time being. Opinions' debates concerning whether Mustafa Kemal should be the leader or not, shaping of general hierarchy within nationalist leadership, national powers' struggle to "survive" in hard times at the start of struggle, expose the vital importance of Erzurum-Sivas congresses. Thus it will not be wrong to characterize Erzurum-Sivas congresses period as, "A historical cross section, in which a nation has escaped from confusion and feeling of being crushed and started to recreate its identity as a whole" or a "waterline mark" that crystallizes the transition from the Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic.

It's such an important period since Turkish national resistance movement had settled down. Determination of transition from Islamic community tradition to national culture as the fundamental goal without naming it is the permanent inheritance of congresses. Especially the date determined for Erzurum Congress is a concrete proof showing which values within Western civilization Kemalist leadership took as a model for themselves.

Ghazi-Walid Falah

Professor, The University of Akron, USA

Palestine as a Woman: Feminizing Resistance

The significance of the representation of Palestinian women in popular literary works is reverberating in the symbols of Palestine, Beirut, and the Intifada. Three renowned Palestinian intellectuals whose work informed the popular discourse after the Nakba, contributed to the formation of women's gender frame. 'Palestine as a woman and women as Palestine' is found in Kanafani (novelist); el-Ali (cartoonist); and Darwish (poet). In this paper, we first provide a framework for understanding gender in the context of conflict and war in Palestine, and then by means of a grounded theory approach we analyzed selected popular literary work and explored how woman's world is woven into the practice of everyday life resistance. 'Feminizing resistance' or the de-gendered construction of resistance involves reconfiguring a pattern that is not patterned around Western gender politics. It means confronting the rigid dichotomy of public vs. private domains, the de-framing of domestic responsibilities, and de-constraining of re-imagining feminism within the context of national oppression. We found support for Scott's (1985, 1990) hypothesis on how 'hidden transcripts,' or the undeclared essentially individual forms of women's resistance, create a culture, a movement, a nation of resistance.

As'ad Ghanem

Lecturer, University of Haifa, Israel

Understanding Ethnic Minority Demands: Regime's Type vs. Group's Status

The development of the demands advanced by ethnic minorities has received broad coverage in the scholarly literature on divided societies. Current literature offers models that predict a radicalization of minority demands as the result of diverse factors, including modernization processes, discrimination, and a mother country's support for the minority's demands. My paper will present an alternative approach, one that combines the type of the minority with the type of regime as the fundamental elements that shape a minority's demands. For the sake of explicit understanding, the model that will be presented in my talk distinguishes between four situations in which minorities might find themselves: an indigenous minority living in a democratic regime; an immigrant minority living in a democratic regime; an indigenous minority living in an ethnocratic regime, and an immigrant minority living in an ethnocratic regime. The demands that a minority will develop in these different situations range along an axis from radical to moderate and on an axis from secession to integration on the basis of equality in a reconstituted state. As part of our analysis we cite several examples of minority demands across the world.

Arsalan Ghorbani Sheikhneshin
Associate Professor, Kharazmi University, Iran

Islam in World Politics: Challenges and Opportunities

Over the past few years, Islam has emerged as a political factor on world politics 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 parameter might be realized, and the ways in which such a parameter might carry out its relations with non-Muslim world. Within these different emphases are some radical tendencies. A huddle of border groups, broadly referred to as Islamists, have appropriated the expression of Islam, applying to a promised Islamic reality to be realized once Islam is entirely functional.

This paper is seeking to argue these issues. Areas that are sheltered take account of an assessment of the challenges of Islam to the world politics, the use of Islam as an opportunity on the global level.

Yasin Kerem Gumus
Researcher, Sakarya University, Turkey

Can Turkish Migration be a Remedy for the Ageing European Population and Labour Market Needs?

Problem Statement

Turkey's accession to the EU and the consequent free movement of labour may be the remedy for the ageing European population. Contrarily it could create further unemployment in the host countries and become burden on the already stretched welfare state. Movement of Turkish workers could solve the problem of the labour deficit. However, since the need for unskilled labour force is currently met by Central and Eastern European workers, there may be a need for more qualified labourers. Since Turkey has been developing its education system, it is likely that the number of educated and skilled people migrating will increase. The economic impact of the free movement of Turkish labourers will depend, therefore, on skill composition of the immigrant workers.

Why Turkey?

Turkey is demographically different compared to most EU states. Although the population of Turkey is ageing, the process is occurring at a lower rate owing to higher fertility (2.4 children per woman compared to 1.7 in the UK and 1.4 in Germany). The combined population of the EU-25 member states is expected to decline by about 12 million in the period 2010–50 whereas the population of Turkey is expected to increase by about 23 million. If Turkey joins, therefore, population decline in the EU as whole will be reversed. However, the impact on the population cohort aged 20–64 is less dramatic. In the combined EU-25 member states, this population is expected to decline by about 52 million between 2010 and 2050 whereas in Turkey it is expected to increase by about 14 million. The inclusion of Turkey in the EU could lead to a considerable rejuvenation effect if it results in the migration of sufficient numbers of young Turks to other member states.

Questions

The paper aims to answer the following questions:

- 1) What is the present state of the European population and that of its major regions? What do population projections indicate, both of the population as a whole and its major regions and of the work force? Are these projections based upon sound demographic and economic assumptions?
- 2) What level of immigration would be required to restore the labour force to the level of demand for labour projected for the future? What

level of immigration would be required to restore the age structure of the population to equilibrium?

3) What is the present state of qualifications among the Turkish population and workforce? Can an immigrant labour force from Turkey match the skill and experience which may be needed? What are the perceived and real advantages and disadvantages of Turkish labour?

4) What are the EU member states' attitudes to free movement of Turkish workers after the accession? How will Turkish be incorporated into the trade unions and will they affect industrial relations? What are the preferences of skilled and unskilled Turkish workers on migration to European countries?

Shak Hanish

Associate Professor, National University, USA

A Province for the Chaldo-Assyrians in Iraq: A Realist Perception

In my paper, I will discuss the recent demand by the representatives of the “Chaldeans Syriacs Assyrians” ethnic group in Iraq, who are Christians, to create a province in the Nineveh plain in Northern Iraq. This demand comes in response to the group being targeted by extreme Islamic fundamentalist groups and in reaction to the exodus of the group from its ancient Mesopotamian land. I will present a historical background of the group in Iraq; give present demography, and point to the group’s locations especially after the American invasion of Iraq, which unleashed fundamentalists targeting minorities. I will assess the status of the Chaldeans Syriacs Assyrians in Iraq, in theory and practice and discuss the various possible proposals to solve their problem. I will specifically assess the recent demand and compare it to other previous demands and see if it is a realist demand. I will present the pros and cons of such demand and evaluate its prospect, presenting possible solutions to ethnic and religious minority issues in post-Saddam’s Iraq.

Linda Hancock

Professor, Deakin University, Australia
&

P. Rodd

Professor, Deakin University, Australia

An Internationally informed Strategy for Education Equity Initiatives? Challenges for Evaluation Design

Internationally, governments and universities in the UK, Canada, the US and Australia have adopted various strategies to improve the post secondary education participation of disadvantaged groups. Enhanced education participation is seen as boosting national competitiveness and as a return on individual and government investment. In many cases, programs have focused on enhancing aspirations within an individual deficit model or through various approaches to government's role in buffering risk and investing in the future. Such programs have met with varying degrees of success (variously defined); and evidence of 'what works' and 'on what terms' is varied in terms of timescale, scope, theoretical underpinnings and evaluation design.

Politically, on-going commitment to equity goals is problematic given the policy context of budget deficits in the wake of the global financial crisis, short term funding (Australia), withdrawal of program funding (UK) or 'surface' funding (scholarships or bursaries) (some US programs) as opposed to 'deep' funding (over time, that addresses the complex interplay of factors underpinning inequity, aspiration, participation and achievement). Government commitment to such initiatives renders interventions of mixed value in terms of achievement of longer term equity-driven policy goals.

In Australia, set within the broader context of national aspirations for social inclusion (and establishment of the Social Inclusion Board), the federal Labor Gillard government has set targets to boost the participation of students from low SES and disadvantaged backgrounds (following the Bradley Review) under an allocation of \$500 million for widening participation under its Higher Education Participation and Partnerships Program (HEPPP). Funding is targeted at increasing post secondary education participation of Indigenous, low SES, mature age and rural and regional students; with ambitious stretch targets. At a general level, this paper assesses the challenges of such initiatives and more particularly, focuses on what would constitute a robust mixed method framework for design and evaluation of university-based programs aimed at enhanced participation of low SES schools/students

in tertiary education; drawing on analysis of key international approaches and interrogation of key concepts and theories.

Raymond Hudon

Professor, University of Naval, Canada
&

Theodoros Koutroubas

Professor, University Catholique of Louvain, Belgium

Scrapping Politics: If Politics is a Nuisance, Then Get Around It!

Recent developments in international politics have shown less indulgence toward arrangements that seem to be virtually beyond reach of national governments. This can be exemplified with many cases from Greece, to Italy to Portugal and others where international organisations like the International Monetary Fund or supranational authorities like the European Commission – themselves under severe pressure – and financial-market intelligence agencies as Standard & Poor’s appear to lay down policy orientations regarding especially fiscal rules and budget administration. Thus, national authorities – and to some extent the supranational apparatuses they have erected to strengthen their capacities – are practically placed under the administrative supervision of technocrats who in the end are held accountable almost exclusively to financial markets and to economic pundits. In such conditions, national citizens’ preferences and views are disregarded contrary to democratic principles. Furthermore, we observe a scrapping of politics which we conceive of a noble and civilising activity to resolve conflicts and tensions as they relate to the definition of collective public choices through compromise and negotiation. The dramatic course of recent events in Europe is first evidence to suggest the weakening of the national state. However, it also shows a new phase in the expansion of unelected officials, a trend that has marked foreign policies and domestic policies as well in many countries over a few decades. On the basis of these general considerations, the intention of our paper is not so much to point to the negative evolution of our world as to pinpoint the problems that are before us if we overlook the crowding of protestors on urban sites across Europe and even North America. The solution could then be found in a revival of politics as it has been practiced to resolve crises through times.

George Kaloudis
Professor, Rivier College, USA

How to teach the New Globalism

This article proposes a framework on how to teach the New Globalism so that students can gain a better understanding of the world beyond the confines of the United States.

I began teaching my course on globalization during the mid-1990s with enthusiasm believing that my students would consider new and provocative material. In addition, I believed I was presenting them with a different way to view the international system. I had hoped that students would become more curious about the world beyond the confines of the United States. Soon I realized that my students were not any more interested about global affairs than before taking my course. The primary reason for the unfortunate outcome was the way I taught the subject matter. The course consisted of a constellation of disconnected topics ranging from historical to social to economic and political.

My students' and my own dissatisfaction led me to reconsider the course during the next few years, but the end product continued to be insufficient. Only when I read Manuel Castells' (2005) article on "Global Governance and Global Politics" I came to the conclusion that I had discovered an appropriate framework to effectively and systematically teach such a challenging course. It is a challenging course because of the definitional problems associated with the term globalization and because of the inexhaustible number of topics that could be examined in such a course.

In redesigning the course I considered three questions: 1. What definition and course-title best reflect the global changes? 2. Where does one begin when teaching a course on globalization? 3. What should the course examine?

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Libya and the Qaddafi Regime: The Quandary of Human Intervention

The paper proposes to look at the following: where the intervention against Libya's Qaddafi regime sits within the framework of UNSCR 1970 (and more broadly, Security Council resolutions in general); where it fits in the context US foreign policy in the post-Bush doctrine era; and whether the limited model of intervention by NATO forces, backed by a United States in a more 'backseat' role suggests a new model of intervention. NATO secretary general Rasmussen suggests the emergence of a humanitarian policing role, and this paper proposes to interrogate those claims in the context of previous interventions (parallels have been drawn with Kosovo in 1999). Finally, the paper considers whether the intervention was, in fact, articulated clearly and executed effectively by the forces who did intervene. What are the consequences of such 'imperial' adventures? Critics argue that the mandate was exceeded numerous times, and recognition of the Transitional National Council has proven problematic. We are also finding it particularly relevant as of this submission, given the debate taking place over a possible intervention in Syria.

Radiye Funda Karadeniz

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Western Thrace Minority in Turkish Foreign Policy: A View from the Kin-State

Dissolution of empires such as Ottoman, Austria-Hungary and the USSR not only changed the course of history but also the lives of many people within the boundaries of these empires. This ethnic legacy of the empires across the borders of the successor states has important place in their foreign policies towards countries which host these co-ethnics as minorities within their borders. However, when and how a state takes into consideration of its co-ethnics abroad in formulating its foreign policy is less discussed at a theoretical level in the literature compared to studies analyzing the link between ethnicity and foreign policy from perspectives of ethnic conflicts and diaspora politics. In this regard, Rogers Brubaker's suggestion of the model for understanding the relationship between kin-states, external minorities and the states which host those minorities should be underlined as a major contribution in the field. In the paper, with the help of this model, I will analyze with a comparative approach under which conditions, why and with which tools Turkey "remembers" Western Thrace minority and under which conditions and why it "forgets" this group in her foreign policy agenda in early Republican period, the Cold War era and its aftermath. The paper discusses that since the establishment of the Turkish Republic common ethnic ties with Western Thrace minority and her national interests provide incentive to act as a kin-state however, Turkey takes this role cautiously under some conditions and within the framework of her general foreign policy understanding. The paper mainly based on archival resources and interviews will show those conditions by emphasizing the continuities and changes in Turkey's policy towards Western Thrace minority. Hence analyzing Western Thrace minority from this perspective will contribute to our understanding of not only the relationship between kin-states and their minorities in general, but also will shed light on the less discussed issue in Turco-Greek relations within a conceptual and theoretical framework.

Yi-Ting Lee

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The Controversial Issue of United States Presidential Line Item Act: The Case Study of Clinton v. City of New York

In order to avoid the fault of deficit problem that American federal government had made in 1980's, the Congress enacted the Line Item Veto Act in 1996. According to Line Item Veto Act, American President had power to cancel certain item of Budget Act including any dollar amount of discretionary budget authority, any item of new direct spending and even any limited tax benefit. President could apply Line Item Power to restraint Congress who adopted acts by pork-barrel legislation or logrolling. In 1997, President Clinton started to exercise Line Item Veto Act, and simultaneously the lawsuits concerning violation of Constitution were following up. In *Clinton v. City of New York*, the Supreme Court held that the procedures of cancellation in the Act had violated the Presentment Clause and the principle of separation of powers. In this article, author briefly introduces the background about legislation of Line Item Veto Act. First, the author elaborates the problems implanting in legislation and distinguishes the difference between President Veto Power and Presidential Line Item Veto. Second, author discusses the situation as well as controversy that about the Line Item Veto that Clinton exercised. Moreover, in this part author also concentrates on two specific lawsuits Clinton involved in to discuss whether the Act would violate Presentment Clause and the principle of separation of powers or not. Third, passing through verdict to clarify the gloomy mist of Line Item Veto Act. In this Writing for the majority section, Justice John Paul Stevens noted that the cancellations pursuant to the Line Item Veto Act are the functional equivalent of partial repeal of Acts of Congress failing to satisfy Presentment Clause. In contrast, based on the dissent written by Justice Breyer, he rejected the argument that the power was an actual violation of presentment procedures and declared that Line Item Veto Act was a legitimate form of delegation. In conclusion, the author rethinks the influence of Line Item Veto Act and concludes four different angles of this Act. First, does the LIVA really solve the deficit problem? Second, is it appropriate to consider that LIVA compressed President's power while the LIVA was asserted to violate the Constitution? Third, dose LIVA expand a new way for interest groups? Last but not least is the future of the LIVA, and is it possible to get it back?

Vida Macikenaite

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Conflict Prevention through Unresolved Dispute or How Pending Joint Gas Development Initiative Contributed to the Regime Building and Peace in the East China Sea

The main purpose of this paper is to explain how pending joint resource development initiative between China and Japan served in maintaining peace and stability in the area that is how a non-implemented initiative to solve a bilateral conflict contributed to long-term conflict prevention. This initiative was raised by China in July 2004 when the gas field development dispute emerged. At that time Japan expressed its concerns over China's research and gas exploration activities in their disputed territories in the East China Sea. In its aftermath in fall 2005 the two countries were at the brink of military conflict. The worst-case scenario was avoided only because Japan accepted the Chinese initiative. Even now there still has been no progress in joint development. However, the credibility of this initiative still remains and a conflict is prevented. Thus a question arises why (or how) this pending initiative maintained its credibility.

This paper, building its argument on the theories of international regime, (marine) regime building, and conflict management (mainly reassurance in conflict management), suggests that both countries were aware of the fact that in 2004, when the gas field dispute emerged, regime building was at its early stage. As the theory suggest, regime building should be started with simple, less sensitive issue areas and only later advanced into such difficult policy issues as resource development. This paper argues that Japan was aware of the necessity to build regime in basic issue areas first, thus it tolerated China's inconsistent policies and lack of progress in their negotiations. In such a way the two countries were able to postpone the settlement of this sensitive issue and in a meanwhile they sought to promote regime building in other issue areas.

To support such an argument the paper examines regime building before and after the dispute emerged in 2004 and finds that regime building efforts (although often hindered by various issues in bilateral relations) intensified after 2004. Thus pending joint development initiative served in postponing a sensitive policy issue until basic regime, necessary to manage gas field issue, would be created.

Chris Mahony

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Chasing Charlie: How a Court was Established to Affect Regime Change in Liberia

Often cited as a 'new model' for post conflict justice, the Special Court for Sierra Leone has been lauded as an international and domestic hybrid, mandated to try 'persons bearing the greatest responsibility' for international crimes. This paper employs path dependence theory to examine how the court's historical antecedents instructed regulatory capture through court design by the courts designing actors - the United States, and to a lesser extent the U.K. That allowed case selection to be shaped, and prosecution disproportionately empowered to pursue politically selected cases.

Placing the creation of the Special Court in geo-political and historical context illuminates external intentions outside the parameters of orthodox transitional justice narratives. The Court's creation was premised by a narrative constructed by the British Government and then Sierra Leonean President, Ahmed Tejan Kabbah. It laid sole responsibility for the collapse of peace in 2000 at the feet of the RUF. This narrative prompted Senate Republicans to block US funding of the peace process causing the Clinton administration to shift US policy against then Liberian President, and RUF supporter, Charles Taylor. This paper argues that pressures for 'accountability' were employed by the Court's designing actors as one of four instruments to pressure Taylor from power and remove opponents to President Kabbah in Sierra Leone.

By drawing attention to departures from emerging court design norms such as ad-hoc amnesties and court dependence on designing states for funding, this paper identifies how politics compromised the court's independence. This compromised accused rights, and lent immunity to Kabbah, his foreign and domestic allies, and foreign RUF supporters with diplomatic clout. The paper concludes by examining the relationship between the breadth of state participation in tribunal design, and the vulnerability of international crimes case selection to political manipulation.

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The American Just War Doctrine in the 21st Century: Continuity or Renewal?

Evaluations of the American war against Iraq are split into two irreconcilable camps among just war theorists. Michael Walzer, on the one hand, is basically critical of the war, saying that the threat of Saddam's regime did not then constitute the right of self-defense of the U.S. or any other country. Jean Bethke Elshtain, on the other, believes that it is the obligation of the U.S. to defend universal values like freedom and democracy on the world-wide scale, and argues for the justification of the Iraq war. Why and how are such opposite standpoints found in the same idea of "just war"?

This paper aims to answer this question by subdividing the kinds and traditions of just war theory. In fact, the doctrine of just war, which goes back more than 1,600 years to the era of St. Augustine, is the gathering of particular ideas that are joined together in their family resemblance yet still different in fundamental ways. Especially, the difference between the modern just war theory and the premodern one is substantial and significant. Historically, the doctrine of just war was born far earlier than the emergence of the modern sovereign state system, and has not always been suitable for it in some crucial respects. In my analysis, Walzer belongs to the modern just war tradition since Grotius, while Elshtain belongs to the premodern one since Augustine.

This paper first makes clear in what way the modern and premodern just war traditions are different with a brief, historical overview. Secondly, it develops the distinction further by presenting a detailed analysis of the conflicting evaluations of Walzer and Elshtain over the Iraq war. Finally, this paper points out that the American just war doctrine in this century has been steadily drifting from the former to the latter.

Masa Mrovlje

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Hannah Arendt, Political Judgment And Reconciliation in the Wake of an Abyss of Injustice and Evil

Recent debates about transitional justice continue to grapple with the difficulty of how to judge past wrongs and bring about reconciliation in societies deeply divided by violent pasts. Yet, this difficulty is usually approached by envisioning reconciliation as a restoration of a preconceived moral and political order, which risks not only obscuring the often pervasive breakdown of all moral and political standards but also falling short of truly bringing about the proclaimed reign of justice and a conciliatory future. This paper suggests to reorient these debates by approaching reconciliation through the prism of the radical challenge to established modes and categories of judgement that past injustices represent. To that end, it turns to the work of Hannah Arendt, who, in response to the crisis in judgement of her time, acknowledged the loss of all reliable yardsticks and reconsidered political judgement in specifically existential terms, as an activity grounded in and constantly revivifying the fundamental existential condition of being-in-the-world-with-others. Arendt's appropriation of Kant's aesthetic judgement, it is argued, amounts to a conception of political judgement that judges events in their phenomenal reality, without eclipsing their particularity and ambiguity under prefabricated standards and categories, and that is, as representative thinking, predicated upon the feeling of responsibility for the common world and its members. Political judgement based on such existential concern with the recovery of a common, public world and the dignity of its members as plural equals, this paper argues, can reinvigorate transitional justice debates by approaching reconciliation not as a restoration of (liberal or communitarian) moral and political ideals nor as a postmodern agonistic and irresolvable play of irreconcilable interests, but as an attempt to preserve the memory of past wrongs and of the victims as part of the common world without foreclosing the possibility of a common future and dialogue between former enemies.

Aleksandar Pavkovic

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Wars of secession: Chechnya and Kosovo

The paper is a comparative study of two secessionist wars: the (first) war in Chechnya (1994-6) and the war in Kosovo (1998-99). Chechnya and Kosovo, at the start of their attempts at secession, had a number of structural features in common. Both Chechnya and Kosovo:

Were a sub-federal unit in a nested federation constructed on the same Soviet model.

Were one of the economically least developed units in the federation (host state)

Had a majority population whose language, culture and religion (Islam) was distinct from the majority population in the host state (Eastern Orthodox).

Had preserved a clan-based social structure in which individuals identified with their clan and followed a code of honour associated with this kind of clan structure.

Had a history of armed resistance to the initial annexation and of repeated armed rebellions against the host state (a history of attempted secessions).

There are, however, the following significant differences:

The principal secessionist party in Kosovo formed in 1989, the League for a Democratic Kosovo was a mass organization which systematically avoided the use of violence. Its counterpart in Chechnya, the All-National Congress of Chechen Peoples had organized and used armed force almost from its inception in 1990.

The Chechen armed forces, armed from the arsenal of the departing Soviet forces, were able to defeat, without any military assistance from outside, the much larger Russian forces (the first Chechen war 1994-96). The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), in spite of assistance from the US in weapons, training in 1998 and (in 1999) the systematic bombing of Serbia, was unable to take over any of the towns in Kosovo let alone defeat the Yugoslav/Serbian forces.

As a result of support of the US and its European allies, from 1999 Kosovo has enjoyed de facto independence from Serbia and from 2008 on it came to be recognized as an independent state by a large number of states. Chechnya had no support from outside states, was reincorporated into the Russian federation in 2000 (the second Chechen war) but had since achieved a high degree of autonomy from Russia under a dictatorial regime which is supported by Russian political leaders.

This paper attempts to explain the above three differences by reference to the personality/background of the two secessionist leaders (General Dudaev and Dr Rugova) and the initial political opportunities and challenges facing these two secessionist movements. Here is a brief list of the latter:

The Chechen secessionist movement made ample use of a power vacuum resulting from the Yeltsin-Gorbachev rivalry and the August 1991 coup in Moscow to build up its armed forces. Kosovo secessionists had no similar opportunities: at no point was there a power vacuum of this sort in Kosovo.

But Dudaev's All-National Congress faced stiff competition from a variety of Chechen parties and leaders who rejected his secessionist platform. Dudaev attempted to eliminate his opponents/competitors by the use of his militia. Rugova's party in Kosovo faced no such competition and refrained from use of force against the host state too.

Rugova's peaceful orientation did not elicit any tangible support from the US. The US administration started supporting its rival, the KLA, following the KLA's mass armed uprising in 1998. This identified the KLA as the most effective opponent of the Milosevic regime in Serbia/Yugoslavia which was at the time viewed with disfavor by the US and its European allies. The US-initiated NATO military intervention in support of the KLA in 1999 was, at least in part, an attempt at regime change in Serbia. In contrast, the US supported Gorbachev and later the Yeltsin regime in Russia and the attempt at secession of Chechnya was, consequently, viewed as an 'internal' Russian affair in which US had no role to play.

The attempts at secession of Chechnya and Kosovo both involved the deployment of the secessionist armed force in an armed insurrection against the host state armed force. Both armed insurrections were countered by large-scale military operations in which the superior military forces of the host state ultimately defeated or neutralized the secessionist armed forces. In the case of Kosovo but not of Chechnya, outside military intervention (by NATO) forced the host state, Yugoslavia, to withdraw its military forces and in this way neutralized the effects of the secessionist defeat. The two conflicts resulted in a large number of civilian deaths as well as large scale forced eviction of civilians.

The paper discusses the following two questions:

In which way were these secessionist wars, politics by other means?
What were the political goals that these wars were to achieve?

Were these goals achievable by peaceful means?

Regarding the first question, the secessionists' deployment of military force had a very simple political end: to deny the host state political control over the territory they claimed and to enable to

establish or maintain an independent state. The host states were attempting to prevent that but was their aim to establish political control by military means? In both cases, the host states were happy to install or to tolerate native political leaders who posed no threat to the host state authorities. Their political aim was to eliminate the secessionist armed forces which posed a direct threat to the host state's military - and not political - control over the territory. In both cases they were not aiming to impose direct political control over the secessionist territory from the host state capital.

This suggests that the host state would be ready to grant 'substantive' political autonomy to the secessionist territory provided that its military control over the territory - and its political control over the adjoining regions - is not threatened. At the beginning of the conflict, the principal secessionist political movements both in Kosovo and in Chechnya were, for different reasons, not ready to settle for any political autonomy short of independence. But upon the conclusion of the first Chechen war, in 1996, the new Chechen secessionist leadership was ready to accept, at least temporarily, de facto independence (without any international recognition) which included the withdrawal of the Russian military forces. The Kosovo Albanian secessionist movement was not ready to accept any similar compromise in part because their leaders expected the recognition of their independence from the US and some of its European allies. Was the US support for the Kosovo Albanian secessionists (principally the KLA) a major factor which led to the continued warfare in Kosovo, culminating in the NATO military intervention? While the paper cannot offer a conclusive answer to this question, the paper will offers.

Luis Perez-Feliciano

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Schumpeter & the American Economy

Capitalism continues to demonstrate that its “gale of creative destruction” is always at work bringing down whatever barriers are erected to prevent its expansion. This paper argues that the American economy is a clear example of Schumpeter’s process of creative-destruction at work. General Motors’ battle to enter the high-volume, low-cost market dominated by Ford during the 1920s is a good example. In the later decades of the twenty-century foreign firms, e.g., European, Japanese and later a few Korean ones began to compete effectively against the American Big Three. Their challenge of the market dominance of the American brands was so effective that the mighty GM filed for bankruptcy in 2009 and Fiat acquired Chrysler. Without Fiat, Chrysler would have gone bankrupt as well. The mighty GM, the epitome of the American corporation emerged from Chapter 11 as a ward of the state. Eastman Kodak had been struggling to make the transition from its celluloid photographic film to the digital technology that now dominates photography. Because of its struggles, Kodak filed for bankruptcy in January 2012. These companies are just some of the most well known recent examples of Schumpeter’s “gale of creative destruction” has gained tremendous speed in the last few decades. Even the so-called natural monopolies have found that changes in technology can bring down what was thought to be a Chinese wall. The spread of cellular phones over the last decade is a clear example of how disruptive new technologies can be. Landline telephones are on the way of joining the dodo.

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U.S. Policy in the Middle East Faces the Arab Spring: Is U.S. Influence Waning?

Political reform and democratization became more fully integrated into the US policy agenda in the Middle East with the Bush Administration. US efforts to foster democratic transformation in the Middle East has not had a significant impact on Arab countries, which have remained largely autocratic. Democracy promotion is an area where there is a gap between U.S. political ideals and the realpolitik of its strategic national interests, as well as the interests of its allies. Clearly, the US is in a quandary over how to handle the crisis unleashed by the "Arab Spring" in late 2010: it must juggle its moral obligations and ideals without undercutting its strategic interests and those of its close allies. The Middle East is a region of vital U.S. interest, in part because it possesses the world's largest reserves of oil and natural gas.

Now, with popular uprisings sweeping through the area, U.S. policymakers are looking at other ways Washington can stay relevant in the region. U.S. policymakers are trying to support democracy, but also worry about mounting instability in the region. In the first weeks of the crisis, the administration's response was fairly conflicted and hesitant. In Egypt and Tunisia, Obama chose to rebalance the American stance gradually backing away from support for allies, President Hosni Mubarak and Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, and allowing the popular movements to run their course. The Obama administration gradually settled on an approach to deal with the upheavals: help keep longtime allies who are willing to reform in power, even if that means the democratic demands of their citizens might have to wait. Instead of pushing for immediate "regime change" as it did to varying degrees in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, the U.S. is urging protesters from North Africa to the Gulf to work with existing rulers toward what some officials and diplomats are now calling "regime alteration".

The administration has seen that there are limitations on its influence. Obama's lack of a strategy and "reactive" rather than "strategic" approach to the Middle East reveals an inconsistent approach. The Arab Spring highlights that U.S. influence is fading. Washington has had very limited capacity to determine what was going on inside these countries, and very often it found itself having to follow the lead of these countries. The Middle East is traditionally seen in IR theory as a dependent sub-system, a penetrated system (L. Carl Brown), dominated by the US since the end of the Cold War. According to the

structuralist view of world (J. Galtung) the Middle East is located on the periphery and subordinated to the “core.” Specifically, such relations tend to generate a “constrained consensus” that results in significant congruence between the foreign policies of regional states and those of the core. This paper intends to draw on IR theoretical literature to account for the behaviour of U.S. Middle Eastern client-states and to gauge Washington’s level of influence in directing the Arab Spring. The theoretical objective of this course is to demonstrate the political interrelationship between domestic and regional political change and the way they have undercut the role of the U.S. patron.

The purposes of this paper are twofold: the first is analyzing the Obama administration policy towards the momentous events unleashed by the “Arab Spring”. The second aim is to try to find an explanation in IR theories applied to the region of the apparent erosion of US influence there.

Sunil Sahu

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Globalization, WTO and the Indian Pharmaceutical Industry

The proposed study is aimed at analyzing the effect of India's membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and its signing of the TRIPs agreement, which effectively ended 36 years of protection for Indian companies, on the pharmaceutical industry in general and the Indian sector in particular. My goals in this paper are four-fold. First, I will examine the effect of the implementation of the provisions of TRIPs on the growth of the national and multinational sectors of the industry. (The Indian Patent Law [1970], which provided process patent for 7 years and stimulated growth in the national sector of the industry in the last three decades, has been replaced by the Patents [Amendments] Act of 2005, which provides a more stringent patent regime - product patent for 20 years.) Second, I will analyze whether the new WTO rules will necessarily benefit pharmaceutical companies from the West, especially the U.S. and Switzerland, and whether there is evidence to support the assertion made by industry insiders such as Y.K. Hameid, Managing Director of Cipla, that by 2015 multinational corporations will reestablish their monopoly of the industry by controlling at least 60% of the Indian market. Third, I will investigate whether the multinational monopoly of the drug industry has had - or will have - a negative consequence for Indian consumers. Finally, I will examine the ways in which Indian companies are responding to the challenges of globalization and analyze their new strategies, such as (a) outsourcing deals with multinationals to produce generic and patented drugs, (b) increasing R&D activities to enable them to make a transition from being drug "imitators" to drug "innovators", (c) undertaking contract research, including outsourced clinical trials, (d) collaborating in joint R&D and product and process development to synergize their knowledge-base and effectively exploit available human resources and infrastructure (Ranbaxy's alliance with GlaxoSmithKline), and (e) undergoing a consolidation phase through indigenous mergers and acquisitions and strategic alliances.

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&

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An Essay on the Relation between Democracy and the Modern State: The Case of Turkey

Democracy and state, which have been debated for 2500 years, are two basic concepts of the political science. Through historical process the concept of democracy has been loaded with different meanings, and has gone through different transformations from the direct democracy of the antique Greek to the contemporary representative democracy of our time. Similarly the concept of the state has been also defined and debated in different forms in the process which reaches from the states of the cities (police) to empires, and from feudal kingdoms to the modern states.

Democracy has been used as the concept related with peculiarities of the relationships between society and state, i.e. a concept about political system, in the modern era. The basic problem of the modern world is how much the political system is democratic or not in some way. Nowadays changes and transformations lived in the Arab world have put a kind of demand for democracy once more on the agenda against the arbitrary governments. Alias, international interventions carried out have been put forward on behalf of providing the democratic rights and freedom of people. In short, democracy and the view of a democratic state or struggle for democratization of the current political systems have been continuing to be basic political motivation.

This work concentrates on the mutual relationships between democracy and modern state. In this context, in relation to the modern state, multisided relationships of the democracy, which is regarded as a positive value, and how it shows itself in the case of Turkey are handled. The first section of the study includes the investigation of the concept of democracy in theoretical and empirical levels. The second section concentrates on the concept of the state, especially the concept of the modern state. The third second aims to uncover the multi directional relationships between democracy and the modern state. The last section concentrates on through the case of Turkey discussions and comments of arguments in relations to the links between democracy and the modern state.

Reza Simbar

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Radical West, Radical Islam: Impacts and Implications International Relations

After the 9/11, international relations have been characterized by terror and violence. This paper argues the main reason for this entity is radicalism, both in the West and in the Islamic World. These two have many similarities. They see everything black or white, they do not want to understand, they are disabling to negotiate and compromise, they use violence, terror and military invasion to reach their objectives. To avoid more casualties, both moderate West and moderate Islam should reject radicalism. Muslims and the West, through dialogue and negotiations, should try to understand each other and to settle their differences.

Miguel Souto Lopez

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The Vocationalisation of University Courses in the Wallonia Brussels Federation

The French community in Belgium, now referred to as the Wallonia-Brussels Federation, joined the Bologna Process in 1999. In 2004, the Community government promulgated a decree referred to as being "from Bologna", which introduces reforms to higher education to harmonise it with the European higher education framework. The reading of the decree suggests that university courses should now be more vocational at the graduate level for shorter courses, and at postgraduate level for longer courses. In other words, the university training provision is now to match the competence profiles that the employment market is expecting to see. This requirement for a vocational approach is indicative of the ever-growing influence of the economic arena on the university arena.

This communication is intended to draw out figures other than the political ones who have been involved in negotiations to complete the drafting of the decree. More specifically, it is about seeing to what extent those outside the university arena alone have managed to influence what is available as far as university training is concerned, in order for this training to match the competence profiles that the employment market is expecting to see, from an economic perspective.

Ezequiel de Souza

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Religion and Masculinities in Southern Brazil

The paper aims to analyse how religion contributed to the formation and reproduction of gender roles, especially the male roles. Starting from a theological perspective, we look into paths that can be traced to overcome the male dominance, always taking into account the ambiguous participation that religion has played in the construction of gender roles, including the male roles. We argue about the need for a spirituality that takes embodiment as a starting point for the expression and experience of masculinity, no longer guided in strength and power, but in sharing and solidarity. In a country where religion plays an important role in building society, this approach has a practical and theoretical importance.

Monika A. Szkarlat

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Genetically Modified Food Global Governance

Modern biotechnology is characterized by fast and evolutionary changes that are subject of huge controversy and heated debate among scientists, politicians or business representatives in the world at large. Presumably the most contentious biotechnology applications are genetically modified organisms used in agriculture and food production. Taking into account a high level of controversy among states, international organizations and non-state actors caused by GM food commercialization it is obvious that the regulatory process is a priority. Due to diverse interests of stakeholders and the matter of regulations that is still evolving it is difficult to make a compromise.

Therefore, the current normative system concerning genetically modified organisms can be described as “regulatory polarization” where bilateral trade disputes, conceptual differences in standard-setting approach between the US and the EU are exported to the rest of the world. The EU multi-leveled and highly politicized regulatory system is confronted with technocratic and specialized agencies’ based US system. Institutional differences are complemented by interest-group game of power, cultural and social differences. Transatlantic partners are still taking steps towards reaching a compromise. Regrettably without success. Transgovernmental relations are an example of such attempts which consists of several platforms of cooperation: transgovernmental networks, transnational non-governmental networks and public-private transnational networks.

Moreover, the international rules and norms introduced within the UN system or regional cooperation bodies can’t either be treated as a source of concession. This led to a creation of overlapping regulatory regimes e.g. food security regime, trade, and environmental, which by many are seen as based on conflicting concepts, assumptions and legal philosophies of how various aspects of GM foods ought to be regulated. Lack of hierarchy and a mixture of soft and hard law regulations and norms between and within above-mentioned regimes result in diverse interrelated events such as forum-shop phenomenon used by many states to safeguard their interests. States that are in the course of accurate regulations’ creation e. g. many developing countries deal with an even more demanding task to decide which catalogue of rules and principles is superior or which international body carries an authority in terms of GMOs regulations.

Besides, the cooperation within regimes is neither simple nor easy because of distributive conflicts among the most influential state parties supported by non-state lobbyists such as TNCs and NGOs. It is obvious that the division of authority and power belongs to a restricted group of states and leaders in international trade and technology development. In that sense the role of international bodies is rather complementary than decisive. Then it is arguable whether we can talk about a conflict of standards occurring between international regimes or maybe the real source of impediments is states' unwillingness to compromise.

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The Ecumenical Constitution of Liberation Theology and Its Reflections in the Construction of the Human Rights in Brazil

The Constitution of Human Rights in Brazil was conceived in the fight against the dictatorial system that existed in Brazil for 21 years (1964-1985), having as protagonists in the denunciation of tyrannies, the Christian Churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church. And many of the social agents who had fought for its establishment had in the Liberation Theology (TL) a fundamental theoretical tool. Since then Human Rights have been discussed and transformed into legal institutes or even created in the perception of great part of the population as something that leads to the formation of the citizen person. The proposed work aims to conduct an analytical study on the ecumenical fundamentation found in much of the conceptual principles of Liberation Theology and its consequent reflexes in the country's political discussions related to national programs of Human Rights.