REVISTA CIDOB D'AFERS
INTERNACIONALS **69**.
Miscelánea

Abstracts

ABSTRACTS

Realists vs. neo-conservatives?
U.S. foreign policy in George W. Bush's second term

Luis Francisco Martínez Montes

With the inauguration of George W. Bush for a second term in office last January, the pertinent matter now consists of elucidating which sectors in his Administration will have the greatest prominence in formulating United States foreign policy over the next four years. Often, the dilemma is posed in exclusive and, if one permits, somewhat simplifying terms: who will prevail, the neo-conservatives or the realists? The present article, while not aiming to avoid the differences existing between the two currents, which, deep down are smaller than what they seem to be at first sight, adopts a different perspective. Realists and neo-conservatives are presented as two non-contradictory, but rather necessarily complementary, variants in a foreign policy programme orientated toward guaranteeing the timeless hegemony of the United States in a threatening and changing world.

The Northern triangle: relations between the United States, the EU and Russia
A flexible and complex complementariness

Francesc Serra Massansalvador

This article sets out to analyse the structural implications of the cooperation between the United States, the European Union and Russia, as well as the shape this cooperation assumes according to the area dealt with. At the beginning of this new century, the structure of the international system presents symptoms of variable geometry, in which the country that appears to be the hegemonic power in the area of security needs solid supports in

order to exercise this hegemony. These supports will have to be sought not only at the strategic level, but, above all, in such aspects as trade, control of international organisations and even the ideological arena, all of which are areas in which it would be difficult to exert hegemony through a unilateral approach.

New challenges for Europe:
migration, security and citizenship rights

Anna Triandafyllidou

After the relative prominence of multicultural citizenship theoretical debates and multicultural policy developments in the 1990s, we witness today a change of direction. This crisis of multiculturalism comes at a time of heightened security awareness as a result of the 9/11 events and their aftermath. The upsurge of international terrorism has led to the increasing securitisation of migration agendas. This paper discusses critically the emergence of a climate of high security awareness in Europe through the analysis of three, in my view, inter-related issues: the overall securitisation of migration; the securitisation of Europe; and the reluctance of EU countries to concede to third country nationals who are long-term residents in their territories, a common status of 'civic citizenship' – what has been called in the related directive the 'long-term resident status' – that would include a substantial set of rights, comparable to those of EU citizens. The paper highlights how the link between terrorism, migration and security is discursively constructed and argues that too much attention to security and too little attention to rights is detrimental to the state of European democracies.

The role of the regions in border dynamics in Europe

Desiderio Fernández Manjón

This article analyses the role that the regions have played during this past half century, and which they continue to play now, in the changes that are occurring along the borders between European states and in the webs of interests that are woven as a consequence of this evolution. The mapping of borderlines associated with people endowed with singularities is a delicate, complex task, as demonstrated by several paradigmatic examples: the creation of new borders (Flanders) and the profound modification of historical borders (the canton of Jura). The difficulty may lie in approval processes and in the appropriate conjugation of

interests of other peoples and minorities existing within them. There are several European institutions which are contributing to deeply modifying the imaginary of international borders. On the one hand, the Council of Europe, which fosters, among other things, cross-border cooperation and inter-regional cooperation. Secondly, the European Union institutions have taken many ideas from the Council of Europe and made them their own: the Committee of the Regions and cross-border cooperation. In addition, these institutions force the unitary states to establish a territorial division taking into account the income levels of the population.

Spain's foreign policy in the face of the challenges of its politization: from consensus to legitimacy

Albert Aixalà i Blanch

The objective of this article is to analyse the new context in which Spanish foreign policy should develop, after the break in consensus and the growing politization that has occurred in the last few years. The changes that have occurred in the international order have ended up decisively affecting Spanish foreign policy, which has entered a new stage of politization and democratisation. In this article, it will be argued that this change is not temporary but rather structural, and that it is due to both internal and external causes. Thus, the current challenge should no be thought of as rebuilding consensus in foreign policy, but rather how to manage the dissent.

The Spanish decentralised international cooperation in Central America in the area of municipalism and decentralisation

Mariana Haedo

In an attempt to link the international dimension with the local one, this article lays out an approach to the situation of Spanish decentralised international cooperation in the area of municipalism and decentralisation in the countries of Central America. In the first place, it offers a characterisation of the current state of Spanish decentralised cooperation in order to thus frame the cooperation actions carried out by the Barcelona Provincial Council; the UIM (Unión Iberoamericana de Municipios) together with CEMCI (Centro de Estudios

Municipales y de Cooperación Internacional); and the Confederación de Fondos de Cooperación y Solidaridad. Finally, it describes bankruptcies and it recovers some of the achievements of this kind of cooperation specifically in reference to the field of municipalism.

Sources of change in foreign policy.
A review of foreign policy models for developing countries

Alba E. Gámez

The study of what could be called the reorientation of State foreign policy is not a new phenomenon. Changes in alliances, economic partners and attitudes in the face of international issues have been reflected in myriad texts. Nevertheless, few theoretical frameworks deal with this issue as an area of study in and of itself. Overcoming this situation would contribute to identifying and comparing the changes in attitude and discourse in the relations between countries, especially in the case of developing countries, and, by extension, the sources of these changes. This article reviews the different models for the analysis of foreign policy, using the conceptual framework of Hermann (1990) as its starting point. This framework suggests the existence of four graded levels of change which allow for studying forms of change which are subtle but important in foreign policy; it also offers a reasoned analysis for testing the relative importance of their sources. This conceptual framework can be situated in the traditional division of levels of analysis: the characteristics of the leader, bureaucratic proposer, internal adjustment, and external impact; and, while it does not provide a conclusive answer, it may be a useful tool in clarifying the ways of using empirical evidence and establishing the relative importance of the sources of change in foreign policy orientation.

Deprivation of liberty in the People's Republic of China: concordance with international human rights Law

Xavier Seuba Hernández and Sabina Puig Cartes

The recent visit of the United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention to the People's Republic of China has revealed that deprivation of liberty in that country lacks the guarantees in the area of detention required by international human rights

standards. This article analyses the principal characteristics of detention in China and compares them with international requirements. After an initial introductory section, which presents the main Chinese institutions with influence on the freedom of people, it analyses criminal and administrative legislation and it makes reference to some practical translations of this legislation. Finally, it indicates a series of measures which should be implemented in order to bring Chinese legislation and practices concerning the deprivation of liberty into line with international standards.

East Timor after the Indonesian occupation

José Antonio Rocamora

When Indonesia accepted consulting the people of East Timor about their future in 1999, they declared themselves in favour of embarking on the path to independence, under U.N. supervision. In 2002, East Timor gained its independence, for which it had paid a high price in lives. But, it then faced an even more arduous struggle, the fight against poverty, since its population was the poorest in Asia. In addition, the youngest country on the planet faces difficulties stemming from coexistence with two powers in the area, Indonesia and Australia, which could condition both the political and economic development of the country.