

JUNE 2002 / VOL. 17 (2)

2002 Joint IPSA/IACFS Conference in Innsbruck, Austria

The 2002 RC28 meeting/conference will be held in Innsbruck, Austria, from November 13-17 at the Institut für Föderalismusforschung. It will be held jointly with the International Association of Centers for Federalism, John Kincaid, President. The conference theme, "Homogeneity of Democracy, Rights, and the Rule of Law in Federal and Confederal Systems," is elaborated on below. It will form the major part of the joint proceedings on November 15 and 16.

On November 14, the day that is scheduled for the IACFS board meeting, RC28 IPSA Comparative Federalism and Federation Research Committee will hold its own panels/discussions on its four working themes:

Federalism and Supranationalism

Federalism Theory

Fiscal and Intergovernmental Relations

Regionalism and Federalism

The organization of these panels will depend on the number and type submitted.

RC28 members who have questions regarding this program should contact Committee Chair Bob Agranoff (Agranoff@indiana.edu) or Program Chair Franz Gress (gress@soz.uni-frankfurt.de)

Theme for 2002 IACFS/IPSA Conference 13-17 November 2002, Institut für Föderalismusforschung, Innsbruck, Austria

The Homogeneity of Democracy, Rights, and the Rule of Law in Federal or Confederal Systems

1. General Remarks

As a general subject, the conference will address the question of the homogeneity and enforcement of democracy, rights, and the rule of law in federal or confederal systems (including regional systems, if regions have the power to legislate). That is, how uniform must these matters be throughout the constituent units of a federal/confederal arrangement, and when and how should the federal/confederal government intervene in or enact sanctions against a constituent unit deemed to be inadequately democratic, rights-protecting, or law-abiding? (This subject also touches on the "sanctions" imposed on Austria by the European Union. The system now provided by the Treaty of Nice should be dealt with as well.)

In accordance with this basic idea, papers should discuss how far the autonomy of constituent states or units goes, or ought to go. Also, are demands for a homogeneity of the rule of law higher than those for rights protection, and those for rights protection higher than those for democracy? Further, papers should clarify which instruments and institutions are used by the federation (and the superior level respectively) to enforce homogeneity and which instruments it is allowed to use constitutionally (e.g., Art. 28 of Germany's Basic Law; Art. IV, Sec 4 and Sec. 5 of 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution).

2. Possible Contents

Common fundamental values/rights?

Uniform democratic concepts?

Underlying philosophy of the relations between the federation/confederation and its constituent states with respect to homogeneity as expressed in written documents and political traditions.

The autonomy of constituent units, focusing on how they arrange the basic relationship between the citizen and the government and on the tensions between autonomy and homogeneity.

Problems of violating the homogeneity of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

Enforcement instruments used by the federal/confederal government against constituent units.

How to deal with secessionist tendencies.

3. Conference Structure

Two days will be available to treat the proposed theme. Preferably, basic questions regarding the tensions between constituent autonomy and federation-wide autonomy should be discussed on the first day. The second day should focus on constituent states' violations of common values of democracy, rights, and the rule of law as well as the intervention into their affairs and/or the supervision they are placed under by the federal/confederal government.

4. Call for Papers

Papers are invited on the above theme, especially the topics in paragraph 2, addressing them under the aspects of different states and federal/confederal systems, such as:

Common fundamental values, demonstrated by the examples of a confederal system, such as the EU, and of a culturally and ethnically non-homogeneous federal system, such as India.

Autonomy of constituent states with regard to democracy and its limits (e.g., USA).

How federal systems deal with secessionism (e.g., Canada and Ethiopia).

5. Deadline

Proposals for papers should be submitted no later than 18 March 2002.

Contact:

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RC28 November 14 Panels

Papers are welcomed for the RC28 one day track on any of the four thematic topics that follow the RC's workplan: Federalism and Supranational bodies; Federalism Theory; Fiscal and Intergovernmental Relations; and, Federalism and Regionalism. For further details on these subjects consult the RC28 newsletter, Volume 16, No.1, posted on this website.

Abstracts summarizing paper proposals for this November 14 track only should be sent by March 18, 2001 to Prof. Franz Gress, Program Chair, RC28, Zentrum für Nordamerika-Forschung (ZENAF), Robert-Mayer-Strasse 1, Postfach 11 19 32, D-60054-Frankfurt am Main, Germany or gress@soz.uni-frankfurt.de

2003 World Congress Program

Dirk Brand, Intergovernmental Relations Council for the Government of Western Cape, South Africa, has agreed to serve as co-coordinator with Chairperson Robert Agranoff for the RC28 panels at the World Congress in Durban, South Africa, June 29 – July 4, 2003. To access information regarding the Congress check the IPSA Website [www.ipsa.ca]. RC28 will be organizing two panels on general topics of federalism with the following themes encouraged but not required: federalism and regionalism, federal theory, fiscal and intergovernmental relations, and federal systems and international/supranational arrangements. Although the official IPSA deadline (December 1, 2002) has passed, there may be slots available for the two RC28 panels. Please contact one of the two co-organizers if you want to participate in the Durban World Congress: Agranoff@indiana.edu or DBrand@pawc.wcape.gov.za.

Conference on Federalism & Transborder Integration in North America

A conference on "Federalism and Trans-border Integration in North America" will be held at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada on February 7 & 8, 2003. The conference is being organized by the Centre on North American Politics and Society in the Department of Political Science at Carleton. The Forum of Federations as well as the Policy Research Initiative of the Canadian federal government have agreed to act as partners.

The conference will be organized around three main themes:

How have globalization and North American economic integration changed the shape of federalism within each state?

To examine the same question from another direction, how does federalism shape the process of policy-making on foreign economic, trade and social policies in inter-state negotiation?

The third and most speculative theme of the conference will concern the future shape of more politically integrated North America. Does federalism provide a model for North America? If not, what other concepts of multi-level governance might apply to the North American case? In particular, what are the lessons of the European experience of political institution-building for North America?

Over sixty presenters and speakers will form panels that include the following sessions:

- I. Impact of Integration on Federalism: Canada, the U.S. and Mexico

- II. The Role of States and Provinces in North American Integration

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- III. Policy-making in North America: Energy Policy across Borders

 - IV. Policy-making in North America: Social Policy and Social Cohesion I

 - V. Policy-making in North America: Foreign Economic Policy

 - VI. Policy-making in North America: Immigration and Refugees

 - VII. Policy-making in North America: Security Policies

 - VIII. Intergovernmentalism: Comparative and Transnational experience

 - IX. Is a North American Polity Emerging?

 - X. Europe: Lessons for North America

For further information contact the conference organizer, Laura Macdonald at nafederalism@yahoo.com.

Uwe Leonardy's Report: International Conference on Federalism – St. Gallen, 2002

International Conference on Federalism 2002 in St. Gallen, Switzerland 27-30 August 2002 and Future of the Forum of Federations

Following the Federalism Conference in Mont Tremblant, Canada, at which the Forum of Federations was founded, the (Second) International Conference on Federalism took place in St. Gallen, Switzerland from 27-30 August 2002. I was invited to the Swiss Conference, because I had been participating in conceptualising the Forum and with a view to my liaison functions as Vice-Chair of RC 28. It was, indeed, a large event with about 600 participants. Among those invited there were about 35 practitioners of federalism, for whose nomination the Conference Secretariat had asked me in close contact during the preparatory phase.

The programme was organized in 6 plenary sessions, 24 meetings of working groups and 6 so-called dialogue-tables. Its subject-matters were focussed on the themes "Federalism and Foreign Relations", "Federalism, Decentralisation and Conflict Management in Multicultural Societies" and "Assignment of Responsibilities and Fiscal Federalism". These themes were discussed in the sessions of the working groups and the dialogue-tables as also in 2 of the 6 plenary sessions. The further plenaries were dedicated to speeches of high-ranking political representatives of federal states, of the United Nations, the European Union and the Forum of Federations. Among these representatives were the President of the Swiss Confederation (Kaspar Villiger), the President of the Federal Republic of Germany (Johannes Rau), the President of the Republic of Mali (Amadou Toumani Touré), the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Vojislav Kostunica), the Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria (Wolfgang Schüssel), the Prime Minister of Belgium (Guy Verhofstadt), the Prime Minister of Canada (Jean Chrétien), the Defence Minister of India (George Fernandez), the Vice-President of the European Convention (Giuliano Amato) and others.

The objectives of the Conference were set on the aims "to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences among practitioners of federalism from politics, administration, science, the economy, and other spheres of society". With these aims in mind "the learning-oriented dialogues aim[ed] at developing new federal problem-solving models, which take into account world-wide change". This was to be achieved methodically by the creation of a "Knowledge Spiral", which was to lead from the themes-preparing Conference Reader and the plenary session of the first day (as a first phase) via the meetings of the working groups (as a

second phase) and the dialogue-tables and the presentation of their results in the plenary session of the final day (as the third phase). In the sessions of the working groups the functions for the organisation of discussion were attributed to a chairman, a dialogue-leader, to several (up to 5) “case statement makers”, to 2 or 3 “analysis statement makers” and further to 2 youth representatives and 1 “scientific summary writer”.

The rather remarkable echo of the Conference in the general public and the media was, of course, mainly caused by the speeches of the political representatives in the plenary sessions. Among them in particular those of the German Federal President and of the Canadian Prime Minister drew specific attention. With a view to the present deliberations of the European Convention, Federal President Rau pleaded once more for his vision of a “Federation of the European National States”, which he had presented to the European Parliament in April 2001. However, he now added to this vision the obviously contradictory, but apparently politically and semantically conditioned statement that “there would not be a European federal state”. Much to the disappointment of not a few German participants his speech did not contain indications for the long-overdue reforms in the structures of German federalism. Prime Minister Chrétien emphasized the Canadian financial constitution as an important cornerstone for the present budget surpluses in his country, which he praised as one of the meanwhile most decentralized states in the world. According to him the provinces in Canada now dispose of necessary financial resources and constitutional competences in order to manage their budgets in a widely autonomous manner. In the discussion to his speech he gave a remarkable reply to the question of a Nigerian participant, which structural reforms Chrétien would propose as peace-making devices for the African continent: The Prime Minister stated that although an all-African federation would certainly be unreal, it would, however, be both possible and necessary to aim at federalisations on a regional basis e.g. in Western Africa, which would give access for the poorer states to the economic potentials deriving from the mineral resources of their neighbours. – The Indian Defence Minister George Fernandez gave a much-applauded definition of federalism in the bonmot “that federalism is like a marriage, in which jealousy is more important than love”.

In its preparation, organisation and results the Conference suffered substantially from an ambivalence between the scientific preparation and the practice-related treatment of its subject-matters, in which academic and theoretical model discussions all too often gained a preponderance vis-à-vis the sharing of practical experience. This preponderance already shone up in some of the contributions in the preparatory Conference Reader, which were partially in far distance from reality and which were to a large extent instead confined to abstract definitions of notions with hardly any relevance for the exchange of experience. This seemed all the more remarkable in view of the objectives of the Forum of Federations, which in their essence would need to be primarily focussed on the requirements of federal practice. A particularly striking example of this misled understanding of the purposes of the Conference was to be found in Joseph H. H. Weiler’s essay in the Conference Reader on “Federalism and Constitutionalism: Europe’s Sonderweg”, which contained no constructive relevance whatsoever for the present deliberations of the European Convention. The same tendency to an unproportional over-academisation also became visible in the already described structure of the working groups, which because of too many prepared statements left too little time and room for discussion among the participants. The so-called dialogue-tables, which were obviously meant to be a compensation for that foreseeable result, were at their best only to be regarded as an auxiliary construction producing only little success, mainly because they had not been sufficiently trained with the moderators of the discussions for their implementation.

These critical remarks should and can, however, not minimize the very efficient efforts and the engagement of the conference organisers. To manage a large conference with 600 participants without any organisational frictions and to offer numerous opportunities for highly productive individual contacts was, indeed, a very profound success. It was due above all to

the Executive Director of the Conference Dr. Raoul Blindenbacher and to his highly motivated Secretariat as also – and last but not least – to the International Student Committee of the University of St. Gallen, by whom preparation and logistics of the Conference were mastered in a highly professional way.

Nonetheless, for the future of these International Federalism conferences as also for that of the Forum of Federations some conceptual accentuations will have to be reconsidered. For the next Conferences it was announced in St. Gallen that the third one will take place in 2004 in Belgium (probably in Brussels) and the fourth in 2006 in India. For the fifth conference to be planned thereafter strong expectations particularly in the Forum of Federations are obviously focussed on Germany. At least for the German case support and financing by the relevant institutions of federal practice will, however, clearly and decisively depend on the question, which particular practice-related profits will derive from the activities, achievements and offers of the Forum. There will have to be a high priority for the concise processing of research results and above all for the creation of a permanently updated data base on new developments and problem solutions in federalism embodied in political concepts, legislative drafts, constitutionally or administratively relevant court decisions and the like. If the Forum really wants to produce concrete contributions to the aim that the wheel does not have to be invented twice, then it will have to concentrate on functions of this kind in a much stronger way. Presently deliberations also on these future emphases are on their way in the Board of Directors together with the needs for a clearer internationalisation of the Forum. They meet with the necessity to decide on a new President, after Ralph Lysyshyn recently returned into the Canadian Foreign Service and became Ambassador in Warsaw. First guidelines on this multiplicity of structural decisions will apparently have to be expected from a Board Meeting early in 2003.

Uwe Leonardy
RC28 Vice President
Bonn, Germany

2002 Business Meeting Minutes

The RC28 Business Meeting opened at 18:00 on Friday, November 15 at the Institut für Öffentliches Recht, Finanzrecht und Politikwissenschaft at Innsbruck University, Innsbruck, Austria.

The minutes of the 2001 Meeting in Javea, Spain, as published in the newsletter (Vol. 16(2)) were read and approved. The Treasury report for 2001, as circulated to the executive committee, was distributed, reviewed and approved. The 2002 estimated Treasury report was revealed, along with 2002 meeting expenses. Nine members paid dues in 2002.

Reports on the four study committees and the State of the Discipline Project were solicited. The study committees were reported as inactive. The State of the Discipline Project was represented by four of the five members of its Steering Committee: Bob Agranoff, Franz Gress, John Kincaid, and Ron Watts. It was agreed that the highlight panel in Durban will not be possible due to scheduling conflicts on behalf of most panelists. Its rescheduling was delayed until further notice. A few more papers in addition to the current topics (development over time, theory, methodology, a critique of the subfield) will be solicited, e.g. intergovernmental relations, fiscal federalism, public policy, public/constitutional law. Finally, Bob Agranoff and Franz Gress agreed to seek additional foundation funding for this project.

Updating the Directory of Federalism Experts was next discussed. Several members suggested that this project is worthy but no one volunteered to organize it. It was then

suggested that the Forum of Federations might want to take on this project. Ron Watts agreed to approach them.

The new IACFS every third year format, where RC28 offers some of its own panels while the IACFS directors are meeting, was discussed. Agreement was reached that providing an opportunity for non-theme panels for non IACFS directors is a good idea. Because of overlapping membership, simultaneous meetings excluded about one-third of the RC28 membership in attendance in Innsbruck from panel participation. The proposed solution for 2005 (next joint meeting in cycle) is that IPSA panel track continue but be held at another time. For example, perhaps the Directors meeting could be Wednesday afternoon and Thursday morning, the Joint Conference from mid-day Thursday to all day Friday and the RC28 panels on Saturday morning and afternoon. IACFS president John Kincaid agreed that this sequence might make the joint format work better. Finally, IACFS President and RC28 Executive Committee member John Kincaid was recognized for his diligent efforts in making the initial two track program work in Innsbruck.

The chair's report was announced as filed in newsletter Vol. 17 (1). Special recognition was given to Uwe Leonardy for his efforts in providing liaison with practitioner organizations, particularly the Forum of Federations (see his report in this issue on the St. Gallen Conference). Also saluted was the work of Franz Gress in organizing the Javea and Innsbruck IPSA programs.

It was also announced that Dirk Brand of South Africa will co-chair the 2003 World Congress program in Durban with Bob Agranoff. They will jointly organize the panels, recruit chairs and discussants.

The 2003 nominating committee was announced as comprising Lloyd Brown-John of Canada, Michael Burgess of U.K., and Uwe Leonardy of Germany. They will slate a new chair for 2003-2006, as well as formulate the other officers and executive committee. The state will be announced at the next business meeting in Durban.

The chair suggested that RC28 consider an awards program, to be offered at each World Congress business meeting. After some discussion, the members present agreed to move forward with a single award, either for career scholarship in comparative federalism or a venerable "landmark" book. A plaque will symbolize the award. The chair will appoint a three person selection committee from among the current Executive Committee for the first award. The final agenda item was a proposal to join the Federalism Report, a printed newsletter that is mailed to over 1800 patrons from the various organizations: ASPA Federalism Section, IACFS, libraries and many others. The cost is \$500.00 per year for two issues, four pages total. It was discussed as a vehicle for upcoming RC28 meeting announcements and to recruit new members. It would cross reference with the more extensive web-based newsletter. The members present thought this to be a good use of part of our IPSA operating grant. A motion made by Brown-John and seconded by Leslie was unanimous. The chair will supply initial copy by mid-December 2002.

With no more business to discuss the meeting was adjourned at 19:05.

2002 Treasury Report

RC28 Financial/Statement 2002

INCOME

2002 Dues (8 paid in 2002 @ \$45.00; \$190.00)	\$405.00
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Carryover	1898.10
IPSA Website Grant	650.00
State of the Discipline ð Seed Money* (\$1000 Canadian) * Dedicated Funds (carry over from 2001)	750.00
<i>Total Income</i>	\$3703.10
<i>Total-Non-Dedicated (\$3703.10 minus \$750)</i>	\$2953.10
EXPENSES	
Innsbruck Conference Expenses	\$??????
Newsletter production	\$ 450.00
Expenses of carry-overs from IPSA check-offs, low income country members postage, etc. (est.)	65.72
Web preparation of Conference Abstracts (est.)	150.00
<i>Total Expenses</i>	\$??????
Project Budget RC28 Website Project	
Joint Conference Website Development	
Graduate Assistant @ \$20.00 per hour	Estimate \$ 30 hours 600.00
Promotion of Website	\$ 50.00
Total Requested	\$ 650.00

Awards Program

At the RC28 2002 Business Meeting in Innsbruck, the Committee decided to offer a recognition award for scholarship in comparative federalism and federation. The Chair will arrange for a plaque to be prepared to symbolize the award, which will be announced at each World Congress business meeting. The award will be for either a career of scholarship in comparative federalism or a "landmark" book that is widely used and quoted, and has met the test of time. The tri-annual award can be designated for an individual who is deceased or living, although in the event of a posthumous award, it was agreed that this scholar should be one who has contributed over the past few decades.

In accordance with the vote of the meeting a three person award committee appointed by the Chair will include Franz Gress [gress@gmx.de], John Kincaid [meyner@mail.lafayette.edu], and Ronald Watts [rlw@qsilver.queensu.ca]. Please send your nominations to one of these three members of the executive.

2002 Nominating Committee

RC28 Nominating Committee

Chairperson Robert Agranoff has appointed a three person nominating committee to develop a slate of officers and Executive Council Members for the 2003 – 2006 period. The proposed slate will be reported at the Business Meeting in Durban, South Africa at the World Congress of Political Science. The Committee is comprised of Michael Burgess [M.D.Burgess@hull.ac.uk], Uwe Leonardy [Uwe.Leonardy@web.de], and Lloyd Brown-John [lbj@uwindsor.ca]. Persons interested in serving or nominating a member should contact one of these three persons.

The entire group of officers and Executive Council, except for past chair, is up for reslating, as it is every three years at the World Congress, according to IPSA rules. The current set of officers and council are listed below for your information.

In regard to the duties of the officers, the Chairperson organizes the committee, is the chief liaison with IPSA, writes IPSA grants and seeks other funds, maintains the treasury, and produces the newsletter. The First Vice Chair serves in the event of the absence of the Chair. The Second Vice Chair, over the past few years has served as liaison with federalism organizations, for example the Forum of Federations. The Publications Director is responsible for arranging publication of Committee papers and research. Finally, the Program Chair works with the Committee Chairperson to arrange the RC28 programs at our own and at joint conferences.

Members of the Executive Council head study groups, serve on special committees and assist with promoting research with meetings. For example, over the past two years four Executive Council members have assisted in organizing RC28 meetings, two serve on the Award Committee, and two are part of the “State of the Discipline” steering group.

The current set of Committee officers and Council are as follows:

	Executive Council
Chairperson Robert Agranoff	Dirk Brand <i>South Africa</i>
USA 1st Vice Chair Michel Burgess <i>UK</i>	Frank Delmartino <i>Belgium</i>
2nd Vice Chair Uve Leonardy <i>Germany</i>	Alain G. Gagnon <i>Canada</i>
Publications Rudolf Hrbek <i>Germany</i>	Ben Hoetjes <i>Netherlands</i>
Programs Franz Gress <i>Germany</i>	John Kincaid <i>USA</i>
Past-Chair Lloyd Brown-John <i>Canada</i>	Preston King <i>UK</i>
	Luis Moreno <i>Spain</i>
	Cheryl Saunders <i>Australia</i>
	Ronald L. Watts <i>Canada</i>

Global Dialogue

A Global Dialogue on FEDERALISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY: Practices, Perspectives and Prospects A Joint Program of the Forum and the IACFS

A Global Dialogue on Federalism in the 21st Century: Practices, Perspectives and Prospects is a new program of the Forum of Federations and the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies (IACFS). The goals of the program are to create an international forum for practitioners, scholars, and youth to examine best practices and to produce valuable resources about current and emerging issues in federalism.

The full program will feature more than a dozen themes on federalism which are of contemporary relevance for practitioners and scholars. Each theme is being examined through a process of local roundtables, international comparative conferences, a Web-based Discussion Forum, and the production of a practical handbook. Each handbook will document and synthesize the lessons learned from the events and Discussion Forum, and from additional primary research. The first handbook is expected to be released in September 2004.

The first five themes areas being explored are:

Constitutional Origins, Structure, and Change in Federal Democracies

Distribution of Responsibilities in Federal Democracies

Legislative and Executive Governance in Federal Democracies

Foreign Relations in Federal Systems

Parties, Interest Groups, and the Politics of Civil Society in Federal Democracies

Each theme will feature the experiences and challenges of eight to twelve federal systems, offering a mix of established and new federal systems. A "Theme Coordinator" is chosen to plan and coordinate one theme process and to serve as the editor of the related handbook. For each featured country, an expert on the theme is selected to be the "Country Coordinator". This person organizes the country workshop and serves as the author of the country chapter related to the theme.

Core funding for the program is being provided by the Forum of Federations. A coordinated fundraising effort is being undertaken by the Forum, the IACFS, and others involved in the program to obtain additional support.

The Forum and the IACFS bring complementary strengths to the Global Dialogue program. The Forum offers worldwide contacts with practitioners in federal systems, solid experience in organizing international conferences, and core funding for the program. The IACFS, through its member centers, offers extensive contacts with scholars and students worldwide, unparalleled expertise on federalism, and valuable experience in producing published documents for diverse audiences. Both sponsoring organizations are excited about the enormous potential of this program to improve the practice of federalism and availability of current resources on this important subject worldwide.

For further information, please contact Barbara Brook, Program Coordinator:
dialogue@forumfed.org

Book Review Essay

Review Essay: Recent Comparative Federalism Publications

Blindenbacher, Raoul (coord.) with Ursula Aberderhalden, *Federalism in a Changing World: Learning From Each Other*. Berne, Switzerland: International Federalism Conference [www.federalism2002.ch], 2002. 584pp. SFr 20, \$15 US

Griffiths, Ann L. (ed.) and Karl Nerenberg (coord.), *Handbook of Federal Countries 2002*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002. 513pp. \$65 CAN, \$49.95 US, Euro 49.60

Meekison, J. Peter (ed.), *Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Countries*. Ottawa: Forum of Federations, 2000. 109pp. \$14.95 CAN, \$10.95 US

The literature on comparative federalism and federation should expand rapidly with the work stimulated by the practitioner association, the Forum of Federations. The Ottawa-based Forum appears committed to circulating its conference papers and background studies at a rapid pace, making the flow of background information for those who work in federal and quasi federal countries more available. The papers contained in these three volumes were invited by the Forum, and are prepared by academic researchers. But they are not heavily laden with citations reflecting the extant literature, and are written in a style aimed at the practitioner of government.

The *Federalism in a Changing World* volume contains the background papers prepared for the second International Conference on Federalism, held in St. Gallen, Switzerland in August of 2002. A more complete volume containing these papers along with conference proceedings and plenary speeches will be published by McGill-Queens University Press in 2003. The papers were prepared around the three organizing themes: Federalism and Foreign Relations; Federalism, Decentralization and Conflict Management in Multicultural Societies; and, Assignment of Responsibilities and Fiscal Federalism. The volume's sixteen papers cover numerous themes: foreign relations, sub-unit diplomacy, international/supranational policy implementation, conflict management, civil society, allocation of responsibilities, fiscal decision structures, problems of equalization, fiscal competition, and fiscal decentralization in developing countries.

Many of the papers provide a basic introduction to a subfield of federal studies and, as such, could be useful as a primer for class readings or to get students moving in a given direction. At the risk of offending an author not mentioned, the Ronald Watts and Raoul Blindenbacher paper on the basics of federalism, the John Kincaid paper on constituent unit diplomacy and the Weiler, Wessels and Didrichs paper on federal systems and foreign policies stand out as very useful. Also in this regard would be the Nicholas Haysom paper on "Constitution Making and Nation Building." Two fine papers on fiscal federalism were prepared by Richard Bird and his associates, which presents a succinct overview to the key questions of revenue and distribution, and by Anwar Shah on "transition economies," where issues of the level of responsibility for services and taxes are given a fine encapsulated overview.

The other papers are more limited in scope. For example, the papers on foreign relations by constituent units are decidedly European. The federations mentioned were limited to Austria, Belgium and Germany, an apparent "big three feds" on the continent, leaving some twenty or so other federal systems out of the picture. While conflict and its management was a major theme, less was said about the successful conflict-managing quasi-federal bodies in Spain, Italy and South Africa, or places where autonomy of one form or another – – Greenland, Hong Kong, Scotland or Crimea – – is key. Some of the papers that dealt with conflict, or more to the point ethnic conflict, did not clearly raise the "why federalism" questions involved in the issues; the discussion made little distinction between federal and unitary states. Finally, a few of the papers contained "lists" of concerns or elements of the debate on questions, without benefit of background or discussion. While this approach may be useful for discussion among practitioners, there appeared to be not enough for those more familiar with the literature.

The Handbook of Federal Countries is in some ways a sequel to Daniel Elazar's *Federal Systems of the World* (2nd ed. Longman, 1994) but with more of a consistent template and containing a few comparative papers that deal with cross-cutting themes. In all, some twenty-five countries are profiled, both federations and countries with federal features. In addition to the more visible federations, less visible countries like Ethiopia, Malaysia, and Micronesia are featured. As a common reference guide, each of the country chapters follows the same format: history/development of federal features, constitutional provisions relating to federalism, recent political dynamics, a short bibliography, and a set of tables containing governmental, geographic, economic and social indicators. Most useful for the reader is a map that identifies each country's constituent units. Because this is a handbook, each entry is rather short (around 15 printed pages, including map and charts), but is a basic introduction and provides one reasonable, up to date place to start referencing a country that one is not familiar with.

The papers in the introduction and the last section of the book do a reasonably good job at comparison. Nelson Michaud's paper on global and foreign policy issues makes the case for their impact on federal systems, and features a range of federal countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Brazil and Germany. A paper by John McGarry on minority accommodation does link questions of multinationalism to federal questions. Ronald Watts paper on allocation of functions between levels and fiscal distribution is developed around the theme of unity and diversity in federal systems. The general theme papers help make sense out of the mountain of political and institutional analysis contained in the twenty-five case studies.

In regard to the country studies, they are, like any anthology, uneven in their quality and coverage. While a few of the entry authors are household names in federal studies within their countries, many others are not. In the case of at least ten countries, the leading or those among the leading indigenous scholars of federalism were left out of this book. The biographical section suggests that a number have more of an international relations or some other background than a federalism background. Ten of the authors are Canadian, perhaps a reflection of the sponsor. Some of the key political dynamics in many federations are overlooked, formal institutions are featured over processes, and the bibliographies are lacking in some of the seminal works in many countries. One would have to include, in this category among others, the entries on Belgium, Brazil, Ethiopia and Mexico where a research tradition exists that could have been used to fill these holes in the country coverage. Lest this seem too critical, the editor and coordinator do deserve a great deal of credit for the difficult task of overseeing the development of such a large undertaking with a common format.

In reality, most of these papers are not about intergovernmental relations (IGR) but about the institutions and politics of federalism. With the exception of the papers on Brazil, which covers the intergovernmental and fiscal impact of social and economic disparities in the country, and the United States, where the "complexity and chaos" of multiple levels and institutions leads to episodes of conflict, cooperation conflict, and collusion, the papers do not address real IGR. There is very little coverage of coordination among levels in welfare state programs or other public policies, fiscal transfers and shared taxation, divisions of responsibilities, the influence of subnational officials on the national scene, regulation of subnational governments, and the like. Instead the country papers address three themes: formal federal institutions, constitutional and basic law provisions, and the country's institutions of IGR, that is those boards and commissions that address intergovernmental concerns. These formal-legalisms, while important in and of themselves, leave little space for the intergovernmental problems, conflicts and cooperative ventures themselves.

This is not the case with the concluding comparative entry prepared by Richard Simeon. He urges the readers to reach beyond the formal basis of IGR and to look at patterns that cut across the institutions, for example cooperative federalism. Also suggested is the differences in terms of policy outcomes that the different institutional structures make. Power in

intergovernmental relations is raised as an important dimension of analysis. The comparative analysis of dispute resolution in federal systems is further evidence of an emerging comparative IGR. He raises the question of the role of third tier (regional and local) governments in IGR. While not always part of the formal legal structure of federalism, they are core actors in IGR that cannot be left out of the analysis. Finally, Simeon raises questions regarding the role of IGR in policy effectiveness along with its contributions to democracy and transparency.

As reflections of the status of comparative federalism, these publications present useful materials to have on the bookshelf. They stand as testimony that comparative federal analysis is a difficult task that must be researched as well as critiqued. However, those who practice federal government cannot wait for all the theory to be developed. They must act, and supporting informed action would seem to be the aim of these publications.

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2002 Joint Conference Papers

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- Subnational Constitutional Space: A View from the States, Provinces, Länder and Cantons – G. Alan Tarr/Robert F. Williams
-
- Compounded Federal Democracy – Thomas O. Hueglin
-
- The American Rule of Law and Secession: Juridical Ties That Bind and Divide -Marshall DeRosa
-
- Contemporary Russia Federalism in Transition: General Comparative Theory and Specific Public Practice – Slava Shealo
-
- The Crisis of Democracy – Is Federalism an Answer? – Ferdinand Kinsky
-
- Articles 6 para 3 of the EU Treaty and 151 para 4 of the EC Treaty: How the EU Takes into Account National Identity and Cultural Diversity in its Action under the Treaties – Dimosthenis Mammonas
-
- The Principle of Homogeneity and Democracy in Austria – Anna Gamper
-
- Dissident scientists and dissident provinces – homogeneity from the bottom up: A South African case study – Nico Steytler
-
- The Emerging Theory of Federal Autonomy and Its Challenges
Robert Agranoff
-
- Federalism, Trade Relations, and Regional Systems: Market Rules in the Energy Sector – Peter Leslie
-
- Change of Party Structures in Federal Systems: From Socio-Economically Based to Regionally Based Parties – Wolfgang Renzsch and Klaus Detterbeck
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- Smashing the Twin Relics of Barbarism – Slavery and Polygamy: Rejecting Territorial Multiculturalism in American Federalism – John Kincaid
-
- Delivering National Heritage and Natural Habitat Policy in the Canadian Federal System – C. Lloyd Brown-John
-
- Federalism and Federation: Preliminary Thoughts on the State of the Discipline Theoretical Overview – Michael Burgess and Franz Gress
-

2002 Committee on Federalism and Federation

Committee on Federalism and Federation

This Research Committee was organized in 1983. It is devoted to exploring scholarly knowledge about federations and federal arrangements in a comparative perspective. Its members are from six continents and include political scientists, lawyers, economists, political geographers, and political sociologists from many federal and nonfederal countries. Knowledge about federalism is researched and exchanged about specific countries as well as cross-national phenomena. As an active committee, it meets virtually every year. Every third year it holds a committee conference, such as the 2001 Jávea conference, to exchange papers and to organize its work agenda. The next year it meets jointly with another organization, the International Association of Centers of Federalism (a group of research centers). The 2002 joint meeting is planned for Innsbruck, Austria in November. The third year of the cycle the Committee meets and sponsors panels as a part of the World Congress of Political Science. The August 2003 meeting is scheduled for Durban, South Africa.

Several publications have been produced as a result of these meetings, for example:

C. Lloyd Brown-John (ed.), *Centralizing and Decentralizing Trends in Federal or Non-Federal Countries* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993).

Bertus De Villiers (ed.), *Evaluating Federal Systems* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1997).

Robert Agranoff (ed.), *Managing Diversity: Asymmetry in Federal Countries* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2000).