

2014

Politics Abstracts

12th Annual International
Conference on Politics &
International Affairs
16-19 June 2014, Athens, Greece

Edited by Gregory T. Papanikos

THE ATHENS INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH



Politics

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**12th Annual International
Conference on Politics &
International Affairs**

16-19 June 2014,

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Edited by Gregory T. Papanikos

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Preface

This abstract book includes all the abstracts of the papers presented at the 12th Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs and Annual International Forum on Policy and Decision Making, 16-19 June 2014, organized by the Athens Institute for Education and Research. In total there were 26 papers and 29 presenters, coming from 17 different countries (Albania, Australia, Canada, China, Croatia, Denmark, Fyrom, Greece, Israel, Japan, Lithuania, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, The Netherlands, Turkey and USA). The conference was organized into VIII sessions that included areas of Political Economy, Issues in Politics, Diplomacy and other related disciplines. 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
**12th Annual International Conference on Politics & International
Affairs, 9-12 June 2014, Athens, Greece**

PROGRAM

Conference Venue: Titania Hotel (52 Panepistimiou Avenue)

ORGANIZING AND SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

1. Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER.
2. Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.
3. Dr. George Poulos, Vice-President of Research, ATINER & Emeritus Professor, University of South Africa, South Africa.
4. Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice-President of Academic Affairs, ATINER & Professor, Sam Houston University, USA.
5. Dr. Chris Sakellariou, Vice-President of Finance, ATINER & Associate Professor, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.
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7. Dr. Michael P. Malloy, Director, [Business and Law Research Division](#), ATINER & Distinguished Professor, Pacific University, USA.
8. Dr. Gregory A. Katsas, Head, Sociology Research Unit, ATINER & Associate Professor of Sociology, The American College of Greece-Deree College, Greece.
9. Dr. Viviane de Beaufort, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, ESSEC Business School, France.
10. Dr. Constantine P. Danopoulos, Academic Member, ATINER & President's Scholar, San Jose State University San Jose, USA.
11. Dr. Christianna Nichols Leahy, Professor of Comparative Politics & Chair, Department of Political Science and International Studies, McDaniel College, USA.
12. Dr. Nikolaos Liodakis, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada.
13. Dr. Akis Kalaitzidis, Academic Member, ATINER & Assistant Professor, Central Missouri State University, USA.
14. Dr. George Kaloudis, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, Rivier College, USA.
15. Mr. Vasilis Charalampopoulos, Researcher, ATINER & Ph.D. Student, University of Stirling, U.K.
16. Mr. Apostolos Kotsaspyrou, Researcher, ATINER.

Administration

Fani Balaska, Stavroula Kiritsi, Eirini Lentzou, Konstantinos Manolidis, Katerina Maraki, Celia Sakka, Konstantinos Spiropoulos & Ioanna Trafali

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 16 June 2014

09:00-09:30 Registration

09:30-10:00 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. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.

10:00-11:30 Session I: Issues in Politics and Public Administration

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

1. Richard Hula, Professor, Michigan State University, USA. State Restructuring of Local Policy Regimes.
2. Simon Beste, Ph.D. Student, University of Lucerne, Switzerland. Patterns of Deliberation in Legislative Debates on American-Iraqi Relations. Evidence from a Longitudinal, Computer-Assisted Study of Congressional Debates.
3. Christianna Leahy, Chair, Department of Political Science and International Studies Professor of Comparative Politics, McDaniel College, USA. Whither the Solidarity? The Future of European Integration.
4. Athanasios Mihalakas, Assistant Professor, State University of New York, USA. A League of Nations in Transition- Regional Integration for the Arab Spring.

11:30-13:00 Session II: International Security

Chair: Richard Hula, Professor, Michigan State University, USA.

1. *Sayed Khatab, Professor, Monash University, Australia. The Rule of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt: The Failure of Political and Historic Fall.
2. Sandra Via, Assistant Professor, Ferrum College, USA & Jon Robinson, Undergraduate Student, Ferrum College, USA. Britain's Nuclear Program: Security or Economic Burden?
3. Mustafa Yetim, Researcher, Ankara University, Turkey. Impact of Hezbollah after Arab Spring as a Violent Non-State Actor: Limitations and Prospects.
4. Martynas Zapolskis, Research Fellow, University of Lucerne, Lithuania. Security Policydilemmas of Small NATO States in Light of Defence Austerity.

13:00-14:00 Lunch

14:00 -15:30 Session III: Diplomacy and Foreign Policy

Chair: *Sayed Khatab, Professor, Monash University, Australia.

1. Hwajung Kim, Ph.D. Student, Ewha Womans University, South Korea & Kisuk Cho, Professor, Ewha Womans University, South Korea. What Makes Public Diplomacy Effective: The Case of German Public Diplomacy in South Korea. (Monday 16 June 2014)
2. Bryndis Woods, Ph.D. Researcher, University of Iceland, Denmark. Towards a Better Understanding of International Climate Change Negotiations.

15:30-17:00 Session IV: International Relations and Political Theory

Chair: Nikolaos Liodakis, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada.

1. Bettina Koch, Associate Professor, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, USA. Liberation Theologies, Periphery Existence, and Global Challenges: Towards a Transcultural Ideology of Liberation.
2. Salma Yusuf, Legal Analyst and Lecturer in Law, Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka: From Winning the War to Winning the Peace.

17:00-19:00 Session V: Round Table Discussion on The 2014 Election Results for the European Parliament: Opportunities and Threats

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

Contributors:

1. Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.
2. Dr. Christianna Nichols Leahy, Professor of Comparative Politics & Chair, Department of Political Science and International Studies, McDaniel College, USA.
3. Dr. Auke Leen, Assistant Professor, Leiden University, the Netherlands.
4. Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, Honorary Professor, University of Stirling, U.K. & President, Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER).

21:00-23:00 Greek Night and Dinner (Details during registration)

Tuesday 17 June 2014

09:00-11:00 Session VI: Politics, Economics, Society and International Relations in the Balkans

Chair: Emanuel Gregory Boussios, Professor, Hofstra University NCC, USA.

1. Ardit Bido, Lecturer, University of Tirana, Albania. The Orthodox Church in Albania and Greek-Albanian Relations 1919-1922.
2. Jonuz Abdullai, Lecturer, FYROM & Afrim Tresi, Administrative Assistant, FYROM. Political Crisis in Western Balkans, the Challenges and Perspectives the Day After.
3. Mika Obara, Researcher, International Christian University, Japan. Capital Punishment in Japan: Implications of the De Facto Moratorium Periods. (Tuesday 17 of June).
4. Nikolaos Liidakis, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada. The economic crisis and its impact on political party fragmentation in Greece, 2010-2014.
5. Ali Pajaziti, Professor, Fyrom & Memet Memeti, Professor, Fyrom. Policy-Making Process in the Local Level from Gender Perspectives Issues in FYROM (Republic of Macedonia).
6. Constantine P. Danopoulos, President's Scholar, One Washington Square San Jose State University San Jose, USA. Cultural Attribute and Legal 'NO - MANS' Land in Greece.

11:00-13:00 Session VII: International Political Economy

Chair: Ardit Bido, Lecturer, University of Tirana, Albania.

1. Emanuel Gregory Boussios, Professor, Hofstra University NCC, USA. The 'Resurgent' Youth Voter in the United States. (Tuesday 17 of June).
2. Corliss Lentz, Associate Professor, Sam Houston State University, USA. Using The United Nation's Millennium Education Goal to Develop a Middle Class: The Case Study of Zambia.
3. Auke Leen, Assistant Professor, Leiden University, The Netherlands. The Long-Term Budget of the European Union as a Political Power Game among the Institutions of the European Union.
4. Megan Alessandrini, Lecturer, University of Tasmania, Australia. Place-Based Strategic Planning: The Politics of Participation.
5. Kristijan Kotarski, Researcher, University of Zagreb, Croatia. Political Economy of Debt and Banking Crisis in the EU: Rising Finalization and its Ramifications. (Tuesday 17 June 2014)

13:00-14:00 Lunch

14:00 -15:30 Session VIII: European Integration

Chair: Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.

1. Gayil Talshir, Head, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. Democracy: Freedom against Equality? Newest Developments in Political Theory and their Political Consequences. (Tuesday, 17 of June, afternoon).
2. Zhijie Cheng, Ph.D. Student, Beijing Normal University, China. The Problems Confronted by EU Integration.
3. Wan Wang, Ph.D. Student, Beijing Normal University, China & Zhijie Cheng, Ph.D. Student, Beijing Normal University, China. The Relationship between the Euro Zone's Crisis and the EU Integration.

17:30-20:30 Urban Walk (Details during registration)

21:00- 22:00 Dinner (Details during registration)

Wednesday 18 June 2014

Cruise: (Details during registration)

Thursday 19 June 2014

Delphi Visit: (Details during registration)

Jonuz Abdullai
Lecturer, Fyrom
&
Afrim Tresi
Administrative Assistant, Fyrom

Political Crisis in Western Balkans, the Challenges and Perspectives the Day After

In this scientific research we treat the actual political situation in the region, by analyzing the reasons and consequences for the existence of the political crisis. We will present the baggage from the past and the dynamics of changes after the fall of Berlin wall, by treating the leadership that requires a vision and courage for overcoming the differences and misunderstandings that are present with ages in the area.

We will present evidence on the political paradox of the integration of the entire region in the Euro-Atlantic structures, where there is a huge difference between the declarations and the actual work from the actors in the decisions making processes during the transition process.

Also, in this paper we will try to explain and give answer to the many questions that have to do with the factors that have impact over the creation of the political crisis, which is narrowing the public space rather than focusing on the economic crisis as a main concern for overcoming the difficulties that the citizens face and reaching their expectations from the governments they elect. The alternative is the present danger that deems over the region because of the many problems which are piled and not resolved for a long period.

In the end of the paper we will facilitate the opinion that is not necessary to match the political and cultural identity of people in order to reach harmony. The culture of fear and humiliation which are preinstalled in the present societies, should change and be replaced by the hope and mutual understanding by the future generations. On this regard, by using the contemporary methodology and techniques, we will present the findings from the research survey that will be conducted on students of universities from the country.

Megan Alessandrini
Lecturer, University of Tasmania, Australia

Place-based Strategic Planning: The Politics of Participation

The Global Financial Crisis put enormous pressure on government service delivery responsibilities, and its impact continues to be felt. This comparative analysis of the participative policy-making approaches and their impact examines the political processes of negotiation and developing consensus. Participative democracy is the foundation principle of Oregon Shines [USA] and Tasmania Together [Australia], and to varying degrees in three other Australian cases examined. How effective are regional planning strategies compared government-driven planning projects? Tasmania Together has been globally recognized as innovative and unique in its process and outcomes because of its bottom-up structure [OECD award winner]. A comparison of Oregon USA and the Australian cases illustrates the styles adopted in engaging citizens, and their impact.

The third way political movement gained traction which led to enthusiastic pursuit of NGO and community endorsement of policy, frequently couched in community-wide plans (Giddens, 2001). These powerful plans depend on community support for their legitimacy, carriage and to ensure successful adoption and implementation. Strategic plans have provided a basis for political decisions and claims of success and progress, as well as providing the foundation for effective public management through policy development and implementation. The process is heavily reliant on community engagement at every stage. It is debatable as to how much responsibility should be handed to the community and what form it should take, and how much control and leadership should be retained by the 'responsible' government. Several models have been adopted which invite comparison. While not a case of policy transfer as such, their consecutive roll out facilitated intra-regional learning and shared experiences with each taking elements. It quickly became clear that a necessary but not sufficient requirement for success was a degree of community engagement. This commentary is based on interviews with key informants, a stratified literature review and document search.

Simon Beste

PhD Student University of Lucerne, Switzerland

**Patterns of Deliberation in Legislative Debates on
American-Iraqi Relations. Evidence from a
Longitudinal, Computer-Assisted Study of
Congressional Debates**

Deliberation is increasingly becoming a mainstream concept in the social sciences. Yet, empirical translations of deliberative concepts confront two challenges: first, the operationalization of deliberative quality occurred at a micro level and analyzed mostly "insulated" and singular instances of deliberative qualities. Second, there is a dearth of research using content-related criteria to judge deliberative quality. In this paper, I try to overcome these deficiencies. On the one hand, I employ an innovative, computer-assisted, and semi-automated approach for coding deliberative instances. I define two basic dimensions of deliberative discussions, namely content (what is said) and form (how is it presented). In so doing, the analysis merges deliberation and discourse analysis for the first time. In concrete, topical and thematic streams of discourse are identified and linked to procedural standards of deliberation. On the other hand, by analyzing discourse structures and their evolution, I attempt to overcome the preponderance of micro-level approaches to deliberative quality. Topic-wise, I focus on U.S. Congressional debates surrounding the Iraq conflict in the period between 1995 and 2012.

Ardit Bido

Lecturer, University of Tirana, Albania

The Orthodox Church in Albania and Greek-Albanian Relations 1919-1922

This paper examines the role that the Orthodox Church in Albania played in Albanian-Greek relations from the end of World War I to the establishment of a national Autocephalous Orthodox Albanian Church in 1922. As a result of the political and social structure that was in place during the Ottoman Empire, religion played a significant role in post-Ottoman politics. This was amplified in countries like Albania, where no national religious institutions existed. At the end of World War I, Greece used its influence towards the Patriarchate of Constantinople to increase its opportunity to annex the terra irredenta of Korçë and Gjirokastër, while Albania tried and managed to nationalize religious communities that existed in its territory. The mainly Orthodox, Albanian-speaking Area/Region/Diocese of Korça where religion became the outmost battlefield between Albania and Greece is the area of research for this paper. The way politics used religious communities on one hand, and the way religious communities used their influence towards politics on the other hand, constitute the core analyses of this paper. The theoretical approach of religion as a soft power in International Relations distinguishes two main levels of the religious communities, firstly its role as a political structure (bishops, priests) that can be influenced by state organization and secondly its divine authority, which constitutes its inner strength and can be used to influence the faithful population toward a national or social idea. As such, the paper focuses on Albanian-Greek diplomatic battle as well as on the religious battle between the Albanian-speaking Orthodox populations the Greek religious hierarchy. The results that are acquired from this paper can be used in other similar situations throughout the territories that once were part of the Ottoman Empire, as they have as their basic premise the Millet System based on which the Sultans governed their empire.

Emanuel Gregory Boussios
Professor, Hofstra University NCC, USA

The 'Resurgent' Youth Voter in the United States

The 2008 U.S. Presidential election was a voting booth landslide for Democratic candidate Barack Obama over Republican candidate John McCain among 18-to-29 year old voters. This research analyzes 2008 National Election Pool exit poll data and seeks to explain why candidate Obama did so well in this election among this category of voters. The author finds that the evaluation of politicians' personalities is a critical part of explaining young voters' choice of candidate Obama as president. This research also found that young voters favored Obama because he was a Democratic Party candidate and liberal on political and social issues.

The author finds some evidence of political parties contacting young voters as favorably affecting their voting choice. This cross-sectional analysis studies groups by age, party identification, and political ideology, in their general likelihood to support candidates in the 2008 presidential election.

Candidate Obama handily won the youth vote in the 2012 presidential contest, tilting key swing states in his direction bolstered by a substantial youth voter turnout in the polls, repeating a similar pattern seen in the 2008 presidential election.

Zhijie Cheng

PhD Student, Beijing Normal University, China

The Problems Confronted by EU Integration

The EU integration has clearly confronted with a series of problems during the process of it, which is mainly reflected in aspects of economy, politics, defense, enlargement and foreign affairs. These problems will affect the process of EU integration if they are not solved. For example, the abolition of state sovereignty, the EU system, imbalanced comprehensive national power and the pursuit of balanced interests and political corruption of member states in politics; the common agricultural policy, and the fiscal policy in economy; defense, enlargement, the complex relations between EU and America, Russia and Turkey. This essay will examine the problems confronted by the EU integration in four parts.

Constantine P. Danopoulos

President's Scholar, One Washington Square San Jose State University
San Jose, USA

Cultural Attribute and Legal 'NO - MANS' Land in Greece

Despite period of growth, modern Greece is no stranger to severe and prolonged economic crises. Although the current and ongoing economic meltdown and the bankruptcy declaration of 1893 are considered the most severe, the country has experienced numerous economic slowdowns since independence. In fact, there are few periods, if any, that Greece had a balanced state budget and the country was free of foreign debt. Lack of resources, political instability, foreign intervention, corruption and mismanagement, and international economic slumps are some of the reasons/factors analysts have relied on to explain the country's financial ills. Lately, corruption or underground economic activity has emerged as the main culprit. Though important and well thought out, such analyses seem to have stayed clear of the seminal importance of culture as a key variable responsible for widespread and persistent corruption that have deprived the country of a viable and sound economic basis. This work seeks to fill the void by concentrating of the cultural roots of corruption and the sources/factors generate, nurture, and maintain high levels of corruption in the Greek setting. Borrowing from Anthropological literature, the paper utilizes nine cultural dimensions of corruption. These are: uncertainty avoidance, future orientation, institutional/societal collectivism, individual/in-group collectivism, human orientation, performance orientation, power distance, assertiveness, and gender egalitarianism.

Richard Hula

Professor, Michigan State University, USA

State Restructuring of Local Policy Regimes

This paper explores a set of intervention strategies used by state officials to bring about substantive institutional and regime change in local policy arenas. It is well understood, of course, that state authorities often seek to direct the actions of local policymakers. They attempt to exert such authority in a number of ways including mandates, financial incentives, and, occasionally, assuming direct control of local governmental institutions. I argue that state policymakers increasingly use a quite different set of intervention tools that aim not only to influence or coerce behavior within existing institutions, but actually seek create new and alternative institutions. These new institutions are designed to empower a different mix of local actors who in turn redefine the local political landscape. The shifting leadership generates can lead to a fundamental reframing of existing policy issues.

To illustrate how such local reframing can occur I discuss a specific example from the state of Michigan: charter. I argue that new local institutions (charter schools) have brought about significant local regime change. This shift implies not only a short-term change in policy, but also that this change will be more resistant to future change than policy shifts achieved using more traditional state strategies.

Local policy regime restructuring is measured by a set of indicators derived from a longitudinal statewide media search focused on each policy area. I identify and measure the frequency of issues, actors, the interaction between issues and actors, the position of actors, and policy outcomes over time. These data will be used to identify how key policy actors change over time and how such change impacts the substance of local policy.

The paper concludes with an examination of the variation in institutional and regime changes for each policy area as well as limitations of such state restructuring strategies.

Sayed Khatab

Professor, Monash University, Australia

**The Rule of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt:
The Failure of Political and Historic Fall**

Hwajung Kim

PhD Student, Ewha Womans University, South Korea

&

Kisuk Cho

Professor, Ewha Womans University, South Korea

What Makes Public Diplomacy Effective: The Case of German Public Diplomacy in South Korea

As the third wave of democratization in the late 1980s has enabled citizens of the world to participate politics as well as diplomacy, there has been a paradigm shift from professional diplomacy to public diplomacy. With a rise of public diplomacy, the concept of public diplomacy has been critically challenged by a number of scholars in terms of a specific conceptualization of the term and its applicability and implementation. Rather than seeing public diplomacy merely as an interdisciplinary discourse, Joseph Nye argues the significance of public diplomacy by coining a new term, 'soft power'—the ability to attract through cultural and ideological appeal. According to his argument, soft power grows out of culture, domestic values and policies, and foreign policy; therefore, public diplomacy is necessary to raise a nation's profile by enhancing its soft power.

The paper presents a theory of soft power and shows the importance of public diplomacy as a means of soft power and the results of empirical analysis. In order to examine what makes public diplomacy effective, the paper investigates the example of German public diplomacy in South Korea since there is an insight gap between South Korean's low favorability ratings and their high ratings of rational evaluations about Germany. This gap is surprising insofar as many global surveys tell us that today's Germany keeps world leading position whereas South Koreans are lacking a sense of emotional attachment to it. There is a need to think about whether Germany's public diplomacy, its cultural events and exchange programs conducted in South Korea, has not used its mode of soft power to its greatest potential. Key aim of this paper is to propose theoretical and strategic frameworks for effective public diplomacy by identifying important variables affecting effective public diplomacy using a case of Germany in South Korea. The result will offer some strategies and programs to German government in forming its soft power amongst South Koreans.

Bettina Koch

Associate Professor, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University,
USA

Liberation Theologies, Periphery Existence, and Global Challenges: Towards a Transcultural Ideology of Liberation

In *Islamic Liberation Theology: Resisting the Empire* (2008), Hamid Dabashi claims that Islamic ideology of the last 200 years as well as Latin American liberation theology does not offer an adequate response for challenging empire under twenty-first century conditions. This paper is appreciative of Dabashi's general project and explicitly agrees with him that replacing the oppression of old colonial or new colonial powers, whether they are nations or manifestations of global capital, by the oppression of a (totalitarian) religious ideology does not solve any problems, but creates just new ones. For Dabashi, the "worst aspect of Islamic ideology was its persistent reliance on Islamic Law (Shari'ah), the consequences of which for a free and democratic society is simply catastrophic, for it mutates the free and autonomous citizen of a potential republic into the legal subjects of a medieval jurisdiction" (263).

Contrary to Dabashi, the paper argues that both, Islamic ideology as it has been developed in response to European colonialism as well as Latin American liberation theology and liberation philosophy has ideas to offer that allow for a new ideology that fulfills the most significant aspects of Dabashi's demands: being liberating and being part of a global conversation. For this purpose, this paper draws chiefly on Enrique Dussel, Ignacio Ellacuría, and 'Ali Shari'ati (and al-Afghani). The paper takes the approach of an imaginary dialogue. It aims for response to twenty-first century's ethical challenges of new manifestations of domination.

Kristijan Kotarski
Researcher, University of Zagreb, Croatia

Political Economy of Debt and Banking Crisis in the EU: Rising Finalization and its Ramifications

The most frequently espoused view on the main causes and the dynamics of the eurocrisis is related to governments' profligate and unsustainable spending decisions prior to its onset. While the current state of the debate is centered between Keynesian approach which aims at boosting aggregate demand via public spending and its antipode embodied in austerity approach and its quest for a more leaner state it is obvious that the operations of the banking sector are often neglected in the deeper analysis of feasible options for alleviating the crisis impact. Namely, both Keynesian protagonists and its opponents ignore the very nature of the monetary system in the EMU and this ignorance misinforms the policy choices presented to policy makers. Namely, Keynesians do not reason how to contain rising debt with even more debt while austerity hawks lack any clear understanding of the mechanisms pertained to balance-sheet recession. In order to overcome this policy paralysis a new economic paradigm on the nature of money and financial crises is required in order to avoid pro-cyclicality in designing macroeconomic framework. This task is crucial for the future of democracy and the legitimacy of political order. The paper is divided into three chapters. In the first chapter the authors analyze the origins of the eurocrisis. This is followed by a careful analysis of the debate between Keynesians and austerity hawks and the basic elements of endogenous monetary theory are exhibited as well. Finally, in the third chapter authors discuss political ramifications of the ongoing crisis.

Christianna Leahy

Chair, Department of Political Science and International Studies
Professor of Comparative Politics, McDaniel College, USA

Whither the Solidarity? The Future of European Integration

The on-going eurozone crisis has inspired cynics to ask, 'is the European Union broken, or just *broke*.' Alarmist titles such as *Is the EU Doomed?* and *After the Fall: The End of the European Dream and the Decline of a Continent* fill the bookshelves of Eurosceptics. Rather than despair, some view the crisis as an opportunity for genuine democratization from the bottom up as a means to revive the European project and the ideals envisioned by its inspirational founders. The eurozone economic crisis has exposed the political crisis that has been festering long before the conversion to the single currency. The chaos caused by the crisis has revealed a profound lack of democratic legitimacy as well as a fundamental undermining of European solidarity that was to be the foundation of European integration. The challenges, many of which pre-date the eurozone crisis, have only served to magnify and reinforce the need for creative solutions to the malaise. The challenges are not just economic, but political, institutional, societal, and international. The crisis has led to a loss of legitimacy and to two contrasting views of Europe: the Europe that has come about in the wake of the eurozone crisis, or a new model of Europe that revives and reinvigorates European solidarity. The initial integration of Europe was a top-down process. It is time for civil society to reconstruct European integration from the bottom up, and from the subterranean politics that has revealed itself so clearly in the countries most affected by the eurozone crisis.

Auke Leen

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The Long-term Budget of the European Union as a Political Power Game among the Institutions of the European Union

The long-term budget of the European Union as a political power game among the institutions of the European Union.

The present multi-annual budget of the EU (2014-2020) is the first long-term budget under the new Treaty of Lisbon that entered into force on December 1, 2009. The paper looks at the constitutional/political character of the fiscal rules that do underlie the new budget. In other words, the paper looks at the changing financial powers under the Lisbon Treaty (TFEU). The MFF has also been called a political power game among the EU institutions. The guiding questions are: (1) How do the fiscal rules look like? ; (2) Are the fiscal rules part of a broader institutional or policy framework?; (3) Do the fiscal rules really constrain the fiscal policy of the Union?

The paper starts with a taxonomy of fiscal rules in general and their effect on the performance of governments in history. Next we do analyze the specific fiscal rules of the Union, in view of its long-term budget: budget balance rules, debt rules, expenditure rules and revenue rules. Subsequently we do look from a broader perspective at the EU's budgetary rules. Is there sufficient political commitment to pursue a disciplined policy? Are the rules parts of a broader institutional framework? Are there formal enforcement procedures that do rely on maximizing reputational cost and/or mandating corrective actions? The paper concludes with an overall assessment of the constraining powers of the new long-term European budget.

Corliss Lentz

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Using The United Nation's Millennium Education Goal to Develop a Middle Class: The Case Study of Zambia

This paper uses Zambia to study achievement of the UN Millennium goal of providing a free elementary school education to all children by 2015. In Zambia, the Millennium goals were signed by President Mwanawasa in 2001. The education development goal is used here as a predictor for expanding the potential of economic development in Zambia.

Early in the quest for the Millennium goal, the Zambian education was negatively impacted by the effects of HIV/AIDS on the educational system. Teachers had sick relatives to care for, but also may have been sick themselves because of HIV/AIDS infection. Thus teachers dropped out of school or died and the ability to fill the classrooms diminished. In addition students missed school to take care of relatives or because they didn't have money for school because their parents were too sick to work. These negative challenges changed in 2005 when antiretroviral treatments (ARTs) were made available throughout Zambia through the U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), the UN, and NGOs. Today, retroviral medications save lives and heal the sick. Children and teachers have returned to the classroom.

Presidential politics have also changed since 2000. Levy Mwanawasa, of the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) was elected in 2001, but died in office in 2008. He was succeeded by Rupiah Banda, who lost the presidency in 2011 to Michael Sata of the Patriotic Front (PF). The peaceful transitions of Banda and Sata's elections and transition of power from the MMD to the PF amplified Zambia's democratic stability. The educational programs that were begun by Mwanawasa continued and were also expanded under Banda and Sata.

Three questions are examined. First, has the middle class grown through improved educational opportunities? Second, did Presidents Banda, and Sata continue Mwanawasa's increasing educational program through the millennium Goal? And three, has the middle class grown through improved educational opportunities? The paper uses 2010 data from the Ministry of Education to examine changes in enrollment, the number of schools, and test scores measuring student achievement and political data.. The findings show that Zambia met the

Millennium goal in 2010 and continues to expand access to beyond the
Millennium goal of grade 8 education through grades 12.

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The Economic Crisis and its Impact on Political Party Fragmentation in Greece, 2010-2014

The Euro-crisis and the Greek economic crisis in particular, have had serious social and political consequences in Greece. This paper examines the effects of the economic crisis and the subsequent Memoranda-driven policies of (pseudo-) restructuring in Greece on the fragmentation of its two-party dominant political system. In particular, we analyze the transformation of SYRIZA from minor player to Official Opposition; the apparent collapse of PASOK and ND from governing parties to governing partners; the unstable state of the centre-left DIMAR; the unprecedented rise of proto-fascism since 2012 (Golden Dawn); and the emergence of POTAMI, in light of the Euro-elections of 25 May 2014. The results of regional and municipal elections of 18 and 25 May 2014 will be examined as well.

Athanasios Mihalakas

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A League of Nations in Transition- Regional Integration for the Arab Spring

As the nations of the Arab Spring are turning to the second (and harder) phase of conducting free and fair elections and forming legitimate transitional government, the need for a regional economic strategy is becoming painfully apparent. The people, who marched on the streets demanding political freedom, were also demonstrating for economic freedom and the general improvement of their future economic prospects.

Much has been said about the comparisons of the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Arab Spring. Although similar in origin and motivation, most analysts are quick to point out the glaring difference: Eastern Europeans had a vision of what they wanted - EU and NATO membership. The people of the Arab Spring don't have that vision to aspire.

In this paper, I will first outline the current affiliation status with the EU by some of the countries impacted by the Arab Spring, and assess the potential for regional integration among these nations. In particular, I explore the different levels of economic development needed by these nations in transition, and demonstrate the need for regional integration. Furthermore, I outline the many efforts for integration of north African exports into the EU market, through cooperation agreements and association agreements. Finally, I identify the key areas where regulatory reform in a number of Arab Spring countries in order to gain access to EU markets, has created a type of 'back-door harmonization' which could make regional integration that much easier to implement and beneficial for these nations.

Mika Obara

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Capital Punishment in Japan: Implications of the De Facto Moratorium Periods

There is a worldwide declining trend in the number of states retaining capital punishment today, and more than two thirds of the states in the world have abolished this system in law or practice. International society has also created a series of benchmarks for modern democracies regarding the abolition of capital punishment. They are represented by relevant covenants of the United Nations and the *acquis communautaire* that states must conform to before they can be admitted into the European Union. However, the United States and Japan are currently the two remaining industrialised democracies that retain capital punishment against the international trend.

This paper aims to provide scholars with a better understanding of Japan's capital punishment policy. Firstly, it will examine why the Japanese government retains the death penalty against international pressures. Currently, various factors have been considered in the existing literature as prime sources of governmental justification: public opinion, culture and victim satisfaction. However, this paper will argue that important decisions regarding this policy are made by selected elites, often irrespective of these domestic factors. In addition, this paper will discuss why a blanket approach of trying to impose the international or European anti-death-penalty norm from a human rights perspective is ineffective in Japan. It will argue that capital punishment policy has been dealt with by the Japanese government as an issue of criminal justice, not as an issue of human rights; and the government is unwilling to invite international criticism from a human rights perspective.

Secondly, this paper will critically examine the significance of the *de facto* moratorium period in Japan. The Japanese government consistently justifies capital punishment policy on legal and cultural grounds; and endeavours to conduct at least one execution per calendar year in order to secure annual funding by acting on precedents. In the meantime, at times executions have not taken place for years, known as the *de facto* moratorium period. The existing debate treats this period as worthy of close attention as if there was a change in the governmental approach on capital punishment policy. However, it is important for scholars and activists to acknowledge the fact that the *de facto* moratorium period was never implemented by the Japanese

government with any political intentions. Rather, non-authorisation of executions by Ministers of Justice caused by the frequent cabinet reshuffles created a 'gap' in capital punishment policy, which made this lapse of time look as though there was a change in government policy. Therefore, my paper will argue that the execution-free period should not be treated as a politically significant phenomenon out of line with government policy; and that it is more beneficial to focus on how consistently the Ministry of Justice tried to justify capital punishment policy even when executions were put on hold. Finally, the summary of my findings and implications for scholars and anti-death-penalty advocates will conclude this paper.

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Professor Fyrom
&
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Policy-Making Process in the Local Level from Gender Perspectives Issues in FYROM (Republic of Macedonia)

It is a fact that all policy fields have an impact on the gender relations prevailing in a given society. In today's contemporary global society gender equality is becoming a basis of overall development of humankind; it is a cross-cutting issue which is related with governance, human rights, economic, social, political aspects of societal progress. In this context, one of the most important notions that is used in integration of gender perspective is mainstreaming, that means process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels, whose ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

This paper is primarily concentrated on situational analysis of the policy making process from the gender perspective in the local level in a transitional country, i.e. Republic of Macedonia. This study will encompass municipalities of Tetovo and Bitola, in order to identify gender-related priorities and citizen needs, and to find avenues for entry points in the local strategies, as well as developing mechanisms for tracking implementation of public policies from gender perspective.

This research focuses on the policy-making process in the municipalities, in general and from a gender perspective, and it can serve as theoretical and practical tool for identifying the entry points for further analytical, capacity building and advocacy work on gender mainstreaming on the local level in the Republic of Macedonia.

Gayil Talshir

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Democracy: Freedom against Equality? Newest Developments in Political Theory and their Political Consequences

Walzer's Spheres of Justice: a Defense of pluralism and Equality provides a heuristic tool to understand recent developments of democratic theory, from a thin theory of representative democracy to a thick theory of participatory democracy. I take five spheres of democracy - justice, citizenship, participation, representation and governing - to demonstrate the similar movement away from a minimalist theory into a complexified theory of spheres of democracy in a globalized world. But has this enriched pluralism created more opportunities for all citizens within the polity, thus deepening equality, or is pluralism confined to the winners of the knowledge global society: the educated middle classes? If indeed those enjoying diverse forms of political participation, varied kinds of representation, social networks of governance and involvement in deliberative democracy are a designated elite, leaving out of the equation the lower classes and the underclass, pluralism, in the context of democratic theory, may have - in practice, not necessarily in theory - worked against equality.

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&

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Britain's Nuclear Program: Security or Economic Burden?

As many states economies continue to struggle, countries have begun to look for alternative methods to reduce their current spending. One area that has been targeted for reduction is that of nuclear security and the high costs associated with the maintenance of keeping a functioning nuclear arsenal. As demand for money to be spent elsewhere rises, many have begun to see these Cold War relics as obsolete and an unneeded economic drain to their economies. Currently, Great Britain is at the forefront of this debate as they begin to look into the cost of renewing their aging nuclear stockpiles. In this paper, we examine Great Britain's security policy and the implications of reducing spending on its nuclear program on Britain's economy. As Great Britain is already on the way to shrinking its armed forces, some still see the aged nuclear arsenal as a deterrent from attack, thus implying that the cost is necessary in order to preserve the country's national security. However, we contend that the cost of maintaining these weapons does not take into consideration the catastrophic implications of their use or the economic fallout should an accident involving these weapons occur. We contend that Great Britain and its leaders have a choice to make in the upcoming years; to take on the economic burden of revamping there nuclear program and keeping the idea of nuclear deterrent alive, which provides further burden to its recovering economy; or to begin dismantling its stockpiles of a weapon that have never been used and instead use the cost to fund other parts of the British economy.

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&

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The Relationship between the Euro Zone's Crisis and the EU Integration

The Euro Zone's debt crisis is an ongoing crisis, which has been continuously upgrading since it occurred in 2009. It is the issue under fierce debate all over the world. This essay is aimed to analyze that the Euro Zone's debt crisis becomes the opportunity for the EU integration. Although the Euro Zone's debt crisis is associated with the defects of EU integration system, it cannot be considered that the goal of integration led to the crisis. The causes of the crisis stem from the problems of EU members and to problems of its own and the external input effects of US. The Euro Zone's debt crisis indeed aroused doubts about the Euro and EU integration, however, its impact is not fatal. Several defects have been exposed during this Euro Zone's debt crisis, such as lack of a unified fiscal policy, defective rescue mechanism, failure of the Euro Zone as the optimal currency areas and so on. EU has the necessity of making relevant response to these defects. The solution to this crisis is to improve the level of integration by perfecting its governance structure of EU integration, such as establishing the unified fiscal policy, expanding the authority of European Central Bank and so on. To conclude, solving this Euro Zone's debt crisis is not the end of EU integration, but the opportunity of promoting the further construction of EU integration.

Bryndis Woods

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Towards a Better Understanding of International Climate Change Negotiations

The purpose of this article is to enlarge our understanding of international climate change negotiations by providing qualitative and quantitative insights into the structure and internal coherence of negotiation groups at COP 17 in Durban, with special reference to the relative importance of various negotiation issues. In order to uncover the structure of negotiation groups present at Durban, content analysis is employed to code the opening statements of participating countries in order to identify which negotiation issues are stressed. Cluster analysis is then used to identify which negotiation groups emerge 'naturally' from the data and to analyze the internal coherence of those coalitions based on the assumption that more homogenous groups are more robust. This paper builds upon a recent trend in environmental economics literature whereby scholars use modified economic approaches to better account for 'reality' as such. By applying a mixed-methodological approach, negotiation groups consisting of countries committed to the coalition because of overlapping preferences and similar payoff functions are uncovered based on formal negotiation positions. I hypothesize that the coalitions uncovered in my analysis will differ from existing formal negotiation groups and from the most commonly used coalitions in the literature. Preliminary results confirm the robustness of the data under analysis and indicate that there is some overlap between the clusters identified and formal coalitions, such as Small Island Developing States, though there are also many clusters present which do not overlaps with existing negotiation groups. Game theoretic analyses of international climate change negotiations would benefit from mixed-methodological analyses in terms of defining players, strategies, and payoffs which better represent reality and establishing a baseline scenario which assists in the assessment of the evolution of the negotiations as Parties move forward with a mandate to agree upon a legally-binding outcome.

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Impact of Hezbollah after Arab Spring as a Violent Non-State Actor: Limitations and Prospects

Following the “Arab Spring” what one thing has become clearer is the increasing role and importance of Non-State Actor especially violent ones in the Middle East, i.e. Hezbollah. As is commonly emphasized, the debates on the importance and influence of Non-State actors have gained momentum with the advances in transportation and communication over the globe. This development has also opened the room for the debates concerning the rigid and fixed territorial boundaries of nation states. Many scholars argued that national boundaries have lost its importance in the new world in which there is many transnational, international and regional organizations. However, those assumptions revived heavily by liberal (neo-liberal) scholars have fallen short in explaining violent Non-State actors. Neo-liberal scholars have simply identified those organizations as terrorist organizations threatening the world stability and order. However, the “new” developments after cold war has challenged those assumptions and forced many scholars to reconsider their early assumptions. Identifying these organizations (violent non-state actors) just as “bad” organizations has prevented scholars from improving effective analytic and theoretical predictions. As those organizations like Hezbollah, Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood has gained great momentum after cold war and has expanded their influence both among domestic and regional politics, those actors need to be paid importance. This study tries to study Hezbollah in the context of these theoretical and political developments. While examining Hezbollah, it attempts to make a difference between non-state actors promoted by liberal circles and violent non-state actors excluding terrorist organizations. The study will be focusing on the autonomy of these organizations in their military, social and diplomatic relations from the territorial state and its impact over regional and domestic politics.

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Sri Lanka: From Winning the War to Winning the Peace

As Sri Lanka emerges from the throes of a three-decade conflict, the dominating narrative is dichotomous: at one end of the spectrum is the view that reconciliation has been achieved with the conclusion of the armed struggle and at the other end is the contention that reconciliation has not even begun to take place since the end of the war. The perceptions are equally remarkable. International interest in the imperative is in no small measure. The impact on domestic stability remains uncontested. Whichever viewpoint is adopted, consensus can be achieved only on the limited.

Post-war efforts at reconciliation are undoubtedly taking place through both organized and natural processes; however the importance of the endeavour being state-led cannot be overstated.

The paper will begin with an outline of the conflict and its impact on the major communities of Sri Lanka. It will then proceed to trace the initiatives that have been successfully completed and underway while highlighting both the structural and substantive challenges that remain as the country seeks to consolidate the dividends of ending a war. The foreign policy implications on domestic stability in light of the fact that Sri Lanka's war being internationalized over the years will be considered. The exposition will culminate in an identification of the country's key governance and foreign policy challenges together with recommendations for moving the country forward to permanent peace, security and stability while bolstering its international positioning. The overarching theme of the presentation will be the need to expand and empower the voices of moderation, coexistence and tolerance in the quest for national unity and to bridge the divisive and ensuing narrative on post-war Sri Lanka.

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Security Policydilemmas of Small NATO States in Light of Defence Austerity

The paper explores the impact of reduced defence spending on the security policy of small allies and NATO transformation in the context of US strategic reorientation.

Since 2008, NATO countries have drastically cut their defence budgets, which affected their level of ambition, reduced military capacity and enhanced disproportionate burden sharing within the Alliance. In light of decreasing US commitment to European security ("pivot" to Asia, declining military presence in Europe, ending operation in Afghanistan, budget sequestration, etc.), defence cuts have a profound strategic impact, especially for the small NATO members.

Small nations, which traditionally rely on external security guarantees, bandwagoning and free riding, were forced to adjust their defence strategies. Trying to mitigate the risk of abandonment and reduce vulnerability, they balance between key security policy dilemmas: (a) greater dependency on NATO/US vs. alternative security providers; (b) free riding vs. maintaining commitments; (c) independent defence vs. specialization (task sharing); (d) acting through NATO vs. strengthening regional security organizations.

The analysis is based on small state research and the economic theory of alliances, which considers deterrence and security provided by NATO as collective good thus creating collective action problems (theory developed by M. Olson, T. Sandler etc.). Quantitative (burden sharing index, performance measurement index, etc.) and qualitative methods are used to examine security policies of small NATO nations (with a specific focus on Denmark, Greece, Czech Republic and Latvia) between 2008 and 2012, concentrating on their participation in NATO activities, burden-sharing behaviour and defence doctrines.