Index
Volume XXXV
2000

No. 1, January - March
Editorial Note 3
Challenges Facing the European Union 7 Giorgio Napolitano
TEPSA Europe Forum Steps Toward an Federal European Parliament 13 John Pinder
The Reform of the European Union Treaties 21 TEPSA Institutional Group

Essays
Kosovo in Limbo
Kosovo Political Life: Past as Prologue? 27 Veton Surroi
Kosovo and the Region: Consequences of the Waiting Game 35 Susan Woodward

The Internal Security Challenge in Kosovo 49 Espen Barth Eide
Balkan Regional Cooperation: A Realistic Goal or a Chimera? 65 Fabrizio Saccomanni
The Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe: A New Approach to a Regional Problem 65 Fabrizio Saccomanni
Paving the Way for Possible Balkan Regional Cooperation 73 Tito Favaretto
Managing Security in the Mediterranean 83 Laura Guazzzone
Who Needs Conflict Prevention in the Mediterranean? 83 Laura Guazzzone
Political Dialogue and Conflict Prevention in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership 103 Roberto Aliboni
Martin Ortega

* * *
IAI Library Notes
Maritza Cricorian

No. 2, April - June

Editorial Note

Opinions
Does the State Have a Future? 7
Dominique Moisi

TEPSA Europe Forum
The End of Civilian Power EU: A Welcome Demise or Cause for Concern? 11
Karen E. Smith

Essays
Italian Foreign Policy Survey
Italy Facing International Migration: Recent Policy Developments 29
Ferruccio Pastore

* * *
The Advantages of Complementarity: US and European Policies toward the Middle East Peace Process 41
Volker Perthes

Globalisation and the future of the WTO Globalisation after Seattle 57
Mario Sarcinelli

New Trade Issues, Developing Countries and the WTO 71
Isabella Falautano and Paolo Guerrieri

Kosovo: the Aftermath
The Economics of Kosovo: Does Viability Matter? 87
Vladimir Gligorov

Options for Kosovo’s Final Status 103
Natalino Ronzitti

The Kosovo Factor in Russia’s Foreign Policy 113
Vladimir Baranovsky

Book Reviews and Notes
Assessing Events in Kosovo 1999 130
Tobias Vogel

* * *
IAI Library Notes
Maritza Cricorian

No. 3, July - September

Editorial Note

Opinions
DeBalkanising the Balkans: What Priorities? 7
Ivan Krastev

Iran in the Balance 19
Alberto Negri

TEPSA Europe Forum
A Test Bed for Enhanced Coop- eration: the European Defence Industry 25
Michele Nones

Essays
Italian Foreign Policy Survey
The Öcalan Affair Revisited 37
Roberto Aliboni and Daniela Pioppi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy’s Approach to UN Security Council Reform</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco Pedrazzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transatlantic Relations in Flux</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthening the Atlantic Political Order</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. John Ikenberry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The US Post-imperial Presidency and Transatlantic Relations</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David P. Calleo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* * *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC Arms Control Under Stress</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Kelle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book Reviews and Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Autonomous Foreign Policy for a Changing Italy</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick McCarthy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAI Library Notes</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritza Cricorian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4, October - December</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial Note</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opinions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe’s Role in the United Nations</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Mortimer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trends in the Oil Market and a Common European Response</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PierGiorgio Gawronski</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEPSA Europe Forum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towards a Truly European Financial Market</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorenzo Bini Smaghi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essays</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The EU’s Foreign and Security Policy Dimension</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transatlantic Relations Beyond the CFSP</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Zielonka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Deighton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian foreign policy survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy’s Attempt to Bridge its Capability Gap</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stefano Silvestri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* * *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Internationalisation of Italian Production</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pier Carlo Padoan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fostering Security in Southeastern Europe: A Role for the EAPC</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radoslava Stefanova</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Foreign Policy Decision-making during the Clinton Administration</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurizio Massari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book Reviews and Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can Italy Make it into the First Division?</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Walston</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAI Library Notes</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritza Cricorian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index 2000</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Contributors</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Index

## Volume XXXVI

### 2001

**No. 1, January - March**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editorial Note</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opinions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Perceptions in the Arab World and Euro-Med Relations</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamal A. Gawad Soltan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TEPSA Europe Forum</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Amsterdam Left-overs to Nice Hangovers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Duff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nice Declaration: Time for a Constitutional Treaty of the European Union?</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruno De Witte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Charter of Fundamental Rights: An ID Card for the European Union</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elena Paciotti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the EU Institutional Triangle have a Future?</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandro Gozi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An EU Constitution and Federalism after Nice: a New Chance or Requiem for a Myth?</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pier Virgilio Dastoli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Essays</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian foreign policy survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy’s New Defence Model and its Contribution to CESDP</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergio Mattarella</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* * *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO’s New Strategic Concept and the Legal Regulation of Use of Force</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enzo Cannizzaro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reforming the Bundeswehr</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph Thiele</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massimo Ambrosetti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Book Reviews and Notes</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hegemony Through Restraint</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Harper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy's Hobbled Search for a Better Place in the Sun</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph LaPalombara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAI Library Notes</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritza Cricorian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No. 2, April - June</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial Note</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opinions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia: Small Potatoes or a Big Deal?</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan Perry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TEPSA Europe Forum</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the European Constitution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stefano Micossi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Nice to Stockholm: One Step Forward and One Step Back</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giacomo Vaciago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Essays</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian foreign policy survey</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian Defence Policy:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Engagement and Domestic Reform</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Missiroli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A New Course for the Transatlantic Partnership?</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Question of Norms:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transatlantic Divergences in Foreign Policy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steven Everts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustaining the Alliance: Three Challenges for Europe and the New US Administration</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Steinberg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnership and Competition</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of US and European Embedded Liberalisms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brian Burgoon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding Transatlantic Common Ground on Climate Change</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Lempert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia: The Common Home at Last?</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Lloyd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctioning Iran: US-European Disputes over Policy towards Iran</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria do Céu Pinto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Conflict Prevention: The Case of the Baltic Region</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Nicoletti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Book Reviews and Notes</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Prevention: Measuring the Unmeasurable?</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniela Pioppi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAI Library Notes</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritza Cricorian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No. 3, July - September</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial Note</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opinions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Security after 11 September</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stefano Silvestri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctioning Iran: US-European Disputes over Policy towards Iran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria do Céu Pinto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Conflict Prevention: The Case of the Baltic Region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Nicoletti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDEX 2001</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missile Defence and Homeland Defence: The View from Ground Zero</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Craig Nation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deliberate Ambiguity in Modern Arms Control and the ABM Treaty</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Graham, Jr. And Blake Mobley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essays</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEPSA Europe Forum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The European Union in the New Millennium</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Cecchini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Justice and Home Affairs Dimension of EU Enlargement</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jörg Monar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towards a European Defence Policy</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alessandro Minuto Rizzo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Genoa G-8 Summit: Great Expectations, Disappointing Results</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco Zupi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-8 Decision-making and the Genoa Summit</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Bayne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian foreign policy survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Role of National Parliaments in the Future EU</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Valeria Agostini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy’s Changing Defence Policy</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germano Dottori and Giovanni Gasparini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An EU Common Strategy for China?</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanxin Xiang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Book Reviews and Notes</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe’s Gentle Power</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cesare Merlini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAI Library Notes</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritza Cricorian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No. 4, October - December</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial Note</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opinions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wars of 911</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Serfaty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lessons of September 11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pascal Boniface</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The International Implications of the Terrorist Attacks</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vladimir Baranovsky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Essays</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEPSA Europe Forum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Role of National Parliaments in the Future EU</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Valeria Agostini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Militarising the EU: the Concept of Civilian Power Europe Rivistted</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stelios Stavridis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian foreign policy survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy’s Changing Defence Policy</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germano Dottori and Giovanni Gasparini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An EU Common Strategy for China?</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanxin Xiang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Index 2001</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Europe and the Mediterranean**

Caught between Europe and the Orient: Israel and the EMP
*Raffaella Del Sarto and Alfred Tovias*

A Common Future for the Two Shores of the Mediterranean?
*Patrizio Bianchi*

A Confederal Cyprus as a Member of the European Union
*Tarik Oguzlu*

---

**Book Reviews and Notes**

Constructing Europe: the Role of Symbolic Policies
*Sonia Lucarelli*

IAI Library Notes
*Maritza Cricorian*

Index 2001

List of Contributors
Index Volume XXXVII
2002

No. 1, January - March 2002

Editorial Note 3

Opinions

The Shock of 11 September and the Doha Development Round
Paolo Guerrieri 5

Addressing Globalisation's Inequalities: A New Development Plan
Rainer Masera 11

Towards a European Judicial Space: Interview with Gian Carlo Caselli 17

The Middle East Debacle: A Prospective Analysis
Mary Chartouni-Dubarry 23

Radical Islam After 11 September
Alain Roussillon 35

Essays

Europe Forum
The Convention as a Way of Bridging the EU's Democratic Deficit
Andrea Manzella 47

Simplification of the EU Treaties: Weighing the Options
Giacomo Gattinara and Emanuela Monsù 59

Macedonia in a Post-Peace Agreement Environment: A Role for Conflict Prevention and Reconciliation
Alice Ackermann 71

Projecting Stability: Hungary's Role in Central and Southeastern Europe
Mária Vass 83

Italian foreign policy survey

New Trends in Italy's European Policy
Lucia Serena Rossi 97

Book Reviews and Notes

IAI Library Notes
Maritza Cricórian 107

No. 2, April - June 2002

Editorial Note 3
Opinions
The War over the Israeli Settlements
Giorgio Gomel

Kosovo Futures, Western Dilemmas
Daniel Nelson

The External and Internal Borders of the Great Europe
Yves Mény

The Moscow Summit: The End of the Cold War’s Long Funeral?
Alexander Konovalev

Cultural Dialogue and Coalition-Building in a Globalised World
Antonio Badini

Book Reviews and Notes
A Tragic Future?
Filippo Andreatta

IAI Library Notes
Maritza Cricorian

---

No. 3, July - September 2002

Editorial Note

Essays
Reassessing the transatlantic partnership
Transatlantic Trade and Monetary Relations: The Nature and Limits of Conflict
Alan Cafruny

US Hegemony and the Roman Analogy: A European View
Cesare Merlini

Mission Impossible? Managing the Growing Divide between Europe and the US
Steven Everts

US Middle East Policy after 9/11 Implications for

---

Opinions
and Italian Foreign Policy
Osvaldo Croci

Upgrading Political Responses in the Mediterranean
Roberto Aliboni

Seven Points on the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
Álvaro di Vasconcelos

---

Essays
Coalition Dynamics in the War against Terrorism
Ian Lesser

Europe Forum
Why Enlarge the EU? A Look at the Macroeconomic Implications
Lorenzo Bini Smaghi

The Potential Macroeconomic Impact of EU Enlargement
Ludovica Rizzotti

More Europe in Foreign and Security Policy: the Institutional Dimension of CFSP
Marta Dassù and Antonio Missiroli

Italian Foreign Policy survey
The Second Berlusconi Government

---

No. 3, July - September 2002

Editorial Note

Essays
Reassessing the transatlantic partnership
Transatlantic Trade and Monetary Relations: The Nature and Limits of Conflict
Alan Cafruny

US Hegemony and the Roman Analogy: A European View
Cesare Merlini

Mission Impossible? Managing the Growing Divide between Europe and the US
Steven Everts

US Middle East Policy after 9/11 Implications for
Transatlantic Relations  
*F. Stephen Larrabee*

Iraqi Threats: What Common Cause Across the Atlantic?  
*Jeffrey Laurenti*

Dilemmas of Western Policies toward Iran  
*Daniel Brumberg*

Shifting Responsibility in the Balkans: the EU Takes the Lead  
*Patrick Moore*

The Bush Doctrine and the UN Charter Frame  
*Tom Farer*

*Europe Forum*  
The EU's Powers of External Relations  
*Alessandra Mignolli*

*Book Reviews and Notes*  
Optimal Choices for Optimal Policies  
*Stefano Fantacone*

**No. 4, October – December 2002**

Editorial Note  
3

Opinions  
The Electoral Victory of Reformist Islamists in Secular Turkey  
*Duygu Sezer*

Postwar Scenarios in Iraq and Regional Re-ordering  
*Volker Perthes*

The Making of a New World Energy Order  
*Nicola Pedde*

*Essays*  
EI’s Democratic Legitimation of European Institutions  
*Gianfranco Pasquino*

A Supranational Party System and the Legitimacy of the European Union  
*Simon Hix*

The Democratic Deficit of EU Foreign and Security Policy  
*Mathias Koenig-Archibugi*

CFSP: Conventions, Constitutions and Consequentiality  
*Christopher Hill*

***

*Ben Lombardi*

*Book Reviews and Notes*  
Law and Disorder? The War on Terror and the International Legal System  
*Emanuele Sommario*

Library Notes  
*Martiza Cricorian*

Index 2002  
121

List of Contributors  
124
Index Volume XXXVIII
2003

No. 1, January - March 2003

Editorial Note 3

Opinions
The Stability and Growth Pact in the Transition from Hard to Soft Coordination 7
Stefano Fantacone and Laura Cotterli

Essays
Europe Forum
The European Identity 19
Paolo Pombeni

The Impact of Enlargement on JHA
The Area of Freedom, Security and Justice after the 2004 Enlargement 33
Jörg Monar

EU Enlargement - Policing the New Borders 51
Eberhard Bort

Prospects and Limits of a European System of Criminal Justice 69
Giovanni Grasso

Italian foreign policy survey
Neo-nationalism and Neo-atlanticism in Italian Foreign Policy 81
Roberto Aliboni

The Role of the US in Italy's Foreign Policy 91
Leopoldo Nuti

International Terrorism: Global Challenges and Italian Responses 103
Antonio Armellini

Book Reviews and Notes
On the Search for a European Identity 117
John Erik Fossum

IAI Library Notes 121
Maritza Cricorian

No. 2, April - June 2003

Editorial Note 3
Opinions
In the Postwar Scenario: Keeping the Transatlantic Alliance Whole and Vital
Harlan K. Ullman

Empire, Multipolar World or Global Governance: Take Your Pick
Cesare Merlìni

Essays
Europe Forum
Fiscal Policies and the European Constitution
Alberto Majocchi

The Vertical Distribution of Competencies in the EU Draft Constitutional Text
Gian Luigi Tosato

The Role of the Regions in the EU and the Principle of Subsidiarity
Rudolf Hrbehk

International Treaty-making in the EU: What Role for the EP?
Stefania Di Paola

Italian foreign policy survey
Italy's Constitutional Reform and the External Powers of the Regions
Marco Gestri

Atlanticism and Europeanism in Italy and France: a Critical Comparison
Jean-Pierre Darnis

Book Reviews and Notes
Selective Multilateralism as a US Strategy
John Owens

IAI Library Notes
Maritza Cricorin

No. 3, July - September 2003
Editorial Note

Essays
The EU's defence role and the transatlantic security relationship
The Future of ESDP - Defence
Capabilities for Europe
Timothy Garden

Flexible Modes of Governance: Making CFSP and ESDP Work
Udo Diedrichs and Matthias Jopp

The Institutional Reform of ESDP and Post-Prague NATO
Alyson J. K. Bailes

EU - NATO Cooperation and Complementarity between the Rapid Reaction Forces
Daniele Riggio

The European Defence Plans: Filling the Transatlantic Gaps
Daniel Keohane

Italian foreign policy survey
Italian EU presidency foreign policy challenges
Recoupling Russia to Europe:
Staying the Course
Stephan De Spiegeleire

The EU and the Mediterranean:
Overhauling the Status Quo Policy Approach
Álvaro de Vasconcelos
EU Policies towards the Balkans: Fostering Ownership of Reforms
Marie-Janine Calic

***
Italy’s European Policy and its Role in the European Convention
Ettore Greco and Raffaello Matarazzo

Opinions
The Afghanisation of Chechnya
Peter Brownfeld

Book Reviews and Notes
The Transatlantic Alliance under Review
Nicole Renvert

IAI Library Notes
Maritza Cricorian

No. 4, October – December 2003

Editorial Note
3

Opinions
Forging Transatlantic Consensus on Missile Defence
Jeffrey P. Bialos and Stuart L. Koebl

Essays
Dilemmas of the Western Middle East Agenda
US Nation-building Policy in the Greater Middle East
Marina Ottaway

Third Party Monitoring in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
Jarat Chopra

Reform and Reconstruction in the Middle East:
Room for EU-US Cooperation?
Tim Niblock

Europe Forum
European Armaments Cooperation - 59
Lessons for a Future European Armaments Agency
Andrew James

EU Constitutional Reform and the Convention Method
Flavia Zanon

***
Transatlantic Tristesse - More than Just History Repeating Itself
Nicole Renvert and Marcus von Essen

Index 2003
107

List of Contributors
110
Index Volume XXXIX
2004

No. 1, January - March 2004

Editorial Note 3

Essays

The US and European Strategic Gap and the Future of EU-NATO Cooperation
ESDP and the Structure of World Power 5
Barry R. Posen

Alyson J. K. Bailes

The US and the European Union: Bridging the Strategic Gap? 35
Robert E. Hunter

ESDP and NATO: Assuring Complementarity 51
F. Stephen Larrabee

The Reform of ESDP and EU-NATO Cooperation 71
Rob de Wijk

Overcoming Impediments to Transatlantic Armaments Collaboration 83
Richard A. Bitzinger

Italian foreign policy survey
The Fundamental Directions of Italy's Foreign Policy 95
Franco Frattini

New Alliances, Governance of the International System and Italy's Foreign Policy Choices 101
Paolo Guerrieri and Stefano Silvestri

Book Reviews and Notes
IAI Library Notes 123
Maritza Cricórian

No. 2, April - June 2004

Editorial Note 3

Europe Forum
The Democratic Accountability of the EU and the Role of the European Parliament
The European Parliament and the Dilemmas of European Integration 7
*Brendan Donnelly*

European Political Parties: A (Timidly) Rising Actor in the EU Political System 17
*Luciano Bardi*

The European Parliament in CFSP: More than a Marginal Player? 31
*Udo Diedrichs*

The Evolution of CFSP Institutions: Where does Democratic Accountability Stand? 47
*Esther Barbé*

**Opinions**
Not so Far Apart – Societal Change and its Impact on Transatlantic Relations 61
*Cesare Merlini*

**Essays**
The Middle East Policy of the Holy See 79
*Silvio Ferrari*

Riding on the Winds of Change: The Future of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership 89
*Tobias Schumacher*

Towards a European Space Policy? 103
*Simone Cheli and Jean-Pierre Darnis*

**Book Reviews and Notes**
IAI Library Notes 115
*Maritza Cricorian*

**No. 3, July - September 2004**

Editorial Note 3

**Opinions**
The ‘Clash of Civilisations’ and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 7
*Pascal Boniface*

A Rejoinder: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Clash *within* Civilisations 19
*Mark A. Heller*

Saddled with a Divided Cyprus: An EU Dilemma 29
*Tozun Babcheli*

Reflections on Post-Referendum Cyprus 39
*Nathalie Tocci*

**Europe Forum**
Reform of the Stability and Growth Pact: Looking beyond the Commission’s Proposal 51
*Maria Teresa Salvemini Ristuccia*

**Essays**
The French-German Duo and the Search for a New European Security Model 61
*François Heisbourg*

The European Parliament Assesses the Constitution 73
*Andrew Duff*

*Cesare Pinelli*
The Challenges of the European Neighbourhood Policy
Michele Comelli

Waiting for December 2004: Turkish Blues for the EU
Mustafa Aydin and Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe

Book Reviews and Notes
The Major Challenges Facing the Multilateral Trading System
Irene Caratelli

IAI Library Notes
Maritza Cricorian

No. 4, October – December 2004

Editorial Note

Essays
The EU Constitutional Treaty: How do Deal with the Ratification Bottleneck
Gian Luigi Tosato and Ettore Greco

Peace-building and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East
A Sisyphean Task. Putting the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process Back on Track
Yezid Sayigh

The Future of Iraq: Uncertainty, Disenchantment and Despair
Peter Sluglett

Addressing the Iranian Nuclear Option
Maurizio Martellini and Riccardo Redaelli

Weathering the Storm:
Saudi Arabia and the United States
Giacomo Luciani

Promoting Democracy in the Arab World: The Challenge of Joint Action
Tamara Cofman Wittes

Democratisation in the Arab World Revisited
Laura Guazzone and Daniela Pioppi

NATO’s Role in Defence Cooperation and Democratisation in the Middle East
Fred Tanner

Italian foreign policy survey
The Shift in Italy’s Euro-Atlantic Policy. Partisan or Bipartisan?
James Walston

Book Reviews and Notes
What Future for Political Islam?
Daniela Pioppi

IAI Library Notes
Maritza Cricorian

Index 4004
List of Contributors
Index Volume XL
2005

No. 1, January - March 2005

Editorial Note 3

Essays
The Challenges of the European Neighbourhood Policy
Beyond Enlargement. The European Neighbourhood Policy and its Tools
Rosa Balfour and Alessandro Rotta
Does the ENP Respond to the EU’s Post-Enlargement Challenges?
Nathalie Tocci
The Security Dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy
Dov Lynch
A Riddle Inside an Enigma: Unwrapping the EU-Russia Strategic Partnership
Fabrizio Tassinari

Europe Forum
The EU Foreign Minister: Beyond Double-Hatting
Giovanni Grevi, Daniela Manca and Gerard Quille

A Three-Phase Plan for the European External Action Service
Andreas Maurer and Sarah Reichel

Opinions
The Report of the UN High-level Panel and the Use of Force
Natalino Ronzitti
Material Forces and the Force of Ideas: Interview with Robert Gilpin
Simone Raulino and Eunice Rendon
Old Challenges for New Leaderships. The Palestinian Elections in Perspective
Margret Johannsen
Putting an End to the West’s Double Standard in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
Pascal Boniface

Book Reviews and Notes
Changing Political Elites in the Arab World
Massimiliano Trentin
IAI Library Notes
Maritza Cricorian
No. 2, April - June 2005

Editorial Note

Opinions
The UN Reports: Addressing the Gnarled Issues of our Time
Tom Farer

Essays
Vladimir Putin and the Chechen War
Paolo Caltabiano

The Transatlantic Dimension of Security
Power and Bleakness? The Dilemma of US Foreign and Security Policy
Julian Lindley-French

Back to Transatlantic Pragmatism
Jean-Yves Haine

The United States, Europe and the Interoperability Gap
Jeffrey P. Bialos

The Growing EU-NATO Relationship: Beyond Berlin
Graham Mavroyannis-Wright

The Transformation of Turkey's Security Considerations
Thanos Veremis

Barcelona + 10: Spain's Relaunch of the Euro-Med Partnership
Esteban Barbe and Eduard Soler i Lecha

Book Reviews and Notes
Democracy Promotion in the Middle East. Business as Usual?
Giacoimo Luciani

No. 3, July - September 2005

Editorial Note

Essays
What Future for Non-proliferation after the Failed NPT Review Conference?
Non-proliferation Initiatives and the NPT Review
Serge Sur

The 2005 NPT Review Conference: 188 States in Search of Consensus
William Potter

Harald Müller

The European Union and Nuclear Non-Proliferation: Does Soft Power Work?
Bruno Tertrais

Anxieties without Borders: The United States, Europe and Their Southern Neighbours
Ian O. Lesser

Control of Foreign Investments in Aerospace and Defence
Michele Nones and Jean-Pierre Darnis

Book Reviews and Notes
Restless Europe? European Identity after the Iraq War and the Constitutional Referenda
Christopher Bickerton
Between Sovereignty and Compliance: a Nuclear Strategy for the 21st Century
Marcin Zaborowski

IAI Library Notes
Maritza Cricorian

No. 4, October – December 2005

Editorial Note

Opinions
The Millennium Summit and UN Reform

Summit Asymmetry: The United States and UN Reform
Jeffrey Laurenti

UN Reform: A Test of European Leadership
Giancarlo Chevallard

The European Dimension of the UN Security Council Membership Debate
Christopher Hill

The UN Security Council Needs Fewer Europeans and More Europe
Antonio Missiroli

A New Course for the World Bank?
Will the W Factor Change the World Bank’s Development Agenda?
Marco Zuppi

The New World Bank Presidency: Waiting for the Wolf to Bite
Antonio Tricarico

Book Reviews and Notes
American Foreign Policy in the Twenty-first Century
Costanza Musu

IAI Library Notes
Maritza Cricorian

Index 2005
List of Contributors

Essays
Europe Forum

Issuing Union Bonds to Finance the Lisbon Agenda
Alberto Majocchi

For a Core Europe in an Open Union
Cesare Merlini

The Leadership Deficit in Europe
Steven Szabo
## Volume XLI Contents

### No 1, January–March 2006

**Editorial Note** 3

**ESSAYS**

**Italian Foreign Policy Survey**

Fifteen Proposals for a Bipartisan European Policy in Italy 7
*Ettore Greco, Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa and Stefano Silvestri*

**Commentaries:**

Italy and Europe: Key Challenges Again, Ten Years Later 33
*Fabrizio Saccomanni*

We Need to Be Able to Disagree on European Policies 39
*Jean Pisani-Ferry*

Institutional Reform – A Pragmatic Point of View 45
*Jacek Saryusz-Wolski*

***

Trends in Italian Public Opinion Towards Europe 49
*Arcangela Lapolla*

**Rethinking the Transatlantic Security Relationship**

A Challenged and Challenging Europe: Impact on NATO-EU-US Relations 61
*Simon Serfaty*

Roadmap for a Renewed Transatlantic Security Partnership 71
*Robert Hunter*

**Europe Forum**

Turkey’s Vital and Turbulent Road to the European Union 83
*Mario Zucconi*

***

The Doha Round and the Future of the Multilateral Trading Regime 95
*Paolo Guerrieri*

**OPINIONS**

The Kuwaiti Succession Crisis and Constitutional Governance in the Gulf 107
*Fred H. Lawson*
Book Reviews and Notes

Interfacing the European Union with International Relations 115
*Raffaella del Sarto*

IAI Library Notes 118
*Maritza Cricorian*

No 2, April–June 2006

Editorial Note 3

ESSAYS

*Cyprus and the EU: Two Years Later*

The Role of Security Concerns in the Failure of the Annan Plan 7
*Hubert Faustmann*

The European Union: What Role in the Cyprus Conflict? 19
*George Christou*

Domestic Politics and External Challenges in the Middle East

Europe’s Role in the Gulf: A Transatlantic Perspective 33
*Roberto Aliboni*

Post-Syria Lebanon: Internal and External Determinants of a Crisis 51
*Karam Karam*

Changing Dynamics in Palestinian Politics 69
*Yezid Sayigh*

OPINIONS

The Dilemma of Aid to the Palestinian Authority After the Victory of Hamas 87
*Anne Le More*

The Success of Islamist Parties Works Against al-Qaida 95
*Laura Guazzone*

Italian Foreign Policy Survey

Berlusconi’s Foreign Policy: Inverting Traditional Priorities 101
*Sergio Romano*

Book Reviews and Notes

The Strategic Cultures of “Old” and “New” Europe 109
*Paul Luif*
No 3, July–September 2006

Editorial Note 3

Is There a European Security Culture in the Enlarged European Union? 7
Geoffrey Edwards

Montenegro’s Referendum 25
Nicholas Whyte

ESSAYS

Promoting Democracy in the Eastern Neighbourhood – The Limits and Potential of the ENP 31
Kristi Raik

European Energy Supply Security

The Conundrum of Energy Security – Gas in Eastern and Western Europe 47
Enno Harks

EU-GCC Relations: Dynamics, Patterns and Perspectives 59
Gerd Nonneman

Italian Energy Policy: The Quest for More Competition and Supply Security 75
Giacomo Luciani and Maria Rita Mazzanti

Italian Foreign Policy Survey

The Prodi Government and Italy-US Relations: The Case for Optimism 91
Jason W. Davidson

Book Reviews and Notes

Regulating Recourse to the Use of Force: Theories and Practice 99
Mirko Sossat

IAI Library Notes 103
Alessandra Bertino

No 4, October–December 2006

Editorial Note 3
ESSAYS
Conflict and Reform in Eastern Europe

Domestic Reform and European Integration in Ukraine 7
Kataryna Wolczuk

Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy Since the Orange Revolution 25
Taras Kuzio

EU Initiatives for Border Management in its Eastern Neighbourhood 43
Oleksandr Sushko

Peacekeeping in Transnistria: Cooperation or Competition? 55
Dov Lynch

EU Neglect and Competing Mediation in Georgia’s Conflicts 69
Nathalie Tocci

Europe Forum

Beefing up the ENP: Towards a Modernisation and Stability Partnership 85
Barbara Lippert

OPINIONS

Diplomatic Opportunities After the Israeli-Hezbollah Conflict 101
Roberto Aliboni

Book Reviews and Notes

Time to Talk More Georgia, Less Russia 109
Anna Matveeva

IAI Library Notes 112
Alessandra Bertino and Maritza Cricorian
Volume XLII Contents

No 1, March 2007

ESSAYS
Russia’s New Assertiveness and its Relations with the EU

Russia and the EU Ten Years On: A Relationship in Search of Definition
Maurizio Massari

Small is Feasible: Pondering the Future of EU-Russian Relations
Fabrizio Tassinari and Marius Vabl

The Turn to Statism in Russian Economic Policy
Philip Hanson

Return to Heartland: Russia’s Policy in Central Asia
Anna Matveeva

***

The German Presidency and the EU’s Constitutional Malaise
Andreas Maurer and Daniela Schwarzer

An EU Outlook on the Future of the Kyoto Protocol
Thomas Legge

The Development Dimension of IMF Lending Policies
Domenico Lombardi

OPINIONS

Analytical Perspectives on the War in Lebanon
Volker Perthes

The EU in Somalia: Furthering Peacemaking and Reconciliation
Mario Raffaelli

Italy in World Affairs

How to Change Your Foreign Policy in 100 Days: A New Course with the
Prodi Government?
Elisabetta Brighi

Book Reviews

Does the EU have a Value-Driven Vision of the World?
Sharon Pardo
American Hegemony Demands a Different Kind of Leadership 144
Emiliano Alessandri

The US and the EU: An Alliance with no Alternative 147
Gianni Bonvicini

Recent Publications 150

No 2, June 2007

ESSAYS

European Challenges of Migration and Integration

Confrontational Mutual Perceptions and Images: Orientalism and Occidentalism in Europe and the Islamic World 161
George Joffe

Informalising Readmission Agreements in the EU Neighbourhood 179
Jean-Pierre Cassarino

Italy in World Affairs

The Foreign Policy of Italian Regions: Not Much Ado About Something? 197
Francesco Palermo

Foreign Policy of Federated Entities

Federal Regions and External Relations: The Belgian Case 209
M. Theo Jans and Patrick Stouthuysen

The International Security Involvement of Federated States: Comparing Massachusetts, Illinois and Flanders 221
Bruno Coppieters

**

Greek-Turkish Rapprochement under New Democracy 237
James Ker-Lindsay

Europe Forum

How to Relaunch Europe – The Reasons for Flexibility 249
Gian Luigi Tosato

Growing without a Strategy? The Case of European Security and Defence Policy 261
Gianni Bonvicini and Elfriede Regelsberger
OPINIONS

In Search of Coherence in EU Foreign Policy
Cesare Pinelli

A New Bi-continental Approach to Transatlantic Defence Cooperation
Michele Nones

Book Reviews

The US: Dangerous to the World or to Itself?
Emiliano Alessandri

The Autonomous Identity of the Lebanese Shiite Community
Giuseppe Acconcia

The Unpredictability of the Global Oil Market
Arianna Checchi

Democratization and Development: How to Avoid the Trap of Liberal Internationalism and Still Be Policy Oriented
Daniela Pioppi

Recent Publications

No 3, September 2007

ESSAYS
China’s Rise and Implications for Europe

New Security Dynamics in the Asia-Pacific: Extending Regionalism from Southeast to Northeast Asia
Christopher R. Hughes

China’s Foreign Policy Comes of Age
Michael Yahuda

Opportunities and Limits of EU-China Security Cooperation
May-Britt Stumbaum

The International Politics of the Chinese Arms Embargo Issue
Nicola Casarini

China’s Energy Policy: from Self-sufficiency to Energy Efficiency
François Godement

New Trends in China’s Foreign Investment Strategy
Lorenzo Sasso
OPINIONS

Fostering Economic Growth through a “European” Debt
Maria Teresa Salvemini 409

In Search of a European Dimension in the UN Security Council
Edith Drieskens, Daniele Marchesi and Bart Kerremens 421

Italy in World Affairs

Italy’s Growing Burden of Choice in Security Policy
Roberto Menotti 431

Book Reviews

Cutting-Edge Knowledge of China’s International Relations
Xin Xu 445

Stories of China: Italian Perspectives
Claudia Astarita 449

Writing Bush’s Legacy Today
Erik Jones 452

Wait a Minute – Is That an Empire?
Mario Del Pero 455

Anti-Americanism and the Formation of the New European Identity
Emiliano Alessandri 457

The United Nations: Between Shadow and Light
Natalino Ronzitti 461

Recent Publications 464

No 4, December 2007

ESSAYS

The Middle East between Transformation and Crisis

The Role of Hezbollah in Lebanese Domestic Politics
Augustus Richard Norton 475

The US Approach toward Islamic Militancy: Current Policies in Historical Perspective
Shireen T. Hunter 493

Globalisation and the Restructuring of State Power in the Arab World
Laura Guazzone and Daniela Pioppi 509
OPINIONS

Choosing Transformation over Crisis in the Levant
_Nomi Bar-Yaacov and Gideon Lichfield_ 525

The European Union and Iran: What Next?
_Walter Posch_ 537

Saudi Arabia Walks the Tightrope
_Paul Aarts_ 545

Italy in World Affairs

EU Foreign Policy in the Italian Parliament: The Debates on China and Iran
_Flavia Zanon_ 551

Europe Forum

Altiero Spinelli’s European Federal Odyssey
_John Pinder_ 571

Book Reviews

Lessons for Peacebuilders
_Costantino Pischedda_ 589

The Tragedies of Alliance Politics
_Francesco N. Moro_ 591

Promoting Peace in the Backyard?
_Karen E. Smith_ 594

George Kennan, the Conscience of America
_Emiliano Alessandri_ 597

Recent Publications 600
Volume 43 Contents

No. 1, March 2008

OPINIONS

Turkey: The Year of Living Dangerously
Soli Ozel 5

Sarkozy’s Foreign Policy: Substance or Style?
Anne-Marie Le Gloannec 15

Gordon Brown Comes to Brussels (Reluctantly)
Brendan Donnelly 23

ESSAYS

Europe Forum

Europe’s Future Foreign Service
Graham Avery 29

Beyond the Deadlock: How Europe Can Contribute to UN Reform
Ulrich Roos, Ulrich Franke and Gunther Hellmann 43

Promoting Regional Cooperation: The EU in South Eastern Europe
Alessandro Rotta 57

World Order Re-founded: The Idea of a Concert of Democracies
Emiliano Alessandri 73

Conflicting International Policies and the Western Sahara Stalemate
Hakim Darbouche and Yabia H. Zoubir 91

Book Reviews

In Search of the Right War
Roberto Menotti 107

A Neo-liberal Agenda for America
Emiliano Alessandri 110

Ancient and Modern Empires: The United States as the New Rome
Riccardo Monaco 113

Moral and Strategic Dimensions of Humanitarian Military Intervention
Costantino Pischedda 116

Recent Publications 119
No. 2, June 2008

OPINIONS

Whither Missile Defence?  
*F. Stephen Larrabee*  
5

Medvedev’s Russia and the Social Dimension  
*Paolo Calzini*  
15

ESSAYS

*(Clashing) Norms and Interests in EU–Russia Relations*

New Man in the Kremlin: What Future for Russian Foreign Policy?  
*Nazrin Mehdiyeva*  
21

The Russian Challenge to EU Normative Power: The Case of European Neighbourhood Policy  
*Hiski Haukkala*  
35

Russia’s Search for International Identity Through the Sovereign Democracy Concept  
*Andrey S. Makarychev*  
49

Europe Forum

How to Exercise Europe’s Power  
*Jan Zielonka*  
63

Italy in World Affairs

US Military Bases in Italy: In Keeping with International Law? Still Needed?  
*Natalino Ronzitti*  
79

Italy and the United Nations Security Council  
*Ferdinando Salleo and Nicoletta Pirozzi*  
95

Book Reviews

Organizing Violence  
*Francesco N. Moro*  
113

Alliances: Here to Stay?  
*Jason W. Davidson*  
116
Reviving Liberalism. A New Course for US Foreign Policy
Emiliano Alessandri

From Communism to Capitalism: A World Transformed
Valerio Fabbri

Recent Publications

No. 3, September 2008

OPINIONS

Making Sense of Turkish Politics
Sabin Alpay

5

The Union for the Mediterranean: A Genuine Breakthrough or More of the Same?
Dimitar Bechev and Kalypso Nicolaidis

13

Threats from Within: Four Challenges Inside the NATO Alliance
Julianne Smith and Michael Williams

21

A Global Response to Terrorism
Ian Shapiro

27

ESSAYS

Meeting the Challenges of Climate Change

EU Leadership in International Climate Policy: Achievements and Challenges
Sebastian Oberthür and Claire Roche Kelly

35

The Environmental Security Debate and its Significance for Climate Change
Rita Floyd

51

Islam and Europe

How to Engage with Political Islam? Lessons from Europe
Nathalie Tocci and Nona Mikhelidze

67

Time to Deradicalise? The European Roots of Muslim Radicalisation
Amel Boubekeur

85

Italy in World Affairs

The Long Path from Recognition to Representation of Muslims in Italy
Andrea Coppi and Andrea Spreafico

101
Book Reviews

Beyond Wiring Diagrams? ESDP Explained and Assessed  
Sonia Lucarelli  
137

Experimenting Leadership  
Cesare Merlini  
140

China and the World: Rethinking Security in a Multipolar System  
Gerald Chan  
144

Recent Publications  
149

No. 4, December 2008

OPINIONS

Using Criminal Justice to Foster US-EU Cooperation on Counter-terrorism  
Paul Wilkinson  
7

Less Words and More Deeds in Constructing Europe  
William Wallace  
19

The AKP in Turkey: Off the Hook This Time  
Senem Aydin Düzgüç  
25

ESSAYS

Perspectives on EU-Turkey Relations

The Effect of US Policy in the Middle East on EU-Turkey Relations  
Henri J. Barkey  
31

EU-Turkey Trade: A Case of Deep Integration  
Luigi Narbone and Agnieszka Skuratowicz  
45

Israel and Palestine in Focus

Palestinian Islamism: Conflating National Liberation and Socio-political Change  
Khaled Hroub  
59
Principled or Stubborn? Western Policy toward Hamas
*Nathan J. Brown*

One State in the Holy Land: Dream or Nightmare?
*Menachem Klein*

Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Conflict
*Costantino Pischedda*

European and American Roles in Nation-Building
*James Dobbins*

**Italy in World Affairs**

Not a Zero-Sum Game: Atlanticism and Europeanism in Italian Foreign Policy
*Osvaldo Croci*

**Europe Forum**

European Foreign Policy Without Legal Personality?
*Carmen Campo Fanlo and Miguel Medina Abellan*

**Book Reviews**

Making Sense of Euro-Mediterranean Relations
*Nathalie Tocci*

An Empire of Liberty?
*James Edward Miller*

Crisis Does Not Mean the End: the Atlantic Alliance in the 21st Century
*Emiliano Alessandri*

The Foundations of American National Security
*Francesco N. Moro*

**Recent Publications**

**Volume 43 Contents**
Volume 44 Contents

No. 1, March 2009

OPINIONS

The “Sovereign Neighbourhood”: Weak Statehood Strategies in Eastern Europe  
*Nicu Popescu and Andrew Wilson*

American Primacy by Default: Down but Not Out  
*Jason W. Davidson and Roberto Menotti*

The Lessons of Ancient History and the Future of Transatlantic Relations  
*Cesare Merlini*

ESSAYS

New Patterns of Transatlantic Security: The Challenge of Multipolarity  
*Asle Toje*

The Domestic Conditions for a Paradigmatic Change in US Foreign Policy  
*Sergio Fabbrini and Daniela Sicurelli*

The Nuclear Challenge: Non-Proliferation, Terrorism, Energy

Strengthening the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: Proposals and Problems  
*Masahiko Asada*

Combating WMD Terrorism: The Short-Sighted US-led Multilateral Response  
*Eric Rosand*

The Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism: Big Potential, Limited Impact?  
*Riccardo Alcaro*

* * *

Nuclear Energy Developments in the Mediterranean and the Gulf  
*Giacomo Luciani*

Civil Society in International Politics

Civil Society and Peacebuilding: Mapping Functions in Working for Peace  
*Catherine Barnes*

The Romanticisation of the Local: Welfare, Culture and Peacebuilding  
*Oliver P. Richmond*
Environmental and Ecological Citizenship in Civil Society
David Humphreys

Italy in World Affairs

New Actors on the Horizon: The International Outreach of Italian CSOs
Donatella Cugliandro

Book Reviews

What Will America be Like in the New post-American World?
Alberto Biginelli

Exploring the Theory and Practice of the Security Dilemma
Andrew Liaropoulos

Recent Publications

No. 2, June 2009

Editorial Note

OPINIONS

China-US Relations, Tending Towards Maturity
Huang Ping, Tao Wenzhao, Wang Rongjun, Yuan Zheng, Zhao Xingshu

A Rejoinder:
Building ‘Positive, Cooperative and Comprehensive’ China-US Relations
Ralph A. Cossa

ESSAYS

China Central? Australia’s Asia Strategy
Robert Ayson

To Be or Not To Be: South Korea’s East Asia Security Strategy and the Unification Quandary
Seongbo Sheen

New Trends in Taiwan’s China Policy
Christopher R. Hughes

Dilemmas of the ‘Middle Continent’: Russian Strategy for Eastern Eurasia
David Kerr

China’s Growing Military Capability in Search of a Strategy
Arthur S. Ding
A New Arms Race in the Asia-Pacific?
Richard A. Bitzinger

Italy in World Affairs

China, the Italian Prejudice
Francesco Sisci

Book Reviews

A Wall with a View
Vittorio Emanuele Parsi and Giuseppe Gabusi

Through a Mirror, Darkly
Christopher W. Braddick

Negotiating with North Korea: An International Deal?
Anna Dall’Oca

China-India Relations: Political Strategies of Economic and Strategic Cooperation
Claudia Astarita

Recent Publications

No. 3, September 2009

OPINIONS

Where is Israel Heading?
Mark A. Heller

Fatah-Hamas Rivalries after Gaza: Is Unity Impossible?
Benoit Challand

Is the EU Up to the Requirements of Peace in the Middle East?
Muriel Asseburg and Volker Perthes

ESSAYS

The Caucasus at the Crossroads

After the 2008 Russia-Georgia War: Implications for the Wider Caucasus
Nona Mikbelidze

EU Policies and Sub-Regional Multilateralism in the Caspian Region
Leila Aliева

* * *
The Myth of a Sino-Russian Challenge to the West
*Hiski Haukkala and Linda Jakobson*

Can Further Nationalisation Facilitate a Common EU Approach to Migration?
*Steffen Angenendt and Roderick Parkes*

**Italy in World Affairs**

Italy in the European Union, between Prodi and Berlusconi
*Maurizio Carbone*

**Book Reviews**

More Black Holes and White Walls
*Rocco Bellanova*

Climate Change as Seen Through a Political Theory Lens
*Ganna Onysko*

Playing by Paying: International Aid to Palestine
*Nathalie Tocci*

The Dynamics of Democratic Consolidation: Explaining Turkey’s Failures through Italy and Spain’s Progress
*Donatella Cugliandro*

**Recent Publications**

125

**No. 4, December 2009**

**OPINIONS**

**Obama, One Year On**

Obama’s Foreign Policy: Bridging the Expectations–Capability Gap
*Tom Farer*

Shucking Cold War Inertia in Russia–US Relations
*Fyodor Lukyanov*

New Potential for US–India Relations Under Obama
*Radha Kumar*

**ESSAYS**

**The Sustainability of De Facto States**

Forms of Normalisation in the Quest for De Facto Statehood
*Eiki Berg and Raul Toomla*
Playing the Recognition Game: External Actors and De Facto States 47
Nina Caspersen

On the Political Economy of Unrecognised State-building Projects 61
Daria Isachenko

* * *

The Role of Media in Conflict and their Influence on Securitisation 77
Rabea Hass

Italy in World Affairs

Italy and the Euro in the Global Economic Crisis 93
Erik Jones

Book Reviews

Power, Paradise and Fantasy 105
Domènec Ruiz Devesa

Thorfinn Stainforth

The Debate on Democracy Promotion after the Bush Era 109
Emiliano Alessandri

Recent Publications 113

Volume 44 Contents 121
Volume 45 Contents

No. 1 March 2010

Essays

Managing International Financial Instability

Turning the Page on an Era of Irresponsibility

FabrizioSaccomanni

The Current Financial Crisis and Reform of the Global Financial Architecture

AnthonyElson

The IMF and Regulatory Challenges

Edwin M. Truman

Europe Forum

Is the Larosière Proposal on European Financial Regulation on the Right Path?

MarcoOnado

Opinions

The United States, Iran and the Middle East’s New “Cold War”

FlyntLeverett and Hillary MannLeverett

Conceiving the New Turkey After Ergenekon

UmitCizre and JoshuaWalker

Wielding “Soft Power”

Assessing Turkey’s “Soft Power” Role: Rhetoric versus Practice

EleniFotiou and DimitriosTriantaphyllou

China’s Scepticism of Clean Energy Champion Europe

JonathanHolstag

Italy in World Affairs

Catching the Change of Tide. Italy’s Post-Cold War Security Policy

RiccardoAlcaro
Book Reviews

On Naivety and Tolerance 147
Cesare Merlini

Hamas at a Crossroads: Taking Stock of Past Experience 150
Silvia Colombo

Exploring the Principle of Coherence in EU External Action: A Legal Analysis 152
Michele Comelli and Federica Di Camillo

Recent Publications 155

No. 2 June 2010

Opinions

What is Missing in Obama’s Strategy Towards AfPak? 5
Elisa Giunchi

Europe in the World: All Change or No Change in Foreign Policy After Lisbon? 17
Brendan Donnelly

Europe Forum

The EU’s Externalisation of Internal Security Objectives: Perspectives after Lisbon and Stockholm 23
Jörg Monar

Russia–EU Security Relations

Russia’s Approach to Security Building in the Euro–Atlantic Zone 41
Vladimir Baranovsky

The Russia–EU Energy Relationship: Getting it Right 55
James Sherr

Peace and Security in Africa

Coordinating International Support for African Peace and Security Efforts: From the G8 to the EU 69
Andebrhan W. Giorgis

Towards an Effective Africa–EU Partnership on Peace and Security: Rhetoric or Facts? 85
Nicoletta Pirozzi
Italy in World Affairs

The Burden of Crime on Development and FDI in Southern Italy

Vittorio Daniele

103

Book Reviews

Going Beyond Stereotypes: A Grassroots Perspective of Hamas

Benedetta Voltolini

119

Human Rights and the Value of Practice

Pietro Maffettone

121

Belgium and Italy in the UN Security Council

David Crikemans

123

Recent Publications

126

Opinions

The 2010 NPT Review Conference: Some Breathing Space Gained, But No Breakthrough

Harald Müller

5

A Deeply Fractured Regime: Assessing the 2010 NPT Review Conference

Steven E. Miller

19

The EU and its Mediterranean Neighbours

Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Need for Triangulation

Richard Youngs and Ana Echagüe

27

The Union for the Mediterranean: Views from the Southern Shores

Kamleh Khatib

41

The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Euro-Mediterranean Relations

Maria Cristina Paciello

51

‘Energising’ EU–Algerian Relations

Hakim Darbouche

71

Turkey’s New Foreign Policy and the Future of Turkey–EU Relations

Emiliano Alessandri

85

The Libyan–Swiss Crisis: A Lesson in Libyan Foreign Policy

Alison Pargeter

101
Italy in World Affairs

Italy and Libya: Renewing a Special Relationship

Arturo Varvelli

Europe Forum

New Analytical Categories for Assessing EU Sanctions

Francesco Giumelli

Book Reviews

The Failure of Democracy South of the Mediterranean and Global Authoritarian Trends

Daniela Pioppi

A New Transatlantic Perspective on the Mediterranean

Silvia Colombo

From a Europe of Choice to a Europe of Necessity?

Michele Comelli

Recent Publications

No. 4 December 2010

The Future Multilateral Order

Forging Networked Security in a Nobody-in-Charge World

Daniel Hamilton

China’s Search for a Multilateral World: Dilemmas and Desires

Mingjiang Li and Gang Chen

Russian Approaches to Global Governance in the 21st Century

Andrei Zagorski

Multilateralism and the EU: A ‘Cheap Date’?

John Peterson

Emerging Markets and Global Governance: An Indian Perspective

Arundhati Ghose

The Changing Nature of Multilateralism and Brazilian Foreign Policy

Tullo Vigevani and Haroldo Ramanzini Júnior
South Africa’s Multilateral Challenges in a ‘Polypolar’ World
Yolanda Kemp Spies

Turkey’s Neighbourhood and Beyond: Tectonic Transformation at Work?
Suat Kiniklioğlu

**Book Reviews**

Obama’s Foreign Policy Report Card
*Anna Sims*

Re-examining Soft Power in the Age of Obama
*Gregorio Bettiza*

Neoconservatism: Once and (Hopefully) Never Again
*Mario Del Pero*

Testing EU Foreign Policy in the Middle East
*Bruno Oliveira Martins*

**Recent Publications**

**Volume 45 Contents**
Opinions

Global Climate Governance after Cancun: Options for EU Leadership
Sebastian Oberthür

Palestinian–Israeli Negotiations: An Objective in Themselves
Iyad Barghouti

A Package Not Delivered: US Incentives and Israel’s Settlement Freeze
Nimrod Goren

An Emerging ‘Great Game’ in Africa?

Of BRICs and Mortar: The Growing Relations between Africa and the Global South
Maxi Schoeman

From Colonialism to Partnership in Africa–Europe Relations?
Gerrit Olivier

Public and Elite Views on Europe vs. China in Africa
Lorenzo Fioramonti and Patrick Kimunguyi

Europe Forum

Pax or Pox Europeana after the Lisbon Treaty?
Simon Duke

How to Renew Transatlantic Relations in the 21st Century
Marcin Zaborowski

Why Ireland’s Luck Ran Out and What this Means for the Eurozone
Shalendra D. Sharma

Overcoming the Past in Sino-Japanese Relations?
Mingde Wang and Maaike Okano-Heijmans
Book Reviews

Adaptive Governance – A Way to Unlock the Current Climate Change Regime 149
Ganna Onysko

Following the Digitalised Rabbit: Biometrics, Bodies and Borders 152
Rocco Bellanova

Challenges and Opportunities in Chinese Foreign Policy 155
Claudia Astarita

Recent Publications 158
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opinions</td>
<td>Authoritarianism, Revolutions, Armies and Arab Regime Transitions</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Philippe Droz-Vincent</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sudan’s Separation: An Uneven Path Ahead for Two Unstable Countries</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Irene Panozzo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India in its Neighbourhood and Beyond</td>
<td>India Rising? The Indian Miracle and its Dark Side</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Michelguglielmo Torri</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India and China Today and Tomorrow</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Surjit Mansingb</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India and the United States: A New Partnership</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Subhash Agrawal</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balancing US Interests in India and Pakistan</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Rudra Chaudhuri</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Look East Meets Look West: Indian–Southeast Asian Relations in Flux</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pavin Chachavalpongpun</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India’s Cross-Border Infrastructure Initiatives in South and Southeast Asia</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Anushree Bhattacharyya and Debasis Chakraborty</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Winds of Change: India’s Emerging Climate Strategy</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Namrata Patodia Rastogi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Book Reviews**

Uncertainty and Rivalry: India in a Changing South Asia  
*Anand Menon*  
143

Navigating India’s Foreign Policy Complexities  
*Iskander Rehman*  
147

Debating Development in Asia  
*Shaun Breslin*  
150

**Recent Publications**  
153
Opinions

Whither the Arab Spring? 1989 or 1848? 5
Robert Springborg

Power, Leadership and US Foreign Policy 13
Erik Jones

Iraq’s Long Road to National Reconciliation 25
Myriam Benraad

Hostage to Fortune? ‘Downpayments’ and the Future of the Doha Round 35
Simon J. Evenett

The Geopolitics of Energy

The Global Status of the Nuclear Industry and its Opportunities for Expansion 41
Antony Froggatt and Mycle Schneider

Energy Interests of the ‘Great Powers’ in Central Asia: Cooperation or Conflict? 61
Shamil Midkhatovich Yenikeyeff

Turkey: An Emerging Energy Transit State and Possible Energy Hub 79
Gareth Winrow

The Equilibrium of the 2010 NATO Strategic Concept 93
Alessandro Marrone

Qatar and Expanded Contours of Small State Diplomacy 113
Andrew F. Cooper and Bessma Momani
Italy in World Affairs

Sleeping Beauty Awakens: The Italian Parliament and the EU after the Lisbon Treaty
Raffaello Matarazzo and Jacopo Leone
129

Book Reviews

Charting the Future Trajectory of the Muslim Brotherhood
Silvia Colombo
145

A New Theoretical Perspective on EU Policy Toward its Eastern Neighbours
Michele Comelli
149

Recent Publications
152
The International Dimension of the Arab Spring  
*Roberto Aliboni*  

The EU, Italy and Intervention in Libya  
The EU and the Libyan Crisis – In Quest of Coherence?  
*Nicole Koenig*  
The Berlusconi Government and Intervention in Libya  
*Ben Lombardi*  

Comparing Neighbourhood Policies  
Just Good Friends? The European Union’s Multiple Neighbourhood Policies  
*Michael Emerson*  
The United States and Latin America: The Neighbourhood has Changed  
*Peter Hakim*  
China in its Neighbourhood: A ‘Middle Kingdom’ not Necessarily at the Centre of Power  
*Zhimin Chen and Zhongqi Pan*  

The European Union Training Mission in Somalia and the Limits of Liberal Peacebuilding: Can EUTM Contribute to Sustainable and Inclusive Peace?  
*Kseniya Oksamytna*  
Learning From a Troubled Experience – Transatlantic Lessons from the Nuclear Standoff with Iran  
*Riccardo Alcaro*
Book Reviews

A Governmentality Approach to Peace Operations 137
Elisa Lopez Lucia

Russia’s Dual State 140
Felix Hett

Recent Publications 142
Editorial Note
Lorenzo Fioramonti 1

Theoretical Perspectives

Comparative Regionalism: A Field Whose Time has Come?
Amitav Acharya 3

Why We Need to ‘Unpack’ Regions to Compare Them More Effectively
Luk Van Langenhove 16

Europe at the Crossroads: Economic and Judicial Integration

Sovereign Debt Crisis in Euroland: Root Causes and Implications for European Integration
Henk Overbeek 30

New Legal Instruments in a Changing World: Legal, Political and Cultural Developments in EU Judicial Cooperation
Daniela Piana 49

Africa’s Emancipation: Emerging Dynamics and Developments

Breaking Free from Europe: Why Africa Needs Another Model of Regional Integration
Peter Draper 67

Legal Harmonisation in Africa: Taking Stock and Moving Forward
Magnus Killander 83
Regionalism Around the World: Expectations and Realities

Regionalism in Asia as Disguised Multilateralism: A Critical Analysis of the East Asia Summit and the Trans-Pacific Partnership
David Camroux

Has Regionalism Peaked? The Latin American Quagmire and its Lessons
Andrés Malamud and Gian Luca Gardini

A Changing Mediterranean: Regional Organisations and North Africa during the Arab Spring
Marco Pinfari

***

Conclusion – Building Regions from Below: Has the Time Come for Regionalism 2.0?
Lorenzo Fioramonti

Book Reviews

Overcoming the ‘sui generis’ Argument? A Look Abroad for EU Studies
Miguel Haubrich Seco

Back to the Future: Islamism, Nationalism and Democracy in Turkey through the AKP Lens
Sebastiano Sali

Fictionary: An International Statebuilding Toolbox
Laura Salich Di Francesca

Recent Publications
Editorial Note
Nicola Casarini

Opinions/Debate

Peaceful Rise: China’s Modernisation Trajectory
Cui Liru

Rejoinders:
Thinking about China’s Future
David Shambaugh

China’s Rise as an International Factor: Connecting the Dots
François Godement

Essays

China’s Recent Relations with Maritime Neighbours
Michael Yahuda

China’s Response to International Normative Pressure: The Case of Human Rights
Rana Siu Inboden and Titus C. Chen

Internationalisation of the Chinese Currency, Act II: Uncharted Waters, Unclear Direction
Jean François Di Meglio

China’s Overseas Investment in the European Union
Kerry Brown
Italy in World Affairs

The Political Economy of Italy’s Relations with China
Giovanni Andornino 87

Book Review Essays

US No. 1, China No. 2, or Will it Be the Other Way Round?
Jean-Pierre Cabestan 102

How Not to Play the Blame Game of Cross-Strait Relations
Christopher R. Hughes 108

A Conforming China
Enrico Fardella 114

Book Reviews

Chinese History Revised: a New Tale of Deng Xiaoping
Claudia Astarita 121

Beyond the ‘Cognitive Iron Curtain’. China’s White Paper on Peaceful Development
Simone Dossi 124

Recent Publications 127
Opinions

A Nuclear-free Middle East – Just Not in the Cards
Liviu Horovitz and Roland Popp

No Return to the Past for Russia
Dmitri Trenin

Libyan Election Breaks Arab Spring Pattern
Ronald Bruce St John

Transatlantic Relations and the Multipolar World

Transatlantic Relations Four Years Later: The Elusive Quest for a Strategic Vision
Emiliano Alessandri

Crying Wolf Again? The Decline of Western Economic Influence after the Great Recession
Matthias Mattheüs

The West and Global Swing States
Daniel M. Kliman

Perspectives on the Mediterranean after the Arab Uprisings

Transatlantic Democracy Promotion and the Arab Spring
Ruth Hanau Santini and Oz Hassan

Tipping the Balance Towards Intra-Maghreb Unity in Light of the Arab Spring
Yahia H. Zoubir

Europe Forum

CSDP, Strategy and Crisis Management: Out of Area or Out of Business?
Luis Simón
The European Budget and the Principles of Solidarity and Added Value
Peter Becker 116

Book Reviews

EU Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management: Looking Back to Look Ahead
Nicole Koenig 130

Defining Innocents
Francesco N. Moro 133

Recent Publications 136
The International Economic Crisis

The G20 after Los Cabos: Illusions of Global Economic Governance
Gabriel Goodliffe and Stéphan Sberro
1

Policy Lessons from the Eurozone Crisis
Chiara Angeloni, Silvia Merler and Guntram B. Wolff
17

A Slow Fuse: Italy and the EU Debt Crisis
Jonathan Hopkin
35

Opinions

The Greek Crisis and the Search for Political Leadership
Dimitrios Katsikas
49

The Pain in Spain: Light at the End of the Tunnel?
Charles Powell and Federico Steinberg
57

Portugal and the Straitjacket of the European Financial Crisis
Paulo Gorjão
64

***

Chávez Stays, Again
Michael Shifter and Cameron Combs
69

Financial Regionalism in a Global World

What Can the WTO Teach the IMF? Dealing with Global Financial Crises Amid the Rise of Financial Regionalism
Kati Suominen
76

Financial Regionalism in East Asia
Ulrich Volz
95

The Middle East in Focus

The GCC and the Arab Spring: A Tale of Double Standards
Silvia Colombo
110
Looking Beyond a Nuclear-Armed Iran: Is Regional Proliferation Inevitable?
*Christopher Hobbs and Matthew Moran* 127

**Europe Forum**

Seeking CSDP Accountability Through Interparliamentary Scrutiny
*Jan Wouters and Kolja Raube* 149

**Book Review**

The Universalism of Human Rights
*Vanessa Boas* 164

**Recent Publications** 167
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editorial Note</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Erik Jones and Saskia van Genugten</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secularism and Islam: The Theological Predicament</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Olivier Roy</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU Foreign Policy and Political Islam: Towards a New Entente in the Post-Arab Spring Era?</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Timo Behr</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The French Debate on National Identity and the Sarkozy Presidency: A Retrospective</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Jonathan Laurence and Gabriel Goodliffe</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Organisations and Intergenerational Change in Germany</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dirk Halm</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims in Italy: The Need for an ‘Intesa’ with the Italian State</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Karim Mezran</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Netherlands and Islam: In Defence of Liberalism and Progress?</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Saskia van Genugten</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam and Muslim Communities in the UK: Multiculturalism, Faith and Security</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Catherine Fieschi and Nick Johnson</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity, Solidarity, and Islam in Europe</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Erik Jones</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Book Reviews

An Encouraging Account of Muslim Integration in Europe
Sanam Vakil

The Mission of a Mosque
Camille Pecastaing

Recent Publications
Opinions

The Three Major Earthquakes in the International System and Turkey
Ahmet Davutoğlu 1

The Future of US–China Relations: From Conflict to Concert
Daniel Twining 12

What Syria has to Teach Neo-Conservatives and Liberals about US Foreign Policy
Tom Farer 17

Russian Support for Assad’s Regime: Is There a Red Line?
Nikolay Kozhanov 25

Strategic Challenges in the Middle East

The Arab Uprisings and the Geopolitics of the Middle East
Bassel F. Salloukh 32

The Arab Spring and the European Response
Muriel Asseburg 47

The Awakened Arab World and its New Landscape
Augustus Richard Norton 63

Israel and the Palestinians in a Changing Neighbourhood
Andrea Dessì 77

Essays

The Loneliness of Israel. The Jewish State’s Status in International Relations
Arturo Marzano 96

Can the European Union be a Pole in a Multipolar World?
Karen E. Smith 114
Book Reviews

The Roots of Stability in the Future International System
*Lorenzo Zambornardi* 127

The Strategic Role of Military Contractors
*Alessandro R. Ungaro* 130

The Edge: Crises as Turning Points for Regional Integration Processes?
*Sonia Lucarelli* 133

Recent Publications 137
The Eurozone Crisis: A Crisis of Politics, Not Just Economics
Vivien A. Schmidt

Time for Tough Love in Transatlantic Relations
Anand Menon

The ‘TTIP-ing Point’: How the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Could Impact European Defence
Daniel Fiott

Developing a New Type of Relationship Between China and the US
Liqun Zhu

Fear of the Future: Russia in the Global Economy in the Next Few Years
Philip Hanson

China, the Interdependent Giant, and the Global Economic Crisis
Thomas G. Moore

Turkey’s Kurdish Gamble
Nathalie Tocci

The Malian Crisis and its Actors
Dario Cristiani and Riccardo Fabiani
US and EU Human Rights and Democracy Promotion since the Arab Spring. Rethinking its Content, Targets and Instruments
Daniela Huber 98

***

Migrant Smuggling between Two Logics: Migration Dynamics and State Policies
Jeroen Doomernik 113

Book Reviews

European Fears – and Hopes – for a Risen China
Nicola Casarini 130

Portrait of an Accidental Autocrat
Pavel K. Baev 136

Recent Publications 138
Opinions

Germany after the Elections: Prospects for Europe?
Ulrike Guérot 1

Arab Islamist Parties and Power

Delivering the Revolution? Post-uprising Socio-economics in Tunisia and Egypt
Maria Cristina Paciello 7

Ennahda Islamists and the Test of Government in Tunisia
Laura Guazzone 30

Playing with Fire. The Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian Leviathan
Daniela Pioppi 51

Civil Society and Global Politics

“Forget” Directions in the Study of Transnational Networks
Raffaele Marchetti 69

The Global Right Wing and Theories of Transnational Advocacy
Clifford Bob 71

Protest Diffusion and Cultural Resonance in the 2011 Protest Wave
Paolo Gerbaudo 86

Civil Society–Government Synergy and Normative Power Italy
Raffaele Marchetti 102
Transnational Islamist Networks: Western Fighters in Afghanistan, Somalia and Syria  
*Emmanuel Karagiannis*  
119

**Essays**

American Views of Europe  
*David Calleo*  
135

**Book Reviews**

Transnationalism with Chinese Characteristics?  
*Silvia Menegazzi*  
145

The World Needs Better Global Governance  
*Juha Jokela*  
148

**Recent Publications**  
151
Opinions

Egypt’s Future: Yet Another Turkish Model?
Robert D. Springborg 1

Austerity and the Crisis of Traditional Representation

Austerity, A Threat to Democracy?
Lorenzo Bini Smaghi 7

‘Broken and Can’t be Fixed’: The Impact of the Economic Crisis on the Greek Party System
Susannah Verney 18

The Five Star Movement: Exception or Vanguard in Europe?
Lorenzo Mosca 36

Direct Democracy and Scapegoats: The Five Star Movement and Europe
Piergiorgio Corbetta and Rinaldo Vignati 53

***

Internet Privacy: Who Sets the Global Standard?
Agustín Rossi 65

America’s Mega-Regional Trade Diplomacy: Comparing TPP and TTIP
Daniel S. Hamilton 81

Europe Forum

Is Flexible Integration Harming the Prospect of a Common Acquis?
Filippa Chatzistavrou 98
Inside-out and Outside-in: EU Security in the Neighbourhood
*Isabelle Ioannides* 113

Transforming the Italian Armed Forces, 2001-13
*Fabrizio Coticchia and Francesco N. Moro* 133

**Book Reviews**

Obama, the Arab Spring and US Foreign Policy in the Middle East. Change or Continuity?
*Daniela Huber* 149

Unveiling the Myth of Central Bankers’ Neutrality
*Francesco Visconti* 152

Multilateral Security Governance: What Role for the EU?
*Stefania Panebianco* 155

**Recent Publications**

158
Opinions

Energy – A Geopolitical Game Changer?
Michael Leigh 1

Upheaval in the Energy Market

Can Gas Catalyse Peace in the Eastern Mediterranean?
Ayla Gürel and Laura Le Cornu 11

An EU–South Mediterranean Energy Community: The Right Policy for the Right Region?
Simone Tholens 34

Governance Barriers to Renewable Energy in North Africa
Nadejda Komendantova, Stefan Pfenninger and Anthony Patt 50

Geopolitical Implications of the US Unconventional Energy Revolution
Nicolò Sartori 66

***

Europe’s Defence Dilemma
Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni 83

The World’s Second Oldest Profession: The Transatlantic Spying Scandal and its Aftermath
Robert Dover 117

Book Reviews

Bringing Ideology Back In: A Systemic Theory of States’ Preferences
Emanuele Castelli 134
Understanding the EU–Japan Relationship: A Basis for Interpreting the Future

*Marie Söderberg* 137

The Bleak Reality of India’s Capitalist Development

*Michelguglielmo Torri* 140

**Recent Publications** 143
The MENA Region and the West

Opinions

Iran–US Relations in the Light of the Nuclear Negotiations
*Kayhan Barzegar*
1

Obama’s Iranian Gamble
*Sanam Vakil*
8

Europe and Iran’s Nuclear Issue: The Labours and Sorrows of a Supporting Actor
*Riccardo Alcaro and Aniseh Bassiri Tabrizi*
14

Can the World Afford to Condone the ‘Divided States of Syria’?
*Hassan Mneimneh*
21

Articles

The EU and the Syrian Crisis as Viewed from the Middle East
*Lorenzo Trombetta*
27

The EU and Libya and the Art of the Possible
*Florence Gaub*
40

Libyan Arms and Regional Instability
*Francesco Strazzari*
54

Supporting the Transitions in North Africa: The Case for a Joined-Up Approach
*Hélène Michou, Eduard Soler i Lecha, and José Ignacio Torreblanca*
69
Secessionism in Europe

An Independent Scotland? The Scottish National Party’s Bid for Independence and its Prospects
Paolo Dardanelli and James Mitchell 88

Catalan Secessionism: Young People’s Expectations and Political Change
Montserrat Guibernau 106

***

The Crystal Curtain: A Postscript on Europe’s North-South Divide
Fabrizio Tassinari 118

Book Reviews

Reconsidering the Libya Intervention
Tim Haesebrouck 132

Private Enforcement of European Union Competition Law
Federico Casolari 134

Recent Publications 137
The EU’s Institutional Turnover

In Search of a Role for the High Representative: The Legacy of Catherine Ashton
Niklas Helwig and Carolin Rüger

The Rotating Council Presidency and the New Intergovernmentalism
Uwe Puetter

Populism in the European Parliament: What Implications for the Open Society?
Heather Grabbe and Nadja Groot

Opinions

The Crisis of the E/xceptional U/nion
Ivan Krastev

EU/Ukraine Relations and the Crisis with Russia, 2013-14: A Turning Point
Geoffrey Pridham

The Ukraine Crisis and the Future of Western-Russian Relations

The Four Pillars of Russia’s Power Narrative
Andrey Makarychev and Alexandra Yatsyk

Bracing for Cold Peace. US-Russia Relations after Ukraine
Ondrej Ditrych

Ukraine’s Crisis and Russia’s Closest Allies: A Reinforced Intra-Alliance Security Dilemma at Work
Alena Vysotskaya Guedes Vieira
The European Endowment for Democracy and Democracy Promotion in the EU Neighbourhood

Serena Giusti and Enrico Fassi

EU Migration Policy – Protecting the Migrants or the Union?

A Reappraisal of the EU’s Expanding Readmission System

Jean-Pierre Cassarino

Deterrence and Protection in the EU’s Migration Policy

Anna Triandafyllidou and Angeliki Dimitriadi

Book Reviews

The EU Might be Doomed, But the Process of European Integration is Not

Elena Baracani

Insta-Politics? What’s New about the Binomial Politics/Internet

Alba Ferreri

Recent Publications
# Climate Change and the Paris COP 21

## Opinions

The Changing Role of International Negotiations in EU Climate Policy

*Severin Fischer and Oliver Geden*  
1

Is the US-China Climate Agreement a Game-changer?

*Luigi Carafa*  
8

## Articles

International Climate Negotiations: Top-down, Bottom-up or a Combination of Both?

*Steinar Andresen*  
15

Justice and Climate Finance: Differentiating Responsibility in the Green Climate Fund

*Steven Vanderheiden*  
31

Lessons from the EU’s ETS for a New International Climate Agreement

*Tomas Wyns*  
46

REDD+ as a Tool of Global Forest Governance

*Ernesto Roessing Neto*  
60

Carbon Capture and Storage: A Controversial Climate Mitigation Approach

*Jennie C. Stephens*  
74

Spreading Oil, Spreading Conflict? Institutions Regulating Arctic Oil and Gas Activities

*Katrin Keil*  
85
A More Independent China

China’s Views of the TPP: Take It or Leave It, That is the Question
Zhang Xiaotong

The Chinese People’s Liberation Army ‘Post-modern’ Navy
Andrea Ghiselli

Book Reviews

Decoding the PLA Navy’s Hegemonic Ambitions
Claudia Astarita

China’s Political Dilemma: Change or Continuity?
Silvia Menegazzi

Recent Publications
# Opinions

Towards and Beyond a Final Nuclear Deal with Iran  
*Ellie Geranmayeh*

# Essays

Russia as Opportunist or Spoiler in the Middle East?  
*Pavel K. Baev*

# Turkey’s Uncertain Path

Monopolising the Centre: The AKP and the Uncertain Path of Turkish Democracy  
*Ziya Önis*

Turkey’s Judiciary and the Drift Toward Competitive Authoritarianism  
*Ergun Özbudun*

# Modi’s India

The ‘Modi Wave’: Behind the Results of the 2014 General Elections in India  
*Michelguglielmo Torri*

Early Trends and Prospects for Modi’s Prime Ministership  
*Diego Maiorano*

### * * *

The Emperor’s New Clothes? A Political Evaluation of the Early Warning Mechanism  
*David Bokhorst, Adriaan Schout and Jan Marinus Wiersma*

Populism and Euroscepticism in the Italian Five Star Movement  
*Paolo Franzosi, Francesco Marone and Eugenio Salvati*
Coming Full Circle: The Euro Crisis, Integration Theory and the Future of the EU

_Pier Domenico Tortola_ 125

**Book Reviews**

A Decade with the AKP: Turkey under ‘Conservative, Democratic Muslims’

_Sinan Ekim_ 141

Foreign Policy: A Public Policy Like any Other

_Luisa Chiodi_ 144
The EU’s Wider Neighbourhood in Turmoil

Competitive Multipolarity in the Middle East
Kristina Kausch 1

Understanding the Crisis in Yemen: Evaluating Competing Narratives
Maria-Louise Clausen 16

The EU in the South Caucasus and the Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War
Amanda Paul 30

Forward Procrastination? Afghanistan’s Lessons about Europe’s Role as a Security Provider
Nicolas Fescharek 43

Economic Integration and Vulnerability in the EU Neighbourhood
Dimitris Kallioras and Anna Maria Pinna 60

EU Immigrant Integration Policies and Returns on Human Capital
Raul Ramos, Alessia Matano and Sandra Nieto 78

Evidence-Based Policy Research to Inform the ENP: Five Recommendations for Europe and its Neighbours
Tanja Sinozic, Edward M. Bergman and Nuala Moran 88

* * *

The US Rebalancing to Asia and Transatlantic Public Opinion
Linda Basile and Pierangelo Isernia 103
Opinions

China’s Rebalancing towards Europe
Nicola Casarini 122

Book Review

Economic Growth at the Expense of Freedom
Edoardo Quadri 130

Recent Publications 133
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Altiero Spinelli</td>
<td>The Outlook for Italian Foreign Policy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stefano Silvestri</td>
<td>Rejoinder, 48 Years Later: Still in Need of a Strategy</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Triffin</td>
<td>The International Monetary Scene Today and Tomorrow</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfonso Iozzo</td>
<td>Rejoinder, 45 Years Later: The Time is Ripe for an International Currency Reserve</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Pinder</td>
<td>Community Scenarios</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Hill</td>
<td>Rejoinder, 37 Years Later: Predicting the Path of European Integration – in Retrospect</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saad Eddin Ibrahim</td>
<td>Egypt in the Eighties: A Sociological Profile</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rejoinder, 32 Years Later: Egypt’s Socio-Political Profile Revisited</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert O. Keohane</td>
<td>After Hegemony: Transatlantic Economic Relations in the Next Decade</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rejoinder, 31 Years Later: After Hegemony Cooperation is Still Possible</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert E. Hunter</td>
<td>US Interests and the Use of Force in the Middle East</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rejoinder, 29 Years Later: Middle East Challenges Change, Demands on the West Remain</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niels Thygesen</td>
<td>The Integration of Europe’s Financial Markets and the Role of the ECU</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rejoinder, 28 Years Later: Tensions Between Monetary and Financial Integration in the EMU</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author/Contributor</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yusif A. Sayigh</td>
<td>The Intifada and the Balance of Power in the Region</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yezid Sayigh</td>
<td>Rejoinder, 27 Years Later: Back to the Grassroots</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Krasner</td>
<td>Declining American Leadership in the World Economy</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rejoinder, 24 Years Later: The United States and China: Collaborators or Rivals?</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volker Perthes</td>
<td>Security Perceptions and Cooperation in the Middle East: The Political Dimension</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rejoinder, 19 Years Later: The New Middle East that Never Was</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pier Carlo Padoan</td>
<td>Can Italy Keep Up to Europe?</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rejoinder, 19 Years Later: Yes, It Can</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert A. Mundell</td>
<td>The Impact of the Euro on the International Monetary System</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabrizio Saccomanni</td>
<td>Rejoinder, 17 Years Later: Prof Mundell and the Unpredictable Euro Crisis</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vladimir Baranovsky</td>
<td>The Kosovo Factor in Russia’s Foreign Policy</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rejoinder, 15 Years Later: From Kosovo to Crimea</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivan Krastev</td>
<td>De-Balkanising the Balkans: What Priorities?</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rejoinder, 15 Years Later: A Look Back with Questions</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pascal Boniface</td>
<td>The Lessons of September 11</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rejoinder, 14 Years Later: The Wrong American Choice</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Italian foreign policy

Rethinking Italy’s Shrinking Place in the International Arena
Federico Romero
1

Foreign Policy and the Ideology of Post-ideology: The Case of Matteo Renzi’s Partito Democratico
Elisabetta Brighi and Lilia Giugni
13

An Italian Foreign Policy of Religious Engagement: Challenges and Prospects
Pasquale Ferrara and Fabio Petito
28

Migrants, refugees: the great influx

Explaining the Crisis of the European Migration and Asylum Regime
Ferruccio Pastore and Giulia Henry
44

De-canting ‘Trafficking in Human Beings’, Re-centring the State
Julia O’Connell Davidson
58

Revolution, counter-revolution and reform in North Africa

Caudillismo along the Nile
Robert Springborg
74

Morocco: the Promise of Democracy and the Reality of Authoritarianism
Francesco Cavatorta
86
The National Dialogue, Collusive Transactions and Government Legitimacy in Tunisia

*Maryam Ben Salem*

99

***

Against All Odds? Russia’s Financial Crisis and Global Geopolitics

*Anastasia Nesvetailova*

113

The EU’s Energy Union: A Sustainable Path to Energy Security?

*Marco Siddi*

131

**Book Reviews**

Heirs to Forgotten Kingdoms: Journeys into the Disappearing Religions of the Middle East

*Lorenzo Kamel*

145

Strategic Relations between the US and Turkey 1979-2000: Sleeping with a Tiger

*Thomas A. Dine*

147
The Responsibility to Protect at Ten: Glass Half Empty or Half Full?

Jennifer M. Welsh

R2P: “State of Play”

Sam Sussman and Kalypso Nicolaidis

Responsibility to Protect in the Age of Global Terror: A Methodological Reassessment

Francesco Francioni

First Things First: R2P Starts with Direct Negotiations

Emmanuel De Groof

Responsibility to Protect: Russia’s Approaches

Vladimir Baranovsky and Anatoly Mateiko

Terrorism, Conflicts and the Responsibility to Protect Cultural Heritage

Federico Lenzerini

Evidence-Informed Prevention of Civil Wars and Mass Atrocities

Peter Rudolf

Egypt’s Foreign and Security Policy in Post-R2P Libya

Wolfgang Mühlberger

**Opinions**

Conspiracism In and Around Libya

Karim Mezran

The European Union and Mutual Assistance: More than Defence

Sven Biscop
Book Reviews

A Quest for Peace: Stabilising Communities after Civil Wars
Tommaso De Zan 126

The European Union as a Security Provider. Time to Take it Seriously
Andrea Locatelli 128

Discussing China’s Contribution to International Relations Theory
Claudia Astarita 130
Opinions

Interview with Nathalie Tocci on the New European Union Global Strategy
Nathalie Tocci

Commentaries

Jo Coelmont, The EU GS: Realistic, but Not Too Modest, Please
Heather A. Conley, The Birth of a Global Strategy amid Deep Crisis
Marta Dassù and Roberto Menotti, A Post-Brexit Global Strategy
Renato G. Flôres Jr., Looking Forward in a Realistic Way: Will the EU Understand?
Camille Grand, The European Union Global Strategy: Good Ambitions and Harsh Realities
Peter van Ham, The EU’s ‘Caoutchouc’ Strategy: Something for Everyone
Jolyon Howorth, The EU GS: New Concepts for New Directions in Foreign and Security Policy
Bassma Kodmani-Darwish, The EU Should Promote Democracy in its Backyard or Face Long-term Insecurity
Andrey Kortunov, The Owl of Minerva
Radha Kumar, The EU GS after Brexit: A View from India
Hanns W. Maull, Sadly, the EU GS Reads More like a Symptom of the Problem than Part of a Solution for Europe’s Deep Crisis
Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, The EU Global Strategy: More Modest, Equally Challenging
Loukas Tsoukalis, Ready for Adult Life? 40
Michito Tsuruoka, Tokyo Wants a Stronger European Foreign Policy 42
Sinan Ulgen, Pitfalls of the Global Strategy 45
Thomas Wright, Meeting the American Standard but Falling Short 47
Marcin Zaborowski, A Realistic Strategy for Uncertain Times 50
Zhou Hong, The EU Global Strategy after Brexit – A Chinese View 52

**Hydropolitics in the MENA Region and Beyond**

The Impending Water Crisis in the MENA Region
*George Joffé* 55
Changing Hydro-political Relations in the Nile Basin: A Protracted Transition
*Rawia Tawfik* 67
The Rebirth of Water as a Weapon: IS in Syria and Iraq
*Tobias von Lossow* 82
Watershed or Powershed? Critical Hydro-politics, China and the ‘Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Framework’
*Carl Middleton and Jeremy Allouche* 100
The Watercourses Convention, Hydro-hegemony and Transboundary Water Issues
*Joyeeta Gupta* 118

* * *

Reshuffling the Middle East: A Historical and Political Perspective
*Lorenzo Kamel* 132

**Book Reviews**

Ukraine: How Did We Get Here?
*Giovanna De Maio* 142
Enlarging Germany and the EU
*Fraser Cameron* 144

**Recent Publications** 146
Articles

The Foreign Policy Legacy of Barack Obama
David Unger 1

Europe’s Leadership Deficit
Stephen F. Szabo 17

Financial Markets Matter More than Fiscal Institutions for the Success of the Euro
Erik Jones 29

Fixing Financial Plumbing: Tax, Leaks and Base Erosion and Profit Shifting in Europe
Robert Dover 40

The Leverage of the Gatekeeper: Power and Interdependence in the Migration Nexus between the EU and Turkey
Asli Okyay and Jonathan Zaragoza-Cristiani 51

Securitising Migration: The European Union in the Context of the Post-2011 Arab Upheavals
Tamirace Fakboury 67

Reflections on Global Climate Politics Post Paris: Power, Interests and Polycentricity
Sebastian Oberthür 80

When All Roads Lead to Beijing. Assessing China’s New Silk Road and its Implications for Europe
Nicola Casarini 95

The Belt and Road Initiative and its Implications for China-Europe Relations
Zhao Mingbao 109

The Trans-Pacific Partnership: Defence, Industry and Strategy
Daniel Fiott 119
Opinions

The NATO Warsaw Summit: Reflections on Unfinished Business
Ian Lesser 131

Book Review

Information Warfare: A New Pillar of Russia’s Foreign Policy
Daniele Fattibene 134

Recent Publications 137
Essays

Fifty Shades of Brexit: Britain’s EU Referendum and its Implications for Europe and Britain
Tim Oliver 1

The Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty in Jeopardy? Internal Divisions and the Impact of World Politics
Harald Müller 12

Research articles

The European ‘Other’ in Poland’s Conservative Identity Project
Molly O’Neal 28

How China’s New Silk Road Threatens European Trade
Jonathan Holslag 46

A Neoliberal Rentier System: New Challenges and Past Economic Trajectories in Iraq
Irene Costantini 61

Repression and Monarchical Resilience in the Arab Gulf States
Fred H. Lawson and Matteo Legrenzi 76

Think tanks and foreign policymaking

Navigating the Unknown: Barriers to Evidence-Based Defence and Security Policy in the European Union
Benedict Wilkinson, Maria Giulia Amadio Viceré and Erin Montague 88

The Impact of Institutions on Foreign Policy Think Tanks in France and Denmark
Jon Rabbek-Clemmensen and Olivier Schmitt 100
Think Tank Involvement in Foreign Policymaking in the Czech Republic and Poland

*David Cadier and Monika Sus* 116

**Book Reviews**

The Crisis of the European Union: How the Institutional Framework Changed during Crisis Management

*Davide Vittori* 132

Losing Values along the Path of ENP Implementation

*Anja Palm* 137

**Recent publications** 139
Editorial Note
Silvia Colombo and Eman Ragab
1

Between Accommodation and Opportunism: Explaining the Growing Influence of Small Gulf States in the Middle East
Mate Szalai
3

Status and Foreign Policy Change in Small States: Qatar’s Emergence in Perspective
Babak Mohammadzadeh
19

Beyond Money and Diplomacy: Regional Policies of Saudi Arabia and UAE after the Arab Spring
Eman Ragab
37

Foreign Policy Activism in Saudi Arabia and Oman. Diverging Narratives and Stances towards the Syrian and Yemeni Conflicts
Silvia Colombo
54

The Evolution of Saudi Foreign Policy and the Role of Decision-making Processes and Actors
Umer Karim
71

Iran, the GCC and the Implications of the Nuclear Deal: Rivalry versus Engagement
Ribam Babi
89

US-Arab Gulf Relations amidst Regional and Global Changes
Dania Koleilat Khatib
102

Russia as a Gravity Pole of the GCC’s New Foreign Policy Pragmatism
Alexander Shumilin and Inna Shumilina
115
Book Reviews

Understanding the ISIS Phenomenon: History, Ideology and Governance of the Islamic State
Andrea Dessì 130

NATO in Libya and the Future of Transatlantic Cooperation
Andrea Gilli 133
Diversity Management in World Politics. Reformist China and the Future of the (Liberal) Order
Anna Caffarena
1

The Age of Anxiety: The Crisis of Liberal Democracy in a Post-Hegemonic Global Order
Ziya Öniş
18

Evolving ties in and with the Middle East

State and Non-State Alliances in the Middle East
Kristina Kausch
36

Ties that Bind: Dynamics of Group Radicalisation in Italy’s Jihadists Headed for Syria and Iraq
Francesco Marone
48

EU foreign policy: between theory and practice

Assessing the High Representative’s Role in Egypt during the Arab Spring
Maria Giulia Amadio Vicere and Sergio Fabbrini
64

Migration and the EU Global Strategy: Narratives and Dilemmas
Michela Ceccorulli and Sonia Lucarelli
83

The European Union Global Strategy: What Kind of Foreign Policy Identity?
Kateryna Pishchikova and Elisa Piras
103

Preparing NATO for the Future – Operating in an Increasingly Contested Environment
Luis Simón
121
Book Reviews

US Strategy and the Origins of American Alliances in Asia
Giuseppe Spatafora

China and Energy Security: The Challenges Ahead
Silvia Menegazzi

Recent publications
Trends in the global economy

Global Macroeconomic Imbalances after the Crisis: From the Great Moderation to Secular Stagnation  
Mattias Vermeiren  
1

States versus Corporations: Rethinking the Power of Business in International Politics  
Milan Babic, Jan Fichtner and Eelke M. Heemskerk  
20

European migration policies

The EU-Turkey Deal One Year On: A Delicate Balancing Act  
Laura Batalla Adam  
44

Containing the Refugee Crisis: How the EU Turned the Balkans and Turkey into an EU Borderland  
Jonathan Zaragoza-Cristiani  
59

Italy’s Migration Policies Combating Irregular Immigration: from the Early Days to the Present Times  
Gabriele Abbondanza  
76

Security dynamics in the Middle East and North Africa

A New Regional Cold War in the Middle East and North Africa: Regional Security Complex Theory Revisited  
Ruth Hanau Santini  
93

Sudan and the Unbearable Lightness of Islamism: From Revolution to Rentier Authoritarianism  
Giorgio Musso  
112
Egypt versus Ethiopia: The Conflict over the Nile Metastasizes
Fred H. Lawson 129

Sino-European Cooperation on Renewable Energy Development
Yunheng Zhou and Weiqing Song 145

Book Reviews

The Thucydides Trap and the Future of US-China Relations
Lorenzo Bardia 157
The Military and Their Decisive Role during the Arab Spring
Ludovico De Angelis 159
A Philosophical Eye on World Politics
Sonia Lucarelli 161

Recent publications 163
The Liberal Order and its Contestations

The Liberal Order and its Contestations. A Conceptual Framework
Riccardo Alcaro 1

Diversity Management: Regionalism and the Future of the International Order
Giovanni Grevi 11

Present at the Destruction? The Liberal Order in the Trump Era
John Peterson 28

The EU and the Global Order: Contingent Liberalism
Michael H. Smith and Richard Youngs 45

Global Reordering and China’s Rise: Adoption, Adaptation and Reform
Shaun Breslin 57

Russia’s Neorevisionist Challenge to the Liberal International Order
Tatiana Romanova 76

India’s Role in a Liberal Post-Western World
Samir Saran 92

Lost in Transition: The Liberal International Order in Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus
Laure Delcour 109
The Middle East’s Troubled Relationship with the Liberal International Order
*Paul Salem*
122

Order and Contestation in the Asia-Pacific Region: Liberal vs Developmental/Non-interventionist Approaches
*Richard Stubbs*
138

Contestation and Transformation. Final Thoughts on the Liberal International Order
*Riccardo Alcaro*
152

**Book Reviews**

Fragile Europe
*Erik Jones*
168

*Nicola Casarini*
172
The Rise of Referendums: A Death Sentence for Multilateralism?
Matthew Willner-Reid

Youth in the South and East Mediterranean
The In-securitisation of Youth in the South and East Mediterranean
Emma Murphy

Youth as Actors of Change? The Cases of Morocco and Tunisia
Maria Cristina Paciello and Daniela Pioppi

‘Blocked’ Youth: The Politics of Migration from South and East Mediterranean Countries Before and After the Arab Uprisings
Françoise De Bel-Air

New Forms of Youth Activism in Contested Cities: The Case of Beirut
Mona Harb

Army and Monarchy in Morocco: Rebellion, Allegiance and Reforms
Brabim Saidy

Security in the Cyber Domain
Considerations on the Cyber Domain as the New Worldwide Battlefield
Gian Piero Siroli
The Invisible Hand? Critical Information Infrastructures, Commercialisation and National Security

*Lindy Newlove-Eriksson, Giampiero Giacomello and Johan Eriksson*

**Book Reviews**

What Strategy to Counter the Crisis of the EU as a Global Player?

*Roberto Orsi*

The Rise of China in Antarctica and the Arctic

*Jon Rabbek-Clemmensen*
# Regionalisms and Identities in the post-Soviet Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Normative and Civilisational Regionalisms: The EU, Russia and their Common Neighbourhoods</td>
<td>Andrey Makarychev</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucratic Authority and Mimesis: The Eurasian Economic Union’s Multiple Integration Logics</td>
<td>Ueli Staeger and Cristian Bobocea</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regionalism as You Like It? Armenia and the Eurasian Integration Process</td>
<td>Laure Delcour</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Paradox of Weakness in European Trade Policy: Contestation and Resilience in CETA and TTIP Negotiations</td>
<td>Dirk De Bièvre</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reshaping Cultural Heritage Protection Policies at a Time of Securitisation: France, Italy, and the United Kingdom</td>
<td>Paolo Foradori, Serena Giusti and Alessandro Giovanni Lamonica</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geopolitics of Nuclear Hypertrophy. America, the Bomb and the Temptation of Nuclear Primacy</td>
<td>Corrado Stefanachi</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Upholding the Correct Political Direction”. The PLA Reform and Civil-Military Relations in Xi Jinping’s China</td>
<td>Simone Dossi</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Political Cost-Effectiveness of Private Vessel Protection: The Italian Case
Eugenio Cusumano and Stefano Ruzza 132

Book Reviews

In Search of an American Grand Strategy in East Asia
Lorenzo Mariani 149

Recent publications 151
The New Sultan and the Crisis of Modern Turkey
*Soner Cagaptay*  
1

**External and regional powers in the Middle East**

Transformation of Turkey’s Regional Policies: The Case of the KRG Referendum Debacle
*Şaban Kardaş*  
16

Russia and Conflicts in the Middle East: Regionalisation and Implications for the West
*Ekaterina Stepanova*  
35

Outflanked? NATO’s Southern Hub and the Struggle for its Middle East Strategy
*Jean-Loup Samaan*  
58

Saudi Arabia as a Resurgent Regional Power
*Anoushiravan Ebteshami*  
75

How the Snowden Revelations Saved the EU General Data Protection Regulation
*Agustín Rossi*  
95

Trump’s Mixed Signals toward North Korea and US-led Alliances in East Asia
*Matteo Dian*  
112

The European External Action Service, Counterterrorism and the Imperative of Coherence
*Elodie Sellier*  
129
Unintended Consequences of EU External Action

Olga Burlyuk and Gergana Noutcheva

The Unintended Consequences of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Negotiations
Ferdi De Ville and Niels Gheyle

Horizontal and Vertical Diversity: Unintended Consequences of EU External Migration Policy
Natasja Reslow

Purposefully Triggering Unintended Consequences: the European Commission and the Uncertain Future of the EU-ACP Partnership
Maurizio Carbone

The Unintended Consequences of the EU’s Rural Development Programme in the Arab Countryside
Christos Kourtelis

The Unintended Consequences of a European Neighbourhood Policy without Russia
Tom Casier

Unintended Consequences of State-building Projects in Contested States: The EU in Palestine
Dimitris Bouris

Unintended Consequences of EU Democracy Support in the European Neighbourhood
Assem Dandashly and Gergana Noutcheva

EU External Action, Intention and Explanation
Frank de Zwart and Karolina Pomorska
Book Reviews

Palestine in World Society: Beyond Middle East Exceptionalism
Ali Bilgic 130

The Search for Meaningful Democracy in the Balkans
Daniela Lai 132

Libya and the US: A Fatal Nexus
Roberto Aliboni 134

Deepening Mutual Understanding: Mission Impossible for China and the EU?
WANG Shichen 136
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Debating populism</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contested Issues Surrounding Populism in Public and Academic Debates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bertjan Verbeek and Andrej Zaslove</em></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Global Dimensions of Populist Nationalism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cynthia Miller-Idriss</em></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right-wing Populism as a Nationalist Vision of Legitimating Collective Choice: A Supply-side Perspective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Daphne Halikiopoulou</em></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Essay</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genealogy of a Populist Uprising. Italy, 1979-2019</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Giovanni Orsina</em></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The View from Next Door: Greek-Turkish Relations after the Coup Attempt in Turkey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nikos Christofis, Babar Baser and Ahmet Erdi Öztürk</em></td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contesting Greek Gas Policy: Geopolitical, Energy and Climate Considerations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Filippos Proedrou</em></td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessing the Relation between the Underground Economy and Irregular Migration in Italy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Leila Simona Talani</em></td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy’s ‘Middle Power’ Approach to Russia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Marco Siddi</em></td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EU-China Security Relations: Discourse vs Practice and the Role of EU Member States

Francesco Saverio Montesano

139

Book Reviews

Explaining Populism: How and Why Ideas Matter

Abdelkarim Amengay

159

Populism in Times of Attempted Unity of Heterogeneous Social Demands

Paulus Wagner

162

Paranoid Politics and the Populist Temptation

Tatiana Coutto

165
Talking Migration: Narratives of Migration and Justice Claims in the European Migration System of Governance

Narratives of Migration and Justice Claims in the European Migration System of Governance
Silvia D’Amato and Sonia Lucarelli 1

Così è (se vi pare): Talking Migration to Italians
Michela Ceccorulli 18

The Migration Triangle: Narratives, Justice and the Politics of Migration in France
Silvia D’Amato and Anna Lavizzari 37

Positional Insecurity and the Hegemony of Radical Nationalism. Migration and Justice in the Hungarian Media
Attila Melegh, Anna Vancsó, Márton Hunyadi and Dorottya Mendly 54

Justice Claims in UK Media Narratives: Normative Orientations and EU Migration Governance
Cinzia Bevitori and Antonio Zotti 72

From Humanitarian Needs to Border Control: Norwegian Media Narratives on Migration and Conceptions of Justice
Espen D. H. Olsen and Ragnhild Grønning 90
Articles

The Pillars of Iranian-Russian Security Convergence
*Abdolrasool Divsallar* 107

Turkey’s Rapprochement with Russia: Assertive Bandwagoning
*Ajdin Didić and Hasan Kösebalaban* 123

Saudi Arabia Looks East: Imperatives and Implications
*Shirzad Azad* 139

Book Review

Breaking the Spiral: Institutions and Italy’s Economic Malaise
*Gunnar Mokosch* 153
60 Years of Turkey-EC/EU Relations

From De-Europeanisation to Anti-Western Populism: Turkish Foreign Policy in Flux
Alper Kaliber and Esra Kaliber 1

The Impact of EU-based Populism on Turkey-EU Relations
Başak Alpan 17

Europeanisation and Administrative Relations in Turkey in the Post-Helsinki Era
Ali Onur Özçelik 32

A Game Changer in EU-Turkey Relations: The Opportunities and Pitfalls of Migration Policy
Nefise Ela Gökalp Aras 47

De-Europeanisation and Equal Citizenship in Turkey: The Case of Circassians
Diğdem Soyaltın-Colella and Eylem Akdeniz Göker 62

East Asia and the US in the Age of Trump

The US-Japan Alliance Dilemma in the Asia-Pacific: Changing Rationales and Scope
Elena Atanassova-Cornelis and Yoichiro Sato 78

Overcoming US-North Korean Enmity: Lessons from an Eclectic IR Approach
Linus Hagström and Magnus Lundström 94
Evolving Institutions in the Middle East

Playing the Diversity Card: Saudi Arabia’s Foreign Policy under the Salmans
*Thomas Demmelhuber* 109

Sharing Power and Faking Governance? Lebanese State and Non-State Institutions during the War in Syria
*Carmen Geba* 125

Book Reviews

Reflections on the Arab Spring
*Stephen R. Grand* 141

The Future of Democracy in the Digital Age
*Edoardo Quadri* 144

Historical Materialism and its Relevance in Contemporary Global Politics
*Roberto Roccu* 147

Kosovo and its Everyday Quest for Statehood
*Dimitris Bouris* 150

Recent Publications 153
Asia’s Evolving Security Dynamics and Implications for Europe

Buck-passing, Chain-ganging and Alliances in the Multipolar Indo-Asia-Pacific
*Mason Richey* 1

Alignment Cooperation and Regional Security Architecture in the Indo-Pacific
*Elena Atanassova-Cornelis* 18

Competing Visions of Japan’s International Engagement: Japan First vs Global Japan
*Michito Tsuruoka* 34

The Dilemma of Nuclear Disarmament: The Case of North Korea
*Jina Kim* 48

Alliance Forging or Partnership Building? China’s Policy in the Asia-Pacific under the Xi Administration
*Zhong Zhenming and Yang Yanqi* 62

Rising to the Challenge: Europe’s Security Policy in East Asia amid US-China Rivalry
*Nicola Casarini* 78

Articles

Linking Public Opinion and Foreign Policy in Russia
*Anna Efimova and Denis Strebkov* 93

Manufacturing the Jihad in Europe: The Islamic State’s Strategy
*John Turner* 112
Fluctuating Saudi and Emirati Alignment Behaviours in the Horn of Africa
*Federico Donelli and Giuseppe Dentice* 126

**Book Reviews**

What Is East Asia?
*Noemi Lanna* 143

The ‘Nodes’ of South-East Asia’s History
*Giuseppe Gabusi* 145

How to Approach North Korea, 15 Years Later
*Antonio Fiori* 148

South Korea’s Foreign Policy and Its Tensions
*Marco Milani* 151

Japan’s Malaise, and Its Cure: Notes for the West
*Giulio Pugliese* 154

India’s Changing Global Role
*Stefania Benaglia* 157
Special Issue
The GCC in Crisis: Explorations of ‘Normlessness’ in Gulf Regionalism
Guest Editors: Larbi Sadiki and Layla Saleh

The GCC in Crisis: Explorations of ‘Normlessness’ in Gulf Regionalism
Larbi Sadiki and Layla Saleh

Regionalism in Crisis: GCC Integration without Democracy
Larbi Sadiki

The Blockade on Qatar: Conflict Management Failings
Beverley Milton-Edwards

GCC-US Alliance-Making Reconsidered: The Travails of Dependency
Layla Saleh

Making Sense of Turkey’s Reaction to the Qatar Crisis
Birol Başkan and Özgür Pala

Superpower and Small-State Mediation in the Qatar Gulf Crisis
Ibrahim Fraihat

The GCC Monarchies: Perceptions of the Iranian Threat amid Shifting Geopolitics
Cinzia Bianco

Essay

The Global Political Economy of Right-wing Populism: Deconstructing the Paradox
Ziya Öniş and Mustafa Kutlay
Article

The West’s Policeman? Assessing Italy’s Status in Global Peacekeeping
Gabriele Abbondanza 127

Book Reviews

German Power in Europe
Holger Stritzel 142

The China-India Rivalry: Contention and Competition
Anjan Kumar Sabu 145
# China’s Economic (and Political) Outreach

The Race for Critical Minerals in an Era of Geopolitical Realignments  
*Sophia Kalantzakos*  
1

China’s Structural Power and the Fate of the BCIM Economic Corridor  
*Giuseppe Gabusi*  
17

# The European Union at a Crossroads

How Many Europes? Fragmentation in the European Space since the Great Recession  
*Marco Zoppi*  
35

Eastern Enlargements and EU Defence Ambitions  
*Marcin Zaborowski*  
50

# New Directions in US Foreign Policy

From Reset to Restart: The US-Russia Cyclical Relationship in the Post-Cold War Era  
*Gabriele Natalizia and Marco Valigi*  
65

Trump and the End of an Era? The Liberal International Order in Perspective  
*Shalendra D. Sharma*  
82

Mixing Grand Strategies: Trump and International Security  
*Murat Ülgül*  
98

# External Actors in the Middle East

The Renewed ‘Struggle for Syria’: From the War ‘in’ Syria to the War ‘over’ Syria  
*Philippe Droz-Vincent*  
115
Russia’s Policy towards the Middle East: The Case of Yemen
Leonid Issaev and Andrey Korotayev 132

Book Reviews

EU-China Relations: State of the Art and New Perspectives
Xuechen Chen 148

Britain, Zionism and the Nimby Syndrome
Roberto Mazza 151

Recent Publications 154
The International Spectator
The journal of the Istituto Affari Internazionali

Volume 55  Number 4  December 2020

Special Issue:
Governance, Fragility and Insurgency in the Sahel: A Hybrid Political Order in the Making

Guest Editors: Morten Bøås and Francesco Strazzari

Governance, Fragility and Insurgency in the Sahel: A Hybrid Political Order in the Making

Morten Bøås and Francesco Strazzari 1

The Fragility Dilemma and Divergent Security Complexes in the Sahel

Kari M. Osland and Henriette U. Erstad 18

Assessing Misaligned Counterinsurgency Practice in Niger and Nigeria

Laura Berlingozzi and Ed Stoddard 37

The Great Illusion: Security Sector Reform in the Sahel

Bernardo Venturi and Nana Toure 54

The End of the Sahelian Exception: Al-Qaeda and Islamic State Clash in Central Mali

Edoardo Baldaro and Yida Seydou Diall 69

The Dangers of Disconnection: Oscillations in Political Violence on Lake Chad

Alessio Iocchi 84

Gold Mining in the Sahara-Sahel: The Political Geography of State-making and Unmaking

Luca Raineri 100

Explaining Violence in Tillabéri: Insurgent Appropriation of Local Grievances?

Morten Bøås, Abdoul Wakhab Cissé and Laouali Mahamane 118
Postface: Emerging Orders in the Sahel?

Georg Klute

133

Book Reviews

Unpacking the Security Cooperation Puzzle in EU-Japan Relations

Elena Atanassova-Cornelis

137

How to Deal with Political Bullying

Enrico Padoan

140
# Rethinking Arms Control

Just GRIT and Bear It: A Cold War Approach to Future US-Russia Arms Control  
*Sarah Bidgood*

In Search of the ‘Human Element’: International Debates on Regulating Autonomous Weapons Systems  
*Daniele Amoroso and Guglielmo Tamburrini*

The Case for Cyber ‘Disarmament’ in the European Union  
*Eugenio Benincasa*

Europe’s Defence of the Iran Nuclear Deal: Less than a Success, More than a Failure  
*Riccardo Alcaro*

Seeking a Responsible Arms Trade to Reduce Human Suffering in Yemen  
*Giovanna Maletta*

## Articles

Trade and Global Value Chains at the Time of Covid-19  
*Anna Maria Pinna and Luca Lodi*

Geography, Climate Change, National Security: The Case of the Evolving US Arctic Strategy  
*Agata Lavorio*

*Eugenio Salvati*
Book Reviews

The United Nations at 75: An Institutional Appraisal
Giuseppe Zaccaria 143

Forty Years of China’s Economy: A Historical Perspective
Paola Pasquali 146
# Regionalism at the Time of Covid-19: Impact and Implications

Navigating a Covid World: The European Union’s Internal Rebirth and External Quest  
*Riccardo Alcaro and Nathalie Tocci*  
1

Towards a *Human and Humane* Approach? The EU Discourse on Migration amidst the Covid-19 Crisis  
*Stefania Panebianco*  
19

Pandemic Regionalism or Not? The MENA Region in the Shadow of Covid-19  
*Meliba Altunışık*  
38

Unity Is Strength: Covid-19 and Regionalism in Africa  
*Samuel Ojo Oloruntoba*  
56

Covid-19 and ASEAN: Strengthening State-centrism, Eroding Inclusiveness, Testing Cohesion  
*Jürgen Rüland*  
72

Latin American and Caribbean Regionalism during the Covid-19 Pandemic: Saved by Functionalism?  
*Lorena Ruano and Natalia Saltalamacchia*  
93

## Articles

Comparing US and Chinese Foreign Aid in the Era of Rising Powers  
*Salvador Santino F. Regilme, Jr and Obert Hodzi*  
114

EU Trade Policy: Principles versus Pragmatism. The Cases of Vietnam and Cambodia  
*Angela Pennisi di Floristella*  
132
Book Reviews

The Origins of China’s and Europe’s Complex Systems
*Nana de Graaff* 148

The Past and Present of Public Humiliation
*Luigi Lonardo* 151
Special Issue
Europe’s Transition to Sustainability: Actors, Approaches and Policies
Guest Editors: Rosa Fernandez, Jonas J. Schoenefeld, Thomas Hoerber and Sebastian Oberthür

Europe’s Transition to Sustainability: Actors, Approaches and Policies
Rosa Fernandez, Jonas J. Schoenefeld, Thomas Hoerber and Sebastian Oberthür

Role Perceptions in Global Environmental Negotiations: From Reformist Leaders to Conservative Bystanders
Frauke Ohler and Tom Delreux

Jonas J. Schoenefeld, Kai Schulze, Mikael Hildén and Andrew J. Jordan

Towards Ego-Ecology? Populist Environmental Agendas and the Sustainability Transition in Europe
Thomas Hoerber, Kristina Kurze and Joel Kuenzer

When the Accession Legacy Fades Away: Central and Eastern European Countries and the EU Renewables Targets
Matúš Mišík

Discourses about EU Transport Decarbonisation: Towards a Paradigm Shift?
Helene Dyrhauge

Community Renewable Energy Projects: The Future of the Sustainable Energy Transition?
Rosa Fernandez
Cutting Deals: Transnational Advocacy Networks and the European Union Timber Regulation at the Eastern Border
Simona Davidescu and Aron Buzogány 105

Environmental Justice and Just Transition in the EU’s Sustainability Policies in Third Countries: The Case of Colombia
Gabriel Weber and Ignazio Cabras 119

Essay

Self-Betrayal: How the West Failed to Respond to China’s Rise
Jonathan Holslag 138

Book Reviews

The Big World of Small States: An Introduction
Christos Kourtelis 159

How Civil Wars Turn into Quagmires
Marina Calcutti 162
Kuwait as a Mediator in Regional Affairs: The Gulf Crises of 2014 and 2017
Kristian Coates Ulrichsen 119

“Switzerland of Arabia”: Omani Foreign Policy and Mediation Efforts in the Middle East
James Worrall 134

The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Failure of Peacebuilding in Yemen
Gertjan Hoetjes 151

Book Reviews

Strategic Confusion: The Evolution of the EU’s Discourse on Israel/Palestine
Muriel Asseburg 167

Afghanistan: The War That Could Not Be Won
Andrea Gilli 170
Special Issue
Governing Differentiation and Integration in the European Union: Patterns, Effectiveness and Legitimacy

Guest Editors: Nicoletta Pirozzi, Matteo Bonomi and Sandra Lavenex

Governing Differentiation and Integration in the European Union: Patterns, Effectiveness and Legitimacy
*Nicoletta Pirozzi and Matteo Bonomi*

The Politics of EU Differentiated Integration: Between Crises and Dilemmas
*Marco Brunazzo*

Governance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy in Differentiated Integration: An Analytical Framework
*Sandra Lavenex and Ivo Križić*

Differentiated Cooperation through Local Authority Networks: Challenges and Opportunities
*Pier Domenico Tortola and Stefan Couperus*

Political Differentiation as the End of Political Unity? A Narrative Analysis
*Funda Tekin and Vittoria Meissner*

*Andreas Eisl and Eulalia Rubio*

Differentiated Cooperation in the EU’s Foreign and Security Policy: Effectiveness, Accountability, Legitimacy
*Marco Siddi, Tyynė Karjalainen and Juba Jokela*
Differentiation and De-Differentiation in EU Border Controls, Asylum and Police Cooperation
Emmanuel Comte and Sandra Lavenex 124

Brexit and the Trade and Cooperation Agreement: Implications for Internal and External EU Differentiation
Jannike Wachowiak and Fabian Zuleeg 142

Differentiation and EU Governance: Key Elements and Impact
Nicoletta Pirozzi and Matteo Bonomi 160
Actors and Discourses in the Security Council

*Vahid Nick Pay and Przemysław Postolski*

Debating Syria in the Security Council: The Discursive Processes of Legitimisation and Delegitimisation of Actors Involved in the Syrian War
*Alice Martini*

US Foreign Policy after Trump

Communicative Power America: A Vision for a New US Grand Strategy
*Holger Janusch*

The Hobbled Peacemaker: America’s Inability to Satisfy North Korea
*Meriel Hahn and Peter Harris*

China’s Growing Influence in MENA and Central Asia

The Narrative of the Rise of China and Authoritarianism in the Global South: The Case of Egypt
*Amjed Rasbeed*

The “New Great Game” in Central Asia: From a Sino-Russian Axis of Convenience to Chinese Primacy?
*Paolo Pizzolo and Andrea Cartenys*
## Greece from Bailout to Energy Transition

Greek Views of the 2015 Bailout Agreement: A Matter of Power Asymmetries or Socialisation?  
*Vasileios P. Karakasis*  
103

How Energy Security and Geopolitics Can Upscale the Greek Energy Transition: A Strategic Framing Approach  
*Filippos Proedrou*  
122

## Book Reviews

Scapegoating Has a Sell-By Date: The Case of Syrian Refugees  
*Drew Mikhael*  
138

The Military, Politics and the State in the Arab World  
*Florence Gaub*  
141

China’s Security Policy and Civil-Military Relations: A Reappraisal  
*Simone Dossi*  
143
## Special Core

**Contesting Western and Non-Western Approaches to Global Cyber Governance beyond Westlessness**

*Guest Editors: Xuechen Chen and Yifan Yang*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contesting Western and Non-Western Approaches to Global Cyber Governance beyond Westlessness</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xuechen Chen and Yifan Yang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Attractive Alternative? China’s Approach to Cyber Governance and Its Implications for the Western Model</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinchuchu Gao</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roles and Limitations of Middle Powers in Shaping Global Cyber Governance</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saeme Kim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different Shades of Norms: Comparing the Approaches of the EU and ASEAN to Cyber Governance</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xuechen Chen and Yifan Yang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogating the Cybersecurity Development Agenda: A Critical Reflection</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louise Marie Hurel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Chinese Military-Civil Fusion Strategy: A State Action Theory Perspective</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammed Can and Alena Vieira</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Colonial Pasts and the EU’s Democracy-promoting Present: Silences and Continuities</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Khakee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Turning to Rabat: Explaining the Elevation of Moroccan Relations with Caribbean Countries
Nand C. Bardouille

Book Reviews

Remembering (or Silencing) the Colonial Past: The UK and France Compared
Nicola Frith

Social Media and Anti-democratic Opposition Movements
Özge Demirel