

## **JUNE 2003 / VOL. 18 (2)**

### **2004 Annual Conference in Canada**

#### **Distinguished Federalism Scholar Award**

First Distinguished Federalism Scholar Award Goes to Ronald L. Watts

The Research Committee is pleased to announce that the awardee of its first Distinguished Scholar Award is Ronald L. Watts, Principal Emeritus, Professor Emeritus of Political Studies, and Fellow of the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University, Ontario, Canada.

Ronald Watts has worked for over 40 years on the comparative study of federal systems and Canadian federalism, subjects on which he has written or edited 20 books, monographs and reports and over 80 articles in journals and chapters in books. His books have included: *New Federations: Experiments in the Commonwealth* (1966); *Multicultural Societies and Federalism* (1970); *Administration in Federal Systems* (1970); *Intrastate Federalism in Canada* (with Donald V. Smiley) (1985). He was co-editor of the annual *Canada: The State of the Federation* for 1988, 1989, 1990, and 1993, and also the co-editor of *Options for a New Canada*, which was published by the University of Toronto Press in the spring of 1991. His most recent books are *The Spending Power in Federal Systems: A Comparative Study*, released in 1999 and *Comparing Federal Systems*, of which the second edition appeared in 1999 and has had three printings (a French edition appeared in 2002). A comprehensive literature review article, "Federalism, Federal Political Systems and Federations" was published in the *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1998. He was Associate Editor for the *International Social Science Journal* special issue on federalism, vol. 167, published in five languages in March 2001.

Watts has also served in numerous public and professional service capacities. Among his many advising roles was service as Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet for Constitutional Development (Federal-Provincial Relations Office) with the Government of Canada. From 1991 to 1998 he was President of the International Association of Centres for Federal Studies. He is currently a member of the Board of the international Forum of Federations. He is also on the Editorial Boards of *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, *The African Journal of Federal Studies*, and the *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*. He has been a member of the Executive Committee of the International Political Science Association Research Committee on Comparative Federalism and Federation since 1985. From 1992 to 2000 he was a member of the Board and Chairman of the Research Committee of the Canadian Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Ronald Watts has received honorary degrees from Queen's (1984), Trent (1984), the Royal Military College of Canada (1986), the University of Western Ontario (1987), and Kwansei Gakuin University (Japan) (1994). He was the recipient of the 1997 Distinguished Scholar Award of the American Political Science Association Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada (1997). He became an Officer of the Order of Canada in 1979, and was promoted to Companion of the Order of Canada in 2000.

Ronald Watts was born in 1929 to Canadian missionary parents in Japan, where he lived until 1940. He attended Trinity College School, Port Hope 1943-48; Trinity College, University of Toronto 1948-52 where he obtained a B.A. Honours degree in Philosophy and History; Oriel College, Oxford, as a Rhodes Scholar 1952-54, where he obtained a B.A. Honours degree in

Philosophy, Politics and Economics; and Nuffield College, Oxford, 1959-61, where he completed a D. Phil. Degree in Political Studies in 1963. In 1954, he married Donna Paisley, his life-long companion.

His recreation activities have included competitive sailing and cruising (he competed in the Canadian Olympic Trials in 1964 in the Dragon class, and was Chief Class Officer for the Sailing Olympics held in Kingston at the time of the Montreal Olympics, 1976), radio sailing (he was President of the Canadian Radio Yachting Association 1996-2002, and has been a member of the Permanent Committee of the International Sailing Federation Radio Sailing Division since 1999), aviation history, and model aviation.

The RC28 Committee that selected Watts as the initial recipient of this triennial award for career-long achievement in research on federalism includes: Franz Gress, Germany, Chair; John Kincaid, USA, and RC28 Chairperson Robert Agranoff, USA. The award will be formally bestowed at the RC28 Workshop in Canada in October, 2004.

## **RC28 and the IPSA State of the Discipline Project**

### **RC28 and the IPSA State of the Discipline Project Project Overview**

The IPSA wide project, formerly called "Project 2000," The WORLD OF POLITICAL SCIENCE: DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISCIPLINE will lead to a series of short, inexpensive, and easily understood books on various sub- disciplines. The publisher is Leske + Budrich, which is part of the Bertlesman-Springer group. Series editors are Michael Stein and John Trent, Canada.

RC28 is one of 16 research committees (see below) participating, with the expectation of a total of 20 volumes. Robert Agranoff, USA, is the federalism editor. Other RC28 members of the steering committee are: Michael Burgess, U.K.; Franz Gress, Germany; John Kincaid, USA; and, Ronald Watts, Canada.

#### General Theme/Format

The theme of the series is focused on the "development of the discipline" which goes beyond "state-of-the-art surveys" by using the research mode of taking the sub-fields of the discipline themselves as the dependent variable and seeking the variables that explain their present state of development according to a four part, comparative research model. Going beyond simple description, the project is designed to explain why the discipline is as it is.

The model includes a survey of the research institutes, concepts and research orientations, association networks and journals, etc., a study of evolving major trends, and a critical analysis of present development and proposals for future improvements.

One of the major objectives is to see to what degree universal generalizations have been discovered or the degree to which the sub-field is still culture-bound. Each volume will be allowed a certain discretion to suit the sub-field and the interests and capacities of the Research Committee, but they will normally find a way of addressing the issues in the four-part research model.

#### Significance of Federalism as Field of Study

Federalism is a venerable topic for researchers and practitioners. It is also currently part of a notable number of governmental reform agendas. For example, the European Union as a

supranational confederal body is discussing a “Constitution of Europe” that would move it one step closer to federation. A number of historically centralized federations—Mexico, Malaysia and Pakistan— are exploring greater decentralization, moving them in the direction of operational federation. Other countries such as Spain, Belgium, South Africa, and Ethiopia have adopted federal features and in many ways are “proto federations.” In some parts of the world, e.g., Bosnia, Serbia and Montenegro, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Macedonia, Cyprus, and Indonesia federal-like autonomy has been proposed, primarily as a means to settle ethnic or other regional differences while preserving territorial integrity and country-wide unity. Meanwhile, in the 23 or so established federations, very different challenges of governance are becoming visible as some countries experience centripetal and other centrifugal tendencies. Some, such as Brazil, Canada, and the Russian Federation are exploring the very foundations of federal structure in relation to other institutions. These “hot” developments in federalism have led to the increase in international fora for politicians, public officials and researchers. For example, the creation in 1998 of the Forum of Federations, a clearing house on resources and practices that sponsors forums on federalism, and the ongoing existence of the International Association of the Centers for Federalism (IACFS), an organization of country-based federalism institutes.

The practice of federalism also relies on a theoretical underpinning. Federal studies have emerged from a few historians, legal specialists, and political scientists in such venerable federal countries as Australia, Canada, Germany, and the United States to become a recognized field of study. In the U.S. some 350 political scientists belong to the Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations of the American Political Science Association. In emerging federal Spain, ten of the 80 or so publishing political scientists devote all or some of their research efforts to federal development. During the year 2001, from among the 85 members of the IPSA Research Committee, seven books were written and published on the subject of federalism, along with numerous reports and journal articles. Along with publications appearing in main line political science journals, two are devoted exclusively to the subject: *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, now in its 35th volume, and *Federal and Regional Studies*, now in volume 14. In addition, the Web site of this Research Committee now posts papers presented at its workshops and at the World Congress of IPSA, along with selected papers “in progress” submitted by members and other scholars.

This considerable theoretical and practical undertaking will be captured in RC28’s volume, to be completed during 2004. The major chapters include: (1) survey of recent developments in comparative federalism and federation, (2) research infrastructure and methodology of federalism, (3) an overview of federation theory, and (4) a critical evaluation of research on federalism. Drafts of these papers will be presented at RC28s annual workshop in Ontario, Canada in October.

For further information contact RC28 project coordinator and editor, Robert Agranoff, School of Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 47405, USA. E-mail [agranoff@indiana.edu](mailto:agranoff@indiana.edu).

### **Forum of Federations Research Website**

The Forum of Federation has an online library of close to 100 articles, presentations and papers on all aspects of federalism. You can download all this material without charge and without need of a password.

The Forum invites you to visit the Forum Web site: <http://www.forumfed.org>.

Click on “Search the Forum’s online research library” and select either a country or a region of the globe from one of two pull down lists. You will find papers and articles that deal with

more than one country or region under “International.” One of these geographic parameters is the only obligatory selection. If you wish—in addition to the country or region selection—you may also select a topic from a pre-set, pull down list; and/or enter a keyword or an author’s name.

The material in the library comes from Forum publications, such as “Federations,” from papers and presentations at Forum workshops and conferences, and a variety of other sources. It is constantly growing, and includes articles in Spanish, Russian, Portuguese, and German—as well as, of course, in English and French. All the material is available in PDF form, and so it may take a few seconds to appear on your screen.

This resource should be of use to students, academics, practitioners, and anybody with an interest in the practice of federal governance around the world.

If you have any problems using this resource or any suggestions or comments please feel free to get in touch with the Forum directly through:

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### **2003 News About Members**

News About Members/Publications

Rudolph Hrbek (ed.) *Aussenbeziehungen von Regionen in Europa und der Welt (External Relations in Europe and the World)*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2003, ISBN 3-8329-0382-8

With Annegert Eppler (eds.), *Deutschland vorde Föderalismus-Reform-eine Dokumentation*, Occ. Paper 28, Tübingen 2003.

John Kincaid, “U.S. State and Local Governments in International Affairs,” in Hrbek, *Aussenbeziehungen von Regionen in Europa und der Welt (External Relations in Europe and the World)*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2003, ISBN 3-8329-0382-8

“Smashing the Twin Relics of Barbarism—Slavery and Poligamy: Rejecting Territorial Multiculturalism American Federalism,” in Peter Bussjäger and Anna Gamper (eds.), *The Homogeneity of Democracy, Rights, and the Rule of Law in Federal or Confederal/Systems*, Vienna: Wm. Braumüller, 2003.

“The Crisis in Fiscal Federalism,” *Spectrum: The Journal of State Government* (Summer 2003).

Uwe Leonardy, *Europäische Kompeten Zabgrenzung als deutsches Verfassungspostulat (On the demarcation of competencies in the EU)*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2003. ISBN 3-7890-8121-3.

With Bruno Coppieters, Tamara Kovziridze, *Federalization of Foreign Relations: Alternatives for the Georgian-Abkahaaz Conflict*, Working Papers Series No. 2, Caspian Studies Program, Harvard University, October 2003.

Ronald Watts, “Les Principales Tendances de Fédéralisme aux XX Siecle,” *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2003.

“Intergovernmental Councils in Federations,” Constitutional or Cooperative Federalism?, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen’s University ([www.irpp.org](http://www.irpp.org)).  
“Equalization in Commonwealth Federations,” Regional and Federal Studies, Vol. 13 No. 4 (Winter 2003).

Awarded the RC28 Outstanding Scholar Award, see this edition for further information.

Robert Agranoff and Michael McGuire’s book on intergovernmental management, Collaborative Public Management, (Washington: Georgetown University Press) was awarded the Louis Brownlow Prize for excellence in public administration research by the National Academy of Public Administration at its annual conference in Washington, D.C., November 2003.

Paper presented, “Which Federalism” Conference, Saveleteri, (Brindisi) Italy, “Intergovernmental Policy Management.”

“The Emerging Theory of Federal Autonomy and its Challenges,” in Bussjaeger and Gamper.

with Michael McGuire, “Inside the Matrix: Integrating the Paradigms of Intergovernmental and Network Management,” International Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 26 No. 12, 2003.

Luis Moreno, presented on a panel on Administrative Federalism in Europe at the “Which Federalism” Conference, Saveleteri (Brindisi), Italy.

On a personal note, Luis and his wife Pati Renaldi are the parents of a baby daughter, Eloisa, born on 23 December, 2003. Congratulations to RC28’s newest (and oldest?) dad!

Franz Gress, “Länder Parliaments in the Federation,” in Arthur B. Gunlicks (ed.), German Public Policy and Federalism (New York: Berghahn, 2003).

## **Global Conference—Redefining Europe**

1st Global Conference—Redefining Europe:

Federalism and the Union of European Democracies

26 March 2004 to 30 March 2004

Prague, Czech Republic Call for Papers

This inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary conference marks the launch of a new annual project in the “Redefining Europe” series of research projects. The project aims to provide a challenging forum for the examination and evaluation of the possibility of a Euro-Atlantic Partnership which embraces federalist ideas. In particular, the inaugural conference will focus on the new European Union Constitution and consider the role of federalist principles in establishing the democratic foundations of European Union nations.

One of the unique and primary goals of the conference will be to consider the inclusion of the United States of America in these debates and to address a roadmap for a stronger Euro-Atlantic partnership in which accession and future accession states would find themselves playing a key role.

Papers, reports, presentations, and workshops are invited on any of the following themes:

- \* the new European Union Constitution and its implications
- \* the role of federalism and federalist principles

- \* the place and role of the United States of America
- \* subsidiarity
- \* equal representation of nation states
- \* issues of sovereignty
- \* issues of fair representation
- \* implications for: education; justice; social welfare; religion; politics
- \* global regional stability
- \* future accession to the European Union

For further details about the project please go to:

<http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/aud/aud.htm>

For further details about the conference please go to:

<http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/aud/re03cfp.htm>

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## **Conference — "Which Federalism?"**

International Conference — "Which Federalism"?

On November 12-14, the Scuola superiore dell'economica e delle finanze and several other sponsors held this conference at the Masseria San Domenico, Saveleteri (Brindisi), Italy. The meeting focused on terminology and developments, along with exploration of multiple models of federalism and their possible connection to administrative structure.

The first day was devoted to a panel on "Federalism and the Administrative State," organized by Association Europa. The second day involved prepared papers on constitutional and legal frameworks, fiscal federalism, and intergovernmental policy and its management. The third day focused on panel presentations and papers on Italian regional, territorial and federal developments.

For further information, including how to access the full program and papers, contact the conference organizers at [which.federalism@cc/it](mailto:which.federalism@cc/it), Michael Pagano, [MAPagano@UIC.edu](mailto:MAPagano@UIC.edu), or Marina Branco, [Marina.Branco@FINANZE.IT](mailto:Marina.Branco@FINANZE.IT).

## **New Books on European Federalism and Constitutionalism**

What Kind of Europe?, Loukas Tsouklis, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press; 240 pp. \$35 and £25.

Tsouklis questions the political integration question (more or less), the pull and haul between nation state and "Brussels," although the results thus far are remarkable considering it has been the product of a well-intentioned elite conspiracy. European elitism, however, has reached its limits. The EU project must become more democratic and more political, that is by substituting left-right ideological and program choices for issues of state control and sovereignty.

The Accidental Constitution: The Story of the European Convention, Peter Norman, EuroComment; 406 pp. £35.

A journalist's (former Bureau Chief of the Financial Times in Brussels) account of the give and take at the 2003 convention that wrote the draft of the EU constitution. Norman brings out the political tensions that animated and divided Europe's political elite and provides considerable detail on deliberations for the specialist. He concludes that the convention became a much more ambitious exercise than originally envisioned, where the results were very much in doubt until the end.

Evolving Federalism: The Intergovernmental Balance of Power in America and Europe. Editor, Craig Parsons. Syracuse, NY, Maxwell European Union Center, Syracuse Univ., 142 pp.; complimentary paperback copies from [info@campbellinstitute.org](mailto:info@campbellinstitute.org).

Federal political systems are inevitably dynamic entities. The balance of power between central institutions and states evolves as new policies (or new versions of old policies) are allocated between the levels of government. This is true in well-established federal systems (such as in the United States) and in nascent systems, such as the European Union.

The papers in this book address the dynamics of federalism on either side of the Atlantic, tracing and comparing the intergovernmental balance of power in the United States and the European Union over time. They are structured around three issue-areas which have strongly affected these dynamics in both arenas: welfare and social policies, market regulation, and the role of law and the courts.

Contributors include: Robert Geyer, University of Liverpool; Leslie Friedman Goldstein, University of Delaware; R. Daniel Keleman, Rutgers University; R. Shep Melnick, Boston College; Suzanne Mettler, Syracuse University; Paul Petersen, Harvard University; David B. Robertson, University of Missouri.

### **Commentary—Should We Be Afraid of a Union's European Council President?**

The Convention's members' answer is no. Indeed, the CFSP and the defence but also the economic policy require that the European Council's ability to take decisions ought to be strengthened as the Iraqi and Yugoslavian crisis demonstrate. In violating the procedure planned by the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties, the war against Iraq was marked by a list of unilateral positions in the absence of any previous consultation: the German disengagement, the refusal of a war logic by the French President, the letter of the Eight in favour of the US policy. A negative spillover which ended in the fracture and paralysis of the Union. This major event, which has hit the Union in the face, has given, if needed, the proof of the weakness of the European Council and of the instruments of the CFSP. Now, opposite the existential question of war and peace, the European Council, representing all Heads of States and Governments, is the only institution which, reinforced, would be able to take decisions and engage into common actions. This is why a permanent co-ordinator assisted with a Foreign Affairs and Defence Council and a European Minister of Foreign Affairs would be needed. A European Council's President indeed, but only if this high governmental instance takes its decisions upon the proposal from the European Commission. As an independent institution, the Commission is in charge of formulating proposals, according to the general European interest. On the basis of their proposals not on divergent unilateral positions of Member States, that the European Council will be able to decide a common action.

This method, which has shown its ability, is the best guarantee as much of the institutional balance and protection of small and medium-sized countries, as the efficiency and democratic

functioning of the Union, the Commission being the only responsible institute in the eyes of the European Parliament. The Union's key to success resides in the double participation of Member States in the European Council and Councils, and of the European Commission at the exercise of active power in the Union. This is the observation that you would share with the Member of the European Parliament Bourlanges, as to the importance of the community method, which associates intergovernmental institutions with community institutions as such. At a time when enlargement constitutes a major challenge, this balance was broken by the addition of the intergovernmental co-operations in the matter of foreign policy, security and defence and by the marginalising of the Commission's role. The Convention's task is to re-establish the institutional balance so that it obtains more democracy, more effectiveness and cohesion, more clarity and yet more priority to the Union's citizens. The proposition of the double-headed presidency is a part of this perspective.

A European Council's President elected by qualified majority of its members and a Commission's President elected by the European Parliament on the Council's proposal, two legitimacies which reinforce the authority of the two institutions. The former, while being a European Council Member. The latter works full-time preparing, presiding and managing the work of the European Council, which decides on a collegial basis. For that model to function effectively, it must obey a sine qua non condition: the European Council's decisions must be taken progressively at a qualified majority on the basis of the Commission's proposals. It is the best guarantee against the domination of the large members and the blocking of the small and average members' initiatives.

Here and there, fears have crystallised around the institutional questions of balance of power and the role of the presidency. The decisions taken by a majority of Member States encourage the Small and Average Members (19 out of 25). On the other hand, whilst advocating the vote for a qualified majority, the large States, which represent 70% of the Union's population, search for an added guarantee in the requirement of a majority including 60% of the Union's population, as anticipated in the European Constitution. Under these conditions, the Commission's proposal also insures as the outset, an objective basis and a vision of the general European interest.

The experience of the European Community of moving from unanimity to qualified majority through stages and as when the trust is installed and satisfying solution are built up, finds its full application in the future European Constitution. Whilst defining the objectives and methods to achieve them, this procedure introduces a certain flexibility, offers a better adaptability, and if necessary, a weighting adapted to the areas and contributions of the Member States. Its gradual application may find a practical field in the matter of the CFSP and even more so in the defence area. In foreign relations, a greater coherence is expected from the European Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is both vice-president of the Commission and president of the Foreign Affairs Council and participates in the work of the European Council and executes its mandates as defined by the Commission's proposals.

Fears from the small and medium-sized Member States concentrate on the Union's President symbol, in their eyes of the will of domination by the large countries. This perception has provoked a revolt amongst the small and average, which, if well justified on several accounts, does not bear up to the analysis of a community reality. Indeed, in naming its President by qualified majority, the European Council must take into account of the blocking majority which hints the large countries' power. Thus, because of the rivalry between the 6 large States, nothing precludes a key figure coming from a small country for the Presidency, as it often happened before for the presidency of the Commission. On the other hand, we should recall that stable coalitions, "blocks" never remained stable at the centre of the European Coalitions, except from the Union's motor formed by the Franco-German couple. Coalitions actually are formed and dissolved as a function of circumstances, interests and the power struggle. The hypothesis of a durable split between the large and small is constantly contradicted by the

observation of political behaviour. The recent Iraqi crisis provoked a division between the large and small alike.

A new institutional equilibrium supposes a strong Commission with broad power of proposal. The election of the President by the European Parliament and the parliamentary investiture of the Commission aims to boost its authority. Such is the aim of the countries united around the cell formed by Germany and Benelux, which are joined by France and several other small and medium-sized members. Most want a Commission of 25 members, which, according to others, would result paradoxically in a weakening of the institution they propose to strengthen. In the name of efficiency, the large States opt for a streamlined Commission, in which all the members would be present or not represented". The Constitution has opted for a Commission of 15 members from which 13 selected through an egalitarian rota system between the Member States to which the Commissioners without voting right would be added, coming from all the other State Members. This system could damage competence and the authority of the Commission.

More than ever, the new Commission is called on to show a role of a catalyst of many fragmented visions and interests, as a pole of direction and encouragement in an ever more complex and diverse society enriched by the arrival of its new members. It is to provide credible governance in the vast and populated region of the many players communicating and doing business on an equal foot to extend network of partner networks. This justifies a full Commission of 25 members including both a "cabinet" to guarantee efficiency and "junior Ministers" guaranteeing the diversity of its operations. The key is to strengthen and develop the federating role of the Commission whose European vision is asserted by its proposal both in the exercise of governmental and legislative matters. Since the Commission is the only institution responsible for the European Parliament, its proposals are the basic components of the European democracy.

The whole process of integration during the development of firstly European Community and then the European Union has progressed through a series of crisis and institutional instability followed by a search for new institutional equilibrium based on a fair sharing of power between intergovernmental and community lobby. This is the primary task of the European Constitution in conditioning the future of the European Union.

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Prof. Sidjanski is the author of *The Federal Future of Europe: From the European Community to the European Union* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000). Please address any comments to: [dusan.sidjanski@politic.unige.ch](mailto:dusan.sidjanski@politic.unige.ch)

### **Membership Dues Reminder**

#### **MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL—REMINDER**

The following renewal reminder was sent to RC28 members in 2003:

The time has come for our tri-annual membership drive for the IPSA Research Committee on Federalism and Federations. The normal cycle is the period that brackets each World Congress. Thus, the 2003-2006 cycle applies to most members.

Dues remain at \$45.00 for three years. Checks should be made payable to "IPSA Federalism Research Committee" and sent to Robert Agranoff, Federalism Research Committee, School of Public and Environmental Affairs, 1315 East Tenth Street, Bloomington, IN 47405, USA. Checks should not be bank drafts but full checks with your bank's routing numbers on them.

