

2015

Politics Abstracts

13th Annual International
Conference on Politics &
International Affairs
15-18 June 2015, Athens, Greece

Edited by Gregory T. Papanikos

THE ATHENS INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH



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Preface

This abstract book includes all the abstracts of the papers presented at the *13th Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs, 15-18 June 2015*, organized by the Athens Institute for Education and Research. In total there were 30 papers and 33 presenters, coming from 22 different countries (Australia, Brazil, Canada, Croatia, France, Iceland, India, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, UK and USA). The conference was organized into ten sessions that included areas of National Politics, Foreign Policy, International Law, International Relations, International Economics 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 and/or journals 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
**13th Annual International Conference on Politics & International
Affairs, 15-18 June 2015, Athens, Greece**

PROGRAM

Conference Venue: Titania Hotel, 52 Panepistimiou Avenue, Athens, Greece

Organization and Scientific Committee

1. Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER & Honorary Professor, University of Stirling, UK.
2. Dr. George Poulos, Vice-President of Research, ATINER & Emeritus Professor, University of South Africa, South Africa.
3. Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics & International Affairs Research Unit, ATINER and Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.
4. Dr. Nikolaos I. Liodakis, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada.
5. Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice-President of Academics, ATINER, Greece & Professor, Sam Houston University, USA.
6. Dr. Panagiotis Petratos, Vice President of ICT, ATINER, Fellow, Institution of Engineering and Technology & Professor, Department of Computer Information Systems, California State University, Stanislaus, USA.
7. Dr. Chris Sakellariou, Vice President of Financial Affairs, ATINER, Greece & Associate Professor, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.
8. Ms. Olga Gkounta, Researcher, ATINER.

Administration

Stavroula Kyritsi, Konstantinos Manolidis, Katerina Maraki & Kostas Spiropoulos

Monday 15 June 2015

(all sessions include 10 minutes break)

08:30-09:30 Registration and Refreshments

09:30-10:00 (ROOM A) Welcome & Opening Remarks

- Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER.
- Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics & International Affairs Research Unit, ATINER and Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.

10:00-11:30 Session I (ROOM A): International Law

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

1. Masakazu Matsumoto, Associate Professor, Kansai University, Japan. An Equal or Unequal Right to Kill?: A Defense of the Traditional Just War Theory.
2. Tijana Surlan, Assistant Professor, The Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies in Belgrade, Serbia. Diversification of the International Criminal Judiciary.
3. Dorothea Anthony, Ph.D. Candidate, University of New South Wales, Australia. Can the Mainstreaming of Human Rights at the International Level Achieve Political Neutrality?
4. Kevin Coffey, Ph.D. Candidate, University College Dublin, Ireland. A European Court for Africans: Examining the European Union's policy and the role of aid in advancing the universality of the International Criminal Court in Sub-Saharan Africa.

11:30-13:00 Session II (ROOM A): Country and Regional Experiences with Development and Policy Issues

Chair: Chrysoula Gitsoulis, Adjunct Assistant Professor, City University of New York, USA.

1. Ingrid Sarti, Professor, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro - UFRJ, Brazil. Theoretical and Developmental Challenges to Contemporary Latin American Integration.
2. Varsha Khanwalker, Associate Professor, Kanpur University, India. The Scenario of Globalized India: From Exclusion to Financial Inclusion.
3. Dennis Gregory, Associate Professor, Old Dominion University, USA. The Assessment of Higher Education Programs: A Comparison of the American and Portuguese Models.
4. Nikolaos Liodakis, Associate Professor, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada. Between the Scylla of Ordoliberalism and the Charybdis of Keynesianism: The Development of Social Policy with the Greek Left in Power.

13:00-14:00 Lunch

14:00-15:30 Session III (ROOM A): Democracy and Democratization

Chair: *Jacqueline Laguardia Martinez, Lecturer, University of the West Indies, Campus St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago.

1. Salvor Nordal, Director, Centre of Ethics, University of Iceland, Iceland. A Democratic Experiment. Iceland's Reactions to the Banking Crisis.
2. Filadelfo Leon-Cazares, Assistant Professor, University of Guadalajara, Mexico. Transformational Leadership and Perceived Organizational Performance: The Mediating Influence of Individual Level Factors.
3. Chrysoula Gitsoulis, Adjunct Assistant Professor, City University of New York, USA. Utilitarian vs. Rights Based Constructions of Value.

15:30-17:00 Session IV (ROOM A): International Relations

Chair: Salvor Nordal, Director, Centre of Ethics, University of Iceland, Iceland.

1. *Nadezhda Ponomarenko, Associate Professor, The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Russia. Systems Analysis in the Study of the Political Elite of the Transitive Society.
2. Sanjeev Kumar H.M., Assistant Professor, South Asian University, India. Reorientalism and the Place of Islam in Contemporary International Relations.
3. Fulya Ereker, Assistant Professor, Gaziantep University, Turkey & Utku Ozer, Assistant Professor, Gaziantep University, Turkey. Crimea in Turkish-Russian Relations: Discourse, Realism or Interdependence.
4. *Mohd Aminul Karim, Senior Research Fellow, University of Malaya, Malaysia. Is China Destined to Play High-politics in East Asia?

17:00-18:30 Session V (ROOM A): Round Table Discussion on "Country Experiences of the European Crisis"

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

1. Dr. **L. Jan Reid**, President, Coast Economic Consulting, USA.
2. Dr. **Jerome Creel**, Director & Associate Professor, OFCE/Sciences Po & ESCP Europe, France.
3. Dr. **Shann Turnbull**, Principal, International Institute for Self-Governance, Australia.
4. Dr. **Nordal Salvor**, Director, Centre for Ethics, University of Iceland, Iceland.
5. Dr. **Ioannis Stivachtis**, Head, Politics Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.

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

Tuesday 16 June 2015

08:00-09:30 Session VI (ROOM A): International Economics

Chair: *Nadezhda Ponomarenko, Associate Professor, The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Russia.

1. Jerome Creel, Director, Research Department, OFCE/Sciences Po and Associate Professor, ESCP Europe, France, Christophe Blot, Deputy, OFCE, France, Bruno Ducoudre, Senior Economist, OFCE, France & Xavier Timbeau, Director, OFCE, France. Back to Fiscal Consolidation in Europe and Its Dual Tradeoff: Now or Later, Through Spending Cuts or Tax Hikes.
2. *Shann Turnbull, Co-founding Member of the Sustainable Money Working Group, U.K. and Principle of the International Institute for Self-governance, Australia. Currency Options for Distressed Economies.
3. *Pavol Babos, Junior Analyst, Institute for Forecasting, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovakia. Skills, Education or Policies? Employability across Different Varieties of Capitalism.

09:30-11:00 Session VII (ROOM A): Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

Chair: *Pavol Babos, Junior Analyst, Institute for Forecasting, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovakia.

1. Kenneth Christie, Professor, Royal Roads University, Canada & Marion Boulby, Associate Professor, Trent University, Canada. Globalization, Identity and Social Media in the Middle East; Comparing the UAE and Jordan.
2. Hillel Frisch, Professor, Bar-Ilan University, Israel. Choosing the Right Strategy: Why the 1987 Intifada Succeeded and the al-Aqsa Intifada Failed.
3. Ali Elwahishi, Director of Political Science Department, Faculty of Algelat, University of Zawia, Libya. Comparing the Transition of Political Regime in Libya and Egypt.

11:00-12:30 Session VIII (ROOM A): International Security

Chair: Kenneth Christie, Professor, Royal Roads University, Canada

1. Branislav Slantchev, Professor, University of California, USA & R. Blake McMahon, University of California, USA. The Guardianship Dilemma: Regime Security through and from the Armed Forces.
2. Mario Esteban, Senior Analyst, Elcano Royal Institute, Spain & Miguel Otero-Iglesias, Senior Analyst, Elcano Royal Institute, Spain. The Geopolitical and Strategic Implications of China's Purchases of Spanish Sovereign Debt.
3. Seongwon Yoon, Ph.D. Student, University of Bradford, U.K. The US's Sisyphean Labour: Failed Conflict Management of the Korean Nuclear Crisis.
4. Teodora Dobre, Junior Researcher, National Institute for Intelligence Studies, Romania & Karin Meghesan, Associate Professor, "Mihai Viteazul" National Intelligence Academy, Romania. Serious Gaming-Instrument for Addressing Global Threats.

12:30-13:30 Lunch

13:30-14:30 Session IX (ROOM A): National Politics

Chair: Angela Parham, Political Officer, US Department of State, USA.

1. Drazen Lalic, Professor, University of Zagreb, Croatia. Features and Implications of the 2014-15 Presidential Election in Croatia.
2. *L. Jan Reid, President, Coast Economic Consulting, USA. The Political Segregation of America.

14:30-16:00 Session X (ROOM A): Foreign Policy

Chair: *L. Jan Reid, President, Coast Economic Consulting, USA.

1. Walter Hatch, Associate Professor, Colby College, USA. European Integration, Asian Disintegration: The Different Roles of the U.S. in Two Regions.
2. *Jacqueline Laguardia Martinez, Lecturer, University of the West Indies, Campus St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago. The "Updating" of the Cuban Model: Implications for the Cuba-CARICOM Relations.
3. *Ariel Gonzalez Levaggi, Ph.D. Student, Koc University, Turkey & Huseyin Zengin, Research Assistant, Koc University, Turkey. A Decade of Opening: Turkey's New International Role in Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America (2005-2015).

16:30-19:00 Urban Walk (Details during registration)

20:30- 22:00 Dinner (Details during registration)

Wednesday 17 June 2015
Cruise: (Details during registration)

Thursday 18 June 2015
Delphi Visit: (Details during registration)

Dorothea Anthony

PhD Candidate, University of New South Wales, Australia

Can the Mainstreaming of Human Rights at the International Level Achieve Political Neutrality?

The United Nations and its agencies, such as the Bretton Woods International Financial Institutions, have historically been criticised for exhibiting political bias. Many human rights advocates consider this bias to be problematic and believe that one solution is to inject an impartial language of human rights into programs across the UN, through the process of 'human rights mainstreaming'. This paper questions whether human rights mainstreaming can actually reorient the UN system towards political neutrality.

Proponents of human rights advance various arguments for the impartiality of human rights. They claim that human rights are universal, moral and derive from fundamental precepts of natural law. More interestingly in recent times, they claim that human rights are indivisible and thus lend greatest objectivity when the whole catalogue of international human rights is implemented together, rather than selectively. Any prioritisation of particular rights could supposedly indicate prioritisation of particular ideologies represented by the rights.

This paper, however, argues that international human rights do not epitomise a perfect cross-section of ideologies. Human rights stem primarily from the Western tradition, and they are in any case evolving in response to political developments, rather than being complete, categorical and indivisible. Furthermore, to the extent that different rights do represent different political traditions, contradictions may arise in their application in the mainstreaming process. Therefore, limitations of the indivisibility model point towards the conclusion that human rights mainstreaming is not a viable method of engineering political neutrality at the international level.

Pavol Babos

Junior Analyst, Institute for Forecasting, Slovak Academy of Sciences,
Slovakia

Skills, Education or Policies? Employability across Different Varieties of Capitalism

The research of employability - as the potential of people to gain or maintain employment - has been growing and it brings important implications for policy-makers and generally people outside academia. This study conceptualizes employability in a retrospective way: the years respondent has been working as a share of respondent's whole working life. This study uses OECD's Survey of Adult Skills to test suggested links between education, skills and employability in different countries representing different labour market regimes. Structural equations are used to model somewhat complex relationships between education, skills and employability. Preliminary findings suggest that level of education and area of studies plays much more important role than skills in shaping one's employability in all four countries: Sweden, Ireland, South Korea and the Czech Republic. On the other hand, we see how the effect of the field of education, but also gender and number of children changes across different countries, suggesting that the labour market institutions and social policies determine the employability of people to the extent that they can erase the influence of some personal characteristics

Kenneth Christie

Professor, Royal Roads University, Canada
&

Marion Boulby

Associate Professor, Trent University, Canada

Globalization, Identity and Social Media in the Middle East; Comparing the UAE and Jordan

Globalization has been responsible for allowing many people to reassess and evaluate their identity and the challenges to this identity in the late 20th, early 21st centuries. How and why people use the strategies afforded to them under globalization, and how these have been mobilized is crucial in the outcomes of political security, stability and their socio-economic development, within and beyond their borders. In this paper we examine the role of the social media in recent time to analyze how identity is changing from a gender and social perspective. We focus on two case studies; a highly globalized state, the UAE and a less developed, traditional state, Jordan

We are guided in this by two analytical frameworks: first, one which focuses on the state as an entity and its relationship to forging identity through media. The human security approach posits that the world is interconnected, and we are seeing that “foreign reporting can, by and large, be considered an interconnected part of the global flow of information” (Hafez, 1999, p. 52). The globalization of media and communication is fostering both and emergent identities. In looking at the UAE and Jordan, we ask how successful is each state in its ability to coalesce multiple identities into an effective national identity and accommodate meaningful notions of citizenship and civil society? How do tradition, modernity and the media interact with globalization and what is the impact on gender? Is this interaction achieved in a confused or a coherent manner?

Secondly, there is the complex relationship between globalization and the state. As an agent of development and change, the state is seen typically as maintaining the “monopoly of violence” and is the economic powerhouse or “modernizer from above”, facing few powerful competitors for resources or authority. How does the state view the media and social media in the UAE or Jordan, through the lens of globalization? Do they see it as a threat, undermining traditional values and society or in a positive nation-building sense where it plays a valuable role in constructing identity? What role does globalization from below play in shaping the states relationship to social media and identity?

In the case of Jordan, it is argued that the state has seen globalization as a positive force in certain aspects such as economic liberalization but has been ambivalent about its role in culture and identity. Rather than acknowledging the process of globalization as “operating simultaneously and interrelatedly in the economic, technological-communicational, political and cultural spheres of human life” (Tomlinson, 1999) the regime has historically censored print and broadcast media and more recently curtailed political freedom of expression in social media. Since 2011 electronic media, spearheaded by the 24 May (2011) *shebab* group has successfully mobilized Jordanian youth, spanning ethnic, regional religious and gender divisions in their demands for political liberalization (Curtis, 2011). Meanwhile, the state continues to use media as a means of enforcing a unified sense of national identity just as its stalled cosmetic reforms reveal its autocratic agenda. In the UAE, political expression is also curtailed through highly sophisticated technology endorsed by the state, at once a product of globalization and something that helps to contain “politics”. For both countries, whether traditional or modern, globalization can be seen as a blessing and a curse, fostering political and social change the state continuously attempts to curb.

Kevin Coffey

Ph.D. Candidate, University College Dublin, Ireland

**Empowering, Inducing or Being Ignored?:
The EU's Strategy to Advance the University of
International Criminal Court in Africa**

Sub-Saharan African states have had a tumultuous relationship with the International Criminal Court. These states were in the vanguard of setting up the Court, and over two-thirds subsequently ratified the Rome Statute. However, since the arrest warrant against President al-Bashir in 2009, African political elites have denounced the Court as “racist” and guilty of “double standards”. What role has the EU played in the evolution of African support/opposition for the Court? Given that promotion of the International Criminal Court (ICC) is an explicit objective of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), what type of external policy instruments does the EU deploy towards this objective and how effective are they? The paper explores how various mechanisms such as political dialogues, technical assistance, funding local civil society groups and aid conditionalities have fared in Africa. Applying a mixed methods approach, the analysis tests whether these mechanisms enhance Africa's legal commitments and levels of political cooperation to the court.

Jerome Creel

Director, Research Department, OFCE/Sciences Po and Associate
Professor, ESCP Europe, France

Christophe Blot

Deputy, OFCE, France

Bruno Ducoudre

Senior Economist, OFCE, France

&

Xavier Timbeau

Director, OFCE, France

**Back to Fiscal Consolidation in Europe and its Dual
Tradeoff: Now or Later, Through Spending Cuts or Tax
Hikes**

Most governments in industrialized countries underwent expansionary fiscal policies in 2009 to dampen the macroeconomic consequences of the financial turmoil. This Keynesian revival, supported by the IMF (see Spilimbergo, Symansky, Blanchard and Cotarelli, IMF Staff Position Note, 2008), was yet short-lived, especially in the EMU. Two reasons were put forth. First, the requirement to reduce public deficit and comply with the 3%-of-GDP rule was enshrined in the Stability and Growth Pact. Second, the outbreak of the Greek crisis in late 2009 created fears of a possible sovereign default. European countries rapidly implemented fiscal consolidation, despite lower-than-pre-crisis level of economic activity. Governments in the periphery of the Euro area (Italy, Spain, Ireland, Portugal and Greece) were under rising financial market pressures and were urged to restore their credibility by implementing frontloaded fiscal consolidation. Meanwhile, fiscal rules were reinforced with the TSCG (Treaty on stability, coordination and governance, agreed by 25 out of 27 member states).

The consolidation process has thus raised a few questions. First, how large are the costs of consolidation? Second, do these costs depend on the composition (tax vs spending) of the consolidation process? Third, what has been the debt dynamics in the EMU after consolidations were performed? Fourth, is there an alternative strategy to reduce European public debts? The aim of the present paper is precisely to deal with these issues. It considers explicitly that the EMU member states have been facing a dual tradeoff, first a tradeoff between labour market outcomes of consolidation and public debt dynamics and, second, a tradeoff between reducing public expenditures and increasing taxes.

To judge the interactions between debt and unemployment reduction on the one hand, and between spending cuts and tax hikes, on the other hand, we develop a simple reduced-form model representing eleven countries of the euro area (Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain). This model is sufficiently detailed to explicitly link all macro elements of debt sustainability and output dynamics, and the composition effect. The model also includes one important feature of the evidence on fiscal multiplier, its time-varying feature, since it is supposed that the size of fiscal multipliers depends on the business cycle. This is an attempt to consider a time-varying fiscal multiplier in a dynamic macroeconomic model and to consider the full consequences of such a feature on the dynamics of public debt and economic activity. But, as a strong debate still exists about the value of multipliers and about the evaluation of current output gaps, and also because there is of course strong uncertainty about future growth or hysteresis effect, we have chosen to parameterize the model in such a way that we can conduct a full sensitivity analysis. Finally, the model addresses the quest for an optimal fiscal stance, defined as a fiscal consolidation producing the smallest real costs and achieving public finance sustainability.

Teodora Dobre

Junior Researcher, National Institute for Intelligence Studies, Romania
&

Karin Meghesan

Associate Professor, "Mihai Viteazul" National Intelligence Academy,
Romania

Serious Gaming-Instrument for Addressing Global Threats

In the past years, debates on intelligence have been extensively focused on the need to reform intelligence services and their activity in the 21st century; this necessity for reform comes as a direct effect of the changes emerged in the security paradigm. For the first time in the last five to six decades, the activities of the secret services (which from now on we will call intelligence activities) is considered an integral part of the governing system and an activity inherently linked to any decisional process. Today it becomes widely recognized that meeting the targets of national interest largely depends on the functional capacity of intelligence services.

Even though studies and research have almost completely covered the issue of institutional reconfiguration of intelligence activities, this is still a topic of major interest. Questions addressed by the more recent debates include: Can we speak today of a theory of intelligence and a discipline with worldwide recognized conceptual framework? Which are the best pathways to achieve success in intelligence education and training?

The general framework of the paper is based on a close analysis of several security challenges, new form of intelligence as well as on the more general role and utility of intelligence in the current security arena and their potential to produce knowledge and enable power.

Finally, it must be stressed that the present paper aims to contribute to the development of an intelligence theory and emphasizes the place and role of intelligence within the broader context of international competitiveness between security actors.

Ali Elwahishi

Director, University of Zawia, Libya

Comparing the Transition of Political Regime in Libya and Egypt

Although the third wave of democratization overturned autocracies around the world, Libyan and Egyptian regimes stayed afloat for a long period. Libya and Egypt were ruled by dictatorial regimes for decades, but there were varying degrees of tyranny in both countries. One means of comparing the political transition in Libya and Egypt is to examine both regimes' structures. Qaddafi's regime was a personalistic regime that lacked the genuine institutions that could rein in Qaddafi's singularity by power and by ruling the country.

In contrast The Mubarak regime was seen as a hybrid regime in that it apparently combined democratic and authoritarian institutions, but in reality, it was a dictatorship regime. The Mubarak regime used democratic institutions as a facade to hide the real nature of the regime . The political system is dominated by the president, who has strong legislative powers and can dissolve parliament.

Fulya Ereker

Assistant Professor, Gaziantep University, Turkey
&

Utku Ozer

Assistant Professor, Gaziantep University, Turkey

Crimea in Turkish-Russian Relations: Discourse, Realism or Interdependence

Black Sea has been an important scene in Turkish-Russian relations since the times of Ottoman and Russian Empires. For the Ottoman Empire it was an “Ottoman/Turkish Lake”, while for Russia it was an exit to open seas or “warm seas” with the widespread term. Crimea had the leading role in this scene. First of all it has always been an important part with its geostrategic position. But at the same time it was also an important Tatar center, which had religious and cultural ties with the Ottoman and historical ties with the Russian Empires. These ties were furthered with Crimea being a part of the Ottoman Empire from 1475 till 1774 and after being part of the Russian Empire in 1792.

When the Empire collapsed and Soviets took control of most of its territories, Crimea first became an autonomous republic as part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and was transferred to Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1954, as a present by Soviet Leader Nikita Khrushchev for the tercentennial of the Russian domination in Crimea.

So when Crimea became part of Russian Federation in 2014 as a result of the crisis in Ukraine, it was expected that this would become an issue in Turkish-Russian relations. However to everyone’s surprise did not react intensely neither to this annexation, nor the events afterwards as expected. This attitude brought out some questions to be answered about the Turkish-Russian relations and its effect on Turkey’s position towards NATO-Ukraine and Russian-Western relations; the territorial integrity and Turkish policy on the issue; Turkey’s relations with the Tatar population in Crimea and Turkey, which are still mentioned in Turkish Foreign Policy with the “Crimean Turks” discourse and finally if the domestic events and crises in Turkey at the time of Crimean Crisis had any effect on Turkey’s reaction and policy.

This paper will try to answer these questions focusing on Turkish Foreign Policy discourses and practices in the general framework of Turkish-Russian relations. By examining the development of Turkish-Russian relations in the post-cold war era, it will be mentioned that with the improvement of relations in 2000s, especially economic ones, keeping the deepening trend in their relations dominates other concerns

in Turkish Foreign Policy, despite the discursive emphasis on Crimea's importance in terms of identity, culture and religion.

Mario Esteban

Senior Analyst, Elcano Royal Institute, Spain
&

Miguel Otero-Iglesias

Senior Analyst, Elcano Royal Institute, Spain

The Geopolitical and Strategic Implications of China's Purchases of Spanish Sovereign Debt

During the Eurozone banking and sovereign debt crisis, China has had a fundamental role in stabilising the sovereign debt markets of the Eurozone periphery countries. More specifically, China has shown great interests in buying sovereign debt from Spain, the fourth largest economy in the Eurozone. After several visits of top Chinese officials to Spain and Spanish officials to Beijing, media reports have disclosed that China holds now 12% of Spanish government debt. This paper will investigate what is the actual amount of China's holdings of Spanish debt and what are the geostrategic implications of these purchases. Chinese officials have in numerous occasions declared that Spain is China's best friend in the Eurozone. The Spanish government in turn has restraint from meeting the Dalai Lama, has curbed law allowing Spanish judges to pursue cases globally, and has openly called for the lifting of the arms embargo and the granting of market economy status to China. In this paper, I will try to discern whether Spain's softer diplomacy stand toward China is due to China's increased purchases of Spanish debt, and, if so, whether this trend has accelerated in the aftermath of the Eurozone debt crisis. Furthermore, I will try to investigate what are the implications of China's purchases of Spanish debt in regards to Beijing's wider geo-strategy toward the EU as a whole and in relation to the emerging geopolitical power triangle between the US, the EU and China.

Hillel Frisch

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Choosing the Right Strategy: Why the 1987 Intifada Succeeded and the al-Aqsa Intifada Failed

Choosing a strategy that polarizes the rival's political center is often critical in determining the relative success of the weaker side in asymmetric conflict. This hypothesis is tested on two rounds of protracted confrontations between Palestinians and Israel in 1987 and 2000. In the first intifada, the Palestinians limited terrorism primarily to the West Bank and Gaza, polarized the Israeli political center, and secured substantial political gains. In the second, the Palestinians employed much more violent means and focused it within Israel. This indiscriminate strategy (which included suicide bombings), united the Israeli public against the Palestinians, justified the Israeli onslaught on the Palestinian Authority and divided the Palestinians themselves at considerable political, human and economic cost.

The comparison between Palestinian strategy and its consequences in two long rounds of conflict with the Israeli state suggest two important theoretical and empirical findings. First, it is not so much the strategy employed by the stronger side that determines outcomes as Arreguin-Toft suggests, but the strategy employed by the weaker actor in conflict. Employing a strategy that polarizes the political center of the opponent and weakens its resolve is critical to the insurgent's ability to succeed against its stronger opponent. In the first intifada, the Palestinians were able to polarize the foe's political center and replicate the FLN's success in its struggle against France. In the second intifada, the Palestinians failed to do the same at substantial human, material and political costs, including a civil war in 2007 and the Hamas takeover of Gaza. Second, in the theoretical literature on terrorism, there is much discussion on the boomerang effect of the state's over-reaction to terrorism and insurgency that leads to increased mobilization behind the insurgent. The findings of this article strongly suggest that a strategy of barbarism, such as suicide-bombings, may harm the insurgent in much the same way as over-reaction by the state.

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&

Huseyin Zengin

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A Decade of Opening: Turkey's New International Role in Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America (2005-2015)

Since 2002, the AKP government has been evaluated as a new age in the contemporary history of Turkey due to the particular party identity which can be regarded as a combination of a moderate Islamism with a neoliberal vision. In terms of International Political Economy, Turkey developed an active international agenda as a Near-BRICS rising power opening new spaces and increasing its presence in global political economy forums such as G-20. Based on the “Central Country” self-perception, Turkey tried to generate a non-turbulent regional environment to boost its political, economic and cultural relations with previous secondary areas such as Middle East, Caucasus and the Balkans besides the high-rank relations with the European Union and United States. At the same time, Turkey’s multi-dimensional foreign policy saw sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America as new regions to expand its influence through commerce, investments and political links. This paper will explain the sources of the AKP Foreign Policy towards these new regions and compare the similarities and differences of the opening’s process and the outcomes in both regional spaces.

Chrysoula Gitsoulis

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Utilitarian vs. Rights Based Constructions of Value

Utilitarianism, as defined by John Stuart Mill (1861), is a doctrine which holds that ‘actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness; wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness’, for all those affected by the action. As a guide for action, this moral theory holds that:

Definition: Classical utilitarianism

An act is right if and only if it produces greater happiness than unhappiness for all those affected by it.

This principle applies not only to individuals but to groups of individuals, and to legislators in particular. According to this principle, in deciding what laws or policies to enact, legislators should do whatever will maximize the happiness of the community as a whole.

One important feature of utilitarianism is that it is a consequentialist moral theory; in other words, it looks to the effects or consequences of an action in order to assess its moral worth – consequences, not merely for the agent, but for all those affected by the action. Utilitarianism does not assign a *fixed* moral value to actions. If an act A in circumstance c_1 makes more people happy than unhappy, it is morally permissible to do A, and if in circumstance c_2 that *same* act makes more people unhappy than happy, then it is not morally permissible to do A. In this respect, utilitarianism is contrasted with rights-based or deontological (i.e. duty-based, from the Gk root “deon” = duty) ethical theories, according to which:

Definition: Rights-based (or “deontological”) ethical theories

An act that harms some person or group of persons is *intrinsically* wrong, regardless of its consequences.

According to rights-based ethical theories, certain actions (e.g., killing, torturing, stealing, lying, etc.) are wrong “in and of themselves”, “by their very nature”, “in principle”, because of their “inherent character”, and committing them would violate a person’s “rights”. For the utilitarian, by contrast, there is no such thing as an act being intrinsically right or wrong. Whether an act is right or wrong depends on its consequences.

The most glaring weakness of utilitarianism, many argue, is that it fails to respect individual rights. As a consequentialist moral theory, utilitarianism holds that it is the consequences or ends of our actions (maximizing happiness) that determine whether particular means to them are justified. But is any means of achieving the greater good

permissible? Suppose someone poisons his grandfather to acquire his fortune. Even if greater overall happiness is achieved, that is morally reprehensible. According to the philosopher Immanuel Kant, ethical theories like utilitarianism are flawed because they fail to respect the dignity of man. Kant believed that every human being has an inherent worth resulting from the sheer possession of rationality, and that we must always act in a way that respects this humanity in others and in ourselves. We must treat others as ends in themselves, not as means toward achieving our ends. We must, according to rights-based ethics, respect the fundamental rights of man.

The significance of positing natural rights is that they provide grounds for making moral judgments that appear to differ radically from utilitarianism's grounds. But what are rights, anyway, and how do they come into being?

My paper will begin by exploring this question. I will distinguish what are called "natural rights" from "legal rights", and "negative rights" from "positive rights". I will then attempt to show that it is best to think of the difference between utilitarianism and rights-based ethics not as a difference in *kind*, but as a difference in *degree*.

One consequence of noticing that the difference between utilitarianism and right-based ethics is a matter of degree, and not in kind, is that it will become more apparent that the same problem posed above for the utilitarian can be posed for the rights-based theorist. Rights-based theorists maintain that rights should be respected because it is fitting to do so, and not because of the good consequences that will flow from doing so. But must they be respected in every circumstance, or is it sometimes permissible to violate them? The challenge the utilitarian faced was:

Do consequences always trump individual rights, or are there situations where individual *rights take priority?* The comparable challenge that rights-based theorist faces is:

Do individual rights always trump the common good, or are there circumstances in which *the common good takes priority?*

Another consequence of viewing the difference between utilitarianism and right-based ethics as a difference of degree will concern contemporary political debates on income distribution, which will be amplified on at length in my paper.

Dennis Gregory

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The Assessment of Higher Education Programs: A Comparison of the American and Portuguese Models

There is a movement around the world to evaluate and compare many types of programs of institutions of higher education. This movement which has historical roots in the U.S., has taken on new life in Europe as a result of the European Union and individual European nations' desires to create a European higher education market and to strengthen institutions and the higher education system throughout Europe. Many other countries around the world such as Australia, China and Singapore are seeking to strengthen their own systems as well. All of these efforts are focused on improving academic quality and strengthening administrative operations to maintain and massify higher education in their own countries and regions, to attract students from those countries that are net exporters of students so as to increase financial support for the system, and to improve the international rankings of their systems and individual institutions.

This presentation will examine the political background in two nations (The United States and Portugal) which are taking part in the assessment and accreditation of higher education programs and will then describe the systems in place to move these assessments to fruition. It will focus upon the regional and national accreditation system in the US along with the administrative functional area self-assessment system developed by the Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education (CAS). It will also describe efforts to improve assessment of the for-profit sector of higher education in the US.

The presentation will also describe the political background and the work in Portugal of A3ES, Agency for Assessment and Accreditation, which is the agency which is responsible for accrediting academic programs throughout the higher education sector in Portugal and which has launched a new process for a deeper assessment of quality academic programs across the higher education sector. This work, based upon a broad based set of institutional efforts to improve higher education as well as a national desire to increase the International role of Portuguese higher education and with influence from the European Union will be examined.

Walter Hatch

Associate Professor, Colby College, USA

European Integration, Asian Disintegration: The Different Roles of the U.S. in Two Regions

Europe today is an emerging union, a web of regional institutions that – for better or worse – have served to integrate economies and eventually may even integrate polities. Northeast Asia, by contrast, is made up of separate states that trade with one another but don't cooperate much through formal agreements. How can we explain this difference? Some (like Katzenstein) have attributed it to culture. Europeans have a penchant for formal-legalism, according to this argument; Confucian-based countries like China, South Korea and Japan are able to operate through handshakes, or business networks. My argument, which draws on both realism and constructivism, is different. I argue that the United States is primarily responsible for this difference. In the wake of World War II, it used the Marshall Plan to prod European states, especially France and West Germany, to cooperate on efforts to rebuild this war-ravaged region. U.S. officials felt an affinity, even a racial «identity» with Europeans, and trusted them to collaborate multilaterally. U.S. officials felt no such affinity for Asians, whom they viewed as «backwards» or inferior, and felt they could not trust them to collaborate. Instead, those officials opted for a hierarchal hub-and-spokes system of mostly bilateral ties connecting Asian capitals «up» to D.C. Even today, the U.S. seeks to dominate Asia, maintaining about 100,000 military troops in the region and trying to dictate foreign policy to its junior partners, especially Japan. Contrary to the conventional wisdom, which suggests that U.S. power in Asia is the «oxygen» for development and the «cap in the bottle» of nascent militarism, I argue that it stifles opportunities for productive, multilateral cooperation.

Mohd Aminul Karim

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Is China Destined to Play High-politics in East Asia?

Aim of this paper is to project China's emerging trend towards high-politics in East Asia, ostensibly generated by regional geopolitical dynamics. Hegemonic transition, replacing hegemonic stability, may seemingly be activating the dynamics. There is almost an inexorable move towards high-politics due mainly to presence of issues that are likely to trigger conflict, may be a limited war. Issues range from flashpoints to populist nationalism, economic interdependence, and leadership or hegemonic race in Western Pacific. The paper concludes by highlighting likely resultant hi-politics, action-reaction cycles, polarizations and alignments, arraying of forces, probability of a limited war, mutual deterrence, and overall projecting power relations.

Varsha Khanwalker

Associate Professor, Kanpur University, India

The Scenario of Globalized India: From Exclusion to Financial Inclusion

This paper is an effort to portray the scenario of globalized India. The process of globalization, which began with economic liberalization, brought entire world under one trade-system and tried to prepare a stage where all nations could compete by equal rules and conditions. This global competition, of course, ushered in opportunities to the nations, but the lion's share was and still today bound to reach the developed countries. The developing countries along with India have been showing their dissatisfaction on some issues from time to time. The paper aims, specifically to explain how a significant portion of country's population remains marginalized and 'excluded' from the benefits of globalization. Since there are disparities galore in terms of socio-economic conditions, health and education, rural and urban divide etc., hence the capacity to receive the benefits of globalization differs remarkably. The paper also seeks to explore the ways and methods whereby this excluded segment could be connected with the level-playing field. At present the portrait of globalized India is incomplete because a large populace remains marginalized. A drastic change and enormous efforts are required in government-policy formation and implementation. The government would have to chalk out national policy and convince international community with assertiveness that national interests cannot be sacrificed at the altar of globalization. India needs and should assert that global benefits should reach the entire population and that globalization must be inclusive. The engine of inclusive globalization should be national interest-oriented structural transformation and its mode of action the use of advanced technology.

Sanjeev Kumar H.M.
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Reorientalism and the Place of Islam in Contemporary International Relations

This paper aims to show as to how dominant discourses defining the contours of international relations are deeply rooted in historically transmitted meanings of particular phenomenon. Making a case toward the use of hermeneutic method, the paper argues that the process of such transmissions is done through a defined structure of language which transcends notions of contextual theory of meaning. Indicating that interpretation of a given phenomenon of international relations done by dominant discourses may not always be navigated by prevalent context, but can emerge as teleological products of long standing belief. The paper attempts to explore this by mapping ways in which Western discourses have framed the interface between religion and violence as a major feature of recent international relations wherein Islam occupies a central position. The significant character of this interpretation is attack on Islam, based on the contention that it is barbaric, mired in medievalism and is the prime civilizational enemy of the modernised West. Such a portrait, the paper argues, is part of a historical continuum of relationship between Islam and the West which the latter has consistently attempted to locate in the epistemological framework of orientalism. Presently, the paper contends that philologically, the language of orientalism has been transformed as clash of civilisations in the Western discourses on contemporary international relations. This new dispensation, represented by ideas of Samuel Huntington and Bernard Lewis, has been described here as reorientalism. It means that notions of 'clash of civilizations' paint the picture of current international relations by retrieving old orientalist clichés. Finally, the paper concludes by arguing that a correct reading of Islamic philosophy, theology and etymology is crucial for deconstructing the complex vocabulary embodying the discourses on nature of contemporary international relations in which the place of Islam remains a highly debated one.

Jacqueline Laguardia Martinez
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The “Updating” of the Cuban Model: Implications for the Cuba-CARICOM Relations

In 2011 Cuba approved a new economic policy with the purpose of re-launching its economy while preserving its main social achievements. The ongoing transformation has had echoes in its Caribbean partners, some of which have been recently practicing a renewed approach to Latin America thanks to a revitalized regional integration dynamics. At the same time, rumors of change in the conflicted Cuba-USA relations are spreading through the region, a shift of notable significance in the politics and hemispheric affairs.

This paper will critically examine the impacts of the Cuban domestic transformations in the Cuba- CARICOM relation in a changing regional environment. The paper is primarily concentrated on examining Cuba-CARICOM relation –its evolution and current state- as well as to present possible scenarios for the future of the relation. The evaluation will considerate the political, economic and cooperation links. The foreign policy of key global and regional actors as USA, EU, China and Brazil will also be taken into account in the analysis, noting that they act as driving forces in the Cuba-CARICOM relation.

Secondly, this paper aims to provide scholars with a better understanding of the current transformation within the Cuban economy and society, its inner logics, purposes, results and insufficiencies in the first four years of implementation.

Drazen Lalic

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Features and Implications of the 2014-15 Presidential Election in Croatia

The topic of the paper is the presidential election in Croatia in the end of 2014 and beginning of 2015. The paper is based on systematical insight of that election and empirical research (mostly using content analysis on messages of candidates) of the campaign. The tight victory of Kolinda Grabar Kitarović, candidate of Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and another seven right-wing parties, over incumbent Ivo Josipović, candidate of governing Social Democratic Party (SDP) and another 16 parties of the left and centre brings large implications on Croatian politics. These implications are expressed in a three basic trends. The first trend refers to the probable shift of focus in country's foreign policy from the region (post-Yugoslav countries) to the West, primarily towards the EU which Croatia became member of in July 2013. The second trend is expressed in intensification of political divisions that have been most visible in the actions of the HDZ and SDP; these divisions are primarily linked to Croatian history (the Second World War and wars in former Yugoslavia in 90's) and ideologies (nationalism and liberalism, etc.), and only to a lesser degree to constructive discussions about the economy and other mundane issues. The third trend refers of the strenghtening of the political right and fragmentation of political left, primarily SDP, in domestic politics. Given to third trend, HDZ has significant chances to win the next (likely to be held in November) parliamentary election, although this party until now has not demonstrated a willingness to undertake the reforms ignored by ruling SDP and alies. Therefore, it may be expected that the ideological divisions between of the most influential political actors that are not prone to reform, in a country devastated by long-lasting economic and social crisis, will continue to decisively determine the political and social life of Croatia.

Filadelfo Leon-Cazares

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Transformational Leadership and Perceived Organizational Performance: The Mediating Influence of Individual Level Factors

Leadership refers to the attempt made by organizational leaders to direct or energize followers to achieve specific objectives (Rainey 2003). It is one of the most important factors that contribute to public sector organizational performance (Paarlberg and Lavigna 2010; Wright and Pandey 2010). One specific style of leadership that has attracted much attention from scholars is transformational leadership. Transformational leadership refers to motivating followers to transcend their immediate self-interest through idealized influence (charisma), inspiration, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration (Bass, 1999). Researchers argue that the relationship between leadership and organizational performance is not direct and is mediated by several factors (Vigoda-Gadot, 2007). In our study, we argue that individual level factors may mediate the relationship between transformational leadership and perceived organizational performance. In particular, we focus on the mediating influence of public service motivation (PSM) and organizational citizenship behaviours (OCBs) on this relationship. PSM refers to an individuals' predisposition to do good for others and society through the delivery of public services (Hondeghem and Perry, 2009), whereas organizational citizenship behaviours (OCBs) refer to individual behaviors that are discretionary, informal and contribute to organizational effectiveness (Organ, 1988). Using structural equation modelling (SEM), we test a mediation model in which transformational leadership affects PSM which in turn affects perceived organizational performance through OCBs.

Nikolaos Liodakis

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**Between the Scylla of Ordoliberalism and the Charybdis
of Keynesianism: The Development of Social Policy with
the Greek Left in Power**

Ordoliberalism is associated with corporatist and market-based social welfare systems, whereas Keynesianism with social-democratic welfare-state regimes. This paper examines the social policy implications of the two competing ideologies for the formation of social policy in the context of the Greek economic crisis and the assumption of power by SYRIZA, a left-wing political party in Greece. Particular attention is placed on the issues of universal and means-tested social programmes, in the areas of health and education.

Masakazu Matsumoto

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An Equal or Unequal Right to Kill?: A Defense of the Traditional Just War Theory

"The moral equality of soldiers," first formulated by Michael Walzer, is an assumption that both just soldiers (i.e. those who are fighting a just war like national self-defense) and unjust soldiers (i.e. those who are fighting an unjust war like aggression) have a right to kill each other, since they are viewed as morally equal in some important respect. Just soldiers cannot, in this sense, claim any superiority to unjust ones. This paper calls this idea the *traditional* just war theory.

This idea has been subjected to a sustained criticism since the mid-1990s. Contrary to the traditionalist view, so the critics say, there are important moral differences between just and unjust soldiers. Just as the moral statuses of a police officer and a robber in the case of bank robbery are different, so should the moral statuses of just and unjust soldiers in the case of warfare be different. The former are allowed to attack the latter, but not vice versa. This paper calls this idea the *revisionist* just war theory.

Conclusions drawn from the revisionist view, however, are highly controversial. Should unjust soldiers who killed just ones in the battlefield be punished as murderers? Can we judge the rightness or wrongness of a war definitively? Moreover, if we follow the logical conclusion from the revisionist view, we cannot but revise the fundamental principle of noncombatant immunity in the current international law.

The purpose of this paper is to defend the traditional just war theory. The controversy over the moral (in)equality of soldiers is now churning among the traditionalist (Benbaji; Emerton and Handfield; Kutz) and the revisionist (Coady; McMahan; Rodin) sides. In my view, however, an important issue has been left ambiguous there. The decisive point is how to define "innocent," and once you reconfigure the controversy from this point of view, then you will come to grasp more clearly with the weaknesses of revisionism as well as the strengths of traditionalism.

This paper proceeds as follows. First, it reveals that traditionalists have defined the meaning of "innocent" as non-harmful, while revisionists defined it as non-responsible. Secondly, it points out that this very important point has remained missing in the traditionalist-revisionist controversy so far. Thirdly, it scrutinizes critically the principal difficulty found in the revisionist definition. Finally, it

suggests some possible defense of the traditionalist definition against the revisionist objections.

Salvor Nordal

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A Democratic Experiment. Iceland's Reactions to the Banking Crisis

Iceland, which was one of the countries hardest hit by the financial crisis 2007/2008 when the Icelandic banking system collapsed, has been dealing with the consequences of the crisis for almost seven years. Immediately the crisis affected almost everyone; many people lost their personal savings, the cost of living rose and debts of the state, businesses and individuals soared. There was also considerable anger among the public in the months following the crisis with street demonstration and resignation of the government.

In this paper Iceland's reaction to the crisis will be discussed and analysed. On one hand a thorough investigation into the cause of the collapse has been conducted and court cases were few of the bankers have been sentenced to prison. On the other hand there has been extensive discussion of social values especially in the constitutional debates taking place between the years 2010 and 2013. This process engaged the public with National meetings, Constitutional Council and general referendum. The focus will especially be on the rise of civil society in Iceland and its attempt to move for societal change.

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Systems Analysis in the Study of the Political Elite of the Transitive Society

The power élite in Russia is the most important factor in the political process. Changing of the élite structure, its role and significance in the transitive society requires applying new methods of analysis, since the former approaches were not always functional for solving newly emerging problems.

In our research, we have applied a systems approach to the analysis of Russia's regional power élite (1991 to 2010), within the framework of which "the political élite" concept has been determined, and some functional set of instruments for the solution of scientific problems in terms of élitology has been created. The élite was studied as a complex system oriented at its own environment not only in an adaptive way, but first and foremost in structure.

Application of the systems analysis to studying the political élite enabled us to analyze the structure and functions of the élite of modern Russia, create a model of Russia's élitogenesis, elucidate the causes of "swallowing" democratic reforms by the political élite, determine the roots of corruption connections in the upper power echelons, analyze the reproduction mechanisms of the political élite of a certain quality (even) in the conditions of transformation of the power regime of the state system.

In the course of the conducted investigation, some limitations of the systems approach have been established. For one thing, the present approach is characterized by a certain degree of reduction. Thus, in creating a model of Russia's élitogenesis, we faced the necessity of considerable schematization of the processes under study, as well as some "depersonalization" of the élite. Nevertheless, the efficiency of the systems approach in the study of the political élite is sufficiently high, though the application of the present approach needs further working out as well as discussing in the professional sphere.

L. Jan Reid

President, Coast Economic Consulting, USA

The Political Segregation of America

It is generally acknowledged that the United States of America's (U.S.; America) bicameral congress is currently dysfunctional to the extent that it is unable to pass legislation to address important issues such as immigration reform, student loan relief, the minimum wage, budget reform, and economic development. This dysfunction is usually attributed to the intransigence of America's two ruling political parties, the liberal-leaning Democratic Party and the conservative-leaning Republican Party. This intransigence has led to a situation in which most legislators refuse to compromise with legislators from other political parties.

This no-compromise posture is a radical departure from the traditional role of American legislators. Michael Gerson has explained that: "Legislative Compromise: Virtue or Failure?" Michael Gerson, June 24, 2013, Shared Justice, http://www.sharedjustice.org/legislative_compromise_virtue_or_failure.)

Members of Congress are not elected to serve the purest form of their ideology. They are elected to govern in the public interest, within the constraints of our constitutional order. And that order balances power – between the executive and the legislature and between ideological factions within the legislature.

This means that every serious legislative act partakes of compromise. That is the design of the system. To rule out compromise is to rule out governing.

I show that dysfunctional government in the U.S. is a byproduct of "political segregation." In the phenomenon of "political segregation," liberals tend to relocate and live in areas where liberal voters are in the majority, and conservatives tend to relocate to live in areas where conservative voters are in the majority.

The Economist has explained that "Because Americans are so mobile, even a mild preference for living with like-minded neighbours leads over time to severe segregation." ("The Big Sort," The Economist Magazine, June 19, 2008)

I analyze state-by-state U.S. presidential election data from 1824-2012 and show that a shift has occurred in the voting behavior for key American states. I show when the political shift began to occur, and explore some of the reasons for these political trends. I review and briefly discuss the psychological literature on voting behavior. I hypothesize that U.S. federal legislators are following the wishes of the

vast majority of voters in their districts, and that dysfunctional government is a byproduct of political segregation, and is not simply a function of the intransigence of individual legislators. Finally, I discuss my results and offer some suggestions for reducing political dysfunction in the United States.

Ingrid Sarti

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Theoretical and Developmental Challenges to Contemporary Latin American Integration

This paper presents some key theoretical aspects which challenge the contemporary and Latin American conception of Integration. It does so first by reviewing the contemporary political theory of inter Estate cooperation and the concept of autonomy in Latin America. It then stresses the need to analyze the characteristics of the developmental models which are taking places in the continent, in this XXI Century. It is stated that relevant changes in the economic framework and in the social policies have led to different types of regionalist blocks (Mercosul, Unasul, Celac, Aliança para o Pacífico), which remain to be deeply understood. It will be argued that there is effectively a new pattern of regional development, which requires a correspondant critical theoretical framework beyond the political ideological enthusiasm / prejudices.

Another aspect which is evaluated is the *South – South* importance of international cooperation beyond Latin American partners. The relationship among BRICs and other countries which are not the hegemonic ones in Europe present most relevant challenges towards a theoretical and developmental model of structuring global democracy in the XXI century. The opportunity of a pluralist and critical debate at this Conference is unique and will certainly provide important effects within the Latin American-European intelectual and institutional environment.

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&
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**The Guardianship Dilemma:
Regime Security through and from the Armed Forces**

Armed forces strong enough to protect the state also pose a threat to the state. We develop a model that distills this "Guardianship Dilemma" to its barest essentials, and show that the seemingly ironclad logic underlying our existing understanding of civil-military relations is flawed. Militaries contemplating disloyalty must worry about both successfully overthrowing the government and defeating the state's opponent. This twin challenge induces loyalty whenever the state faces strong external threats, and can be managed effectively by rulers using a number of policy levers. Disloyalty can still occur when political and military elites hold divergent beliefs about the threat environment facing the state, since militaries will sometimes have less incentive to remain loyal than the ruler suspects.

Consequently, it is not the need to respond to external threats that raises the risk of disloyalty --- as conventional wisdom suggests --- but rather uncertainty about the severity of these threats.

Tijana Surlan

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Diversification of the International Criminal Judiciary

The theme of the fragmentation of the International Public Law has been thoroughly examined up to now. Mostly it was described and analyzed within the areas of the substantive International Law, less in its procedural aspects. Yet again, there has been remarkable turnover in the last one hundred years, when it comes to the international judiciary. From the very beginning of the arbitration, through the Permanent Court of the International Justice, to the International Court of Justice, we have witnessed foundation of several international criminal courts through the XX century, as well as courts in the field of International Human Rights.

Within this paper the focus would be on the international criminal judiciary. At the moment there are several international criminal courts – one permanent and several *ad hoc* and hybrid. There are yet several to be formed in the nearby future, such as a tribunal for the crimes of the Kosovo Liberation Army under the auspices of the EU. Intriguing issue is – why international community still tends to form new *ad hoc* courts if the permanent criminal court has been established? Is it in the domain of the international politics or international law? Is it good or bad from the point of the International Public Law system?

Without prejudice to the answers to all posed question at the moment, it should be underlined that development of international criminal judiciary presents one of the most powerful tools for the essential redefinition of the foundations of International Public Law as the legal system of the International Community. Where it would lead remains to be seen, but it is on scholars to try to foresee it and try to explain further development in several potential scenarios.

Main goals of this paper are: 1. to describe the net of existing international criminal courts; 2. To detect those international criminal courts that are to be formed in the nearby future; 3. To analyze *ratio* for establishing international criminal judiciary in the contemporary international community.

Shann Turnbull

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Australia

Currency Options for Distressed Economies

The research question is to investigate how supplementary digital tagged and terminating currencies can provide a superior fallback position to Bitcoin in a financial crisis and/or provide a basis for rehabilitating distressed economies. All bitcoins are tagged to avoid their duplication. The digital tagging of currencies would eliminate the black economy to facilitate budget surpluses. Self-financing terminating currencies described as “stamp scrip” were privately introduced in European and US communities during the Great Depression. Negative interest rate money has the support of Fisher (1933), Keynes (1936), Suhr (1989), Buiter (2009) and Menner (2011). Cost-carrying money was re-introduced into Germany in 2003 tethered to the Euro. This illustrates the acceptance of this type of money without a crisis. Cell phones with a “swipe card” feature would allow all notes and coins to be withdrawn from circulation. A number of countries are following the lead of Sweden in this regard. All official or supplementary currencies could then be tagged with the tax file number of all individuals or entities using money. The tax office could issue statements of total revenues and expenses to all uses of official or supplementary currencies. This could reveal the extent of money laundering, multinational profit shifting, fraud, bribes or the payment to terrorists. Tagged money would facilitate and expedite on a continuous basis both private and public auditing and the preparation of private and national accounts. The cost effectiveness of tagged money would allow governments to provide free cell phones to all welfare recipients to both receive their funding participate in the economy. Cell phones would continuously collect the negative interest rate money and any other government imposts or taxes. Governments would not need to increase their debts or taxes to fund welfare payments with self-liquidating money as proposed by the US [Bankhead-Pettengill Bill of February 1933](#).

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The US's Sisyphean Labour: Failed Conflict Management of the Korean Nuclear Crisis

The North Korean nuclear crisis is one of the most intractable and prolonged security issues in the world. It is a by-product of the Cold War. The demise of the communist bloc made North Korea drastically vulnerable and subsequently, the very survival of its regime has become a supreme goal for the North. The crisis indicates that the Korean peninsula is the last vestige of the Cold War, but at the same time, it goes beyond the ideological chasm; in effect, it is a story of one fragile and isolated state's preoccupation with nuclear deterrence in the process of standing up to the world's superpower – the United States. Although every US president since Clinton has tried to solve this problem, it is generally acknowledged that the US has so far failed to prevent North Korea from developing its nuclear programme. President Obama, who was once confident about dealing with the country, has recently said he believes North Korea is bound to collapse. This is not a sophisticated diplomatic utterance, but rather close to a categorical proposition. Against this backdrop, this paper suggests three elements that have impacted on conflict management in the post-Cold War era: firstly, to borrow a term from Neo-realism, structural changes in international relations should be taken into account. The US unilateral system has dwindled with the rise of China particularly in Northeast Asia, which made the US-led conflict management process much more complex. Secondly, from constructivists' viewpoint, the perception of each other has deteriorated between the US and North Korea. The interpretative gap, which I would call 'pejorative intersubjectivity', made this conflict management nearly impossible. Thirdly, in terms of a conceptual framework, an elaborate design that shows some asymmetric traits between the postmodern state and the fragile state needs to be developed.