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Beyond the Tragedy of Failure: Debating the Role Of State Failure in the Middle East and North Africa as A Root Cause of Political Violence in the Region

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Issues in International Politics, Economy, and Governance

Edited by

Yannis A. Stivachtis & Christopher Price
Virginia Tech

Athens Institute for Education & Research (ATINER)

2014

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About ATINER

The Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER) was established in 1995 as an independent world association of Academics and Researchers. Its mission is to act as a forum where Academics and Researchers from all over the world can meet and exchange ideas on their research, and discuss the future developments in their disciplines. Athens was chosen as the meeting place because of its long history and culture.

The organizing and hosting of [International Conferences and Symposiums](#), as well as Research and [Publications](#) are the basic activities of ATINER. Since 1995, ATINER has organized more than 200 International Conferences and other events, and has published close to 150 [books](#). In 2013, the Association launched its on-line journals.

Academically, the Association is organized into six [Research Divisions](#) and twenty-seven [Research Units](#). Each Research Unit organizes at least an Annual International Conference and undertakes various small and large research projects. ATINER encourages other Institutions to participate as joint members in these research projects. Since 2012, the Institute has also organized a number of smaller events, such as roundtable discussions and public speeches.

Membership of ATINER is open to all Academics and Researchers from all over the world. The members of the Institute are invited to undertake a number of [academic activities](#).

About the Editors

Yannis A. Stivachtis is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the International Studies Program at Virginia Tech. He is the editor of the *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* and co-editor of the *Critical European Studies* book series published by Routledge/Taylor & Francis. He also serves as the Chair of the Social Sciences Research Division and Head of the Politics & International Affairs Research Unit of ATINER (Athens Institute of Education and Research); European Security Analyst and Senior Advisor of RIEAS (Research Institute for European & American Studies); and Chair of the English School section of the International Studies Association (ISA). He is the author of *Human and State (In)Security in a Globalized World* (Dubuque, IA: Kentall Hunt, 2010); *Co-operative Security and Non-Offensive Defense in the Zone of War* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001); and *The Enlargement of International Society* (London: Macmillan, 1998) and co-author of *Non-Offensive Defense in the Middle East* (New York: United Nations Publications 1998). He has edited or co-edited several books and special journal issues including *Europe after Enlargement* (London: Routledge 2014), *The European Union and Peace-building* (*Review of European Studies*, 2013); *Addressing Integration and Exclusion: Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention* (Athens: ATINER 2013); *EUrope and the World* (*Review of European Studies*, 2012); *International Society in Post-enlargement Europe* (*Journal of European Integration*, 2011); *The Road to EU Membership: The Economic Transformation of Turkey* (Brussels: Brussels University Press, 2011); *Turkey-European Union Relations* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008); *The State of European Integration* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); *International Order in a Globalizing World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); *Current Issues in European Integration* (Athens: ATINER, 2004); and *European Union's Mediterranean Enlargement* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2002). He has written several articles published in various journals like the, *Contemporary Politics*, *Journal of European Integration*, *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, and *Mediterranean Politics*. He has also written several chapters published in edited volumes.

Christopher Price holds a Master's degree in Government and International Affairs (School of Public and International Affairs, Virginia Tech), where he also holds his undergraduate degree in History and Political Science. His research focus is on Private Military Contractors and their effect on state-building in post-conflict societies such as Afghanistan and Iraq. He has presented his research at conferences and symposiums concerning peace-building and international relations. He is the co-author of "The European Union as a Peace Actor" (*Review of European Studies*, 2013).

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Blacksburg, 15 April 2014
Yannis A. Stivachtis & Christopher Price

Issues in International Politics, Economy, and Governance: An Introduction

Yannis A. Stivachtis & Christopher Price

The face of the world is ever changing. Studying international politics has never been more important or interesting, as the world and global politics are in a stage of constant metamorphosis. The rapidly evolving 24-hour news cycle and ease of international travel serve to increase the value of a solid understanding of international politics. The closure of World War II resulted in the release and subsequent gain of statehood of many countries from umbrella of the empires they had previously been a part of, and the end of the Cold War has allowed many countries to exercise greater agency over themselves—though at the same time without the protection of larger, more powerful nations.

With the Arab Spring surging through the Middle East and much of the Muslim world, the policy-making in those states has undergone change. In Egypt alone, the government has undergone rapid transformation twice within the past four years as both Hosni Mubarak and Mohamed Morsi were forced to resign from the presidency. Leaders have been removed from power in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, with further uprisings in Bahrain and Syria. Additionally, protests both major and minor in scope have effected nearly a dozen more countries. The effects of the Arab Spring are not contained within the Arab world however. Heads of states and governments which have previously had relationships with other states around the world are no longer in policy-making positions, which in turn means that states who may have previously enjoyed a degree of influence in countries of the Arab world may find their amount of influence changing as new relations are made. Security in the Middle East has become a primary concern to many countries, not least of which is the United States. The U.S. Government Printing Office's 2013 Budget of the United States placed the discretionary budget of the Department of Defense and Overseas Contingency Operations at 666 billion dollars, with an additional mandatory 6.7 billion dollars. Homeland Security and the National Intelligence Program each respectively accounted for an additional 54.9 and 52.6 billion of discretionary budget as well. Much of

this funding is spent on the implementation of anti-terrorism efforts aimed towards countries in the Middle East. To state that security in the Middle East is important does not entirely address the issue. Low-impact, more mundane effects results in travellers facing tighter restrictions and security. On the high-impact end of the spectrum of effects, countries spend billions, tens of billions, or even hundreds of billions of their budget dollars addressing the issue.

Plenty of examples worldwide highlight the importance of the politics behind economic decisions. As the summit of peak oil has come and gone, traditional sources of energy and fuel become increasingly important. While vast quantities of oil still remain within the earth, they have become more and more difficult to access and extract. Ecological consequences are many, and increasing with frequency. While the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill caused an outcry and mass outpouring of concern in the United States, more recent spills have recieved considerably less media attention, and attention from the international community. Still, many states are uncomfortable – and clearly for good reason – with the notion of extracting oil from their own ecospheres, and they often look to other countries for the importing of fuels like crude oil and natural gas. The economic side effect of this may be relying to heavily on one source for fuel or energy, such as the European Union as discovered in the case of importing fuel from Russia. If the price of fuel undergoes steep increases, every European citizen feels it. Energy reliance on a foreign nation influences politics (both domestic and international) in the sense that a nation may not be able to react as it wishes – policy wise – to the actions of another nation, if that other nation controls a majority of the other’s energy source. A second example is the changing nature of economic politics between China and Africa. As China works to provide a steady flow of materials for its growing economy, it has began courting many African nations. While these states may be approached by any number of countries for the purchasing of rights to mine resources such as platinum or tantalite, China presents an attractive partnership. Any nation’s or corportation’s mining operation would bring financial gain to a country, but China’s foreign policy does not include the exporting of values and ideals that other countries have been accused of.

Issues in international governance may be of most recent concern, as Russia annexed the Ukrainian region of Crimea in March of 2014. Much of the controversy surrounding the region stemmed at first from the Ukraine’s consideration of joining the European Union, a preeminent icon of international governance. The actions of Russian president Vladimir Putin and American President Barack Obama illustrate differing political views concerning international governance.

International actors do not necessarily perceive global politics in the same light, and often act according to how they themselves perceive the world. In the case of Russia's annexation of Crimea, we find at least two separate concepts of international relations at work. Much of the European continent may be said to address the situation from a standpoint of Pluralism or Globalism, while west of the Atlantic, Obama and the United States behave in a similar fashion. In contrast, Putin practices political realism as he has expressed little concern over sanctions placed on Russian individuals by the western nations. As Putin and the Russian government work towards reinstating the Crimean peninsula as part of Russia, this illustrates the belief that only a stronger force can negate this action, rather than an international organization or economic group.

In the current day, the scope of foreign policy has broadened considerably. Through much of history, states foreign interest may have been limited to other neighboring states—frequently referred to as a country's "backyard." With the United States' "War on Drugs" beginning to show signs of losing its impetus in certain areas as American states begin the slow march to legalize marijuana, the "War on Terror" has become a prominent focus of American policymakers. To protect itself from terrorism the United States has adopted a policy of preemptiveness, seeking out terrorist organizations where they incubate. Thus the very notion of the border has been expanded, reminiscent of the days of Cold War and the Domino Theory as United States' foreign policy treats states around the globe as borders and frontiers to be protected. This sort of foreign policy approach has kept the United States and many of its allies embroiled in Afghanistan for the last decade in an attempt to win the hearts and minds of the people, and therefore deny terrorist organizations a place to flourish. Ultimately international policy is the mesh that connects differing aspects of international politics and governance. Europe's energy dependency on Russia presents an example, as the continent is left with few options in reaction to Russian actions in the Crimean peninsula during the winter months.

Today, there is little that occurs that does not have effects on a broader scale. The 2008 financial collapse in the United States was felt around the world, and is echoing six years later. China's economic growth has led to new economic relations around the world, with potentially drastic ecological repercussions. Russia's annexation of Crimea from the Ukraine has become a stressor of differing levels for various countries, NATO, and the EU. However, issues in international politics are too numerous to count, and considering this the scope of

this volume is intended to provide a space for a wide variety of discussion—topics ranging from the EU funding, to the single market concept within a global economy, to superheroes and the importance (and ramifications) of a professed nationality.

Book Structure

This volume is divided into four parts. Part I focuses on foreign policy and consists of five articles. In Chapter 1, Sónia Rodrigues focuses on the dilemmas and constraints in the creation of the state of Kosovo. How to deal with the new state of Kosovo is a crucial issue for peace and stability in the Balkans, as for the consolidation of democracy in Serbia. This chapter focuses on the dilemmas and the constraints on the creation of the State of Kosovo. The installation of UNMIK in Kosovo, after the bombing of the Serbian province by NATO, allowed the institutional distance from the authoritarian regime of Slobodan Milosevic and the beginning of the implementation of democratic reforms by the United Nations in the territory. It will be shown how the policy options taken by the United Nations structure have conditioned the February 2008 final outcome and how after nearly nine years of international administration the Kosovo's status of independence became inevitable. The process of democratization, which was launched by the United Nations mission in Kosovo on June 10, 1999 and the unilateral declaration of independence of the Serbian province on February 17, 2008 are the landmarks that signal the democratic transition and the creation of the new state in Kosovo. International recognition of Pristina's declaration is contested by the Serb political elite and by five European Union member states, while, at the same time, the democratic government of Serbia is making good progress in its process of European integration.

In Chapter 2, Kim Ezra Shienbaum and Esam Sohail discuss strategies to combat the financing of terror networks. Since global *jihadist* terrorism first came to public attention following the 9/11 attacks, the threat has not waned but evolved with multiple splinter groups, as well as individual “free lance” jihadists, emerging regularly. What fuels this threat? This chapter is grounded in the assumption that money, as much as ideology or manpower, fuels the modern terror machine regardless of the geographic location or philosophy of the terrorists. Moreover, *generating* this cash and, far more importantly, *transmitting* it where it needs to go is an integral part of the terrorist business model, constituting major challenges for governments seeking to fight terror financing. The chapter concludes by suggesting that the

keys to a successful future combating the scourge of global terror financing require good intelligence in the short term, private sector and inter-governmental cooperation in the medium term, and integrated civil society co-ordination in the long term.

In Chapter 3, David Jervis explores a possible shift in United States foreign policy. The Obama administration came to office at a time when the United States needed to reduce foreign affairs spending because of the fiscal crisis, reduce its overseas commitments because of public unease after wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and improve America's global reputation after the Bush administration. This study identifies and evaluates the Obama administration's efforts to do so and calls upon the administration to do more.

In Chapter 4, Maria do Céu Pinto addresses the Arab Spring and U.S. policy in the Middle East. This chapter maps the Obama administration's reaction to the unexpected Arab Spring and how it put together a policy response. The United States was in a quandary over how to handle the crisis unleashed by the Arab Spring, in its attempt to balance its moral obligations and ideals without undercutting its strategic interests and those of its close allies. In doing so, it aims to gauge how events of the Arab Spring may contravene U.S. traditional interests in the area and to what extent they portend a decline of U.S. influence in the region. In particular, we will analyze whether the momentous Arab Spring upheavals brought about a reassessment of American foreign policy, shifting from decades of support for pro-U.S. autocratic regimes to backing for pro-democracy movements. This chapter will highlight the Obama administration's difficulties in grasping with the new reality and in enunciating a policy platform that can combine American interests and values.

In Chapter 5, Iuri Andréas Reblin and Kathleen Luana de Oliveira examine *Action Comics #900 Commemorative Edition*, a comic that sparked controversy within the United States. This chapter presents an analysis of the comic book story written by David Goyer and published in the commemorative edition of *Action Comics # 900*, of which the main topic is Superman's renunciation of the U.S. citizenship. Through an exploratory and bibliographical review, the study aims to examine the consequences of this renunciation under the perspective of superhero narratives and his broad mythology and the consequences in the fictional community which the character has a relationship of belonging to and in the *fandom* as well. Questioning the meaning of Superman's renunciation leads in two directions: a formal or discursive disruption and a substantial disruption. The story reflects a critique of the way the U.S. is establishing international relations as well as

expresses U.S. ideological presence and power over seas, when we consider Joseph Nye Jr.'s ideas on *Soft Power* as a background. The study indicates that there is a critique of the U.S. government inside the story, which can be understood as a critique of the fatherland, of citizenship, of the American Way of Life.

Part II focuses on politics and security in the Middle East and consists of three articles. In Chapter 6, Tiffany Howard explores the role of state failure in the Middle East as a root cause of political violence in that region. What is at the root of the political violence in the Middle East and North Africa? Is radical Islam responsible, the lack of modernization, or even the prevalence of authoritarian rule? The theories which have been explored thus far would argue that these factors are indeed root causes. However, Howard argues that the theories based upon these variables are inadequate in their explanation, and are symptoms of a larger problem and that is state failure. She asserts that conditions within weak and failed states are at the root of terrorism and political violence in the Middle East and North Africa. Thus, using data from the Arabarometer Survey (2008), she finds that the features of state failure in the region force individuals to resort to terrorism and political violence as a means by which to obtain tangible political, economic and social goods and force strategic political concessions. Therefore, at the conclusion of this chapter Howard points out that promoting democracy, modernization, and religious freedom are noble and useful pursuits, but promoting state-building in the region is the first step towards addressing the violence.

In Chapter 7, Sayed Khatab assesses the Egyptian Revolution and its impact on stability in the Middle East. Scholars of Egyptian history are aware that the political and intellectual history of Egypt, in any historical epoch, is generally determined by the historical experience and the socio-economic circumstances in which the Egyptians found themselves. Today, Egypt has entered a new epoch of its history. Like any nation, the Egyptians have the right to determine their own destiny under normal circumstances and so it was that the Egyptians took to the streets, in sustained protest, against the 30-year rule of Mubarak's authoritarian dictatorship. Taking their destiny into their own hands, the Egyptians liberated their country from a brutal and corrupt regime and brought a new dawn to the Egyptian people. Focussing on these events the world powers—observers and decision makers—were apparently concerned with the question of stability in the Middle East in general, and the relationship between Egypt and its neighbouring countries, in particular. Contributing to the debate on this topic, this chapter seeks to develop a better grasp of Egypt's political transition and potential scenarios, with special attention to the Egyptian

revolution and its impact on the Middle East. A special focus will be given to Egypt's relations with the United States, Israel, Turkey and the Gulf countries and the impact of the Egyptian revolution on **Tehran's domestic and foreign policy in the region**. This chapter also outlines the impact of the revolution on Islamic radicalism and deradicalisation, with special attention to the Muslim Brotherhood's long-standing objective and other Islamists' political affairs.

In Chapter 8, Jülide Karakoç and Fulya Doğruel present an in-depth look at the border province of Hatay and regional repercussions of Turkey-Syria relations. The Arab uprisings which began in December 2010 have developed to affect the whole of the Middle East. Many Middle Eastern cities began to undergo important transformations in their social, political and economic structures. As a result of the influence of these uprisings the conflicts which also began in Syria in March 2011 have become a turning point in the Turkey-Syrian relationships. Since March 2011 there has been a reversal in the relationship between these two countries, which had been heading in a very positive direction—a reversal in the positive social, economic and political influences gained by some of the Syrian border cities of Turkey following the July 1998 Adana agreement. This chapter will analyze how the Turkey-Syria relationship from 1998 to date has made an impact on the political, economic and social aspects upon the city of Hatay. In this context, the authors argue that Turkey's Syrian policy has become the most important factor that has influenced and transformed the city of Hatay situated along Turkey's Syrian borders. This chapter will elaborate upon the bilateral relations within the framework of their economic relations, ethnic conflicts/reconciliations and their refugee affairs.

Part III discusses issues pertaining to International Political Economy and consists of four articles. In Chapter 9, Anne-Claire Marangoni examines the 2011 Commission Proposal for a Revision of the Generalized System of Preferences. Since the early 1970s, the EU has envisioned itself as a pioneer of trade measures specifically adapted to the need of developing countries. The Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) is a flagship instrument of EU trade policy and of its commitment to the realization of development objectives. In 2010, the European Commission undertook a major revision exercise, which led to the adoption in October 2012 of an EU regulation on a revised GSP. If the review of the scheme under the previous regulation was rather positive—the contribution of the GSP to development and poverty eradication being recognised—it the achievements were not as far-reaching as one would have hoped. The revision process reflects EU

efforts not only to adapt its scheme of import preferences to rapidly changing global trade patterns, but above all to better match the trade, economic and financial needs of developing countries and to target its efforts on those countries most in need. The role of the Commission was instrumental given its expertise and competence in trade policy. This chapter focuses on the drafting of the Commission proposal for a regulation on a revised GSP. To what extent does the Commission proposal provide for a consistent action of the EU on trade preferences?

In Chapter 10, Kent Moors discusses oil volatility and the limits of government action. Oil vega, Moors' term for the volatility-induced inability to determine genuine value based on market price, is the major influence on the oil market. This chapter discusses its structure and the inability of government action to address it. The analysis maintains public sector initiatives will misinterpret and exasperate, rather than improve, the situation. The discussion takes specific note of three elements: the approaches of price-maker and price-taker tradeoff/supply views; perspectives of natural security and the nature of speculation; and the problem of over the counter (OTC) trading in any attempt to regulate the futures market. The chapter concludes that government action cannot respond to the real cause of the market instability and the accompanying vacillations in price—oil vega, because governmental approaches defend domestic markets while being unable to address the underlying dynamics in the trading process itself.

In Chapter 11, Auke R. Leen considers the return of the Value Added Tax (VAT) and its potential as a new own resource to finance the European Union's budget. To this end, he seeks to address the following questions: why the existing VAT-based contribution of the Member States is unsatisfactory and why a direct contribution of the citizens to the Union would be an improvement? He argues that after examination of the positive and negative aspects, the newly proposed EU tax, the regressivity of the VAT, the different levels of tax fraud in the Member States, and the EU decision process itself do seem to stand out as the most fundamental obstacles to the introduction of the tax. The chapter concludes with a sketch of a so-called declaratory EU VAT. In a declaratory tax, a country still pays its national, GNI-based contribution, but shows the each citizen's contribution as a percentage of the total VAT on every receipt.

In Chapter 12, Viviane de Beaufort examines the single market approach to the global economy. At a time when governance and the EU project as a whole are the subjects of much debate, it is now up to try to establish its resources across the board for adapting to the challenges presented by globalization. This chapter aims to make use of

existing legal instruments rather than invent new ones, given that the EU is coming out of a painful period of institutional changes with the Lisbon Treaty.

Lastly, Part IV focuses on International Governance and consists of six articles. In Chapter 13, Pierre Vercauteren considers governance and international normativity. Global governance in the current international system seems to be characterized by a paradox: a governance navigating between, on the one side, limits endured or accepted of actions of the States on the international scene, limits which seem to open the way to the global governance, and, on the other side the weakness of the results from the international organization which symbolizes the symbol of global governance, the United Nations Organization (UNO). Such a paradox has an impact on the debate on the international normativity. It arises while numerous analyses (McCarthy & Jones, 1995) underline the erosion of the capacity of governments to be the exclusive authorities of normativity on the international scene. From this perspective, two criticisms are raised: an erosion of the capacity to create norms, and an erosion of the capacity to have them respected. How, in this context, to analyze the question of international normativity with such the paradox underlined earlier? The aim of this chapter is in part to clarify, from the observation of the transformation crisis of the State, the phenomenon of the shift from “government” towards “governance”, and the contradictions and ambiguities revealed by such a shift in States behavior. These elements enable in a second part to define the phenomenon of “gouvernement” and to evaluate its impact on the question of international normativity, a normativity which can be approached from a formal as well as informal perspective.

In Chapter 14, Vida Macikenaite examines conflict prevention through unresolved dispute. The main purpose of this chapter is to explain how the pending joint natural gas development initiative between China and Japan served in maintaining peace and stability in the East China Sea. In 2004 this initiative enabled the two countries to avoid direct military confrontation as they entered negotiations. Nonetheless, until now there has been no actual progress. She also examines how and why this pending initiative, addressing bilateral dispute, remained credible. Macikenaite, referring to theories of international regime, marine regime building, and reassurance in conflict management to construct her argument, suggests that when the gas field dispute emerged, regime building in the East China Sea was at its early stage. Thus its settlement was difficult at that time, and joint development initiative was put on the agenda of China-Japan bilateral

relations mainly as a tool for conflict prevention. In the long term it provided the two countries with time necessary to build basic regime and establish channels and norms of communication first. Under such circumstances Japan accepted China's strategy of reassurance and tolerated the lack of progress in joint development. To support her argument this chapter examines regime building before and after the dispute emerged in 2004 and finds that regime building efforts, although often hindered by general bilateral relation, intensified after 2004.

In Chapter 15, Monika A. Szkarlat explores a theoretical approach to the global governance of genetically modified food. The main aim of this chapter is to present the emerging global governance system of genetically modified food (GMF) from the perspective of two theoretical models: the theory of international regimes and the concept of multi-level governance (MLG). The discussed system is in the initial phase of development, which is connected with the relatively early stage of dissemination of agrobiotechnology applications. The choice of theoretical schemes can be justified on the grounds that they enable the most comprehensive analysis and explanation of the phenomena and processes taking place in the international environment as a result of implementing agrobiotechnology innovations. What is equally important, the theory of international regimes and the MLG concept complement each other, because in the former approach the emphasis is on cooperation (dissemination of GMF), while in the latter the focus is on entities involved in creating and governing the regime. The discussion is divided into three parts. The first part presents a general description of currently binding international legal regulations applicable to GMF. The second part gives an analysis of the international regimes theory in the context of its usefulness for explaining the current and the emerging international regime of GMF governance. The last part of the chapter analyzes the MLG model as a construct explaining the role, influence, fulfilled functions and particular ways of behaviour of stakeholders of GMF global governance system.

In Chapter 16, Max Stephenson and Laura Zanotti outline preliminary findings of a case that explores the contested, but increasingly relevant role nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) play in bringing about international peace, security and development. Liberal and constructivist analyzes have focused on NGOs' roles in mediating conflict and promoting social learning. Meanwhile, scholars inspired by Foucault have argued the NGO movement represents a liberal form of bio-political empire, aimed at containing migration and assuring the security of rich nation populations. Despite this vigorous

theoretic debate, empirical understanding of the roles and impacts of NGOs in reconciliation and state building in post-conflict situations remains under developed. They explore how the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland has interacted with local and national governments as well as local grassroots and international organizations and sponsors, and describe the aims and consequences of those relationships in the context of the post-conflict scenario they have sought to address. The authors examine how, unlike scholars who use Foucauldian analyzes to portray the totalizing effects of power, the CFNI director has employed several of Foucault's key concepts creatively to illuminate existing political narratives. This chapter questions both the homogenizing and critical dismissal of NGOs as carriers of imperial agendas as well as the romanticized appraisal of their work as certain to lead to emancipation. Instead, Stephenson and Zanotti's analysis begins to identify the salient characteristics of the strategic and operating contexts of NGOs engaged in post-conflict peacebuilding as these relate to these organizations' own strategic aspirations.

In Chapter 17, Yannis Stivachtis assesses international organizations and international society in post-enlargement Europe. Although a variety of theoretically informed approaches exist that might make sense of post-enlargement Europe, this chapter attempts to situate consideration of post-enlargement within a quite separate frame of analytical reference derived from English School (ES) scholarship. Despite its limited track record in examining the regional level, the ES offers a set of under-used concepts which can be deployed to analyze, as part of some broader construct, both the "thicker" forms of integration around the EU/NATO and the "thin" but nonetheless still significant interactions which have developed through other European organizational framework, such as The Council of Europe (CoE) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). This chapter summarizes and presents important findings of a study done by Yannis Stivachtis, Mark Webber, and colleagues aimed at examining post-enlargement Europe by utilizing the theoretical framework of the English School of international relations.

In Chapter 18, Yasin Kerem Gümüş addresses the issue of Europe's aging population and labour market needs, and whether Turkish migration may be a remedy for this potential problem. Migration is a controversial issue in contemporary European politics. It is often perceived as burden on society, but has frequently proved a benefit. At the beginning of the Twenty-first century, the migration debate is gathering urgency once more. This stems from the following two

concerns: decreasing growth rates and labour force shortage. Turkey's accession to the EU and the consequent free movement of labour may be the remedy for the ageing European population. Contrarily it could create further unemployment in the host countries and become burden on the already stretched welfare state. Movement of Turkish workers could solve the problem of the labour deficit. However, since the need for unskilled labour force is currently met by Central and Eastern European workers, there may be a need for more qualified labourers. In the light of this information, this study will link the two crucial elements of a declining and ageing population and migration paying particular attention to the current implementations and experiences. This chapter will analyse the nature of these issues, including the present state of the EU population; the need for immigration in the European labour force; the present state of qualifications among the Turkish population and workforce; and the potential for Turkish workers to migrate to EU member states. The chapter will then conclude on the potential for Turkish migration to be a remedy for the ageing European population and labour market needs.